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RESEARCH STUDY (A STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION IN NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS SINCE 1955).

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THE STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK CITY AND THE EXTENT OF INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM ARE REVIEWED IN THIS RESEARCH REPORT. THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE REPORT COVER THE PERIOD FROM 1955 TO 1963. THE DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION--(1) A BRIEF HISTORY OF DESEGREGATION EFFORTS IN THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS, (2) A DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, (3) A DESCRIPTION OF FOUR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS AND A LISTING OF OTHERS; AND (4) A REPORT ON THE PRESENT CLASS SIZES, ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS, AND AVAILABLE SPECIAL SERVICES IN THE SCHOOLS. RECOMMENDATIONS ARE MADE FOR REVISING SOME OF THE PRACTICES IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM TO AVOID WHAT ARE CONSIDERED TO BE ALARMING TRENDS. MOST OF THE FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY ARE PRESENTED IN THE APPENDIXES. (JL)

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URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK

R E S E A R C H S T U D Y

(A Study of the Problems of
Integration in New York City
Public Schools Since 1955)

SEPTEMBER 1963

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P R E F A C E

Many individuals and organizations have contributed to this study and are mentioned in various parts of the report. However, this study would have been impossible for the Urban League to undertake and complete, if it had not been for subsidization grants from the Field and the New York Foundations. The Trustees of these Foundations have proven time and time again that they are among the most far-sighted and socially sensitive groups in the educational field today. As better educational opportunities are developed for the Negro and Puerto Rican children of New York City, these Foundations can justly be listed as most influential forces in the initiation, development and final implementation of this progress.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword

I. Introduction

- A. Purpose**
- B. Procedure**
- C. Summary Statement**

II. A Brief History of the Struggle for Desegregated Schools in New York City

III. Public Education and Equal Educational Opportunities

IV. Program Developments in the School System Since 1955

V. The Present Status of the X and Y Schools

- A. Class Size**
- B. Special Services**
- C. Achievement Levels**

VI. Physical Facilities

Appendices

I. Introduction

This study is intended to review the problems and progress of what has happened on the integration scene in the New York City School System since 1955. That year the study titled The Status of Negro and Puerto Rican Children and Youth in the Public Schools, published by the Public Education Association, appeared. To date, no similar report has been released.

The context of this report must be considered in the light of public school education, its philosophy, aims, objectives and ultimate goals. It is suggested here that the basic values inherent in our public school system be reconsidered and some important determinations and decisions be made regarding the introduction and exposure to these values.

The Urban League of Greater New York sincerely feels that in spite of the dedicated and highly qualified persons at all levels in the public school system of New York City and their determined efforts to provide quality education for all children, the battle against "de facto" segregation in our school system, with its attendant ills, is being lost.

This study shows many trends that are alarming and its final recommendations are made in the hope of assisting school and board officials to immediately and drastically revise a vast and complex system that is completely outmoded and inadequate in this nuclear-space age.

The design has been developed as closely as possible along the lines of the original Public Education Association (P.E.A.) study in order to complete the significance of policies and changes in the school system since 1955.

The Urban League's study, like that of the P.E.A., was basically concerned with examining the status of educational opportunities received in schools overwhelmingly populated with (30% elementary and 85% junior high school) Negro and Puerto Rican children and the extent to which Negro and Puerto Rican children were being integrated into the school system.

As a result of the Commission on Integration's report and the various changes in the school system that were implemented as a result, as well as additional developments that have taken place, it was impossible to follow the two main section headings of the P.E.A. study: The Issue of Equal Educational Opportunity and the Issue of Zoning. These headings have become chapters in the present report.

This study is also designed (1) to assist in clearing up some of the public confusion and misconceptions related to the implementation of the Commission on Integration's Recommendations, and (2) to note some of the basic causes underlying the continuation and growth of "de facto" segregated schools.

This has also been planned as an objective and factual public report and its findings are so presented. The special commentaries and the final recommendations naturally reflect the policy position of the Urban League of Greater New York

and certainly indicate a definite point of view.

