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PROTESTS AND EXPEDIENTS IN RESPONSE TO FAILURES IN URBAN EDUCATION: A STUDY OF NEW HAVEN, 1950-1970

A Dissertation
by
CLEO ABRAHAM

Submitted to Graduate Faculty Advisors of the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May (Month) 1971 (Year)

Major Subject - Urban Education
PROTESTS AND EXPEDIENTS IN RESPONSE TO FAILURES IN URBAN EDUCATION: A STUDY OF NEW HAVEN, 1950-1970

A Dissertation

by

Cleo Abraham

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May 1971
(Month) (Year)
ABSTRACT

PROTESTS AND EXPEDIENTS IN RESPONSE TO FAILURES IN URBAN EDUCATION: A STUDY OF NEW HAVEN, 1950-1970

(May, 1971)

Cleo Abraham, B.A., Claflin University
M.S., Southern Connecticut State College
Directed by: Dr. Robert L. Woodbury

A modern industrial city such as New Haven, Connecticut has had to cope with major changes in economic and social conditions in order to provide adequate public services. The key for fostering a sense of community development and participation is the schools; and nowhere has the failure of urban life been more evident than in the failure of city schools to educate Black and poor children.

New Haven reacted with imaginative vigor to counteract the decline of commerce and industry in the central city. Federally funded highways, new shopping centers and office buildings on urban renewal land have helped rebuild the downtown. But the emphasis upon the physical side of a model city has only revealed the city's failure of educational and economic opportunity for powerless Black and poor residents.
New Haven has rebuilt its downtown area with a shopping center and high rise office buildings. Further, it has become a model city as far as urban renewal, but in the field of education and economic development among the powerless Blacks and poor, it has failed to make changes in their lives and hope for their children's future.

New Haven has experienced the problems of inner-city mobility and southern in-migration as any other large urban city in America. The schools have undergone major changes as a result of demographic shifts. The result has been that inner-city school populations have increasingly become non-white. White populations shifting to the suburbs have brought about racial in-balance in the inner-city schools in spite of urban renewal and community action programs.

The failure of New Haven's public school system to provide a meaningful and valuable education for Blacks has kept a barrier on employment and educational advancement. The dissatisfaction of Blacks with state motivated protests and violence during the 60's has resulted in the reorganization of the school system.

Redevelopment and the denial of job opportunities can be labeled as a result of the disorder that occurred
in New Haven during the 60's.

The recent overt expressions by inner-city residents of their dissatisfaction with the school system indicates that many Blacks are changing their roles to a significant level of activism.
"Black students and educators are not commanding the attention of the nation. They are saying essentially that in America's scandalous failure to meet the basic needs of Black boys and girls, we have also created unwittingly a demon which incidentally demeans and destroys in some measure the lives of us all."

Nathan Wright, Jr.  
Newark Star Ledger  
May 4, 1969
DEDICATION

WIFE
Jacquelin

DAUGHTERS
Cindy and Angela
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to many individuals who were most active in the preparation of the dissertation. A person who offered persistent and steady guidance throughout my entire study at the University of Massachusetts was Professor Robert L. Woodbury, Dean of Off-Campus Affairs and my major advisor.

The time and attention given by Professor Atron A. Gentry, a genius in the field of Urban Education, cannot be surpassed. Professor Bryd L. Jones provided endless encouragement and assistance throughout my writing. The help and patience of Professor Earl Seidman requires recognition.

I am obligated to Silvija and Tricia who typed a great deal of the first draft. Thanks goes to Herbie Pierce for his work on the Bibliography. Tim Anderson merits recognition for my Tables, Billy Dixon and J. Coleman Williams for proofreading.

I am more than thankful for my parents, and a special thanks goes to my mother-in-law, for inspiring moral support.
PREFACE

The subject of this dissertation concerns PROTESTS and EXPEDIENTS in RESPONSE to FAILURES in urban education: A Study of New Haven, Connecticut, 1950-1970. Basically this is the story of powerlessness among poor black families in New Haven to effect the education of their children.

A powerful impetus for this dissertation has come from my own experiences. I taught in the New Haven school system from 1963 to 1967. At that time I took a job with the Community Progress, Incorporated which was the New Haven Community Action Agency. As president of the United Newhallville organization I tried for about six years to bring pressure on the school system to provide quality education for children in the inner-city. Most of all, this dissertation was motivated by my two children, Cindy and Angela, in the school system in New Haven.
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CHAPTER I

NEW HAVEN - THE MODEL CITY ERA

Members of the school board, administrators, parents, and other interested citizens of New Haven are deeply concerned about the racial protest and violence in their schools throughout the 1960's. Vandalism and violence broke out in December, 1967, in Hillhouse High School. According to reports, it started when a Black girl decided not to stand during a recital of the Pledge of Allegiance. A white boy behind her punched her in the back. Black students, angered when they found out that the white boy had not been expelled for his actions, squared off against white students in the school cafeteria. Before long, there was a melee with the arrival of police, the use of mace, arrests and injuries.

In early 1968, other racial incidents occurred at Hillhouse again, and at Lee High School, a new school. Police were assigned to the school on a temporary basis. A few weeks later, there was violence at the Sheridan Middle School. School administrators and teachers did not know how to react.
The Commission on Equal Opportunities conducted an investigation of the school violence, and it concluded, in a comment that was directed at academic institutions in general, that: "the specific troubles in New Haven grew out of long smoldering discontent involving high school principals, faculty and students." The first response did not help. "Increasing racial tension and consequent police actions have served to exacerbate this situation."¹

Like every other American city, New Haven devised its own individual responses to the problems of racism. The Commission strongly recommended that there be more community participation in the running of the schools. But that solution merely restated the problem: "One of the most powerful issues we face in urban education today, to which New Haven is no exception, is the basic position of powerlessness from which Black parents operate."²

1. Development of a Model City

Blacks have lived in New Haven communities ever since it was established as a colony. They were granted civil status as "free people of color" late in the eighteenth century since slavery was officially abolished in the state by the Gradual Emancipation Act of 1784 which provided that those born of slave parents would be liberated upon reaching the age of twenty-five, later amended to twenty-one.
In the year 1820, the Fourth Census was taken and the total population of the entire United States, then, was nine and one-half million, which included more than one and one-half slaves and some 225,000 freedmen. In the state of Connecticut, there were 267,000 whites, 7,800 free Blacks and 97 Black slaves. By 1850, almost one thousand of New Haven's 20,000 population were Blacks.

Although they had legal status as freedmen, Blacks lived a life of complete segregation from the white community. They attended separate schools, if any at all, for education was not then compulsory. They lived in segregated areas of the town or among the indigent whites. They were excluded from the better establishments of public accommodation, transportation, public lectures and churches. They could not become an apprentice and faced insurmountable barriers in performing anything but menial and laboring work. That was the social pattern in Pre-Civil War New Haven.

From 1850 to World War I, educational and occupational advancement for the Blacks in New Haven was difficult to achieve. The caste-like status was—to a large extent—determined by the types of jobs they had obtained and the education they had achieved. During that long span, clerical, business and commercial positions were largely limited to New Haven's white population. Prior to 1920, according to census reports, no female Black clerks and only a few
bookkeepers and typists were employed in the city. Occupational opportunities open to Black men were even more severely limited, except for a brief period during World War I—and for a longer period during World War II—when a small ratio of Blacks were permitted to acquire semi-skilled work in some defense factories.

The great migration of black people out of the South and into Northern cities was based on two things: the hope for a better job and the desire to escape from a segregated caste system, which defined all Negroes as inferior. During both world wars, employers dropped discriminatory hiring and encouraged Southern Blacks to move North. New Haven's black population grew from 5,000 in the 1930's to more than 9,500 in 1950. But discrimination and a low job ceiling prevailed so that New Haven's black population was less than six per cent in 1950.

During the 1950's as the city's population total declined, Blacks in large numbers were in-migrating from the Southeast. They were seeking better jobs and housing, and better overall living conditions than they found in the rural South. They came unprepared for urban living, and without marketable skills. Once in the city, they were deprived of the one advantage the south held: they no longer had land on which to grow food for their families. But with training and guidance they could be a valuable addition to the city's work force.
In 1960, there were 22,113 Blacks in New Haven. Social statistics indicate that this figure grew to 23,180 by 1963, or a gain of 4.5 per cent in two years. That gain continued so that during the 1960's New Haven's total population dropped by 15,000 despite a rise of 13,000 in Black citizens.

Even though the Black population increased, it was a long, slow process before opportunities were opened for the few who had qualified to teach in the public schools of New Haven. The first person of color appointed to teach in the Dixwell area of New Haven was Miss Helene Grant, whose tenure was from 1919 to 1961. The next such person was Miss Irene Webster who taught from 1921 to 1965.

In this era of "Women's Liberation", it is interesting to note that a qualified Black man had little or no chance to teach in New Haven's public schools until the 1950's when the first three men, that is Charles Twyman, Robert Pleasure and Kenneth Roberts were appointed. Subsequent thereto, men and women of Black origin have been appointed in increasing numbers to fill vacancies in the predominantly Black schools. The kind of recruitment that has been waged makes one question whether some teachers would qualify if an examination was required prior to an appointment.

Blacks with college education, high school diplomas, or high potentials have been able to move relatively quickly
into middle-class jobs in New Haven. They had marketable skills to offer to the community, requiring little additional training by employers. Some found employment in business and industry (banks, retail stores, etc.). The majority, however, were placed in jobs by Community Progress-Inc., (CPI).

In the 1960's New Haven experienced a familiar flight of population from the urban center. Middle class whites moved out of the core city and into surrounding suburban towns. Suburbs such as West Haven, Orange, Hamden, North Haven, and East Haven grew by 30 per cent. Thus New Haven's standard Metropolitan Statistical Area gained 34,702 persons during the decade. (See Table One).

New Haven's population has traditionally been dominated by minorities. Foreign stock (which includes foreign born and those with one or both foreign born parents) has amounted to more than half of the New Haven population until recent years. In 1930 foreign stock amounted to 69.5 per cent. A political scientist William Lee Miller reported: "New Haven's waves of immigration correspond to those of the eastern seaboard, generally, except that the Italian wave is proportionately larger." 6

Miller explained that ethnicity has been the key to New Haven's politics. The 13th ward, for instance, is usually represented by an alderman of Polish background.
### TABLE ONE

#### CITY OF NEW HAVEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Negro Percentage</th>
<th>Foreign Stock Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>10,180</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>--*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>20,345</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>--*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>50,840</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>86,045</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>69.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>133,605</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>69.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>162,655</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>--*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>164,443</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>152,648</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>--*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>New Haven SMSA**</th>
<th>New Haven City</th>
<th>New Haven SMSA excluding New Haven City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>320,836</td>
<td>152,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>355,538</td>
<td>137,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Negro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not Available

**New Haven SMSA includes the City (town) of New Haven plus the following townships:

- Branford
- East Haven
- Guilford
- Hamden
- New Haven
- North Haven
- Orange
- West Haven
- Woodbridge
The city has been divided into seven ethnic parts by politicians; two of them Italian, one Irish, one Jewish, and one Negro, the other two parts composed of the smaller groups such as 'Wasps,' Poles, and Puerto Ricans, roughly in that order of importance. Major shifts have occurred in recent years which effect the population characteristic and the politics of New Haven. By 1970 Blacks had become the most populous minority in New Haven, and Henry Parker became the first Black candidate for mayor of New Haven.

Although Yale University is the largest single employer in New Haven, the average educational attainment is below national averages for metropolitan areas. In New Haven 8.8 per cent of the population 25 years and older had completed less than five years of school as compared to 7.1 per cent nationally. Those 25 and older having completed high school were 38.2 per cent in New Haven and 44.1 per cent nationally.

New Haven in the mid 1960's was a city of diversity and contrast. Large parts of the middle class, middle income, assimilated population had moved to suburbs. New Haven was left with the rich and the poor; old and young; Italian, Puerto Rican and Black; highly educated Yale men and uneducated immigrants.

New Haven is located in the middle of a crescent shaped industrial area which follows the main arteries of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City or Town</th>
<th>EMPLOYMENT TOTAL</th>
<th>MANUF. FIRMS</th>
<th>MANUF. M</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bethany</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branford</td>
<td>5,240</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Haven</td>
<td>2,620</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilford</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamden</td>
<td>14,870</td>
<td>5,020</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven</td>
<td>92,130</td>
<td>23,280</td>
<td>499</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Branford</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Haven</td>
<td>15,410</td>
<td>10,870</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>4,640</td>
<td>1,030</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Haven</td>
<td>12,360</td>
<td>4,380</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodbridge</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMSA</td>
<td>151,420</td>
<td>48,270</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LABOR MARKET AREA** 153,000 48,310 1,074

Note: * includes public housing units

Sources: Connecticut Development Commission; Connecticut Labor Department

The New Haven Labor Market Area, as delineated by the United States Department of Labor and as serviced by the State of Connecticut, is comprised of the cities and towns in the SMSA plus Madison. This area has 281.2 square miles and populated by an estimated 369,600 people in 1967.
transportation from Meriden south to Milford. Manufacturing has been a central part of the New Haven economy since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Manufacturing is concentrated in the areas of electrical machinery, primary metals, fabricated metals, silver, transportation equipment, ordnance, and fabrics and apparel.

The largest firms in the New Haven area are reported in the Industrial Directory as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yale University</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratt &amp; Whitney Aircraft</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>North Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern New Eng. Telephone</td>
<td>4,510</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester-Western Divis.</td>
<td>4,506</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven Railroad</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale-New Haven Hospital</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armstrong Rubber</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>West Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital of St. Raphael</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Electrical Motors</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>Milford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Departure Hyatt Bearings</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>Meriden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remington Electric Shaver</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>Milford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Cyaminid</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>Wallingford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargent and Company</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>New Haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Silver</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Meriden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Industry like the white middle class is leaving New Haven for suburbs. (See Table 1b for location of large firms in the area.) Winchester-Western Division, one of the largest industries in New Haven, moved to Branford and left many of their employees behind without jobs.

Under Mayor Richard C. Lee's administration, New Haven undertook the most extensive urban renewal program of any American city. By the end of the 1960's, New Haven,
Connecticut had received far more federal funds for urban reform per citizen, than any other city in the United States. During Mayor Lee's administration, the city launched a massive attack on the ills of its deteriorating urban environment. Mayor Lee and his federal supporters were determined to make a model for a new American city, capable of providing education and services to all its citizens, and able to reconcile differences and muster cooperation among different social groups.

If a model city were simply new architecture, new buildings and new housing projects, then New Haven's renewal was a success, as it was so acclaimed in the National Press. "But the bulldozer also brought into new light the problems of people enmeshed in poverty," as a later report pointed out. "Inadequate education, poor health, lack of marketable skills, racial discrimination, unemployment, and bewilderment with the complexities of modern urban life had combined to form a vicious circle for many families ending in apathy and despair." Clearly the powerlessness of a growing Black population contradicted and mocked any effort of New Haven to claim that it was indeed a model city.

At the end of the decade it was apparent that New Haven had become a "Model City" in a far more ironic sense that the reformers intended. Despite Mayor Lee's drive during his sixteen years in office, despite the new buildings
and the revitalized neighborhoods, there were riots in New Haven as there were in other less dynamic cities. Resentment and hostility festered while the steam shovels worked. The school's standards had dropped because something serious was missing in New Haven's system--parents' and citizens' participation.

2. Changing Neighborhood

One finds in the small cities of New Haven many contrasts. Indeed, some are so unexpected as to be almost unbelievable. Here is an urban setting which for a decade has served as the focal point for pioneering efforts to develop and revitalize blighted areas. The downtown area glistens, and some neighborhoods have been handsomely rehabilitated. Yet a visitor driving along Dixwell Avenue can see some of the worst urban slums in America. By mid 1950's, New Haven was sorely in need of redevelopment.

New Haven's central green with its three old churches gave shape to the city's center. To the south and west Yale University seemed untouched by urban blight. To the north and east of the green there were abandoned stores and many abandoned factories in what had once been a busy industrial area.

The key to Mayor Richard Lee's rebuilding program stands directly east of the green. A new complex with two
department stores, a new hotel, a two-story enclosed shopping mall, and a ten story parking garage have attracted shoppers back into the downtown. Two new bank buildings with office space rise on Church Street north of the green. North and east stands the round tower of the Knights of Columbus building, and a new convention center and sports arena is under construction. Much of the remaining factory space has been torn down and replaced by Interstate 91.

If a visitor drove west along Whitney Avenue, he would see a pleasant residential area. Quiet streets and parks give a hint of the once favored parts of Elm City. But if he drove south and west along Dixwell, a visitor would see dilapidated housing, closed stores, and black faces along the streets. Going in the opposite direction, a visitor might drive through the predominantly Italian Fair Haven neighborhood.

Some Black residents have benefited from urban renewal. Some live in attractive, new integrated town houses along Dixwell, while less fortunate neighbors live in dilapidated housing on the Hill. There are the organized residents of public housing in West Rock successfully negotiating improved services from the Housing Authority. Meanwhile, on oppressive Grand Avenue in Fair Haven poor Blacks gather in a tiny storefront to plead for desperately needed social services. The ten glowing years of community renewal have seldom touched their lives.
New Haven, like many other cities, is searching and examining ways to adjust services and attitudes for its changing population. Before the late 1950's and early 1960's, American city halls did not have much of a reputation for either leadership or intelligence. Cities, by and large, were merely political jurisdictions through which services such as police protection and garbage pickup, could best be provided for an area where the population was relatively dense. They also were centers of shopping activity, although parking was becoming more difficult and suburban shopping centers were successfully competing with the downtown district.

