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A STUDY IN EMANCIPATION.

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LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MINORITY CONTROL: A STUDY IN EMANCIPATION

by
Matthew Ekpo

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
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ABSTRACT

LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MINORITY CONTROL:
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by

Matthew Ekpo

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Students of low-income groups and racial minorities are disadvantaged by the public educational systems of the United States. Remedial attempts, such as compensatory education and desegregation, have seemed to fail.

In response to these failures, minority students and parents in major American cities have attempted to take over control of their local public schools. They consider the power to assign staff and design curriculum as necessary for educational improvement and community emancipation.

This movement, its importance, its present social indicators, and probable further developments are the object of this research.

Beginning with a comprehensive survey of this nationwide phenomenon, based on evaluation of various materials, this study presents a detailed case study [formalized inquiries among school administrators, school-community agents, parents, community leaders and student leaders] of three local communities in Detroit, Michigan, which represent three different stages of developments toward local control.

Analysis of data revealed a set of social indicators

reflecting basic characteristics of several stages of development:

1. A first stage labeled embryonic, or consultative, was characterized by the following: an atmosphere of frustration, suspicion and tension; beginnings of student-parent organization, led by people from lower socio-economic strata, backed by Protestant church ministers and limited to a low degree of institutionalization; weak power base and purely consultative rights.
2. A second stage, termed transitional or participatory, is distinguished by the following: feelings of discontent had awakened the determination to change; leadership was assumed by middle-class parents, backed by professional black educators; more solid organizational structures contributed to a stronger power base; therefore, the movement obtained a greater share in educational decision-making, however limited to the exercise of veto rights in staff assignment. Feelings of potential autonomy prevailed among those involved.
3. A third stage called active or decision-making is characterized by: a large power base recruited among students, parents, and teachers of lower as well as of middle-class origin; perception of the school as important vehicle of social upgrading; a high degree of efficient organization; full institutionalization of community participation in educational decision-making including the power to hire administrator and other staff.

Secondly, the social indicators for the school, although similar in all three stages, were found to be different in terms of achievements. These indicators were: the emergence of the school as a focal point of the issue; a breakdown of staff-student communication; activism; open conflicts and attempts to change decision makers in the school. These indicators, although necessary for all three stages, were not sufficient to explain differences between the stages.

Minority expectations tend toward a strong, personalized, and charismatic type of leadership. Minority aspirations risk frustration both by existing legal framework and difficulties in leader-recruitment.

Since the poor and racial minorities are not likely to give up their struggle for self-determination beginning with the school, new programs should be developed to meet the minority demands for new kinds of educational leadership.

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To the people of the Northeastern High School Constellation, the Central High School Constellation, and the Martin Luther King, Jr., Senior High School Constellation, Detroit, Michigan.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> In education we are facing a crisis of conscience and collectively we are experiencing a sense of national guilt. This consciousness of guilt grows out of the realization that we failed to establish and maintain an educational program of the quality of which we are capable and which is now essential to the well-being of all our people.
>
> --Sterling M. McMurrin,
> U.S. Commissioner of Education

In this, an era when it has become popular "to do your own thing," urban low-income minority groups have tasted some small successes in doing their own thing toward alleviating the failure in public education as they personally are affected by it. They have come to believe, then, that quality education is not necessarily a matter of integration or segregation, but that it is a matter of superior leadership both in and out of the school in addition to the direct community involvement with the policy making in their local school systems.

This study attempts to gain an insight into the phenomenon of local community control of urban public education by low-income, racial minority groups and to find out if there are any indicators in these new movements to show that, given the time, the power, and the money they need, these groups can really bring about high academic performance

in their local schools.

Motivation for the Choice of Subject

The value of the study lies in that it will encourage these groups to fight on until they achieve equal educational opportunity, a guarantee for good life in the American society. Further, it will help responsible decision-makers to advance this movement, and thereby to enhance and quicken the full development of the personalities of these racial minorities, making them full 'American citizens.' The study may also provide a stimulus for further inquiry about the phenomenon.

The investigator's stimulus for looking into this particular situation stems from the fact that he was educated in Nigeria and at the Vatican by people who neither were of his own culture nor understood it, which resulted in uprooting him rather than building his education on the foundations of his own cultural heritage. The net result of this kind of education as the author perceived it was a rejection of his own culture and himself and confusedly adhering to the culture of other people he did not really understand or identify. The author ended up preaching and teaching people of his own culture what he had learned in the name of education and religion.

The researcher sensed in the plight of the black children in Detroit inner city the dilemma that he had faced in education all his life, and therefore wanted to learn

more about how this problem might be handled in the United States of America. What was the problem? The usual answer to the question was that the teachers wanted more money. Events at Ocean Hill-Brownsville were reported in every newspaper the author put his hands on. "What is the problem in the American urban public schools?" the researcher inquired from sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary where he was staying during his graduate studies at the University of Detroit. "The public schools are not responding to the poor racial minorities, particularly in the major cities," the sisters replied.

Historical Analogy

But how did the public schools respond to the other racial groups in the past, for example, the Irish immigrants in Boston?[1]

In Boston, in the 1820's, the influx of ethnic groups into a normally homogeneous community disrupted the work- and educational-patterns of that city. Lack of skills among these newcomers meant that in order to solve the unemployment problems created by their arrival, there had to be education for the minority groups. The school system in Boston at that time--as in this modern-day situation--was controlled by, and for, a select group of upper middle class

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[1] I attempted to answer this question in the spring of 1968, in a study I did for the University of Michigan Graduate School of Education for my preliminary examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

children, headed for Harvard. In the midst of this enrollment of Boston children from the original population, were minority group children who were in need of education. Certain nationalities were accepted into the current system. The Irish were not. They were equated at that time with our present-day blacks, but integration had not been instigated. They were forced to attend private schools, if any. Therefore, then, as now, in order to guarantee equitable public education for their own children, minority groups began to bid for control.

From 1820, the control of the Boston Public Latin School gradually changed from community control to an elitist control. Similar action appears to be taking place in school systems today as can be seen from this study.

The Irish infiltrated the school system first by the political route. Since the mayor was an ex officio member of the school board, and in addition made appointments to this group, the Irish campaigned to elect one of themselves to this office. He was Hugh O'Brien. Two more active Irishmen of the time were important in the movement: Patrick Collins and James O'Donovan. The token Irishman who had served on the school board was joined by more of his kind, and it is apparent that, whether or not "people committees" got into the act, the Catholic Irish had their foot in the door and were well on their way to integrating the school system. Today Boston is predominantly under Irish control, while they were mere underdogs in the 1800's.

Statement of Problem

This study will attempt to determine whether there are any predictable commonalities in the pattern of developments toward local control of urban public education by low-income minority groups.

Motivational Assumptions for the Movement

In general, minority groups see the school crisis--that is, the failure of schools to give their children an education that fits them for a fruitful future--as originating with the lack of a powerful central leader who is in empathy with them.[1] They see the solution to this dilemma in the acquisition by a local community school board of the power to decide who will exert authority over their schools, and, thus, over the lives of their children.[2] With the power in their hands to choose a principal who will represent them--preferably one whose race and culture matches their own--these groups feel they can look forward to a school that will be recognized by the larger society as a legitimately qualified institution, worthy of acceptance on an equal basis with other schools in the area.[3]

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[1] Interview with Frank Ditto, the founder and Director of the East Side Voice of Independent Detroit (ESVID) and the organizer of the Political Education Project (PEP), Detroit, Michigan.

[2] Interview with William C. Loving, School-Community Agent, Central High School Constellation, Detroit, Michigan.

[3] Ibid.

For the first time in their lives, these youths of the inner city should be able to look at their school with pride, knowing it is governed exclusively for them, by a man whom their parents chose legitimately to administrate, one who will in turn choose staff that will understand and communicate with them, one who will indeed serve as a "father figure" to those many children who have come from an environment that has not provided any strong male image that they can identify with. Only when minority children can complete their education in a community that is standing in back of them--from a school that is designed to serve their particular needs, and then go out into a world that accepts their diploma from that school as legitimate proof that they are prepared to take their place in either the work world or the academic society--only then can they become confident that integration is truly within their reach.[1]

Further assumptions as stated by the leaders of the movement toward local control include the fact that when control rests with a local community school board made up of representatives of the school and the community, the staff hired by this Board will be accountable to them, that the administrator will have the authority to hire and maintain personnel, and that his duties will be clearly defined by the local board. Through him the school can be under local control, not the control of a Central School Board whose

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[1]Frank Ditto, op. cit.

distance from the local problems is too great to serve these communities which, because of their race and low economic level, are faced with special needs.[1] Any school-community agent or liaison person who is hired should report to the principal and the local board, rather than to a Central School Board.[2] Principals in the schools studied agree that there should be a local community school board to control public education.[3]

It is an obvious assumption that the need is acute--something must be done right now to acquire leaders in the critical areas who can reshape these schools and carry them through.[4] These assumptions, which contribute the motivation of movement, shall be consequently examined.

Methodological Approach

There is not enough empirical evidence either from research on consistent bases or from public documents or other sources to give an adequate overall description and analysis of the total process in this new and ongoing movement of the low-income, racial minority groups to seize control of their urban public schools. The only way left for an individual researcher faced with the situation of research as described is (a) to establish a hypothetical description of the process based on secondary sources and

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[1] Interview with Mr. Wilbert Morrow, Black Student Leader, Northeastern Senior High School, Detroit, Michigan.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Interview with the principals of Central High School, Martin Luther King Senior High School and Northeastern Senior High School.

[4] Frank Ditto, op. cit.

tentative expert interpretation or analysis (Chapter II) and (b) to test these hypothetical descriptions by empirical case studies (Chapter III). The case studies will verify or falsify these various assumptions and will give detailed insight into some aspects of the process which cannot be gained from a simple common-sense approach.

The Case Studies

The problem of the case study approach remains of course its representativeness. Three different cases were chosen to represent three different stages of development: the embryonic state, the transitional stage and the activistic stage.

Considering the limited possibilities of research in the framework of a doctor of philosophy degree dissertation, that is, an individual research effort, the researcher did not attempt to obtain any geographical and socio-demographic representation; the sample of the three case studies was on the contrary chosen in order to describe in a representative way the different phases of the movement under observation, that is, one case study for an initial phase, one for an intermediate phase and the other for an achieved phase.

The results obtained through the case studies cannot pretend to be representative for the whole movement on a nationwide basis. They have only an indicative value. The main value consists in the fact that they allow deeper insight into the process character of the movement. The obtained results of this process character may serve as research hypothesis for further empirical studies.

Selection of the Case Studies

The initial task was to identify three communities in Detroit, Michigan, which were at the three different stages of development toward strong local control of urban public education described above. It was suggested that Martin Luther King, Jr., Senior High School Constellation, Central High School Constellation and the Northeastern High School Constellation would fit the criteria.[1]

The study examines

A. The Planning and Evaluation Council in the Martin Luther King, Jr., Senior High School Constellation, in Detroit, Michigan. The community served by the Martin Luther King, Jr., Senior High School is characterized by a non-white majority (54.9 percent) with low income status (21.7 percent were at less than 2,000 dollars per year in 1965 - TALUS); the residents are heavily blue collar workers (72.4 percent) with relatively low educational level (42.9 percent with eight years or less formal schooling).

   Although the Martin Luther King, Jr., Senior High School had a slight majority of non-white population in 1965, it has had a predominantly black student enrollment, a majority white teaching staff and white administration and it has experienced very acutely, the problem of school failure. The students, their parents and interested citizens have developed the Planning and Evaluation

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[1] Two members of my doctoral committee are native residents of Detroit.

Council to handle the problem of school failure.

B. The Ad Hoc Committee in Northeastern High School Constellation, Detroit, Michigan.

The Northeastern High School Community has a predominantly non-white population (64.9 percent) with low income status (32.3 percent at an annual income of less than 2,000 dollars). About 81.6 percent of the residents in this community are blue collar workers with low level of formal education (53.7 percent had eight or less years of formal education in 1965 - TALUS).

The student enrollment at the Northeastern Senior High School has been predominantly non-white; the administration has been white and the teaching staff has been characteristically predominantly white. The Northeastern High School has not responded to the needs of the community served and both the students, parents and interested citizens have attempted to seize control of the school and make it responsive to them. The Ad Hoc Committee was formed as a result of a crisis at Northeastern High School.

C. The Central Citizens Action Committee in the Central High School Constellation in Detroit, Michigan.

In the 1920's, this community was heavily populated by white Protestant and Catholic families. Between the 1930's and 1940's, the population had shifted dramatically to a majority of Jewish families. By the end of the 1950's the neighborhood had become virtually black and by 1965

the non-white population was about 84.4 percent with relatively low-income status (10.3 percent at less than 2,000 dollars per year) and low-educational level (22.5 percent with eight or less years of formal schooling); and more than 70 percent of its residents are blue collar workers.

In 1967, the Central High School had more than 99 percent non-white enrollment. The school has had a pattern of white administration and predominantly white teaching staff.

The Central High School and community has experienced the problem of school failure and has taken steps to make the school accountable and responsive to the local community through the Central Citizens Action Committee.

Data Collection

Student boycotts of classes, racial violence at school and mini-riots in the Detroit senior high schools were frequently reported on the news in the late 1960's--which indicated to the investigator that it was probably at the senior high school level that the problem of school failure was mostly felt, and that only when things are pretty much under control at this level will the parents and students jointly approach the problem of school failure at the junior high school and the elementary school levels. On the basis of this reasoning, the observer decided to study the takeover of the senior high schools by these communities.

Since the investigator exhibited much personal

interest in the study, the people interviewed were found to be very open and truthful. Men and women in these communities volunteered to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted with the school officials and school-community agents of the schools under study, citizens involved in various organizations and knowledgeable observers of the local-community-school system interaction. Relevant documents, minutes of formal meetings, reports, tapes from participant observers were obtained and examined in each community.

The investigator has been following the development in school-community relations not only in Detroit but also in several other major American cities. His personal collections include tapes, articles and newspaper accounts. He has also attended several workshops and panels on school decentralization of the Detroit public school system.

Issues and Questions to be Answered by the Study

The study addresses itself to the following questions:

1. Are there predictable social indicators and/or commonalities in the pattern of developments toward local control of public education by minority groups?
    a. Are there some clear behavioral expectations if the locus of control remains static, that is, in the hands of the privileged groups?
    b. Are there unique or particular factors in the overall educational structure that parents can legally control?
    c. Does local control have an effect on the curricular and on the academic performance of students? If so, in what ways?

d. Are there visible effects that "local control" has on the learning process?

e. Are there short term social implications if minority groups gain control over their local public schools? Long range?

Limitations of the Study

The limitations inherent in the case study approach have already been discussed above. Furthermore, it has to be considered that the whole study covers a relatively short period of developments which under many regards does not yet allow final statements as to the outcomes of these developments. However, the study might be of an indicative value for important tendencies in current public education and might be useful to assess the educational and social implications of the incumbent decision making in the field of local educational policy.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Review of Literature

School Failure in the Big Cities in General

The present public school systems have failed to train the vast majority of the students to their potential. The Panel on Educational Research and Development of the President's Science Advisory Committee testified that "by all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures."[1] This failure is most visible in urban, low-income, racial-minority ghettoes. In Los Angeles, California, for example, the McCone Commission reported that

> . . . the average student in the fifth grade in schools in the disadvantaged areas is unable to read and understand a daily newspaper or to make use of reading and writing for ordinary purposes of his daily life. The degree of illiteracy seriously impairs his ability to profit from further schooling.[2]

Nationally, the drop-out rate of poor students is more than three times that of students who are better off economically. Havighurst reports show that in 1964 Chicago had a citywide grade six achievement level of 6.2 in reading

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[1]The Panel on Educational Research and Development of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Innovation and Experiment in Education (Washington, D. C., 1964), p. 30.

[2]The New York Times, December 7, 1965, p. 26.

and arithmetic; students from ghetto schools were achieving at a 5.5 level, and suburban students at 7.8 level.

In the seven districts of Chicago with more than 80 per cent poor students, average sixth grade achievement levels stood at 5.5; in the seven districts with less than 7 per cent poor students in their classrooms, sixth grade achievement level stood at 7.2. The citywide I.Q. score in grade six was 99, but it stood a full 19 points higher in the suburbs.[1]

In Pittsburgh, average sixth-grade achievement in June 1964 for ten Pittsburgh ghetto schools was about four years below that of ten suburban Pittsburgh schools in critical skills; about three years below in arithmetic and reading, more than one year below average achievement for the nation in verbal ability, reading and arithmetic, and slightly above average achievement for the nation in spelling.[2]

In the Central Harlem Section of New York City, 21.6 per cent of the third grade students were reading above grade level, and 30 per cent below in 1968. By the sixth grade 11.7 per cent were reading above grade level and 80.9 per cent below. Median equivalent grades in reading comprehension for Central Harlem's third grade students were a year behind the city median and the national norm; by sixth grade, they were two years behind. The same was true of verbal ability.

Central Harlem's students were one and a half years behind the city and the nation by sixth grade in arithmetic

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[1] Robert J. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago (Chicago, 1964), p. 39.

[2] Pittsburgh Board of Public Education, The Quest for Racial Equality in the Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1965, p. 16.

and two years behind city and national norms by eighth grade; third grade I.Q. scores were at 90.6 (national norm = 100), and 86.3 by sixth grade.[1]

Patricia Cayo Sexton in 1961 reported that in Detroit children from families with an income of less than $3,000 were one half year behind average grade achievement in the fourth grade, three quarters of a year behind average grade achievement by the sixth grade, and one and a quarter years behind by eighth grade.[2] When compared to the highest income group ($9,000+) in Detroit, these poor children are 1.36 years behind in fourth grade, 1.82 years behind in sixth grade, and 1.9 years behind in eighth grade.[3]

Some cities have actually brought citywide norms below grade level. Boston's average citywide reading levels fell seven months below grade level in sixth grade.[4] By grade 10, the citywide reading level in Boston was 15 percentiles below the national average in 1965.[5]

Non-White Population Experience
School Failure

Given the above figures which appear to indicate the way major American cities educate their poor, both whites and blacks, it seems legitimate to ask how the blacks fare in the existing system.

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[1] Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (New York, 1964), p. 237.

[2] Patricia Cayo Sexton, Education and Income: Inequalities in Our Public Schools (New York, 1961), p. 28.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Robert Levey, "The Dilemma of Boston Schools," The Boston Globe, December 14, 1965.

[5] Ibid.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on civil disorders provides a general national picture:

> The black record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills--verbal and reading ability--Negro students fall further behind whites with each year of school completed. For example, in the metropolitan Northeast Negro students on the average begin the first grade with somewhat lower scores on standard achievement tests than white, are about 1.6 grades behind by the sixth grade and have fallen 3.3 grades behind white students by the twelfth grade.[1]
>
> The failure of the public schools to equip these students with verbal skills is reflected in their performance on the Selective Service Mental Test. During the period June 1964 - December 1965, 67 per cent of Negro candidates failed the examination. The failure rate for whites was 19 per cent.[2]

In Pittsburgh, of the ten elementary schools whose students were achieving at the lowest reading levels in the city in sixth grade in 1964, three had 100 per cent black enrollment, nine had more than 70 per cent black enrollment, and one had 16.1 per cent black enrollment. Of the ten elementary schools whose students were achieving at the highest reading levels in the city in the sixth grade, three had no blacks, eight had 1 per cent or fewer blacks, and the one with most blacks had 2.8 per cent black enrollment.[3]

The Pittsburgh report further added that

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[1] U.S. Department of H.E.W., Office of Education, Equality of Educational Opportunity (1966), p. 20. This report, generally referred to as the "Coleman Report," was prepared pursuant to Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

[2] U.S. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York, March 1968), p. 425. This report will be referred to as the Kerner Report on subsequent pages.

[3] Pittsburgh Board of Education Report, op. cit., p. 14.

> . . . children enrolled in a number of schools where the pupils are predominantly Negro are averaging as much as 4 to 5 1/2 years (grade equivalents) below children in a number of schools that are substantially white.[1]

The conclusion is that many more blacks than white students drop out of school. This is evidenced by the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders where it is clearly stated that

> In the metropolitan North and West, Negro students are more than three times as likely as white students to drop out of school by age 16-17.[2] As reflected by the high unemployment rate for graduates of ghetto schools and the even higher proportion of unemployed workers who are in low-skilled, low-paid jobs, many of those who do graduate are not equipped to enter the normal job market and have great difficulty securing employment.[3]

Opinions about the Locus of School Failure

Opinions differ as to the locus of the problem of public school failure. On the one hand is the widely shared assumption that the failure of any child to learn lies primarily with the learner. Under this assumption, any attempts at the problem have been directed almost entirely toward the shortcomings of the learners' physical, economic, cultural, or environmental inadequacies.

Approaches to Intervention

Consistent with this view are the following basic

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Coleman Report, op. cit., p. 31. (Also quoted in the Kerner Report, p. 425.)

[3] Kerner Report, op. cit., p. 426.

approaches to intervention:

1) Compensatory Education, which includes such efforts as the Great Cities School Improvement Programs, Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, New York City's early Higher Horizons Program, and the recent More Effective Schools Program.

In the main, these programs merely deal with symptoms rather than with the real causes of school failures. Compensatory education is essentially an additive approach that works by augmenting and strengthening existing programs. The assumption here is that the schools need to do more for poor students but nothing presumed that the school itself needs rehabilitation.

Although great efforts, ingenuity and money have gone into compensatory education, it is viewed with increasing distrust by the low-income, racial-minority parents, not only because the programs have failed, but also because these parents are rejecting the belief that the fault lies in their children.[1]

2) Desegregation Approach. A principal motivating factor in efforts toward integration since the 1954 Supreme Court decision has been the notion that low-income, racial-minority students' achievement improves in an integrated school environment. The U.S. Commission on civil rights is in strong support of this assumption when it says:

> Negro children suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation may be. Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools do not achieve as well as other children, Negro

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[1] Mario Fantini. The Ford Foundation. Discussion, Harvard Educational Review (Winter, 1968), p. 162.

and white.[1]

Further, the Coleman Report found that

> If a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase.[2]

In other words, both class and race factors have a strong bearing on educational achievement; the ghetto student labors under a double burden.

Like the Compensatory Education Approach, integration has failed. The major reason for its failure was the massive white resistance, coupled with the growing concentration in the inner city of low-income, racial minority groups. Metropolitan integration across present school boundaries seems unrealistic. Presently, these low-income, racial-minority groups are not interested in integration at the option of the white majority.[3]

3) A model subsystem, which operates on the assumption that the educational system and the learner should share responsibility for school failure, represents substantial progress toward a realization that "more-of-the-same" approaches have limited utility. For instance, projects under government subsidy (Titles III and IV of the elementary and secondary education act) are seeking to create subsystems on a regional basis, through consortia of institutions. The Jerrold Zacharias' report to the U.S. Commissioner of Education in March, 1964, probably led to the creation of a model

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[1] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 1.

[2] Coleman Report, op. cit., p. 21.

[3] Mario Fantini, op. cit., p. 162.

subsystem in the Washington, D. C. public schools. A similar project was undertaken at about the same time in Syracuse, New York, public schools--the Madison Area Project--and later in the Boston public school system. Included in this category are the three recent experimental school clusters in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Intermediate School 201 complex. The major difference between these and earlier subsystems is that they are governed by community-based boards, although they must still seek ultimate approval on a number of basic decisions from the Central Board of Education.

Some colleges and universities are also involved in these projects. In New York City, for example, New York University, Teachers College and the Yeshiva University have been involved with single schools or clusters of schools. Antioch College has helped the Adams-Morgan School in Washington and is adopting schools in Philadelphia and Dayton, Ohio.

Although subsystems are developing rapidly, there is little evidence to demonstrate success to any significant extent. This is due, in part, to internal problems in the organizational framework within which they seek change. They lack the autonomy and freedom to implement their findings. Their threat to the main system invokes curtailment of their freedom to explore (which frequently means breaking the rule). Very often, they depend on imported consultants who are not integral members of the existing structure. Directors of subsystems often revert to bureaucratic rigidity and are more likely to identify with the larger system that authorized the program (i.e., with the status quo) rather than with those for whom the experiment is designed.

Pressures to produce immediately do not only come from the system but also from vested interests who are ready

to label it a failure if no visible achievement records are turned in within a year or two.

However, whether the subsystem is dependent or largely autonomous, it is not likely to have any significant impact on the total large bureaucratic system because of its fragmented educational package.[1]

4) Parallel systems operate under the assumption that if the poor cannot reform public education, they should be afforded options on it. Notable examples of parallel systems include Neil Sullivan's School for Negro Pupils, deprived of educational opportunity when the Prince Edward County, Virginia, public schools closed to avoid integration; Harlem's Academies of Transition; the New School for Children in Boston (Roxbury Section) and the Urban League sponsored street academies.