The research staff is grateful for the very fine cooperation from the professional staff of the New York Public school system on every level. The researchers worked very closely with the professional staff Committee on Integration, the staff of the Educational Research and Statistics Department, and the staff of the Central Zoning and Human Relations Units. In addition, the selected principals to whom questionnaires were sent responded quickly and willingly as did the selected District Superintendents who were interviewed.

The report drew upon the following sources for data:

1. Data available in Board of Education files and research statistics.
2. Data available in published reports of Board of Education.
3. Data furnished by principals and assistant superintendents.
4. United States Census Reports.
5. Reports of observations made by research staff members and volunteers.
6. Data and information for the special commentaries comes from the above sources as well as from Urban League Borough Education Conferences, teacher contacts and interviews, and basic day-to-day community contacts.

This study compared the two types of schools in New York City described below:

1. Group "Y" schools on the elementary level composed 90% or more continental white students and on the junior high level, composed of 85% or more continental white students.

2. Group "X" schools on the elementary level composed of 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students and on the junior high level composed of 85% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students.

The "Y" and "X" schools have been matched so that 118 of the 207 "Y" elementary schools have been selected in order to equal the total number of "X" elementary schools. Correspondingly, 29 of 42 "Y" junior high schools were selected in order to match the total "X" group of 29. The tables below show the borough distribution of the Y and X schools.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS TABLE I

	<u>BROOKLYN</u>	<u>BRONX</u>	<u>MANHATTAN</u>	<u>QUEENS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Group Y -	40 (13-PEA)	15(3-PEA)	33(0-PEA)	59(16-PEA)	118(32-PEA)
Group X -	41 { 5-PEA}	26{4-PEA}	38(13-PEA)	13(4-PEA)	118(26-PEA)

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS TABLE II

	<u>BROOKLYN</u>	<u>BRONX</u>	<u>MANHATTAN</u>	<u>QUEENS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Group Y -	12 (8-PEA)	4(0-PEA)	0(0-PEA)	14(3-PEA)	29(11-PEA)
Group X -	10 (0-PEA)	7(1-PEA)	10(4-PEA)	2(0-PEA)	29(5-PEA)

The tables show that 32 elementary and 11 junior high schools from the original P.E.A. study are included in the present Y school totals. There are 26 elementary and 5 junior high X schools remaining from the P.E.A. study totaling 74 P.E.A. schools out of the combined grouping of 294 schools in the present study. The other 52 P.E.A. schools have been discontinued, annexed, or changed their racial composition.

Special Census of School Population - Composition of Register
Elementary Schools Distribution by Borough
October 31, 1962

Borough	Number of Pupils				Per Cent of Total Register			
	Puerto Rican	Negro	Others	Total	Puerto Rican	Negro	Other	Total
Manhattan	35,053	41,579	23,617	100,249	35.0	41.5	23.5	100.0
Bronx	34,119	26,208	50,662	110,989	30.7	23.6	45.7	100.0
Brooklyn	39,062	64,278	116,254	219,594	17.8	29.3	52.9	100.0
Queens	2,653	24,920	102,659	130,232	2.0	19.1	78.9	100.0
Richmond	408	1,785	18,498	20,691	2.0	8.6	89.4	100.0
Total	111,295	158,770	311,690	581,755	19.1	27.3	53.6	100.0

Elementary Schools - September 30, 1957

Borough	Number of Pupils				Per Cent of Total Register			
	Puerto Rican	Negro	Others	Total	Puerto Rican	Negro	Other	Total
Manhattan	34,596	36,829	31,669	103,094	33.6	35.7	30.7	100.0
Bronx	23,211	17,606	61,904	102,721	22.6	17.1	60.3	100.0
Brooklyn	24,423	41,939	133,383	199,745	12.2	21.0	66.8	100.0
Queens	2,108	15,875	109,932	127,915	1.6	12.4	85.9	100.0
Richmond	357	1,495	19,092	20,944	1.7	7.1	91.2	100.0
Total	84,695	113,744	355,980	554,419	20.5	15.3	64.2	100.0