There were few mayors who exhibited any inclination to see beyond the mundane boundaries. Then, a number of mayors arrived on the scene who saw things differently, who rejected the traditional limitations, who pushed aside the old boundaries and hired bright, young assistants who could formulate urban programs. But they have proved more successful in tearing down buildings and erecting new ones than in involving people in the planning process. Underlying the acquisition of knowledge and skills must be a set of attitudes which form the basis for motivation to learn. If staying in school to get an education has brought occupational achievement for others, then education is likely to be valued highly. But if education has not opened doors and if adults from outside the neighborhood, such as school personnel, affirm this, attitudes favorable to education
probably will not be developed. Since the latter has often been the case in the past, opening opportunities in employment must be accompanied by efforts to change attitudes that relate to educational and occupational achievement.

It is now clear that American public education is organized and functions along social and economic class lines. A bi-racial public school system wherein approximately 90 per cent of American children are required to attend segregated schools is one of the clearest manifestations of this basic fact. The difficulties encountered in attempting to desegregate public schools in the South as well as in the North point to the tenacity of the forces seeking to prevent any basic change in the system.

Educational systems have become a major pillar of racism precisely because education has become so important in the total scheme of our society. The sophistication of the technology employed in the economy makes educational achievement a prerequisite for a decent job. In 1900, when only six per cent of the youth in the nation graduated from high school and unskilled jobs abounded, the urban school systems were not a major instrument in creating racial distinctions.

Today, when over 70 per cent of all youth graduate from high school and over 50 per cent of the graduates go on to some kind of college, educational institutions which provide markedly different results for Black and white children are key to the structure of urban racism. Next to the
family, they are the most important institutional molder of the child in our society.

Without the support of any statutory provisions, urban systems operate very efficiently on a de facto racially segregated basis. This segregation invariably occurs where racial groups are residentially segregated and there is a neighborhood school policy. In the past, many boards of education have gerrymandered school boundaries and used various student transfer policies so as to create all Black or all white schools. Civil rights pressures have put an end to most of these maneuvers. Nevertheless, with the large size and the homogeneity of the ghettos, no special policies are needed to maintain Jim Crow schools today.\[10\]

In the larger cities, there are, in effect, two school sub-systems--one for black and one for white children. But both are controlled by a white administrator. These sub-systems help define both a special and social distance between the two racial groups. In Chicago, for instance, conclusive evidence shows that the extent of racial segregation has been increasing in recent years. In 1965, 90 per cent of the Black elementary and 72 per cent of the Black high school pupils attended schools that were virtually all Black. Six of the public school systems in the largest cities had 80 to 100 per cent Black enrollment. In many of the schools that have bi-racial
student bodies, homogeneous groupings and track systems have created a high degree of internal segregation.

And in the case of the other areas of urban life, the status and conditions of the Black sub-sectors of the urban school systems are distinctly inferior. Usually, they are located in the central cities which spend less per pupil than the better-off suburbs. The second-class nature of the Black section of the city school system can be measured in terms of both the input and output of the system. In the Black schools, the Board of Education maintains larger classroom size, has a lower per pupil expenditure, concentrates its teacher shortage, is less sensitive to the expressed needs of the community, and has lower expectations for both the pupils and faculties.

These lesser inputs are matched by comparable results. By the sixth grade, Black pupils have average achievement levels that lag two years behind those of white pupils; the lag increases to more than three years in the higher grades. Moreover, the Black pupils incorporate in their own self-images much of the low esteem with which the school system holds them.

During the last few years, in response to the pressures of the civil rights movement and with federal grants in aid, there has been some increase in the inputs into the Black subsectors so that the disparities are no longer so
great within the central city. Since the racial differentials in educational inputs constitute only one element of the total system, the net effect of any equalizing of expenditures has been to keep the disparity in educational results from increasing. Further, in spite of any more equitable distribution of educational funds between racial groups as a whole, a recent study of public school expenditures in the New Haven area shows that the high-status whites have increased the amounts spent on their children at a faster rate than any other group—Black or white. While racial advantage in this regard might be narrowing, class advantage is growing.11

Education has traditionally been conceived of as one of the great ladders of social mobility within our society. Presently, for the average Black child in the ghetto, the school operates more as an instrument of subjugation than liberation. The subordination of the Black sector in these vast training systems conditions the individual Black youngster to expect a subordinate position for the rest of his life.

The involvement of both Black and white youth for twelve years in a segregated system creates in them the expectation that a certain amount of segregation is normal. The atmosphere and curriculum in the classroom reinforces the equally false, but socially powerful, sense of superiority in white pupils and sense of inferiority in Black
pupils through the nature of the textual materials and the attitudes of the staff.

The smaller financial and technological inputs into the Black sub-sectors have meant treatment for white pupils in the allocation of public resources. The racial differentials in standard educational results have meant the rationing out of a smaller proportion of the favorable life and occupational opportunities to the Black pupils.

3. Education and New Haven's Schools

Changes in urban neighborhoods demand educators who are competent, sensitive, productive and decisive. Urban schools need men and women who demonstrate their belief in the real worth of each child, who respect children of different racial and social economic backgrounds, and who know and respect the values and customs of these backgrounds. Schools need educators who are themselves secure enough to accept others and to continue to learn.

Prospective educators and those who are currently in service must be provided with experiences and knowledge that will enable them to be aware of their own emotions and reactions. It is crucially important, furthermore, that educators have opportunities for self-renewal, for relief from the tensions and frustrations that accompany them daily. An educator should be able to facilitate learning, or assist
the child to think logically and understand and express his inner feelings.

A teacher should be able to establish and work comfortably in different kinds of learning situations—small groups and large, within the school setting or outside it. He must recognize that learning takes place all the time, wherever the child is; and that to effect the student positively, the school must work with, not against, the teachers and classrooms of the home and the street. The teacher must be willing and able to use the questions and suggestions of parents to improve his own method of approaching students. Similarly, he must be able to use various kinds of materials—traditional, innovative, teacher-created and, most importantly, community-created curriculum. Teachers should understand and make themselves understood among the people of the school and community. They must understand the primary language of the students and community and avoid using professional argot, which will mark them as defensive and insecure. He must know how his own words and actions will be interpreted. A sensible and productive idea inaccurately expressed may appear patronizing or defensive and create hostility or disdain in the listener. Educators in urban schools should not be horrified by either the students' language or their experiences and feelings.

A teacher should be able to communicate and work
not only with students but with other educators, specialists, parents, aides, and administrators. The principal and teachers of an urban school must be able to carry on the important process of communication with the total community in which they work. There is no one right way to develop community participation but the task is essential for good urban schools.

To prepare students for the world in which they will live as adults, educators must unceasingly search for new answers to old questions, be thoroughly familiar with their areas of specialization, and keep themselves informed of new developments in the practice of teaching. They must be able to help students inquire rather than memorize. Teaching means assisting students in setting aims and goals, raising questions, developing hypotheses, testing solutions, noticing the people and the world around them. Teaching means encouraging students to solve problems effectively and to examine all hypotheses vigorously.

Educators must also know and understand the learning process. Each teacher should know how children learn. He should recognize that learning is not the same for all. He should know the place of drill and repetition and basic skills in the learning process. His role is to help the students use their own minds, develop their own reasoning powers so that they can differentiate between the relevant and the irrelevant. His goal is to help the students recognize their own insights as different and valuable.
perceptions, even though greater minds might have seen more clearly.

If our educational programs are to provide each student the education that will most benefit him, educators must understand and use a process which includes the elements of diagnosing, planning, and evaluating. The competent educator using this process will recognize the difference between a temporary and a permanent need in a child. He will recognize the difference between what one child needs and what an entire group of children need. He will know what to look for when observing each child. He will be able to distinguish between healthy behavior and symptoms of emotional illness. He will observe how a child attacks a problem. He will look, listen, ask questions and remember what he heard and saw.

After this necessary diagnosis, he is ready to prescribe, so he sets goals and objectives involving all students individually and as a group, selects and organizes people, materials, and content to meet the goals, and conducts activities. He will also set limits, identify and interpret expectations, and know the purpose of all the activities and their relationship to the goals. The educator will ensure adequate supervision, use materials and activities as creatively as possible, and help the children to help one another. He will know when to stop an activity and when to begin one; he will understand how to make a transition from
one activity to another. He will know when the goal of an activity has been achieved because he will know what evidence shows him that it has been achieved.

By any reasonable assessment, New Haven's schools have failed to offer quality education to its poor and minority students. They make up a disproportionate number of the special education classes. Test scores have shown most poor and minority students fall into the lower or vocational tracks. A large number of New Haven Black students graduate from high school reading below the fifth grade level.

A decade of vigorous intellectual criticism from 1955 to 1965, plus extensive professional and experimental efforts, did not produce educational development in the inner-city that satisfied the demands of public pressure. Nor were many professionals satisfied with the rate of progress. But to evaluate the school crisis in the inner-city, it is necessary to separate contemporary issues from those that have persisted over the last half century. It is best to assess the crisis by first focusing on the long-term growth in effectiveness of the system. For the nation as a whole, the retention rate of youngsters in high school has risen continually in recent decades. For example, 500 out of every 1,000 eventually graduated from high school. The figure has continued to rise; of every 1,000 fifth graders in 1965, approximately 800 ultimately graduated from high school.
This expansion in retention rates is not merely a custodial enterprise, for results of achievement tests suggest that the levels of overall academic performance of elementary and secondary school populations have risen during the last two decades. Of particular note has been the sharp upgrading of college preparatory programs in the United States to the point where an important minority of high schools offer work on first and second year college levels. In the mid-1960's these increased standards of academic performance in secondary education had reached the point where educators were questioning whether high school students had the emotional maturity to comprehend, in meaningful terms, parts of the improved curriculum.

Given this expansion, the new crisis in public education is linked to the transformation and organization of the labor market under advanced industrialization. In the past, at least up to the Great Depression, the socialization of youngsters from European immigrant families and of migrants from rural areas was in good measure accomplished through work experiences, part-time and full-time. This is not to overlook the fact that the comprehensive high school served as a powerful mechanism in stimulating students from low-income families to acquire academic skills and social orientations required for college education.

Since 1945 in the United States, a high school diploma or its equivalent has been defined as a desirable and indeed a required goal for all, including the lowest
income groups. No society has ever exposed its lower class to such a process of socialization and to such opportunities. The public school system never had to cope with such social demands. Actual work requirements, changed standards of employment and trade unions, and new legislation about minimum wages account for this transformation. Public educators have been prepared to follow these trends and to extend high school education as a desirable goal.

It makes little sense to speak of a decrease in the effectiveness of the high school system in catering to the needs of lower-class youths. The inner-city comprehensive high school has been weakened, and in this sense there has been an actual deterioration in the quality of available public education. However, the crisis in education is a new crisis because schools must now accept responsibility for all youngsters who are not college bound until they develop levels of personal maturity sufficient for them to enter the labor market at an age level equivalent to high school graduation or even beyond. The present resources and practices of the inner-city school system are inadequate for this expanded task.

These trends have special relevance for Black students, who are concentrated in the inner-city and are particularly vulnerable to the impact of technological change in the labor market. It is well known that these technological changes are complicating the process of
assimilating the Blacks into the mainstream of society. Jobs in the semi-skilled category that in an earlier period afforded the major opportunity for other minorities to enter the labor market and become socialized into the larger society are declining. Access to these jobs is also complicated for Blacks by residential location and transportation problems.

The educational crisis for the Black student in the inner-city reflects more than economic and technological change, it has cultural and psychological dimensions as well. Race prejudice has made the experience of the Black in the public school system different from that of other minority and immigrant groups. In this sense the crisis is an old one. Sociologists have pointed to the profound disarticulation between educational institutions and the social organization and culture of the Black family, which was fashioned by slavery and post-emancipation segregation. Black schools, both in the North and South, were traditionally inferior.

Until about 1960, professional educators did not show impressive initiative in seeking to deal with these problems. To speak of the old crisis in public education is not merely to draw attention to the traditional inferiority and ineffectiveness of Black schools, but also to refer to other such long standing pockets of inadequate education in older working class communities serving selected second
and third generation European immigrants, in Southern white Appalachian families or in chronically depressed rural areas. The old crisis is the persistence of gross inequalities in educational resources that derive from the local organizational format of public education and the absence of minimum national standards.

If the tradition of American public education has been adapted to the social, cultural, regional, and religious diversity of the United States, this advantage has been purchased at the cost of highly uneven minimum performance. In one sense, the old crisis and the new crisis fuse as low-income and Black populations concentrate in the older central cities. But institution building in public education confronts not only the issues of equality of opportunity, but also the formulation of new practices.

By any standard of effectiveness the New Haven school system is poorly structured to meet the challenge of institution building for a changing city. A professional staff largely recruited from Southern Connecticut State College has resisted even the idea of changing schools to correspond to changing neighborhoods. In the 1960's Italian-American leadership at last took over the schools, but the newer Black population still has only a token leadership role.

In New Haven, for every nine teachers there is an administrator of some sort—a superintendent, assistant
superintendent, supervisor, assistant supervisor, or principal. The school administrators, rather than the teachers, are the elite of the American public school system. The ambitious teacher, particularly if he is male, soon learns that greater income and power are to be found in an administrative career; if he remains in teaching, the future is plainly visible and not overly attractive.

In New Haven in 1965, the official upper salary limit for a public school teacher was $7,000. The average teacher's salary was about $6,000. By comparison, principals were on the average paid half again as much. The highest salary a teacher could receive was over a thousand dollars less than the average salary paid to a school principal. Three of the four assistant superintendents were paid twice as much as the average teacher. The superintendent was paid three times as much.

Once a teacher obtains a "school of his own" as principal or moves into the administrative hierarchy as a supervisor, he belongs to an elite group within the school system. In New Haven, this elevation is symbolized by the right to belong to a separate association. The Principal's Club. Above the principal stands the elite "cabinet" whose six members serve as advisers to the Superintendent. In effect, that group makes the key decisions affecting the system.
To succeed in his new career, however, a school administrator must obey the First Commandment of the public school administrator—"Thou shalt not alienate teachers, parents, superiors, or professional colleagues." In making his way according to this rule, he brings with him doctrines about education, teaching, and administration that he has learned at his teacher's college, doctrines that he may continue to acquire in annual installments at summer school until he has earned his C.A.C.S. or doctorate in Education. He also brings his own temperament, experience and even neuroses.

The school administrator is faced with two great problems. On the one hand he depends heavily on the cooperation of others to get the resources he needs to run the schools in a fashion that will insure his professional recognition and advancement. On the other hand, to maintain his professional standards and reputation, he must oppose outside interference in the school system, particularly by politicians. Sometimes it is impossible to reconcile these two needs.

The school system gives away education to its pupils and pays for it out of public funds. In New Haven, unlike many other places in the United States, funds for the public schools are appropriated by the city government out of general revenues obtained from taxes, state grants, and loans. Because the city government is subject to a great
variety of demands, the views, aims, and strategies of political leaders usually do not coincide entirely with those of citizens and administrators concerned with the schools. The adequacy of school appropriations, therefore, depends in part on the effectiveness of various leaders, including school administrators, in mobilizing the support of the other public school interests and in part on how important the views and actions of these interests are in calculations of the men who make the decisions on city revenues and expenditures.

New Haven was indeed a model city for the nation if it is defined in terms of new buildings, new stores, and the physical apparatus of a city. When the definition is extended to include such factors as goals of education, changing neighborhoods and the central issue of power, a different picture emerges. Had the educational structure been more effective in relating to the changing population of its neighborhood schools, had the channels been left open for the Black and minority populations to change those institutions that directly impinged upon their lives, then the bone of power would have been far less crucial. Instead, the civic improvements of New Haven remained a mere facade, thinly veiling the frustrations and inequities of a dual society in a divided nation.

Outside pressures, scholarly interest in the problem, and recognition of the need for improvement of instruction
have influenced strongly the constant search for the most appropriate and useful tools to improve inner-city education. The primary job of the school is to facilitate learning—to provide instruction and appropriate materials for the various skills and subjects deemed crucial to the young. That process requires the maximum performance and growth of the professional teaching and supervisory personnel who are responsible for instruction. But when the School Board failed to meet those goals, protests and a search for expediency extended beyond the school and into the entire community. In this study, an attempt will be made to find the most widely demonstrated protests and expediency in response to failures in urban education.
CHAPTER II

NEW HAVEN - INNER-CITY MOBILITY

It has long been accepted that in-migration is one of the strongest social patterns affecting northern industrial cities. An earlier study shows that 75 percent of Black heads of household presently in the New Haven inner-city were born in the South. The arrival of Blacks, primarily from Virginia and the Carolinas, and the continuing migration from Puerto Pico, have led to a substantial increase in the non-white population of the inner-city over the past few years.