It is interesting to note that in 1967 the Massachusetts Legislature approved an act enabling the State Department of Education to assist and sponsor experimental school systems managed by private non-profit corporations.

Project Headstart schools are also "private" in the sense that they exist apart from the public school system and are not subject to its rules and regulations governing personnel, curriculum and other matters. Some of these schools have Federal tuition grants and foundation funds, and efforts are being made to obtain support for others from business and industry.

Although private schools have many advantages, they are basically an avoidance of the challenge to reform the schools where most children will continue to be educated. Since they lack public control, there are no guarantees

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[1] Ibid.

against the organization of programs by special interest groups for ends opposed to a free and open society. If the already existing private schools have closed their doors to low-income, racial-minority students, it is very unlikely that future private schools, even though publicly supported, will welcome minority children.

5) Total System Reform is the latest and perhaps the most marketable today. There are several approaches to it:

a) Provision of new leadership for the system as a whole, while leaving basically intact the system's form and structure. This is the trend in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

b) Decentralization, a reorganization of the system into quasi-autonomous districts. An example of this is found in Washington, D. C.

c) Consolidation of quasi-autonomous subdistricts into one single system, e.g., the Louisville-Jefferson County experiment where each of the partners starts out with an equitable share of resources, instructional practices operating in an open, competitive market.[1]

The outcome of these experiments is still to be seen.

The Failure of Educational Integration in Historical Perspective

Proponents of total integration as an answer to needs of all children in schools are noble in thought but the racial

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[1] Ibid.

poor cannot wait. Here we see the snail's pace at which integration has moved thus far.

The Rate of School District Desegregation in the Southern and Border States Compared

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, integration in most southern cities has proved elusive, if not impossible. According to Table 1 on page 25, Mississippi was the slowest of all the southern states to begin to implement the Supreme Court's decision. After a decade, only 3 per cent of its school districts achieved token desegregation. South Carolina and Alabama started to desegregate their school districts a year earlier than Mississippi and that with one and four per cent, and in 1964 South Carolina became 17 per cent desegregated while Alabama was 8 per cent desegregated. Georgia started in 1961 with 0.5 per cent, and remained so through 1962. In 1963 she stepped up to 2 per cent and in 1964 Georgia was 17 per cent desegregated. Louisiana started with 2 per cent desegregated school districts in 1960 and kept that pace through 1962. In 1963, it was 3 per cent desegregated in 1964 4 per cent desegregated. Arkansas was 1 per cent desegregated in 1954, remained at that in 1955. In 1956, it was 2 per cent desegregated. From 1957 through 1961, it marked time at 4 per cent desegregation. It became 5 per cent desegregated in 1962, 6 per cent in 1963 and 11 per cent in 1964. Florida started late also in 1959 with 2 per cent and remained so through 1960. In 1961, it was 7 per cent desegregated, 15 per cent in 1962, 24 per cent in 1963 and 33 per cent in 1964. West Virginia deserves mention in its efforts to implement the 1954 Supreme Court's decision. It had 68 per cent desegregated school districts

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS DESEGREGATED
BY YEAR FROM 1954 TO 1964*

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
W. Virginia	68	80	95	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Maryland	4	48	87	91	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Missouri	47	47	79	86	86	93	93	95	95	95	95
Kentucky	0	21	61	64	70	73	83	83	89	99	100
Oklahoma	0	33	76	80	75	75	79	81	81	81	66
Delaware	17	19	21	29	33	37	47	100	100	100	100
Texas	0	10	12	17	17	17	18	17	19	29	52
Virginia	0	0	0	0	3	5	9	16	25	43	64
N. Carolina	0	0	0	2	2	4	6	6	10	23	51
Tennessee	0	1	1	2	2	3	5	13	19	32	45
Arkansas	1	1	2	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	11
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	7	15	24	33
Louisiana	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	3	4
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	2	17
S. Carolina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17
Alabama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	8
Mississippi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

*Abstract is taken from the Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville Statistical Summary of School Segregation - Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, 1964, p. 70.

in 1954, 80 per cent in 1955, 95 per cent in 1966 and 100 per cent in 1957 through 1964. Maryland attained 100 per cent desegregation in 1958 while Delaware achieved 100 per cent desegregated school districts in 1961 and Kentucky in 1964.

A review of the years following the Supreme Court's historic school segregation decision of May 17, 1954, reveals a vacillating pattern of evolution from a period of confused resistance, through periods of procrastination and gradualism, to token desegregation of some of the southern and border states' public school systems. Statistically, the southern states have made little progress in desegregation. In spite of the apparent poor showing, the fact remains that a start has been made. However, recent developments indicate that the rate of desegregation may continue at a slow pace in many southern states.

In the first ten years after the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases, the number of black pupils attending school with white students in the seventeen southern and border states increased at an average rate of about 1 per cent per year.[1] By the end of 1964-1965 school year, 10.9 per cent of black students in this region were in biracial classrooms--an increase of 1.7 per cent over the 1963-1964 figure (9.2 per cent), which in turn represented an increase of 1.2 per cent over 1962-1963. In 1965-66, however, the first school year in which the U.S. government's Title VI became effective, the percentage of Negro students in biracial schools in the southern and border state regions increased to 15.9 per cent.[2]

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[1] Jim Leeson, "Faster Pace, Searcer Records," Southern Education Report (Jan.-Feb. 1966), 28-30.

[2] Ibid.

There is a marked contrast between progress in the South and in the border region. Up through the 1962-63 school year, less than 1 per cent of the black students in the eleven southern states of the Old Confederacy attended school with white students. The 1 per cent mark was passed in 1963-64 and almost doubled in 1964-65, to 2.25 per cent. For 1965-66 school year, the percentage more than doubled, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service, reaching 6.01 per cent.[1]

In contrast, the six border states and the District of Columbia desegregated at a faster rate than the southern states. By 1961-63, more than half of the black students in the border region were attending the biracial schools. The annual rate of change in this region was about 3 per cent per year. By 1964-65, the border area had 58.3 per cent of its black students enrolled in schools with white students. By 1965-66, the figure was 68.9 per cent--an increase of more than 10 percentage points over the previous year.[2]

In the 1966-67 school year, the trend continued to be favorable. The overall comparative percentage breakdown for 1965-66 and 1966-67, using the Office of Education estimates, is shown in Table 2 on page 28. The percentages in four of the five Deep South states are shown in Table 3, on page 28.

During the 1966-67 school year, in the seventeen southern and border states, 17.3 per cent of the black children were attending schools which were less than 95 per cent black. In several border states the percentages of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS
WHICH ARE NOT ALL BLACK

States	1965-66	1966-67
17 Southern and Border States	15.1	24.4
11 Southern States	7.5	16.9
6 Border States	65.6	67.8

Source: Abstract taken from the U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, December 6, 1966.

In four of the five Deep South states the percentages were as follows:

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS
WHICH ARE NOT ALL BLACK

State	1965	1966
Mississippi	0.4	3.2
Louisiana	0.6	3.5
South Carolina	1.5	6.0
Georgia	2.4	9.9

Source: Abstract taken from the U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, December 6, 1966.

black children attending these schools are:

a) 88.5 per cent in Kentucky;

b) 84.8 per cent in Delaware;

c) 83.4 per cent in West Virginia;

d) 40.5 per cent in Maryland;

e) 40.5 per cent in Oklahoma; and

f) 26.7 per cent in Missouri.

In Delaware, Kentucky and West Virginia a large majority of black pupils attend schools which are less than 80 per cent black. In Kentucky, a majority attend schools which are less than 20 per cent black. In one of the southern states, Texas, 32 per cent of the black pupils attend schools which are less than 80 per cent black.[1]

If the past is prologue, a totally desegregated state and regionwide public school system is not likely to appear in the south and border states in the foreseeable future, unless forced by court decrees.

De Facto Segregation in the Northern States

Protests of racial segregation in northern states by racial-minority parents have been mounting in number and with vehemence since the decision of the Federal District Court in the New Rochelle case of

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[1] U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, December 6, 1966.

January of 1961.[1] These growing pressures on school authorities of the north say that it is not necessary to go to the South to find white parents resistant to school integration.

On June 30, 1969, the New York Times reported that white parents in St. Louis appeared at a school board hearing to oppose implementation of the recommendations of the board's citizen committee to lessen segregation in the schools.[2]

White parents in Montclair, New Jersey, have brought action in the Federal district opposing changes made in the school organization to reduce segregation in September 1962 as unconstitutional.[3]

In May 1963, the blacks picketed the Thaddeus Stevens Elementary School, an all-black school in Twin Oaks, Pennsylvania, carrying signs: "Jim Crow must go," "Twin Oaks, Alabama," and "We've stopped talking and started walking." The school, which is the object of the complaints, had three black teachers and fifty-seven black pupils. The local black leaders claim that the school board promised in November 1962 to submit a plan to end the segregation of these black pupils by March 15, but that it had voted in May to

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[1] Taylor v. Board of Education of New Rochelle, 191 F. Supp. 181 (S.D. N.Y., 1961), 6 Race Relations Legal Representation 90 (1961).

[2] New York Times, June 30, 1963, p. 44.

[3] New York Times, July 6, 1963, p. 5.

postpone action for another year.[1]

In Cincinnati, between 1955 and 1958 school years, about 750 black pupils were transported five and one half miles across Cincinnati to a ninety-eight per cent black school in a black neighborhood. There were, however, closer "white schools" with available space. Official explanation: it preserved the neighborhood school concept. In this case, the neighborhood school concept involved keeping all children from the same neighborhood together, regardless of where they attend school.[2]

In Milwaukee, the school system had bussed white children for many years, picking them up near their homes, returning them at the end of the day, and almost invariably integrating them into classes at the receiving school. The practice, however, changed in 1957 when the school system began bussing black children to predominantly white schools. The black children were kept in separate classrooms at the receiving schools. They were also returned home for lunch even when the receiving schools had lunchroom facilities.[3]

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[1] New York Times, May 21, 1963, p. 22.

[2] Deal v. Cincinnati Board of Education, 244 F. Supp. 572 (S.D. Ohio, 1965).

[3] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Milwaukee Race and Education Study, Prepared by the Social Development Corp., 1966.

This practice of keeping separate the black children who are bussed has continued in Milwaukee but now black pupils are permitted to remain at the receiving schools for lunch.[1]

In Cleveland, the school board's policy on bussing developed against a background of conflicting community protest. As a result of rapidly increasing black enrollment, both double-session classes in black schools and an extensive school construction program were begun in the late 1950's. While awaiting the completion of new school buildings, nearly 2,000 black elementary school pupils from six majority-black schools were bussed to four under-utilized schools, three of which were nearly all-white and the fourth desegregated.[2] During the 1962-63 school year, the black pupils bussed to these under-utilized schools were kept in separate classes.

In September 1963, after local civil rights groups protested against keeping the bussed children separate, the school board pledged fullest possible incorporation of these students into the receiving schools consistent with sound educational policy, but left the timetable for implementation up to the school administration.[3] The school board's proposal to desegregate the bussed pupils was vigorously opposed at a meeting with school officials called by P.T.A. at one of the white receiving schools.[4]

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[1] Milwaukee Sentinel, January 31, 1964, pt. 1, p. 3.

[2] Cleveland Board of Education, Annual School Housing and Building Program Reports, 1961-63, 1962-63.

[3] App. pp. 247 a, Craggett v. Board of Education (Cleveland), 234 F. Supp. 381 (N.D. Ohio, 1964).

[4] Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 16, 1963, p. 7.

The 1963-64 school year began with the bussed pupils still being kept separate from the school children in the receiving schools. In February 1964, after picketing by civil rights groups, the school board adopted a resolution to desegregate the classes by September, but the children were no longer to be sent to white schools.[1] Rather, they would be sent to nearby black schools. After further protest by civil rights groups, a compromise agreement was reached calling for the immediate desegregation of the bussed classes. At the same time, the school board announced that it would terminate the bussing as soon as possible, announcing a speed-up in the construction of three new schools designed to absorb the bussed black children. On March 9, 1964, the bussed classes were desegregated without incident.

Minority Aspirations Frustrated

Underlying the initial push for integration in the schools by blacks was the assumption of black parents that those parents in predominantly white schools exercised enough power to insure that the schools offered quality education--an education in which racial-minority students should share. Such integration--and the assumptions that went with it--worked in theory but not in practice. Blacks were permitted in the school system, but did not actually benefit from the "quality education" since it had not been geared to their needs. Furthermore, there was a lack of

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[1]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in Cleveland Public Schools, A Study prepared by Western Reserve Reserve University, Part II, p. 44 (Picketing). Resolution No. 30576, Board of Education, adopted February 10, 1964.

communication between the faculty from a white culture and the minority group children. Moreover, the minorities had gained no power themselves to influence this situation for their own benefit. Their children's needs were not met and because there was nothing they could do about it, the minority became only further alienated from good education and from the majority society as a whole.[1]

The black people in America believed with Thomas Jefferson that the role of education is

> . . . to bring into action that mass of talents which lies buried in poverty in every county for want of means of development, and thus give activity to a mass of mind, which in proportion to our population, shall be the double or treble of what it is in most countries.[2]

This dream, the blacks and other racial minority groups had been unable to realize in the South because of segregative practices. After the second world war, the blacks moved up north in large numbers to the central cities while the whites were moving out of the cities to the suburbs. While in the North, the blacks had better opportunity to attend school than ever before and with rising expectations whetted by post-war nationalist movements in other parts of the world, they began to send their children to school in such numbers that black youth now constitute the major part of the school population in most of the inner cities.

But the more low-income, racial minority group students finished high school, the more they discovered that extended education was not open to them--in the words of

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[1]Interview with William C. Loving, School Community Agent, Central High School, Detroit, Michigan.

[2]Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Mr. Correa, November 25, 1817, in The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington ed. 1854), pp. 94-95.

Horace Mann, the "great equalizer of the conditions of men--the balance wheel of the social machinery."[1] They had not learned enough to prepare them for college.

On the job market they soon discovered that the same piece of paper which qualified white high school graduates for the white-collar jobs only meant blacks could be tested and found wanting for those same jobs. They had not learned enough to find a good job.

The Kerner Commission reports that in Detroit

> high school diplomas from inner city schools were regarded by personnel directors as less than valid. In July, unemployment was at a five-year peak. In the 12th street area it was estimated to be between 12 and 15 per cent for black men and 30 per cent or higher for those under 25.
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> . . . . . .
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> In the fall of 1967, a study conducted at one inner city high school, Northwestern, showed that, although 50 per cent of the dropouts had found work, 90 per cent of the 1967 graduating class was unemployed.[2]

Urban, low-income, racial-minority parents are in a state of hopelessness and helplessness as the educational deterioration of their children goes unabated. To whom can they turn? When school administrators and teachers were approached for some explanation, they claimed that "there is nothing wrong with the system; only the wrong kinds of children have shown up." Parents have lost faith in the system of public education where answers like this are given. To allow this state of affairs to continue for long is to participate in what they refer to as "educational genocide."

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[1] "Twelfth Annual Report of Horace Mann as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1848)," in Documents of American History, ed. Commager, 1958, p. 318.

[2] Kerner Report, op. cit., p. 90.

Curriculum Tracking and Homogeneous Grouping

The Detroit High School Study Commission Report on one of the predominantly black high schools in 1967 said:

> . . . a great percentage, approximately 3-1 or 4-1, are general students. Most of these general students are put into tracks which fail to prepare them for future schooling, training or future jobs.[1]

Speaking of the same high school, the report continues:

> . . . many honor roll students have not been able to pass entrance tests to Wayne University. However, still greater concern is in the field of employment after graduation. One company indicated that only 5 per cent of the female applicants from a particular high school were hired and 75 per cent were rejected (the remaining 20 per cent expressed no interest in taking the job offered). The most common reason for rejection was the inability to pass a simple test.[2]

According to the 1963, February 3 Detroit News, Oak Park, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit, draws all of its black pupils from the lowest income group and all the white pupils are middle and upper middle class. Eighty per cent of the white graduates from Oak Park's public high school go to college, while the majority of the black youths qualified only for terminal education. In achievement tests given to fourth grade pupils in October of 1962, the system average in Oak Park was in the top 13 percentile nationally; the black children within its school districts were in the bottom 5 percentile nationally. In all tests, the average scores were six months to almost a year above grade level by the Iowa tests of basic skills. The black children scored six months to a year below grade level.[3]

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[1] The High School Study Commission (Eastern High School) Report, pp. 3-17.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Oak Park School District, The Status of Racial Integration in the Oak Park School District, Jan. 1963, p. 4.

Neighborhood School Concept Advanced in the North

The method most commonly used in city school systems to determine which children particular schools should serve is that of geographical zoning. Residential segregation results in racially unmixed schools in American cities.

The "neighborhood" school policy operates on the assumption that persons of like racial background ought to live together and should send their children to schools where there are mostly others of the same group. Racial similarity then appears to be the character of the "neighborhood" school concept and consequently those who opt for it may either consciously or unconsciously support the concept of the de facto school segregation.

However, because of the high mobility rate within the American society and the longer distances city residents have to travel to work and other business, the self-contained, cohesive neighborhoods no longer exist, nor do school authorities base their attendance policy on them.

Within recent years, in almost every city, the size of attendance areas has grown smaller, not because it is necessary today for children to attend schools closer to their homes than in the past, but as a result of increasing density.

School attendance areas are prescribed, not by rigid formulas, but through the discretion of school authorities. Their decisions may either intensify or lessen racial segregation in schools.

In some northern cities, decisions have been made to reduce racial segregation. Frequently, however, the effect has been the reverse.

In New Rochelle, New York, gerrymandering of the attendance boundaries for the predominantly black Lincoln Elementary School began in 1930. An all-white irregular corridor was carved out of the Lincoln zone and placed in an adjacent all-white zone. In the years that followed, the black population expanded and the boundary lines for the Lincoln school were extended to contain the black children within the Lincoln zone. In 1961, the courts held this practice to be a violation of the 14th amendment.[1]

Thus the system of geographic school attendance, imposed upon segregated housing patterns, provides the broad base for racial segregation in the north. As geographical attendance areas have become smaller and residential segregation has intensified, city schools have become more socially and racially homogeneous. At the same time, the concept of neighborhood has been changing. Greater population mobility and significant changes in the pattern of urban life generally have tended to diffuse traditional neighborhood patterns. In city school systems, on the other hand, children attend schools closer to their homes than in the past. Today geographical school zoning in itself is the basis for persistently high levels of school segregation.

Minorities Taste Involvement

The success of involvement of the poor with planning of government programs that affect their lives has brought them to believe that they can participate in still other matters that concern them--such as education. For instance, the Office of Economic Opportunity has funded over 700 multi-

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[1] Taylor v. Board of Education, 191 F. Supp. 181 (S.D. N.Y.), Aff'd 294 F. 2d 36 (2nd Cir), Cert. denied, 368 U.S. 940 (1961).

service centers in inner-city neighborhoods nationwide since 1964. In order to assure that service centers are relevant to the "needs and styles" of the community served, inner-city residents have been trained and employed at all levels. This is made possible through the establishment and involvement of community service center councils which establish the overall policy.

The basic assumption of the program was that community action programs be developed, conducted and administered with "maximum feasible participation" of the residents of the neighborhoods served.

In Detroit, for example, the Model Neighborhood program began in May, 1968, with an election held in the Model Neighborhood which designated 102 area representatives to form a Model Neighborhood Citizens Governing Board. In the following months, this Board devoted itself intensely to organizing, electing officers, defining directions and sanctions. On September 18, 19 and 20, the Governing Board met in conference with representatives of nearly all of the major service agencies in the city of Detroit. The agency representatives acted as resources to provide amplification and explanations to the residents as needed. This conference gave the neighborhood representatives an opportunity to express dissatisfaction with the "system," enumerate problems, and suggest solutions.

In the months following the conference, citizens, in cooperation with many resource agencies and the Model Neighborhood Agency staff, developed eleven reports as evaluations and analyses of the defined problem-area categories: housing, employment, education, health, commerce and industry, crime and delinquency, public and social

services, public facilities, recreation and culture, transportation, and community communications, citing causes, setting goals and objectives within these goals. In October, the reports were submitted to the Citizens Governing Board and the City of Detroit Common Council. Both bodies approved the reports which were then submitted to the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, D. C. Washington granted a total grant of 20.5 million dollars, the Federal government paying 80 per cent, and the city of Detroit 20 per cent. It is a five-year program.

This, and similar Federally-funded programs, are operating in Detroit and other major American cities with considerable success.

The foregoing illustrates the participation and leadership that local community people have been permitted to share. Because of the success of sharing this leadership in OEO programs the people were made to believe that the same kind of choice of leadership and responsibility should be found in the school.

Minority Student Participation in Political Process

Black high school students have been the vanguard in this movement primarily because they have been the most neglected. However, all students are now making demands to have a voice in determining their destiny.

Spill-Over Effects of Events in New York

In the fall of 1966, black parents in the Harlem I.S. 201 community, abandoning the struggle for integration as the key to better education for their children, began to

demand the control of their schools.

In July, 1967, the New York Board of Education succumbing to black pressures established three experimental school districts, including I.S. 201 and Ocean Hill, Brownsville, with the financial assistance of Ford Foundation. Local community governing boards were set up comprising parents, teachers, supervisors and community representatives. Each school district chose a unit supervisor and developed an operational plan which was later submitted to the Board of Education. The powers sought by all three governing boards included, but were not limited to the following:

1. Hiring and firing of both instructional and administrative staffs.
2. Determining curriculum and methods of instruction.
3. Budgetary allocations.
4. Making supplementary contract agreements with the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

With the election of Mr. Rhody McCoy (black) as unit administrator, both UFT and the Council of Supervisory Associations brought suit against the eight new principals appointed by the Board on the grounds that they were not from the Civil Service list. At the beginning of the 1967-68 school year, 100 teachers left. During March and April, particularly at JHS 271, many UFT teachers neither taught nor supervised. They simply appeared at class. The Brownsville local governing board met with the mayor, union officials, the State Commissioner of Education, the Board of Education, and the Superintendent of Schools, informing them of the crisis. None of these groups offered to transfer the 19 teachers who were directly responsible for the

crisis, so on May 19, in the midst of chaos, the local board transferred the nineteen troublemakers. In support of these nineteen, 350 of the 550 UFT teachers in the district went on strike for six weeks taking with them such school properties as records and roll books of the pupils.

Negotiations continued but to no avail. The nineteen teachers were examined by officials and declared qualified, the 350 teachers paid full salary while on strike, police were supplied to enforce the return of the nineteen to Ocean Hill-Brownsville against the will of the community. The Central School Board suspended the local governing board, along with Mr. McCoy and the eight principals because they had allegedly committed an illegal act in firing the teachers.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville community, determined to fight to the end in the face of oppression and intimidation, refused to take back the nineteen teachers, but rather interviewed and hired other teachers with whom these schools were kept functioning while the UFT kept the rest of New York City schools closed.[1]

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville case has become notorious in the realm of public education because it is the first time that low-income minority people have risen in the face of white majority in control of teaching, administrating, and unions. Blacks, in the face of all this struggle until they accomplished an unheard-of feat, kept their local schools open when everyone else failed to bug the teachers and their union. This new-found knowledge of their capabilities whetted their appetite for complete control of

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[1]Grace Boggs, "Towards a New System of Education," foresight bullet-ins (1969), pp. iv-vi.

their local schools. Further, this courageous community set an example for other minorities all over the United States.

Minority Control as Perceived Remedy for School Failure

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville crisis, which started as a modest experiment to decentralize the nation's largest school system, became a major confrontation involving nearly every aspect of the urban dilemma: race, poverty, and fear. What began as Ocean Hill-Brownsville, New York City confrontation has now become a national phenomenon. Detroit and other major cities have the beginnings of the same problem. School decentralization and local community control have become a priority demand of black communities in virtually all of the nation's cities.

Divergent Opinions about the Phenomenon of Local Control

This phenomenon of "black control over black schools for black communities" emerging from the school crisis arose both fear and hope: the low-income racial minority groups fearing and distrusting existing school board members, administrators and teachers because they represent the white majority establishment that has denied their children quality education.

Evidence of school failure has accumulated over the years; the present urban public school systems across America have failed to be responsive to the needs and aspirations of black and other racial-minority communities and these communities have finally come to the realization that any

real change in the quality of education their children receive involves a complete change in control of the school systems.