RACIALLY IMBALANCED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS¹

Per cent Negro and/or Puerto Rican	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Bronx	Queens	Richmond	City- Wide	Per- Cent ²
100 - 90	38	41	26	13	-	118	21%
90 - 80	13	16	8	5	-	42	8%
80 - 70	8	12	1	3	-	24	5%
70 - 60	10	4	8	3	-	25	5%
60 - 50	5	4	6	2	1	18	4%
TOTAL	74	77	49	26	1	227	43%

1. Data obtained from The Central Zoning Unit
of the Board of Education, October 31, 1962.

2. There are 578 Elementary Schools City-wide.

Racially Imbalanced Junior High Schools

Percent Negro &/Or Puerto Rican	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Bronx	Queens	Richmond	City-Wide	% of City- Wide Total
100-85	10	10	7	2	-	29	22%
85-75	1	4	3	-	-	8	6%
75-65	3	2	-	-	-	5	4%
65-50	6	4	3	1	-	14	10%
Total	20	20	13	3	-	56	42%

1. Data Obtained from the Central Zoning unit of the Board of Education, October 31, 1962.
2. There are 131 Junior High Schools.

It should be noted at this point, that this report would have been impossible for the Urban League to undertake and complete, if it had not been for a subsidization grant from Field Foundation and New York Foundation. The trustees of these Foundations have proven time and time again that they are among the most far-sighted and socially sensitive groups in the educational field today. As better educational opportunities are developed for the Negro and Puerto Rican children of New York City, these foundations can justly be listed as most influential forces in the initiation, development and final implementation of this progress.

The following summary is a sampling of data collected:

Factual Data: Three Selected Areas

I Number of schools housing a majority of Negro and Puerto Rican students

- A. Since 1955 the number of elementary schools with enrollments of 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students increased from 42 to 118.
- B. During this same period, the number of Junior high schools with enrollments of 85% or more Negroes and Puerto Ricans increased from 9 to 29.
- C. One hundred and ninety-three of the elementary schools house 80% or more Negro and Puerto Rican students while 42 junior high schools enroll 75% or more Negroes and Puerto Ricans.
- D. There are presently 235 elementary schools and 55 junior high schools with an ethnic balance of more than 50% Negro and Puerto Rican students.

II. Achievement Levels

Average test scores-reading

The basic fact that the Public Education Association study uncovered, regarding achievement data, was that the longer the Negro and Puerto Rican students continued in school, the lower their achievement level fell. That this is due to many factors both inside the school and out is clear and some of these will be explored in depth. However, a study of the current achievement data reveals the same trend as noted below:

	<u>Group X Norms</u>		<u>Group Y Norms</u>	
	<u>1955</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1962</u>
3rd Grade	2.5	2.9	3.7	4.4
6th Grade	4.7	4.8	6.9	7.9
8th Grade	6.0	6.1	8.4	9.6

The chart above shows clearly that the gain of both groups was very close on the third grade level, just under a half grade gain for the X group and just over a half grade gain for the Y group. However, at the six grade level, the X group barely improved from 4.7 to 4.8, while the Y group improved a full grade from 6.9 to 7.9. Again at the 8th grade level the X group shows little if any gain, 6.0 to 6.1 and the Y group not only improved but went over the full grade improvement level 8.4 to 9.6.

When viewed from a total perspective, the figures

show the X schools as being slightly more than a grade behind on the third grade level both in 1955 and in 1962. The six grade figures show that in 1955 the X schools were a little over two grades behind and in 1962 were over three grades in back of the Y schools. The eight grade data from 1955 shows the X schools almost $2\frac{1}{2}$ grades behind and in 1962 exactly $3\frac{1}{2}$ grades behind the average achievement of Y schools.