Since the population total for New Haven has been relatively stable, it is obvious that there must have been substantial in-migration to fill the places left by the exodus to the outer rings of metropolitan areas. To a very considerable extent the gap has been filled as a result of the second-key urban trend, the migration of rural southern Blacks to New Haven. The general extent of that movement is indicated in the following table.
TABLE ONE

Black Migration from the South, to New Haven, Connecticut (1945 - 1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Net Black Migration from the South</th>
<th>Annual Average Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-1950</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1955</td>
<td>1280</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-1960</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1965</td>
<td>2708</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1970</td>
<td>2334</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The Seven Neighborhoods

As important, however, to an understanding of the dynamics of an inner-city population is an investigation of the patterns of mobility within the inner-city. The population of the latter is a highly mobile one, moving either within a given neighborhood, or from one neighborhood to another.

The most important factors in the study of mobility in an inner-city population are the rate (frequency) of movement, and the directions of movement, i.e. from where to where, do people move with most frequency? Here, an attempt will be made to analyze these factors for the major inner-city areas and, separately, for each of the low-income housing projects covered in the survey.
Of special interest is the comparison of movement from a neighborhood to movement into the same neighborhood. The tables following are based on studies made by Community Progress, Inc. and the Re-development Agency:

Table 2: Ratio of movement to a neighborhood to movement from the same neighborhood, for each neighborhood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dixwell (5)</td>
<td>0.16:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill (1)</td>
<td>1.90:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairhaven (3)</td>
<td>0.70:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwight (7)</td>
<td>1.20:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newhallville (6)</td>
<td>2.10:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the transitional neighborhoods, the pattern of withdrawal is common. There is little or no violence associated with these blocks. Indeed, those blocks in the inner-city in which the residents complain strongly on crime, lack of police protection, and similar matters are either generally Black, as in the Hill, or entirely white, as in Fairhaven. It must be assumed, from the age distribution of the present white population in most of the inner-city, that a consistent white migration has been going on for some time from the inner-city to the outlying parts of the city and to the suburbs.

Except in some areas close to Yale University and the Medical Center, which attract some young individuals and families connected with the institutions, it is unusual to find more than a handful of white families with children, or even families made up of other than elderly people, in
any area which is more than 40 per cent Black. In one block in Newhallville, there was only one white family with school-age children, and it was then in the process of packing.

Dixwell and Fairhaven have both shown a net loss in terms of total movement around the inner-city, while the other three neighborhoods have shown a net gain, with Newhallville getting substantially more than the others. In the case of Dixwell, which has a six to one preponderance of outward movement, a major reason is the re-development project in the area. However, Wooster Square, an area of roughly equivalent size in which urban renewal took place at about the same time, experienced a similar displacement of families and a similar reduction in the housing stock, but exhibited only one-third as much outward movement as Dixwell in the survey sample.

Probably, although not statistically demonstrable, the ratio of inward to outward movement is related to perception of the neighborhood. This point can be illustrated by a comparison of the respective mobility patterns and resident opinions for the northern and southern sections of the Hill. For this purpose, Columbus Avenue (US-1) provided a visible boundary, dividing the area into two sections of roughly equal sample size. (See Table Three-page 34.)

A questionnaire used in the CPI Inner-City Survey
included, in addition to the various formal questions, a small group of open-end questions to elicit reactions from interviews regarding matters of importance to them: their feelings about their neighborhood, about housing, and suggestions with regard to which services or activities are most needed in their neighborhood. Much of value has been extracted from this information, both in terms of the residents' own expression of their needs and interests, as well as in the provision of insights into certain patterns and trends in the neighborhoods surveyed.

Complaints about the neighborhood in which they lived were distributed as follows in the Hill neighborhood:

Table 3: Comparison of ratio of inward-outward movement, Hill (south) and Hill (north)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hill (N)</th>
<th>Hill (S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inward (from areas outside Hill)</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outward</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In/Out Ratio</td>
<td>1.4:1</td>
<td>2.7:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3a: Varieties of movement within the Hill

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hill (N) to Hill (N)</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill (S) to Hill (S)</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill (N) to Hill (S)</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill (S) to Hill (N)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3b: Distribution of Complaints in the Hill Neighborhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complaint</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deteriorating, changing</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No community cooperation</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noisy, too many kids</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad for bringing up kids</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No facilities (shops, etc.)</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misused (too commercial, etc.)</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive comments</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 100.0%

One resident expressed more vividly: "The area is a pigsty. At 8:00 in the morning, music is blaring in the streets. A month ago, at 2:00 in the morning, several hundred Negroes were singing and screaming 'We want freedom'. The kids are dirty, they hang on fences." "There are Negroes on this block, who have been here for years, who themselves are afraid of what they call southern Black trash. It was safe walking in Negro Dixwell at one time, but not now. Why did Mayor Lee move from Shelton Avenue to Orange (sic)? He talks against prejudice, but when Negroes come in, he moves out."

Other neighbors had significantly different complaints, as may be seen in the following, Table 3c:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Deteriorating</th>
<th>No Cooperation</th>
<th>Unsafe</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hill (1)</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooster (2)</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairhaven (3)</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rock (4)</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixwell (5)</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newhallville (6)</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwight (7)</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Withdrawal is best typified by another comment from the same block, from an elderly Italian-born man living by himself: "I don't care what goes on on the outside. I just take care of my own little hole."

Such transitional blocks occur frequently at this point in time in the New Haven inner-city, most often in the Hill and Newhallville, and, to a lesser degree, in Dwight and Fairhaven. They are the inevitable by-product of the increasing Black and Puerto Rican in-migration, and the breakdown in traditional residential patterns caused by re-development projects and the subsequent relocation of families. In the Newhallville neighborhood, as in the Hill, mobility over the past ten years has been such that the central part of the area has become a concentrated predominantly non-white area (Black in Newhallville, mixed Black and Puerto Rican in the Hill), and that the locus of present mobility and migration is gradually moving from the central area into the peripheral parts of the respective neighborhoods. In Newhallville, this pattern is exemplified by the growth of the Black population on the west side of Dixwell Avenue, until recently the barrier between the white and Black parts of the area.

One typical block within this area was analyzed. This is a block with three block faces, Dixwell Avenue, Ford Street, and Harding Place. On two block faces within
this block, Ford and Dixwell, the Black population now represents 57 per cent of the households residing there. Six have bought homes, four live in Black owner-occupied homes, and two live in white owner-occupied homes. Eight of the non-white families own their homes: almost all the homes on these block faces are one-family homes.

In this area responses to the multiple-choice question "What do you think of your neighborhood? (like, neutral, dislike)" were not dissimilar for both groups—67 per cent of whites and 92 per cent of Blacks stated that they liked their block. However, the specific comments added on this same question produce a significantly different impression. Of the whites who said they liked the neighborhood, only one did not put serious reservations on his response. Such reservations include:

"I have to like it, I've lived here so long."
"Been here so long, I can't move now."
"It used to be nice. Now people are low-class, don't take care of homes, no consideration of others."
"Used to be nice and quiet. Now we're getting a noisier type of people moving in."

Only one individual, who disliked the neighborhood, gave a specific racial comment to the interviewer.

Rather than any vocal racial animosity, it would
appear that the white residents on the block are opposed to change of any sort occurring in their block, as well as any disturbance, defined, broadly. When asked what services were needed in their neighborhood, they answered: "A playground, to keep kids from running all over our property."

Seven of the nine heads of household are elderly; there are only two white children on the two block faces, in contrast to twenty-three Black children.

The third block face, Harding Place, is still occupied almost exclusively by whites. Beyond the second building on the street, there is only one Black family the remaining length of the block. The white families who live on Harding have a reasonable normal age distribution (only 5/17 households are composed solely of the elderly), have none of the reservations of those on Ford and Dixwell.

It should be added that all of the Black families expressing positive feelings did so with no reservations at all, but rather added comments such as:

"Nice, friendly neighborhood"

"Just love this neighborhood"

"Quiet, nice people"

Only two of the twelve Black households have lived there for any length of time, one for twenty years, the other for ten years. One is on Ford Street, and the other on Dixwell Avenue. Two Black families have lived on Harding
Place for five years. All of the remaining households have moved into the block within the past three years, many of them only a few months before the interview. All but two of the recent arrivals in the block came there from inner-city ghetto areas, generally from the Dixwell area, adjacent to Newhallville.

These seven areas can be divided into three groups, or three types, of neighborhoods. These are the stable predominantly non-white population (2,3,4), the transitional neighborhood, with a recent influx of non-white population (1,5), and the stable predominantly white neighborhood (6,7).

The object of greatest concern to a person about his neighborhood varies sharply with the situation of the neighborhood. In a typical case, in Section 1 of the Hill, in a two block area flowing into the most heavily non-white Section 2, the following distribution of comments prevails:

Table 3b:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Deterioration</th>
<th>Other Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The white population of the transitional areas is plainly uncomfortable about this change in their neighborhood. The
specific nature of the reaction varies from strong anger and indignation to passivity and withdrawal. In Section 1 of the Hill, anger appears to prevail: "Where is our protection? What are clean-living, decent, moral people to do? Shall we let the thugs, and sick Negroes and Spanish take everything—starting with out flesh and blood?" (Percentage responses given in Table 3f.).

Table 3f: Percentage Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Rental</th>
<th>Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety/Police</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic/Parking</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agencies</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping Facilities</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the inner-city neighborhoods, with the exception of the public housing projects, aspects of housing and recreation includes such areas as parks, amusement parks, swimming pools, and recreational programs. The housing category is more limited, being composed almost exclusively of "more housing" (various types), 60 per cent (approximately), and "lower rents", or "rent control", 40 per cent. Within
the inner-city neighborhoods, there are variations between areas with regard to the priorities of services needed, as this list of major needs demonstrates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Recreation</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Safety</th>
<th>Sanitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixwell</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairhaven</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwight</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newhallville</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently, the demand for recreational facilities to reach genuinely high levels, other needs, most especially housing, must be at a low level. Dixwell (rental housing) and the Hill have the largest proportion of sub-standard housing in the inner-city neighborhoods. The Dixwell neighborhood may be slightly better equipped to fill the recreation needs of its residents than other areas, but the difference is not great, in any case.

As with comments about the neighborhood, the need for greater safety, i.e., better police protection, more street lights, etc., is perceived as greatest in those neighborhoods that are most ethnically homogeneous, Dixwell and Fairhaven. No explanation appears to be clearly available for this phenomenon. The need for sanitation (street cleaning, refuse removal) in Fairhaven appears to be a result of specific local conditions, without parallel in the rest of the inner-city.
The same form of variation can be noticed within the seven sections of the Hill area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Recreation</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Safety</th>
<th>Sanitation</th>
<th>Parking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recreation and housing clearly interact primarily with each other, so that an increased perceived need in housing reduces that of recreation, rather than significantly affecting other needs. The exception of that is Section 7, a stable primarily white area, where a strong perceived need in terms of traffic control and off-street parking partially superseded recreation.

Again, expressed needs are consistent with whatever statistical patterns can be noticed. Thus, Sections 3 and 4, in which housing takes precedence over recreation (rare phenomenon), have a combined percentage of 43.2 per cent of the housing stock sub-standard, in comparison to 22.4 per cent for the remainder of the Hill area. As far as it can be determined, no part of the Hill is significantly more advanced than any other in terms of the availability or quality of recreational facilities.

There existed sharp differences between public
housing projects and the private market inner-city areas in their response to the question at hand. Most of this variation becomes more pronounced when these projects are separated, since most appear to be a reaction to specific local conditions.

Table 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Elm Haven</th>
<th>Eastview</th>
<th>Farnum Courts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>60.1%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Facilities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each one of the variations between projects stems from a specific local condition creating difficulties for the residents. Eastview is isolated from the greater part of the city, and so its residents have little access to facilities of any kind. Farnum Courts, since the Wooster square re-development project, and the construction of I-91, has been cut off from other residential areas, and is located in the midst of an industrial park. It is served by not more than one or two stores of any kind within easy reach.

The volume of suggestions in response to this question was higher in Farnum Courts than in any other part of the city, private, rental or public. Since up
to three suggestions were recorded for each interview, from which these tables are derived, the theoretical maximum volume of comments is three per person, for a given neighborhood. In the Hill, this volume varies from section to section—from .38/person (Section 5) to .71/person (Section 4). These rates are typical of the inner-city, both public and private. In the Farnum Courts housing project, the volume for the entire area was 1.29/person, rising as high as 1.75 in one part of the project. It is not unlikely that the volume of comments is related to the overall level of anxiety, or stress, of a given neighborhood, but this is impossible to determine with any reliability from the available data.

2. Urban Renewal and Citizen Involvement

When urban renewal programs had bulldozed enough to reveal the problems of poor and minority residents, New Haven did create one institution to work with the people. According to a later report, "Former Mayor Richard C. Lee and New Haven's civic leaders realized that unless these problems were attacked at their source, the vision of a thriving city—a metropolis with expanding opportunities for all—would not be realized. Community Progress, Inc., (CPI) therefore, was created to begin where the bull dozer stopped.

Community Progress came into being as an "executive
centered coalition". The coalition was headed by a Mayor who, though technically limited by a "weak" charter, was capable--because of his dynamism and command of the arts of government and because of the desperate needs of a fast-deteriorating city--of setting into motion the most far-reaching process of change that New Haven or, indeed, virtually any city, had ever undergone. These included reform and streamlining of the governmental machinery and the nation's largest physical-renewal program on a per-capita basis.

With both these processes well under way, the Mayor took the lead in 1961 and 1962 in bringing into being a human-resources program that has been emulated all over the country. The changes wrought by the human-resources, or community-action program have been both reformist and revolutionary.

They are reformist in the sense that most emphasized change within "the system", rather than rejection of and a sharp break-away from it. They are reformist in the sense that they have worked through the existing economic structure, although they have wrought some changes that could lead to basic economic change. They have worked through existing municipal and community apparati, or at least it so appears on the surface.

But they are revolutionary in that, in attacking the urban crisis, they generated new approaches and techniques
that far transcended the previous machinery for governing and for effecting social change. Although it is technically only quasi-public, CPI's expanding influence is a daily reminder to America, to the city government, and to the rest of the city's power-structure that a revolutionary dimension has been added to the community.

A strong and effective agency to overcome the problems of the economically and socially disfranchised and dispossessed; and human and social "renewal" have brought about a revolution in the concepts and attitudes held by a substantial proportion of the citizenry. This revolution is still under way; it has not yet extended into a number of areas of the community.

The original coalition which brought CPI into being also included the agency which had had by far the greatest influence over the social and human development of the city--the Board of Education--and the Re-development Agency which, having generated more physical change, proportionately, than in any other American city, became acutely aware that city-wide renewal could not succeed unless physical change was matched by vast transformations in the lives of the people most intimately affected by renewal. Finally, the coalition also included the Community Council, the agency most concerned with social planning, and which was aware that the conventions of the past were inadequate to deal with the cataclysmic human changes which
began sweeping the nation in the post-World War II years.

Without so potent a coalition, at every turn supported by the Mayor, the goals set forth in CPI's original design would not have been attainable. Starting in 1962, New Haven developed what came to be, on a per-capita basis, the largest community-action and human-resource program in the nation. From the outset, CPI was free of what have been the two major obstacles to similar programs in other cities.⁶

One was the resistance of a power structure whose center of gravity lay in the business-industry sector or elsewhere in the community and which was inherently opposed to substantial change and dedicated to preserving the status quo. Power in New Haven was, at the time of CPI's establishment, and is today far from monolithic. But by far the greatest concentration of power lay and lies in the office of the Mayor and the institutional and individual allies that have made possible sweeping change.

The other most formidable obstacle to far-reaching social reform in many or most cities has been the suspicion and antagonism of City Hall. Although CPI has been able to chart and pursue a remarkable autonomous course, the former Mayor shared its goals and endorsed its strategies—not always in detail, but certainly in its broad aspect.

"Planned Pragmatism"

CPI was from the start an intensely pragmatic
organism. Far more often than not, it moved swiftly to meet immediate and painfully apparent needs. It did not, because the crises in which it was born would not permit it to, blueprint a detailed pattern of progress before it moved into action. Yet it was far from merely a creature of expediency. Its pragmatism was in many ways carefully planned. Though a finely etched design was not visible, several concurrent strategies were implicit and sometimes even explicit from the outset.

The most fundamental strategy stemmed from a profound commitment to changes in the structure of community institutions which could help advance CPI's goals. The basic aim was to persuade, and sometimes force, other agencies and institutions to effect major changes in their modes of operation and to greatly expand their service areas to include the forgotten thousands of many decades past. Where existing agencies would not or could not make this kind of adjustment to the glaring needs of the last third of the century, CPI initiated its own programs, and in other cases, became senior partner in coalition-sponsored efforts.

Whether working through or with other agencies or taking the initiative on its own, an ultimate goal of CPI remained fixed: It would operate programs alone or in concert with others only until responsibility for them was accepted by existing generic agencies or assigned to agencies
newly created to meet new needs. Having thus transferred responsibility, CPI would then turn to one or more of the infinite array of unmet needs which remained in any community that had permitted human and social problems to fester for generations.

There was, however, no precise timetable or schedule to guide the transferral process. The time required to transfer a program varied, and continues to vary, with all of the more than fifty programs that have been under CPI's aegis. Severe cutbacks in the OE0 budget of CPI at the turn of the year 1966-67 demonstrated that certain transfers of programs could take place successfully, without substantial reduction in basic services, sooner than had been anticipated. This was particularly true in the field of education.7

The same rigorous review dictated by fund reductions made it inescapably clear that other programs--most notably Manpower and Community Services--had to remain a community-action responsibility. In the case of the former, there was ample reason to fear that if CPI were to withdraw from the Manpower coalition, most of the gains made in three-and-a-half years would be lost. The other major partner in the Manpower system, the State Employment Service, was neither adequately structured nor inclined to mount the aggression policies needed for a successful attack on employment which persisted in the face of an economy of abundance. In the
case of the latter, there was no single agency or group of agencies equipped or willing to assume Community Service functions, which had become a genuinely new and major institution in the inner-city and are likely to remain a vital institution.