On the other hand, the majority controlling central boards, and the teachers' unions fear that local community control will uncap a reservoir of black frustration and bitterness that have accumulated over the years due to the segregative practices by the white majority. Others, not directly concerned with the school system, view this phenomenon of local control as planned disruptive Communist movement penetrating even into the most traditional American institutions like the school and then the eventual takeover of all "great" American institutions.

Forms of Minority Control

This emerging conflict between urban school bureaucracies and local communities is becoming widespread. Basic to these conflicts is the question of how can an urban, low-income, racial-minority lay group participate in the control of urban public education. A certain provincialism characterizes many of these phenomena, as each community in each city moves toward an eventual self-determination and control in educational matters.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the Second Ward Civil League is an informal community organization of residents of a poor black neighborhood, non-resident businessmen and other interested in the area. Not having formal members, the group attracts more than 150 persons whenever the chairman calls a meeting. It has successfully worked for a new school in the neighborhood, a new park, a parent-child center, legislative redistricting to give black representation to the

community, adult education and headstart programs in the neighborhood and peaceful integration of two local schools. Although the group is not school sponsored, a neighborhood principal is the key influential within it. The tactic used is to work quietly and present "needs, not demands" to authorities in positions to respond.[1]

Perry Homes Residents occupy the largest public housing development in Atlanta. Parents and others interested in education in the area have caused the Board of Education to build more schools, add libraries, shop facilities, and cafeterias in schools where they were needed; provide Title 1 programs and other special services. Organized on an ad hoc issue basis they regularly seize opportunities to make their needs known to public officials during formal and informal meetings. The Perry Homes Residents leaders have threatened to picket the schools, but have not done so due to their past successes in negotiating agreements with school authorities.[2]

Operation Exodus in Boston, Massachusetts, is a "grass roots" organization created in 1965 with the efforts of parents to bus black children from ghetto schools to less-crowded schools in white neighborhoods. It has matured and expanded, and presently has a black Board of Directors made up of business, parent and professional leaders in Roxbury and employs a staff of skilled black administrators. Its program includes but is not limited to the following:

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[1] Luvern L. Cunningham and Raphael O. Nystrand, Citizen Participation in School Affairs, A Report to the Urban Coalition, June 1969, pp. 84-85.

[2] Ibid.

a. a community organizer program which employs black organizers to solicit community backing for the group;
b. a cultural enrichment program;
c. a referral program for jobs, psychological help, and other services;
d. an investigations department which seeks out information about legitimate black complaints and tries to aid in resolving these complaints.[1]

In Chicago, Illinois, the Woodlawn Community Board developed the Woodlawn Experimental District and has continually served as the operating advisory group for the Woodlawn experimental district. Woodlawn is a poor black neighborhood immediately south of the University of Chicago campus. Its board, composed of powerful and once-antagonistic groups, is comprised of seven delegates from each of the three organizations: the Chicago Public Schools, the Woodlawn Organization, and the University of Chicago. Voting within the Board on critical issues is by delegation; the vote of any one delegation may veto proposals by the others. This provision has led to enormous efforts in board meeting discussions to resolve disagreements and achieve consensus.

Although in its formative years, it has already dealt effectively with several significant issues, such as a resolution to retain the tripartite arrangement established to develop the proposal as a basis for governing the experimental program, choice of schools to be served by the program, and key personnel assignments. They are developing improved ways for students and parents to participate

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[1] Ibid., p. 87.

in planning.[1]

In Columbus, Ohio, the Ad Hoc Committee of Parents for Quality Education was initiated by a group of parents whose children attend a local ghetto school. The parents realized, from personal experience and a report by the Urban League, that there was a widespread disparity of achievement among inner-city and out-city schools. Aided by representatives of the Urban League and the NAACP, the Ad Hoc Committee developed a list of demands (e.g., a library in the local school, a hot lunch and breakfast program, a more meaningful P.T.A.) that was presented to the Board of Education. Displeased with that reaction of school officials the Committee sponsored the first school boycott in Columbus' history in October of 1967. More than 300 children attended freedom schools that were set up that day and did not attend their regular schools.

These activities of the Committee received wide attention and support for inner-city school improvements. Program improvements began as early as 1968, eventually leading to a comprehensive study of local school programs by school officials. Following this study and its endorsement by the Board of Education, persons who were active in the now disbanded Ad Hoc Committee joined with other community leaders to support a successful campaign for an increase of more than twenty per cent in school operating funds.[2]

In Los Angeles, California, the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee was created by leaders in the city's Mexican-American community during the high school students'

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[1] Ibid., p. 89.

[2] Ibid., p. 92.

protest boycott. The Committee was an outgrowth of neighborhood dissatisfaction with school system response to the student protest. The Committee has presented a list of grievances and holds regular weekly meetings. Attendance at meetings ranges from 75 to 200 persons, most of whom are parents. Through the group's influence, a neighborhood high school teacher who had been transferred to a downtown office job because he was an alleged leader of the student boycotts was reinstated. They successfully urged the transfer of at least one teacher out of a neighborhood school. They are regularly consulted by the school officials on school-community relations.[1]

In New York City the Two Bridges Model School District includes five schools which serve a heterogeneous neighborhood on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Its early planning included five teachers (one from each of the five schools), the teachers' union district chairman, five parents (one from each school), a parent representative from the United Parents Association of New York City, and six community representatives elected by the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council. The project was approved by the City Board of Education in the summer of 1967. It was foundation supported.

There have been disagreements among parents over the extent to which they should work within or outside established school channels, parent-teacher conflict over plans to control teacher employment and evaluate teacher performance, ambiguity about the role of principals and assistant principals in the project. The governing board, elected in December of 1967, is to have general control of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 104-105.

the schools within the district, work closely with the New York Board of Education to determine jointly policy on matters regarding budget, zoning, curriculum, evaluation and audit procedures. As yet there is no agreement regarding the meaning of "jointly."[1]

The Citizens Committee on Public Education in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (CCPEP) was established in 1958 to bring public pressure on a school system criticized by reform-minded citizens for emphasizing economy rather than education. Incorporated under the charter of a former citizens' group, the group hired an executive director and began the campaign to change the method for selecting local Board of Education members. It has an open membership policy. Members include housewives, clergymen, businessmen and attorneys. Most of its business is handled by the executive director and twelve-man executive committee. They take a stand on issues affecting education and mobilize support from a wide range of civic-minded groups.

The Education Committee of the Areawide Council officially represents the population in the section of North Philadelphia designated by the city as its target area for participation in the Federal model cities program. Membership includes representatives of community organizations in the area and other interested citizens. The committee has formally requested the school system to be allowed to become an "integral part of the total planning process" involving schools in the area. In answer to this request, the superintendent wrote, "Because they (Areawide Council) are the most broadly representative organization in the North Philadelphia area." The Committee has helped plan a summer

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[1] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

youth employment program and a new high school for the area. They have also conducted a neighborhood survey of community attitudes about school affairs and have worked with representatives of the school system and Temple University to establish an institute that will prepare teachers to teach in the model neighborhood.[1]

The Ad Hoc Committee completed its work by the end of the 1967-68 school year and then submitted a proposal to the Board of Education to create an ongoing school advisory body. Their resolution was approved but subject to yearly review of committee performance by the Board of Education. Membership includes ten elected parents, three teachers, the principal, eight representatives of civic and community groups in the area and three members of the original Ad Hoc Pickett Committee to guarantee continuity and maximum communication. Their obligations include: to review and evaluate programs presented by the community and the principal, suggest recommended programs to the principal and "establish in collaboration with the principal criteria for the evaluation of his leadership." The Committee and the District Superintendent will use these criteria and "share equally an official annual review of the principal's performance." The principal may discuss these evaluations, and also has the right of appeal to the Superintendent of Schools if he so desires. Only the principal can select and evaluate teachers.

In Rockford, Illinois, the Save Our Children Committee (SOC), created in spring, 1968, as community effort to remedy undesirable conditions in the Junior High School by a nucleus community organization of leaders and parents of pupils from the Junior High School. About 500 people were

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[1] Ibid., p. 112.

mobilized and organized to protest low student achievement and harsh disciplinary treatment attributed to some faculty members. They demanded a reduction in class sizes, black history teachers, recognition of minority group achievements in the curriculum, more black teachers, counselors and administrators, more male teachers, special classes in discipline for students and parents, school-community department, and a neighborhood controlling board. After a day of student boycott and several days of picketing, while negotiations were going on between the Board of Education and SOC Committee, agreement was reached to improve the educational program at the Washington Junior High School, the creation of a neighborhood advisory board, and an ombudsman to the school community.[1]

Analytical Conclusions from Review of the Literature

From the related literature the study proceeds to attempt to analyse the overall situation in order to draw assumptions for the detailed case studies.

The Situation of Minority Education Prior to the Reform Attempts

From all noted sources it was found that minority education is characterized by:

a. Lower academic standards.
b. Greater dropout rates.
c. Irrelevancy to post-school life of students as proved by the low value of diplomas.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

Attempts to Change the Situation

All attempts to change the characterized situation such as desegregation, compensatory education, model school, parallel system, and total system reform, have failed to bring about the desired results.

Divergence in the Perceptions of the Reasons for School Failure

There is wide agreement on the very fact that the described reform attempts have failed, but there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the reasons for this failure. Members of the educational administration are generally inclined to ascribe the failure of the school to environmental factors. Minority students and their parents, however, violently reject this opinion; they are convinced that the main reasons for failure are to be found in the school system, that is, the established administration, teachers, and curriculum.

An independent evaluation will probably show that either monocausal interpretation is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon and a convergence of various environmental and system emanent factors has to be presumed by the non-partisan observer.

However, the perception of students and their parents is extremely relevant for the political process regardless of the objective reality of this perception.

Students and their parents believe that the system alone is to be blamed for school failure and consequently they demand a change of the system. In other words, a perception which might be partly or even completely wrong is at the origin of dynamic political process which aims at

minority group control of urban public schools in order to change the present education system.

The Perceived Ideals of What the Reformed School Should Be

Minority students and their parents have certain ideas about what the school under their control should look like. Their ideal of the new schools is determined by their critiques of the present schools. Since they criticize the present teachers and their attitudes towards minority group students, the ideal school should have other teachers that are open minded and with high expectations. These teachers should come from the minority group community itself.

Far less clear are the ideas concerning the ideal curriculum. There are some vague indications about a black curriculum but there are almost no operationalizations of such a curriculum. The demand for a more adapted curriculum has led so far only to symbolic output such as renaming schools and halls after famous black leaders.

Since an operationalized ideal curriculum cannot be produced the issue is personalized: A strong black educational leadership is requested which shall resolve the curriculum question. For this reason the claim for a strong principal, a big community leader, has become central to the ideal of the new school as perceived by the minority students and their parents.

The conclusions as drawn from the related literature under paragraphs one to four shall be considered as assumptions for the following case studies. These assumptions will be empirically tested.

Furthermore, the study tries to draw from these case

studies, a deeper insight into the character and the stages of the dynamic process originating from the attempts of minority students and parents to achieve their ideal of new schools.

CHAPTER III

THE ANATOMY OF DECENTRALIZATION: THREE "INNER CITY" COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION--A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

> I have seven children who have attended or are attending the Detroit Public Schools. We are poor but my children have never been late, have not gone to school hungry or dirty, but most of them cannot read very well. I am held accountable. Should I not expect the school to be accountable?[1]

> We entrusted our children to your schools for an education. Our children did not learn. We found we could not trust you to train them. Now we will take the schools over and run them for our children.[2]

Introduction

Detroit Inner City Schools in a State of Crisis

The breakdown of the educational process in the Detroit inner-city schools sparked the appointment by the city's Board of Education late in 1966, of the High School Study Commission and investigative committees for the twenty-one senior high schools in Detroit. The finding about the general status of the Detroit public high schools was "that the degree of academic retardation prevalent in our so-

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[1] A Detroit "Inner City" mother during a conference of the Central Citizens Action Committee, Central High School Constellation, Detroit, Michigan, January 10, 1968.

[2] A Detroit "Inner City" mother during a Model City Conference, June 1969.

called 'inner-city' schools does constitute a serious educational crisis for the entire community."[1]

Student Militancy in the Schools

Since the commission concluded its study, demands for improvement and change have mounted. On Wednesday, November 28, 1968, some 1,400 students at Martin Luther King Jr. Senior High School walked out of class to dramatize their demand for an efficient school system. On Monday, September 15, 1969, some 300 militant students at Northeastern Senior High School disrupted the school system, burned the American flag and marched to the school house down town for further confrontation with the school authorities.

The October 9, 1967, mini-riot at Knudsen was not an isolated incident for Detroit junior high schools. At Knudsen Junior High, it is reported that it was in a state of chaos during the October incident: eight fires were started at the school buildings; several fights were staged during which time the teachers took to their heels; often lights were smashed in the corridors.[2]

Vandalism at Detroit public schools is not new to anyone who lives in the general area. At the Butzel Junior High, in mid-October, 1969, the message was that "Butzel Junior High students not safe; atmosphere not conducive to learning; severe costly damage to school property." The news has it that at this school teachers have frequently

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[1]Detroit High School Study Commission, Final Report, June, 1968.

[2]Memo from Robert Mejia to Mr. S. Rosen, Mr. Tom Stewart, and Mrs. Margaret Moogan, November 2, 1967.

been molested, staff threatened and at one time about $17,000 damage done to school property.[1]

Increased Dropout Rate

There appears to be an acceleration in the desperation and feelings of hopelessness within the school community as evidenced by the high drop-out rate in the Detroit public school system. Since the High School Study Commission summarized its reports, Table 4 on page 58 reveals that a total of 7,630 (11.6 per cent) students have dropped out of the senior high schools during the 1967-68 school year, that is, an increase of .09 per cent over the 1966-67 drop-out rate of 11.51 per cent. The largest number of drop-outs occurred at the tenth and eleventh grade levels, comprising a total of 5,866 students, that is, about 77 per cent of the total number of drop-outs.

A comparison of the 1967-68 percentage dropout rate of 11.6 per cent with the 1962-63 school year dropout figures of 8.63 per cent in Table 4 reveals the fact that Detroit is going backward rather than forward. Why?

A look at the Detroit junior high school dropout figures for the 1967-68 school year is also revealing. According to Table 5 on page 59, a total of 2,177, or 3.18 per cent, students dropped out during the 1967-68 school year, an increase of .12 per cent over 1966-67 school year figures which stood at 3.06 per cent. A comparison of the 1967-68 figure of 3.06 with that of 1962-63 dropout figure of 1.96 per cent on Table 5 indicates a higher dropout rate for the Detroit senior high schools.

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[1]Memo from the Neighborhood Service Program (NSP) Core Service, A. B. Davidson, October 15, 1969.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF DROPOUT RATE BY GRADE AND SCHOOL YEAR*

		1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
9th Grade	Registration	8,763	6,282	3,706	2,611	865	3,020
	Withdrawal	635	552	369	266	145	140
	% Withdrawal	7.23	8.79	9.96	8.66	16.76	4.64
10th Grade	Registration	26,826	27,488	28,229	28,893	29,263	29,367
	Withdrawal	2,305	2,812	2,886	2,965	3,239	3,368
	% Withdrawal	8.59	10.23	10.22	10.26	11.07	11.47
11th Grade	Registration	16,113	18,486	17,614	17,999	18,619	18,439
	Withdrawal	1,636	2,026	2,176	2,374	2,436	2,498
	% Withdrawal	10.14	10.96	12.35	13.19	13.08	13.55
12th Grade	Registration	11,708	13,439	15,239	14,255	14,492	14,960
	Withdrawal	899	1,109	1,366	1,367	1,460	1,624
	% Withdrawal	7.66	8.25	8.96	9.59	10.07	10.86
Total	Registration	63,410	65,695	64,788	63,758	63,239	65,786
	Withdrawal	5,475	6,499	6,797	6,932	7,280	7,630
	% Withdrawal	8.63	9.89	10.49	10.87	11.51	11.60

*Source: Senior High School Withdrawal Study, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools, January, 1969.

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF DROPOUT RATE BY GRADE AND SCHOOL YEAR*

		1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
7th Grade	Registration	21,828	22,381	23,312	22,812	24,438	25,050
	Withdrawal	176	180	248	321	321	375
	% Withdrawal	.80	.80	1.06	1.41	1.31	1.50
8th Grade	Registration	17,796	20,043	20,744	22,175	23,339	23,556
	Withdrawal	356	445	448	592	735	773
	% Withdrawal	2.00	2.22	2.16	2.67	3.15	3.28
9th Grade	Registration	15,323	17,910	19,095	21,293	21,886	19,891
	Withdrawal	548	683	863	946	1,079	1,029
	% Withdrawal	3.57	3.81	4.52	4.44	4.93	5.17
Total	Registration	54,947	60,334	63,151	66,280	69,663	68,497
	Withdrawal	1,080	1,308	1,559	1,859	2,135	2,177
	% Withdrawal	1.96	2.17	2.47	2.80	3.06	3.18

*Source: Junior High School Withdrawal Study, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools (January, 1968).

Curriculum Tracking Persists

Curriculum tracking still persists in the Detroit public schools. As shown in Table 6, the January 1969 Course of Study Report found that 45.2 per cent of Detroit public high school students were in college preparatory courses, 6.7 per cent vocational, 21.9 per cent general, 23.6 per cent business and/or distributive education, and 2.6 per cent simply did not indicate their course of study.

TABLE 6

COURSE OF STUDY

Course	Percentage of Students
College Preparatory	45.2
Vocational	6.7
General	21.9
Business and/or Distributive Education	23.6
Not Indicated	2.6
Total	100.0

Source: Course of Study Report, January 1969, Detroit Senior High Schools, Department of Counseling and Guidance, Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan.

Low Market for Diplomas

A diploma from Detroit's inner-city schools no longer guarantees a good job as it used to several years ago. In the fall of 1967, a study conducted at one of Detroit's senior high schools showed that although 50 per cent of the dropouts had found work, 90 per cent of the 1969 graduating class were unemployed.[1] And even Detroit unions do close

[1] Kerner Report, op. cit., p. 90.

their doors to many Detroit high school graduates. In January of 1967, the school authorities had to notify six apprenticeship trades that they would not open any new apprenticeship classes unless a large number of their black students were included. By fall, some of the programs were still closed.[1]

General Distrust for the School System

Obviously, there exists a general distrust for the school system. This distrust has been expressed through strong protest by communities--"we will take the schools over and run them for our children"--and student boycotts and vandalism, administrators openly blasting each other.

The Dynamics of Failure

By 1939, Detroit, like other major American cities, was beginning to recover from depression, only to enter World War II. By 1950, the city had readjusted to a peacetime economy and was going through a transition: the population and the economics of Detroit and its schools were facing new pressures, new challenges. As the southern blacks and Puerto Ricans were moving into Detroit, the white middle class were moving out into the suburbs and taking with them their tax bases. Several factors are responsible for the large exodus of the whites into the suburbs:

a. The impact of poverty on the environment and on the schools;
b. fear of crime and loss of property; and
c. fear of integration with the "poor" and "inferior" race of men.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Interview with Frank Ditto, op. cit.

Detroit Has Segregated Schools

As a result of the white exodus to the suburbs, Detroit has a segregated school system. Table 7 on page 63 reveals that in 1968, Detroit had eleven schools with one to five black students. Two of these had one black student each. Five schools had ten or less black students; six schools had fifteen or less black students, and six had twenty or less black students, and 45 schools with twenty or less black students, and seventeen schools with no black students at all.

Table 7 also shows that in the same year's racial count, there were nineteen Detroit public schools with no white students, thirty-nine with less than five white students, and out of these thirty-nine, twelve had one white student. There were also fourteen schools with less than ten white students; eleven with less than fifteen white students, three with less than twenty white students, and eighty-six with twenty or less white students.

Table 7 also indicates the fact that there are seven schools in the Detroit public school system where there were no black instructional staff. At the same time, most Detroit inner-city school teachers and administrators are white, while the schools have predominantly black students in black neighborhoods.

It should be remembered, however, that a major reason for the mass flight of the whites to the suburbs was that "inferior" blacks were expected to produce inferior schools and inferior neighborhoods. It is these same skeptical whites, who have come back with this same preconceived notion that the blacks are inferior people to teach black children. Is there any wonder then that teachers expect low academic

TABLE 7

RACIAL COUNT BY SCHOOLS

17	Schools with 0 black students	19	Schools with 0 white students
11	Schools with 1-5 black students (2 with 1 student)	39	Schools with 1-5 white students (12 with 1 student)
5	Schools with 10 or less black students	14	Schools with 10 or less white students
6	Schools with 15 or less black students	11	Schools with 15 or less white students
6	Schools with 20 or less black students	3	Schools with 20 or less white students
45	Schools with 20 or less black students	86	Schools with 20 or less white students

7 Schools with 0 black instructional staff

Source: Racial Count by Schools, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, 1968.

achievement of these students? This is borne out by one of the Detroit high school reports where it states:

> The total bureaucratic structure of [name] the high school is hopelessly enfeebled. We feel that this condition stems mainly from the witting or unwitting belief that the children in this school cannot perform at the level of normal achievers.[1]

Low Academic Expectations of Black Students

Further, the study commission also found that teachers are somewhat "resigned to anticipated failure on low performance of the students,"[2] an observation which seems applicable to most of Detroit inner-city schools. To the extent that white teachers expect low academic performance from those students that they teach, to that extent they anticipate trouble from the students: physical violence, vandalism, harrassment. According to a memorandum issued by an official from Knudsen Junior High School, students were "selective about which teachers get harrassed and which classrooms get vandalized."[3] The same memorandum added that "the lack of external discipline is directly related to the fact that at least half of the faculty actually fear these youngsters."[4] In the official's words, "we can see why discipline would be lacking." He pointed out that chaos existed not only at Knudsen but also elsewhere in the area. One school, for instance, suffered a seven hundred dollar damage when the principal's office was broken into.

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[1] Northeastern High School Study Commission, Minutes, October 4, 1967, p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Robert Mejia, op. cit.

[4] Ibid.

White Teachers' Fear of Black Students

Teachers in schools where such incidents occur are afraid to discipline, and their failure to insist on discipline only results in further chaos.

Naturally, then, the teachers' main concern is not to try to keep these students in class long enough to teach them so they are able to pass to the next grade legitimately. The teachers' aim, instead, is to simply give them social promotion and gamble on a new crop of students. This social promotion results in students going out into the world unprepared for employment and for higher education.

Another reason for their leaving the school unprepared, according to the Detroit High School Study Commission, is "the failure by teachers to prepare and present an interesting and motivating lesson," and "personal inadequacy of the teacher."[1]

Student Reaction to "Inner City" Schools

Students in several schools have expressed their distrust and distaste over the situation as they see it. At Miller Junior High School, students have published rash statements in their "Black Student Voice" (B.S.V.) bulletin, such as the following:

> As a result of the failure on the part of the racist Board of Education to meet the demand of the Black Student Voice, to remove any and all racists or Tom administrators and teachers from our Black schools, we have decided to take matters into our own hands!! "By any means necessary" the B.S.V. vows to completely rid Black schools of white racists and negro Tom-flunkies.
>
> We find this move necessary as a beginning in making Black schools relevant to the Black students and the

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[1] Interview with William C. Loving, op. cit.

Black community. Therefore the Black Student Voice issues this warning: ALL RACISTS AND TOMS LEAVE IMMEDIATELY FROM OUR BLACK GHETTO SCHOOLS, OR FACE THE WRATH OF AN ARMED BLACK COMMUNITY!

Down with irrelevant education! Down with white racism! Death to Tomism! LONG LIVE THE B.S.V.

Grievances at King High School can be seen by sample quotes from their demands of the Detroit School Board.

We want to select the Principal and Vice-Principal and other school administrators with the help of a Community-Controlled Governing Board, made up of students, parents, former students and community people.

. . . . . .

WE WANT A STUDENTS BILL OF RIGHTS WHICH WILL INCLUDE:

(a) A Student Court which will decide when students obey school rules and also when the faculty-administrations violates student rights.

(b) A list of School Rules and Procedures on suspensions and expulsions. It should state what the penalties are and protect our right to appeal to higher authorities.

(c) A Student Government with the power to make decisions on different courses we want; rules within the school; to elect its own administrators and counselors.

(d) A Student Union to defend and represent students on their grievances. This Union shall also be a third part to contract negotiations between teachers and the administration to make sure that students rights are a part of the contract.

(e) Right to choose our visiting speakers.

At Northern High School demands were listed in a "Revolt at Northern" statement:

WE DEMAND:

That Principal McGivens and assistant principals Leach and Russell make an unconditional effort to bring the police who brutalized our black soul sisters and brothers to court.

That in order to discontinue the educational crisis that exists at Northern (high drop out rate, low academic achievement and reading levels, general unconcern for education by black students etc.) that a black studies curriculum be instituted.

