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The walkout: symptom of dying inner city schools

by Karl D. Gregory

Editors comments This article is an outgrowth of the author's former position as Principal of the Northern High Freedom School. It is therefore written in the author's role as an activist and not as a scholar in the Department of Economics at Wayne State University. It is hoped that open and interdisciplinary discussion will be provoked.

The Northern High School Boycott in April, 1966, was a symptom of an interweaving of fundamental and pervasive neighborhood, city, metropolitan area, state, and national problems. It could have occurred with the appropriate timing and combination of conditions at any one of many inner city junior high or high schools. Indeed it is surprising that it had not happened several times before then, as in other cities.

A review of the specific problems at Northern High School highlights a particular variation on the overall operations of the Detroit School System: the school was primarily a custodial institution, complete with police as an apparent part of the administration, and was only on the surface an institution where systematic learning took place; a few teachers were there only to draw their paychecks and furthermore told the pupils this; some teachers and administrative personnel seemed to hold to the partly self-fulfilling prophecy that black pupils can not learn; the physical plant was and is grossly inadequate; equipment, supplies and curriculum were deficient; an ineffective administration and other circumstances made teaching by many conscientious and dedicated teachers so difficult that they could barely begin to surmount the numerous obstacles; cultural clashes between a few specific teachers and students occurred frequently; guidance from the central administration and the field executive was lacking; most students came into the high school from inferior elementary schools to have their shortcomings reinforced rather than remedied; and some good students do graduate from Northern, not because of, but, in spite of the quality of education at the high school.

There are about 300 public schools in Detroit and Afro-Americans constitute almost 57 percent of the total enrollment of almost 300,000. Each school has its variations. Our focus is upon the operation of the entire school system in a manner to permit schools like Northern High to develop and to manifest cumulative deterioration. What Northern is looms less importantly than how it and many other inner city schools came to be what they are: custodial institutions for the poor, and vehicles for the massive underdevelopment, and therefore wastage of human resources at huge social costs. Since public schools are among the most important public institutions in a community, if not the most important ones, it is impossible to comment trenchantly on a school system without doing so about the community itself.

The events on which our observations are based occurred during a time period which ended in August, 1966.

1 All primary and secondary schools are classified according to the high school constellation in which they are located.
 2 Afro-American is synonymous with the Census Bureau term Negro.
 3 Scores are rated by grade equivalent and months in grade.
 4 Averages are of the high and low grades for each school in the constellation. This inadequate measure of dispersion was the only one available.
 Source: From official school records made available to high school investigating committees.

1 See footnotes one and two of Table 2. Students of high "aptitudes" are the top three "stamens."
 Source: Same as Table 1.

Eastern	4.1
Northeastern	4.2
Southwestern	4.0
Northeastern	4.3
NORTHERN	4.1
Kettering	4.1
Central	4.2
Murray	3.9
Southwestern	4.3
Western	4.6
Chadsey	4.8
Pershing	4.6
Mackenzie	4.4
Cody	4.0
Mumford	4.7
Osborn	5.0
Finney	5.1
Denby	5.1
Redford	5.1
Coolley	5.3
Ford	5.0

High school constellation in Detroit ¹	Afro-American ²	Mean score ³	High scores ⁴	Low scores ⁴
Ford	3.6	8.6	11.8	5.5
Redford	1.3	8.3	11.4	5.0
Cody	4.4	8.2	11.3	5.3
Cooley	20.3	8.0	11.8	5.1
Denby	1.3	8.0	11.5	5.1
Osborn	5.5	7.8	11.3	5.0
Mumford	72.9	7.7	11.1	4.7
Finney	12.4	7.5	11.2	4.0
Pershing	52.1	7.2	11.6	4.4
Mackenzie	67.6	7.1	11.0	4.6
Chadsey	37.3	6.9	10.7	4.8
Southwestern	50.3	6.8	10.6	4.6
Western	48.6	6.6	10.8	4.3
Central	99.6	6.4	10.9	3.9
Northwestern	99.1	6.4	9.8	4.2
Kettering	78.0	6.3	9.8	4.1
Southwestern	70.9	6.3	9.8	4.1
Murray	64.4	6.3	9.6	4.3
NORTHERN	98.4	6.2	10.2	4.0
Northeastern	88.6	6.1	10.1	4.2
Eastern	94.1	6.1	10.0	4.1

A High school constellation in Detroit¹

TABLE I
 Average Means of Test Scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills by High School Constellation, October 1965, Grade 8B

7 Above Average Senior High Schools and College Abil

Emphasizing the distribution conceals a more important rest was 8.1. The mean in the City of resources fell behind national While several questions ma finance of the Iowa test scores, decisions are based on students' ever they measure, they show Detroit than in the Nation, and in different high school conste with the racial composition of Groups of students from given the Schools and College the proportion of students wh attending schools in seven of the eight constellations. Students grade and outranked all other high school constellations. Students Americans constituting 70 percent or more of their student body were about two years behind grade level and ranked at or almost at the bottom of the list of all 21 high school constellations. With two exceptions, the more "mixed" constellations were in an intermediate position. This is perhaps temporary; an examination of a sample of individual schools in these "mixed" areas, reveals a transitional pattern.

One method for escaping from this limitation is to use, as a rough proxy, test scores on examinations given nationally. Table I shows the performance of Detroit's public school students in the 8B on the Iowa Test designed to measure achievement. Students in attendance at six of eight high school constellations clearly attended predominantly by whites performed at the level expected for their grade and outranked all other high school constellations. Students attending schools in seven of the eight constellations with Afro-Americans constituting 70 percent or more of their student body were about two years behind grade level and ranked at or almost at the bottom of the list of all 21 high school constellations. With two exceptions, the more "mixed" constellations were in an intermediate position. This is perhaps temporary; an examination of a sample of individual schools in these "mixed" areas, reveals a transitional pattern.

The Central City

One of the few precise things that can be said about education is that there is no reliable public information on what is produced by the expenditure of over \$30 billion a year for public education in the U.S. There is information on, say, the number of graduates from high schools. But, some graduates perform at college level and others at third grade level. So heterogeneous a product makes statements based on the total number of high school graduates useless.

INDICES OF THE OUTPUT OF EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

It can be said about education information on what is produced in a year for public education. For example, the number of graduates who perform at college level and homogeneous a product makes state-wide high school graduates useless.

This limitation is to use, as a comparison given nationally. Table I shows public school students in the 8B grade achievement. Students in different constellations clearly attended school at the level expected for their school constellations. Students in eight constellations with Afro-American or more of their student body level and ranked at or almost at the top of school constellations. With two constellations were in an intermediate category; an examination of a sample of "transitioned" areas, reveals a transitional

Emphasizing the distribution of performance classified by race conceals a more important result. The national mean on this test was 8.1. The mean in the City of Detroit was 7.2 (two months within the seventh grade). Thus, the majority of Detroit's potential human resources fell behind national averages.

While several questions may be raised with regard to the significance of the Iowa test scores, suffice it to say that many important decisions are based on students' performances on these tests. Whatever they measure, they show 1) lower overall performance in Detroit than in the Nation, and 2) a vast difference in performance in different high school constellations which is closely correlated with the racial composition of the student body.