The generation of new programs was by no means confined to CPI. Under the policy of working with other agencies, CPI not only made its own impact strongly felt, but persuaded and required other agencies to take on new responsibilities. In the fresh winds of community action, some had moved ahead on their own to enlarge their views of their responsibilities and to begin discharging these augmented functions. "Community action" gave birth to a wide range of innovations by private and public agencies. Many of these embodied hope-for goals and inventions that had long been thwarted by the absence of a central community organizing, catalyzing, and funding source.

Assumption of State Responsibility

Drastic changes in institutions, in relations among them, and in their dealings with the poor were not confined to the community along. At a time when state governments generally were balking at the suggestion they become more responsive to many urban needs, the State Labor Department was induced to become one of CPI's principal working partners. A relationship was cemented with the Division of
Vocational Rehabilitation, but its potentials have only begun to be exploited. Discussions already under way point to large-scale expansion of CPI's working ties with DVR. At CPI's Initiative, the Connecticut Legislature in 1965 became the first in the nation to earmark a substantial ($10,000,000 for the state) sum for the education of disadvantaged children. 8

Involvement of the state was expanded in 1967 to a level which would have been considered incredible two years before. Of all Connecticut's local and state institutions and agencies, CPI, along with its New Haven counterpart, the Re-development Agency, was by far the most important single force in the drafting and enactment of legislation aimed at achieving the goals of community action and human-resource development.

A State Department of Community Affairs was brought into being. This measure, initiated by CPI, was designed to assist cities and towns in dealing with the special problems posed by community action renewal, and with other trouble areas that were particularly vexing to the cities. Of the $40,000,000 in funds provided for the new department, only one category was earmarked—a million dollars for the support of day-care centers in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The educational aid-to-disadvantaged funds spearheaded by CPI two years earlier were expanded by 25 per
Seven major consumer bills went far to help assure that the consumer-action goals of CPI would be realized far sooner than first anticipated. These included "truth in lending", "truth in packaging", debt-pooling and referral-sales regulation, and other vital consumer-protection measures. CPI also played an important role in winning legislative support for a series of health and welfare measures.

Recognition by the Governor and Legislature of the urgent need for discharging on a much larger scale the state's obligations to the human and social problems of urban centers provided what is probably the most impressive confirmation of a central hypothesis of the original Ford Foundation Grant. This was that the infusion of Ford monies into a local program should produce dividends in involvement and in funds far exceeding the scope and size of the original Ford investment.

Even before the monumental gains of the 1967 Legislature, the New Haven community-action program was supported by just under thirty-three cents in state funds for every dollar invested by Ford. The same principle operated in connection with Federal funding of new and existing New Haven programs, and in connection with funds from other sources.

Influence on Federal Legislation

As important as the investment of funds in any
given program in any given year was CPI's demonstration of the crucial role of the community-action agency in overcoming problems which plagued every urban center at the time of the original Ford Grant—problems which had previously been virtually written off as insoluble. The Federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 embodied major portions of the community-action concept as it had been developed in New Haven starting two-and-a-half years before. Legislation on which other Federally underwritten opportunity programs were based also drew on the New Haven experience.

The pre-kindergarten programs initially funded by the Ford Foundation became, for example, the precursor of the nationwide Head Start Program which, amid a welter of criticism of almost every aspect of the Economic Opportunity Act, has been universally heralded as this decade's most significant innovation in the fields of education and child development.

In numerous other areas, New Haven became a prototype for the nation, not so much because of the originality of given programs as for the combination of programs and resources to support them that the Ford-funded CPI effort made possible. The most significant example is the Manpower Division Program, which in three-and-a-half years placed in jobs or training leading to jobs, and provide follow-up services to, over 6,000 persons--
more than one of every twenty-five persons in New Haven's entire population.

Only two elements in the Manpower system can be considered new. One was the aggressive seeking-out of unemployed and underemployed persons who could be trained for higher, or more rewarding skills. The other was the fact that a true system, albeit with gaps and weaknesses, was devised for the first time in any American metropolitan area. For the first time, each element in the employment and training apparatus was related to every other element. Thus, every possible means of locating, training, placing and following-up an unemployed or underemployed person was fitted into a unified procedure directed by the Manpower coalition. 9

Both Neighborhood Services and Unified Social Service, a year-and-a-half long demonstration, were distinguished, not so much by the originality of any one of their components—save the aggressive seeking-out process—as by the unique manner in which these components were welded together into true systems, or at least approaches to true systems. USS was consolidated in 1968 with Neighborhood Services in an expanded Community Services Division after the need for the USS approach had been convincingly demonstrated. In brief, USS provided not the whole range of social services traditionally associated with casework, but those services it was felt the client needed to succeed
in one or more of the opportunity programs offered by CPI and its delegate agencies. In practice, the range of USS was quite broad. The reason was simple. In a great majority of cases, the discovery of barriers to success by a child or adult in any of the wide gamut of opportunity programs led to the uncovering of many more barriers impeding the family unit as a whole, or individual family members.

New Kinds of Coalitions

During CPI's first five years, the basic coalition on which CPI's initial successes were built was undergoing extensive changes, and new "satellite" coalition were developing. Not all these satellite coalitions were planned or intended. Some were necessary in order to implement the original and amended design and goals of CPI. Some became possible because of the initial successes of the more narrowly based coalition. Still others came as a result of internal and external factors which had far-reaching effects on CPI.

Numerous changes in the character of CPI were brought about by these internal and external factors. Frequently these factors were within the control of the organization, but more frequently they were imposed externally and led CPI to make, wittingly or unwittingly, major changes in its approach and tactics. The external factors included downturns and upturns in economy. For
example, the high plateau of economic activity that has existed since CPI's founding had made it easier to place clients in jobs—except for the "hard-core" who would have difficulty finding and keeping jobs even in the greatest possible nationwide prosperity. Another external factor, the "maximum feasible participation" rule promulgated by OEO, has had a major influence on the composition of CPI's leadership. A change in the city's political leadership would doubtless have far-reaching consequences.

One of the "satellite" coalitions formed since CPI's original organization has involved the business community. It was drawn into CPI's operations through the participation of individual firms in training and placement. Business and industry are not yet formally represented in the basic coalition on which CPI is built, but there is good reason to believe that they will be before long.

The success of trainees and employees for whom, in many cases, CPI had persuaded individual firms to relax initial entry criteria, was a major force in gaining recognition of the Manpower Program as not only a valuable, but indispensable ally in an economy where, apart from the schools, CPI was the main avenue to overcoming chronic labor shortages. This was formally recognized in 1965 by the Chamber of Commerce, which in that year became a working partner of CPI. The Chamber's first contribution was a survey of job openings in the New Haven area. CPI training
is now being amended so that, as far as possible, the aptitudes and skills of its graduates mesh with the types of jobs open to them.

Preliminary steps have already been taken to make the business community a much more potent member of the community-action coalition. Many of the members of the Chamber and especially its Manufacturers' Division are in the process of expanding their ties with the CPI Manpower Program. The Chamber's leadership has acknowledged that individual placements and specific supportive-activities are not enough. Important segments of the business community are "sold" on the concept that they have social responsibilities which go far beyond their role as individual businesses. Meetings between CPI and the Chamber worked out the means by which this sense of responsibility was transformed into specific forms of community action.

Another "satellite" coalition with a major community force, organized labor, was welded earlier. Employment of a labor specialist had been a key factor undergirding a community of interest between labor and CAP which is one of the strongest in the nation. It is through this vehicle that CPI has worked to obtain concessions in the job and training placement of clients who would not ordinarily qualify and to break down barriers to the employment of minority group members. Through the winning of support for pre-apprenticeship programs and the
placements these have led to, CPI has been able to make the race for opportunities between the advantaged and disadvantaged even more, and has been able to assure that the deprived would gain an equal footing, or almost, with more fortunate members of the economy.

The Poor Speak Out in Several Registers

The most significant single addition to the congeries of forces directing and influencing CPI has been resident participation. Starting as a "satellite coalition", the CPI-resident relationship has developed to the point where residents comprise the largest single group of policymakers, although neither votes nor policy decisions have ever reflected a cleavage between those elected to represent neighborhoods and those who governed CPI before resident participation was formalized.

The resident-participation conduit has given a voice to the once-mute. Not only do residents have, if and when they choose to exercise it, a dominant role in determining their own destiny, but they are being helped to prepare for the day when they will not only help design policy, but actually operate programs on their own.

The voice of the poor and the representatives of the poor speak in several registers at CPI and originates from several sources. One is formal participation in policy-making. In December, 1965, one representative each
from the seven neighborhoods served by CPI became members of the Board of Directors. They thus occupy one less than half of the seats on the sixteen-member Board.

The voice of residents is also heard through the twenty-one member Residents' Advisory Committee (three from each neighborhood). Although the RAC has no formal authority over policy, its influence extends far beyond that of a conventional advisory group. Only recently, a new program proposal was rejected because of objections raised by RAC, and several proposals have been substantially revamped or modified on the basis of the RAC's recommendations.

The voice of the poor also speaks to municipal and state government though testimony offered and attendance at public hearings of legislative and other bodies and through lobbying in support of a wide array of social-action objectives. The lessons of community organization and the generation of pressure in support of their urgent needs have not been lost on the poor of New Haven, and a large proportion of them have learned these lessons after having been drawn into some phase of CPI activity. Increasing numbers of those who live in poverty understand the importance of coherence and consistency in pressing their cases in the halls of government and elsewhere.

The people served by CPI have another voice which, though far more diffuse and subtle than the formalized mechanisms of the Board and RAC, may ring as effectively
as either of these. This voice is that of the more than half of the CPI staff members who come from the neighborhoods in which they are working, or from similar New Haven neighborhoods. Employment of non-professionals from the neighborhoods and their continuous upgrading to "open-end" jobs within the organization have been integral to CPI virtually from the outset.

This policy represented a sharp departure from the situation that previously obtained. Most of the jobs in government, in private agencies, and in business and industry that were open to non-professionals were dead-end situations. Today, the CPI machinery is such that any employee can rise as far as his ability and determination will take him.

A certain amount of risk is inherent in this policy. The lack of professional preparation for supervisory and leadership roles may mean that an "indigenous" employee, however, ambitious and well motivated, may be lacking in some of the educational and professional requisites to such positions. Thus far, however, the risk has proven to be well worth the taking.10

The Support of the Wider City

Yet another "satellite" coalition was that created between CPI and the amorphous and usually silent "general public". The voices of assent are not often heard speaking out on specific or general aspects of CPI. But there is
little doubt that in the five years since CPI's formation was greeted by cries of "extremism" and "visionaries" from the local editorial pages, CPI has won at least tacit and probably stronger, support from a majority of the wider community, the citizenry outside as well as that within the areas served. Support for change has come from citizens who were lethargic about and indifferent to the need for change. Evidence of this support came in 1965, when Mayor Lee's opponent tried to make CPI the, or one of the, most important issues in his campaign. The Mayor won re-election by the largest proportion of votes he had ever received. ¹¹

A New Dimension to Resident Participation

Resident participation on a new dimension, as expected, when New Haven received planning funds to develop a program for its largest disadvantaged neighborhood, the Hill, under the Model Cities Program.

Participation will go far beyond the mere ratification of, or the giving of advice concerning, the physical and social improvements to be carried out. Residents will serve alongside professional staff members on at least eight working committees. Rather than simple ratifying or advising, they will be asked to share with the staff responsibility for studying the eight or more areas and to come up with specific action proposals.

The eight areas are health, anti-crime, welfare and social services, education, employment and manpower,
recreational and cultural services, housing, and general physical renewal. The working committees will bridge the gap between existing citizen planning and advisory committees, on the one hand, and Model Cities planning, on the other. Hill residents who have participated in the continuing educational-planning program of the Board of Education will be asked to function in the same capacity in connection with the Model Cities Program. Residents who have served on citizens' committees dealing with other areas will be asked to continue in the same areas of activity as part of the Model Cities effort.

Staff members from CPI and other major participating agencies of the Model Cities Program will be assigned to each committee, but their services will be limited to consultation and technical advice. Residents themselves will set priorities, make changes required by law, and determine program feasibility. After a six-month period for the drafting of program proposals, three months would be set aside for review of the proposals by the Hill Executive Coordinating Board and the agencies concerned. During the review, priorities would be set and changes made as required by law and regulations and for reasons of program feasibility.

CPI proposes to build the Model Cities procedure into the planning of a series of new departures in programming which the staff has been discussing for periods
ranging from a few weeks to several months. These new
directions will be detailed when the Ford Foundation team
visits New Haven.

Thus, as it ventures into new fields and maps plans
for improving its effectiveness in existing areas of service,
this prototype community-action agency will be conducting a
demonstration of national significance. This demonstration
will not deal with substantive program matters as such.
But it will be far more than merely procedural.12

It will test whether resident participation—as de-
developed thus far and as improved in the month to come—can
succeed to the point where the only recently "dependent"
people of this industrial city can function virtually in-
dependently in some areas and with great autonomy in others.
As CPI views it, this demonstration may well be one of the
nation's most ambitious experiments in true "self-help".

If this demonstration proves out, it will indeed
signify a major landmark in human-resource development.
For there can be no more convincing measure of success
than for a substantial number of once-disadvantaged people
not only to have benefitted from opportunity programs; not
only to have moved out of economic, psychological, and
spiritual poverty; but to have learned and earned the capa-
city and unchallengable right to plan and act for their own
well-being and their fellow citizens.
Capacity and right are two prime ingredients of that success. A third is will. Determination can be fired up only if the vistas of the future are open end, not dead end; only if "opening opportunities" demonstrably lead to a succession of opportunities limited only by the innate ability of the individual.

CPI reported that with the help and support provided by the Ford Foundation, the fires of determination burn more brightly in New Haven today.
CHAPTER III

THE FAILURE OF SCHOOLS' FUNCTIONS
IN THE INNER CITY

Despite the clear initiatives of CPI and other groups, New Haven did not become a model city. Indeed without the schools as active elements in building a community, the task is probably impossible. Note, CPI had a maximum budget of $3.5 million while educational expenditures exceeded $25 million. Per student costs ran as high as $1,300 a year, an amount greater than welfare allotments for living expenses.

With 21,000 students, 1300 teachers, 290 administrators, plus support personnel, the schools directly touch the lives of most New Haven residents. With 38 elementary schools, four middle schools and three high schools, there are physical plants for activities in every neighborhood. Yet the decisions for use of those resources are made virtually without consultation with the people. The principals, the appointed Board of Education, the appointed Board of Finance make decisions for approval by the Aldermen. The Aldermen are elected; but according to
a recent study, they have "little to say about the education budget."

The misallocation of funds is most critical for the poor and minority residents of New Haven. They have the greatest need for a quality education and the least chance of obtaining it. For them, and for millions of others in other urban ghettos, the hope factor of education is turned into bitterness and frustration by the gap between education's promises and the school's performance.

The majority of our Black and Puerto Rican citizens in New Haven have been forced to live in inhumane conditions. Much housing is overcrowded and sub-standard, infested by rats and vermin as well as structurally dangerous. People live in an atmosphere of isolation because they are contained in ghettos which are really "permanent disaster areas." Job training opportunities are often not meaningful or realistic. Grass root people have no way to determine their future--they are simultaneously urged to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps and denied the means of doing so.

Many Americans do not know what it means to be the victim of physical and psychological violence. Frustration and disappointment at every turn are even more depressing. Blacks know what it means to be contained and isolated in ghettos. When people protest these inhumane
conditions, many of them are called agitators and the power structure turns a deaf ear; when they seek peaceful and legal redress of grievances, they are often ignored. When the frustrations of the ghetto finally erupt, immediately the cry for "law and order" (really suppression) goes up. People of good will want to reduce tension when the goal should be social change.

The public and political figures responsible for these conditions are using the race issue in a manner which is irresponsible and dangerous. Many times local newspapers exploit fear and hysteria and divisiveness, thus creating the very atmosphere which they continually deplore. Men accused of crimes are entitled to fair trial and should not be victimized by trial of the press. American law presumes people are innocent until proven guilty. But regardless of the outcome of any particular arrest or trial, the conditions of the city of New Haven will remain unchanged until the people themselves determine the changes.

A growing division between the white and black races exist in the New Haven community. Social changes and justice can and should be achieved by non-violent means. All citizens in the greater New Haven area must be called upon to adopt guidelines of this sort:

1) Stop trial by press and reject suppression as a fruitful response to problems.

2) Encourage free and open discussion of the problems
and methods of solving them. Dissent must be heard and considered in the American tradition of a free society. It is important to hear expressions of frustration and anger.

3. Develop a massive commitment to action to assist the "disaster area" of our city. Encourage indigenous leadership to carry out the necessary programs: paternalism is unacceptable and inefficient.  