. . . . . .

That the library of Northern High School be restocked with an abundance of books dealing with the Black experience and true black history.

. . . . . .

That a Student-Community Review Board be created with the power to act, intervene and decide on all matters concerning and affecting both students and school.

Showing how distrust includes their own race if they feel one of them is siding with white administrators, they speak of an "Uncle Tom" (the Northeastern students in "Black Student Voice") and shouted common slogans: "Down with black puppets. Down with the Board of Education. Long live the heroic black student struggle."

Indicative of the vital need to take pride in their school, their community, and their education is their tendency to make comparisons between schools--some with a good reputation and a sizeable white population (such as Mumford), and others which display a high percentage of blacks in the school. Following a survey by the Black Student United Front organization, a report was published which included the following quotes:

> "How many times have you been arrested, and for what reason?" At Mumford, 78% had no record, and the most common charges were disturbing the peace and shoplifting.
>
> Whereas, at Northern 68% had been arrested. The charges ranged from Breaking and entering, assault and battery, to rioting. . . .
>
> It has been speculated that students who are proud of their school and their classes are prone to do better than those who aren't. At Northwestern, we found not one person interviewed was proud of their school, on the other hand 84% of Mumford students were proud of their school, and 92% of Cass students loved theirs. Cooley held a surprising 54%, while Central was next to Northwestern in the respect that only two people maintained pride in their institution of learning. Could it

be that this lack of pride influences their decision to stay in school? When the same schools were asked, "Do you intend to finish high school?" all of the students at Cass and Mumford said a flat yes, and expressed interest in a college education. At Northwestern we found 18% said I don't know, and I might. At Central we found ten students who said flatly, no.

To coincide with this was the fact that up to 30% of Central's males planned to go into the armed forces, compared to 5% of Mumford's and 1% of Cass's. Is there a feeling of desperation amongst the inner city youth? Yes!

This feeling of desperation is so strong that up to 50% of McKenzie, Central and Northern's students would hit their teacher if they cursed at them. 20% of them admit to getting high when they come home from school, as compared to 89% of Mumford's youth who have jobs to go to. Up to 98% of Murray Wright, Northern, McKenzie, Central, Cooley, Northern, and Northwestern students express the sentiment that their teachers have racist attitudes. There have been several fights in each school, according to these students and most of the teachers fear the students . . .

In closing we would like to state this vital statistic. At Central, Northwestern, Murray Wright, and McKenzie the average age for a 12th grader was 18, at Cass, Mumford and Cooley, the average senior was 17. Why?

School-Community Relationships

Further, there appear to be alienation, apathy and dissatisfaction within the community itself. Some feel this is due to the fact that teachers have come in from the suburbs to teach their youth, and often do not have the empathy and cultural background to do a satisfactory job of educating children from the inner city.

The following quote from a Central High School Study Commission report expresses a typical reaction between community and school:

> The administration at Central High School has often termed the community as being silent. Its silence has

> been interpreted as being apathetic, disinterested and completely estranged from school affairs. The committee quote to the contrary, found the community vibrant, alive, and generally interested and concerned with the educational affairs of their children. What might be construed as ambivalence, is not ambivalence but is often group reaction to the lack of communication on vital issues between the school and parents in the community.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . there exists a distrust for the school administration. This distrust has been expressed through strong protest when curriculum changes are made at the school, without proper community involvement.[1]

A woman in Northeastern's vicinity said she felt "parents, teachers, administrators and community people" should not "have waited until the children demonstrated to bring it to our attention." This followed a disturbance that occurred when a principal was transferred and students protested it and other incidents that were contrary to their wishes.

At Central the high school study commission discovered evidence of communication breakdown within the school staff itself. It was said:

> We feel there is a lack of communication between him [Dr. James R. Irwin] and his staff and upon questioning it was brought out that staff meetings are held "at the beginning of the year; at the end of the year and during the United Foundation Torch drive" . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Many of his professional commitments keep him away from the school a great deal of the time and, in his absence, there appears to be no clear-cut delegation of authority. In addition to this disadvantage, the committee feels that his frequent absence accounts for the student responses to the questionnaire. When asked whether or not they knew the principal, only 23.2% said they knew him.[2]

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[1] Central High School Study Commission Final Report, Detroit High School Study Commission, July, 1967.

[2] Ibid.

Lacking a clear direction, their rights, roles and responsibilities clothed in ambiguity, administrators are confused, and thus tend to confuse others. Under these conditions the administrator may opt for institutional defensivism where rules, not personalities, count, and find himself alien not only to his staff and students but also to the community which is supposed to be served by the school system. Or he may give up--not concern himself with the school at all, and let the school drift. Whatever way he opts, as far as the community is concerned, the administrator portrays an ineffectual image; and since he is immediately responsible for the well-being of the school in the eyes of the community, he is held accountable for the school's unfavorable image. The students are not proud of the school; the community is not proud of the school; most teachers are not proud of the school. Instead of activity, the school system suffers from inertia. Each faction is standing by, waiting for something to happen. Such a system is potentially explosive. Only indifference on all sides keeps it from explosion. Inevitably, the inevitable will happen. The explosion may be either minor or major. If it is minor, then the school and the community may be able to take care of it; if it is a major explosion and outside intervention is warranted, the police may be called in.

The cases that follow trace the events relative to three selected Detroit communities which have or are mobilizing and organizing to take control of potentially explosive or actually exploding school systems. They mean to prevent further crises by making the schools responsive and accountable to them.

Case One: Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School

Demographic Characteristics of Service Area

For all practical purposes, the entire area served by the King High School falls into Community 1A and 6A, which extends from the center business district on the west to McClellan on the east. It is bounded on the north by Gratiot and Mack, on the south by the Detroit River. The area is approximately four miles long, and it is at all points within two miles of the river.[1]

The high school lies in a predominantly black neighborhood. According to the 1965 TALUS figures, the area had a total population in household units of 52659. Of these, 54.9 per cent were non-white (black). This is a low income area and a larger number of the residents in King High School neighborhood are poorly educated, blue-collar workers. TALUS again reported that in 1965, 42.9 per cent of the population had not more than eight years of formal education; 20.2 per cent had between nine and eleven years of formal schooling; 16.9 per cent were high school graduates;

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[1] Detroit is divided into sixteen communities. Each of these communities has been further divided into several sub-communities. Each sub-community consists of a cluster of census tracts. Census tracts are the small geographic areas that the U.S. Bureau of the Census uses for reporting its statistics; there are 384 census tracts in Detroit, and each includes about 15 square blocks. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School Constellation falls within communities 1A and 6A; the Central High School Constellation within 3B and 3C and the Northeastern High School within communities 1B and 1C.

The Detroit Public School system further divides the city into nine regions, and each region is divided into two or three high school districts; each high school district contains several junior high school districts; and each junior high school district has a number of elementary schools in it.

8.4 per cent had some college education, and 11.5 per cent were college graduates. Of the residents in this community 21.7 per cent received an annual income of less than $2,000, and only 3.6 per cent were receiving $20,000 or more per year. The median income for the community was $5,221 according to TALUS.[1]

Racial Balance of Student Body

Table 8 indicates that while the total enrollment at King Senior High School has gone down since 1964, the number of white students enrolled has remained constant at a figure under 25, and the black enrollment has continued in large majority: 2435 out of 2459 students in 1964 were black. By 1969 the total of 1700 included only 21 white and 1679 black pupils.

TABLE 8

KING HIGH SCHOOL: STUDENT RACIAL COUNT

Year	Blacks	Whites	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	1679	21	--	--	--	1700
1968	1874	23	--	1	--	1897
1967	1823	26	--	--	--	1849
1966	2053	18	--	5	--	2076
1965	2196	19	--	1	--	2216
1964	2435	23	--	1	--	2459

Source: Abstract from the King High School Constellation, Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools (1969).

[1] Detroit, Michigan, Regional Transportation and Land Use Study (August 15, 1968), pp. 12-13.

The pattern of black-white ratio runs practically the same in the junior high schools--Butzel and Miller--that supply students to King High School, as Tables 9 and 10 show. At Miller Junior High School the total enrollment dropped, however, while at Butzel Junior High School it rose slightly. Miller's white enrollment increased considerably from 4 in 1964 to 42 in 1969, which left still a tremendous black majority with 1136 of the 1178 total enrollment in 1969 black.

TABLE 9

MILLER JUNIOR HIGH: STUDENT RACIAL COUNT

Year	Blacks	Whites	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	1136	42	--	--	--	1178
1968	1241	29	--	--	--	1270
1967	1234	36	--	--	--	1270
1966	1188	32	--	2	--	1222
1965	1243	16	--	3	--	1262
1964	1271	4	--	1	--	1276

Source: Abstract from the King High School Constellation, Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools (1969).

TABLE 10

BUTZEL JUNIOR HIGH: STUDENT RACIAL COUNT

Year	Blacks	Whites	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	1554	31	1	1	1	1588
1968	1627	48	6	--	1	1682
1967	1621	86	--	4	--	1711
1966	1529	117	--	6	--	1652
1965	1460	101	--	7	--	1568
1964	1440	126	--	2	--	1568

Source: Abstract from the King High School Constellation, Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools (1969).

Butzel's black majority increased faster than its total enrollment. In 1964 there were 126 white out of 1568 enrolled; by 1969 the white enrollment had steadily decreased to only 31 white pupils out of the 1588 student population. Other minority enrollment vacillated during the six-year period but at no time was it significant.

School Holding Power

Table 11 reveals that the dropout rate at King High School is rather high.

TABLE 11

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE

1966-67	1967-68
18.03	16.83

Source: Abstract taken from the Senior High School Withdrawal Study, 1966-68, Department of Guidance and Counselling, Detroit Public Schools.

At King's feeder schools, Miller Junior High and Butzel Junior High, the dropout rate is equally high. Table 12 shows that during the 1966-67 school year the dropout rate for Miller and Butzel Junior High Schools was 4.71 per cent and 5.07 per cent respectively; in the 1967-68 school year the dropout rates were 4.13 per cent and 4.17 per cent respectively.

The Impact of Urban Renewal

Great population shifts had for years been bringing large masses of the poor from rural areas and from the south

TABLE 12

MILLER AND BUTZEL JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS:
DROPOUT RATE

Year	Miller	Butzel
1966-67	4.71	5.07
1967-68	4.13	4.17

Source: Abstract taken from the Junior High School Withdrawal Study, 1966-68, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools.

into major American cities of which Detroit is one. At the same time, post World War II prosperity speeded up the outward movement of higher-income households. Those taxpayers remaining in the cities were thus held responsible for the problems of the incoming migrants, who had long been deprived, at a time when new technological development with which the newcomers were unfamiliar made them unable to compete for jobs.

The city residents themselves were becoming increasingly aware that their fiscal condition was depreciating--vacant land for new buildings had disappeared within city limits, and the richer families, industries, and commerce had moved to the suburbs, taking with them their tax bases. For example, during an eight-year period the income of families within Detroit's city limits increased less than the cost of living, while suburban family income rose 47 per cent.[1] The city experienced a steady decline in property value and in tax revenue but a steady increase in the cost of city services.

[1]Harry Sharp, "Family Income in Greater Detroit: 1951-1959," A Report prepared by the Detroit Area Study, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, July 1960, p. 12 (mimeographed).

To meet this crisis, urban renewal was first expected to bring about long-range fiscal improvement through revised land use and increased property valuation.

In 1949, the U.S. Congress enacted the Housing Act which provided that there be

> . . . a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families.[1]

Two words are worthy of note in this provision: "temporary" and "families." The word "temporary" connotes the original assumption that redevelopment of low-income housing would enable relocatees to return to the area. In Detroit, and particularly in the King High School area, this has not happened. It was assumed that families would have first priority in Federal Housing Projects. In Detroit, Medical Center No. 1, most dwellings were occupied by individuals, and the Detroit Housing Commission has separate files on families and on individuals.

Nash and Hartman have recently observed the limitations of Federal Housing Programs when they state:

> Even though urban redevelopment was introduced as part of the 1949 Housing Act, which in its preamble promulgated the national housing goal of a "decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" the program was not developed to fulfill this dream. Nothing in the history or genesis of urban renewal or in the mechanics of the program would suggest that it could make a substantial contribution to decent housing for low and moderate income families. Indeed, almost two-fifths of the new construction under urban renewal has been under non-residential, and over the years amendments to the Housing Act have persistently moved in the

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[1] U.S., Congress, Housing Act of 1949 as Amended, Title 1, 81st Congress, 1949.

direction of expanding the commercial, industrial, cultural, and civic scope of renewal activity.[1]

Several thousand Detroiters have been displaced and their numbers will increase in the years to come. The residents of Elmwood Park No. 1 (ELM) and Medical Center No. 1 (MED) moved out between the winter of 1961 and the summer of 1963. The vast majority of ELM relocatees moved east from smaller end toward the larger end of a triangle bounded by Gratiot, Jefferson and Conner. The moving pattern of MED displacement was less systematic: some moved north, others east, west or south in scattered fashion.

Most of these families had lived in Detroit for a quarter of a century, in their renewal area homes for over five years, and in that same neighborhood for more than a decade. About 80 per cent had no intention of moving away. The reality of Urban Renewal was only slowly acknowledged by some who managed to blind themselves to the neighborhood's disintegration and to hope that dawn would reveal the end of the bad dream. A few moved quickly and regarded their move as voluntary. Most did not want to go but knew they must, and they did so without undue delay. Yet they often went without even knowing the label of the force that pushed them. A few knew it by "Urban Renewal"; a few more called it "Renewal." Three out of ten that I talked to could neither label it nor describe the process in words of their own. The people's most common labels reflect a destructive process which often has the poor and the blacks for its target:

"Getting rid of the blacks."

"Pushing out the poor man."

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[1] William W. Nash, Jr., and Chester W. Hartman, "Laissez-Faire in the Slums," Reporter, XXXII, 4 (Feb. 25, 1965), p. 52.

"Building homes for the honkeys at our expense."

"Black removal."

Most black Detroiters that I have talked to see Urban Renewal as a process which hurts the poor racial minorities. The poor racial minorities provide the means, while others enjoy the ends. Their dominant conception of Urban Renewal can best be summarized as "for the rich and the white at the expense of the poor and the blacks." Throughout the city of Detroit, relocation has resulted almost invariably in increased housing costs. The typical relocated household spends 30 per cent of its $208 monthly income on housing after removal, which is 16 per cent more than before relocation.[1]

Shirley reported that in Detroit most relocatees purposely excluded certain neighborhoods from consideration due to presumed cost. Two out of three households found housing which they preferred, but rejected it because of cost of rent.[2] Two thirds of those who found houses reported that it was costing them more to live in their present home than it did in the Urban Renewal area, and most felt that their present home was not worth the difference.

Summarizing the studies made up to 1963, Peter Morris observed that Urban Renewal

> . . . disrupts the work of established agencies of social welfare and worse, destroys the informal pattern of mutual help and tolerance which had grown up in the old communities.[3]

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[1] Shirley Torreberry, The Human Impact of Relocation (Wayne State University, February 1965), pp. 38-40.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Peter Morris, "A Report on Urban Renewal in the United States," in The Urban Condition, ed. Leonard J. Diehl (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 122.

Urban Renewal, both in plan and implementation, is typical of the way the majority controlling group in America impinges on the lives of the low-income racial minority groups. Although they are often the ones most critically affected by the relocation aspects of Urban Renewal, they are little involved in decisions about it. Rationally based or not, there has been growing resentment at being "pushed around" and in some cities areas planned for Urban Renewal have organized to resist it.

Some studies have cited the vulnerability of aged persons to the disruptive effects of relocation. Their more limited mobility and their lack of work-related social contracts increase their dependence on neighbors and local churches for a sense of belonging somewhere. A recent Detroit study, "The Negro, His Church, and Urban Renewal," found that relocation was accompanied by a significant reduction in church attendance.[1] Discontent in these areas significantly adds to discontent with such matters as this paper dwells on.

Several studies report intense feelings of deprivation following relocation. Marc Fried described these as feelings of painful loss, continued longing, depression, somatic distress, helplessness and anger.[2] Urban Renewal can be said to turn into insecure, uprooted dependent people those who were relatively stable and independent in their old environment. Fried and Gleicher related the satisfaction

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[1] Marian Hibbard and Phyllis Santo, "The Negro, His Church, and Urban Renewal" (unpublished master's dissertation, School of Social Work, Wayne State University, 1964).

[2] Marc Fried, Grieving for a Lost Home, ed. Leonard J. Duhl (New York: Basic Books, 1963), pp. 151-171.

people have from these personal associations and strong identity of neighborhood as "home."[1]

Relocation has thus become the symbol of inadequacy and frustration, the uprooting of families, enforced homelessness and sacrifice of neighborhood values. It has not been a rehousing operation, a program whose primary aim is the resettlement of inner-city families into decent homes. If those displaced previously lacked the means to buy or rent good homes, they still do. If they had serious problems, in addition to their poor housing, they still have them; and if they move into other neighborhoods, they certainly move these problems along with them. All that has happened is that their location has been changed and in their place new residences, industry and business have emerged. As for housing, people with high purchasing and tax-paying power move into the newly-built high-income housing where these substandard, low-income houses once stood.[2]

During the state of flux, when a splendid new high school (then called Eastern, later renamed after Martin Luther King) was under construction with funds from the Ford Foundation, poor citizens in the area concluded that Urban Renewal would shove them out of this school district, that they would never use the beautiful school; therefore they took no interest in its planning. A Detroit High School Study Commission survey bears this out.

Later these people found that while their homes had been moved, and higher income families would occupy the

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[1]Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher, "Some Sources of Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXVII, 4, pp. 305-315.

[2]Interview with Frank Ditto, op. cit.

quality apartments that replaced their substandard houses, still their children were to return to the school they had felt alienated from.

Meanwhile, newcomers that occupied their former location felt no involvement either with the community or with the school. They rejected the inner city school automatically as inferior for them.

Bitter and distrustful, inner city students attended the new school, although alienated by the unfamiliar surroundings. It didn't feel as though it belonged to them or they belonged to it. In their frustration, they devised ways to defy the rules and gain status of one kind or another. There was no true communication--no values for them to live by. They were of a minority group, in the majority populationwise but not prestigewise or powerwise. They and their families needed a strong voice in the institution that would shape their future.

Opportunity presented itself in the form of an innovative organization to which they turned to "learn the ropes."

The Role of Community Organization: Emergence of "Grass Roots" Leadership

Significant in the ultimate revolt of students because of dissatisfaction with the school system at King was the arrival of a new figure with an innovative plan. Through him students began to train at what was known as the "Political Education Project" (PEP), sponsored by the East Side Voice of Independent Detroit (ESVID), an organization directed by Frank Ditto.[1]

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[1]Frank Ditto is a thirty-nine year old, charismatic community leader who had been invited to Detroit by a church

Ditto organized the Political Education Project (PEP), a junior version of city hall. It is made up of black teenagers who were elected in 1968 by 2,700 high school students. The primary purpose of this organization is to develop political awareness within the black community and institutions. This awareness is to come about by the forming of a government at the junior level. The government will act as a liaison between the local government and the black community. The government has a Mayor, Common Council, Superintendent of Schools, Board of Education, Parks and Recreation Director, and other departments. The field of operation that forms this model are four school districts: Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School district, Northeastern High School district, Southeastern High School district, Kettering High School district, and East Catholic High School. At present the organization has more than five thousand students registered in the "government."

PEP has prepared a series of workshops in which some

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organization. Ditto left Texas when he was thirteen. He championed the poor and the black from the day in 1961 when he left his Chicago taxi-driving job to join a school demonstration. Since then, he has been arrested eighteen times. He became a community organizer and marched for 155 consecutive days with Dick Gregory in 1964 and 1965.

Ditto was called to Detroit just prior to the 1967 riots by a coalition of thirty-six non-black Protestant and Catholic churches on the East side to set up a grass-roots organization. Today, of all Detroit's black leaders, Frank Ditto is probably the most aggressive in presenting grievances against inner-city schools. The white people who work privately with Ditto say he is cooperative and constructive, and the ministers who brought Ditto to Detroit support his tactics. The Rev. Robert Baldwin says: "We need a thousand Frank Dittos on the East Side." (The investigator had a ten-hour interview with Frank Ditto within closed doors, and was impressed with his candor, sincerity and charisma.)

of the best minds in the State of Michigan share their expertise with the students. The objectives of these workshops were:

a. massive assertion of black dignity and worth;
b. to teach black people the lessons of manhood: blacks can no longer be ashamed of who they are or what they are; and
c. eventual self-determination by blacks in their black communities.

The interview with Frank Ditto revealed that underlying these objectives was the thinking that as long as the mind is enslaved, the body can never be free. Psychological freedom, a firm sense of self-esteem, therefore is the most powerful weapon against the long nights of physical slavery. The black man will only become a part of the American dream when he "reaches down into the inner depths of his own being and signs with the pen and the ink of assertive manhood his own emancipation proclamation."[1]

PEP, A Force in Leadership Training

According to Ditto, leaders are found by organizing and leaders are developed through organization. A few leaders are really "all purpose" and the best organization tries to create a "collective leadership." PEP tries to create a wider, broader base organization by developing the natural small group leader. PEP trains leadership toward three objectives:

1. A network of people spread out and in a position to reach out and mobilize others around them.
2. Continuity of people's program, needs and desires.

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[1] Interview with Frank Ditto, op. cit.

3. Exposing the evils of the inner-city, whether perpetuated by white or black, rich or poor, big or small people.

PEP organizes for takeover. The assumption here is that the black man has been confined to a life of voicelessness and powerlessness, stripped of the right to make decisions about his life and destiny. The ghetto was created by those who had power to confine those who did not and to perpetuate their powerlessness.

According to PEP philosophy, the problem of transforming the ghetto and all of its institutions is a matter of power: a confrontation of the forces demanding certain changes and the forces creating the conditions that need change. Ditto defines power as "nothing more than the ability to achieve purpose."

Involved with the Ditto organization from the King High School were some student leaders.[1]

Disruption at King High School

In late November of 1968, the school officials at King High School made public statements to the Detroit News which included:

> Some welfare families are in their third generations now . . .
>
> Most of our students are from families of seven or eight. There is a large percentage of one-parent homes . . .

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[1] At the time the interview was done, the following student leaders were identified: Virgilaine Williams, Mayor; Durall Hendrix, Councilman; Betty Williams, Councilman; and Glen Shelton, a twelfth grader and Student Leader. It should be noted here that it was the King High School principal, Mr. Dobbs, and the School-Community Agent, Mr. Jones, who suggested that the investigator approach Mr. Ditto for a more authentic history of developments around King High School.

> An 11th grader, he reads on the fifth grade level . . .
>
> About one out of four get assistance from welfare agencies or the Detroit Board of Education; four out of five come from families considered indigent . . . by Federal standards.
>
> Only 1 10th grader out of 700 tested was reading at his grade level.

The students at King High School reacted to these statements adversely and demanded among other things apologies from Mr. Branton, the principal of King High School, and other school officials and the Detroit News for statements made. When school officials refused permission for a schoolwide protest rally in the gymnasium, students took over the school for ninety minutes, while insisting, among other things, that a community-controlled governing board be formed to select administrators.

News of the walkout reached the community and more than twenty parents came out to help settle the crisis. Among them were members of the "Friends of King," an organization made up of economically influential professionals (who recommend students, give scholarships, sponsor trips, etc.) and representatives of the "Parents Club."

Students were demanding their own bill of rights that would guarantee them a student court, a student union to negotiate with teachers and administrators, one providing guidelines on student behavior and punishment. They insisted that Principal Branton apologize for the derogatory statements of some of the staff as quoted in the Detroit News (he did not). They wanted counseling sessions by qualified counselors and the observation of a Malcolm X school holiday on the date of his assassination. Above all they felt the need for a community-controlled governing board to select their administrators.

During an interview the Regional Superintendent, Norman Fuqua, admitted that students expressed some legitimate complaints. However, his only recourse was to turn to a citizens organization to negotiate their demands. Fortunately a group was even then in development.

The Planning and Evaluation Council

Under the auspices of the Neighborhood Service Program (NSP) which was formed through the Office of Economic Opportunity for the purpose of training permanent citizen councils) a Neighborhood Planning and Evaluation Council (P & E) had been set up as an informal group of parents of Martin Luther King, Jr. High Constellation, with its membership taken from the junior and senior high school parents. Its goal is to improve the quality of education in both the high school and the junior and elementary feeder schools.

Superintendent Fuqua asked that this group act on the current problem immediately. The P & E accepted this challenge.