Groups of students from each high school constellation were given the Schools and College Abilities Test. As shown in Table II, the proportion of students who performed in the upper 23 percentiles, based on a normal distribution, was closely correlated with race. The ranking of schools was similar to that in Table I. Seven of the eight constellations ranking foremost in having students with high "aptitudes" had the smallest proportion of Afro-Americans. Seven of the eight high school constellations with the highest proportion of colored Americans were ALL at the bottom of the distribution, and less than 3.1 percent of the students tested scored

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Symptom of
dying inner
city schools

TABLE II
Above Average Senior High School Students, Based Upon the Schools and College Ability Test (SCAT), October 1965

Percent of total population	Mean score ³	Average of ⁴		High school constellation in Detroit ¹	Students tested for "aptitude"			
		High scores	Low scores		Percent Afro-American ²	Percent high aptitude ²	Total number tested	Number high aptitude
3.6	8.6	11.8	5.5	Ford	3.6	35.1	733	257
1.3	8.3	11.4	5.0	Cooley	20.3	26.8	686	184
1.4	8.2	11.3	5.3	Redford	1.3	24.9	790	197
0.3	8.0	11.8	5.1	Denby	1.3	22.2	618	137
1.3	8.0	11.5	5.1	Finney	12.4	21.1	445	94
5.5	7.8	11.3	5.0	Osborn	5.5	20.5	697	143
2.9	7.7	11.1	4.7	Mumford	72.9	18.8	680	128
2.4	7.5	11.2	4.0	Cody	4.4	18.2	952	173
2.1	7.2	11.6	4.4	Mackenzie	67.6	9.5	823	78
7.6	7.1	11.0	4.6	Pershing	52.1	7.2	726	52
7.3	6.9	10.7	4.8	Chadsey	37.3	6.4	485	31
0.3	6.8	10.6	4.6	Western	48.6	6.3	416	26
3.6	6.6	10.8	4.3	Southwestern	50.3	4.1	394	16
0.6	6.4	10.9	3.9	Murray	64.4	3.4	442	15
0.1	6.4	9.8	4.2	Central	99.6	3.0	494	15
3.0	6.3	9.8	4.1	Kettering	78.0	2.7	553	15
0.9	6.3	9.8	4.1	NORTHERN	98.4	1.8	393	7
1.4	6.3	9.6	4.3	Northeastern	88.6	1.6	430	7
3.4	6.2	10.2	4.0	Southeastern	70.9	1.5	613	9
3.6	6.1	10.1	4.2	Northwestern	99.1	1.2	588	7
1.1	6.1	10.0	4.1	Eastern	94.1	1.2	426	5

classified according to the high school level. The Census Bureau term Negro. The data is for each school in the constellation. This was the only one available. This was available to high school investigating

¹ See footnotes one and two of Table I.
² Students of high "aptitudes" are those scoring in the top 23 percent of all students based on a normal distribution. In the nomenclature of educators, it is the top three "stanines."
Source: Same as Table I.

TABLE III
Results from the Examination of 18-year-olds for Military Service, July 1964 to December 1964¹

Area	Percent of youths		Qual- ity rea- son test	Phy- men- tal	Both
	Re- jected	Ad- mitted			
Detroit Metropolitan Area ²	60.6	39.4	22.1	21.1	3.8
City of Detroit	54.7	45.3	29.8	21.6	6.1
Northern High ³	35.5	64.5	56.9	18.0	10.4
Selected predominantly black inner-city ⁴	40.1	59.9	49.4	19.0	8.5
Selected predominantly white outer-city ⁵	68.1	31.9	11.7	22.8	2.6
Predominantly white suburbia ⁶	67.8	32.2	14.7	19.8	2.2
Wayne County excluding Detroit	67.0	33.0	14.5	20.0	1.4
ADDED EXHIBIT National Average, U.S. Zone of the Interior	59.3	40.7	25.4	17.4	3.0
State of Michigan	62.5	37.5	20.9	18.2	1.6

Much has been written about inferior education in the central city as compared to suburbia. Again, there are very little data available to test precisely this hypothesis. The results of mental examinations given by the Selective Service System to 18-year-olds who were not deferred in the last half of 1964 serve as a substitute for such data. The scores of 18-year-olds are reported by the Selective Service System by draft board area. These areas are neither coterminous with Detroit's high school constellations nor with suburban school districts, although they do adhere to the boundaries of the counties and the outer boundaries of the School District of Detroit. As shown in Table III, the results of these mental examinations are arranged by the racial composition of draft board districts in the Detroit Metropolitan area.

Central City Versus Suburbia

In the upper 23 percentiles. We cannot exonerate the schools and blame only the quality of the students.

FORCES AFFECTING THE EDI

It should be noted that the did not, with one exception, at quacies. Some teachers blame t-
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The brunt of educational severity on black youths, although of persons. Many of them will the unemployed of the futu:
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Almost 57 percent of the from which Northern High; failed the mental examination. the predominantly black inner city in Detroit was 12 percent suburbia.
Even a failure rate of 12 to 80 percent of the increase by 1 The U.S. Surgeon General note test scores of the Selective Se And there is already an excess regard to job requirements. A of age in the Detroit Metro school or less.

Education, for better or the home, in the corner poolroo in reading the daily press—e places. Nonetheless, schools as business of education and em waking hours. Education is th which youth and entire commu otherwise available for military service," in effect, it "deals substantially with nondeferred youths." (Quotation from the source.)
Sum of the percentages failing will exceed 100 per cent of the total rejectees, for youths failing both the mental and physical exam, included in each component, are counted twice. Also, a very small percentage of failures for administrative reasons are not presented.
Includes Wayne, Macomb and Oakland Counties.
Draft Boards 88 through 100, 103, 106, 179, 186, 192, 196, 202.
Draft Boards 92 and 94.
Draft Boards 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, Draft Boards 91, 93, and 96 are omitted for they either include a large proportion of whites and/or overlap two Detroit enclaves: the cities of Highland Park and Hamtramck, both of which have separate school systems.
Draft Boards 99, 103, 106, 186, 192, 196.
Draft Boards 66, 87, 101, 203, 219, 300, and 303.
Source: Office of the Surgeon General, U.S. Army, "Review of the Results of the Examination of the 18-year-old Youths for Military Service," Supplement to Health of the Army, Vol. 20, April 1965, Washington, D.C., and worksheets from the Michigan Selective Service System.

The reasons for this decay largely unexploited; instead, th for community involvement. Ye clock. It is the public service community that can be utilized It is the only major public ser which youth and entire commu

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to support this hypothesis. The results of mental
examinations of 18-year-olds in the
Selective Service System to 18-year-olds
in 1964 serve as a substitute
for the data reported by the Selective
Service System. These areas are neither coter-
minous with the boundaries of the
School District of Detroit.
The results of these mental examinations are
shown in draft board districts in the

III
of 18-year-olds for Military
Service December 1964¹

Draft board	Percent of youths Rejected for			
	All reasons ²	Mental test	Phy- sical exam	Both mental and physical
106	39.4	22.1	21.1	3.8
107	45.3	29.8	21.6	6.1
108	64.5	56.9	18.0	10.4
109	59.9	49.4	19.0	8.5
110	31.9	11.7	22.8	2.6
111	32.2	14.7	19.8	2.2
112	33.0	14.5	20.0	1.4
113	40.7	25.4	17.4	3.0
114	37.5	20.9	18.2	1.6

¹ Youths who were "out of school and
in effect, it "deals substantially with
the source.)
² Included 100 per cent of the total rejectees,
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179, 186, 192, 196, 202.

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¹ U.S. Army, "Review of the Results of
Mental Examinations of 18-Year-Old
Youths for Military Service,"
Military, Vol. 20, April 1965, Washington,
Michigan Selective Service System.

Almost 57 percent of the 18-year-olds in draft board areas
from which Northern High School draws many of its students
failed the mental examination. Almost half of the 18-year-olds from
the predominantly black inner city also failed this exam.

The failure rate of 30 percent in the entire City of Detroit was
indeed substantially higher than the 22 percent rate for the entire
three-county metropolitan area. However, the difference is more
than completely accounted for by the lower performance of youths
from areas inhabited largely by Afro-Americans. Performance of
students from the predominantly white central city areas exceeded
that in white suburbia. The failure rate in the largely white outer-
city in Detroit was 12 percent in contrast to 15 percent in white
suburbia.

Even a failure rate of 12 to 15 percent on a relatively elementary
mental test is excessive. A study of job requirements shows that
80 percent of the increase by 1980 will be for white collar workers.
The U.S. Surgeon General notes a high correlation between mental
test scores of the Selective Service System and job performances.
And there is already an excess supply of the undereducated, with
regard to job requirements. About 420,000 persons over 25 years
of age in the Detroit Metropolitan area have only had 8 years of
school or less.