III. School Staffing

A major unsolved problem is the reluctance of new teachers to accept appointments or assignments to schools which they regard as difficult. Since many of the X schools have been informally classified as "difficult" by teacher groups, the staffing of X schools has often presented a greater problem than the staffing of Y schools.

However, even more startling than any of the facts above is the evidence that shows only 31 or 1% Negro teachers in 105 Y schools out of a teacher population of 5,424. Only one Puerto Rican teacher is to be found in these schools.

In 109 X schools, there are 1483 or 33% Negro teachers, 77 or 2% Puerto Rican teachers and 2930 or 65% white teachers.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

It was in 1857 that the Negroes began their struggle toward desegregation of the New York City public schools. In 1884, Governor Cleveland signed a bill abolishing all "colored schools" and demanding all schools open to all pupils "without regard to race...." In 1900 Governor Theodore Roosevelt reinforced the action of Governor Cleveland. During the same period acceleration developed in residential segregation laying the seed for the birth of ghettos in the United States. A "de facto" return to segregated schools was inevitable in New York City.

For a few years the detrimental consequences of segregated schools were counteracted by the cultural climate of the Negro Renaissance. From the 1930's to present, education of the Negro in the public schools of New York City has declined.

In 1954 the League asked Dr. Kenneth Clark to prepare a paper on the problems of "de facto" segregation in New York City schools. Soon after, the Intergroup Committee on New York Public Schools representing the Negro and Puerto Rican communities was organized by the Urban League of Greater New York. Dr. Clark's paper charged that "de facto" segregation was on the increase in New York City's public schools and that the quality of education the children in segregated schools received was continually

deteriorating. The Public Education Association was asked by the Board of Education to conduct a study "for the purpose of aiding all concerned in the attainment of the ultimate goal: the completely integrated school". The same year the Board of Education authorized the establishment of the Commission on Integration. Three years ago a progress report dealing with implementation of the recommendations of the Commission was submitted to the Board of Education from the Superintendent of Schools. It noted changes and improvements in the school system since the time of an earlier report by the Commission on Integration.

Public education is founded upon the principle that public schools are "free to", "open to" and "representative of" all the people. This present study reveals the fact that there are presently 235 elementary schools and fifty-five junior high schools with an ethnic balance of more than 50% Negro and Puerto Rican students and 118 elementary and twenty-nine junior high schools have an ethnic balance of at least 90% and 85% respectively of Negro and Puerto Rican students.

In an attempt to adequately cope with the four most difficult and dominant characteristics of the New York City school population, namely, size, range, mobility and origin, the school system established or expanded an impressive number of special programs, most notably the Central Zoning Unit, Higher Horizons Program, All-Day Neighborhood Schools,

additional school guidance counselors, Human Relations Unit, and Open Enrollment.

A substantial number of new schools have been built in segregated areas in direct conflict with the recommendations of the Commission on Integration. A survey of utilization figures taken from 1962 data shows that seventy-one "X" (schools with 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican enrollment) elementary schools are over-utilized, or over the 100% level while only forty-two "Y" (schools with 90% or more white enrollment) elementary schools are in the same category. Similarly, in the junior high schools almost twice as many "X" as "Y" schools are over-utilized.

The 1955 Public Education Association study uncovered the fact that achievement levels among the Negro and Puerto Rican students decreased the longer they remained in school; e.g., the eighth grade data from 1955 shows "X" schools almost $2\frac{1}{2}$ grades behind the "Y" school achievement level. In 1962 they were exactly $3\frac{1}{2}$ grades behind.

Current figures show the number of substitute and inexperienced teachers in the "X" schools to be far greater than those in the "Y" schools. Some "X" schools have had as many as twenty-six per diem substitutes during a three month period. Faculty turnover in most "X" schools is at least double that of the "Y" schools. In 105 "Y" schools there are only 31 (1%) Negro teachers in a teacher population of 5,425. One Puerto Rican teacher works in these schools. In the "X"

schools there are 1,483 (33%) Negro teachers, seventy-seven (two per cent) Puerto Rican teachers and 2,930 (65%) white teachers.