By way of explanation, the P & E, although it was formed under the NSP indirectly, was actually the offspring of the Neighborhood Educational Center (NEC) (a subcommittee of the NSP) which was officially recognized by the Detroit Board of Education in April 1969 when this Board gave its approval to "a structure for community participation in the decision-making process as it pertains to school affairs" in schools that are members of the NEC. The P & E not only answers to the schools and communities where it exists, but also to a Regional P & E to which it sends participating members.

Under the NEC bylaws, planning and evaluation council

members are elected from citizens of small elementary neighborhoods who can personally take part in meetings and hear reports in order "to put the neighborhood voice directly into the neighborhood school." The philosophy of the NEC is that "the impetus for change must come from the citizens themselves to improve the quality of education in all the schools . . ." Anyone who is not a student of an elementary or secondary school, but who has reached age 18, may participate in elections to P & E Councils. On the P & C Council also are students elected by their classmates. These Councils, then, have the right to concern themselves with affairs of the school, ranging from curriculum to discipline to expulsions, and perhaps most importantly to the hiring of personnel.

An interview with the NSP Training Coordinator, Mrs. Frances Lawrence, revealed that the P & E Councils designed to train its members for their duties on the Council, represented the first major step toward community control of schools to occur in Detroit." As they faced the immediate hiring of five principals for inner-city schools, she pointed out that "precedents will be set by these Councils for the other school regions of Detroit and probably in the nation . . . Here we have a group of citizens who want to act responsibly in their positions and gain the necessary insights on which to base their decisions. For these reasons the P & E Councils should prove to be successful."[1]

During the King school crisis Principal Branton, without making the apologies the students demanded, had gone on sabbatical leave of his own volition. The P & E Council

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[1]Interview with Mrs. Frances Lawrence, NSP Coordinator, Detroit, Michigan.

then chose from a list of five names furnished by the Detroit Board of Education a replacement for Mr. Branton. He is John Dobbs and in him lies their hope for the beginning of a new era in local education. Further, the P & E hired a community agent--a liaison between school and community.

At this point, the learning environment appears improved; communication channels seem to have been opened, with quality education hopefully "around the corner" and the image of Martin Luther King, Jr. High on the up-trend.

Case Two: Northeastern High School

Demographic Characteristics

Northeastern High School is located within communities 1B and 1C. The school's service area begins at N.Y.C.R.R. from the center of Woodward to the center of St. Aubin and Hamtramck city limits to N.Y.C.R.R. in the north and extends to the center of Gratiot from the alley line west of Field to the center of Woodward in the south. In the west, it begins at the center of Woodward from the center of Gratiot to N.Y.C.R.R. and extends to the line between Lambert and Hyde to the alley line west of Field to the center of Gratiot in the east.

Northeastern High School community is a predominantly black community. The 1965 TALUS figures show that in 763 sample cases 64.9 per cent were non-white. (The population in this vicinity was 60,041.)

Educationally, 53.7 per cent had not more than eight years of formal education, 26.4 per cent had between nine and eleven years of schooling, 14.2 per cent were high school graduates, 2.8 per cent had some college education, and only 3 per cent were college graduates.

The rate of unemployment in 1965, according to TALUS, was 6.9 per cent; of those employed 81.6 per cent were blue collar workers.

As for income, 32.3 per cent earned less than $2,000 in 1965, and 0.3 per cent were receiving more than $20,000 in the same year. The median income for the Northeastern High School community in 1965 was $3,414 which is a little over half the national average income level.

Holding Power of the School

Table 13 reveals that Northeastern High School has a high dropout rate. During the 1966-67 school year, a total of 2,006 students registered; of this number, 20.17 per cent dropped out by the end of the school year. In the 1967-68 school year, 1967 students registered, and by the end of that school year, 19.48 per cent dropped out.

TABLE 13[1]

NORTHEASTERN HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
20.19	19.48

The dropout rate at Northeastern High School's feeder schools is equally alarming. Table 14 shows that during the 1966-67 school year, at Knudsen Junior High 4.39 per cent of a total of 1297 students dropped out of school and in the 1967-68 school year the number of dropouts increased to 6.84 per cent out of a total of 1,198 students.

[1]Abstracts for Tables 14-17 were taken from High School Withdrawal Study, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools, for 1966-68 school years.

TABLE 14

KNUDSEN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
4.39	6.84

According to Table 15, at Spain Junior High (Spain feeds into Northern High), during the 1966-67 school year, 3.75 per cent of 1,334 students dropped out of school; in the 1967-68 school year, this figure was increased to 4.35 per cent of 1,309 registered students.

TABLE 15

SPAIN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
3.75	4.35

At Greusel, Table 16 shows that during the 1966-67 school year, of the total 1,017 students registered, 4.92 per cent dropped out and in the 1967-68 school year, of 994 students registered, 4.93 per cent dropped out by the end of that school year.

TABLE 16

GREUSEL JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
4.92	4.93

Northeastern High School has a predominantly black student population. Table 17 reveals that in 1964 Northern had 1,983 students; 1669 of these were black and 314 were white. In 1968, of the 1,501 students registered only 69 were white; the rest were blacks. In 1969, of the 1,412 students registered 1,262 were blacks and 149 whites, plus one Spanish-speaking student.

TABLE 17

NORTHEASTERN: RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	1262	149	--	--	1	1412
1968	1422	69	--	--	--	1501
1967	1502	143	--	1	--	1646
1966	1533	160	--	2	--	1695
1965	1642	208	--	5	--	1855
1964	1669	314	--	--	--	1983

Source: Northeastern High School Constellation Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, 1969.

Tables 18, 19, and 20 reveal that Northeastern High School's feeder schools are predominantly black junior high schools. For instance, in 1969, out of a total of 870 students registered at Knudsen, only 4 were whites, and in 1968, of the 886 students registered only 3 were white. Spain Junior High had only 1 white student in a total of 846 students registered in 1969 and 4 white students in a total of 979 students registered in 1968. The rest were blacks.

Although the Northeastern High School has a predominantly

TABLE 18

KNUDSEN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	865	4	--	1	--	870
1968	883	3	--	--	--	886
1967	899	10	--	--	--	909
1966	1001	14	--	--	--	1015
1965	967	12	--	1	--	979
1964	855	15	--	--	--	870

Source: Junior High School Withdrawal Study, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools (1969).

TABLE 19

SPAIN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	842	1	3	--	--	846
1968	974	4	--	--	1	979
1967	1038	9	--	--	--	1047
1966	1047	9	--	--	--	1056
1965	954	6	--	--	--	960

Source: Junior High School Withdrawal Study, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools (1969).

TABLE 20

GREUSEL JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	561	239	--	4	3	807
1968	748	4	--	--	--	752
1967	501	288	--	4	--	793
1966	526	311	--	5	--	842
1965	494	277	--	11	--	782
1964	540	255	--	4	--	799

Source: Junior High School Withdrawal Study, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools (1969).

black student body, the racial composition of its teaching personnel does not follow this pattern. As Table 21 shows, in 1968 there were 31 black and 39 white teachers and in 1969 the total was 32 black and 39 white teachers. The principal of the school was also white.

TABLE 21

NORTHEASTERN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL: INSTRUCTIONAL PERSONNEL RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White
1969	32	39
1968	31	39

Source: Abstract taken from Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, 1967-1969 school year.

The Northeastern High School Study Commission reported the following findings about Northeastern High School in October, 1967:

1. Northeastern is the oldest unimproved high school in the city.
   (On April 10, 1967, the school's machine shop was removed under extremely strained circumstances. Interested community citizens were given conflicting accounts as to the reason for the removal. The principal proposed the installation of a landscaping program but this substitute is entirely unacceptable to the students and the community.)[1]

2. The principal was found:
   . . . lacking in empathetic understanding of the needs and problems of Northeastern students and of the community. We found no meaningful contact or relationship between the principal and the community.[2]

3. Except for a small minority, the teachers appeared resigned to anticipated failure or low performance of the students.[3]

4. The curriculum seemed to reflect the administrator's low estimation of the students' capabilities.[4]

5. In respect to the Northeastern students, "we found them severely lacking in a positive image of self."[5]

Willie Harper, a Black Student Association student, speaking of the physical facilities at Northeastern on January 9, 1969, had remarked that "quite often students from other schools say they feel as though they are visiting a dungeon." Wilber Morrow, another B.S.A. student, believes that "the educational facilities need more improvement."

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[1] High School Study Commission Minutes (Northeastern), op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 8.

Early in January, 1969, the seniors from Northeastern visited Edsel Ford High School and found that they were not on the same level. They discovered that Edsel Ford High School was further advanced than Northeastern.[1] The students proposed to dedicate their study halls to men like Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Kennedys (who sacrificed their lives for justice and equality for all Americans). The study halls were dedicated to these heroes on May 13, 1969.

Student Initiative

As in the case of Martin Luther King, Jr. High School, Northeastern High School district was under the operational field of Political Education Project (PEP) sponsored by the East Side Voice of Independent Detroit (ESVID).[2]

Rosa Park Welcomed at Northeastern

December 1, 1969, was declared "Rosa Park Day" in Detroit by the Political Education Project Government. Rosa visited Detroit and the four public high schools under PEP, including Northeastern. During those visits, Rosa told the story of why she refused to give up her seat on a bus at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956. It was through Mrs. Rosa Park that Martin Luther King, Jr., the Nobel peace prize winner, the crusader for equality and black liberation, came into prominence following his defense of Rosa Park's action.

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[1] Minutes of Northeastern High School Advisory Committee, January 1969.

[2] PEP's mayor for Northeastern in 1968-69 was Delphea Kinney. Cornell Sheppard was the councilman. These and some 400 to 500 students from Northeastern High School are members of PEP.

The Black Nationalist Flag Issue: Student Confrontation with School Authorities

On May 15, 1969, some members of Black Students Association met with the principal of the school, Dr. Peterson, to discuss the proposal to fly the flag. Dr. Peterson's assistant, Mrs. Elizabeth F. Hood, a black woman, advised Dr. Peterson to let the students raise the flag. There was a lot of anger and unrest at Northeastern on this day among the students when Dr. Peterson failed to heed the advice.

According to Wilbert Morrow, the students were angry because:

1. Dr. Peterson refused to permit the raising of the flag.
2. Dr. Peterson became angry and upset when they demanded his reasons for refusing.
3. The students interpreted the suggestion of "asking the community and polling the students" as a delay tactic.
4. Dr. Peterson became so angry that he showed disrespect for the students by using the statement, "damn the job."

Late in the afternoon of May 15, a student cut the ropes upon which the American flag was raised and it was removed.

Interview with Mrs. Hood reveals that at a community meeting held in the evening of May 15, the community group present overwhelmingly favored the raising of the Black Flag. On May 16, at 10 a.m., a small group of students burned the American flag in the park across the street from the school.

The Assistant Principal was able to convince the students to discontinue any further acts of aggression. The

students agreed to the submission of grievances to a committee composed of teachers, representatives of various school clubs and community residents. The students demanded that they be allowed to name the majority of teachers who are going to serve on this committee. The students also agreed with the Assistant Principal to raise the Black Flag at appropriate ceremonies on Monday, May 19. Representatives from the Black Students Association submitted plans for the flag-raising ceremony to the Assistant Principal on May 19. (Dr. Peterson was not very happy with Mrs. Hood's activities and so may have recommended that Mrs. Hood be removed.)

On August 21, Mr. Johnson, Mr. McCutcheon, and Mr. Billups, the Regional Superintendent, had a meeting with the Positive Neighborhood Action Committee, Inc. (PNAC), school-related service committee and some members from the Williams Parents Committee. Apparently the Northeastern Advisory Board, presided over by Mrs. Jackson, had been bypassed.

On August 29, a second meeting was held with Mr. Johnson and the PNAC-Williams group. At this meeting, the question of a white female principal with a black assistant was discussed. The Committee argued against this. No decision was made and the group was left not knowing who the principal would be. However, they insisted that he be a strong black male or that Mrs. Hood be elevated from an assistant to the principal of the school.

When school opened on September 2, 1969, neither Dr. Peterson nor Mrs. Hood were back at school. Mr. Wilson was acting principal for the day, and later in the afternoon, central staff announced that Mr. Coleman would come the next day as acting principal and Mr. Leo Berg, then a

business department head, would be acting assistant principal. Mrs. Hood had been transferred to Northwestern.

The school officials summarized the harrowing opening days in the fall of 1969 in a summary of the dilemma with such explanations of what had happened as that the administrator seemed caught in a three-way bind between the demands of militant students, the absence of clear guidelines from the Board of Education and the prevailing power structure's philosophical and ethical "hang-ups."

There was no attempt to put in chronological order, in their statements, the events that occurred during just the first two weeks of school, but they spoke of them as incidents that "should be considered as a backdrop for the dynamics of the emotional scene." They included both affirmative and negative occurrences, including:

1. The study halls were renamed to commemorate black leaders.
2. An Afro-history course was offered.
3. Teachers made feeble attempts to make courses relevant.
4. Ultra-militant students and those who were anti-establishment became more belligerent, vociferous and disruptive to the orderly process of education.
5. Auditorium assemblies and rallies were called extemporaneously.
6. A science teacher had a razor placed to his throat.
7. The audio-visual technician was stabbed in the neck by a student under the influence of drugs.
8. White students were attacked in and outside the building almost daily.
9. White students sprayed such invectives on the front door as: KKK, White Citizen Council, John Birch Society, Open Season on Coons, Niggers, etc.
10. The American flag was cut down from the flagpole.

11. An American flag was burned in the park directly in front.

12. Students attempted to take over the main office.

13. Students went to the Schools Center Building and caused over $200 in damage to a privately owned cafeteria.

14. Students held several meetings with central administrative staff members.

15. The Tri-color flag was lofted up on the flagpole preceded by a brief ceremony by the assistant principal.

16. Orders were received by The Board of Education.

17. The right to fly the Tri-color flag on school property was rejected by The Board of Education.

18. False fire alarms were pulled periodically.

19. Molotov cocktails were thrown at the school and at a parked police car.

20. Two of the ultra-militant students were suspended, three were not given programs for the new term and many others were put on warning followed by a parental conference.

A big disturbance not listed in this particular report as a separate incident was detailed by H. Hones, School Community Agent, in a different review of Northeastern unrest. He called Monday, September 15, "a day to remember." In his words,

> It happened at 9:00 A.M. Someone pulled the fire alarm as a part of the planned walk-out. While the students were out, BSA members made speeches asking other students to join them. They were to assemble in the park across the street. About 300 remained outside. Shortly after this, bottles, and bricks sailed across the street into the building--some had gasoline-soaked rags in them. Some went through the windows and some came through the front doors smashing in the hallways. What I did:
>
> (1) Closed the front doors which had been left open.
> (2) Called the agents in the area.
> (3) Called Mrs. McWilliams, a parent, she called the others.

(4) Went outside and located the leaders. I talked with them about the safety of our black sisters and that they were scared to death--did you know I almost got hit by one of those bottles? I moved them away from the crowd towards the school. We stopped on the steps and they promised to wait until a meeting was arranged with Mr. Billups. The meeting was arranged and we went to the office.

By this time the parents had arrived and so had the police. The students asked me to get rid of the police and they would go back in school. The Lt. in charge was very determined and insisted on carrying out his assignment. He refused to move his forces out of sight. A parent and I insisted that he cooperate. This took some doing and periods of "in and outs" on the part of the students followed. Finally, he agreed to withdraw his forces and as he left, he promised to return tomorrow in force. The students returned to class and activities returned to normalcy.

To go on with the first report, it alluded to the students' unhappiness with the transfer of their beloved Mrs. Hood, who had been assistant principal. She said that the Board of Education had made a decision it felt was essential in order to establish the proper learning climate in the school. The Principal and the Assistant Principal were removed to be replaced by a white female principal and black assistant administrator. It was felt that the image of the previous administration had been severely damaged and that only through the reassignment of new leadership could the school move forward. A representative group met with the Deputy Superintendent of Staff Relations to voice their disapproval of the recent assignment. It was then mutually agreed that the best interest of the school would be served under a black administrator. The Board did not yield, however, in its decision to reassign the black female assistant principal. There were several factors that may have contributed to the Board's decision:

1. The role of the principal was seriously weakened when he resorted to systematic appeasement to the thrust of student demands.
2. The fight for major authority between the principal and the assistant principal with the resulting line-up of faculty members along racial and loyalty lines.
3. The principal's failure to heed the dangerous warning signs of a weakening organization.
4. The failure of the principal to effectively involve students, parents, and faculty in consistent and meaningful dialogue.
5. The possibility of some guilt feelings on the part of the white principal and the lack of a real strong conviction as to the role of black militancy on the American scene.

The black administrator hired was considered by the students an "Uncle Tom" and at first they protested his arrival--indicating that the minorities want more than just their own race at the helm--they want a leader, regardless of race, whose empathy they are guaranteed.

The Ad Hoc Committee

The administrator rallied to the challenge and called a mass meeting of all segments of the area so he could discuss school conditions, issues and programs "he would initiate, once a learning climate prevailed." It was suggested that an interim or Ad-Hoc committee be formed which would list all the legitimate grievances presented by the students. The committee would consist of parents, community representatives, teachers and students. Prior to this meeting the administrator had gathered together a representative group of students by grade, study halls and clubs. He had asked for and received volunteers from the faculty who were willing to work on a Student-Faculty Council. The chairman of

the Ad-Hoc committee on school concerns went to work immediately holding a series of meetings during the school day and after school.

The school memorandum concluded:

> Finally when the Ad-Hoc Committee had had an opportunity to view the physical plant, the educational program of the school and conduct a series of hearings with students, faculty members and the principal it petitioned a hearing with designated officials of Central Administration. The hearing was granted and resulted in several notable concessions, namely: A Personnel Committee charged with all personnel changes, A Building Improvement Committee to work directly with the Deputy Superintendent in charge of school housing, immediate attention to many of the inadequate building facilities such as lighting, lunchroom, public address system, general repairs, etc.
>
> Paralleling the work of the Ad-Hoc Committee the principal gave form and direction to the Student-Faculty Council which would converge with the Ad-Hoc Committee and give birth to a Student-Faculty Community Council, such a council having maximum involvement will continue to work in the areas of school, curriculum, guidance and counseling, building improvement, social activities, communication and publications and bylaws and school procedures.

Case Three: Central High School

Demographic Characteristics

The Central High School Constellation is located within Community 3, in Detroit, Michigan. The school's service area is bounded by Puritan on the North, Highland Park city limits and Byron on the east, parts of Gladstone, Hazelwood and Clairmount on the south, and Dexter and Livernois on the west. Located within these boundaries are two junior high schools--Durfee and Longfellow--and nine elementary schools--Adams, Brady, Custer, Glazer, Joffe, Longfellow, MacCulloch, Peck and Roosevelt.

Central High School community has mirrored every social and economic change represented in the city of Detroit for the past century. In the 1920's the community was predominantly white Protestant and Catholic; between the 1930's and 1940's the community became predominantly Jewish and in the 1950's there was an abrupt transition from a Jewish to black community. Since the 1960's, the construction of the Chrysler Expressway along the eastern edge of the Northern High School service area has resulted in the demolition of many structures. The families occupying these dwellings have moved in some degree to the Central area, and this coupled with urban renewal in other areas of the city has increased the population density in the residential area around Central High School. According to the 1965 TALUS figures, the area had a total population in household units of 25,324. Of these, 84.4 per cent were blacks.

The Central High School community is a low-income area and most of its residents are not college graduates but primarily blue-collar workers.

In 1965, TALUS reported that in this community 22.5 per cent had not more than eight years of formal education, 27.4 per cent had between nine and eleven years of formal schooling, 28.6 per cent were high school graduates, 11.7 per cent had some college education, and 9.8 per cent were college graduates. Unemployment, according to a sampling reported by TALUS, was 1.9 per cent; 70.8 per cent of the employment were blue collar workers. While 10.3 per cent in this community had an annual income of less than $2,000 in 1965, 1.5 per cent earned more than $20,000 in the same year. The median income in 1965 was $6,456.

Racial Balance of Student Body

As Table 22 shows, of the 2841 total number of students enrolled at Central High School in 1964, only 7 were white, the rest were black. In 1967 and 1968 Central High School had a 99 per cent black enrollment; in 1969 there were only 2 white students enrolled. The pattern of racial balance in Central High School's feeder schools (Durfee and Longfellow) is very much the same as that of Central. Table 23 on page 105 reveals that in 1968 Durfee Junior High had a 100 per cent black student body; in 1969 it had more than 98 per cent black student body, and between 1966 and 1967 the student body was more than 97 per cent black. According to Table 24 on page 105, between 1964 and 1965 Longfellow had more than 99 per cent black student body and in 1966 and 1967 there were only 11 white students enrolled in each of those years out of a total of 1894 and 1499 students respectively. These figures have tended to remain constant in 1968 through 1969.

TABLE 22

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL: STUDENT RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	2095	2	2	1	1	2101
1968	2117	1	--	--	--	2118
1967	2090	1	--	--	--	2091
1966	2350	4	--	--	--	2354
1965	2439	6	--	--	--	2446
1964	2832	7	--	--	--	2841

Source: Central High School Constellation, Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, 1964-1969.

TABLE 23

DURFEE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: STUDENT RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	1562	1	--	1	4	1580
1968	1751	--	--	--	--	1753
1967	1974	3	--	--	--	1979
1966	1983	3	--	--	--	1987
1965	2194	8	--	--	--	2203
1964	2118	9	--	--	--	2128

Source: Central High School Constellation Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, 1964-69.

TABLE 24

LONGFELLOW JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: STUDENT RACIAL COUNT

Year	Black	White	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish	Total
1969	1497	11	--	1	3	1512
1968	1571	13	--	1	--	1584
1967	1487	11	--	--	--	1499
1966	1880	11	--	--	--	1894
1965	1791	1	--	--	--	1796
1964	1630	1	--	--	--	1634

Source: Central High School Constellation Racial Count, Department of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, 1964-69.

Holding Power of School

Table 25 indicates a high dropout rate for Central High School. During the 1966-67 school year, almost 13 per cent of the students dropped out of school and during the 1967-68 school year about 15 per cent dropped out. Table 26 shows that at Durfee Junior High (Central High School feeder school) the dropout rate is equally high. During the 1966-67 school year, 4.15 per cent dropped out of school, but during the 1967-68 school year the dropout rate was decreased to 2.27 per cent. Dropout rate for Longfellow Junior High School is shown in Table 27.

TABLE 25

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
12.99	14.69

Source: Senior High School Withdrawal Study, 1966-68, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools.

TABLE 26

DURFEE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
4.15	2.27

Source: Junior High School Withdrawal Study, 1966-68, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools.

TABLE 27

LONGFELLOW JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: DROPOUT RATE IN PERCENTAGE

1966-67	1967-68
.53	1.72

Source: Junior High School Withdrawal Study, 1966-68, Department of Guidance and Counseling, Detroit Public Schools.

More evidence of shortcomings in Central High School's educational environment was uncovered by a survey. Central High School Study Commission, appointed by the Detroit Board of Education, discovered the following:

> The Committee is appalled at the high percentage of the 10B's entering Central High School who are below the normal achievement and aptitudes level. The high school is not equipped, nor should it be, to teach fundamental basic skills to such a large number. This is evidence of gross, even criminal neglect on the part of the lower schools. This should be made known to the elementary and junior high schools and the public and immediate steps made to correct these inadequacies at that level.[1]

Further, the Commission found that with regard to the principal's relationship with parents of the student body, few parents and few students actually knew the principal other than by name. In fact, a parent-teacher organization was only reorganized since this committee was formed.

> . . . the committee feels that he was not aware of the importance of established rapport with the community and that it has hindered a positive relationship with the community and the educational needs of the students within this community.
>
> Central High School has a poor image within this community.
>
> Many problems exist at Central High School and that many of these problems are the result of a lack of good school-community relations; poor communication between the administration and the faculty and a lack of proper administrative temperament, imagination and interest, therefore the committee questions his effectiveness.

Community Involvement: The Central Citizens Action Committee

In an effort to remedy the situation, Central

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[1]Central High School Study Commission, op. cit., p. 6.

Citizens Action Committee (CCAC) was formed in September of 1967 by a group of 120 parents concerned about the low academic achievement in the Central constellation. In the spring of 1968, in cooperation with the PTAs in the constellation, the group sponsored three workshops for parents and teachers. After a series of meetings and discussions, the Committee developed a proposal in which they demanded from the "professional educator a workable system of professional accountability for student performance." They called for an end to "social promotion and promotions of convenience." "The schools are ours," they claimed, and the teachers "must be prepared to be totally involved in our program or there is no justification for their existence."

Confrontation between Community and School Authorities

The proposal was sent through the Regional Office to the Superintendent's office downtown. The Committee requested and was granted an audience with the Superintendent in June, 1968. The Superintendent rejected the proposal on the grounds that it was too radical and needed some modification.