Generations of discrimination and racial isolation have systematically excluded black citizens from the benefits of American society. Our commitment to action must be coupled with the elimination of discrimination in our community. New Haven residents can not be secure until the dignity of each individual is secure, until the people are able to both petition and expect redress of grievances, and until the total community is concerned about the well being of all its citizens.

New Haven schools have had a proud and illustrious tradition. For many decades, New Haven schools have established and carried on a tradition of excellence which was recognized far beyond the city limits. Change, however, is one of the products of time and circumstance. In the years since World War II, New Haven has undergone certain changes that were in reality a decline despite the progress made in redevelopment and the establishment of a poverty agency by Community Progress, Inc. These changes left a indelible mark on the schools in New Haven.  

Today, Americans face a disturbing set of facts regarding schools. Some of these facts may be attribu-
table to the unequal education opportunities in obsolete classrooms and schools that have an uneven and harmful grade organization. Even more critical is the hard fact that in many instances students are not offered educational programs and services of sufficient quality and content. In New Haven schools one out of three children in the first eight grades is one or more years behind the national standard in reading ability. In many cities there is optimism that sound and imaginative educational programs can raise achievement levels by strengthening and deepening motivation for learning. On these two counts alone New Haven's program is deficient since students are in many instances not only below recognized grade standards of achievement, but in reality are still clearly below what well might be their true and hitherto untapped potential.

New Haven is no exception among our nation's oldest cities. All across America, the schools in urban centers face similar and, in many cases, even more compelling problems. In fact, the energetic steps which have been taken in New Haven in the past several years in all probability have eased the situation by raising the standards and the performance. Yet there is little comfort in being not quite as serious a "disaster area" as other, larger cities.
New Haven faces a great challenge, the challenge to raise the quality of educational opportunities throughout the city on a comprehensive basis. To accomplish this end an exploration of every possible resource and the development of new, creative ideas need to be practiced. The citizens of New Haven have a responsibility to successfully meet this challenge. No attempt has been made to spell out in detail every aspect of the failure of the schools' functioning in an inner city. The completion of such a study would require a lengthy period of time. Implementation of the plan briefly would involve detailed planning, orientation, implementation, development, interpretations and appraisal.

In the primary school it has been observed that the adoption by New Haven of a non-graded school program has been successful in a measure. Under that program children are able to learn, at their own rate, the course content of the first four years of school. Enrichment programs offer special help and attention to the slower learner. Placement in classrooms is based primarily on carefully evaluated achievement levels with thoughtful consideration given to maturity and social and emotional factors. Careful evaluation in each step of the program required thorough and competent teacher preparation and orientation. However, in many of the inner city schools
of New Haven this standard was not followed. The explanations are the usual ones: inadequate staff, inadequate budget, and inadequate supervisors.

The intermediate schools adopted a similar plan of dual instruction for grades five and six. An individual profile program was adopted for grades seven and eight. Students in grades five and six were grouped on an ability basis and then at random. Thus, each pupil had an opportunity for learning achievement with others of similar ability while at the same time being involved in a situation which fostered social development and understanding and avoided rigid stratification. The individual profile program provided for flexible adjustment in a departmentalized organization to challenge each student according to his ability and rate of learning in each subject. 7

On the junior high and high school levels related programs were adopted to improve students' ability. These programs included the introduction of variable class sizes and increased the number of required courses and improved instructor techniques through group teaching, ability tracks, and individual scheduling. In addition, a work experience program was adopted to increase job skills for many people. A long range comprehensive review of the roles of junior high and high school students was recommended. The review, hopefully, would enable students
to better meet higher standards in the future.\(^3\)

The professional growth and development for in-service teacher training started in the 1961-62 school year. The program involved special seminars and workshops for all personnel one afternoon per week for two hours after school. The program enabled special instructors and specialists in various areas of educational practice to improve skills and knowledge specifically required for New Haven's revised educational program.

Relative to curriculum revision and enrichment, a part of that program was prepared for all grade levels in the school system to challenge the ability of gifted children and to also offer them the opportunity for maximum growth.

Reading failure and the enormous number of pupils who are below the reading level of their respective grades are the problems that should be focused on throughout the school system. Current statistics show clearly the deficiencies in reading ability among many New Haven students. The role of the reading consultant should be redefined to place primary emphasis upon prevention of reading failure rather than on remedial reading.

With respect to the community school, the adoption of the Sargent survey was a wonderful opportunity to maintain a city-wide community school program adapted to individual neighborhood needs. A recommendation that the
program be carried out under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education on a wider basis is necessary. The community school combines many of the programs like the ones in Flint, Michigan. Other programs have carried out plans similar to the initial Winchester Elementary School in New Haven. The purpose of the Winchester program was to reach out to save every man, woman and child in the neighborhood, closing its doors only when the neighborhood slept--from midnight to eight A.M. The Winchester program began about twenty years ago. Once when the school's principal walked along the neighborhood's main streets, he took specific note of the myriad--saloons, pool halls, and clusters of idle youth. He is said to have brooded and wondered what he could do to compete with the other schools in the streets and the other teachers. The other schools in the streets and the other teachers were the slum dwellers. The influences of the slum dwellers upon the students were greater than that of the school. 9

The principal's first step was to establish a school that would be a home away from home. Money would be secured from various sources, foundations and volunteers. After 3:00 P.M. the children were entertained with stories, reading, sports, clubs or anything else that would interest them until 5:30 P.M., when working mothers came home. The principal also launched night
classes in basic English and seminars in family problems. He invited Black professional men, doctors, lawyers and others to talk of their work. These visitors served as models of achievement with whom the people could identify. Students from Yale soon gravitated toward the school and tutored the pupils in their homework. The Yale students escorted Winchester pupils to newspaper plants, factories, concerts, baseball games, and libraries. For the first time, many of these children got to know many young vigorous and athletic adults who derived pleasure from books and working towards a goal.  

One Yale student formed a group to coach youngsters in subjects to qualify them for college preparatory schools. Some participants eventually were accepted at some of the leading prep schools in greater New England. The Winchester plan has now been duplicated in almost eight other New Haven schools. The program has attained broad acceptance in the community as well as among school leaders. New Haven's community schools have shown how many slum children can equip themselves for opportunity and enrich their lives when given imaginative support by educators.  

The idea of experimenting with the community school was pioneered in Flint, Michigan. The experiments were aided by funds from a private foundation much like community progress was aided in New Haven. Thousands of
youngsters from junior and senior high schools enrolled in various clubs which elected their own officers and de-emphasized adult supervision. Many clubs also offered basketball, swimming, dancing and hobbies along with other community services to supplement facilities which are so limited outside of the community schools.12

In so many areas of the city, a lack of adequate indoor and outdoor space for recreational facilities existed. The community school was invaluable in alleviating this problem.

Brief observations of the use of community schools in New Haven might suggest that when opportunities for growth and development are provided to the people of the community, one will find groups organizing on a wide scale for community control of their respective schools to reduce deficiencies.

New Haven has in this particular instance tried to go about change in the proper way. New Haven has appointed one of its assistant superintendents to work on community school organizations. By meeting with the groups and letting them all share in the planning process, a certain degree of optimism prevails. The trauma and chaos of change is automatically reduced to a minimum.

If the high schools in America are to provide young people with an education suited to their interests, needs and abilities, the curriculum of education must
undergo some far-reaching changes. The present curriculum too strongly stipulates too much everything for everybody. Consequently, it is becoming an almost meaningless experience for a large segment of students.

New Haven high schools are no exception to this rule. However, the transitions from the present three year program to the recently adopted four year schools, as well as other changes in the primary and intermediate schools in New Haven, offers unique opportunities for a complex improvement program. New Haven high schools do not have to try to be identical with those of surrounding communities. Each school should reflect in its program the needs, interests and abilities of the students in the area in which it is situated. Since there is a very real correlation between the student's home environment and their school achievement an understanding of the socio-economic composition of the schools is necessary before the curriculum is planned or the facilities built.

Student-personnel conferences in the New Haven school system revealed that at the present time about 10 per cent of the pupil high school population is doing high level academic work: about 20 per cent are able to continue their education beyond high school; nearly 30 per cent have little or no interest in school. A small segment of this group seem to have high academic potential despite
their low achievements. The final 40 per cent are very slow learners—more than two grades below level in both reading and arithmetic skills. For this bottom 40 per cent a regular high school program which is almost completely academic is highly inappropriate.\(^{13}\)

These facts, figures, and images of the New Haven school population today are not necessarily fixed or unchangeable. Indeed, careful observance of significant changes which have taken place in New Haven as a city and in New Haven schools during the first half of this century—the drop in relative, average family income, industrialization and integration, the complexity of ethnic backgrounds with correspondingly different motivations toward learning—show that these changes are still going on. Yet, what are the changes one might expect in the next ten, twenty, or even thirty years in New Haven's student body? Certainly, if there is a major success in the city's renewal program coupled with an all out program of educational improvement, a stronger future for the city will be achieved economically and culturally. Such an achievement will promote a rise in the motivation of youth.\(^{14}\)

Yet change came discouragingly slow (Appendix A). In 1969 an attempt was made by some administrators in New Haven to start a Cooperation Center with the University of Massachusetts and the New Haven school system. The development of the
Center was heavily influenced by the knowledge of current programs involving the university and other urban centers. The Center was to include an Educational Talent Search Program which was to serve a two-fold purpose: (1) the needs of the inner-city students in New Haven, and (2) to provide harmony between all youth oriented programs servicing students.

The Center was to be the coordinating community organization which was to espouse community relevancy in education—resident participation had to be an indispensable element. It was, therefore, proposed that the Board of Education and the Center establish a joint effort under a quasi-informal relationship to study and implement resident participation in the educational process in New Haven. The idea, however, was rejected by the school system on the grounds that New Haven's school system was too closed to outsiders who advocated change.

In that same year, a study of inner-city children's evaluation of teachers was made. The study attempted to explore what inner-city children mean when they describe teachers as "good" or "bad." It was felt that these responses would help administrators and school personnel understand feelings, both positive and negative, of the group within the school community. A comparison was made between the evaluative material used by administrators and the judgments of the children regarding their teachers.
Interviews were conducted with approximately 200 inner-city children representing three ethnic groups in the inner-city. These children had attended many different schools in the area. There was also an evaluation of the teachers' evaluative criteria materials used by the school system.

There were certain terms used by inner-city children regarding schools and teachers which were referred to in their study. These words were "good" which denoted a positive value, "don't like" which meant dislike or find abhorrent, "lousy" meaning not good or distasteful, "poor" referring to those who were impoverished, and "bad" meaning inferior or imperfect.

The area of greatest disagreement between children and school authorities involved the evaluative criteria used for teacher performance. The children emphasized behavioral qualities and felt that in order to be successful a teacher should be an unprejudiced, empathetic individual who was genuinely concerned with the welfare of his students. There was little mention of instructional skills or knowledge and mastery of subject matter. The school system was almost at the other end of the spectrum for it emphasized techniques and instructional skills giving minimal attention to teacher attitudes.

The conclusions drawn from the study indicate a
need for a better communication relationship between teachers, students, parents and members of the school system to examine their respective values. A common value system involving all groups will lead to a lessening of tension, and cooperative action toward helping inner-city children break through the barriers of unemployment, drop-out and social disintegration.

The future of education can not truthfully be foreseen. The success of education in the past has been limited. The future should seek to improve high school programs systematically in those areas needing attention.

A statement of some observations is vital at this point:

1. Meaningful education provides for all young people—the fast, the average, the slow
2. Provides for the development of certain basic skills necessary to gain an appreciable ability to read and write the English language
3. Provides a student with a better understanding of how America became a world power
4. Provides an insight into responsibilities students must eventually assume as adults
5. Provides some understanding of common scientific principles which influence lives
6. Provides for understanding and utilization of arithmetic as it applies to daily life
7. Provides appreciation of skills in both the creative and practical arts.

All students should be taught in each of these areas but the degree of training each receives should be determined by his individual abilities, needs and interests. Some
courses will be required but each student will be allowed to choose many courses which he is particularly interested in or for which he has either a vocational or academic need.

Many black Americans are caught up in a process of change and the majority do not understand the impact or direction of that change. As M. Lee Montgomery in an address at an emergency conference at the Philadelphia black Community in Radnock, Pennsylvania in January, 1969, stated: "Many who are searching for identity, self determination and human dignity do not understand the scope of these concepts nor have they taken time to develop a sense of purpose, a sense of direction, and designed a strategy to achieve these objectives." Many pupils are taught to accomplish a given task within the framework of traditional methods and techniques. Because of this, the black person might fail to create meaningful experiences which emphasize the culture of black people. The area of black culture must take the responsibility of dramatizing in words, songs, paintings, and dance the actions of black youth.

The lifting of the many severe education and economic barriers to the people of America's largest racial minority remains as a startling demand of black students in our high schools and colleges. These students represent
the articulate minority of their race. Many of these students also play a spectacular role in this age of protest. Their motives are profoundly different from those of white students. Blacks are protesting against the consequences of centuries of discrimination and repression. They are protesting the still widening economic gap between whites and Blacks in the United States. They are protesting for the opportunity to compete on equal terms in white America. Knowing that education is the key to the problems in society, they are protesting for their chance. But many white Americans ask, "don't they have a fair chance now?" The answer is an emphatic, "No!"

Most Blacks can only attend distinctly inferior elementary and high schools. They are poorly prepared for college and universities. They come from impoverished homes. The average family income of students in black colleges is less than $4,000 per year as recorded by a reporter of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. The predominately black school still suffers because of the institutional racism in America. The total federal financial aid to higher education in 1965 was over four billion. Of this only one hundred nineteen million, 3.5 per cent of the total, went to predominently black colleges and universities. Yet, the need for financial assistance was relatively greater than that of the white
Institutions.

Black colleges and universities, mainly land grant institutions, do not get a fair deal on either the state or federal level. Federal and state aid to such white institutions totals $650,000,000 a year, while the predominately black land grant colleges in the same state receive only slightly more than $70,000,000.

New Haven secondary schools are desperately in need for an increase in the number of guidance counselors. The students are scheduled on ability tracks, but individual programs must be developed. The success of these programs depends upon available detailed information about each counselee for counselors. Several testing instruments must be administered and interpreted to secure such information. Greater emphasis must be placed on the student as an individual. Too many counselors have little or no understanding of the particular problems of children from the minority groups, especially black students and those of Puerto Rican extraction. Tutorial programs are essential for those who are showing deficiencies.

Above all the schools need to open their doors to meaningful community involvement. Parents and taxpayers must know what the schools are like. Yet as Charles Silberman has noted, most adults "fail to appreciate... what grim, joyless places most American schools are, how
oppresive and petty are the rules by which they are
governed, how intellectually sterile and esthetically barren
the atmosphere, what an appalling lack of civility exists
on the part of teachers and principals, what contemnt they
unconsciously display for children as children."
CHAPTER IV

INFORMAL PROTEST AND
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

1. Protest

Lack of job opportunities and inadequate schooling have historically fostered apathy and a passive community role among Blacks. However, their recent overt expressions of dissatisfaction with the school system indicates that many Blacks are changing their roles to a significant level of activism.

Today, a changing and complex society is presenting schools with many diverse problems. As a result, there are numerous real or imagined shortcomings in the educational system. A great deal of pressure from lay people, social agencies, and parents demand change. The prevailing attitude seems to be that the schools and not the parents or homes are failing the children. Each criticizing group maintains that theirs is the best understanding and solution to the various dilemmas confronting the school and its pupils. In many instances goals and demands are group or
self-centered and designed to aid only a small segment of the school population. Even so, the demands are loudly espoused and dire happenings are predicted if they are not adopted immediately.

The initial disturbance in New Haven in 1967 and other urban centers struck by the same type of demonstrations and uprisings revealed that the day of apathy was over. It did not mean that real conditions had changed, but, as Fred Powledge has argued, the riots seemed more "to be the outward manifestations of a violence and decay that has been going along all the time; but that had been ignored, unnoticed by the majority of the community. He continued, "In New Haven, though, to an extent greater than in other cities, what was on the surface had been rehabilitated, and paved, and reconstructed and repainted with promises and reports of success. The riot nearly burned off the paint; it helped to open up Pandora's box that was bound to open anyway. No one should have been surprised that it happened."

Many contributory causes led to the uprising of youth in New Haven. The demonstrations commence with the militant neighborhood organizations on the Hill with characters like Fred Harris, his associates and the Hill Parents Association. The attempt to met some reasonable demands met was answered with resistance. The demonstrators
vowed to break windows and riot. City Hall's attempts to notice and pacify demonstrators produced no real solution to a problem. The situation worsened. In Hillhouse, Wilbur Cross, and Lee High Schools as well as the middle school Troop, students were aided and abetted in many instances by militant adults who were more concerned about creating a disturbance than trying to achieve any constructive good.

Unfortunately once violence had begun, parents who were concerned about trying to see that their children received a good education without all the disturbances were powerless. The few parent organizations concerned about inner-city schools did not have a large enough membership. Quite literally the so-called "violent" people took charge of any meetings and the non-aggressive ones were not heard.