The brunt of educational inadequacies falls with shattering
severity on black youths, although it affects a much larger number
of persons. Many of them will be the army of the unemployed and
the unemployables of the future.

FORCES AFFECTING THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

It should be noted that the discussion of educational outputs
did not, with one exception, attribute blame for educational inade-
quacies. Some teachers blame the home environment and the admin-
istration. Some administrators blame teachers, the home environ-
ment, and too little money. And parents often blame their children
and teachers. If the problems were so simple, one would have more
reason for hope.

Education, for better or worse, takes place in the school, in
the home, in the corner poolroom, at church, through television and
in reading the daily press—even the comic strips—among other
places. Nonetheless, schools are uniquely endowed to conduct the
business of education and enroll pupils for almost half of their
waking hours. Education is the major inexpensive route through
which youth and entire communities can be reached by public policy.
It is the only major public service equipped with a plant in every
community that can be utilized for a host of purposes around the
clock. It is the public service with the greatest positive potential
for community involvement. Yet, we find these possibilities for good
largely unexploited; instead, there is decay.

The reasons for this decay are found in the methods for finan-
cing and operating school systems and in the priorities and values
of our culture. The forces which affected the operation of the Detroit
schools prior to August 1966 are: the formulation of ambiguous
goals; the absence of enforced performance standards; forces gener-
ating inadequate resources; faulty school organization and poor
community involvement; ineffective decision-making and informa-
tion-monitoring processes; powerlessness, racism and social class;

Unenforced Performance Standards

Standards of performance for all elements of the school system would permit achievement to be contrasted to potential. Feedback mechanism could be designed to flash clear signals when performance is not up to standard so that a timely diagnosis and appropriate supplementation or problem-solving could occur. Alternative uses of resources to accomplish given ends could then be compared. With such mechanisms and effective communications processes, the Northern High School boycott need not have occurred.

In the absence of clearly stated and understood goals, adequate performance standards and ongoing evaluative mechanisms to identify problems and pupils for remedial action, racial and class discrimination results. Each school or group of schools is allowed to proceed in its own directions, determined by the impact of environmental constraints under which it operates and by the manifestation of other facets of the model.

An incompetent administrator and a teacher with racist attitudes can continue to affect students year after year. How is the central administration to know of their existence through internal operating procedures without standards of performance which relate to promoting learning? And if there are no enforced standards of performance, there is little need for guidelines for disciplining administrative personnel.

A few months ago, one of the several parents who called to solicit my assistance in their often desperate attempts to cope with the school system, complained that a principal kicked a child. The kick was subsequently verified. Upon complaining to the highest levels of school authority, she reports being told that there were no guidelines for disciplining principals. She was otherwise given the runaround. After obtaining the services of a lawyer and the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union, a mild measure was taken. Since this complaint and perhaps as a result of the Northern High Boycott, the Board of Education has retained control over new administrative appointments by replacing a career-long tenure provision with a three year contract. But, existing appointments were unaffected. A poor principal can retard the education of thousands of students.

Of equal importance, an outstanding principal can go unobserved because of inadequate performance standards and supervision. He may then lose interest in doing excellent work in difficult circumstances. Under these conditions, one has to blame the system more than the man.

Inadequate Resources

School districts in Michigan obtain virtually all of their operating revenues from the property tax and state aid. The School District levies no tax other than on property. Federal aid has provided added sums in recent years for special programs, but it has accounted for a minor proportion of total revenues. Borrowing for current outlays is limited by a law requiring deficits to be made up in the following year.

A report by assistant Superintendent Carl Marburger, submitted early in 1966, presented estimates of what quality education, as defined in the report, would cost in the City of Detroit. Present

Discussions of resources are incomplete without a parallel indication of needs. Enrollments in Detroit's public schools rose by over 13,000 students from 1960 to 1966. They would have risen more and school costs would have advanced with them if it were not for "economies" in the short run through "drop-outs" and reductions in the educational quality of some schools. Schools in Detroit are currently understaffed by 500 regular teachers. According to Detroit school officials, were Detroit to have the same pupil-teacher ratio as other school districts in Michigan, the shortage would rise to 1,600 teachers.

The complicated formula for distributing state aid among school districts contains many factors, but the special needs of a huge school district with a large number of students who begin school with a handicap and require costly remedial services is not significant among them. Moreover, the state aid formula discriminates grossly against densely populated cities like Detroit because of its three most important features: the per pupil allowance, the deductible millage factor and the measure of local tax effort.

State aid to the "big city" has historically reflected the influence of a rural dominated State Legislature. In 1962, according to Census data, total expenditures per pupil for public schools amounted to approximately \$520 in both Detroit and the three county suburban area outside of Detroit. Detroit has special needs. In contrast to suburbia, it had in 1960 three times as large a proportion of all families with children under 18 who were in broken homes and twice as large a proportion of families with incomes under \$4,000. Yet, state aid per pupil to suburban school systems, at \$162 per pupil, was \$27 higher than that for Detroit. Since the reapportionment of the State Legislature, state aid for school districts has increased. Detroit's aid has also increased moderately, but so have school needs.

The property tax yield for the Detroit School District has declined over the last six years. Stable taxes in this period would have produced a cumulative total of \$40.3 million in additional funds. Assessed valuations have fallen in each year as property values have been removed from tax rolls by highways to make the City more accessible to suburban residents, urban renewal in part to attract high income families, other public improvements, many for similar purposes, and property tax exemptions. Some businesses and moderate and high income households have migrated to suburbia and elsewhere, limiting the increase in the market value of realty. Moreover, the annual depreciation of the large stock of buildings and the growth of blight requires considerable new construction each year just to maintain assessed valuations. A Constitutional limitation and voter resistance to extra millage all but precludes additions to the tax rate. (A successful millage campaign for public schools in 1966 by a small margin of votes was the result of possibly non-recurring circumstances.)

Incomplete parental involvement a separate community relations complaints and, in general, put special projects. For the last few supervision of one of the nine Afro-American ancestry. This is ceded. The increasing number of benefits: preventing fires from causes of discontent. Several community agent whose function Whenever there is a conflict between to support the school. A bad sch

The major manner of involvement of Parent-Teacher Associations and School Relations and Special Services has been an underfinanced, loosely limited power operating within P.T.A. has changed its style in its by reaching effectively outside of Legislature. The hope presented organization is one bright omen in manner. Parents in all phases of the education

The involvement of student limited to perfunctory roles per student spokesmen. Routinized and acting upon them were either of the older students should be a ning, teacher evaluation and plac tion with rights as well as res learning, particularly in junior Students are in large part and the output of education. Th each of these three functions. Th some rebel when treated so. (S problem.")

Organization assists in defining human elements of the system as exceed what is permitted by it elements of the school system are teachers, members of the Board of the community.

Outlays would have to be doubled of the next ten years. Unlike many system, it avoids simple undocu ting analysis of the estimates. M understated. There is no allowance of educational production, given and the increased militancy of

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of the next ten years. Unlike many reports produced by the school
system, it avoids simple undocumented assertions, thereby permit-
ting analysis of the estimates. My review suggests that the cost was
understated. There is no allowance for example for the rising cost
of educational production, given the low levels of teacher salaries
and the increased militancy of teachers.

Faulty Organization and Community Involvement

Organization assists in defining the roles to be played by the
human elements of the system and the channels through which they
communicate. The productivity of an educational system cannot
exceed what is permitted by its organization. The major human
elements of the school system are students, parents, administrators,
teachers, members of the Board of Education, and other members
of the community.

The involvement of students in decision-making is sometimes
limited to perfunctory roles performed by administratively selected
student spokesmen. Routinized channels for receiving complaints
and acting upon them were either absent or useless. The perceptions
of the older students should be an integral part of curriculum plan-
ning, teacher evaluation and placement, and other matters. Participa-
tion with rights as well as responsibilities is a key ingredient in
learning, particularly in junior high and senior high school.

Students are in large part the consumers, the major inputs,
and the output of education. Their assigned roles should recognize
each of these three functions. They are not passive automatons, and
some rebel when treated so. (Such rebellion is called a "discipline
problem.")

The major manner of involving parents has been through the
Parent-Teacher Associations and the efforts of the former office for
School Relations and Special Services. The P.T.A. has traditionally
been an underfinanced, loosely knit confederation with extremely
limited power operating within the school system. Fortunately, the
P.T.A. has changed its style in 1966 by acting more aggressively and
by reaching effectively outside of the school system and to the State
Legislature. The hope presented by an active and well led parent or-
ganization is one bright omen in the absence of the involvement of
parents in all phases of the educational process in a more integral
manner.

Incomplete parental involvement necessitates the existence of
a separate community relations division in the system. It handles
complaints and, in general, puts out fires, in addition to handling
special projects. For the last few months, it has been under the able
supervision of one of the nine Assistant Superintendents who is of
Afro-American ancestry. This recent token desegregation is unpre-
cedented. The increasing number of fires to be extinguished has
tended to replace efforts for the more basic objective with lasting
benefits: preventing fires from beginning by getting at the root-
causes of discontent. Several schools have been assigned a school
community agent whose function it is to involve the neighborhood.
Whenever there is a conflict between the two parties, the agent tends
to support the school. A bad school will always have bad community

Since there are always better ways of performing existing functions and new functions to replace older ones, a research and experimental arm is a necessity for a large school system. To the best of my knowledge, there is one small functioning arm in the Detroit School System, although other divisions do engage in limited research and experimentation, and some joint efforts have been undertaken by the School System and Wayne State University. Evaluation of existing programs has also been lacking.

For higher grades, one might well select another form of organization. The educational park concept of organization is worthy of consideration. Since the neighborhood schools are not generally operated as NEIGHBORHOOD institutions, there may be no loss of neighborhood participation in practice, as contrasted to unrealized potential. With larger schools and all levels, including junior colleges and trade schools, located at a few large complexes, several advantages are presented. Expensive equipment, such as computers, are made available to a larger number of students, and costs per student are decreased. For pupils in the lower grades, college and trade schools cease to be unknown, far off places. Hopefully, aspiration levels will be raised. Both the exposure to college students and the teaching hours of professionals can be increased and needy pupils financially assisted by having college students serving as teacher aids in high schools, and high school students doing the same in junior high schools, and so on down the ladder. This could also expand the number of students from the inner city who would seek to become teachers. Among the many other advantages would be the removal of a deleterious separation of educational levels. The location of such complexes could conceivably serve other purposes, such as racial integration and rearranging transportation flows during peak-hour use to enlarge the number of vehicles than can be accommodated by the highway network. Enclosing educational parks with housing in various price ranges, including low-income units, and with teachers and parents having priority, might help create an educational community where a strong sense of COMMUNITY is manifested.

Detroit schools are said to be organized primarily on a neighborhood basis. Many advantages could accrue to this choice. Most important are the opportunities of developing close ties to the home and making the school a decentralized community institution, while being subject to centralized standards for performance and other requirements to acknowledge the responsibility of the system to the city, state and nation from which it obtains support. The advantages can be overwhelming for kindergarten through the fifth or sixth grade.

When there is direct involvement of all elements in the decision-making process, concerns can be dealt with as they develop rather than accumulating until there is an eruption.

It has. The special projects function includes limited programs for low income youngsters. The effectiveness of both community relations and special projects has been hampered by their status as a fringe addition rather than as an inextricable and integrated component of an operating process.

Without direct contact for student perceptions, the usual depended upon the internal field executive, to the administrator, to the assistant principal

the Board, bypassing a too often for nonexistent or existent and wise enough to first form a position; and (3) those willing to

same social set, whose children, parents and students is largely needed for formulating new policies for obtaining information on schools are actively implementing be mechanisms for following

Just framing educational known names may incur substantial competent persons. Those who require sacrifice of time—and performance in the position of Members of the Board of could become knowledgeable al

Board members of the District a city-wide election. As is often selected by everyone leave large wards would improve citizen to be a vehicle for resolving of the City. Each section would

to operate is highly revealing education who desire improved the disproportionate disadvantage, from historical discrimination, issues. The combined operator years of nonvoting; and active are not registered to vote; registered item on a long and complex processes. The election of Board. Several forces work to less

Information on which they are depends. Further, decisions by this Board that the effectiveness of the Board of Education is the vehicle for action. It is equal weight in the political process all citizens in the relevant public decisions to provide with a decision-making an

Ineffective Decision-Making an

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Ineffective Decision-Making and Information-Monitoring Processes

It is consistent with a democratic form of government that decisions to provide public services be responsive to the needs of all citizens in the relevant jurisdiction, with each person having an equal weight in the political process. The election of a competent Board of Education is the vehicle for attempting to translate democratic precepts into action. It is upon the selection and operation of this Board that the effectiveness of this translation to action depends. Further, decisions by this Board can be no better than the information on which they are based.

Several forces work to lessen the efficiency of decision-making processes. The election of Board members is frequently a relatively minor item on a long and complex ballot. Many people of voting age are not registered to vote; registered voters often don't vote and are therefore removed from the list of eligible voters after two years of nonvoting; and active voters do not cast a vote on many issues. The combined operation of these factors, resulting in part from historical discrimination, can be shown empirically to be to the disproportionate disadvantage of those consumers of public education who desire improved services and would vote for additional millage. An analysis of why these factors exist and continue to operate is highly revealing but would go beyond our scope.

Board members of the Detroit School District are chosen in a city-wide election. As is often the case, officials who are nominally selected by everyone leave large minorities unrepresented. Election by wards would improve citizen participation and permit the Board to be a vehicle for resolving disputes involving different sections of the City. Each section would have its educational leader who could become knowledgeable about the schools in his ward.

Members of the Board of Education are not paid. Effective performance in the position requires almost full-time efforts. The required sacrifice of time—and perhaps, reputation among the understandably impatient—makes the office unattractive for many competent persons. Those who do run vigorously and without widely known names may incur substantial campaign costs.

Just framing educational policy is not enough. There must be mechanisms for following through to monitor whether or not schools are actively implementing the policies set by the Board and for obtaining information on changing events which suggest the need for formulating new policies. The Board's direct contact with parents and students is largely limited to: (1) those who are in the same social set, whose children are of course in the better public schools or in private schools; (2) those articulate, aggressive and wise enough to first form a power-base and then appeal directly to the Board, bypassing a too often unresponsive former administration; and (3) those willing to substitute embarrassing direct action for nonexistent or existent and nonfunctioning internal channels.

Without direct contact for monitoring city-wide parental and student perceptions, the usual processing of information then has depended upon the internal administrative chain of command: the student or parent to the teacher, to the department head or counsellor, to the assistant principal, to the principal, to the regional field executive, to the administrative school center through an

GREGORY:
Symptom of
dying inner
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Many, though not all, parents
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Board of Education can not be

Slowing the exodus of whites is a major objective of the rede-
velopment policy of the City, and the Board is presumably not
oblivious to this. Voting patterns clearly show that conservatives
need white voters, and that the race of candidates is important
in both white and black areas, and more so in white areas.

It is also clear that the quality of the school ranks highly among
the variables accounting for such holding power. Few middle income
whites with children in public schools are dispersed in the low-
income areas. When they are congregated in an area served by a
school, that school gets added attention. Both the outer city and
mid city areas contain influential residents and some have effective
organizations and leadership. This leads to preferential status and
adds to the division.

In intrametropolitan area and state affairs, the more divided
a city, the less effectively it can represent its best interests. But,
because of the pervasive relationships between all persons, white
and black, in the same local jurisdiction, metropolitan area and
state, all will lose in the final analysis. While we may not wish to
be our brother's keeper, we are all affected by our brother's fate.