The Urban League's position concerning zoning is that more creative methods should be developed and those methods in use should be expanded, i.e., Open Enrollment, the Princeton Plan (or plans of that type), cross-districting, feeder school patterns in conveying white students into predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican populated schools.

The complete recommendations and time tables embodied in the conclusion of this report are presented with the conviction that they will bring a better life to millions as the City and the nation move closer toward the ideal of democracy for all its citizens.

II. History of the School Integration Fight In New York City

It is of interest to note that in 1857 the Negroes in New York City and the State of New York began a successful fight against segregation and discrimination in the public schools of the state. As a result of this fight, Grover Cleveland, Governor of the State of New York in 1884, signed a bill abolishing the remaining colored schools and providing that all schools be "open for the education of pupils for whom admission is sought without regard to race or color". In 1900, Governor Theodore Roosevelt reinforced the action of former Governor Cleveland by signing a bill which repealed the law which permitted communities in the state to establish separate schools for Negroes and insisted that no person shall be refused admission to or be excluded from any public school in the state on account of race or color. However, as late as 1950, the legislature passed a bill eliminating the words "colored schools" from a section of the New York State Education Code where they had remained for fifty years, though they had not been used legally.

The second stage in the history of the education of the Negro in New York can be dated from the beginning of the twentieth century up through the 1930's. During the early part of this period, Negroes were freely accepted in schools located in whatever area they happened to live. This, however, was a period in which there was accelerated development of residential segregation leading to the increase in racial

ghettos. Schools which previously had rather mixed racial and national populations began to become increasingly more segregated. As Harlem became an exclusively Negro community, the schools became more and more segregated. There was, therefore, a "de facto" return to segregated schools. During the 1920's the detrimental consequences of segregated schools in New York City were not fully understood or felt for the following reasons: (1) because the process had not yet completed itself and, (2) because of the positive impact of the cultural climate and the presence of a small number of Negro and white teachers who assumed responsibility for teaching Negro youth with a sense of dedication and strong faith and belief in the educability of their students. The cultural climate of the twenties served as a positive influence in stimulating academic interest in large numbers of Negro youngsters attending Harlem public schools at that time.

The third stage in the education of the Negro in public schools in New York City may be dated from the 1930's up to the present. This may be viewed as a stage of educational decline. Documented evidence concerning the deterioration in physical facilities and instruction in the Harlem public schools may be found in Mayor LaGuardia's report on conditions in Harlem. This was a report which the Mayor of the City of New York requested Dr. Franklin Frazier to prepare in an attempt to understand the causes of the March 1935 riot. The education section of this report pinpoints the problems of deterioration,

overcrowding, and inadequate general educational facilities which were common in the Harlem schools at that time.

The Urban League has had a leading role in the school integration picture for many years. It specifically consolidated its role as a leader in the fight for physical desegregation and meaningful integration of the New York City school system early in 1954. It was at this time that the League asked Dr. Kenneth Clark to prepare a paper on the problems of "de facto" segregation in the New York City schools. A few months later, the League organized the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools. Dr. Edward S. Lewis, the League's executive director stated:

"Because the Urban League of Greater New York felt that this was a problem for more than one organization we called a meeting in March, 1954 of organizations representing the Negro and Puerto Rican community to work together on this problem. These groups joined to form the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools. Within six weeks after its founding, this group called a conference to discuss the complex problems relating to the existence of segregated schools in New York City. Representatives from 60 agencies and organizations attended an all-day conference, and, after spirited discussion, unanimously agreed on a program to strive to obtain for all of New York City's children the educational advantages of a racially integrated public school system. The delegates pledged themselves:

1. to alert the community to the serious consequences of segregated and inferior education provided for Negro and Puerto Rican children in New York City,
2. to urge the Board of Education to approve an objective study of the extent and nature of segregation in the City's schools,
3. to request the Board of Education to adopt a clear and positive integration policy

with regard to all of the City's public schools."¹

At the Urban League's annual dinner in June of 1954, Dr. Clark presented the paper the League had requested of him. He charged that "de facto" school segregation was on the increase in New York City's school system and that the quality of education received by the children in segregated schools was continually deteriorating. Colonel Arthur Levitt, then president of the Board of Education, and Mayor Robert Wagner shared the dais with Dr. Clark and were quite disturbed by these charges. Mayor Wagner immediately asked Dr. William Jansen, superintendent of schools, to remedy the situation. Colonel Levitt then requested the Public Education Association to conduct, "A full, impartial and objective inquiry into the status of the public school education of the Negro and Puerto Rican children in New York City". The Public Education Association, of which the Urban League is a member, accepted the assignment, delegated it to a committee headed by Mrs. Morris Shapiro (now a member of the Board of Education) and requested the assistance of the New York University Research Center For

1. Edward S. Lewis, "New Panes For Glass Houses." American Unity, Vol. XV-No. 5, May-June, 1957, p. 5.

Human Relations in conducting the investigation.

Dr. Clark's specific questions included the following:

1. "How do schools in the Negro community, with predominantly or exclusively Negro children, compare with schools in other communities in New York City in the following areas:
 - (a) physical facilities and equipment;
 - (b) general educational standards;
 - (c) auxiliary educational services such as health services, correctional classes, the number of classes for intellectually gifted children, and the number of classes for mentally retarded children;
 - (d) pupil-teacher ratio, multiple sessions and other variables?
2. What, if any, is the type of vocational or educational guidance services offered to Negro children in the predominantly Negro schools?
3. Are there changes in academic standards of a school as the proportion of non-white students increase? If so, in what direction and what are the factors responsible?
4. Is there a relationship between the level of academic achievement of Negro students and the proportion of Negro students in a given school? Is there a greater discrepancy between intellectual potentiality and intellectual achievement of the Negro child in schools which are predominantly or exclusively Negro?
5. Is there a greater tendency for children from predominantly Negro schools to attend vocational and non-academic high schools? If so, what accounts for this?
6. Is there a tendency for Negro teachers to teach in schools with predominantly Negro students? If so, what accounts for this?
7. What are the attitudes of teachers toward teaching in schools which are predominantly Negro? What is the ratio of temporary and substitute teachers to permanent teachers in these schools?

8. What are the attitudes of the administrative officials toward schools which are predominantly Negro or schools which have an increasing Negro or Puerto Rican population?"

Dr. Clark called for a study in cooperation with the Board of Education, "to determine the extent and effects of 'de facto' segregation in the public schools of New York City's Harlem." He called also for "appropriate action" to modify the racial composition of all public schools and to break the trend toward increasing segregation.

These were specific aspects of "de facto" segregation, but Dr. Clark pointed out that beyond these "specifics" was the burning issue of the "psychological and sociological" damage done to the Negro and Puerto Rican children in creating "a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community", and to the white children in "generating a false sense of superiority, making it impossible to achieve a healthy adjustment in our democratic society".

Colonel Levitt noted this concept when he asked that the Public Education Association conduct this study "for the purpose of aiding all concerned in the attainment of the ultimate goal: the completely integrated school".

The P.E.A. then formulated the following statement of principle as a guideline in its investigation:

"Racial segregation in our public schools, based on the concept of 'separate but equal' facilities, denies the basic right of every American child to equality of educational opportunity. As such, segregation strikes hard at the roots of democratic society".

A statement from the Supreme Court decision of 1954 was then quoted and the statement continued:

"It remains for the American people to increase their efforts to wipe out segregation, illegal or 'de facto', until no trace of the blight remains in our educational system. In New York City, with its millions of inhabitants of every race, creed and color, it is especially important to investigate all reports of segregation and eliminate it where it is found to exist. This is a job for both our school authorities and the community as a whole."