One of the things that resulted from the disturbances at Hillhouse High School was the appointment of a Black principal, Robert Pleasure, in September of 1968. However, school authorities did not back him when he tried to discipline troublemakers. After the first eight months of Pleasure's first year, he submitted his resignation and accepted an assistant principalship at Guilford High School. The principal of Guilford had enough respect for Pleasure to invite him to come and be his right hand man.
Hillhouse was in critical need of order and stability before Pleasure was appointed. He proved to be a unifying influence. He was a compelling leader, but the recalcitrant factions counteracted the good he tried to do. A man of admirable talents and energies, Pleasure was the first Black educator to become a high school principal in the New Haven school system. During Pleasure's administration, he brought a relative calm to the tension-ridden, potentially explosive school situation. Pleasure's accomplishments deserved more credit and praise than he ever received in the school system or from the community at large.

At the time of Pleasure's resignation there was a dispute about the right of seniors to be exempted from final exams, but that was by no means the sole reason for his decision. Pleasure knew the problems which existed in the high school, but he also knew that he could not solve them by himself. He himself once said it required a combined effort of school administrators, teachers, parents and other departments and agencies of government. Whether Pleasure was ever given the kind of administrative and community support he needed to face the tough challenges in his position, is questionable. Pleasure's words, "unnecessary frustrations"—a display of great tact—might cover his reasons for leaving.

Too often, as in the dispute with the seniors,
only a minority was vocal and active. The school systems, leaders and policy makers, Hillhouse parents and the larger communities should have asked themselves whether good men should be allowed to go down in the dust of battle, deprived of the assistance, encouragement and support needed for survival.

Eighteen sixty-eight was a year of bitterness and hope: a year of old hatreds and a year of new beginnings. The year will forever be marked by the tragedy of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. King's death coupled with the equally senseless and tragic assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, put 1968 into the history books as a year of national shame. The hatred that snuffed out the lives of those great Americans was also evident in less blatant ways. A mood of vindictiveness settled in on the nation. Congress ignored its responsibility to 30,000,000 poor people in the country by continuing to deal with the problems of the poor and the cities in piecemeal, ineffective fashion.

Many of the issues can not be touched by legislation. Laws can not change credit criteria in a way that will allow large amount of capital to flow into black hands nor can legal action force unions to admit black laborers. Progress will be made only as the black community organizes
to exert pressure on white structures and as white people become aware that major sacrifices must be made at all levels. To right the wrongs of the past will be a long and costly process involving profound changes in the definition of self-interest for the American economy.

The critical issue is control. Reforms in the areas of politics, employment, union practices, consumer exploitation and ownership, also promote effective change only insofar as they enable Black people to move toward control of substantial economic resources. Only then will it be possible for Blacks to end their dependency on white Americans and to develop economic and political institutions to meet their needs.

2. Institutional Racism

The election campaign was fought in a way that focused on people's fears and their innate bigotry. Attacks on the court, code phrases like "law and order" replaced national discussion about bringing justice to all. George Wallace's candidacy gave a legitimacy and respectability to racism despite the fact that he failed to garner as many votes as the press and his supporters expected. Polarization increased as communications between the races broke down at crucial moments in many places. Too many white people reacted with irrational hysteria to
demands for justice from the ghetto, and too many Black people neglected to see the importance of maintaining ties to their potential allies among the majority of decent white Americans.

Nineteen sixty-eight brought, along with pain and frustration, some encouraging signs of hope. In March, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders condemned "white racism." The responsibility of riots was placed on the discrimination and neglect of white-run institutions. Many of the most powerful institutions began to question their relevance in our changing society. In many cases, this soul-searching led to the formation of new positions and new interest in bringing about social change.

The most significant result of the year's events was the realization that mere passage of law will not assure justice and a share of the nation's prosperity for Black people. Important as Civil Rights laws are, they only give people rights other people have taken for granted for 200 years. They imperfectly insure rights, not results. It is small consolation for a man to be told he finally has the right to eat in a luxury restaurant in the South.

Nineteen sixty-eight marked the shift from seeking laws and assurances of rights to demanding that the real
power in our society be shared. Calls for Black participation in the economic institutions of the ghetto, sharing of political power, and community sharing in the control of schools, asserted the reality of contesting not for crumbs from the table, but for the substance of power. The events of 1968 proclaimed that survival in America means admitting Black citizens and other minorities to their full share of power and responsibilities.

Many people are confused and bewildered because of the widening gulf between the dark ghetto and the affluent establishment. Each side has become more self-contained and the gap between becomes wider as the urban crisis worsens. A continual search for a meaningful answer to the perplexing problems of urban unrest remains a must.

Poverty has so many faces that it requires multiple approaches to find practical answers and solutions. Manifestations of poverty are lack of education, poor housing, unequal employment opportunities, family unit breakdown, and poor mental and physical health. Such a social system was born with slavery, has been nurtured by degradation, discrimination and segregation until poverty has become the greatest single moral issue of the twentieth century.

Dr. Kenneth Clark explains some of the social dynamics of the ghetto which perpetuate informal protests in Dark Ghetto. He asserts that although America is
basically a middle-class society, it is the upper-class which sets the mores and manners to which the middle-class must try to conform. Black Americans whether rural or urban have been automatically categorized as lower-class by middle-class values. If the middle or upper-class Black population wish to influence lower-class Blacks, it must appeal to those very values from which the Black man has been trying to escape. Clark affirms: "As long as this chasm between white and dark America is allowed to exist, racial tensions and conflict, hatred and fear will spread. The poor are always alienated from normal society and when the poor Negroes are alienated, as they increasingly are, in American cities, a double trauma exists—rejection on the basis of class and race is a danger to the stability of society as a whole. Even though Negroes are a minority in America—approximately one-tenth of the population—a minority that is sick with despair can poison the well springs from which the majority, too, must drink. The social dynamics of the dark ghetto can be seen as a restless thrust of a lower-class group to rise into the middle-class.

The Black Power Movement and its demand for racial separatism produced an insidious barrier to effective, desegregated public schools. Dr. Clark discusses this development and concentrates on the more vocal Black Power
advocates who addressed themselves to the problems of education and Black control of Black schools. "Some even asserted that there should be separate school districts organized to control the schools in all Negro residential areas; that there should be Negro Boards of Education, Negro superintendents of schools, Negro faculty, and Negro curricula and materials. These demands are clearly a rejection of the goals of integrated education and a return to the pursuit of the myth of an efficient 'separate but equal' system—are the prophetic wish for a separate and superior racially organized system of education. . .in developing an appropriate strategy and related flexible tactics, it must be clearly understood that the objectives of improving the quality of education provided for Negro children is not a substitute for a retreat from the fundamental goal of removing the anachronism of racially segregated schools from American life. . . . The objectives of excellent education for Negroes and other lower-status children is inextricably linked with the continual struggle to desegregate public education."

Other authorities like Edgar Z. Friedenberg, a sociologist and educational theorist, proposes that: "If we are serious, therefore, about educating Black children, it is essential to draw their parents and the community-at-large into the process.

Many whites were angered because they thought of
racism as joining lynching parties, not allowing Blacks to sit by them on a bus, or using racist laws, but that is not racism. Some authorities term lynching parties, etc., as insanity. Whitney Young, Jr. claimed: "Modern racism is a good deal more subtle than that; it invades our society and affects everyone it it. . .the test of racism today is whether white Americans are willing to give up some of their power and privileges to allow Black people their rightful share of the responsibility of power.

. . .White racism created and controls the ghetto and the silent white majority that condones this situation must accept the fact that complicity in such racism is evil. White individuals might not want our society to be split into two separate racial groupings, but when they sell their homes simply because a Negro family has moved into the neighborhood, and switch their child to a private school because Black children are being bussed into the public schools, they are contributing to the ghettoization of Black citizens. . .The arrogance of racism, presumes that Blacks are somehow inferior, not quite like white people, and that only Blacks who pass required tests of dress, education, and income might be included in the club because they are somehow different from those dirty, smelly people in the ghetto."

Many Black people have learned to spot racism where
it exists with a radar-like accuracy that shocks whites who think they hide it well. Friends are usually shocked when they are told that when they allow their three of four year old children to call their forty year old Black maid by her first name, they are teaching racism. These young children can justly conclude: since their parent's white friends are called Mr. or Mrs., Blacks who are called by their first names do not merit the same respect: therefore, Blacks are inferior to whites.

The basic position of powerlessness from which Black and Puerto Rican parents operate requires a discussion. The suggestion of the Commission on Equal Opportunity was that some formal significant community participation be incorporated into the structure of the New Haven Public School system. Such an incorporation would demonstrate that parents and professional educators are partners in public education. The recommendations also called attention to the fact that the present Board of Education which serves the predominantly non-white population remains conspicuously white with no Puerto Rican representation. An increase of Black and Puerto Rican representation to the Board is essential.

Powledge suggests that if America had a brief moment of insight it was during the decade of the sixties. In New Haven, the moment lasted longer than in most cities because New Haven started first. But the moment came,
eventually, in other cities—Detroit, Minneapolis, Boston, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Fresno, San Francisco, Louisville, Philadelphia, Charlottesville, and even Newark.

During that moment, resources were available. There was money and there was talent, and there was eagerness on the part of some of the nation's powerful men to use these resources to see if things could be changed. Because America cares, first of all about things, the resources were first used on things. Men tore down the old things that offended their eyes and noses; they restored some of the old things that were still pleasing, and they built some new things. The new things were often neither as handsome nor as well constructed as the old things, but they were called progress. They restored Worcester Square and selfishly ignored the Hill and then as Mayor Lee and many other New Haven residents like to put it, the bulldozer uncovered the problems of people.\(^1\)

In the 1960's informal protests by Black and middle-class whites had left New Haven's school system in a devastated position. While the local community organizations in New Haven never reached the people who most needed organization, some did make a positive effort to show there was sincerity in doing something for poor and minority people.
3. Community Organizations

In the community of New Haven one of the weakest organizations among Blacks has been the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). On a national basis the NAACP is a most effective organization, but in New Haven it fails completely. Until recently the organization has been headed by individuals who have been mostly concerned about self aggrandizement. Little focus was given to the implementation of social changes or legal problems, depriving America's largest racial minority from the cardinal rights and privileges of full American citizenship.

For a period of approximately three years, the President of the greater New Haven chapter of the NAACP was active as a militant in the Black Coalition. During that time, he ruled with such authority that he had the organization completely in his control. He held no meetings, made no membership drives and was more concerned about being a part of the Black Coalition than letting the NAACP function independently as it had in previous years.

The Urban League in New Haven existed for several years almost as a one man operation. The Community Progress, Inc. organized in 1962 possessed the kind of influence and political "savvy" that inhibited the success of the Urban
League. The Urban League was inactive for several months after the first executive director resigned. The new executive director has done a fair job to date considering the difficulties he has encountered. Several times he ignored the opinions of the community and went on with his own ideas. He had to gain the confidence and esteem of various segments of the community. Although he has not had a 100 per cent response from the community, he has made progress. He has managed to increase his staff and to secure some federal funding for the implementation of housing programs. He has also been able to provide scholarship funds for young people who would not be able to pursue a college education without financial aid.

The churches of New Haven have tried with varying success to meet the needs of the community. There are several other organizations which range from the storefront place of worship to the cathedral-like modern structure of the Dixwell Avenue United Church of Christ. The main organization is the Dixwell Ministerial Alliance. At times the voices of the group of ministers were almost drowned-out by the Black Coalition leaders. Although their following has been limited by the size of their respective parishes, some ministers are respected for their bold, forthright stand on vital issues in the community. The great mass of people who have no church affiliation and
others who have limited understanding of some of the problems at hand, still are groping for the kind of leadership that might help them become more involved in some of the activities that will benefit the whole community.

Yale University received a mixed reaction from the community. Following the riot of 1967, Yale's president, Kingman Brewster, made a contribution of $100,000 to the Black Coalition. Everyone knew that some of the militants from the Hill threatened Yale. The militants said that if some of their demands were not met, they would set fire to Yale buildings. Many of the more prominent leaders in the Black community felt that this was blackmail.

The exact number of organizations that were initially affiliated with the Black Coalition and the goals it represented will never be known. There are several instances where organizations' names were put on the letterhead without the consent of any person in the organization and certainly with no official sanction or approval. The Black Coalition was able to do this without challenge because so many leaders of less militant organizations feared reprisals if they did or said anything at variance with the wishes of the Black Coalition.

A limited number of ministers did an effective job during this period. Also, the influences of Community Progress Programs in the various neighborhood communities were constructive and significant.
At a time in our history when campus unrest and countless other forms of student protests resulted in violent confrontations, New Haven can look back to the weekend of May 1, 1970 with pride. Prior to that weekend, many faculty members of Yale were hoping that President Brewster's conciliatory role would invite chaos. Others, who were clamoring for his head, must acknowledge that Yale and New Haven met a critical test at a crucial period.

The city should be proud of the teamwork of inner-city leaders who demonstrated their abilities to work together for the good of the entire community. There are no words adequate enough to express appreciation to the various community leaders, neighborhood organizations, and the thousands of residents who participated in the many programs designed to prepare for that weekend of uncertainty. This was undoubtedly one of the finest examples of community solidarity ever witnessed in New Haven.

When approximately 15,000 demonstrators came to New Haven for two days of rallies in support of Bobby Seale and the Black Panthers, residents of New Haven participated on a limited basis. This segment of the population purposely abstained from involvement with any of the "revolutionaries." Instead, all community organizations on the Hill in Dixwell, Fairhaven and West Rock, mobilized their respective neighborhoods and put into operation a sustained program of
recreation—from noon till midnight—for teenagers and young adults. This was an effective method by which teenagers were lured away from the demonstrators and rallies on the "Green" during those two uncertain days.

The Hill community had established the Hill Neighborhood Corporation which brought together the Hill Health Board, Juanta, CPI Community Services, Manpower Division, the Hill Teen Lounge and hundreds of interested residents. The Hill Neighborhood Corporation was largely responsible for the community solidarity of the weekend. All the rhetoric of the young revolutionaries assembled on New Haven's Green during that weekend could never match the dynamic spirit of unity demonstrated by the people in the inner-city neighborhoods throughout that same period.

One capsule report from the co-ordinators of Community Service units and Neighborhood Corporation stated specifically some of the highlights of that weekend. In the Dixwell neighborhood, patrol groups involved scores of able bodied men who patrolled the area in pairs throughout the weekend. Similar methods were followed by all the other neighborhoods so that the need for police patrolmen throughout the area was reduced to a minimum. Volunteer women prepared food and were available for first aid. The Legal Rights Association and the employment and community service units of CPI cooperated fully; churches remained open on a twenty-four hour basis.
Emergency fliers were printed and distributed throughout the neighborhood prior to the rallies explaining the various services that would be available and urging all people to stay away from the demonstrations on the Green. State Representative Bruce Morris, Alderman Leroy Gomes, and Alderman Bill Jones actively expressed their interests and concern throughout the emergency period. Several physicians volunteered their services and stationed themselves at various churches on both days.

In the Dwight-Hill areas, CPI neighborhood workers were in close cooperation with radio station WYBC. This station kept the community informed and provided the kind of music that teenagers and young adults enjoyed. The Teen Centers used such music to supplement live music furnished by local combos at the afternoon and evening dances. This was especially appreciated by the neighborhoods. Ron Matchet, a Yale senior at the time, and a disc jockey on WYRC, used his influence to have all associates at WYBC radio station to try to keep the inner-city people entertained.

In Fairhaven, Worcester Square, Newhallville and West Rock areas, all sections of the neighborhoods cooperated. JUANTA reported that in all the Spanish-speaking communities there were bi-lingual persons stationed at all strategic centers.
A description of that May first weekend can not be complete without some mention of the trial of Bobby Seale and Mrs. Ericka Huggins on charges in connection with the slaying of Alex Rackley of the Black Panther Party. One of the most interesting aspects of the trial was the length of time it took to choose the jury. Media had an enormous influence on the selection. On one particular day during this process half a dozen Americans, one Black and five white, whose ages spanned half a century shared one thing; they were all rejected for jury duty. The basis for the rejection of those six and all the others questioned, was questioning by the defense and prosecution attorneys. After eight days, more than two hundred prospects were questioned. Only three jurors, (two Black and one white) had been accepted. Scores more were examined during many days before the total rose any higher. The six are a small sample and perhaps, like many of the others, they were glad to be excused from serving in a trial which would be long and difficult at best.

Shortly before the jury selection started, a New York magazine published an article on the controversial Panthers. When one woman who was being considered for jury duty disclosed that she had read it, both sides agreed the article was so prejudiced that simply reading it was sufficient cause to excuse her. When they found that the next woman
had also read the article, they excused her immediately. If reading one magazine article is a basis for rejection from jury duty, how is one to withstand safely the barrage of ideas presented through other media? Another prospective juror, who claimed she was "well-read" had apparently confused Mrs. Huggins with Angela Davis. If that is true, what confusions must linger in the minds of many people about the Panthers when the information on them is so conflicting and liable to prejudice? How is it possible to find twelve people who are "unprejudiced" (by these standards) to serve on such a jury?

There is no peace in the cities; instead, there are rebellions which amount to suicidal anarchy. The rebellions, though created largely through the efforts of militants and separatists, were supported by those people, both Black and white, who only wanted to get on with the shooting. Yet the real danger is not the riots, though they are frightening, nor the use of armed forces to restore order, because that has been necessary. The fatal threat to the nation today is the alarming loss of faith among whites and Blacks, rich and poor, and the inability of their political system to find answers to America's problems.