Then, between September, 1968, and January, 1969, the Committee had discussions with Central constellation principals to modify the proposal. The modified proposal was then presented to the Central constellation teachers for their reaction during which time the Central Constellation Teachers' Committee (CCTC) was formed. In a position paper issued by the Teachers' Committee, the modified proposal was approved. The dialogue which continued between principals, teachers and community led to the realization of the need to incorporate teachers' views into any proposal. Later, the students' views were sought before the proposal was finally written up.

In order to ensure effective implementation of their programs, the CCAC requested a new black male administrator to replace the former white male Central High School administrator. In the absence of a black male administrator, the "schoolhouse" downtown sent a black female administrator to CCAC to be interviewed by them. This female administrator was accepted with some reluctance but it appears now that she was their best choice.

A good relationship has since built up between the Administrator and others involved in the school.[1]

In an interview with Community Agent Bill Loving it was revealed that in the eighteen months Mrs. Jenkins has been in charge, she has built up a rapport with those she works for and with, and that she has made a good impression.

The former administrator, although a Ph.D. with considerable influence, was rarely on the premises when he was needed by his staff, the youth, or their parents. Unlike him, Mrs. Jenkins, well acquainted with the area and her duties, uses her powers and influence to the benefit of the school's progress and its image.

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[1]The Administrator, Mrs. Hertha Jenkins, had worked in Central High School for several years as School Counselor, and besides she and her family live only a few blocks away from Central High School. She is seen and admired by the community as one of them and as one who is for their own good. Due to the fact that the principal and the school-community agent are from the community, communication lines appear to have opened up again between the school and the community. Mrs. Jenkins has also tried to pull her staff together which, as she said, was not easy at the start as they were dispersed and alienated during the former administration's reign. There also appears to be a good relationship between the students and the school administration, if conversation with a sampling of students is sufficient proof.

Non-Student Involvement in the Movement

One of the striking features of the Central High School case study was the non-active participation of students in the movement toward local control. This can only be explained by the fact that the outcome of the 1967 riots had significant impact on the students' attitude. In an interview with the School-Community Agent, William C. Loving, it was disclosed that this attitude seems to be characterized by a high degree of prudence and reluctance to make their opinion known and possibly by a certain degree of resignation concerning their estimation about their own capability to induce change.[1]

The riot experience is furthermore the most likely explanation for the high degree of moderation which is displayed by all community organizations. According to Mrs. Hertha Jenkins, the School Administrator, the block clubs try very hard to keep radicals out of the community. They want by all means to bring about change by any means other than violence.[2]

In the light of this experience, the community's move to win more power in educational decision-making was strictly dissociated from any threat or even hint of threat and strictly limited to patient negotiations.

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[1] Interview with William C. Loving, op. cit.

[2] Interview with Mrs. Hertha Jenkins, op. cit.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The preceding represented a chronology of events depicting case studies of three Detroit "inner city" communities in transition toward the decentralization of the educational process and indigenous control over the schools. Data for the descriptive and abstractional materials were obtained from the following sources:

1. The 1965 Detroit Regional Transportation and Land Use Study (TALUS).
2. The Detroit High School Study Commission Report (1968).
3. Urban Renewal Studies in the Detroit "inner city" area.
4. The Evaluation Report of the King High School P & E Council workshops October 18, 25, and November 8, 1969.
5. Neighborhood Service Program Resource Guide, prepared by the Neighborhood Services Program Training of the University Center for Adult Education and the Area Training and Technical Assistance Center (a program of the Office of Economic Opportunity).
6. Newspaper accounts:
   a) The Michigan Chronicle (January 1968 - December 1969).

b) The Detroit News (January 1968 - December 1969).

c) The Detroit Free Press (January 1968 - December 1969).

7. The Detroit Public School Census (1968-69).
8. Racial counts taken for the Detroit Board of Education (1965-1969).
9. Structured and unstructured interviews with black leaders, school officials, parents in the communities and students.
10. Observation of school classes, school environment and the community in the three target areas.
11. Minutes of formal meetings held by school and community organizations.
12. Guide to School Boundaries (Regions 6, 4, 8), Detroit Public Schools, 1969-70.

These communities were characterized by:

1) the low-income racial minorities being in the majority;
2) the propensity toward indigenous community organization;
3) the sensitivity and involvement of students in the political process; and
4) the general awareness of "community" among the local areas' inhabitants.

In the following chapter, a theoretical framework describing the stages in the developments toward local control and community power structure will be presented, and an analysis of data drawn from the related literature and the case studies (Chapter III) will be attempted.

Theoretical Framework

Stages of Developments in the Movements toward Local Control

Regarding the stages of development in the movements toward local control, the study theorizes that:

1. There are identifiable stages through which communities pass.
2. These stages can be identified through social indicators which serve as predictive indices of their development.
3. It is not possible, however, to predict the exact stages that communities must go through without longitudinal data.
4. Hence the stages theorized are essentially "static" in character in the absence of process data.
5. Due to the uniqueness of each community (its history, age, socio-economic level, ethnography, etc.) the nomenclature which seem most appropriate for the successive stages in the movement may be depicted as follows:

    Stage 1: Embryonic or Consultative

    Stage 2: Transitional or Participatory

    Stage 3: Active Decision Making

Community Power Structure

Theories of community power structure, either elitist[1]

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[1]Hunter, Floyd, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), pp. 1-261.

or pluralist[1] refer to models of the normal functioning of the established political process.

Conflict situations such as this study investigates are not usual components of the normal political processes. The "steady-state" models of community power structure do not seem to have much direct relevance for the study of community leadership in this situation.[2]

Those most affected by the school failures were in the forefront of the school-community conflict,[3] a situation different from that described by both the elitist and the pluralist theorists.

Voluntary leadership arose in the process of forming mechanisms to meet the crisis and these leaders became democratically confirmed in their leadership role as the community gained control over the conflict situation.[4] Existing

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[1]Dahl, Robert A., Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 3-275.

[2]This is a particular conflict situation, over a particular issue (quality education), in particular communities (ghetto), in a particular time. Those who feel oppressed are the ones taking action to change the situation. Those who do not feel oppressed are interested in conserving the status quo; and these are the real enemies of those involved in the movement.

[3]At Northeastern, lower-class parents and the students were at the forefront, backed by Protestant church ministers; at Central, middle-class parents backed by black professional educators were at the forefront; at King, students, parents and professional educators from both lower- and middle-class origin were at the forefront of the conflict.

[4]The investigator was interested in finding out what were the issues over which decisions had to be made (to oust the white administrator, to hire a black male administrator to replace the old one, to burn the American flag, to put up the Republic of New Africa flag; to burn down the "schoolhouse" downtown; to write a proposal demanding accountability to parents, etc.); who made those decisions; how can those parents who led the community through the crisis be identified, etc. So the approach adopted was eclectic.

institutional kinds of leadership played little or no significant role in the movement.

Analysis of Data

The following is the major issue to which the study addressed itself: Are there predictable social indicators and/or commonalities in the pattern of developments toward strong local control of public education by minority groups? The answer is affirmative.

Patterns of Development toward Strong Local Control

Social Indicators Concerning the Communities

Stages of Development.--The three school communities studied were found to be at different stages of development toward complete takeover of their local schools. The Northeastern High School community was found to be in the embryonic stage, the Central High School community in the transitional stage and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School community in the activistic stage.

The unique character of each of these stages was found to be as follows:

a) The Embryonic Stage. At this stage, the local community has only the right to be consulted before any drastic changes are made in the school such as faculty removal. At this stage, the local community has no power either to make decisions or participate in the decision-making processes that affect the school. It is a stage of powerlessness, aspirational frustration and tension ridden. The significant feature of this stage is that the community obtains so far only a consultative participation in the decision-

making process.

b) The Transitional Stage. At this stage, the local community has only the right to interview candidates for administrative positions in the school from a list prepared and presented by the Central Board of Education. The significance of this stage is a greater share in the decision-making process, however, limited to a mere veto right. There is a general feeling of potential autonomy among the people who are involved, giving rise to changing aspirations. There are feelings of power and influence and a search for leadership and structure to channel those feelings.

c) The Activistic Stage. At this stage, there is a full participation in the decision-making process as far as the law allows. The community can hire its administrator and make other policies that affect the school. At this stage, it is significant that the school is clearly seen as the battleground. The people see a lot of what they want out of life in the school.

Institutional Forms.--During these three stages of development toward local control of public education, different organizational forms emerged:

a) At the first (embryonic) stage, the Ad Hoc Committee created was characterized by a very low consistency of institutionalization.

b) At the second (transitional) stage, the degree of institutionalization is far higher, however, not yet integrated into the official organizational structure of the Detroit public educational system.

c) At the third stage, full institutionalization is reached and the created institution has become a part of

the official educational structure.

Different Leadership Patterns.--In the first stage, students and parents from low-economic strata took the lead, backed by Protestant ministers.

In the second stage, the students played no significant role; the movement was led by black middle-class parents, backed by professional educators.

In the third stage, leadership emerged from students, parents and teachers mainly of black middle class of relatively higher educational standard.

Awareness of Misery by Lower Socio-Economic Groups.--In all three cases there is considerable amount of awareness of existing misery. However, the different degrees of awareness do not correlate with the different stages of gaining control.

Emergence of a Power Base.--The emergence of a power base is the most striking feature differentiating the three stages. The degree of power correlates closely with the different degree of organizational institutionalization as described under "Stages of Development."

In stage one, the existing power base was only able to create a relatively weak Ad Hoc structure and purely consultative rights.

In the second stage, a more solid power base permitted a more stable organization and the participation in decision-making limited to a veto right.

Stage three shows that a larger power base recruited among students, parents, and teachers, not only of lower but also of middle strata of the black community, was able to

obtain a legally recognized form of organization and a considerable participation in decision-making.

Social Indicators Concerning the School

Contrary to the social indicators concerning the communities which showed a clear difference of patterns between the three stages, the social indicators regarding the schools are almost alike in the three case studies. These indicators are as follows:

1) The emergence of the school as a focal point of the issue.
2) A breakdown of staff-student communication.
3) Activism.
4) Open conflicts.
5) Attempts to change the decision makers in the school.

A difference between the three stages, insofar as social indicators concerning the schools are involved, exists only in terms of achievements. The reasons for the different levels of achievements, however, reside in the different degree of importance of the social indicators regarding the communities as shown above. From this, it can be concluded that the social indicators concerning the schools are necessary indicators for all three stages, but not sufficient in order to explain the differences between the stages.

Questions A, B, C, D, and E that follow are really component parts of the major issue discussed above, and they will be treated in the order just outlined above.

A. Are there some clear behavioral expectations if the locus of control remains static, that is, in the hands of the privileged groups?

The answer is affirmative.

There are some clear behavioral expectations to be discerned in either case of the decision.

If the locus of control remains static and consequently the movement for decentralization is frustrated (through reactionary legislation, teachers unions, wrong choice of educational leaders, inadequate funding, etc.), militant activism and open trouble can be expected (see student reaction to "inner city" schools, pp. 65-68 and also school-community relationships, pp. 68-70).

If on the other hand, the locus of control is shifted to the minorities, the enthusiastic support by the community can be expected (see page 87).

B. Are there unique or particular factors in the overall educational structure that parents can legally control?

The answer is affirmative with qualifications.

In the absolute sense, the parents have no legal control over any factors in the overall educational structure. All legal powers granted by law to the local school districts are subject to review by the central board of education, which may overrule, modify, or affirm the action of the local school district (See Appendix III, p. 156).

However, local school districts (parents) can exercise relative legal control over some factors in the overall educational structure (e.g., hire their administrator, design curriculum, etc.; see Appendix III, p. 156).

The development of the process toward local community control has so far been limited by the existing legal framework. As it has been explained, the aspirations of the minority groups tend to go beyond this framework. Therefore it might be useful to recapitulate briefly the existing

legal boundary.

Even according to the Reformed Legislation of New York and Michigan, the school district will still be too big to allow effective control of individual schools through the communities served by the schools; especially, some of the most urgent demands by these communities regarding local school control, which are not only to hire but also to fire the administrator, to appoint a strong principal belonging to their own groups and to entrust a change of curriculum to that administrator, are outside the present legal framework. In other words, the strongest aspirations appearing in the local communities which might lead to a personalization of the problem as shown at the end of Chapter II are likely to be frustrated by the existing legal framework.

Presently, it is only at Stage 3 of the development toward local control that the parents exercise their right to hire their administrator.

C. Does local control have an effect on the curricular and academic performance of students? If so, in what ways?

The answer is neither affirmative nor negative.

So far, neither of the three stages has brought about significant changes in curriculum, since the discussion on the subject has hardly begun.

There are demands, however, for a more adapted curriculum which have led so far only to symbolic output such as renaming schools and halls after famous black and civil rights leaders.

Since an operationalized ideal curriculum is still a vague issue, the problem is personalized: A strong black administrator is requested who shall resolve the curriculum question. Hence the demand for these kinds of administrators

has become central to the ideal of the new school in all three stages of the development toward strong local control (see also page 53).

Furthermore, the observation time is too short to allow relevant conclusions as to changes in the academic performance of the students.

D. Are there visible effects that "local control" has on the learning processes?

The answer is affirmative.

Considerable changes can be observed insofar as the character of the learning process is concerned. (See pages 121-124.)

Especially in Stage 3, an important change of atmosphere can be attested: a quiet and cooperative scholarly climate was the consequence of the introduced changes. Most considerable was a change in teacher-student relationship: there was a high degree of cooperative interaction.

From this limited observation, we can, however, draw the conclusion that the movement toward stronger local control might have in the long run a quite favorable effect on learning processes.

E. Are there short term social implications if minority groups gain control over their local public schools? Long range?

The answer is affirmative.

One short-term implication of the movement toward local control can be derived from what has been said above about the educational implications: since considerable improvements of the learning atmosphere can be observed, there is a reasonable chance of obtaining a better quality education.

This improvement of quality education might lead to

a higher degree of identification of students and their parents with their schools and even to symptoms of pride in the schools' achievement.

Middle and long-range implications will certainly be characterized by a spill-over effect of the successful attempts to seize control of the local schools. There might even be a spill-over effect on other social institutions besides education, such as social welfare agencies, churches, community services and local governments.

The overall effect on the present system of local government and its various branches could be considerable in the long run. However, the great number and importance of other intervening variables do not allow predictions with reasonable degree of probability.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the study will present the summary of findings in the case studies; offer suggestions for further research including future predictions regarding the movement and some testable hypotheses; provide some of the major conclusions drawn from the study; and make certain recommendations.

Summary of Findings

Commonalities

Similarities in Schools and Community

It can be seen from the cases just cited that in three separate inner-city school districts with the obvious similarities: predominantly black enrollments, from predominantly black communities, children taught by white and black faculty, a faculty that was alienated by a white principal, found themselves in the midst of unrest and discontent with the school system. In each of these communities parents became aware that their children were not learning and were dropping out of school. To these communities, the students and some faculty members, the image of the schools was really poor. To this end, something drastic had to be done.

Similar Goal of Activism

In each of these cases, the goal of activism was similar: to obtain a strong black principal who could lead both the school and the community out of the dilemma of school failure.

Similar Means of Action

Basically, even the means to the end were somewhat similar: the rise of parents, other community residents, and even the students to help save "the sinking ship," only in detail were their efforts dissimilar.

Dissimilarities

Varied Forms of Conflict Solving Mechanisms

In the one case, Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School, the plan was not without previous organization. Prior to the crisis, a group had already begun to study the problem with intentions of action. They had been trained for their part by Neighborhood Service Program (NSP) education subcommittee, indirectly authorized by OEO and directly by the Detroit Board of Education. The offshoot of this NSP Education Subcommittee and the Neighborhood Education Council is called the Planning and Evaluation Council trained to help with the administration of the schools; the members of this group attended training sessions, elected officers, created bylaws and received advice from its parent organization.

The P & E Council officers are fairly well prepared to take their place as permanent officers in the control of the King High School. Further, it answers to a regional

P & E Council to which it had sent participating members.

At Central High School following the study of the Detroit High School Study Commission which revealed low academic achievement in the Central constellation, a few parents from each of the schools in the constellation joined together for meetings and workshops and eventually formed what is known as the Central Citizens Action Committee (CCAC). This group also has elected officers, formulated bylaws, and met regularly in preparation for permanence in their new offices. The group was finally able to negotiate a proposal within their school district which, hopefully, is accomplishing their own goals. This was all accomplished in a gradual peaceful manner, contrary to the circumstances surrounding parents-students takeover at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School.

Unlike the quiet situation at Central, much more violent than the circumstances at King High School was the explosive student upheaval that brought school problems into limelight at the Northeastern Senior High School; but, as in the King High School situation, parents and community persons were drawn into the act. After student vandalism, police intervention, student walkout, parents and community people gathered together to do whatever they could do to alleviate the catastrophe. From this group arose the Ad Hoc Committee of volunteers who went to work to solve the school crisis.

Different Degrees of Goal Achievement

In each of these school situations, one of the foremost needs as seen by those various study groups was that

of a strong leader in the form of a black male principal. In each case, they got a black principal. In two of the cases, the white principals took a leave of absence. At Northeastern, the principal was transferred. In each school, there was a vacancy for a new principal, then the parents, community people were in a position to either choose a replacement or given the opportunity to confirm an appointment already made by the Detroit Board of Education (Northeastern).

At King Senior High School, under the most prepared local council, the principal was their choice (taken from a list of five supplied by the Board of Education); the P & E council interviewed and hired him.

At Central, the committee resigned themselves eventually to accepting the services of a black female principal as a second choice. As it turned out, this has been a very satisfactory arrangement.

At Northeastern, the Board of Education saw fit to transfer along with the white principal, the black assistant principal, who was well loved not only by the students but also by the community at large. The Board appointed a black principal of its own choice to serve at Northeastern and a white assistant principal to replace the transferred administrators. Although the Ad Hoc Committee confirmed the appointment of the new black principal by the Detroit Board of Education, neither the students nor the community were satisfied with the appointment. Their perception of a new black principal was that of an "Uncle Tom," one they thought would opt for the system rather than for the poor black community and its multiple needs. On the other hand, there were no objections raised to the elevation of the white business administrator to the level of assistant

principal.

Indicative of this situation is the observation that the struggle of the poor and the blacks in America for self-determination in matters educational and otherwise is not basically racial. It is the struggle of the "have-nots" against the "haves." It is the struggle of the poor against the rich. It is a struggle for survival.

Also indicative of this situation is the fact that if the poor and the blacks have to survive in American cities, they have to have a good education that guarantees them good jobs and good life. These groups are concerned neither with integration nor segregation. They will accept any person who they feel will help them in their struggle for survival, either black or white, and reject all who will exploit them for the benefit of the white majority.

Contrasting Strategies of Action Due to Unique Community Characteristics

While there are some obvious similarities between the three communities studied, there are certainly some apparent reasons why the students' actions took contrasting forms. The Central High School community, for example, is one where students for the most part come from high school graduate or near college graduate households. From this it can be assumed that their economic level is not only moderate but stable; these are primarily middle class people, concerned mostly with maintaining the status quo.

Dissatisfaction with the Central High School did not arise internally with the pupils; it arose, as we have seen, from the results of a public survey. The block clubs at the Central community are interested in keeping out all radical movements, keeping the neighborhoods clean

and habitable. They want peace and quiet. Central community's good relations with the Detroit Police Department, in the main concerned with the status quo, confirms this observation.

At Northeastern, where disruptive and destructive violence broke out, the students come from poor, less educated households. High school graduate level in this area is much lower and the general atmosphere is one of poverty rather than middle class or near middle class families. Their background and frustration apparently pushed them into acts of various degrees of "criminality" in order to point out their obvious grievances with the school system.

The aggression of the students gathered strength and support from the community particularly after the police were called into the scene. However, while good articulate leadership was wanting on the community level, student leadership supplied the lack.

Northeastern High School students, like the Martin Luther King, Jr. High School students, were backed by the organization that trains youth toward gaining power over their own destiny by direct confrontation with those in command.

Although Northeastern High School community is only slightly more than half black, the white population is at political odds with the blacks; its educational level is not substantially higher than that of the blacks in this community. The whites at the Northeastern community are senior citizens, without school age children and so generally have little or no interest in public school problems. When school taxation is voted on at the polls, it may be supposed that this class of disinterested citizens will not cast a vote

for school improvement.

In the Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School community, where the population is almost half black and half white, the income varies between the lowest and a high above $20,000 per year, with few middle-income families in between. King's professional type population provides better and more articulate leaders than can be found in either of the other two communities studied. This vicinity has a larger percentage of college graduates than either of the other two examined. The presence of this caliber of persons, in addition to the fact that King High School community lies in a solid political atmosphere which produces influential public leaders. In fact, a number of permanent politicians such as State Senators Coleman Young and Basil Brown, Congressmen Charles Diggs and John Conyers, State Representatives David Holmes and Daisy Elliot have been elected from this district. The feedback from the legislative sources is more likely to benefit a school district that is also a legislative district. It includes senatorial and/or congressional districts.

Charismatic Community Leadership a Force in the Struggle

This community was fertile ground for the junior government of Political Education Project (PEP) of Frank Ditto, which is active in King as it is in the Northeastern community. Quite likely, through the activities of PEP the students at King High School were knowledgeable to await the opportunity of a peaceful demonstration rather than resort to violence such as at Northeastern. King High School students, as the study pointed out earlier, brought the school problems to the fore when they reacted to

derogatory statements made public by some of their staff.

Student Approach to School Reform and Their Participation in Actual Reform Process

There seems to be a certain correlation between the students' approach to school reform and the part they play ultimately in the actual reform processes. For instance, at the Central High School, where the students took no active part at the outset to bring about quality education, they ended up having only minimum voice in the Central School's affairs--that of consultant.

In each case where the students were the force that began and carried through the action, it appears from the studies that they gained considerable power.

At the Martin Luther King, Jr. Senior High School the students started out with reactionary verbal revolution; whereas at the Northeastern High School, the students' approach was overt physical aggression but the end results in both cases were the same: in the King High School as in the Northeastern High School students have now voting power in policy decisions.

Stages of Development Toward Strong Local Control

The three school situations are seen in various stages of development toward eventual complete takeover of their local schools. The King High School is the most advanced of the three communities studied with its P & E Council power to hire the principal that all the schools studied feel is the focal point in building up the image of the school. The King group is well prepared and well trained to pass from the temporal to a permanent state of local control.

It is now awaiting the Detroit Board of Education to show the "green light" and too much delay on the part of the Detroit Board of Education to do so may be catastrophic for the existing system.

The Central Citizens Action Committee is still at its developmental stage: power is not so complete as in King; they can only interview and recommend candidates from a list already prepared by the Detroit Board of Education for principalship.

At Northeastern, the developments toward local community control are in their first or embryonic stages. The people have no power yet to make policies. However, they have gained the right to be consulted before drastic changes are made such as faculty removal; the fight for control at Northeastern began over this very argument--the removal of a favorite assistant principal without the "knowledge of the students and community." They end up gaining back this right. Further, the Ad Hoc Committee at Northeastern High School is by its very nature temporary; whatever will happen to it is not the concern of this study.

If the students' and the community's perceptions of the new black principal are right, it is very likely that this poor people's aspiration will be frustrated, and that may result in further and perhaps the most destructive explosion yet to come at Northeastern.

The Role of the School-Community Agent

Throughout this summary, one important aspect of school reform has been neglected: the role of the school-community agent. This person serves as the liaison officer between the school and the community. At the moment he is hired by the Central Board of Education. It is his duty to

report his findings to the Board of Education. He is chosen from amongst the community residents; ideally the local groups, as well as the school principals, would choose to have this agent answer to one or both of them. When local control is complete, this may be the case. In the eyes of the local people, if the principal is to serve as the captain of the ship charged with full responsibility, then it stands to reason that the community agent as a representative on his staff should make his report to the principal and/or the community.

Evidence of Apparent Success

In the short time that this movement has been in effect, the investigator has personally observed and, through interviews with students, school administrators, faculty members, school-community agents and community leaders, seen that the atmosphere for learning has been initiated in these schools.

Even though there is still some hostility at Northeastern High School toward the new principal (who was not the choice of the students and the community but was a black male sent by the Detroit Board of Education), there appears to be hope that relationships will improve. In assessing the situation at Northeastern High School, the principal stated: "I can say that I am very proud of the students and parents . . . the students have been cooperative and respectful." He speaks of new programs that will be and have been started to help the students make the most of their high school experiences. "Hopefully," he said, "I may get more students involved in events at the school . . . and to assist Northeastern in raising the academic level of the total student body."