Black Leadership. The inner city has been almost voiceless and
has relied, with important exceptions, on voices that have lost their
independence. The most potentially relevant organization in the
inner city is the church. In the days of colonial history, churches
were too poor. Black ministers therefore had to conform. Their
role was to de-emphasize anything brought over from Africa—except
that which released frustration, like singing, and dancing and
recreation.

There has been an evolution in the ministry since slavery.
Some pastors are now free in spirit as well as in financing but may
well feel that they can best remain so by being uninvolved, except
either in the trivial or when they act in unison through ministerial
organizations. Such an organization, the Inter-Denominational
Ministerial Alliance, gave the Freedom School a timely gesture of
support and has spoken effectively as an organization on a couple
of other important matters of concern to the inner city.

For ministers acting as individuals, the techniques of actual
or potential control are now more subtle. Black churches, two
decades ago, were almost all in the inner city. The entire inner city
is in the process of redevelopment. Ministers appear to be concerned
about what will happen when urban renewal reaches them. New
churches cost much more than the receipts from condemnation
awards for old churches, and moving loses old membership. It is
therefore difficult to know to what extent the process of urban
renewal, including the availability of the best sites and access to
mortgage money for buying churches, has substituted for the master.
A very small number, however, have not let these concerns limit
their militancy. To be too relevant to the grave problems of the
Afro-American and low-income whites is to take great risks. As
one black clergyman was quoted as saying to the press, ministers
have to eat too. The salient characteristic of the inner city is its
economic dependence, even the Houses of God.

There are other sources of potential leadership in the black
community. In the past, these have developed either by operating
skillfully within white circles of power and retreating temporarily
when necessary, or through selection, not by alleged constituents,

ability to act, influence outcomes, and participate in decisions constrained by the distribution of power. By power, I mean the prevalence of a defense, school officials have let themselves be for allocating the school system's resources, the rule of the jungle Without unambiguous educational objectives and known criteria by race, it then becomes an issue of racism, no matter how subtle.

matter of social class. In contrast, when such access is determined by social status without regard to color, we can say that it is a power, is controlled by contacts, the access to which is determined When the channeling of knowledge, one of many forms of will be available to schools meeting criteria B and not at others."

policy A announced at time X, it has been determined that item X announced policy, the officials could then say: "In accordance with standards, consistent with democratically determined and publicly funds are presumably diverted from voiceless schools. Were there vocally supported schools for item X. If there is not extra money, schools to the fact that they don't have X either. School officials into the daily press. This would alert parents at several other item X quietly, parents will make a big issue of it. It may get son for denial or acquiescence and provide item X. If they don't provide school. Officials when confronted with this have to find a new rea-clubs or other organizations can locate item X in another similar from school officials who are neighbors or belong to the same social time and the money to survey other schools, or access to "leaks" as badly as other schools. However, parents with the contacts, the system can't afford item X and that the school doesn't need it children need item X. Officials respond honestly that the school parents of an outer city school go to school officials and say their multi-faceted ways to reallocate resources among schools. Suppose of power among the various areas of the divided city operates in **Power and the Allocation of Resources**—The unequal distribution

which selects them and to which they are responsible. arising whose base of power will be the grass roots constituency at Northern show that a new day is dawning with new leaders not find suddenly any helpful adult leadership. The student leaders Superintendent, after years of not involving the community, could were, or became unavailable. They also explain why the School cities that have also had boycotts, and why most churches nearby had to lead the Boycott, a unique characteristic among the several These were among the factors that may explain why students

It becomes clear that there are few followers. It must avoid community conflicts at all costs, for in such conflict ship". It is responsible, but not to the people it pretends to lead. coverage in the press where it is referred to as "responsible leader- port the "leadership." It cannot oppose meaningfully the source in the Afro-American community are alienated and do not sup-concern to the white community, even when the supposed followers Its voice will most often be heard when pressured on issues of which will antagonize neither the white nor black communities. speak out most forcefully against other blacks and on matters. Excluding an extremely small number, such leadership tends to nalist selection have eroded the effectiveness of such leadership. but by other "leadership", black and white. Both forms of pater-

effort and to increase the im that in the school in a man precludes possibilities for cool thought to be important at the unnecessarily, communicates when they visit some schools a more interested student. I A child who is proud of

limitations to develop the im dedicated teachers, black and of the stereotype. Among th which they reject, along with life is a never ending attempt failure is too personal to be of the child is a racial failu avoid paranoia, but there are are familiar with he enviro: a continuous, self-perpetuating who then take advantage of it than with individual behavior through an interpretation wh abetted by other factors, ma: tional headlines and misuse c place to work, and afterwar metropolitan area and city.] of life of the inner city—anoti and students. Some teachers

Report is made difficult challenging and rewarding. understanding. Establishing freedom, trust, and individual that public schools have. Lea: ing down on the students," w the teachers disobeyed the ten When teachers said nothing, and did so by roaming in a Freedom School. Students ha As an illustration, attendance outside the neighborhood. Pra: port with each of her student Good teaching is facilitat however, some special circum been treated extensively in t These quite real family condit health and other data to depict and broken families. To this c: tionately high ratio of the fam Reference has already b

Other Environmental Handicaps

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affecting one's own welfare. In intra-city affairs, those with power survive by getting a larger slice of a totally inadequate pie. The weak and unrepresented or paternalistically represented perish relative to others, except for a trickle of limited-purpose Federal aid.

Other Enviromental Handicaps

Reference has already been made concerning the disproportionately high ratio of the families in the inner city with low income and broken families. To this could be added a host of socio-economic, health and other data to depict the multi-problems of many families. These quite real family conditions and their effect on learning have been treated extensively in the literature on poverty. There are, however, some special circumstances that warrant our attention.

Good teaching is facilitated when a teacher can establish rapport with each of her students. Conditions in the inner city often create in children a sense of distrust, particularly in persons from outside the neighborhood. Pranks are played to "test" such persons. As an illustration, attendance in classes was not mandatory at the Freedom School. Students had to test this newly found freedom and did so by roaming in and out of classes the first two days. When teachers said nothing, the students stopped roaming. Had the teachers disobeyed the tenets of the Freedom School by "cracking down on the students," we would have had the same problems that public schools have. Learning flourishes in an atmosphere of freedom, trust, and individual attention. Distrust by pupils requires understanding. Establishing teacher-student rapport is extremely challenging and rewarding.

Rapport is made difficult by the clash of the cultures of teachers and students. Some teachers are totally unfamiliar with the ways of life of the inner city—another cost of the residentially segregated metropolitan area and city. The neighborhood is believed to be a place to work, and afterwards to depart, and *cautiously*. Sensational headlines and misuse of statistics on crime in mass media, abetted by other factors, may have the effect of producing fear, through an interpretation which associates crime with race rather than with individual behavior. Fear is easily discerned by students who then take advantage of it. Then reality reinforces the fear. It's a continuous, self-perpetuating cycle. Most Afro-American teachers are familiar with he environment and life-styles and therefore avoid paranoia, but there are other problems. For some, the failure of the child is a racial failure, not an individual one, and black failure is too personal to be excusable. For other black teachers, life is a never ending attempt to escape from the Negro stereotype which they reject, along with the children who may remind them of the stereotype. Among the most unsung heroes are the many dedicated teachers, black and white, who rise above these and other limitations to develop the intellectual curiosity of their students.

A child who is proud of himself and his family is likely to be a more interested student. The cavalier way parents are treated when they visit some schools, for example by being kept waiting unnecessarily, communicates to the child that his parents are not thought to be important at the school. The noninvolvement of parents precludes possibilities for coordinating education in the home with that in the school in a manner to promote the joint educational effort and to increase the image of the parent held by the child.

A number of failures of the by the interactions of the fore illustrations are provided below. This text is a Southern history which were worth mentioning. Indeed, some of the texts, written presumably for a Southern readership, even suggest that they were happy with slavery and were treated kindly by their sympathetic masters. And many of the teachers probably don't know any better, for they used similar texts when they were in the public schools and in colleges. Detroit's schools have made some progress with integrated texts, but much remains to be done. Black students hunger for knowledge of themselves and their ancestors when they find, often with amazement, that there is so much that can be learned.

A major environmental handicap stems from interrelationships between public services. Urban renewal, the legal bias towards the landlord over the tenant, and other factors increase the mobility of families. Educational havoc is created by a large turnover in student attendance as students shift from one school to another, for some students, several times in one semester. Attitudes of students and their parents towards school personnel may well be influenced by their experience with other government employees, the case worker, policeman, garbage collector when he comes, water meter reader, and the constable for evicting tenants.

Environment affects attitudes in other ways. The tendency in education to put students in neat classifications, like the "culturally deprived" leads to a situation in which the teacher looks at the child and sees the classification and not a human being with individual needs requiring fulfillment. Kenneth Clark finds that the expectations of teachers is a critical factor in learning. It is sad that more of these and other handicaps, as they relate to the teacher, are not dealt with in educational training programs. Colleges of education are still preparing teachers for middle-class suburban school systems. These are the communities from which most of the faculty and student body come and where they have had most of their life experiences. The National Teacher Corps, NDBA Institutes and so on are feeble efforts to counter this.

The educational process is composed of a group of sub-processes. Some of the subprocesses can be controlled by the educational system; others can not and must therefore be taken as given, supported when they are favorable to the system, and countered, if possible, when they are unfavorable. We may think of a disequilibrium as a dynamic interaction of these subprocesses, such that any movement away from accomplishing objectives gathers momentum.

The thesis here is that the Detroit School System is in a state of decay. The inadequacy of resources is certainly a key element in the disequilibrium. Yet, viewing the decay as a result of this and no other factor would ignore grave conditions which preclude more than mediocre, let alone excellence in education, in all school constellations, apart from Cass Technical High School, the one super-public school in Detroit. Stated another way, substantial additions to resources, utilized as in the past, would leave many of the reasons for inferior educational products unaffected, though much easier to correct.

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SELECTED INTERACTIONS

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A number of failures of the educational system can be explained by the interactions of the forces that have been identified. A few illustrations are provided below. Throughout the analysis, I have been employing what has been referred to as "equal absolute achievement" as the educational objective. This has the merit of giving at least a similar, minimal meaning to every high school graduation certificate in a given curriculum and year. Clear signals are provided parents, employers and college admissions officers. My choice of goals is admittedly arbitrary and insufficiently defined except for our purposes herein. Other choices that are also consistent with democratic and non-racist values would complicate the analysis while leading to the same or very similar conclusions.

Perverse Incentives

Teachers are paid an amount which varies according to seniority and college degree. Clearly stated goals would generate standards for evaluating performance. Budgeting not only for inputs—so many teachers regardless of the quality of teaching, books, etc.—but also in terms of outputs or educational value to be added each semester would permit an imputation of the contribution of inputs to the educational product. Criteria could therefore be developed for varying salaries according to merit and market conditions.

A host of inefficiencies stem from current precedures. First, the school system does not operate in a vacuum for hiring labor. Certain specialties are in higher demand than others. Where teachers are occupationally mobile, the school system either meets the market salary, increases its vacancies, keeps those who can't survive where standards of performance are applied, or keeps the dedicated and those who have a high preference for teaching and are willing to subsidize personally the school system. This inefficiency is very pertinent for English, math, the sciences and certain vocational and technical personnel. And the problem is exacerbated by certain teacher certification standards prescribed by the state which bar skilled and able persons who have not compiled the required credit in colleges of education.

This operates with horrendous force in all schools, but particularly in inner city schools. A larger proportion of students in the latter are or would be in vocational or technical education. An entire vocational specialty can be halted in a school by a vacancy. Shortages of skills in great demand often result in assigning teachers who are at, or slightly above, the students' level of competence in a given subject.

Second, pay is unrelated to the effort exerted to teach. This has several ramifications with regard to teacher productivity and mobility, both among schools within the Detroit School District and between Detroit's schools and suburban schools. Again, the brunt of the adverse effects is borne by all Detroit schools, but particularly those in the inner city. Teachers, when selecting a place for employment presumably consider, in addition to the nominal salary, various types of working conditions. A school, therefore, that is thought by a teacher to have relatively adverse conditions will have to pay a higher salary to attract the same teacher as a school with better working conditions.

Effort required to do a job of constant quality differs among schools and between school systems. It is higher in the central city where the average environmental conditions are considered un-

favorable compared to suburbia, and it is highest in the inner city and suburban low-income enclaves. However, levels of pay tend to be either equal in absolute terms or to vary inversely with the required effort. Moreover, since colleges of education are turning out many teachers trained for a middle-income culture, teachers who have special gifts for teaching students from low-income families are relatively scarce and should therefore obtain an even higher salary than is suggested by a salary system that maintains a constant wage-effort index. Further, teachers often find living near the school at which they teach desirable. If the neighborhood is not a pleasant residential area, transportation costs rise, adding to the premium called for by perceived working conditions.

The current lower pay per unit of effort for a quality performance provides for a teacher to avoid working in low-income areas if he can do so. If a teacher is assigned against his will by the Detroit School System to an inner-city school, there is the incentive to exert less effort in order to equate pay per unit of effort to that of teachers assigned elsewhere. This is evidenced in a statement made to me by an inner city teacher, "Why should I break my back for the same money others who are assigned to an easier school are getting?" Another incentive is to leave the Detroit School System after accumulating enough experience to qualify for a permanent teaching certificate. The central city school system then becomes a training ground for suburban schools.

This effect is greatly compounded by interactions with inadequate resources. The effort required to teach effectively is increased, or worse, precluded, by high student-teacher ratios, inadequate teaching materials and clerical and other assistance. A teacher who has pride in his profession finds it distasteful to spend much of her time typing examinations, running off the stencils, taking attendance, keeping numerous records, performing hall and lunch-room duty, etc. She can utilize her professional skills in another school system, rather than serving as a clerk or guardian. This also confuses teacher salaries. They are too high for clerks and too low for teachers who actually spend their time teaching. Providing more materials and assistance for teachers in low income areas and smaller class sizes can be a substitute for higher pay. Eager, aggressive and conscientious administrators are affected similarly. Certain tendencies may, however, operate in the opposite direction. A lethargic and marginal administrator is less conspicuous in a large school system than in a small one. Moreover, even an ambitious principal may find the frequent parental pressures in the outer city and suburbia trying. Before the Boycott, life was easier in the inner city, particularly when one could limit one's self to directing the affairs of a custodial institution, while passing on some discipline problems to the police department. On the other hand, the administrator who exhibits excellence in educating low-income youngsters has a reduced number of steps in the ladder to the much more rewarding positions in what was once called the "Great Society" programs.

Third, the promotions process can reduce the number of good teachers and divert good teaching and administration. A teacher obtains higher pay if he becomes a department head or counselor, a first step in the administrative ladder. To the extent that good teaching and counseling are stressed as the major qualification for promotion, incentives are positive, but excellence as an administrator is not at all assured, while the extra assistance to promote the extra standards to which grades do not indicate an alternative is to track student logical damage to a student fall back on the rationalization that this is in fact a practice issue memoranda that it isn't, for social reasons. But, because the policy-making body must longer take the advantage of pupils become as big as the teachers and the use of force by distributed resources are distributed by the ineptness of the schools inferior schools and makes it itional facilities and staff, (2) persistent students in school then arises as to what to do a number of pupils will not be All of the forces identified in Social Promotions

Social Promotions

The most perverse incentive and perhaps training new to school personnel. Bad administrative conditions drive effective teacher or administrators increase in pay) and is a threat who is satisfied with everything Principal's pet. The teacher v more money for cultural field and complain—such a teacher and funds require extra effort are needed, it increases the v and so on, and they may not make" without infinite perse stays on with his performanc the system. The worst "troub relations with the neighborhood A teacher who seeks promotor classified a "troublemaker."

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istrator is not at all assured, with perhaps ill-effects. Good teachers and counsellors can be very bad administrators. Conversely, to the extent that administrative ability is stressed, the teacher has the incentive to sacrifice teaching in order to excel in maintaining discipline, keeping excellent records, and performing well as a supervisor of the hall and the lunchroom, for these are the things a principal is more likely to observe. An alternative is to increase the status of teachers and to subdivide the administrative functions, enabling the placement of professional administrators without teaching experience. Outstanding teachers could be placed in a distinct classification and paid as much as principals for superior teaching and perhaps training new teachers on assignment to the school.

The most perverse incentive of all is Gresham's law applied to school personnel. Bad administrators and teachers and other unfavorable conditions drive out good ones. A conscientious and effective teacher or administrator can go elsewhere (often at an increase in pay) and is a threat to an incompetent one. The teacher who is satisfied with everything sometimes tends to become the Principal's pet. The teacher who wants more and better books, more money for cultural fieldtrips, or who invites parents into the school for consultations where they see things they don't like and complain—such a teacher is a "troublemaker." Extra supplies and funds require extra effort to convince the central office these are needed, it increases the work of the central administration, and so on, and they may not be available anyway. A "troublemaker" without infinite perseverance soon learns to be satisfied, stays on with his performance limited by frustration, or leaves the system. The worst "troublemaker" of all is a teacher whose relations with the neighborhood are better than the Principal's. A teacher who seeks promotions therefore may try to avoid being classified a "troublemaker."

Social Promotions

All of the forces identified combine to insure that a large number of pupils will not perform at grade level. The question then arises as to what to do with them. Failing them: (1) keeps persistent students in school longer requiring unavailable additional facilities and staff, (2) identifies clearly the location of inferior schools and makes it impossible for school officials to deny the inadequacies of the schools and rationalize the way in which resources are distributed by school; and (3) precludes paddling and the use of force by teachers in elementary schools, for the pupils become as big as the teachers, and the same teachers can no longer take the advantage of their relative size. One alternative is to permit principals to implement a policy of promoting students for social reasons. But, because this causes alarm among parents, the policy-making body must deny that this is the official policy, issue memoranda that it isn't, and avoid observing any evidence that this is in fact a practice. When pressed, however, one can fall back on the rationalization that there is considerable psychological damage to a student from failure. Accordingly, it's in the student's best interest to be given grades he has not earned. Another alternative is to track students as "slow learners," a track in which grades do not indicate much in any event, while not providing the extra assistance to promote achievement. It's much easier and cheaper to lower standards to the pupil than to bring the pupil

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A teacher with a pupil who distracts the class despite warnings
 or is uncontrollable sends him "to the office." In some schools,
 being sent there can be a cause of glee for some students. A teacher
 who does so frequently is interpreted as being incompetent, espe-
 cially when the principal is lackadaisical, doesn't understand the
 pupil's need for attention, or has other more important things
 to do. The principal can't be too obvious about recommending
 such a teacher for transfer to another school where he might be
 more effective, for other and competent teachers not having disci-
 pline problems might develop them in order to obtain the transfer.
 It is therefore in the self-interest of the principal to conserve his
 own time by demanding of the teacher better discipline.

There are three basic alternatives for such a teacher who
 remains at the school. One is to review his material to make it
 more interesting to the pupils, re-examine his own attitudes, truly
 try to understand the needs of individual students and establish
 a better rapport with them, as best he can. The larger the class
 and the more hostility the pupils have, the more difficult this is.
 This first alternative is the constructive and most difficult
 one. It, however, requires cooperation by the principal and some
 are very helpful. Others are not. In one school, a teacher wanted
 to expose sixth-graders to Shakespeare, but felt that they would
 not read the assignment without some stimulating physical involve-
 ment. She encouraged the girls to sew costumes for the characters in
 the play, and the boys, to make stage props. The teachers in
 sewing and shop cooperated. The students became very enthusiastic,
 as measured by eagerness and the charging of books out of the
 library before they were assigned. The principal heard of this and
 decided that the pupils could not appreciate Shakespeare. The
 project was halted, as was the students', faith in this consen-
 tious teacher.

The second alternative is to utilize fear as a technique for
 control. Persons who have served as temporary teachers in the
 Detroit School System often make remarks about the extent to
 performances on national exam

up to standards, especially when parents do or can not protest
 effectively.

Discipline

A major relationship between teachers and principals occurs
 in discipline cases. Students from families with either low-income
 or one parent sometimes have a psychological need for a great
 amount of attention. This is also true of a proportion of the families
 who have escaped poverty by having two working parents. It is
 a fact that because of all the forces discussed, teachers can not
 give individual attention to students. A pupil must then do some-
 thing to get attention. Some students find the work unchallenging
 or insulting. Others lack motivation or are hostile. When a stu-
 dent feels hostility or is disinterested and the teacher is visibly
 fearful, the teacher is likely to be faced with many confrontations.
 A child who can upset a teacher is, in his own eyes, somebody,
 and being somebody is important. The teacher who understands
 this can perform wonders to the extent that there are not too
 many such students among whom to divide what little time is left
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Parent Apathy

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which corporal punishment is undertaken by some teachers. The students in some classes in inner city schools are directed to make paddles during shop. These paddles are distributed to teachers. In one class, Wednesday is a double-whack day. At least one male teacher has been reported to use his fists. I have already referred to a principal who kicked a pupil. A student leader of a boycott reports being taken to a police station and being beaten. Any limitation on fear as a technique for control, as in the case of a teacher confronting large fearless pupils, is easily overcome by having police in school and by push-outs.

The third alternative is to give up. The persons referred to above report several cases of this. Knowing that they can do what they wish and are not expected to learn anything, the pupils roam the hall, play in academic classes, and, as reported in one case, go down in the basement of the school for romance, etc. But more calamitous is the possible impact on the student. He may feel the teacher is not trying because he thinks he is uneducable. If he comes to believe it, his self-image can be ruined for life. Why should one take advantage of opportunities if he is convinced that he can't do so successfully? Further, if the teacher isn't going to read the assignments, why bother completing them and turning them in?

Parent Apathy

Inner city parents are often said to be apathetic. This allegation serves to justify their noninvolvement in decision-making. Some low-income parents are just as apathetic as some parents of high income. Others are more so. But, much that is called apathy is really the result of techniques for disengagement. Many are deterred from involvement very effectively. At the Freedom School parents came to meetings each night. Over 800 persons attended our first mass meeting which was called the night before.

Father Gracie's description of the shifting of responsibility between the Board of Education and the Superintendent, together with the delaying tactics used during the Boycott, are illustrations of the techniques for disengaging all but the most persistent parents and students. Under the former Superintendent of Schools, administrators typically had an unwillingness to admit to problems. Excessive defensiveness, denial or covering up the existence of problems all but precludes efficacious solutions. After parents learn this, their reaction can be, "What's the use?" When parents do complain to the school system, they are frequently given the bureaucratic runaround. Pursuing a complaint can utilize an extended amount of time, many meetings, and for the poor, a lot of carfare and lost pay from time off of work. Administrators don't like to meet at night. The middle class has more flexibility in work hours and transportation.

The Board of Education, itself, engages in practices which deter parental involvement. Many important issues are discussed in closed meetings of the Board. Thus, the public does not share with the in-depth deliberations of the Board. Usually, only the perfunctory decisions on matters considered elsewhere are discussed in the open Board meetings. Moreover, until the Northern High School Boycott, it was not the practice of the School System to make available to the general public the scores of student performances on national examinations. This policy of nondis-

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Every single force identified comes into play in them. Their inter-
action in "integrated" areas currently is identical, more or less,
to what occurred in a smaller inner city years ago. Northern was
THE outstanding high school in Detroit in the 1920's, 1930's and
early 1940's. During World War II, nonwhites began to migrate
into the neighborhood. I graduated from Northern in 1947 in the
middle of a short interval then between excellence in education
and decay.

Because of inadequate standards for students and previous
environment conditions, the students transferring into a school in
such an area are often behind their new classmates. (One can over-
stress the environmental factor, for the Afro-American immigrants
are sometimes of a higher socio-economic status than the whites
they replace.) The problem involved in teaching students in the
same nominal grade who are at different levels of achievement
is then recognized. It existed all along, for the previous all white
student body was not classified homogeneously by grade; they also
were at varying levels of achievement although the standard de-
viation may have been smaller. In the absence of implemented
goals, the problem is solved by the distribution of influence among
parents and the school administration on the one hand, and by
the attitudes and preparation of the principal and teachers, on
the other.

In schools where teachers and the the principal are the ex-
clusive force in decision-making, one set of possible interactions
occurs. For example, the staff is more familiar with the students
it has had all along. New students, some with different needs,
become a problem to an inflexible teacher who has molded a teaching
style and course outline over the years. And for some teachers,
even a prepared and bright black student is a problem. Because
the old approach does not seem successful, some teachers give up
by assuming the new students uneducable. Others transfer else-
where where they feel they can be more comfortable. Some with
long ties to the school remain, with their frustrations further
inhibiting their performance, and dream wistfully of the "good
old days." A fraction of the teachers adjusts by directing their
instruction to all pupils without regard to stereotypes. An under-
standing principal can be of great assistance in encouraging teach-
ers to meet the new parents, learn something about them, involve
them in the school community, and by encouraging a better
relationship between students and teachers. If the principal's atti-
tude or training is inappropriate, he can retard the effectiveness
of the proportion of teachers who adjust to the changed composition
of the student body constructively. Ultimately, the negative inter-
actions overcome the positive ones.

Another set of interactions occurs in those schools where
parental groups have substantial influence with the school adminis-
tration. The parents who have been in the area longest retain a
controlling influence in the parent organization until their numbers
dwindle. The solution for white bigots is easy and obvious: classify
all newcomers as "slow learners" and then merely go through the
motions of educating them in a segregated track system. The over-
riding concern for nonracist parents is to maintain the quality
of education for all pupils. However, this cannot be done, for

The longer the delay in solving the fiscal problem the worse it becomes, for the current gap between needs and resources sets in motion a cumulative process to increase the gap. Too few resources relative to needs lessens the quality of education, the future earnings of residentially immobile graduates, and the attractiveness of living in the central city. With cumulative deterioration,

The Widening Fiscal Gap

These illustrations were provided at the suggestion of Dr. Jesse Goodwin, a member of several educational organizations and one of several knowledgeable persons who were asked to comment on an early draft of this paper. Areas to be studied in this regard are Fitzgerald, Schultz, and Bagley.

As the "changing area" completes its change, the inner city becomes a larger proportion of the entire city. The drive to retain the fewer remaining whites and to attract new ones through redevelopment and special groupings of students accelerates, perpetuating the process.

Exceptions have occurred in those communities inhabited by persons with an understanding of social change and a feeling of friendship for newcomers. Parents in the area served by three elementary schools formed community councils. The councils involved the newcomers and listed housing for sale to all, negating practices of realtors who focused upon a few new areas at a time and churned over sales by selling to blacks only. These councils also formed a base of power to maintain public services, particularly schools. The underfinanced and purely volunteer efforts of these councils point to what could be done.

Prior to two years ago, Detroit offered its high quality Science and Arts Curriculum only at Cass Technical High School. This curriculum has been expanded into three other high schools, Mumford, Mackenzie and Pershing. The first two are in "changing areas." An investigation of the Science and Arts Program at Mumford High School and a public statement by its principal indicated that 90 to 95 percent of the students in the upper track were white, while 72.9 percent of the student body was Afro-American. The status of classes at the Pasteur School, where a large number of so-called "special abilities" and "remedial" classes exist, reveal a very definite pattern of *de facto* classroom segregation. Black middle-income parents often lament about having to buy a house in a "changing area" in order to have their children close to good schools only to find that education for their children is the same or little better than that from which they fled.

The question then becomes, really, which resources are insufficient. The question of inadequate finances. But, this is a painful question for nonracists whose children are involved. There is therefore substituted another question, that being, how can the needs of the "gifted" student best be met. Obviously, there should be a special curriculum for talented students. But this must be legitimized to allay criticism by also providing a special curriculum for the "slow learners", and one for those who fall in between, in addition to a regular special education program for the emotionally retarded, physically handicapped and others. The focus of attention however becomes the upper track or "homogeneous grouping" which then drains resources from the remaining tracks or curriculums. When the area approaches being all black, the upper track is dropped, unless there is a very strong parent group.

The same built-in worsening neutrality of the above considera

A disproportionate growth in and of parents residing in Detroit private or suburban schools will e current levies on property in excess tion. These groups, having no ch vote negatively in millage elections operating school levy of 20.76 mil

Assessed valuations could be i vation, redevelopment and rewa of the Vietnam War and the 196 the magnitude of such efforts ma grams reinforce taxable capaci fantastic human costs, including from the poor to the economically policies with regard to community locations will be triggered by the : sons immediately affected over ha oment plans without their sharin the planning or the spoils.

the out-migrant.

state aid is primarily on a per pup reduced capacity of private sch relief from the out-migration of while the need for services will to the number of low-income perso tax collections. The burden of mai outmigration of the advantaged f and aggregating property tax t grows rapidly relative to that of I in decision-making processes, etc and have disproportionate represe facilities, and the services of poli ways, and enjoy services of resi benefit Detroit's day-time comm Many of the public and private se the proportion of Detroit's wor workers who commuted to Detr area. According to the 1960 cer city will become increasingly a se to be affected by trends similar

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the education of the child is worse than that for the father. In addition, technology has advanced the skill requirements of the labor force. The products of our educational processes replace the increases in public needs over resources generated by earlier mass migrations from the South.

Detroit's fiscal status will also continue in the next decade to be affected by trends similar to those of the past. The central city will become increasingly a service center for the metropolitan area. According to the 1960 census, the proportion of suburban workers who commuted to Detroit was almost twice as large as the proportion of Detroit's workers who commuted to suburbia. Many of the public and private services using tax exempt property benefit Detroit's day-time commuters and others who reside in suburbia. The suburban residents use Detroit's streets, express- ways, and enjoy services of police protection, recreation, cultural facilities, and the services of "private" tax exempt institutions, and have disproportionate representation, with regard to numbers, in decision-making processes, etc. As the population of suburbia grows rapidly relative to that of Detroit, there will be efforts to expand these services increasing the amount of tax-exempt property and aggrandizing property tax burdens on city residents. Added outmigration of the advantaged from Detroit will reduce Detroit's tax collections. The burden of maintaining any given level of public services will be increased in Detroit (and without any additions to the number of low-income persons from rural areas or the South) while the need for services will rise. Schools will, however, find relief from the out-migration of pupils which is not offset by the reduced capacity of private schools. This relief is limited because state aid is primarily on a per pupil basis and therefore accompanies the out-migrant.

Assessed valuations could be increased by neighborhood conser- vation, redevelopment and renewal programs. The budgeted impact of the Vietnam War and the 1966 election suggest, however, that the magnitude of such efforts may be small. Moreover, these pro- grams reinforce taxable capacity after great delays and with fantastic human costs, including the redistribution of real income from the poor to the economically advantaged. Unless actual public policies with regard to community participation change to approach the public relations image that is projected, major delays and dis- locations will be triggered by the accumulated discontent of the per- sons immediately affected over having imposed upon them redevel- opment plans without their sharing, other than by sham, in either the planning or the spoils.

A disproportionate growth in the number of senior citizens and of parents residing in Detroit who send their children to either private or suburban schools will endanger the renewal of Detroit's current levies on property in excess of the property tax rate limita- tion. These groups, having no children in public schools, tend to vote negatively in millage elections. At stake are 12.5 out of a local operating school levy of 20.76 mills.

The same built-in worsening of the gap obtains even with the neutrality of the above considerations. As in other endeavors, it