The Urban League of New Haven, like the National Urban League, believes that every American citizen should have equal opportunities to develop his potential, to live in a decent and pleasant home, to have access to educational
and recreational facilities, regardless of race, religious affiliation or other non-performance factors. As an inter-racial, inter-faith, non-profit organization, the Urban League works to achieve these goals. The League is one of the few organizations where people of all races come together through programs in education, housing, employment, and open communication to seek new and better ways to end, or at least slow down, the polarization between the races.

In the past year, the New Haven Urban League has started to grow and fulfill its goals. The emphasis is in three major areas; housing, employment and education. Three or more new projects have never begun during the last year and a half, the Detached Worker Program in the Hamden High School, the Secretarial Training Program with Yale and the Jobs Program of the National Alliance of Businessmen.

The Detached Worker Program grew out of the disturbance at Hamden High School in 1969. The Council of Black Fathers petitioned the Hamden Board of Education for a program aimed specifically at helping the Black students. After several discussions with a number of committees and the Board of Education, the New Haven Urban League received funds to place a detached worker at the school to give encouragement and guidance to the Black students.

Under the Job's Program of the National Alliance of Businessmen the Urban League received a contract to do the supportive counseling for the Yale Secretarial Program.
The program began in January of 1969 but was phased-out in September, due to a slow down in the economy. Yale put a freeze on all new positions. Since there were no job openings, the Urban League could not continue programs for training new people.

The Community Students' Program came under the control of the Urban League in 1970. The program obtained its own firms and maintained its own advisory board. Last fall, their board felt that they had grown strong enough to operate under their own auspices. The Urban League has continued its close working relationship with the Black Coalition and the Inner-City Manpower Consortium. The League's executive director is on the board of both of these organizations.

Another contribution of the Urban League is New Homes, Inc., which started operation in September, 1968. It has helped provide 120 families of low and moderate income range find suitable homes and finance their purchases through FHA loans. The greatest challenge in helping families purchase homes, according to the League reports, is to provide a decent home and suitable living environment. The success of the program may be judged by the fact that these 120 families represent some 840 people.

During the past year, the Urban League reports it was able to help over 200 Black people through job training and employment programs. Some were high school dropouts,
others were graduate students. More than 70 potential employers were persuaded to provide employment and training opportunities. Most of them have been highly satisfied with the work of the League in this area and have indicated their desire to continue their contact. Jobs have included such diverse activities as research, labor legislation, business management in University departments, the development of managerial skills in banking, in public utilities, and instruction in the operation of various types of industrial and business machinery. For instance, ten female high school students were given classroom instruction and job orientation at Yale University while still in school. After graduation, they obtained permanent jobs as secretaries and clerk typists at the University. Other companies cooperating in the program were the Southern New England Telephone Company, the Union Trust Company, the First New Haven National Bank and the Second National Bank. Several large local industrial concerns have also participated in such job opportunities efforts. Another part of this program is counselling students. About seventy high school seniors worked with twenty-eight Black male volunteers who helped them become aware of the opportunities available in business and the professions to train and educate youth. After less than six months of counselling and companionship given by these volunteers, 72 per cent of the students showed improvement in their
grades. Twelve youngsters brought their grades from an "F" average to passing; two students actually achieved "R's" instead of "F's".

One of the most significant projects sponsored by the Urban League is Seek-Out. Volunteers from the Urban League reached 353 of the 389 graduating Black seniors to discuss post high school goals. Some were helped to secure vocational training and employment. Others who previously had no hope of continuing their formal education, were helped into college, and thirty students were given the financial aid necessary to continue their studies. However, by the time a student has reached his senior year, it is often too late to help him upgrade and re-orient his goals and expectations. Therefore, the League hopes to reach incoming high school freshmen and to continue contact with these students throughout their high school years.

Another noteworthy project is the New Thrust. The Urban League works with individuals and with other agencies and institutions to open opportunities for better and more satisfying life. Much of this effort has been devoted to assisting Blacks to succeed within the established pattern of the community. Within recent months, however, the League's leadership, national and local has concluded that progress toward the goal of equality must be greatly speeded. The effort must not be limited to creative opportunities for individuals, but must be directed toward changing systems
and attitudes which automatically lock the majority of the Black people into the ghetto and tie them to the bottom of the economic and social scale. The New Thrust Program has infused new vigor into all activities of the League. The individual is not and, indeed, can not be overlooked. Major efforts are now designed to mobilize the indigenous Black groups to alter conditions which thwart and frustrate the total Black community and direct the activities of organizations in the white community in directions which will prove widely effective.

Much of the community organization in New Haven is accomplished through the major formally organized institutional sectors, but other important dimensions of behavior are patterned through informal relationships. Neither sources of community organization in the urban community appears to facilitate the direct and extensive participation of the citizens themselves in the definition and solution of community problems. Some organizations try to bring about change for the urban poor but failed in doing so.
CHAPTER V

RACISM, SEGREGATION AND EDUCATION IN NEW HAVEN

Protest, community organizations and efforts at human renewal which marked New Haven in the 1960's could not hide the fact that the city's schools were failing and that neighborhood patterns had brought a form of de facto segregation. Though New Haven schools were integrated by some standards, many whites attended private schools or schools outside their district, many schools did not serve their community, and racial balance did not exist.

Blacks in New Haven were not protected by the unanimous 1954 United States Supreme Court Decision. The Decision said:

Segregation of children in the public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities. . .separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.¹

The ruling applies to separate educational facilities on any basis where one group is regarded as superior to any other group.
Statistics or racial patterns of school attendance in New Haven revealed two facts: 1) the city school system became increasingly non-white between 1963 and 1970, and 2) racial balance from school to school in the city in 1970 did not exist. (See Appendix B.)

The tables in Appendix B show a slight decrease in school population between 1963 and 1970. This reflects the decrease in the general population for New Haven. During this time however the non-white school population increased from 7977 (38.1% of the 1963 school population) to 12,914 (62.6% of the 1970 school population). The number of Blacks in New Haven schools increased by 3763. By 1970 Blacks comprised 54.2 per cent as compared to 35.4 per cent in 1963. The increase in numbers of Blacks combined with an even greater decrease in white population in the schools. There was a 40.4 per cent decrease in the number of white students in New Haven schools between 1963 and 1970. The comparison of racial distribution also shows an increase in Puerto Rican enrollment from 492 in 1963 to 1648 in 1970. By 1970 Puerto Rican enrollment was over eight per cent in New Haven schools.

The decrease of white enrollment, as whites moved to the suburbs, and the increase of Black and Puerto Rican enrollment all reflected the general population shifts reported in Chapter I.
Racial balance has become an increased problem for leaders to deal with in New Haven school particularly at the elementary level. The number of elementary schools with 90 per cent or more non-white enrollment has increased from three schools in 1963 to 12 schools in 1970. Of the seven schools opened between 1963 and 1970 only Columbus and Quinnipiac are not segregated. Four of the remaining five are over 90 per cent non-white. While the fifth, Bishop Woods, is 92.2 per cent white.

Of the older schools, Brennan and West Hills have changed from racially balanced to segregated. Brennan was 58.5 per cent non-white in 1963 and in 1970 it was 98.0 per cent non-white. Brennan's change was not due to any great increase in non-white population but rather to a decrease of 230 in white enrollment. West Hills changed from 50.5 per cent non-white in 1963 to 92.5 per cent in 1970 for the same reasons as Brennan.

The schools which have increased by over 100 non-white students between 1963 and 1970 are Clinton Avenue, Conte, Davis, Day, Kimberly Avenue, and Truman. These six schools experienced decreases in white enrollment as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Increase in Non-White Enrollment</th>
<th>Decrease in White Enrollment 1963-1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clinton Ave.</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conte</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly Ave.</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truman</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nathan Hale is the only elementary school in New Haven to experience an increase in white enrollment between 1963 and 1970. Hale has also remained the most segregated white school in New Haven—99.6 per cent in 1963 and 99.0 per cent in 1970.

The overall conclusion is clear: the issue of racial balance and segregation, major topics of national debate, were issues of particular immediacy to New Haven. Although the debate at any moment might turn on a southern town or a far west city, the turns and trends of national policy were far from irrelevant to quality education in New Haven.

The ultra reactionary Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi in April, 1971 began the year's major civil rights debate in Congress in focusing on school integration in the cities of the North and the West. This Mississippi Democratic Senator announced that he would reintroduce legislation which he proposed the year before, requiring the federal government to put the same school desegregation guide lines on the North and West as on the South. Stennis declared that neither the President nor the federal court had faced up to the issue of racial isolation in the North. The entire federal effort outside the South was a "monstrous shame," he said. "I attack the subterfuges that are being used." "Further," he continued, "I state that
in the South we will live with any pattern and try to make it work--that is applied to other areas of the country."

Senator Stennis also claimed that Northerners had sufficient political power and strength to prevent integration, and that no administration present or future would dare to undertake to apply the same pattern of desegregation to the North that is now applied to the South.

The one and five-tenths billion proposed for a desegregation effort was a compromise between a proposal the President first made a year before and an alternative drawn up by a group led by Senator Walter F. Mondale (Democrat of Minnesota). The money would be available over a two year period to districts, Northern as well as Southern, desegregating under federal pressure or on their own initiative. At issue were 1) the standards districts would have to meet to qualify and 2) how they could spend the money. Broadly, Congress would be writing what Stennis called "legislative policy for the nation's public schools" on the issue of integration.

The importance of the Stennis amendment, one of several offered, was more symbolic than legal. It would apply to the desegregation efforts of only the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, not of the Justice Departments or the courts, which are now the sources of most federal desegregation pressure. Further, it would merely declare that the policy of the United States was
that desegregation be applied uniformly in all regions. It would not expressly require total integration in the North.

A Northerner, Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, was preparing an amendment which would go that far. Ribicoff who startled and perhaps converted the Senate last year by supporting the Stennis amendment wanted to require total school integration throughout the country. Another Southerner, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., (Democrat from North Carolina) is preparing proposals that would simply weaken federal power to propel desegregation anywhere.

Stennis' recent speech was an effort to demolish the old legal distinction between de jure and de facto segregation—the Southern kind versus the kind typical of Northern cities that supposedly stem not from official policy, but from residential patterns. "For those who believe in the double standard," he said, "I would like to hear more as to why Northern school districts should be left untouched because their methods of maintaining racial segregation in their schools are more clever than in the school districts of the Southern and border states."

"It is inevitable that this matter be voted upon as a prerequisite to continuing authorization and appropriation of additional billions of dollars for education."
Three basic types of racial segregation are evident in our schools. One exists primarily in the South where government officials segregate school children solely on the basis of race. The dual school systems of the South and a number of school systems in the North fall into this category of segregation supposedly outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1954. A second type of school segregation stems from the racially discriminatory actions of government officials in areas other than education, such as housing. This category includes much of the de facto school segregation of the North. The third type is simple racial concentration in schools for which no specific government intent or activity is responsible. The courts have not yet ruled on the latter two categories.

The decision which Chief Justice Burger handed down in 1971 in regard to bussing dealt exclusively with the first of these categories. In that case (Swann vs. the Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina Board of Education), the Court made it clear that only in the context of remedying a state-inflicted segregation, of overcoming the effects of past segregation would it uphold the authority of Federal courts to impose school desegregation plans that might involve bussing, zoning, and racial proportioning. Thus:
All things being equal with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign people to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some; but all awkwardness and inconvenience can not be avoided in the interim when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school systems.?

And again, in one of the companion rulings--

The Constitution does not compel any particular degree of racial balance or mixing. But when past and continuing violations are found, some ratios are likely to be useful starting points in shaping a remedy.  

Chief Justice Burger made evident that the Supreme Court does not view these remedies and compensations as carrying on in perpetuity for past wrongs, but rather as steps leading to a conclusion, to some point where the offending districts would have fulfilled their responsibility to dismantle their dual school systems.

Although the Court confined its ruling strictly to school districts that have been or may be in the future found guilty of deliberate, officially inspired segregation, the language of the decision gave some indication of its position on other types of segregation. On the second
type of segregation, Justice Burger observed:

We do not reach in this case the question whether assuring that school segregation is the consequence of other state action, without any discriminatory action by the school authorities, is a constitutional violation requiring remedial action by school desegregation decree. He thus left open the possibility that the Court might find a constitutional violation in a case where school segregation was found to be in direct consequence of officially sanctioned housing discrimination. But in a straight forward racial balance case where no official intent could be found to have produced racial concentration of students, he indicated that he would have to rule against constitutional violation.

If we were to read the holding of the District Court to require, as a matter of substantive constitutional right, any particular degree of racial balance or mixing, that approach would be disapproved and he would be obliged to reverse. These quotes are just indications of future rulings and therefore not official, but the line of thought behind them seems important and persuasive. The notion that government should be improved, even directed, to deal with citizens solely on the basis of race with a purpose no matter how well intended is particularly perilous and repugnant in the eyes of some metropolitan daily newspapers, other communication medias, and some opinionmakers. Although there is
much yet to be desired by this important decision of the United States Supreme Court, the decision has unanimously reaffirmed the basic course set by the Warren Court in ruling that bussing is "an appropriate tool to eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation." The decision was also carefully calibrated refinement of the Warren Court finding that racially segregated schools violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

An important unanswered question is what is the status of northern-style de facto segregation resulting from residential patterns? The Court ruling clearly overrode President Nixon's opinion that the neighborhood school systems should take precedence, as an educational principle, over racial integration. The bussing decision upheld a Federal District Court Judge in Charlotte-Mecklenberg, North Carolina who imposed a massive cross-town bussing plan with the joint school system which attempted to create an approximate racial balance in its elementary schools. The plan had been overturned by the United States Court of Appeals as "unreasonable and burdensome." While the decision was aimed primarily at the South's dual school system, the effect is countrywide.6

The practical results of this decision will doubtless be felt quickly as pro-integration forces begin
to seek immediate compliance. The ruling will effect a number of southern cities in which bussing plans are pending. Likewise, the Justice Department's commitment to enforce desegregation will be stiffened. The Burger ruling continues the fight toward a truly integrated school system.

As the Supreme Court was handing down its decision, the Senate was engaged in a battle over the one billion dollar Emergency School Aid and Quality Integration Act of 1971. During that battle, Senator Abraham Ribicoff charged Senator Jacob Javits with "hypocrisy." Though the choice of words was unfortunate, the Democratic Senator from Connecticut had a point already reinforced by the failure of the Supreme Court to come to grips with de facto segregation. Senator Ribicoff overstated his case by saying that Congress was willing to "shove segregation down the throat of the Senator from Mississippi, but refuse to do the same for their Northern constituents." A substantive difference did exist between residential patterns which grow out of personal decisions, and local and state plans that segregate school children by race.7

The key question for Senator Javits was one of political realities. Could the much needed bill pass with the added weight of the Ribicoff amendment? Passage would require all schools in the metropolitan areas, including suburbs and central cities to be integrated on a
formula of at least half the percentage of minority students in a metropolitan area.

The recent ruling on school bussing will stir a reopening of desegregation cases throughout the South simply because the Supreme Court has laid a firm basis for settlements by lower courts and school boards. The Court will probably find that it can stand back and let its mandate run for several years.

The Warren Court realized the complexity of dealing with segregation in Northern school districts. Indications of the past have revealed that the Justices do not feel that the Northern form of separate schools can be handled as easily as the southern form. They have had at least four chances before to turn their attention northward and have foregone each of them; the issue was one that the Warren court simply did not want to take on. Future discipline will show whether the Burger court shares that attitude. 8

The recent bussing decision effects the New Haven school system only indirectly.

The latest development in New Haven was the resignation of the Chairman of the School Board. His resignation was followed by the resignation of the vice-chairman of the Board. They were, respectively, Mr. Lawrence Garfinkle and Mr. Alfonso Tindall. Mrs. Rita Dumas, an active Black school Board member, has indicated
that she will submit her letter of resignation within the next fifteen days. The resignations could be political. These people were appointed by the former Mayor. The incumbent Mayor, Bartholomew Guida does not share their views. All three of these Board members have a genuine concern for New Haven schools, but because of the curtailment of funds for the Board and political complications, they have decided they can not fulfill their commitment to a satisfying extent.

The Black community is in a difficult position. Some parent-teacher associations in New Haven are doing a fairly effective job, but not enough of them are engaged in community-action. Black teachers of a generation and more ago recognized that Black survival depended upon the scholastic improvement of each Black child. White parents who speak up for neighborhood schools are not necessarily motivated by biased sentiments. Neighborhood schools at least have the merit of being under the local parental eye. But when the schools are inferior in the inner-city, parental concern can do little to help a Black child.

Black Americans are caught up in a process of change, but the majority of them do not understand its impact and direction. Many Blacks, searching for identity, self determination, and human dignity do not understand the scope of these concepts, nor have they taken time to
develop a sense of purpose or direction.

Americans are taught to think within the framework of traditional methods and techniques. Because of this restriction, a Black child must have someone to help him break away from tradition—an artist, a dancer, a musician or a playwright. A Black child must have someone with a free and wide ranging intellect to create more meaningful experiences which emphasize the culture of Black people. A search of the historical past is necessary to plan for today and tomorrow. Blacks must have the courage and take the time to develop their own value system within the framework of a brotherhood; today, search for truth brings America to the most overlooked area in our nation's rich history. Black Americans have played an important part in practically every aspect of the nation's life. Laden with even greater good news is the fact that these bi-cultural Black Americans, who have been separated from mainstream America against their will, have had to develop both creative and critical understanding of white America in order to survive. Hence, they have developed in their Black experience fresh and much needed perspectives on American life.