The student-faculty-parent council gives these factions a chance to be heard on concerns of the school; they can give support to educational improvement, programs and procedures.

Chester Vaughn, teacher-organizer of the Black Student Association at this school, appears hopeful that the changes at Northeastern will increase to the point where Northeastern can compare favorably with any school in Detroit. Since he works closely with black students, his optimism would indicate that the movement within the school should create an improved image of the school within and outside the community.

Mrs. Clara Morrow, mother of a black student leader, in spite of the disagreements she may have with her son and his friends' "radical" attitudes, has faith in this generation's interest in the schools--"doing their own thing."

Community leaders, Mrs. Rushin, Mrs. Watkins and Mrs. Elnor Betts, agree that there is much hope in the fact that unlike themselves in their youth in the South, their children are reaching out toward a better life and seem to them to be capable of accomplishing their goals, beginning with their education.

A twelfth grader, Wilbert Morrow, speaks with conviction in these words he published in a school paper, the "Black Student Voice":

> I know that anyone of us Black brothers can fly any super jet plane and build any Lafayette Tower or make any "Skonicks shirt" if he is given the opportunity of equal education. The power of the Black man is unlimited.

Inasmuch as hope lies with the leader of a school, the attitude of the community toward the new female principal at Central High School may be considered indicative of

better days in this school's future. This can be seen in the words of the community's leader, Mrs. Helen Kelly, who confessed to the principal, "I personally did not want you here, but as it turns out, I was wrong, we could not have made a better choice."

The school-community agent, William C. Loving, who had worked under the former principal as well, remarked that "the kids go to her not only with academic problems but with personal problems. She has empathy, understanding, patience because she has raised a family of her own. She is a woman with depth. She lives a few blocks from here and we call at her house even outside school hours."

Mrs. Hertha Jenkins, the principal herself, admits it was "tough to begin with--everyman for himself." She, however, is establishing order, cutting red tape, asserting some independence from the Central Board, thus bringing about efficiency that is helping toward the creation of a better learning atmosphere.

At King Senior High School, the investigator sat in classes and made these observations: students were orderly, interested, they asked questions intelligently, the study halls were peaceful and quiet. In his opinion, this is indicative of satisfaction with the environment. To back up his opinion that the trend here was toward quality education, at the suggestion of the school-community agent and the principal, the investigator spoke with both moderate and valued community leader, Mrs. Garwood, and with a man considered more radical but also highly valued as a leader, Frank Ditto. From both leaders the researcher deduced optimism regarding the general school picture.

Suggestions for Further Research

It is suggested that a study be undertaken to design the implementation of this megalopolis type of school districts on a state-wide level.

The use of different approaches and more sophisticated research techniques could be highly useful in order to gain supplementary insight into the nature, character and importance of the movement which has been the subject of the present study.

Probabilistic Forecast of Further Tendencies

The probable consequences of the movement toward local control of urban public education in the foreseeable future can be summarized as follows:

1. There is a strong tendency to break through the existing legal structure. There is a strong emphasis on the personalization process of the issue centered on the demand to give full power to a community-hired administrator not only to administer the school but also to reshape it completely, including the curricula.

2. From this results the crucial question: Will the central board or the competent political authorities allow a change in the law or not? If there is no change, the foreseeable consequence will be trouble as has been already indicated. If on the contrary, the legal framework will be changed, the full consequences cannot as yet be predicted. They will depend on numerous social factors such as the quality of the available middle and high level manpower for the top jobs, the overall ideological developments within the local communities of the minority group members, and last but not the least, the attitudes of agencies consuming the

educational output, such as governmental and private employers, towards the diplomas delivered by the renewed schools. A better assessment of these factors which might have a very high degree of influence on the outcome of the present experiment is only possible in the future; that is, whether the new community controlled schools will contribute to a greater integration of minority group members into the nation or whether its failure will lead to a greater frustration and dissent.

However, as the situation stands now, control is most likely to remain as it is, considering the fact that integration is slow. In spite of civil rights laws, Southern politicians continue to fight integration openly, and in the North, white segregation is more subtle. Integration can never be successful without the passing of many generations of changed attitudes.

As long as there is neighborhood segregation, there will continue to be segregated school districts. The minority groups will then have one or two choices: they can either put up with the situation as it exists today, receiving second-rate education in second-rate schools that are controlled by disinterested parties, or they will revolt. The revolt may either be reactionary and possibly lead to bloodshed as in the race riots, or it may be a planned action to gain control of their schools for themselves as in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, or the three examples in this study.

If the people in control become aware of the minorities' tendency to revolt, they may try various methods to appease them. One way is with legislation such as the New York Decentralization Bill or Bill No. 635 enacted in

Michigan on August 11, 1969. In it the local districts are granted the right to hire administrators from a list provided by the Central Board of Education rather than at random. The local school districts are entitled to employ and discharge, assign and promote all teachers and employees of the local school district--subject to review by the Central Board of Education--which may overrule, modify, or affirm the action of the local school district. The local district can determine their curriculum, use of educational facilities and establishment of educational and testing programs--subject to review by the Central Board of Education. They can determine the budget for the local school district based upon the allocation of funds received from the Central Board of Education--practically all the monies are earmarked by the Central Controlling Board before the local school district gets hold of it. Due to the fact that some states like New York and Michigan have tenure laws, the local districts, like the Central School Boards, are handicapped in that they cannot abrogate, diminish or impair the retirement rights, tenure seniority and/or any other benefits of any teacher under tenure transferred to local school districts or between school districts from the Central Board of Education.

A big drawback to this law is that it divides school districts into unmanageable, large enrollment segments. Michigan Senate Bill No. 635 provided for districts made up of 25,000 to 50,000 students in each district. This is an unwieldy number. Instead of making local control possible, involving community people, the area covered is so large that it leads to still another bureaucracy which in turn answers to the Central Governing Board. It is a case of divide and rule. Instead of making it possible for small

local groups to control in neighborhood areas, the authority remains in the hands of the powerful Central Board. Obviously, the original problems found in the first bureaucracy can only be multiplied and intensified with the formation of succeeding ones. Nothing, then, has changed by an Act that ultimately returns the real control over thousands of children to a handful of board members who are untrained in school matters, who depend largely on the judgment of administrative bureaucrats neither of whom go out in the field; in the case of board members, they have other jobs that prevent them from making personal contacts in the local areas. They are not as committed to their voluntary undertaking, as parents would be if they had the voice in school affairs.

The minority groups are not going to settle for this kind of appeasement, but insist upon real instead of token control--then they are going to organize to seize control of their educational institution.

Inasmuch as their first need is good leadership, their first act is likely to be to oust the undesirable principal and hire a strong male black administrator. From this act they will most likely gain strength and self-pride because for the first time they have performed an aggressive act toward the betterment of their children's education. It is assumed that they will find the means to give him sufficient power to operate the school and handle the personnel. They may very likely seek recognition by the larger society as legitimate controlling Board of Education.

Other school districts may want to follow their example and there may develop a megapolis of school districts. On the one hand, the central board of education may eventually cease to exist; or, on the other hand, they may prefer to retain a link with the central board of

education--commonwealth. In any case, the organizational structures may remain the same for some time--colonial experience. A successful takeover of the schools may lead to attempts to take over other social institutions in the community by the poor racial minorities.

Quality education may eventually be achieved for most low-income racial minority children; probably, the diplomas awarded by these schools will be given recognition by top-ranking universities and employing agencies; the minority group members will most likely feel pride in their accomplishment; they may then choose not to leave their communities in shame but to return with pride to raise their children in a community that they are proud of. After a few generations, they might be ready for integration but on an equal basis.

Some Testable Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been generated from the study and are presented here to be tested by the next researcher:

1. In "inner city" movements toward decentralization of control the central institutional focus of community conflict will be the school.
2. Variations in the stages of community development toward local control (that is, the embryonic stage, the transitional stage and the active decision making stage) will show direct relationships among the socio-economic status of its inhabitants, their educational levels, and the stability of the community's social structure.
3. The social indicators reflected in the various

stages of school conflict will show marked similarities in each succeeding stage but exhibit marked dissimilarities in the order in which they may occur at these various stages.

4. Significant differences between the three stages of development toward local control will exist only in terms of actual achievement on the part of those involved in the decentralization movements.
5. Low degree of institutionalization, limited indigenous leadership, and small power bases will demonstrate a direct relationship to low achievement in terms of indigenous community control.
6. The degree of institutionalization achieved by the local communities in the various stages of the development toward local control will demonstrate significant relationship to organizational achievements.
7. The precise form of leadership which emerges will show a direct relationship to the history of the community, the political sophistication level of the people involved and the age structure of the community.
8. In those communities where the political sophistication of the adult population is low, the student population will emerge as a significant force in the movement toward local control of education.
9. The style of minority leadership emerging in communities involved in movements toward local

control will be characterized by high individualization of a charismatic type.

10. The conflict resolution mechanisms utilized by communities seeking changes in the patterns of control will rest in those groups and/or organizations external to the communities' basic institutions (the school, the church, etc.).

Conclusions

The major conclusions drawn from the study were as follows:

1. The central focus of community conflict is likely to be the educational institution. This is so because the minority population in their overwhelming majority situation perceive education as the virtually most important vehicle for socio-economic ascent.

2. Communities involved in the movement to gain control of their local educational institution are likely to go through identifiable stages of development.

3. However, the degree of deviation from the described model stages might be very high, depending on the variations of social indicators such as size of the community, socio-economic stratification, educational level, response of the larger society to the movement, the presence in the community of charismatic leadership, etc.

4. The precise form of leadership which emerges will depend upon the history of the community, the sophistication level of the people involved and the age structure of the community, that is, the younger the community, the more militant it is likely to be. Students are likely to play a leading role in the movement toward local control of the

educational institutions.

5. The most crucial question concerning the expected development is most likely to be the rise of new types of minority leadership. Minority expectations tend toward a strong, individually personalized, and nearly charismatic type of leadership. The question, whether leaders who are likely to meet these expectations can be found, transcends the possibilities of predictive attempts based on presented data. If leaders of a charismatic type can be found, it is likely that the movement will achieve its full significance; if not, a sharp increase in the degree of frustration is likely to be expected.

Considering the educational background of possible leader personalities available for recruitment, it is not very likely that they will be able to meet the high expectations invested in them by the population.

For this reason, it is highly probable that the new leadership will have to undergo considerable stresses.

However, the poor racial minorities are not likely to give up in their struggle for self-determination beginning with their local educational institution.

Recommendations

A certain number of recommendations might be deduced from this study. These recommendations are based on the assumption that the improvement of minority group education has to be searched within the overall framework of the existing educational system. (Other recommendations could be deduced from the study on the assumption that considerable changes in the whole orientation of public education in the United States of America could be undertaken.) In this

sense, the study makes the following recommendations:

1. A speedy decentralization process that is legal whereby power will be given to the minority groups to run their own schools, instead of allowing them to forcefully take over control.
2. The local school districts should be kept as small as 9,000-12,000 student population, because the larger it gets, the farther away it is from the parents and voters and the more invisible the control and the more waste.
3. The school administrator should be given sufficient power to reshape the new local community controlled schools.
4. The school-community agent should be responsible to the school administrator and the local community rather than to the central board of education.
5. In the framework of teacher training, special facilities should be provided to train urban public school administrators with particular emphasis on community organizations and local curriculum development. Only through a totally new approach to this task of training administrators for the new schools, can the hopes placed by the minority communities in their new educational leadership be prevented from being frustrated. Educational research should pay attention to this urgent problem.

APPENDIX I

DEFINITIONS

Influence.--An interpersonal transaction in which one person, physically or morally, acts in such a way as to change the behavior of another in some intended fashion.[1]

However, every influence attempt is not successful in producing the intended effect. The effect may be exactly as intended or it may be exactly the opposite of what was intended, or it may even be nothing at all.[2]

A successful influence attempt means that the attempt not only be received but that the cycle be completed by the performance of the desired behavior.[3]

Control. A distinction is made between successful and unsuccessful attempts to influence another. If A has control over B in some matter, A's influence is strong enough that the cycle of desired behavior will be completed and any counterinfluences will be subdued in the process. In other words, A gets B to do what he wants and requests. Lack of control neither implies lack of attempts at influence, nor lack of influence. However, it does imply that other forces in the situation are stronger than the actor's influence and that the response that the actor desires is not met. A can

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[1] Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., third printing, 1967), p. 218.

[2] Ibid., p. 219.

[3] Ibid.

get all that he desires from B all the time or some of what he wants some time, or none at all; that is, control can be absolute or relative.[1]

Power.--Power is the capacity to exert influence. Generally, power is used to refer to some potential set of influence transactions and rarely to a single act. The parents have the power to have the low performing principal removed and replaced with a man of their own culture who they believe will perform well. This does not mean that the parents have done so or will do so. It means that they can do so if they so desire and that the parents have the means by which to coerce compliance.[2]

Authority is the power which a person has by virtue of his role in an organized social structure. It is power which is not only lawful but also acceptable by the people at large.[3] Thus in a community of black people, it is possible for seven men to sit up on the bureaucratic citadel and decide to send over an educational administrator not acceptable to the people. In this case, seven men in the schoolhouse have power, but no real authority; the parents have the authority.

Community is a group of people bound together by common interests.

Community participation is when the involvement of the community or representatives of the community in the process of making policies that affect the schools in which their children attend but without the final decision-making

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., pp. 219-220.

[3] Ibid., p. 220.

authority.[1] The P.T.A. and the Teacher Aides are examples of an organized effort in this direction. They act on a purely advisory role in the activities of the school. It suggests, at most, some sharing of power between the professional educators and the laymen but with the final authority remaining with the professional educators and the Central Board of Education.

Community control is the actual exercise of legitimate power by a local community school board over a school system or subdivision thereof.[2] Such a board therefore has the authority and responsibility in policy and decision-making in all or some areas of matters affecting education. Control over the local school system can be exercised directly by the group of parents and citizens or through an advocate, as when the parents and citizens pressure for a principal of their own race and culture to whom they desire to grant all powers to see to it that high performance is obtained from teachers, employees of the school and from the students.

School decentralization is the administrative subdivision of a large district into subdistricts which have a considerable degree of autonomy in a big city school system. Theoretically, it implies the redistribution of the power to make important decisions and choices about the operation of the schools, so that parents and citizens may have authority over their own schools.[3] In practice, it may exist even

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[1] Leah Gaskins, "Models for Schools in Black Neighborhoods," Foresight Bulletin, VIII, 9.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Robert J. Havighurst, "Metropolitanism and the Issues of Social Integration and Administrative Decentralization in Large Cities," Equality of Educational Opportunity in the Large Cities of America: The Relationship between Decentralization and Racial Integration, ed. Carroll F. Johnson and Michael D. Usdan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 125.

without community participation.[1] The power of the local community to make decisions and choices can be either delegated by the Central Board of Education or legalized by the legislature.

The neighborhood school concept is the practice in American public education that children ordinarily attend a school in their own neighborhood.[2]

Social promotion is passing the child from one grade to the next before he has learned enough to merit being promoted.

Benefits and rewards of educational process--marketable skills relevant to competent performance in a competitive industrial society. It also includes, among other things, preparation and motivation to proceed to higher levels of education.

Integration - social--the sharing of experience in school, church, government and occupation by boys and girls, men and women, from the various racial and economic groups in the population.[3]

Minority group--a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. The existence of a minority in a country implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with higher social status

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[1] Leah Gaskins, op. cit., p. 9.

[2] What You Should Know about School Decentralization: Some Concepts That Should Be Understood, Area Training and Technical Assistance Center, December 4, 1969.

[3] Robert J. Havighurst, op. cit., p. 125.

and greater privileges. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society.[1]

Minorities differ in the symbols which set them apart, in the nature of their relationship to the dominant group, and in their reactions to the situation. While recognizing that symbolic differences do affect the nature of the interaction, it is also clear that it is the pattern of relationship that is crucial. Several variables affect that pattern. A situation in which there is only one minority will be different from one in which there are several. A single minority has to absorb all the anxieties and frustrations of the dominant group and become the object of all its power manipulations. Where there are several, as in the United States, some may escape relatively easily; a hierarchy develops among them. The majority will play one minority off against another--and this maneuver will affect the way minorities respond to one another. The degree of difference in culture, language, and race is yet another variable that affects the nature of majority-minority relations. The sharper the differences, the more the status pattern tends to persist.[2]

From the point of view of the ultimate objectives, minority groups can be classified as follows:

a. Pluralistic--those desiring peaceful coexistence, on equal terms, with the dominant majority and other minority groups. It usually takes the form of a desire for basic

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[1] Louis Wirth, in Ralph Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in the World of Crisis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 347.

[2] Ibid.

political and economic unity along with toleration of cultural, lingual and religious diversity. The awakening of black Americans in the sixties first started as a cultural renaissance, a change from feelings of inferiority to pride in their distinctness. Where economic and political equality have been achieved or granted, this awakening has continued to be pluralistic.[1] When cultural diversity has been suppressed, the minorities have tended to become

b. Secessionists--those that seek both cultural and political independence (Garveyites).[2]

c. Assimilationists--those desiring absorption into the dominant group. It is likely to occur when the majority accepts the idea. In the United States, this is reflected in the idea of the "melting pot."[3]

d. Militant--those who fight until they achieve equal share in the benefits of the nation's institutions.

Some of the definitions presented in this Appendix were used only by implication in this study.

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[1] George E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 22.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE

Different questionnaires have been established in order to interview:

A. School administrators and school-community agents;

B. Students' parents and community leaders.

Furthermore, we used an outline of questions for informal interviews with community leaders, school leaders, and other personalities who were able to give relevant information on the subject.

The climate for the inquiry has been generally very good and the author encountered friendly cooperation from most persons he contacted for interviews. The author is a Nigerian-born Catholic priest; his quality as an African proved to be very helpful for the inquiry; his quality as a clergyman proved to be the contrary. Especially students were inclined to consider him as an "Uncle Tom" when he was wearing a Roman collar. Having found out about these attitudes and reactions, he approached his further contacts without any reference to his status, presenting himself as a doctoral student of the University of Michigan.

The experience of the presented research leads to the conclusion that further research on Black American problems by Black scholars from Africa should be encouraged. Being Black, Africans certainly encounter a low degree of suspicion and hostility. Being foreigners, they can maintain

relatively neutral attitudes necessary for objective study.

A. The following questions were asked of the Principal and the School-Community Agent:

1. Since when have you been the administrator (School-Community Agent) of this school?
2. By whom were you hired?
3. Who was against (for) your being hired to the office of an administrator of this school?
4. Among those who were for you, why were they for you?
5. What are the major differences in your administrative policies as opposed to those of your predecessors?
6. What do you consider as the most important task and principle of your administration?
7. What do you understand exactly by local control?
8. What do you think are the advantages of local control?
9. Do you consider your margin of administration sufficient or not? If not, what kinds of additional competencies will you like to have?
10. If you had the power, and were completely free to change the curriculum in your school, would you retain or change it? (If he wants to change it.) Could you please give me details?
11. Do you think that local control will contribute to an increased value of your school's diplomas?
12. What do you think will be the reasonable job expectations of the graduates from your school?
13. According to your observations, what are the parents' and community's expectations about local control in general and your appointment in particular?
14. According to your observations, what are the students' expectations about local control in general and your appointment in particular?
15. How do you get along with the School-Community Agent (the Administrator)?

16. How has local control affected the general atmosphere of the school and especially the eagerness of the students to learn?

17. What has been the attitude of the white staff members (black staff members) towards your appointment?

18. Do you have the power to hire the teaching staff?

19. Do you have the power to fire the teaching staff? If no, do you consider that it would be good that this power be granted to you? If yes, why?

20. Do you have the power to reward high-performing personnel in your school?

21. Do you have the power to punish low-performing personnel in your school? If no, do you think that this power should be granted to you? If yes, why?

22. Have you already considered some changes in the curriculum. If yes, what exactly?

23. How would you characterize the present cooperation between parents, faculty, and students in school affairs?

24. Do you consider that this cooperation should be improved? If yes, how?

25. (Should be asked only if the administrator has either considered changes in curriculum or started to realize them.) Do you think that this change in curriculum will be agreed upon by the Detroit Board of Education?

26. Do you think that the parents are very much in favor of the mentioned changes in curricula?

27. Do you think that the students are very much in favor of the mentioned changes in curricula?

28. If the Detroit Board of Education refuses these changes, what will be the reaction of (a) the students? (b) the parents?

B. The following questions were asked of parents and community leaders:

1. Since the appointment of the new administrator

(School-Community Agent) do you think that considerable changes have taken place in the school? If yes, what changes?

2. Have you been in favor of the appointment of the new Administrator (School-Community Agent)? If either yes or no, why?
3. What do you exactly understand by local control?
4. What do you expect from local control?
5. What do you want the new Administrator (School-Community Agent) to do?
6. Do you think that the Administrator should have the power to hire the teachers? If yes, why?
7. Do you think that the Administrator should have the power to fire the teachers? If no, do you think that it would be good that this power be granted to him? If yes, why?
8. Do you think that the Detroit Board of Education will finally give the power to hire and fire to the Administrators?
9. Do you think that your children's attitude towards school has changed since the new Administrator came? If yes, what are the major changes?
10. Do you think that the present curriculum best fits your children's interest and aspirations? If no, what should be changed?
11. Do you consider these changes very urgent?
12. If the Detroit Board of Education would refuse changes of that kind, what would you do?
13. Of all recent developments in your community, what issue would you consider the most important?

C. Unstructured Interviews with Student Leaders

In the interview with student leaders, no formal interviews were conducted. Attempts were deliberately made to keep discussions on an informal level in order to get the maximum information. In some cases, several students were interviewed.

During these interviews, the following subjects were discussed:

1. The origin, objectives of the student movement.
2. Complaints against former school leadership.
3. Methods of student activism.
4. Reactions of school authorities to student activism.
5. Chronology of events.
6. Choice of the new Administrator (School-Community Agent).
7. Opinions about the new Administrator (new School-Community Agent).
8. Opinions about local control.
9. Expectations from local control.

D. Other informal interviews have been conducted with various personalities with some degree of insight into the school's and community problems.

These interviews were conducted roughly according to the questionnaire applied to the parents and community leaders (see Section B).

APPENDIX III

The third appendix contains:

1. The State of Michigan Enrolled Senate Bill No. 635, introduced by Senators Young, Brown, and Cartwright.
2. The Detroit regional school districts.
3. Northeastern High School service area and supporting schools, 1969-70 school year.
4. Central High School service area and supporting schools, 1969-70 school year.
5. King High School service area and supporting schools, 1969-70 school year.
6. City of Detroit by subcommunity, 1960.

Act No. 244
Public Acts of 1969
Approved by Governor
August 11, 1969

STATE OF MICHIGAN

75TH LEGISLATURE

REGULAR SESSION OF 1969

Introduced by Senators Young, Brown and Cartwright

ENROLLED SENATE BILL No. 635

AN ACT to require first class school districts to be divided into regional districts and to provide for local district school boards and to define their powers and duties and the powers and duties of the first class district board.

The People of the State of Michigan enact:

Sec. 1. Not later than January 30, 1970, the school board of each first class district shall divide its district into not less than 7 nor more than 11 regional school districts with not more than 50,000 nor less than 25,000 students in each district.

Sec. 2. In addition to the present members of the first class board there shall be elected by the registered and qualified electors of each district to the first class board 1 member from each of the districts for a term of 4 years. The members of the first class school district board provided in section 2 to be elected by regions shall be elected in the general election to be held in November, 1970 and every fourth year thereafter for a term commencing on January 1 next following their election. The candidates shall be nominated in primary elections in the manner provided by law for the present first class school district members.

The term of office of the present first class school board members shall hereafter be 4 years. The terms of office of present first class school board members which expire June 30, 1971 are extended to January 1, 1973. The term of office of present first class school board members which expire June 30, 1973 are shortened to January 1, 1973. The 5 at large positions on the first class district school board which expire January 1, 1973 shall be filled at the general election to be held in November, 1972 for a term of 4 years. The terms of office of present first class school district board members which expire on June 30, 1975 are extended to January 1, 1977 and shall be filled at the general election to be held in November, 1976 for a term of 4 years.

Sec. 3. In each regional district there shall be elected 9 members to the regional board. No person shall be elected who is not a resident of the regional district from which he is elected. The members shall be nominated and elected by the registered and qualified electors of each district as is provided by law for the nomination and election of first class school board members except that signatures required on nominating petitions shall be not less than 500 nor more than 1,000. The members shall be elected for terms of 4 years. Except that of the members elected at the general election in 1970 the 5 members receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected for a term of 4 years and the 4 members receiving the next highest number of votes shall be elected for a term of 2 years.

Sec. 4. The first class school district board shall retain all the powers and duties now possessed by a first class school district except for those given to a regional school district board under the provisions of this act.

Sec. 5. Effective upon the commencement of its term of office, the regional school district board, subject to guidelines established by the first class district board, shall have the power to:

(1) Employ and discharge a superintendent for the regional school district from a list or lists of candidates submitted by the district board.

(2) Employ and discharge, assign and promote all teachers and other employees of the regional school district, subject to review by the first class school district board, which may overrule, modify or affirm the action of the regional district board.

(3) Determine the curriculum, use of educational facilities and establishment of educational and testing programs in the regional school district.

(4) Determine the budget for the regional school district based upon the allocation of funds received from the first class school district board.

Sec. 6. The rights of retirement, tenure, seniority and of any other benefits of any employee transferred to a regional school district or between regional school districts from the first class district shall not be abrogated, diminished or impaired.

Sec. 7. The first class school district board shall perform the following functions for the regional school districts:

(1) Central purchasing.

(2) Payroll.

(3) Contract negotiations for all employees, subject to the provisions of Act No. 336 of the Public Acts of 1947, as amended, being sections 423.201 to 423.216 of the Compiled Laws of 1948, and subject to any bargaining certification and to the provisions of any collective bargaining agreement pertaining to affected employees.

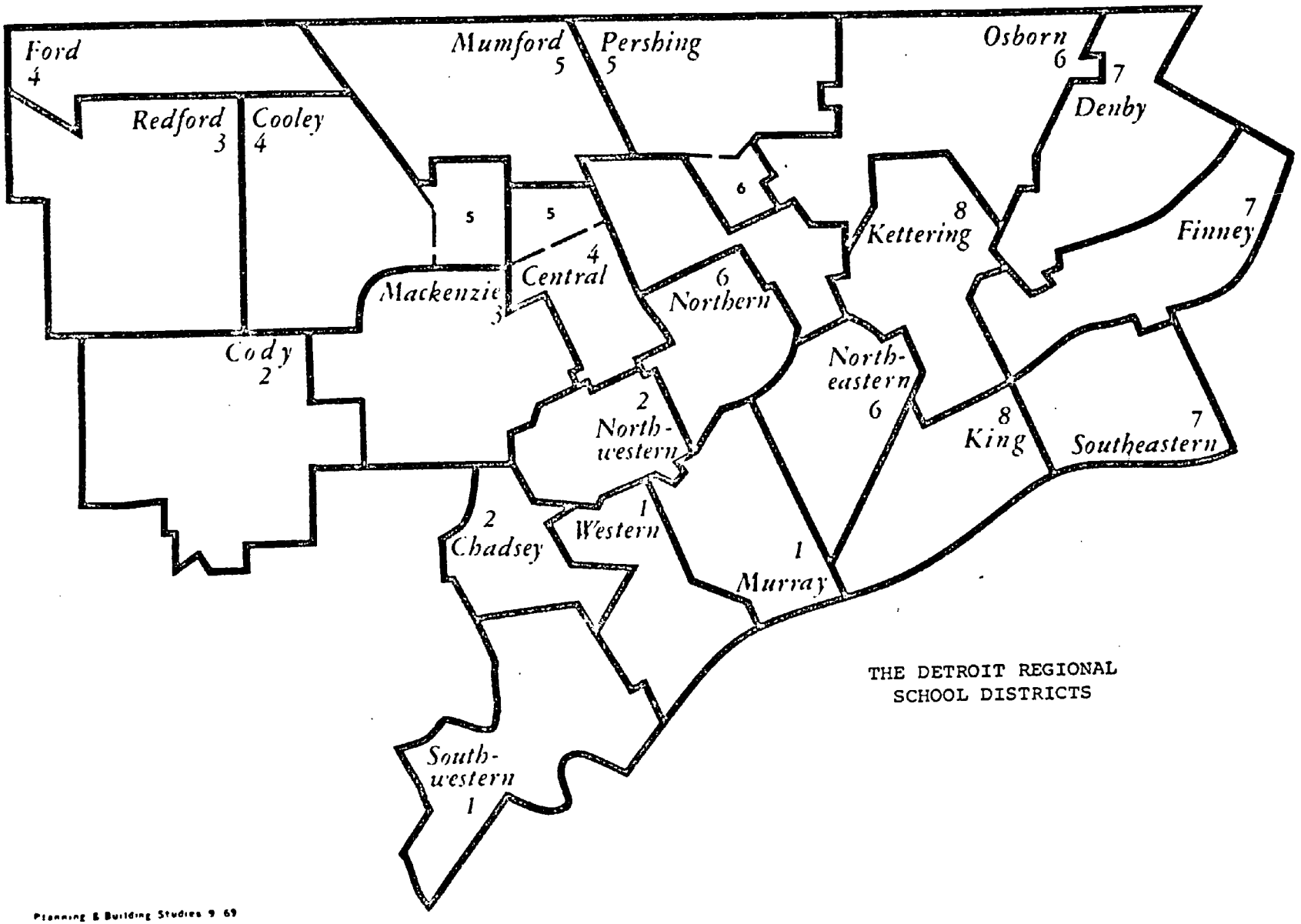
(4) Property management and maintenance.

(5) Bonding.

(6) Special education programs.

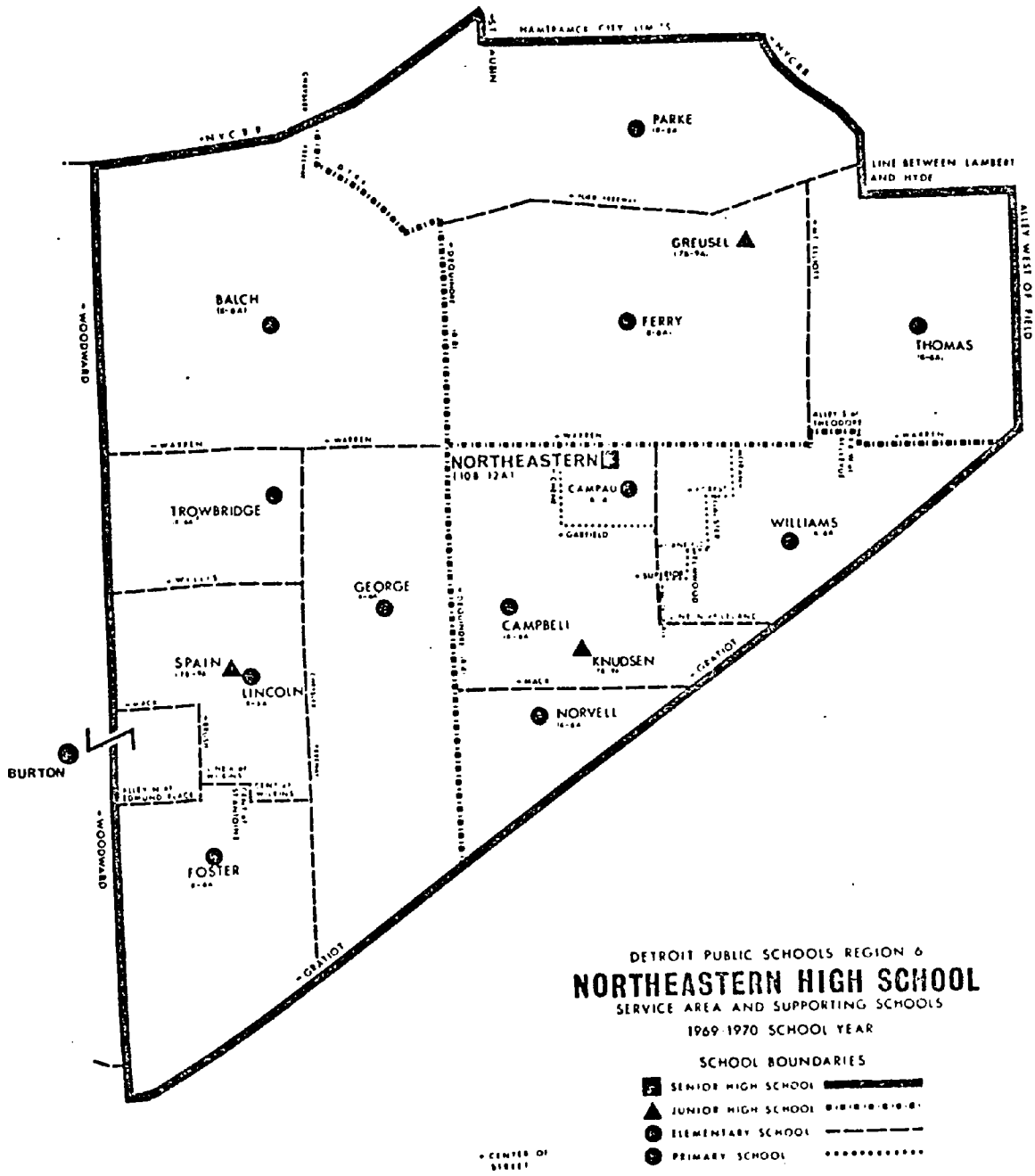
(7) Allocation of funds for capital outlay and operations to each regional school district.

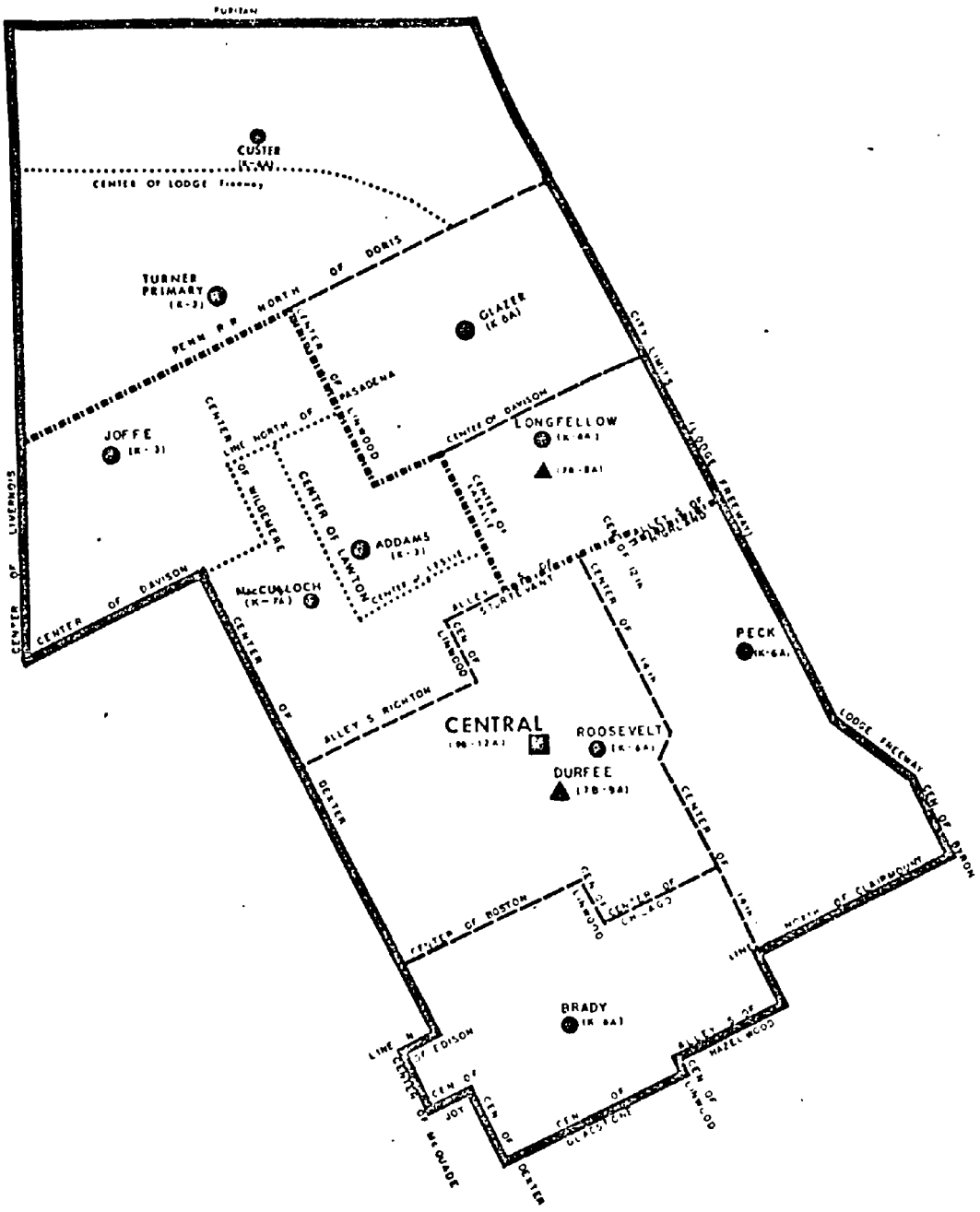
(8) On or before November 1, 1970, establish guidelines for the implementation of the provisions of section 5.



THE DETROIT REGIONAL
SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Planning & Building Studies 9 69


HAMTRAMCK CITY LIMITS
PARKE
LINE BETWEEN LAMBERT AND HYDE
GREUSEL
BALCH
FERRY
THOMAS
ALLEY WEST OF FIELD
WOODWARD
WARREN
NORTHEASTERN
CAMPAU
TROWBRIDGE
WILLIAMS
GEORGE
CAMPBELL
KNUDSEN
SPAIN
LINCOLN
NORVELL
BURTON
FOSTER
GRATIOT
DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS REGION 6
NORTHEASTERN HIGH SCHOOL
SERVICE AREA AND SUPPORTING SCHOOLS
1969-1970 SCHOOL YEAR
SCHOOL BOUNDARIES
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
PRIMARY SCHOOL
CENTER OF STREET



DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS REGION 4
and 5 (Partial)

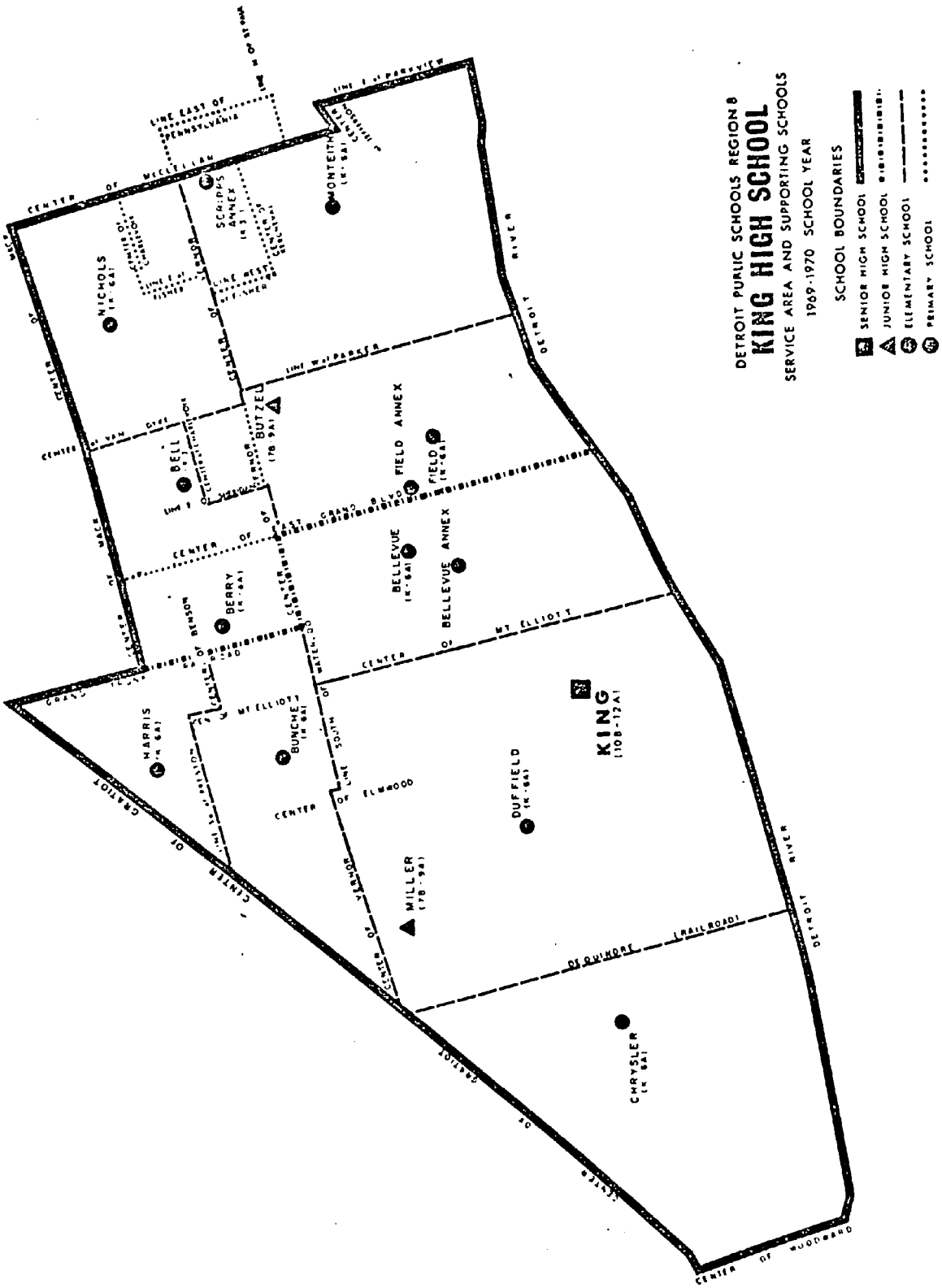
CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

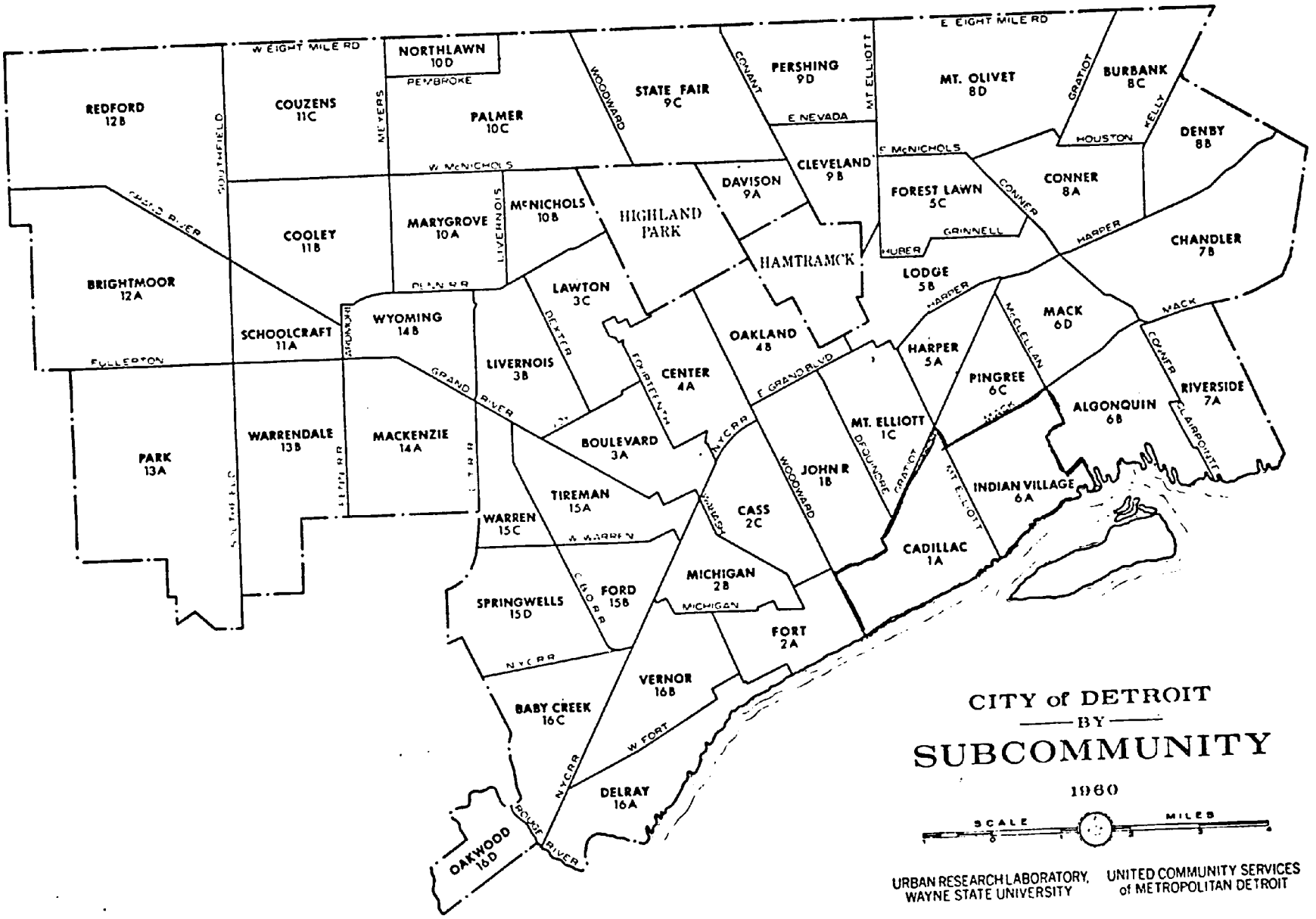
SERVICE AREA AND SUPPORTING SCHOOLS

1969 1970 SCHOOL YEAR

SCHOOL BOUNDARIES

- SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
- JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
- ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
- PRIMARY SCHOOL


DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS REGION 8
KING HIGH SCHOOL
SERVICE AREA AND SUPPORTING SCHOOLS
1969-1970 SCHOOL YEAR
SCHOOL BOUNDARIES
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
PRIMARY SCHOOL
NICHOLS
SCRIPPS ANNEX
MONTEITH
BELL
BUTZEL
FIELD ANNEX
FIELD
BERRY
BELLEVUE
BELLEVUE ANNEX
HARRIS
BUNCHE
KING
DUFFIELD
MILLER
CHRYSLER
CENTER OF WYOMING
CENTER OF MT ELLIOTT
CENTER OF GRAND BLVD
CENTER OF MACK
CENTER OF WILLIS
CENTER OF VAN DYKE
CENTER OF BENSON
CENTER OF ELMWOOD
CENTER OF QUINCY
CENTER OF CHARLEVOIX
CENTER OF WOODWARD
DETROIT RIVER
LINE EAST OF PENNSYLVANIA
LINE N OF ST JOHN
LINE E OF PARKVIEW
LINE W OF PARKVIEW
LINE E OF WATER WORKS PARK
LINE W OF WATER WORKS PARK
RAILROAD


W EIGHT MILE RD
NORTHLAWN 10D
PEMBROKE
E EIGHT MILE RD
REDFORD 12B
COUZENS 11C
PALMER 10C
STATE FAIR 9C
PERSHING 9D
MT. OLIVET 8D
BURBANK 8C
DENBY 8B
SOUTHFIELD
MEYERS
WOODWARD
CONANT
MT ELLIOTT
GRATIOT
KELLY
HOUSTON
E NEVADA
W McNICHOLS
E McNICHOLS
CLEVELAND 9B
DAVISON 9A
FOREST LAWN 5C
CONNER 8A
CONNER
HARPER
GRINNELL
HUBER
CHANDLER 7B
LIVERNOIS
McNICHOLS 10B
HIGHLAND PARK
HAMTRAMCK
LODGE 5B
BRIGHTMOOR 12A
COOLEY 11B
MARYGROVE 10A
PLAINFIELD
LAWTON 3C
OAKLAND 4B
MACK 6D
MACK
SCHOOLCRAFT 11A
WYOMING 14B
DEXTER
HARPER 5A
McCLELLAN
FULLERTON
GRAND RIVER
LIVERNOIS 3B
FOURTEENTH
CENTER 4A
F GRAND BLVD
PINGREE 6C
RIVERSIDE 7A
CONNER
CLARKSVILLE
ALGONQUIN 6B
PARK 13A
WARRENDALE 13B
MACKENZIE 14A
BOULEVARD 3A
MT. ELLIOTT 1C
JOHN R 1B
DEQUINDRE
CRATCIT
INDIAN VILLAGE 6A
TIREMAN 15A
CASS 2C
WOODWARD
MT ELLIOTT
WARREN 15C
A WARREN
CADILLAC 1A
SPRINGWELLS 15D
FORD 15B
MICHIGAN 2B
MICHIGAN
FORT 2A
VERNOR 16B
BABY CREEK 16C
W FORT
DELRAY 16A
OAKWOOD 16D
ROUGE RIVER
CITY of DETROIT
BY
SUBCOMMUNITY
1960
SCALE
MILES
URBAN RESEARCH LABORATORY, WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
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