While the P.E.A. investigation was under way, the Board of Education in December 1954, approved a resolution authorizing the establishment of the Commission on Integration. This commission consisted of all of the members of the Board of Education, various civic and educational leaders, and the top professional staff members of the Board. The resolution included a policy and program statement to the Board to the effect that the Commission was to address itself to the task of studying and examining "the racial composition of the schools within our city in order to determine whether the conditions therein conform to (proper) standards; and to report the facts with recommendations for such other or further action as may be necessary or advisable to approach more closely the racially integrated school in all localities".

The resolution stressed the need of implementing a plan which would prevent the further development of racially segregated schools, and integrate the existing ones as quickly as possible. The basic premise underlying the resolution was "the understanding that racially homogeneous schools are educationally undesirable".

A summary of the findings of the Public Education Association study follows:

The facilities in Group "X" schools were older and less adequate than those in Group "Y" schools. Group "X" buildings were older (43 years against 31), yet they were not so well maintained. There was less floor and playground space, and there were fewer special rooms.

When tenure, probationary, and substitute status were used as measures of competency, Group "X" teachers were not as competent as Group "Y" teachers, since fewer of them were on tenure, and more of them had probationary or substitute status. Also, teacher turnover was more rapid in "X" schools. On the average "X" schools received more services than "Y" schools, and had more classes for retarded children, but fewer for bright children.

Average pupil achievement, as reflected in standardized tests in reading and arithmetic, was considerably lower in "X" schools than in "Y" schools. The differences in achievement increased with the grade of the children.

Of the city's 639 elementary schools, 445 (71%) enrolled either 90% or more Negro and Puerto Rican children, or 90% or more children of other ethnic origins, 41 elementary and 9 junior high schools were 30% or more Negro and Puerto Rican. In general, principles in zoning school districts ignored possibilities both of separation and of integration of ethnic groups. It was not overall school policy to encourage integration through zoning.

. Three basic steps had thus been taken in the process toward integration of the New York public schools. A factual study had been made of the extent of segregation and the detrimental educational consequences associated with segregated education in this city showing the following:

1. Negro and Puerto Rican children attending racially homogeneous schools were severely handicapped in academic subjects.

2. they generally did not have teachers who were as well prepared as the teachers provided for the children in other schools.
3. this handicap had been reinforced by their being classified as intellectually inferior, on the average, through scores obtained from tests which require knowledge and skills which, for various reasons, they have not been taught adequately.

There had been a reaffirmation of the educational desirability of racially integrated schools and a statement of the determination of the Board of Education to work for the elimination of segregated schools. This statement came in the form of an official policy pronouncement prepared and issued by the Board of Education of the City of New York in December 1955.

A working Commission on Integration had been appointed by the Board of Education and had included members of the Board. This Commission on Integration was charged with the specific responsibility of studying the problems related to the solution of the dilemma of segregated schools and making specific recommendations for the solution of these problems.

The Commission on Integration was divided into six sub-commissions as follows:

1. Zoning,
2. Educational Standards and Curriculum,
3. Guidance, Educational Stimulation and Placement,
4. Teachers Assignments and Personnel.
5. Community Relations and Information and
6. Physical Plant and Maintenance.

The sub-commissions presented formal recommendations to the Board of Education. Two reports, the one on zoning and the other on teachers assignments and personnel were subjected to a long period of delay and after many months of public hearings were finally accepted and approved by the Board of Education in February, 1957.

In June 1960, a progress report entitled, Toward Greater Opportunity, dealing with the implementation of recommendations of the Commission on Integration, was presented to the Board of Education from the superintendent of schools. This report noted changes and improvements made in the school system following the Commission on Integration's report. In 1961, a new Board of Education was appointed by Mayor Wagner following the dissolution of the former Board under action of the State Commissioner of Education. In April 1963, a new superintendent of schools was sworn into office. Many other events and occurrences have followed during the years succeeding the Public Education Association's report and are indeed a part of this history. However, most of them will be noted in subsequent chapters of this study.