Several years ago, Hollywood produced a movie called "The Defiant Ones." The movie was well received in America simply as a good story, but it has won standing ovations in a number of foreign nations as a parable of
the American racial dilemma. The film portrayed the escape of two convicts—one Negro, one white—who were handcuffed together. After their first hours of flight, bound wrist to wrist, they began exhibiting the racial hostility which the ignorant of both races cherish. They called each other names, they fought, but finally—tied by a common danger and common hope as well as a common chain—they forged a guarding respect for each other. And when ultimately they managed to smash the links that connected them they elected to seek their freedom together. But at one point the white man, totally exhausted, fell to the ground and told the Negro to go on by himself. The Negro turned, shook his broken shackle in the air, and said, "Come on, get up! . . You're dragging on the chain!"

For better or worse, like it or not, Black America and white America are bound by a common hope and a common danger. We share a large piece of real estate and it is this piece—not England, not Ireland or Africa—which is our home. This chunk of land belongs to us, and if bombs incinerate it or dissension rips it, we will all share a common desegregation we never achieved in life.

We must use our wits and wisdom to break the cords that fetter the Blacks to an inferior status in American life. We must recognize that as Americans, we all wear invisible bonds that connect us with our joint
future.

Black America and white America run together . . . not too well, perhaps, but we've picked up speed in the past few years. And despite our regular failures and our regular falls, we must keep getting up. We must not drag on the chain!
FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. Fred Powledge, Model City, A Test of America's Liberalism: One Town's Efforts to Rebuild Itself (New York: Simon and Schuster) p. 126.

2. Ibid., p. 129.


7. Ibid., p. 57.

8. See Neighborhood Social Diagnostic Survey, prepared in cooperation with the Community Redevelopment Agency of New Haven, April, 1968.


10. Model City, Powledge, p. 128.
11  Model City, Powledge, p. 130.


FOOTNOTES

Chapter II


3 Memorandum from New Haven Commission on Human Needs and Opportunities.

4 See Proposal to UNO by Community Progress, Inc. for 1969 contained in official files of the Director.

5 See Neighborhood Social Diagnostic Survey, prepared in cooperation with the Community Re-development Agency of New Haven, April, 1968.

6 J.C. Williams, This Happens in New Haven, p. 15.

7 See Preliminary Report to the Board of Education from Citizen's Task Force Study Committee District, February, 1968, p. 4.

8 Josh Liburd, An Economic Survey, p. 84.

9 See Memorandum from the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, September, 1966. Subject: Involvement of the Poor in all OEO Programs.
10 The New Haven Register, CPI, February, 1969.

11 See Edward Cohen and Mark Murphy's, *A View From the Neighborhood*, New Haven, Community Progress, Inc. Files.

12 See Community Progress Master Proposal in the Official Files of the Director.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter III


3 Ibid., p. 66.


7 Ibid., p. 85.

8 Ibid., p. 91.

10 Ibid., p. 88.


12 Ibid., p. 110.

13 Education Improvement Center, Citizens Committee to Develop Quality Education (New Haven: Board of Education, 1970) p. 29.

14 Ibid., p. 31.

15 Ibid., p. 37.


17 Ibid., p. 211.

18 Ibid., p. 245.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter IV

1 Harry L. Miller and Roger R. Woock, Social Foundations of Urban Education (Hinsdale: The Dryden Press, Inc.) p. 112.

2 Ibid., p. 211.

3 Fred Powledge, Model Cities (New York: Simon and Schuster) p. 50.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 159.

6 Ibid., p. 163.

7 Ibid., p. 175.

8 Ibid., p. 187.


12 Ibid., p. 68.


14 Ibid., p. 57.


16 Ibid., p. 114.

17 Ibid., p. 215.

18 Powledge, Model Cities, p. 126.


21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Yale. Proposal on May Day, Kingman Brewster, President, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
24 Joseph Harris, private interview with Director of Black Coalition, New Haven, Connecticut.

25 Milton Brown, Proposal on May Day, April, 1970, by Director of CPI and its Job Training Unit, prepared in the Fall of 1967 and based on the experiences of the Summer Program.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 New Haven Register, October, 1970.

29 Robert Bowles, interview.

30 Ibid.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter V


3 New Haven Register, April 27, 1971, 3:7.


5 New Haven Register, April 27, 1971, 3:7.


7 Ibid., p. 123.

8 Ibid., p. 128.
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Schneider, Frederick, James Stone, Teaching in the Inner City (Thomas Crowell, 1970).


Weinstein, Gerald, Mario Fantini, eds. *Toward Humanistic Education* (New York: Praeger, 1970).


APPENDIX A
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<td>ATRON GENTRY CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT AMHERST, MASS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPOSED PROJECT COORDINATOR</td>
<td>CLEO N. ABRAHAM CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT AMHERST, MASS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL</td>
<td>DWIGHT W ALLEN, DEAN SCHOOL OF EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT AMHERST, MASS.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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Prefatory Statement

Extension Center For Urban Education At New Haven, Conn

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B. Urban Educator and Administrator Training in Community Organization and Resources

Educational Talent Search Proposal

A. Dropout Instruction Program
B. Student Involvement Program
C. Coordinating Educational Community Resources
Prefatory Statement

The following proposals are the result of an intensive effort by six people who recognize both the usefulness and the need for a university extension program in New Haven. The first proposal consists of suggestions on the establishment of such an extension center. The second is a potential function, actually one of many, which can be undertaken as a direct community-serving function of the center. In order to grasp an understanding of the full intent of each proposal, some explanation is necessary.

The development of the center's structure was heavily influenced by the knowledge of current programs involving the university and other urban centers. After much discussion, it was decided that the very areas of emphasis defined by these programs are, indeed, areas of similar concern and need in New Haven. Therefore, every attempt was made to incorporate these elements into the objectives of the center. While the scale of the center's proposals varies with those of other locales, the complexion must necessarily reflect the time factor for "seed" development and the limitation of initial resources.

The purpose of the second proposal, the Educational Talent Search Program, is twofold. First, the group attempted to define one area of particular need for New Haven students. The group believes that while there is a unique proliferation of youth-oriented programs servicing students, there is a demonstrated lack of coordination between these programs. The ETS Program using federal funds and working with existing programs will focus on this need.

The second purpose of the ETS Program is to provide an essential base of liaison and cooperative relations between the center, the New Haven
Board of Education, and the community action (CPI) and other pertinent resource agencies and programs.

Finally, the combination of the ETS function within the extension center should be regarded as the total proposal for the initial establishment of the center. This model is clearly a reflection of the education, training, work experience and other background strengths, and weaknesses, of the six people in the group. It is hoped that as the center develops in size and stature that other bases of urban educational concern will be incorporated.

The package of extension center programs covers a wide area of operation. While originally designed to fill a "gap," they are based on two essential commodities, community resources and commitment.

The developers of the package recognize the above and believe that with the commencement of operations within the center, programs involving services must have the flexibility, in time and understanding, to be altered for maximum effectiveness.

It should also be understood that the development of the center's operations will be in various stages due to variables involved with each function. Consequently, a reasonable amount of time is necessary for the center to be fully operative.
PARTICIPANTS AND OBJECTIVE LISTING

Participants:

A. The University of Massachusetts
B. New Haven Board of Education
C. Community Progress, Incorporated

Objectives:

1. Ph.D., M.A. degree programs of UMass.
2. Paraprofessional program for teacher aides in the New Haven School system and other social service employees.
3. A comprehensive program to coordinate all youth-oriented services and programs in New Haven.
4. A training center in community development and resources for educators and administrators.
5. A dropout instruction and counseling center.
6. A special, year-round college student involvement program.
7. A cooperative effort to assist the Board of Education in the formation of a vehicle for resident participation in the educational processes of New Haven.
Educational Research Center

Purpose: Provide a structured program of research, seminar, and internship opportunities for a university extension in an urban setting.

Degree candidates will identify and research areas of urban education using the facilities of the center and a base of formal contacts within the scheme of the New Haven school system and community. It is proposed that, if necessary, higher degree candidates (Ph.D., M.A.) will be able to maintain at least part-time employment through center development funds or the Educational Talent Search function of the center. The ETS proposal can be found in the second part of this package.

In addition, a program of seminars involving University of Massachusetts, School of Education instructors and other lecturers will augment the research component to the satisfaction of university degree requirements.

A third phase will involve the matriculation of paraprofessional employees of the Board of Education and other social service agencies in a degree program within the center. This will consist of a planned program of seminar work provided at the center and an involvement in the existing educationally-oriented resources in New Haven. The paraprofessional is expected to maintain his or her working position as a means of financial support and educational experience.

Establishment procedures will include the following:

Public and private sources will be approached for financial support of "seed" development.

A University advisor-coordinator will maintain day-to-day communication between the center and the University. It is advisable that a New Haven counterpart be appointed to handle the daily operation of the center.
Using the relationships already established with New Haven's CAP Agency, Community Progress, Incorporated, the center can negotiate working relationships and contacts with all community resource agencies and programs which perform integral, educational functions in the New Haven area.

It is suggested that the structural elements of the respective degree programs include the following:

a) Ph.D. degree
   1. Center supervision and initial development
   2. Educational Talent Search Administration
   3. Research projects, dissertation requirements
   4. Seminar participation

b) M.A. degree
   1. Independent study (research)
   2. Educational Talent Search staff
   3. Community resource agency involvement
   4. Seminar participation

c) B.A. degree
   1. Paraprofessional employment with the New Haven Board of Education or other social service agencies.
   2. Center program involvement
   3. Seminar participation

Resident Participation

If the center is to be a coordinating, community resource organization which espouses community relevancy in education, then resident participation must be an indispensable element.

The center's community-serving function will, in no uncertain terms, depend directly upon the trust, support, and general cooperation of the community it is to serve. And yet this terminology is, at best, ambiguous. A community-serving capacity should be regarded as one which operates at the behest of, in conjunction with, and for the benefit of a certain group of people.

It is proposed that the Board of Education and the center establish
a joint effort under a quasi-formal relationship to study and implement resident participation in the educational processes in New Haven. The center's objective in this relationship will be to develop itself as a medium for resident participation, a broker in the decision-making processes on local education issues, and a safety valve for educational issue conflict.

Community Progress, Inc. has been dedicated for the last eighteen months to the decentralization of its decision-making and program operation processes. A primary part of this effort has been the formation of resident committees within neighborhood corporations. Presently, there are individual residents working within these organizing corporations who are concerned with articulating educational issues. Eventually, neighborhood corporation representatives will comprise an equal portion of a center advisory council along with high school students, guidance officials from the school system and representatives of resource agencies.

The end result will approach the most democratic vehicle of on-going evaluation, analysis, and issue confrontation in the history of New Haven's educational system.
Purpose: To train educators and administrators in community development fundamentals and organization skills which can lead to the maximum use of community participation and resources.

Educators and administrators in New Haven, as anywhere, must assume various duties or roles in the course of their work day. The success they achieve is in a very direct sense related to their training and knowledge of available resources.

With the center's emphasis on the coordination of existing educational-vocational resources in New Haven, a community development and resource training program would be but a natural extension of this effort.

This program will stress a) the comprehensive use of resources within and outside the school system, b) the need for resident participation in both supportive and evaluative roles in the school system, and c) the construction of resident and community organization inputs in the local school system.

The scope of this training can vary as needed. Locally, its aim will be on specific resources, specific resident inputs, specific evaluation needs of the local system. On a more general basis, training can be provided on a theoretical basis using New Haven as an example; the other center functions will serve aptly in complementary capacities. Workshops, a seminar series, and other training methods form the base for initial development of this program structure.
The responsibility for conducting the training program will be borne by doctoral candidates with supportive assistance from the university.
Educational Talent Search Program

Purpose: Encourage, motivate, and counsel inner-city high-school students in making post-secondary school decisions involving higher education, academic and technical. Dropout instruction and work training counseling will be included.


"1. identify qualified youths of financial or cultural need with an exceptional potential for post-secondary educational training and encourage them to complete secondary school and undertake post-secondary educational training,

"2. publicize existing forms of student financial aid, and

"3. encourage secondary-school or college dropouts of demonstrated aptitude to re-enter educational programs including post-secondary school programs."

No matching funds are required.

The primary function will be to maintain a program of coordinated higher education encouragement and career determination effort with the inner-city neighborhoods and the three New Haven high schools. Areas of emphasis will include dropout counseling and instruction using option determination methods and a system of educational information and assistance centers within existing community action program facilities and organizations.
The program will make use of guidance counselors, paraprofessional employees of the New Haven school system who will also be matriculants in the University of Massachusetts degree program, college and high-school work-study students, Education Committees in CPI's decentralized community organization plan, and master's and doctoral degree candidates at the UMass Extension Center.

The center will provide remedial instruction and counseling to high school dropouts and students desiring help in making post-secondary decisions. A referral system will be arranged with guidance officials at each of New Haven's three high schools.

Neighborhood information centers will be established through agreements with the forming neighborhood corporations. A number of teen lounges and soul stations will be staffed with a neighborhood college student or part-time neighborhood employee. These people will be trained at the center to provide information and resource assistance to the young people who use the lounges. The neighborhood organizations will have discretionary power of employment and placement with these positions.

A third phase of this effort will consist of college work-study students placed in community action programming. They will assist in constructing and staffing neighborhood programs which involve junior high and high-school students. Under the College Work-Study Program, eligible college students can work 15 hours a week during the academic year and 40 hours a week during the summer and holiday vacations. The ETS-student program scale will vary accordingly.

A form of this program was originally conducted at CPI this past summer. A brief look at its development will most certainly help to illustrate its intent.
In the spring of 1969, the Director of the Division of Community Services, Community Progress, Incorporated, met with the agency's College Work-Study coordinator to develop a program for the involvement of native New Haven college students in inner-city, community organizations. They examined a number of discerning problems which confront inner-city youngsters and decided that the emphasis of the Student Involvement Program (SIP) would be structured in the following way:

**Objective:** To encourage inner-city high school students to seek higher education, technical and academic, and assist them in school selection and preparation for admission. In doing this, the college students would work with the elements of forming neighborhood corporations in a supportive role to firmly establish an Education Committee in each neighborhood.

**Functions:**

1. Confront high school students on formal and informal bases and pursue a higher education awareness approach. College students placed in neighborhood summer programs would attempt to be a convincing influence on dropouts to return to school.

2. Assist high school students in their preparation for PSAT and SAT exams. This may take the form of introductory tutoring or individual counseling.

The program was designed to dispel misconceptions about higher education, to construct a realistic perspective of it, and then to make known the resources and assistance programs available to students. The program structure was intended to be flexible so as to allow for the counseling of the student's parents. It did not purport to replace any secondary education function.

The assumption in using neighborhood, college students was not that they possess any degree of expertise in counseling inner-city high school students or their parents, but rather that they are aware of the problems confronting their peers and are presently participating in the higher education experience
having overcome many of the problems of today's inner-city students. These college students enjoy a measure of acceptance and trust with the target group which adults or non-residents do not.

In addition, it was hoped that this SIP project would:

a) provide an issue-oriented learning experience for the college students,

b) emphasize and encourage the inner-city student's stake in his community, and

c) provide the perspective for an aggressive, relevant scrutiny and participation by college and high school students in the educational processes at their respective schools.

Due to the short duration of the initial SIP Project, evaluation is difficult. However, there are certain yardsticks which do indicate a tremendous degree of success.

Students in the summer program were received very well in the neighborhoods; many were placed in supervisory positions while others played major roles in constructing entire summer programs. Emphasizing cultural enrichment, self-identity programs, and college visits, the students garnered over $2,000 in neighborhood programming contributions for their various projects. In addition they organized a city-wide conference which presented to high school students a number of post-secondary school options and available resources to aid them.

In retrospect this was a small program which had little planning time and limited use of available resources. Using student, resident, and guidance advisors, this segment of the Educational Talent Search Program can produce a tremendous training and concentrated counseling effort.
Coordinating Education Community Resources

To be truly effective in its primary function, the Education Talent Search Program must make use of New Haven's resource agencies and programs of which there are many. The most striking realization that is inevitably reached by those who study these resources is the obvious lack of communication and assistance between them. Fortunately the strength of their commitment alone is enough to guarantee a certain degree of success.

It would be a specific aim of the center to make a concerted effort to optimize mutual cooperation along communication lines between these agencies and programs. The center's position is particularly advantageous in that essentially, its major functions will not compete with existing programs but complement them or deal with other areas with which they are not concerned. This alone will dispel unjustified fears of the center being a constraining force in the operation of programs.

The center will attempt to construct a means of interrelating those programs whose administrators feel can benefit from a more functional association with other programs. The center will also be available for assistance when any one particular program or agency may request it.
## Tentative Timetable

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<td>Continuing Development of Center Programs for funding</td>
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<td>July 1</td>
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(Percentages in parentheses)

1963 and 1970

A comparison of racial distribution in New Haven schools
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(Percentages in parentheses)

High schools 1963 and 1970

Comparison of Racial Distribution in New Haven

James Mitchell
Milton Cross
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1963 and 1970

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN MIDDLE SCHOOLS

PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESES

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(Percentages in parentheses)
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1963 and 1970

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**Elementary Schools (Continued)**
PROJECT BOUNDARIES

NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT
MOBILITY SOURCES FROM THE HILL

OCTOBER 1966

PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT