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Henry T. Cameron

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THE STORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
TOTAL COMMUNITY SCHOOL IN THE CITY OF
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FOR THE PERIOD 1962-1971

A Dissertation Presented

By

Henry T. Cameron

B.S. South Carolina State

M.A. Fairfield University

Submitted to the
Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1972
(Month) (Year)

Major Subject: Educational Administration

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To My Wife Helen
and
My Children Helene and Henry Anthony

MAKE THE HEART OF THIS PEOPLE FAT, AND
MAKE THEIR EARS HEAVY, AND SHUT THEIR
EYES: LEST THEY SEE WITH THEIR EYES, AND
HEAR WITH THEIR EARS, AND UNDERSTAND WITH
THEIR HEART, AND CONVERT, AND BE HEALED.

ISAIAH 6:10

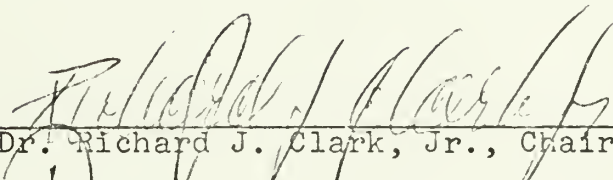
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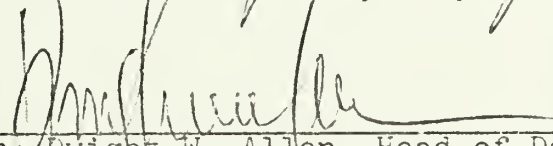
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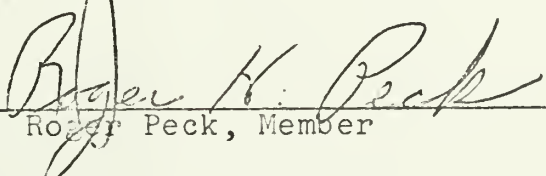
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Henry T. Cameron

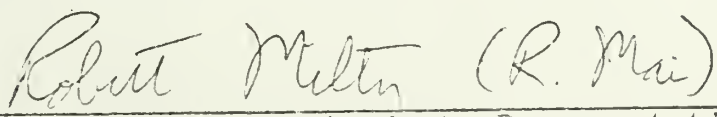
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May 1972
(Month) (Year)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The investigator was privileged to have the support of several individuals whose knowledge, skills, and services were invaluable to this study. He expresses his sincere gratitude to these individuals for their interest, time, and effort which made it possible for him to bring this study to fruition. They include:

Dr. Richard J. Clark, Jr., Associate Professor of Education, University of Massachusetts

Dr. Roger Peck, Assistant Professor of Education University of Massachusetts

Dr. Cleo Abraham, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Massachusetts

Dr. Dwight W. Allen, Dean of the School of Education, University of Massachusetts

Dr. Robert Miltz, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Massachusetts

Dr. Byrd Jones, Associate Professor of Education, University of Massachusetts

Mr. Jay Coleman Williams, Public Information Officer, Community Progress, Inc.

Mr. Mark Peel, Graduate Student, University of Massachusetts

Mr. Gerald Tirozzi, Director of Community Schools, New Haven, Connecticut

Mr. Ralph Goglia, Special Assistant to the Superintendent, New Haven, Connecticut

Mr. Herbert Borman, Assistant Superintendent, New Haven, Connecticut

Dr. George Harris, Assistant Superintendent New Haven, Connecticut

Preface.

The community school program in New Haven, Connecticut owes its existence to many factors. The purpose of Chapter I is to introduce the reader to the events and circumstances which gave rise to the community school concept. In doing this the chapter addresses the social action atmosphere and historically the catalytic forces which resulted in the city's commitment to the community school philosophy, and traces the development and implementation of the community school program in metropolitan New Haven.

In this introductory chapter, the reader has been introduced to the events and circumstances which led to the acceptance and implementation of the community school concept in New Haven, and has traced the development of actual schools.

Chapter Two will deal with the prototype of the community school, the Flint, Michigan model, and the model community school as it was designed for New Haven.

Chapter Two has presented general definitions of the community school, an overview of the pioneering community school concept as realized in Flint, Michigan, and an explication of the community school concept as it developed in New Haven.

Chapter Three will present the rationale for the author's belief that a concern with the mental health of the community needs to be the primary concern of the community

school. Therefore an excursion into the field of mental health will be presented.

Chapter Three has presented a rationale for this author's concern with the central role played by mental health in the healthy development of children. Because this is such a vital area of concern, it is suggested that the community school must consider it of central and primary importance, and must therefore devote a considerable portion of its resources to the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of mental problems of all classifications among all members of the community, especially its children.

Chapter Four will present a case study of one New Haven community school, the Conte Community School. A school designed and built to implement the community school concept in an inner-city neighborhood.

Chapter Four has presented a case study of the Conte Community School, a school designed and built to implement the community school concept in an inner-city neighborhood. Showing the total community agencies and involvement.

Chapter Five will present this investigator's subjective evaluation of the success of the community school operation in New Haven, with his personal recommendations for future change.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND, DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLS IN NEW HAVEN

The Community School Program in New Haven, Connecticut owes its existence to many factors. The purpose of this Chapter is to introduce the reader to the events and circumstances which gave rise to the Community School Concept. In doing this the Chapter addresses the social action atmosphere and historically the catalytic forces which resulted in the City's commitment to the community school philosophy, and traces the development and implementation of the community school program in metropolitan New Haven.

Scope of the Problems: Personal, Neighborhood, city, and metropolitan.

Individuals do not stand alone but are a part of society, for man is a social being. Because the most significant manifestation of modern society is the city, it is essential to attempt some understanding of what a city is.

The city is in the main a network of human relationships which center around homes, jobs, neighborhoods, and institutions. The city is a complex and dynamic network, potentially rich with vitality but too often stricken with malaise. Attempts to alter a small facet tend to have little effect upon the whole. If change is to occur, the broadest

possible approach is required, and should be geared to long-term results.

The city is a place where people come because there is opportunity in many areas of life. Yet, for many who come to or who were born in the city, there are many roadblocks. Some of these barriers are cultural; others relate to social and economic structures. Certain obstacles seem to center in the individuals themselves, while others have a group base. A fundamental task of those who wish to save the cities is to alter the opportunity structure in education, employment, housing, and other aspects of city life, replacing obstacles with opportunity.

The city is people. New jobs are neatly provided but some people are unwilling or afraid to apply for them. New housing projects may be built but some tenants will turn them into slums. New community centers may be open but only a few people may choose to use them. Exciting Education Programs may be conceived but the people can let them die from lack of participation. Therefore, attention must be paid to the underlying motivation, attitudes, and values of the people of the city.

Although American cities are currently faced with the gravest of problems, the United States has become an urban nation. American cities are the center of the country's civilization, the seat of its culture, the heart of the economic system, and the leader of thought. But more and more the center cities of the Metropolitan complexities are

becoming places where much of the deprivation of society is concentrated. Poverty is contrasted with wealth, and ignorance with great learning. And while citizens appear to offer unlimited opportunity for achievement, many city dwellers have quite limited horizons.

But to think of a city or a community alone is not enough, for a new form of human settlement has come into existence, that is, the metropolitan community. No longer do municipal boundaries mean what they did in past decades. People commute to work into and out from the city, and so do people in search of recreation. Therefore, the ills of the city observe no boundaries. Today's city residents go out in the suburb tomorrow, and some from the suburbs and many from outside the region may return to live in the city. Inescapably, the problems of the entire metropolis enter into the picture.

A perspective that includes individuals, families, small groups and large groups is of paramount importance. The concept of a metropolitan community provides an essential broad view, but, in addition, people and their problems must be seen close up, and this can be achieved through the concept of the neighborhood.

In the total metropolis, some neighborhoods demand earlier attention than others. In New Haven in the areas of the 50's and 60's greatest social problems coincided with the areas of greatest physical problems. These were the renewals and middle grounds of neighborhoods. It was here that the

city's comprehensive urban renewal program was aimed, as so it was here that basic social problems needed to be addressed.

New Haven was and is challenged by these personal, neighborhood, city and metropolitan problems which constitute the contemporary urban crisis. As New Haven had met the need for physical improvements in a manner as yet unequaled in many other cities, also the city intended to tackle the social problems in a comprehensive manner. Early in the 1950's, urban agencies began to explore possible programs, workable administrative arrangements, and processes for the development of future programs.

Throughout these explorations, the emphasis was placed on individual opportunity, as well as a social responsibility. The major concept underlying all considerations was that individuals in a democratic society, and therefore each individual should be given the opportunity to develop his potential to the fullest.

Major Problem Areas in New Haven

Seven neighborhoods of New Haven especially required attention. They were State Street, Hill, Dwight, Wooster Square, Dixwell, Newhallville, and Fair Haven, (Appendix B). Urban renewal was in operation in two of these neighborhoods, in planning in three, and in the future for the other two. Housing rehabilitation was under-way in five of them. Together these seven neighborhoods contained 60 percent of the city's residents and 25 percent of the metropolitan population. In comparison with other New Haven metropolitan

neighborhoods, the average income and the average level of education were lowest, and the rate of juvenile delinquency and percent of population receiving public relief were highest.

Community Council of Greater New Haven

In 1954, the Community Council of Greater New Haven was made up of all agencies, both public and private, that were concerned with the solutions of social problems. And so, as a start, the Redevelopment Agency turned first to the Community Council of Greater New Haven and asked it to take the lead in bringing services to bear on social problems of relocatees. But, as Paul Nagel, Executive Director of the United Fund and Community Council, candidly admitted in a speech some years later, the Council "got a C for effort and a D for performance."¹

What is really important, however, is not the initial inadequacy of the Council to do much better than it did in 1954, but rather that out of this experience it willingly and deliberately helped initiate and then entered into a significant community dialogue. This dialogue concerned itself with what was needed in order for the city to cope more effectively with the complexities of its social problems. But more important, it involved an introspective examination by the Council itself of the limitations on its ability to

¹Paul Nagel, Executive Director of United Fund and Community Council, New Haven, Connecticut, 1962.

cope with these problems unless it successfully worked with other institutions and groups in the community to bring about necessary and basic social changes--changes directed at the causes of poverty and the prevention of related social problems, rather than simply administering essential social services to the victims of poverty.

A host of individuals associated with other organizations and agencies participated in varying degrees in this important dialogue. But it was clearly the Redevelopment Agency, the Community Council, and the Board of Education which carried the central responsibility for finding a consensus around which a significant local effort could be made to help solve the social problems of the city--an effort that could serve, hopefully, as evidence to other cities that the downward spiral caused by decay, poverty and discrimination could indeed be reversed; and that the city could be saved from becoming a dismal place where only the very poor and the very rich and the very old might live.

To reduce this consensus to its most basic concepts:

1. There was ample evidence that the social problems of the cities of America and metropolitan New Haven in particular, were growing at a frightening pace. This was reflected in unemployment figures, welfare rolls, delinquency and crime statistics, rates of illiteracy, illegitimacy, narcotics use, et cetera.
2. These problems were concentrated in areas where

poverty was most prevalent; i.e., there seemed to be a direct relationship between economic poverty and social maladjustment. Seven specific areas were pinpointed in New Haven.

3. There were a number of new factors which militated against laissez-faire solutions to these problems--particularly the increasingly rapid decline in the number of unskilled jobs and the factor of color discrimination, both of which affected large numbers of the poverty population living in the city.
4. On close examination it became obvious that conditions of poverty grew out of such a complex web of circumstances that no one program, whether it be education, housing, employment, or social services, could in itself lead to solutions on a significant scale.
5. What seemed to be needed was a massive, coordinated, comprehensive and simultaneous attack on the causes of poverty if its further growth were to be prevented--an attack which would open doors of opportunity to those sectors of the population which, in a very real sense, had been denied equal opportunity.
6. To conduct such a massive attack required new resources. To coordinate it required an effective instrument. Comprehensive and effective

action required that various institutions needed to work within a context of premises and goals which were mutually acceptable.

CPI - Functions

Out of this consensus, and with the assistance of a 2½ million dollar Ford Foundation grant procured by the then mayor of New Haven, Richard E. Lee, a mammoth community action program, Community Progress Inc. was launched in New Haven. This pioneer anti-poverty agency, known familiarly as CPI, was designed to mobilize all community resources for a systematic attack on poverty. It subsequently became the paramount catalyst for implementing the community school idea in metropolitan New Haven.

Community Progress, Incorporated (CPI) was and is a non-profit corporation organized under the laws of Connecticut. According to the articles of incorporation, CPI was organized to promote and carry out the following functions:

To conduct research and planning and to take action directed toward the improvement of living, working, housing, recreational and educational conditions of people in the community, with a view to lessening neighborhood tensions and combating community deterioration in the metropolitan New Haven area.

To develop community knowledge and understanding, in New Haven and elsewhere, of such conditions and the means to alleviate the same, by preparing, publishing and disseminating, through all available media, communications, studies, data and information relating to such conditions.²

²Michael Swiridoff, Executive Director, Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Connecticut, 1962, mimeographed.

When CPI was conceived, the Urban Renewal bulldozer had leveled some of New Haven's worst slums. New architecture and new public facilities were changing the face of the city. But the bulldozer also brought into focus the problems of people enmeshed in poverty.

Inadequate education, poor health, lack of marketable skills, racial discrimination, unemployment and bewilderment were the complexities of modern urban life that had combined to form a vicious circle for many families--ending in apathy and despair. New brick and concrete, it became clear, could not alone restore the people that occupied the buildings.

New Haven's former mayor, Richard C. Lee, and other civic leaders realized that unless these human problems were attacked at their source, the vision of a thriving city--a metropolis with expanding opportunities for all--would not be realized.

It was patently observable that the persons most severely affected by poverty or by environmental blight were the residents of the seven various neighborhoods, all described as 'ghettos' of New Haven, where people live in isolation from the broader communities. Described in 1962 as a bold, innovative social experiment, CPI was correctly viewed as a catalyst that would arouse the residents in those blighted areas to wage constructive campaigns against the obsolescence, the deterioration, and the isolation in which they found themselves. Since the concept of the Community Action Program holds to the involvement of the entire

community, CPI's mission was, also, to assist in the mobilization and the coordination of community-wide programs and, thus, work toward a general commitment of resources against existing problems. In essence, then, CPI's Community Action Program was an across-the-board participation to establish goals and determine those priorities which would have an accumulative effect upon all facets of the community.

There was, for example, the early recognition by the Mayor and the Redevelopment Agency that the problems of the city could not be solved through a redevelopment or an industrial and business expansion program alone; that somehow the city had to come to grips at the same time with those social human problems which grew out of conditions of poverty in the inner city and which in themselves fed that very process of decay which redevelopment attempted to reverse.

CPI - Board of Directors

Community Progress, Inc. was governed by a board of directors appointed by the Mayor of the City of New Haven, the Redevelopment Agency, the Board of Education, the Community Council, the United Fund, the Citizens' Action Commission, and Yale University. The Board met monthly, and special committees met between board meetings as required.

The original board of directors appointed an executive director who, in turn, was responsible for hiring of all other staff. The staff was organized into four major divisions: Manpower, Neighborhood Services, Research, and Program Development and Training. Other staff included a

deputy director, consultants on youth services, on education, and on family services, and supporting administrative and clerical personnel.

The policy making functions of the CPI board were to focus on designated neighborhoods and develop plans to establish opportunity programs in employment and education. Thus, the Community School System was organized as a program core from which these corrective activities were to emanate. The CPI governing board had the responsibility to assess, evaluate, and recommend what was to be done, how and by whom.

Authorities in CPI conclude that the city is a birth-place of democracy and today it is the testing ground for the effectiveness of the democratic process. Urban problems are amiss, and the cultural pluralism of our cities represent both an asset and a challenge to making democracy work. It can work and it will. If these people can meet this challenge through the democratic process, public and voluntary program can be formulated and carried out. The city can indeed be the first where people, regardless of their heritage, can live, work, and play together creatively and in peace.³

CPI - Programs and Funding

It is significant to mention that the community action functions of CPI commenced a full two-and-a-half years before the Office of Economic Opportunity was set up by the Federal Government to administer the anti-poverty program in the United States. Meanwhile, OEO provided 60 percent of CPI's funding, to Ford's 25 percent and 14 percent from local sources--both public and private. In addition, CPI's non-profit corporation, in compliance with the edict of

³ Ibid.

maximun feasible participation, was expanded to sixteen individual Board members which included seven neighborhood representatives, whose responsibility it was to insure that CPI truly represented the persons it purported to represent.

The programs sponsored by CPI at the outset were financed by grants made by the Ford Foundation; the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency; the Office of Manpower Development, Automation and Training; the Housing and Home Finance Agency; New Haven Redevelopment Agency; City of New Haven; and the New Haven Foundation.

CPI spent part of the funds directly and channeled the rest of the money to other agencies. Major grants were made to the New Haven Board of Education for educational phases of the program. Other grants were made to the Dixwell Community House, the Department of Parks and Recreation, the Police Department, the Juvenile Court, and the Adult Probation Division. The Connecticut State Employment Service and the State Division of Vocational Education received funds directly from federal sources for certain phases of the New Haven manpower program.

CPI was the result of a process of change which began in New Haven with Mayor Lee's administration in 1954. More precisely, it began with the initiation of a massive counter-attack by the city on the negative forces of economic and physical decay--forces which were beginning to engulf the city only a short ten years prior thereto. It began, that is to say, with a program of physical and economic redevelopment.

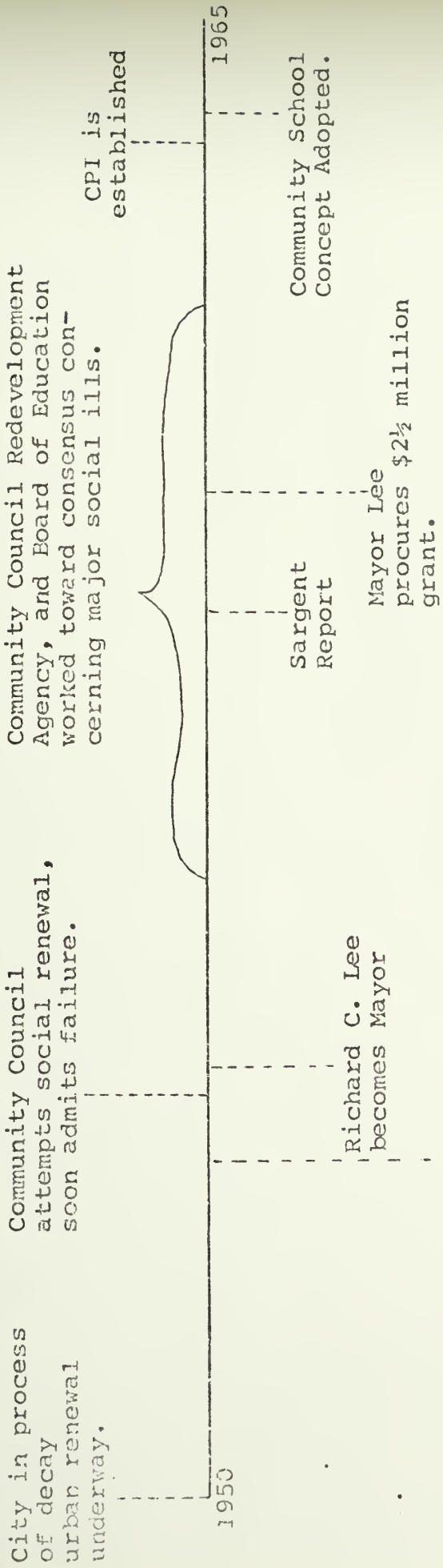


Figure 1

Time Line of Events and Process Leading to the Adoption of the Community School Concept in New Haven, Connecticut

It was the breadth and the boldness of this redevelopment process which helped to create a climate of change in the New Haven community. And it was then the dynamism of this process, operating as it was in sympathetic surroundings, which set in motion a chain reaction of response from a number of institutions--responses which ultimately led to the formation of this new instrument, CPI, in the spring of 1962.

This is what CPI was all about. It was an instrument designed: 1) to raise the resources necessary to fund a massive attack on conditions which lead to and grow out of poverty, 2) to coordinate that attack, and 3) to assure the comprehensiveness of that attack by working cooperatively with all of the major institutions in the community that subscribe to the same basic premises and goals.

Development and Implementation of Community Schools in New Haven

The Winchester School, Middle 1950's

The community school concept was not officially accepted and endorsed by the New Haven Board of Education until August of 1962, but in the middle 1950's the Winchester School, located in a predominantly black area, became the first school to pioneer the community school concept in New Haven.

The principal of that school reasoned "that the Dixwell area had almost twice as many poverty families than any other neighborhood in New Haven."⁴ Although some

⁴Isadore Wexler, Principal, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950, mimeographed.

authorities questioned his methods at the time, no one questioned his sincerity, dedication and determination to involve, totally, all segments of the neighborhood in establishing the Winchester School as the center of neighborhood activity, and to convince the Board of Education to adopt the concept. The first coordinator at the Winchester School was a former executive director of the Roxbury (Massachusetts) Federation of Neighborhood Centers. He set about to develop an overall program that would operate as a school and a settlement house under the aegis of the public schools of New Haven. This included day camp programs, vacation programs, family roller skating quarters in the gymnasium, adult education classes, teacher, pupil, and community involvement in health programs, public forums, and a variety of other activities. According to Ralph M. Goglia, a former director of the Community Schools in New Haven:

There was much confusion in those days which developed around various sections of the country because the community school concept had so many different meanings to different people. The different interpretations to the same words meant one thing to a bunch of teachers and something else to principals and other school administrators, and to private and public workers as well as parents. The community school at that time had not reached the point that is later developed.⁵

The Sargent Report

In 1961 the Council of Social Agencies (also called the Community Council of Greater New Haven) submitted a report

⁵Ralph Goglia, Director, Community Schools, New Haven, Connecticut, 1962, mimeographed.

that had been made by Dr. Cyril G. Sargent, Director of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. That school study report contained recommendations for the development of a greatly improved modern school plant for New Haven. It also was a careful appraisal of the school buildings at that time, an analysis of future public school enrollments, and a study of the financial implications of the program.

In the Sargent Report, mention is made that

Communities increasingly have come to view their schools as important community assets, since they represent one of the community's most substantial capital investments. They have been viewed as a center around which neighborhood and community life can be strengthened. . .

and that

the ugliness and drabness of the old schools were major causes of the flight to the suburbs, and that the well designed schools which are made centers of neighborhood activity could well arrest blight in the inner city.⁶

New Haven and its Approach to Community Schools

Prior to 1962, the New Haven Board of Education had been struggling to discover why its schools could not successfully educate the urban poor. They first faced the problem of overcrowded, deteriorating buildings.

A formula was found to reduce the local cost for acquiring land for school buildings in redevelopment areas. In 1961, former Mayor Richard C. Lee and the Board of Education embarked on a 25 million dollar building program to rebuild 15 schools (1/3 of the existing plan) on a plan recommended in the so-called "Sargent Report." The plan also called for a grade reorganization of a 4-4-4 basis and suggested the designation of intermediate schools in the inner-city as "community Schools." These were to be

⁶Cyril G. Sargent, Director, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1961, *New Schools for New Haven*, p. 5.

put into effect and neighborhood centers would be open the year round and all hours of the day and evening.⁷

There was in New Haven a willingness to innovate. There was a dedication to high quality schools. For ten years, the City had taken big strides in this direction. Forward-thinking actions of the Board of Education are evidence of this fact:

1. In 1954, the salary schedule for New Haven teachers was one of the lowest in the state. Now it is among the highest.
2. New Haven had increased school expenditures per pupil by \$225 per year. The new level of investment in children in 1954 was \$494 per pupil in public school, and this represented the greatest increase of any major city in the state.
3. In 1960, the school board pledged to replace 40 percent of the entire school plant. In addition to the two new high schools completed in 1957-58, New Haven soon built new elementary schools, intermediate schools and another high school within the ten year period.
4. The recommendations of the 1961 Education Task Force were being implemented in New Haven. Special focus was directed to the changing features of the school population, the reading retardation of many students, and the substantial number of

⁷Ibid., p. 23.

junior and senior high drop-outs who had been unmoved by traditional school programs.⁸

The Board of Education, which itself was undergoing some interesting changes in its composition at approximately the same time, was also drawn into the dialogue. It, too, engaged in some hard soul-searching about whether it was able to meet the needs of the urban community of the mid-twentieth century unless it, likewise, was willing to make some basic changes in its policies, orientation, and relationships with other social institutions. Its conclusions are a matter of public record. The decision to rebuild 40 percent of New Haven's total plant and reorganize its grade system, the decision to adopt as school policy the community school concept, the commitment to a range of new programs directed at the educationally deprived, even prior to the Ford grant, bear testimony to the ability of this vital institution to reject the conventional wisdom and the tired cliches which had tended to dominate and stifle educational systems all over the country.

Through the mid-fifties until August, 1962, the Community School was an evolving concept in New Haven. In the fifties, the Board of Education was not committed to the program, and during that period the budget was administered by the Redevelopment Agency. Moreover, teachers and principals in the system were not committed to the program. Some

⁸Richard C. Lee, Mayor, New Haven, Connecticut, 1954, mimeographed.

viewed it as a recreation program that was hindering good educational practices. Their reasoning was that the leisure-time staff were employees of the Redevelopment Agency and were not members of the teaching staff.

Following the acceptance of the community school, the functions were delineated thus:

1. They were to be educational centers---a place where children and adults have opportunities for study and learning.
2. As a neighborhood community center--a place where citizens of all ages may take part in such things as sports, physical fitness programs, informal recreation, arts and crafts classes, civic meetings, and other similar leisure-time activities.
3. As a center for community services--a place where the individuals and families may obtain health services, counseling services, legal aid, employment services, etc.⁹

The Board of Education endorsed the Community School idea in 1962 and accepted its functions with education for all ages; coordination of social services; leisure time activities; and a center for planning neighborhood improvement.

New Haven Community Schools were located first in six, then in seven inner city neighborhoods: the Hill, Newhallville, Dwight, Fair Haven, Wooster Square, Dixwell and West Hills

⁹Board of Education, New Haven, Connecticut, 1962, mimeographed.

areas.

Each neighborhood had one intermediate school, serving grades five through eight, and one or more primary schools, serving grades kindergarten through four. The intermediate school became the principal focus for after-school activities and for the coordination of community services. The primary schools also had community programs, varying with the needs of the surrounding population, the distance from the intermediate school, and the adequacy of older intermediate buildings.

The Community School became a significant contribution to progress in New Haven, serving as an education center, a neighborhood civic center, a center for community health services, and the like. Indeed, the Community School was designed to be the center for open consideration of community problems, and for democratic discussion and decision.

In each of the schools an assistant principal was appointed to coordinate community school programs. Thus the staff structure consisted of a single Director of Community Schools, responsible to the Superintendent; the seven Assistant Principals who coordinated and guided the staff and program; and for each school, a CPI Neighborhood Coordinator, a Park Department Recreation Supervisor, and a Voluntary Agency Group-Work Supervisor.

As a focus of neighborhood life, the Community School was designed to assist residents in considering neighborhood problems and initiating solutions, to develop an awareness

of common interest, and to demonstrate the importance of working together.

These basic roles were to be carried out by a number of agencies, and the work of personnel and various phases were to be integrated. The Community School was meant to become not a monolithic structure, but truly a community institution.

Individual Parts of the Community School Program

Individual parts of the Community School Program were as follows:

The Pre-Kindergarten Program

This program was intended to increase the likelihood of success in school for those children whose cultural deprivations created handicaps to normal school achievement.

In April of 1963, a ten-week pilot program was established for fifteen children and their mothers. The pilot demonstrated the value of enriched experience as a preparation for school success.

Following the pilot, six Pre-Kindergarten Centers became operative in September of 1963. In February of 1964, a seventh was added.

Two hundred and ten children were enrolled in the beginning in Pre-Kindergarten Programs. Each of the centers maintained four 2-½ hour sessions weekly for parent discussions, staff meetings, special programs, and for individual home visitations. Each center was staffed by a head teacher,

a teacher's aide, and a baby-sitting attendant. Part-time services of a parent-counselor, a visiting nurse, psychologist and a pediatrician were also available.

Development of vocabulary and verbal expression were the most exciting aspects of the Pre-Kindergarten Program. The children soon showed a keen interest in books. They discussed the pictures and stories, relating them to their own experiences, or to objects in the classroom or at home. They learned to listen, to follow simple directions, to find expression and pleasure through music, simple songs and rhythms. Their own names became important to them. The children became aware of themselves as individuals, but also as part of a group--in sharing, working and playing with other children.

The "parent program" developed an extension of the children's experiences to their parents and into the home. Learning of their children and, in a sense, learning beside them, parents were less likely to resort to beatings as a means of discipline. More parents turned to teachers for advice and counsel and assistance in handling their children. The parent program clearly involved more parents in rational and purposeful consideration of their responsibilities to their children.

The Pre-Kindergarten Program was the direct responsibility of the Board of Education. CPI neighborhood workers, Department of Health Nurses, the Yale University Child Study Center, the Dixwell Community House, and the Housing Authority

assisted generously by identifying families whose children would benefit from the program, by providing health services and obtaining facilities for the centers.

Later, centers functioned in two churches, two housing developments, two private agency buildings and one public school. The lack of available space for Pre-School Centers-- in the sixties--was a major handicap to the growth of this program.

The Tutorial Program

This program was intended to increase the academic achievement of students who were working below grade level in areas such as mathematics and reading. It was offered at Community Schools during and after school. The high schools participated, as well as a number of groups formed for Spanish-speaking students. All students worked either individually with tutors or in small groups. Tutors were school personnel volunteers, volunteer college and high school students, and other residents.

Informal Education Programs

These programs encompassed after-school clubs and activities to provide cultural enrichment and to stimulate children to greater academic motivation and achievement. Some of the informal activities were offered to adults and resulted in involving parents and neighborhood people in close relationship with the school. Many of the activities (photography, journalism, typing, printing, linotyping,

woodworking, basic electronics, sewing and cooking, etc.) provided prevocational experience and contributed to skill development.

Recreation Programs

The limited school physical education program was supplemented by after-school activities provided by the New Haven Department of Parks and Recreation. Activities ranged from team sports, swimming, physical fitness programs to arts and crafts and special hobby interests. Each inner city area had a recreation supervisor responsible for all age groups. The department also supervised the school pools and gymnasiums after school hours, weekends and vacations. The Department of Parks and Recreation funded the recreation programs.

Summer Programs

These programs were planned and coordinated mainly by Community School Personnel in conjunction with neighborhood groups who had Department of Community Affairs funds. In addition to summer programs administered by the seven Community School Coordinators, there were Park Department recreation and day camp programs, group work programs, tutorial and evening informal education activities and other programs either sponsored by neighborhood groups or coordinated through their planning committee.

Group Work

The group work program included one group worker

attached to each Community School. As the needs of "problem" students were analyzed, the group worker tried to provide a means of alleviating the problem.

The group work program provided a service for many of the young people having special problems of adjustment and behavior in school in relationships with their peers, and at home in the community that impeded their ability to learn. The program provided a service to prevent them from falling further behind in their academic achievement and to try to prevent them from developing anti-school and self-defeating attitudes. The following were some of the activities carried out by the group workers:

1. Trips in and out of the city, including cultural activities and those tied in with the objectives of the program.
2. Recruitment of work-study students to act as group leader aides. Thus, older youth could transpose their own problems by seeing what troubled the younger ones, and in helping them, help themselves.
3. Use of community school activities (clubs, black history, sewing, crafts, etc.) with group relations seminars as a bridge between black and white students.
4. Through the group context, use of discussion as a tool, aid or takeoff point with youngsters from other neighborhoods.

5. Use of tutoring programs to assist students troubled by academics.
6. Conferences between teachers, administrators and group worker involved with problem students.

Expansion

The extra-curricular teams that made up the Community School had the basic responsibility of developing community school programs, involving resident participation and coordinating the broad-based community programs. Teachers and the entire Community School staff were encouraged to support and take part in the total Community School Program.

Community School Programs functioned in each of the seven designated schools, but elements of the programs were developed in satellite schools in neighborhoods adjacent to the community schools.

Study clinics and tutoring centers, leisure-time activities, literacy programs, senior citizen programs, civic and social organization programs are operating in all community schools and in the two high schools.

The number of pupils enrolled in the community schools in November, 1963, were as follows:¹⁰

¹⁰ Lawrence Paquin, Superintendent, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963, mimeographed.

Table 1
Enrollment in Community Schools, 1963

<u>Schools</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Total</u>
Prince Street	146	293	71	510
Winchester	40	921	29	990
Bassett	55	550	5	610
Fair Haven	969	113	25	1,108
Sheridan	741	145	2	889
Troup	419	490	19	933
Conte	309	301	99	712

All public schools in New Haven subsequently became community schools. Under the new grade system there were three four-year high schools, charged with the functions of educating high school age youth, older youth, and adults, and providing civic, cultural and recreational programs for residents of surrounding neighborhoods.

To say that New Haven has been unusually successful may overstate the case. However, we can say that the Community School Programs, in spite of their many frustrations, have played a significant role in reshaping the educational needs in New Haven. As John Hersey pointed out, New Haven's Community Schools have, inevitably, become centers for education in a new sense--the youth of the schools-- when Mayor Richard C. Lee provided the thrust that can only come from a Mayor's office, as a focus for a mammoth attack for all the

city's social services on the problems of poverty. The only limits to the concept of the Community School are the imagination and courage we are willing to bring to it; however, Mr. Hersey is not too optimistic about its immediate contribution to the war on poverty. "To continue the war would be to thrive in the face of apparent failure for years, perhaps decades, perhaps generations. Yet still bearing in mind the alternative that must be fought."¹¹

Summary

In this introductory Chapter, the reader has been introduced to the events and circumstances which led to the acceptance and implementation of the community school concept in New Haven, and has traced the development of actual schools.

Chapter 2 will deal with the prototype of the Community School, the Flint, Michigan model, and the model Community School as it was designed for New Haven.

²¹John Hersey, Director, Community Council and United Fund, New Haven, Connecticut, 1964, mimeographed.

CHAPTER II

NEW HAVEN AND OTHER NATIONAL COMMUNITY SCHOOL MODELS: A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

INADEQUACY OF TRADITIONAL SCHOOLING

When Robert March was the first New Haven Community School Coordinator at Winchester public school back in the 1950's, his findings were that "the out-of-school and out-of-work youth problems were not too acute at that time because the economy after World War II still provided opportunities for workers with a minimum of education."¹ Today, however, millions of minority group youngsters are still not being educated, and out-of-school and out-of-work problems are becoming increasingly acute in our society. One interesting quotation from Robert March has penetrating importance in that "the first of all things I place education, certainly in the modern world he that lacks it is bound to be the slave of others."²

This, in essence, is why in the ghetto today many angry parents and community leaders want the right to shape new educational policies.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

¹Paul March, Community School Coordinator, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950, mimeographed, p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 5.

states concisely:

The record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. And the critical skills--verbal and reading ability--Black students are falling farther behind whites with each year of school completed. The high unemployment and underemployment rate for Black youth is evidence in part, of the growing educational crisis.³

A speech delivered by Dr. Ernest Melby of the National Community School Education Association is significant:

When I began to work on this problem, I had the notion that the only thing wrong with American Education was that in the slums the homes were bad and the housing was bad, and the community was bad, and that the only thing that would improve the home, improve the housing, improve the community, the school would go on about their business and all would be well. I now know better and no doubt you and I know that this education doesn't fit the American economy today--doesn't fit our technological society today much better than a 1914 Ford car would take the turnpike here in Florida; it is out of date; it is obsolete; it is obsolete because we are living in a society where people cannot contribute to the stability of the society without an education. This society has no use for uneducated people.⁴

But the Community School is no panacea:

But then, another thing, I am afraid you know is that we are going to get the notion, coming back to this idea of the frosting on the cake, that if you will just add a Community School, if you open it all night, if you have father and son basketball games, if you have a man in there running around with a bunch of keys to unlock the doors, if you have women there making some hats, if you have someone making little pottery, and everything of this kind, then somehow or another there is something mystical about this.⁵

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew writes in an article entitled

³ National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, U.S. Riot Commission Report, 1968, p. 425.

⁴ Ernest Melby, Member, National Community School Association, Miami, Florida, 1964, mimeographed, p. 2.

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

"The Failure of American Education" that "The education hiatus between Black and White Americans was alarming at any period in American History. Today it is a desperate situation."⁶

Dr. Ernest Melby emphasized the sense of urgency when he addressed the participants of a Minneapolis Community School Workshop two years ago:

Had our education given our white people (that is the middle class white) compassion, had this dedication given our affluent people a sense of oneness with their fellow men and a feeling of responsibility for their welfare, we would long ago have done something about the problems that now give us a crisis for which we have no sure solution.

The fact is our failure with the white middle class is more basic than our failure with the poor, though the reality is that, faced with the society that we now have, our total educational system from first grade to graduate school is obsolete.⁷

Dr. Melby said to the Minneapolis educators that he does not believe that we are going to permit America to become a rigid class society.

We are not going to have two Americans, one white and the other black, nor are we going to have a police state in which violent revolution by the poor is held in check by armed force. We are going to be one society with freedom and equal opportunity for black and white. We are going to replace the obsolete scholastic establishment of the past with a true education system, a system which maintains only schools that are for all, young and old--true Community Schools. We can call this system the education centered community--a community which makes education for all, the focus of its life.⁸

⁶Thomas F. Pettigrew, "The Failure of American Education," 1965, p. 26.

⁷Ernest Melby, Member, National Community School Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1970, mimeographed, p. 2.

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

The community school concept is a significant part of the new approach to education in the City of New Haven. The school is a major factor in the concept of the community. All through the formative years, it has been the arm of the community which affects youth most frequently and directly. Far too often it is a forbidden symbol of authority which calls in his parents mainly when a child is in trouble.

When the parent does answer the summons, he frequently recalls the insecurities of his own student-teacher relationships. Though teacher and parent are both concerned about the child, productive adult conversation may be difficult for both. The community school concept, officially accepted and endorsed by the New Haven Board of Education and implemented with the help of Ford Foundation Funds, breaks down the barrier between school and neighborhood. The board has made the community school an educational center, a neighborhood community center, a center for community services, and an important center of neighborhood or community life. Youth development project funds were used to develop the leisure time programs in most of these community schools as well as high schools and after school programs in study clinics and tutoring centers in the high schools and community schools.

VARYING DEFINITIONS OF THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Varying definitions of the Community School include the following:

1. An education institution--a place for children

and adults to study and learn.

2. A neighborhood community center--with programs of civic, recreational, cultural and sports scheduled for all ages and groups.
3. A community service center--where individuals and families may obtain health services, counseling, legal aid, employment services and the like.
4. A center of neighborhood life--an agency that will assist citizens in the study and the solution of significant neighborhood concerns.⁹

Also,

Analysis of authoritative descriptions of the operation of [community] schools. . . indicates certain common assumptions. Some kind and degree of school-community interaction is a characteristic of the programs. The role of education is seen to be more than intellectual training. The school is viewed as an agency for helping to give direction to community growth and improvement. Of necessity, the curriculum of the community school is flexible and changing in the light of community demands. Education is a total community concern, enlisting the services of all citizens as they are needed and can contribute.¹⁰

Thus the community school has two emphases: service to the community and use of community resources to improve all aspects of living in the community (community usually

⁹Ralph Goglia, Director, Community Schools, New Haven, Connecticut, 1962, mimeographed.

¹⁰Hanna, Paul R. and Naslund, Robert A., "The Community School Defined," in Henry, Nelson (ed.), The Fifty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 51.

being defined as the persons living within the boundaries of the school district or within the sphere of influence of the school).

Implications of the above definition include:

1) The community school is a force which is to be used to confront real, here and now problems within the community.

2) The school is to be used to improve the living conditions of the entire community.

3) The curriculum is oriented to the needs and problems of the population it serves.

4) The community school serves all within the community and provides a meeting place for youth and adults to work together. It serves as a unifying force within the community.

And, in terms of the theoretical functions it serves,

Community education has the potential to improve man's way of life. It is believed that community education has the power to:

Bring about a rebirth of people's faith in themselves and in society--to replace resignation with hope.

Help people overcome such barriers to social progress as bigotry, prejudice, indifference, and intolerance.

Establish unity of purpose on the part of people in the community.

Relate appropriately the efforts of the home, the school, and the community in the development of each individual.

Neutralize the fragmenting influences in the community.

Help people gain maximum return on their common investment in school buildings and facilities.

Bring about a united front for the solution of serious social problems.

In a broader sense, it is believed that community education has the power to:

Develop a philosophy of education that will have maximum potential to fulfill human needs.

Put democratic principle to work in meeting human and community needs.

Call forth the creative productivity of human beings.

Foster social self-realization.

Establish realistic values in education.

Clarify the role of education in crisis.

Redirect the course of teacher preparation.

Introduce useful innovations in the educative process.

Bring about peaceful world civilization.¹¹

In summarizing its study of the characteristics of community schools, the National Conference of Professors of Education Administration offered the following:

1. The community school seeks to operate continuously as an important unit in the family of agencies serving the common purpose of improving community living.

2. The community school shares with citizens continuing responsibility for the identification of community needs and the development of subsequent action programs to meet these needs.

3. The community school begins its responsibility to better living with the immediate school environment.

¹¹Totten, W. Fred, The Power of Community Education, Midland, Michigan; Pendell Publishing Company, 1970, pp. 11-12.

4. The curriculum of the community school is sufficiently comprehensive and flexible to facilitate the realization of its purpose.

5. The Community school program is dynamic, constantly changing to meet emerging community needs.

6. The community school makes full use of all community resources for learning experiences.

7. The community school develops and uses distinctive types of teaching materials.

8. The community school shares with other agencies the responsibility for providing opportunities for appropriate learning experiences for all members of the community.

9. The community school recognizes improvement in social and community relations behavior as an indication of individual growth and development.

10. The community school develops continuous evaluation in terms of the quality of living for pupils, teachers, and administrators; for the total school program; and for the community.

11. The pupil personnel services of the community school are cooperatively developed in relation to community needs.

12. The community school secures staff personnel properly prepared to contribute to the distinctive objectives of the school, facilitates effective work and continuous professional growth by members of the staff, and maintains only those personnel policies which are consistent with the

school's purposes.

13. The community school maintains democratic pupil-teacher-administrator relationships.

14. The community school creates, and operates in, a situation where there is high expectancy of what good schools can do to improve community living.

15. The community school buildings, equipment, and grounds are so designed, constructed, and used as to make it possible to provide for children, youth and adults those experiences in community living which are not adequately provided by agencies other than the school.

16. The community school budget is the financial plan for translating into reality the educational program which the school board, staff members, students, and other citizens have agreed upon as desirable for their community.¹²

One of the most interesting studies made on the community school occurred at the Community School Workshop in Baltimore, Maryland, November, 1967, when many national community school administrators and other outstanding authorities met to confer and exchange experiences. Several spokesmen made mention of the kind of dialogue that was not taking place in some areas, yet, they felt that the paramount function was that there should be some dialogue with all segments of the community. The second function was that the

¹²National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, Madison, Wisconsin, 1948, in Olsen, Edward G. (ed.), School and Community Programs, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, pp. XIII-XIV.

community school should become a community center, a settlement house, and a place where many interesting things are taking place, including the cultural arts, recreation, hobbies, forums, adult education, an extended day care center, and a real center for neighborhood and community life. The third was that the community school should become a real focal point for social services, not that the school takes the place of all the social work agencies in the community or that it become a monolithic organization, but rather that the school becomes concerned with the services that are needed in the community, plays a key role in seeing that people are meeting and discussing these needs and services, and tries to bring these services to bear on the citizens of the community. A Community School is defined only by the neighborhood it serves. The concept is flexible and adaptable: it allows varying definitions.

DIRECTIONS TAKEN BY COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

Programs that have used the name "Community School" vary considerably in scope, depth and intensity. It is common knowledge that although some communities have excellent community programs in the public schools operating in conformity with the Park-Recreation Departments, adult education or with other established organizations like the boy scouts and girl scouts, there is no real endeavor on the part of some school administrations or citizens to integrate these activities in the total school program.

These people claim that all the resources of schools should be used to operate good educational programs during the regular school day and do not attempt to use the schools to expand community participation.

In some schools para-professionals, community relation workers, and teacher aides who are indigenous to the neighborhood in which the school is located have been used to bring the school closer to the community and the community closer to the school. Many interesting and worthwhile programs have been initiated in which people are tutored by neighborhood residents, community citizens are encouraged to participate in school programs, and classes are offered in a variety of interesting educational programs.¹³ However, in this category no attempt is made to relate the regular school day program with an extended day program. The emphasis is on pupils being served during the regular school day.

And while there are some community schools that are open twelve months during the year, seven days each week, and approximately fourteen hours each day, these schools are often merely centers for community education where education and living meet. John Hersey, in the 1964 edition of "The American Scholar," writes as follows: "education that unfolds young and old alike and is no longer merely a path to adult citizenship but rather a forging and shaping and

¹³Ralph Goglia, Director, Community Schools, New Haven, Connecticut, 1964, mimeographed.

of life itself in the various processes of its being lived."¹⁴ Schools in this category have administrators or community school directors who are trained in planning and supervising a diversity of school programs and integrating the regular school with the extended day school into one community school.

In the Bundy Report of the community school in New York City entitled "Reconnection for Learning," the community centered school as it is used in that study differs from the traditional public school in that it shares power in the community that it serves.¹⁵ Attempts are being made to define and identify those powers that belong exclusively to the local community, those that belong exclusively to the professional, and those that should be shared. A community centered school in this sense may include many of the programs alluded to, but the important questions it endeavors to answer are: Who controls the schools our children attend? Who should control them? What is the appropriate relationship between the school and the surrounding community?

In order to meet the objectives of community education, community schools program many and varied activities, ideally as a result of a clear sounding of community needs and interests. In Figure 2:1 some of the activities possible are

¹⁴John Hersey, "American Scholar," Director, Community Council and United Fund, New Haven, Connecticut, 1964, p. 23.

¹⁵Mayors Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, The Bundy Report, Reconnection For Learning; New York, Praeger Publishing Company, 1969.

arranged in order of abstraction, showing the wide range of possible programs occurring within the community school.

EFFECTIVE TEACHING USES ALL LEARNING RESOURCES

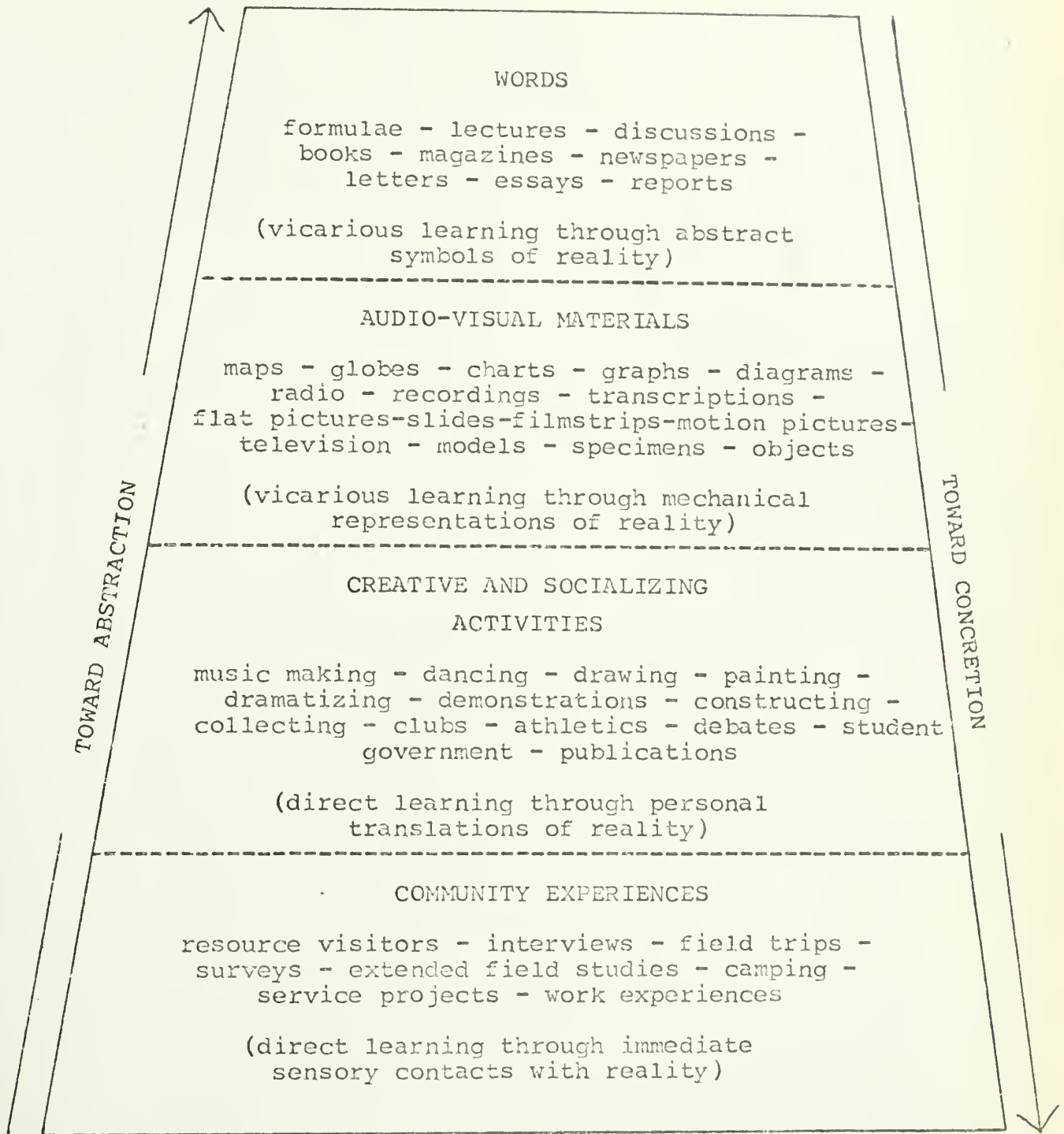


Figure 2:1

DIRECT EXPERIENCE GIVES REALITY TO EDUCATION¹⁶

¹⁶Olsen, Edward (ed.), School and Community Programs, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, p. VIII.

In the preceding section, the community school has been defined in terms of theoretical goals and programs. In the remainder of this section, two community school models, that of the pioneering community schools, the Flint, Michigan Community Schools, and that of the Community Schools of New Haven, Connecticut, will be looked at in detail.

THE FLINT, MICHIGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

Development

Frank Manley, the innovator of the Community School in Flint, Michigan, has been credited with the creativity and energy that spurred the implementation of the community education throughout the United States. In the early 1930's, it was he who first saw the school buildings of Flint standing idle during evenings, weekends and summers, while at the same time people in the city had few places to go for recreation, no educational experiences offered them, and no sense of community. Why not, he thought, open the school buildings and offer programs for everyone? Frank Manley wanted to remove the walls from around the schoolhouses. He took his idea to Charles Stuart Mott, a community-minded millionaire and foundation head in Flint who saw himself and the work of his foundation as a catalyst to bring together private, quasi-public and public institutions in an effort to unite the community. Manley secured the support of Mott, and in 1935 the community education concept became a reality with five schools in Flint, Michigan. In the early years, the

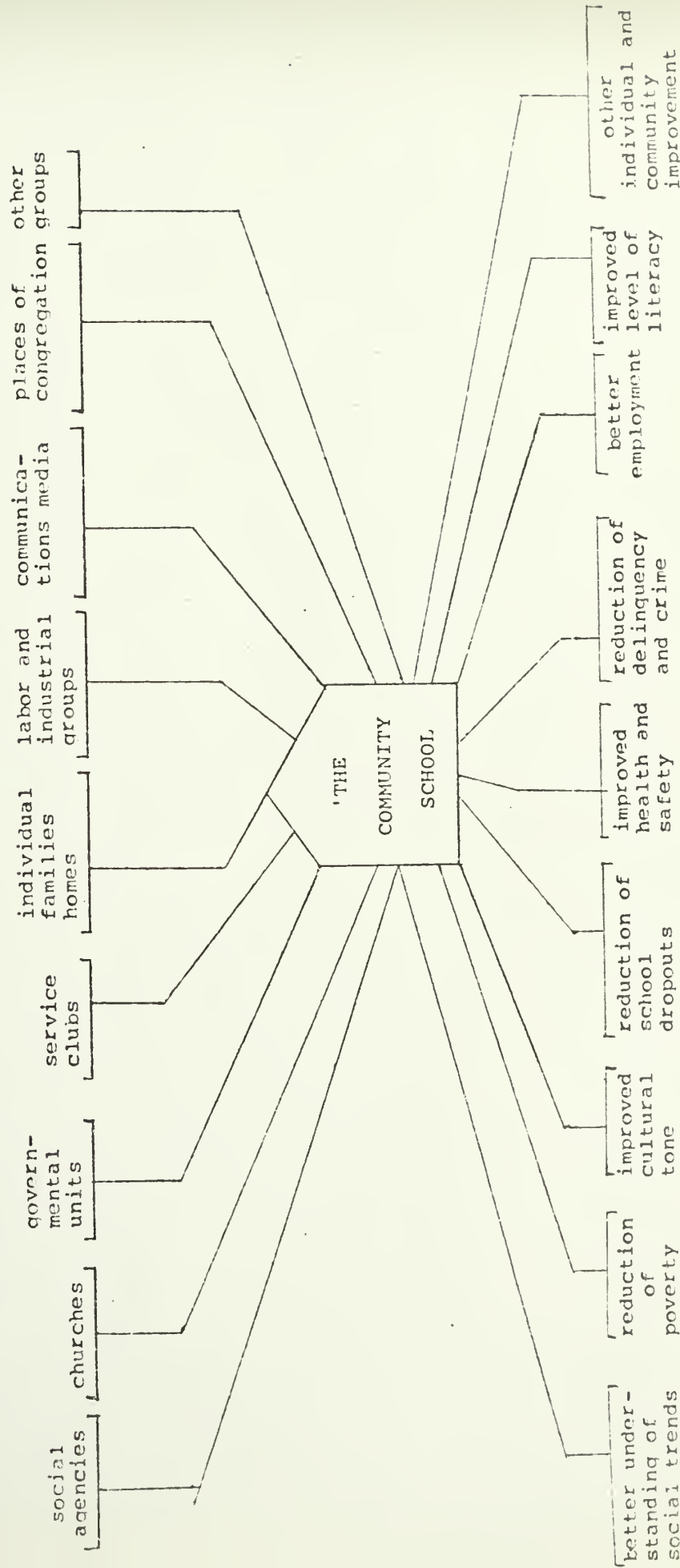
proponents of community education had few defined goals and spent much effort in hit-and-miss programming. The importance of reaching everyone--pre-schoolers to old-timers--in the community, and the necessity for tapping community resources and leadership were not realized, and, according to Frank Manley,¹⁷ the first ten years were frustrating, stressful, and something less than successful. At first there was much conflict with other agencies like the YMCA and City Recreation Department. The Community Schools were afraid of being overshadowed by other agencies, and the other agencies were afraid of being swallowed by the Community Schools. Competition, rather than cooperation, precipitated general ineffectiveness. Only after the early 1940's, when the agencies began to realize their common purposes, did their relationships begin to be characterized by cooperation. Since that time, every service agency outside the Community School but working in cooperation with it--Red Leather, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, etc.--has become many times stronger, as have the churches, the City Recreation Department, industrial and business agencies, and other groups, including the police. Since the mid-forties, all these agencies have been working with and through the Community Schools to make Flint, Michigan an involved, concerned and progressive city. (See Figure 2:2).

In the Flint model, the Community Schools are seen

¹⁷Manley, Frank, Executive Director, Mott Foundation, Flint, Michigan, 1967, mimeographed.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Contributing Agencies, Organizations, Places, and Persons



Anticipated Outcomes Relative to People and/or the Community

Figure 2:2 THE SCHOOL - A CATALYTIC AGENT¹⁹

¹⁹Totten, W. Fred, The Power of Community Education, Midland, Michigan: Pendell Publishing Company, 1970, p. 4.

as meeting places, offering a means for people to get organized, to bring together different factions in the community in an effort to identify and meet common concerns. The tasks, according to Frank Manley,¹⁸ are to 1) get people in contact with each other is of primary importance. To do this, the school offers anything they will come for--bridge tournaments, fly-casting contests, roller-derbies, etc.; 2) get them interested; 3) get them involved; and 4) establish links to the community to create an informed public. Only with an informed and active public can the great possibilities of democracy be realized. The Flint Community Schools operated to combat the four I's that prevent truly democratic action:

1. Ignorance: the ignorance of the haters, the extreme radicals who hurt themselves by remaining ignorant of the perceptions of others.
2. Indifference: especially that of teachers who are indifferent to the real purpose of education and to the needs of children, and of people who are indifferent to the community around them--those who feel they are good citizens as long as they pay their bills and mind their own business. They are not aware of their own social milieu.
3. Inertia: the inability to get started; the lethargy that dooms so many worthwhile projects.
4. Intolerance: that of all or any differences--social, religious, etc.

Since the beginning with five schools in 1935, the community education concept in Flint has evolved to include every public school, each elementary, junior-high school and

¹⁸ Manley, op. cit.

high school serving all the people of its respective community, with anticipated outcomes including better understanding of social trends, reduction of poverty, improved cultural tone, reduction of school dropouts, improved health and safety, reduction of crime and delinquency, better employment, improved level of literacy, and other individual and community improvement. (See Figure 2:2.)

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO MEET SOCIAL NEEDS

Community Schools should, in theory, assist in meeting pressing social needs. Four areas in particular in which programs in Flint schools have had impact are delinquency, dropouts, poverty and racial segregation.²⁰ Examples of programs in each area follow:

I. The prevention and control of delinquency.

A. Related home, parent and family programs.

1. The home-school counselor, a community resident, assists parents in meeting children's needs.
2. Adult retraining programs are used to help parents meet their personal and family needs.
3. Family unity is enhanced in recreational, social and cultural situations: father-son and mother-daughter activities, pot-luck suppers, family dramatics, etc.
4. Understanding of children and teenagers is fostered through discussion groups for parents.

B. Related community efforts.

1. Community school personnel work with other

²⁰Totten, W. Fred, The Power of Community Education, Midland, Michigan: Pendell Publishing Company, 1970.

community organizations to bring about mutual understanding and coordinated efforts.

2. Community School Council helps identify potential leaders and potential problems.
3. Community Schools can influence governmental regulations and arouse people to take action to improve community conditions.
4. Police counselors, appointed by the police department from its regular staff, become regular members of high school counseling staffs, and thus serve as liaisons between the child and his school and home.

C. Health as a factor. Both the physical and the mental health of the community is considered basic to the accomplishment of all community school goals.

1. Supplemental feedings, especially in the form of a school breakfast program, provide better nourishment for children. In addition, mothers are expected to take their turn at preparing and serving the breakfast; thus, the importance of a nourishing breakfast is conveyed to the home.
2. Health-guarding services are provided to correct physical defects which can be corrected, and provide recommended immunizations and proper nourishment. Health centers, dental centers, and adequate psychological and psychiatric services are provided.
3. Special orthopedic services, programs for the mentally handicapped, and programs for gifted children are provided.
4. The community school makes available sound adult health programs, including psychiatric services, Alcoholics Anonymous, Recovery, Incorporated and other services.
5. Emotional and physical health are promoted through adult courses and activities of artistic, recreational, social and academic natures.

D. Programs and activities for children, in addition to the regular day program.

1. Free play and organized games are provided in gymnasium and on school grounds.
 2. Summer athletics and activities, including baseball, olympic-type games, tot-lot programs, tours, trips, swimming, day camp, overnight camping, etc. are provided.
 3. The Junior Police Program encourages fourth through sixth-grade boys to learn about protective services and provide such services to their schools.
- E. Programs and activities for teenagers, in addition to those cited above.
1. Work-experience programs provide both jobs and man-hours to meet community needs.
 2. Teen traffic courts and safety councils encourage responsibility.
 3. Teen clubs provide social and recreational outlets.
 4. The drop-in center for teenagers provides a place for teens to discuss their problems with a community counselor.
 5. The counseling team of each junior high and high school, comprised of the dean of students, the dean of counseling, the community services director, the nurse counselor, the police counselor, and the home counselor work with individuals and groups to prevent and control delinquency.

II. The reduction of school dropouts, with an emphasis on adult leadership.

- A. The community school provides an outlet for each child's creative nature.
- B. The community school attempts to adjust the curriculum to the needs and interests of the individual learner.
- C. The community school extends its classrooms to include the entire community. Adults attend the

school; and education occurs outside the walls of the school.

- D. The community school works with parents in an effort to affect parental attitudes toward schools.
- E. Well-baby clinics and pre-school experiences provide necessary services for building positive school experiences among the very young.
- F. Specific programs are designed to reduce the dropout rate, or are successful in helping students remain in school.
 - 1. Better Tomorrow for Urban Youth (BTU) includes reduced pupil-teacher ratios, special services and equipment, health services, testing programs, extra help with reading, and extensive individual attention.
 - 2. The Police Counselor encourages students to remain in school.
 - 3. Personalized Curriculum Program (PCP) provides personal programming for youth who have left or are considering leaving school, with an emphasis on job training.
 - 4. Job placement creates strong motivations for students to remain in school.
 - 5. Tutoring of younger students by older ones encourages both to remain in school.
 - 6. A Later Elementary Assistance Program (LEAP) provides academic assistance for older elementary students.
 - 7. Night high school and scholarship assistance afford dropouts another means of returning to the classroom.
 - 8. Parent-child groups encourage families to work and play together during the regular school day.
 - 9. The Big Brother Program gives fatherless boys the adult, male association that so often proves essential in the boy's character development.

10. The Bachelors Club teaches boys who must fend for themselves the essentials of proper diet and meal planning and preparation. With proper nourishment, these boys have a greater chance for success in school.

III. The reduction of poverty, with emphasis on building ambition and hope through better education and job training.

A. The community school avoids the handout procedure by providing people with the means to improve themselves.

1. Classes in home economics are provided.

2. Cooking and laundry equipment are maintained within the school building, with people being taught how to use them to best advantage.

B. The home-school counselor goes into homes to work directly with individuals in their home surroundings.

C. Home repair and maintenance are taught, and equipment provided on loan from the school. Community resources are rallied to assist individuals in need of maintenance and repair.

D. The community schools maintain programs relating to sound health practices, and offers referrals to various health facilities.

E. Retraining and income-producing hobby programs are provided.

IV. Impact on racial segregation, with the emphasis on increasing understanding among all people.

A. The community school offers programs which bring

- people in contact with one another. All persons are actively recruited and welcomed.
- B. Planning committees, arranged by the Community School Council, are comprised of cross-sections of the community.
 - C. The Urban League works with the Community Schools on programs of joint responsibility, including fact-finding studies in housing, guidance programs, etc.
 - D. Urban renewal is a major consideration of the community school.
 - E. Activities in all school programs are inter-racial.

Administration

In every Community School in Flint, great emphasis is placed upon leadership, not on certification or on degrees, but on the natural, evolving leadership present at all levels and among all groups. Though it is obvious that some professionals--educational, medical, social, business--are necessary, leadership is by no means confined to them. Leaders emerge from the community.

In Flint, each Community School is administered by a principal (academic or instructional) with responsibility for the day school and academic programming, and who traditional credentials, and a Community School Director, with responsibility for all programs in addition to the regular day school and who does not necessarily possess

traditional academic credentials, and the Community School Advisory Council, comprised of a cross-section of the community. Home counselors, police counselors, nurse counselors, etc. work through and with each of the administrative arms.

The New Haven Community Schools

In New Haven in 1962, education was no longer considered the exclusive province of educators. Problems confronted within the inner-city--school for example--were too diverse and complex to be handled in a limited sphere. All the professions dealing with the area of human relations and development, as well as parents and inner-city neighborhood groups, were viewed as integral parts of this total educational complex. Social work, and specifically the social work method as one of the number of professional bodies, had a prime responsibility--the utilization of its knowledge and skills to support and supplement not only the concerns and objectives of the community at large. In essence, it may be said that educators, as well as other professionals or non-professionals, realized many common ideas and concerns. Consequently, the focus evolved around effective use of different knowledge and skill toward a competent and mutual goal of individual development and quality education.

In New Haven the Community Schools were realized in the middle schools, those comprising grades 5, 6, 7 and 8, which were strategically located and, it was hoped, would

have the most advantageous reach and racial balance (see Appendix B).

As for the administration of the community school program in New Haven (Table 2:1), they started out in 1963 by having a ten-month Principal and one twelve-month Assistant Principal of the Community School, or a Community School Coordinator. The Assistant Principal, according to Connecticut law, was that person who could use the designation because he was certified by the State Board of Education to be an administrator.

In addition, a Community School Director or Coordinator could be anyone with five years' teaching experience or with experience in the Redevelopment Agency or in social work. Administrative certification was not necessary.

In 1964, it was decided that Community School principals, previously contracted for ten months, would become twelve-month employees, with responsibility for the entire Community School. Under each Community School principal were named two twelve month Assistant Principals, one Assistant Principal-Instruction (certified) and one Assistant Principal-Community School Coordinator (not necessarily certified). In practice, the functions of the two Assistant Principals were frequently exchanged, and both positions began to serve as training grounds for Community School Principals. Thus developed a significant team approach in the administration of New Haven's Community Schools. Whereas the Assistant Principal of Instruction was formally in charge of the

academic phase of all programs and the Assistant Principal of Community Schools was formally responsible for the social phase, the emphasis was on sharing rather than on rigidly defined separate roles. In Flint, the separate functions of the day school (academic) and the community school (extra-curricular) are more obvious. Flint's Community School programs function, administratively, more or less separately from the traditional program.

In addition to the emphasis on sharing is another emphasis on decentralization, to allow and encourage decision-making at the very lowest possible level. The concern is to create a climate that fosters fluid communication and closes the traditional gaps that exist between administrators and their subordinates. Administrators attend Council meetings and meetings of citizen action groups, not to lead, but to provide inputs, in terms both of information and of professional opinion, when requested, and to learn about community concerns and the various positions presented.

The team approach in New Haven is designed to insure that "the curriculum represents all the activities engaged in by pupils, teachers, supervisors, parents and others that are in any way affected by study in and through the school."²¹

To accomplish this end, New Haven, like Flint, also emphasizes involvement. In one situation,

²¹Di Nello, Pasquale, Assistant Principal-Instruction, New Haven, Connecticut, 1967, mimeographed.

the present team inherited a school which had a very poor image of the community, a divided staff with low morale, a student body that had hostile feelings toward the school, and a conglomeration of books with no sequential pattern.²²

With that gluey picture in mind, the staff, led by their principal, George Harris, began a systematic attack on the above point. In order to get parents to come to school, they had to quickly initiate some new programs, such as Spanish-America month, a limited educational sex program for the 5th and 6th graders, a cold lunch program for the children who live so far away as to make them late almost every day, and a Black History program. The administration made a point of going to the neighborhood every day to meet the store keepers and businessmen who also came in daily contact with the students in the area. The administrators also encouraged the teachers to walk through the neighborhoods with their classes in order to get a better understanding of the community they were serving.

As a result of the increased communication that developed, the parents began to come to school, not many at first, but it was a beginning. At an informal conference between parents and administrators, the parents expressed a willingness to become involved but reluctant to express themselves for fear that they might be embarrassed because of their lack of education. After that conference, a follow-up meeting was held, at which it was emphasized to the parents that it

²² Ibid.

was important that they make their feelings known without being concerned about their choice of words. The administration expressed its appreciation to the parents for their sincerity and frankness and encouraged them to continue a more active role in the education of their children. Having overcome that obstacle, the parents did in fact seek greater exposure to educational problems. This was manifested widely by their participation in selecting paint colors for the gym, selecting playground equipment, through more sophisticated areas--such as serving on the parent-teacher committee, dealing with and selecting multi-ethnic books.

Another aspect of the team approach--and here again the team approach is emphasized--is its responsibility to work hand in hand with neighborhood residents--be they high school youngsters or older adults. The focus is that of investigating and evaluating the desirability and the effectiveness of the existing programs in addition to making recommendations for the advent for new programs to meet unmet needs. This point became increasingly important in New Haven in view of the attempt to revive inner-city residents with a meaningful voice so that they might effect their own destiny. In this light, it became increasingly clear that true citizen participation is an essential cornerstone of the community school concept, in that neighborhood people should have power--power to demand as well as to participate in the decision-making process.

To facilitate this process, each community school

has established a basic leisure time planning staff team, consisting of the Community School Coordinator, the Assistant Principal who represents the Principal of the School, CPI neighborhood coordinator, Park Department Recreation Supervisor, and the Group Work Supervisor from the Voluntary Agency serving the neighborhood. The Community School Coordinator assumes leadership in bringing members of the team together for planning. The team has a responsibility for developing plans which encourage resident participation in planning the future leisure time activities and designing of community center programs to serve various segments of the neighborhoods.

In order to achieve a feedback between the educational programs and other programs that are carried out in the community school, teachers and the entire community school staff are always encouraged to view the various services and programs that are coordinated with a single purpose, that of providing more adequate and better integrated services to the school population--pre-school, regular school and adult.

The important work was begun in 1962-1963 in the inner city schools of New Haven, both as a result of a Ford Foundation Grant and the part of on-going work that responsible administrators carry forward in a school system.

A Programming Example: Academic Assistance

New Haven Community Schools offer as varied a program of activities and experiences as do those in Flint. The area of academic assistance offers one example: many inner-

city students do poorly in school because they have never been trained in good habits. Their home situation is often non-conducive to quiet concentration, and in the past, the schools have not taken the initiative to provide both the necessary place and training in good study techniques. The students themselves recognize their need for help, as witnessed by the fact that 171 signed for voluntary courses entitled "Learning how to study" offered in the 1964 summer school program.

Tutoring clinics and study centers have been opened from 7:00 to 9:00 in the evening, two nights a week, at each senior high school. In addition, seven community schools have tutoring programs in operation during afternoon and evening hours. Help is offered to students on an individual basis at first, and some are eventually handled in small groups. Space is also available for those who need only a quiet place to study without special help. The programs are directed by competent teachers and assisted by volunteers from the community; Yale University, Southern Connecticut State College, Albertus Magnus College, and high school students. Students are referred to the programs by guidance counselors or they come on their own. Attendance is voluntary. As of April 15, 1964, 1,235 pupils were enrolled and the staff consisted of 81 part-time paid instructors and 240 volunteers.

In recent years, the need for community school councils has been paramount. Most of the schools in the United States represent only one kind of institution where education takes place, but children also learn through their daily experiences at home and their community. Both the people employed in the school system and those outside the schools who are concerned with the rearing of children must be made aware of all these forces which work to educate children. This awareness and understanding can be brought about through continuous two-way communication between the people in the community and the school that serves them.

School-Community Councils can provide the means to bring about this needed exchange of information, ideas and opinions. Formations of Community-School Councils in New Haven represented the beginning of a systematic and effective means of learning from one another. Merely establishing the councils for each school in the city, (not only for designated Community Schools) did not solve all of the educational problems, but if undertaken with earnestness and mutual trust, the councils can and do provide an opportunity for people who are concerned to work together toward resolving their problem.

In order to establish two-way communication, the first function of the School-Community Council, as conceived in New Haven, is to listen to the viewpoints and concerns of people in all areas of the school community. People's needs in the fields of health, human relations, education,

recreation, and well-being are all important in determining the manner and content of school programs. The council can also provide an effective way for the school to communicate its views and concerns to the community. Each school-Community council can play a real and very important part in the educational system by advising on questions that arise and on courses of action to be considered. Certainly in matters where community experiences are most substantial, the councils can expect to play a major part.

The all important function of each school-community council is to consult with and advise each school's principal on all matters of mutual interest. The principal remains responsible for the entire operation of his school (much as a captain is responsible for his ship); however, the principal is obligated to bring most school matters to his school council for discussion. He is also obligated to take the council's view seriously into account when making decisions.

Following the initial election by the community at large, councils have become self-regulating by establishing by-laws for their own governance. These by-laws must be compatible with Federal, State, and City Statute. It is expected that the materials here which deal with membership, terms of office, filling of vacancies, officers and standing committees will have been incorporated in the by-laws. When the by-laws for each school council were adopted, they were reviewed by the Assistant Superintendent of Supportive Services to make certain that they were in accord with the

requirements placed on the councils. The council then operated under these rules until such time that the council felt that a revision was needed in order to better affect community needs and experiences.

Individually, council members have an obligation to be in close contact with the people in the area they were elected to represent. They must pass along appropriate information from the council, and they must actively solicit the concerns of all the people they represent in order to express their views effectively at council meetings.

In an attempt to insure that everyone be heard, council meetings are announced in advance and open to the public. Meetings are conducted in accord with the council's by-laws. Minutes of each meeting must be kept and made available to the public on request.

Finally, authority for most areas of school policy rests with the city-wide Board of Education, not only because state laws face the responsibility for management of the school system on the Board, but to secure considerable advantages in: maintaining city-wide standards, cooperating services, promoting economic efficiency, and providing guidance and trained personnel experience in the various fields of education.

It is the policy of each school-community council to adhere to requirements set by state law and city statute; honor the city's obligation as stated in the various labor contracts with other contracts to which the city is a

partner; and work within the policy framework established by the Board of Education.

If School Councils find the law on a board policy unworkable or unacceptable, that council may present a recommendation that changes be considered.

Membership of the councils may be composed of certain categories of people in the community. These categories include school system employees, community adults, and a category of students (in schools where they are eligible for membership). The topic on election which follows explains how representatives are chosen for these categories.

There is just one general restriction on eligibility for election to represent any category listed: a person may be a member of only one school-community at a time.

The structure proposed for the council is as follows: elementary schools (excluding community schools and schools with eight grades): six adults living in, and elected by, the several geographical areas served by the school--a majority of these adults must be parents of students enrolled in the school; three teachers on the school's staff; one civil service employee of the school staff (a custodian or a clerk); a para-professional on the school staff; and the principal, ex-official.

In the elementary (K-8) and community schools the Council consists of: eight adults living in, and elected by, the several geographical areas served by the school--a majority of the adults must be parents of students enrolled in

the school; six teachers on the school's staff; six students currently enrolled in the school--the students in middle schools and K-8 schools have membership on the council; two civil service employees on the school staff (one to be a custodian and the other a clerk); one para-professional on the school staff; the principal, ex officio; up to two other administrators on the school staff (to be non-voting members of the council). The variation in the high school gives them twelve adults living in and increases the ratio of other persons to comprise relatively proportional membership.

Each council controls a specified amount of money (not a part of the regular school budget). These funds are to be used for projects or programs of special concern to the school. The amount of money allotted is determined on the basis of student enrollment figures for each school and is included in the Board of Education budget proposal.

The principal is an ex officio member of the school's council and of each of its standing committees. In schools where allowance is made for other administrators of the council, they, like the principal, are non-voting members.

The school system's administration is convinced that much can be accomplished to make the structure of education fit student needs today and tomorrow. This can only be done through involving all the people affected by the school system in a continuing two-way dialogue on shared concerns. A great deal of time and effort has been devoted to consideration of how to involve the people with the school itself.

The School-Community Council has been determined to be the best means of bringing about this involvement. The resource of the school system, as well as the resources and personnel community organizations dedicated to this same concept, stand ready to help any new council organization. The council is a living and growing organization adapting their by-laws and operations to meet needs as they develop through experiences. Each council is evaluated continuously to determine and perform the valuable services that it has the potential for, as service to both community and school. The Assistant Superintendent of Supportive Services appraises council operations and renders assistance to any council upon request.

The Community-School Council functions for the purpose of integrating the program that goes on in all the various segments of the schools.

Each Community-School Council develops its own organization and appoints its own chairman. It is not uncommon for the school Principal or the Community Services Director to serve as chairman. However, the chairman might be a lay person or even an older youth. Minutes are kept by a designated secretary and reports are made to all groups through their representative as well as to the school staff through the Principal or Community Service Director. The Community School Council meets as often as necessary to accomplish its required work.

Some of the normal functions of the community school

council are to reduce schedules in order to facilitate assignments and make adjustments; to hear reports from groups and help integrate the various programs for the maximum benefit of all concerned; to review general school reports and discuss the implementation of the various recommendations; and to consider requests for the sponsoring of community events or projects by a single organization or a group organization. Some suggestions made by the Principal, Community Services Director, or other staff members for total school improvement could be referred to the community school council for study. The council might also form working committees to arrange transportation for field trips, to recommend the expenditure of funds for furnishing of school equipment, and to consider projects such as community social events and fund-raising affairs. The Community School Council, as a unit, is the sponsor of certain recreational, educational, social, or money-making events. It serves as a clearinghouse for the expenditure of funds raised by the different organizations and groups; works out the procedure for unified effort on projects for community improvement; and plans for the further development of school grounds or for building modifications that are needed. The council explores the health and safety aspects of the community as a whole and plans cooperatively with established official agencies for the elimination of health and safety hazards. It works diligently toward establishing procedures that have a positive effect on relating selected experiences with

a required day school curriculum.

The Community School Council operates on a thoroughly democratic basis. Decisions arrived at by consensus are invariably more universally acceptable, and consensus is an ideal toward which each council works. When impossible, majority rule determines decisions. Each member of the council has equal voice.

Social Group Work

Undoubtedly, one of the unique aspects of the community school concept is the intermeshing of various disciplines for the purpose of carrying out special programs and involving neighborhood residents. Social group work, for instance, as a method of the social work profession, plays a significant role in its constant use of the group experience in helping people develop their capacity for successfully functioning in our society. Ducella Ponipka in her article entitled "Group Work, a Heritage and Challenge" states that the most helpful contribution social group work can make in respect to our community school neighborhoods is that

Social groups can fulfill two basic needs that are inherent in the individual, as well as in the community of individuals, the other needs for belonging and contributing. The need for belonging rates with the individual dependency and strength he draws from having roots. The need to contribute relates to the individual's need for feeling important or being somebody in the community.²³

As a result of that type of focus in New Haven, program activities, such as discussions, arts and crafts, and role playing, are used as a tool within the reality

context of the group for the attainment of such desirable social goals. In light of the extent and complexities of inner-city problems, the social group worker must be selective in terms of accomplishing or establishing a list of priorities for services within the community. This task is carried out with the cooperation of the community school's team which consists of the principal, the assistant principal, recreation supervisor, social group worker supervisor, and the coordinator of community services who is an employee of the local community action program. The significant aspect of the team approach is inherent in its structural make-up inasmuch as it allows for the identification and exploration of salient problems from the perspective of five different people. Thus, if nothing else, a multitude of resources can be brought to bear in order to ameliorate or correct problems of urgent concern.

A logical question one might ask concerns itself with the role of the social group work supervisor, especially in light of the extent to which he had to spread himself in dealing with a variety of social problems. The role of the social group work supervisor, as well as the role of the school administrators, is no longer determined by the traditional approaches to problem-solving. The social group work supervisor and his role as related to the community school concept tend to concentrate on those problems which cannot or have not been met by the regular classroom procedures, or recreational or leisure-time activities as well as services

provided by traditional social agencies. In its simplest form, then, one might characterize the role of the social group work supervisor into three parts: direct service, consultation, and assistance to an initiation of community group programs under other auspices. These three parts are quite inclusive in that they cover the entire gamut ranging from the direct leadership of a group to supervising and training indigent people to work with neighborhood problems.

Summary

All the functions of the Community Schools in New Haven are directed toward what George Harris, one time principal of the Prince School, termed "human renewal." He saw his role as principal to be predominantly that of a determiner of the needs of the community, and he worked through the purpose of the Community School program, the program itself, and the changes brought about by it. To provide such renewal all community residents, especially those formerly dispossessed and powerless, must be brought into positions of influence and power. In New Haven, the Community School acts as the focal point of the neighborhood, existing for the people and as a vehicle of their involvement in community concerns. The Community School stands ready to get into controversial problems, to take stands, and to motivate action. The real issue, as Alphonse Tindall has pointed out, is one of power, which can be seen and felt when a group is given the opportunity to shape its own

destiny.²⁴ The Community Schools of New Haven are in the business of giving community residents the power to shape their own destiny.

This Chapter has presented general definitions of Community Schools, an overview of the pioneering Community School concept as realized in Flint, Michigan, and an explication of the Community School concept as it developed in New Haven. Chapter Three presents the rationale for the author's belief that a concern with the mental health of the community needs to be the primary concern of Community Schools.

²⁴Alphonso Tindall, Executive Director, Dixwell Community House, New Haven, Connecticut, 1967.

CHAPTER III

AN EXCURSION INTO THE FIELD OF MENTAL HEALTH

This author, through his experiences in traditional schools, community schools, and an institution for the mentally handicapped, has come to the conclusion that no school can effectively meet the mental health needs of children without extensive professional assistance and proper training of school personnel. Community Schools purport to serve health, both physical and mental, needs, and usually provide nurses, home economists, counselors of varying descriptions, psychologists and psychiatrists. It is this author's informed opinion that these services must be the primary concern and function of the Community School. If the children of the community are not mentally healthy, it is ludicrous to expect a healthy community.

The following excursion into the field of mental health is therefore included here as a rationale for this author's emphasis on the importance of adequate mental health services in Community Schools.

The entire field of mental health in children is one of enormous complexity and widespread disagreement among the professionals associated with it. If there is any unifying voice in the area it may be that of Bertram S. Brown, M.D., Director of the National Institute of Mental

Health, who, when speaking of previous commitments to the problems of children, said, "We must give more than lip service to the welfare of our young. They are our most precious natural resource."¹

It is only after nearly two thousand years that health professionals and other allied personnel are beginning to heed the advice of Isaiah and turning their efforts toward the healing of the mentally afflicted, rather than depositing these problems behind the walls of some custodial institution. The grisly travelogue through these horrible institutions from the Dark Ages up through the early part of this century have been well delineated many times before, and there seems no need to go into details of the mistreatment and horrors performed due to misunderstanding and ignorance. The only salient point here is that, contrary to popular opinion, all the archaic institutions have not been done away with. This is mentioned here only to point out that the problems dealt with in this chapter--identification and understanding of children with mental health problems--important as they are, don't begin to get at the even greater problem of prevention and treatment.

To develop theories and proposals relating to the correction of poor mental health, there first has to be some generally accepted definition of what mental health is. Bonney's definition is representative: "Mental health is a

¹Bertram S. Brown, "The Mental Health of Our Children," Parents Magazine, XLVI (July 1971), p. 24.

state of being conducive to harmonious and effective living."² It seems obvious from the term 'state of being' that the whole human being must be considered. Any effort to separate physical from mental health seems doomed to failure. The enormous variety of factors that come into play in the determination of the child's problem are the main reason for the multiplicity of diagnoses ranging from severely retarded, through emotionally disturbed, to Scholastis Adolescum, a disease "connected with the nervous system [that] would attack any time the mice [children] had to go to school, do homework, or face tests. It would only disappear if the mice [children] were assured they could play or watch television."³ This light-hearted disease may seem humorous, but it is often one of many manifestations of what psychologists call 'school phobia' that can have a very real and unhealthy impact on the mental well-being of the child. At its extreme it can cause the child to be placed in special education classes that will effectively brand him as 'different' for the rest of his life. Everyone has read or heard of the tragic cases of children who were either misdiagnosed as retarded and sent off to state 'schools' (a true misnomer in most cases), only to have it discovered several years hence that the child was really not retarded but had a hearing

²Merl E. Bonney, Mental Health in Education (Boston, 1960), p. 7.

³Art Buchwald, "Scholastis Adolescum," Today's Health (September 1971), pp. 44-45.

impairment or some other undetected ailment; or, conversely, not diagnosed as retarded, but rather called a difficult or problem child, who would grow out of his stage, and thus was denied the professional help that would have benefitted him.

Differential diagnosis in the child who may be neurotic, schizophrenic, autistic, or brain-injured is of more than academic importance. The usual psychotherapeutic approaches may need modification to assist the child with cerebral dysfunction effectively. Parent counseling, with the object of helping the parent understand why this child has been so hard to rear, might be carried out in a significantly different manner than with the parents of a child whose basic difficulty was emotional disturbance.⁴

Diagnosis then is probably the single most difficult and essential element in the continuum of treating the child. All too often the parents are either too close to the problem to be objective about it, or they have guilt feelings about their suspicions and suppress them, or they incorrectly assess the problem as one that 'he'll grow out of,' or perhaps they are completely ignorant of their child even having a problem. Very often the success of a child will depend on his first teacher's ability to evaluate his situation correctly and get him started on the path to rehabilitation.

This is an often overlooked aspect in the training of elementary teachers. Almost all of them are taught to be receptive to the moods and feelings of their wards, but not

⁴Raymond L. Clemmens, "Minimal Brain Damage in Children," from Educating Emotionally Disturbed Children, Henry Dupont, ed. (New York, 1969), p. 60.

enough time is spent in training them to be accurate observers. This is not meant to imply that they should become amateur psychologists and psychiatrists; it seems there is already too much of that going on. They are, however, in daily contact with their students and could be a valuable source of referrals when they felt a child had more than a normal management problem. Floria Coon and Linda Burpee made some worthwhile guidelines for teacher observation:

Observations are made for the express purpose of helping the child.

Everything cannot be observed at one time or over a short span of time.

Follow-up is essential. It permits corrections of misperceptions and altering of the curriculum or methods of instruction to suit the changing needs of the child.

Observations need be made and reported in a predefined way and as quantitatively as possible. Where quantification is not possible and if anecdotes are not evaluative, subjective response must be used.

In the process of observing, changes occur in the observer as well as the observed. The observer begins to place more importance on specific kinds of conduct or behavior which he previously viewed in a casual manner; and he tends to place different types of interpretations on that which is being observed. It is unavoidable that the person being observed feels the effect of the observations and begins to perceive himself differently, and therefore he acts differently.⁵

The final point they make points out the one large discrepancy in having teachers do the evaluating. Dealing with a wide variety of children who might range from the academic underachiever to emotionally disturbed, brain-damaged, socially or culturally disadvantaged and retarded, there are bound to be many techniques used for evaluation.

⁵Floria Coon and Linda Burpee, "The Role of Observation in Special Education," from Teaching Educationally Handicapped Children, John Arena, ed. (California, 1967), pp. 3-4.

Almost without exception, all these techniques will have some bias incorporated into them, whether it be in the form of cultural bias in a test or the subjectivity allowed in the evaluator, or even that a particular test is searching for a particular result (self-fulfilling prophecy). It has been adequately substantiated by Rosenthal and others that the expectations of the teacher, or in this case the observer, can and often do affect the results; in other words, one will find whatever it is he is looking for.

The standard intelligence test, or so-called IQ test, is a case in point, where it is very widely used and generally accepted as an accurate appraiser of the potential of the child, while, at the same time, there are many who feel the test is environmentally biased to favor white, middle-class students. Jerome Kagan, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, is one who takes the test to task:

I do not contest the obvious fact that there are real differences among individuals' psychological traits--such as intelligence--that our society values. But I do suggest that, given the insufficient and controversial quality of the information relevant to the causes of these differences, it is likely that deep personal attitudes rather than logic or sound empirical data dictate one's interpretations of the documented variability on IQ.⁶

He then goes into the various types of questions used on these tests, and explains how many of the items, as he sees them, are asked with the idea in mind that the child being tested is from a white, middle-class background and will have

⁶Jerome Kagan, "The Magical Aura of the IQ," Saturday Review, December 4, 1971, p. 92.

certain experiences and information at his command to answer these questions. After showing why he feels that blacks, Mexican-Americans, and even poor whites are discriminated against on this type of test, he says:

. . . we should reflect on the wisdom of using fifteen-point differences on a culturally biased test--regardless of the magnitude of the genetic contribution to the IQ--as a weapon to sort some children into stereotyped categories that impair their ability to become mayors, teachers, or lawyers.⁷

The author feels that even larger variances from the accepted norm should be questioned as being possibly predictive of mental abnormality, because inherent in the term normal are all sorts of subjective motivations.

In recent years the stress on academic achievement has become so predominant that the grade (measure of success) has begun to outweigh the content acquisition in teacher and student evaluations. Peter schrag, in an article in Saturday Review, has stated:

Apparently it never occurred to anyone that as long as we operated by a linear standard (bright, average, slow, or whatever) the system would, by definition, have to fail at least some kids. Every race has a loser. Failure is structured into the American system of public education. Losers are essential to the success of the winners.⁸

He was talking about the public school population at large, and referring to the kinds of things that take place in tracking, or other methods of separating the chosen from the

⁷Ibid., p. 93.

⁸Peter Schrag, "End of the Impossible Dream," Saturday Review, September 19, 1970, p. 70.

commercial track. It is admittedly difficult for a child who has been labeled 'non-academic' to excel in relation to the 'college prep' group. Imagine the impossible situation the child finds himself in when branded 'underachiever' or, worse, 'retarded.' These are some of the problems involved in properly identifying those who need help. Extreme care must be taken not to be over-zealous in efforts to categorize, label, and treat the child in manners appropriate to his trouble. "Fundamentally there is no right education except growing up into a worthwhile world."⁹

Turning now to look at some of the specific types of problems that are encountered in childhood mental health situations, it is important to remember the point that underlies the preceding section: there are so many different subjective variables in interpretation, combined with the problem of having many behavior patterns that are associated with several different disorders, and at times, if at the appropriate time in a child's life, not indicative of anything abnormal, that it is utterly impossible for anyone other than a trained professional to make the final determination as to whether a child is really in need of help. With this firmly in mind several types of disorders, tentatively identified as: a) underachievers; b) brain-damaged; c) emotionally disturbed; d) retarded; and e) socially or culturally disadvantaged, can be examined.

⁹Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-Education, (New York, 1964), p. 9.

In turning first to the problems of the underachiever, the term itself must be considered. Very basically, an underachiever is one whose actual measured performance does not come up to that predicted in his intelligence tests. Donald Barr, Headmaster of the Dalton School, insists that "a great deal of so-called underachievement is merely over-prediction."¹⁰ He goes on to talk of different types of underachievement in relation to whether each is couched in impersonal (the people around the underachiever are of no consequence in the problem) situations, or is personal (that is the personalities around him are a determining factor). Of the first type he identifies

. . . a very large group of underachievers, those who are subject to the social impedance of their work and study--objective impedance. They happen to be where work is frustrating and discouraging; where vocational objectives are low; where there is no ideal of intellectual activity.¹¹

He continues his taxonomy with those who have internalized their social impedance, so that even when the situation improves they carry with them their own deterrent to intellectual advancement. One personal underachiever he makes a good case for is

. . . in the personal realm of revenge. It seems to me that a great many underachievers that I know are falling short on purpose, though sometimes they may not be entirely conscious of the purpose; I have known cases, however, in which the purpose was quite close to the surface. Revenge by disappointment is characteristic of the educated upper-middle-class home. . . . The

¹⁰Donald Barr, *Who Pushed Humpty Dumpty?* (New York, 1971), p. 63.

¹¹Ibid., p. 68.

child punishes his parents by failing.¹²

With almost all underachievers the basic problem is psychological in nature, and the two biggest problems in overcoming it (both probably beyond the realm of the teacher) are getting the child to face his reasons for underachievement, and showing him the positive values and satisfaction derived from performing up to his full capacities.

The brain-damaged child is generally thought to be one who was born with some impairment in the central nervous system; however, the damage can be associated with trauma after birth with much the same results. Some of the symptoms are grossly manifest in the severely afflicted, such as cerebral palsy and aphasia, but there are many minimally damaged children whose only apparent problems are hyperactivity, irritability, or slight perceptual difficulties, many times things that are not immediately connected with mental abnormalities, thus often overlooked. Ebersole, Kephart, and Ebersole, from the Warren Achievement School in Illinois, set up a few behavioral characteristics that they found common to most brain-damaged children "Short attention span; Distractability; Hyperactivity; Perseveration; Variability; Disorganization."¹³ Perhaps the most important thing a teacher has to keep in mind with this kind of child

¹² Ibid., p. 68.

¹³ Marylou Ebersole, Newell Kephart, and James B. Ebersole, Steps to Achievement for the Slow Learner (Columbus, Ohio, 1968), p. 15.

is that his fluctuating pattern of behavior makes him almost impossible to deal with in an inflexible manner. His performance varies oftentimes from hour to hour, and to treat him in the same manner all the time will have a detrimental effect on his progress. One final point about brain-damaged children. Very often the child has an apparent problem that is identifiable, but has no damage to his sensitivity to others. Charles Van Riper came up with an acronym to apply to how these children might feel, were they able to relate their emotions clearly:

PFAGH . . . P represents penalty; the F frustration; the A anxiety; the G guilt; and the H hostility.¹⁴

The penalty is associated with the loss of self-esteem and social position for anyone unable to communicate and live normally with others in society. The anxiety, frustration, guilt and hostility are the internalized feelings toward their penalty. "Normal" people tend at times to be very intolerant of those who march to the beat of a different drummer, whether by their own choice or through no control of their own.

There are so many different ways brain damage can manifest itself, as pointed out earlier: palsy, aphasia, dyslexia, agnosia, apraxia, alexia, etc. A quick look at two types of damage will point out consequences for classroom observation. In The Journal of Speech and Hearing

¹⁴Charles Van Riper, Speech Correction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963), p. 40.

Disorders there was a report, "The Social Position of the Speech Defective Child," in which, in a school of a small mid-western town, during the course of a psychological test of all the children in the school system, the following three questions were inserted: 1. What three kids would you best like to play with? 2. What three kids would you best like to work with? 3. What three kids would you most like to have sit next to you? Out of a total school enrollment of 445, there were 37 children identified as speech defective. In scoring the test a child received one point every time his name appeared on someone's list. A child who received one or no votes was designated an 'isolate,' two to four points was a 'neglectee,' and over twenty points was a 'star.'¹⁵

	Total (445)		Defective (37)		Normal (408)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Isolates	63	14.2	8	21.6	55	13.5
Neglectees	115	25.2	14	37.8	100	24.5
Stars	29	6.5	0	0.0	29	6.5

These figures show a substantially higher percentage of isolates and neglectees among the speech defective group, indicating that they do not have their peer group approval. The reasons for this are still unknown, but can be guessed at.

¹⁵E.H. Perrin, "The Social Position of the Speech Defective Child," Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, Vol. 19 (1954), pp. 250-252.

Dyslexia, or reading disability, is another common school concern. Very often in the early grades when a child insists that he just can't do the oral reading assignment with the rest of the class, and the teacher gives in, assuming it is nervousness or embarrassment that the child will eventually overcome, he is often only partially correct. A child who knows he has a reading problem will manifest the same symptoms as the unusually bashful child, but for different reasons. If he is allowed to get through without reading aloud he may eventually get to a point where he really suffers from his inability to read. (Item: this author's youngest brother was nine years old before it was discovered he suffered from dyslexia, and by then it took therapists two years of intensive training to get him to a nearly normal level.) One of the problems the teacher faces with this child is correctly discerning the messages the child is sending out. In answer to the question--Do all dyslexic children appear the same?--Robert M.N. Crosby, M.D., professor of neurological surgery, University of Maryland School of Medicine, says:

The answer is no. The nervous system is a complex organ containing millions of interconnected cells. As a result, each individual's appearance and personality are different. For example, one child with an educational problem may react by becoming overactive and loud while another may become quiet and withdrawn. . . . As time goes on, the child with dyslexia recognizes that he's unable to perform in the same way as his peers or in the way he thinks his parents require. He then builds up emotional difficulties on top of his neurological ones, making a solution even more difficult. . . . One of the most disabling factors affecting the dyslexic child is the psychological trauma produced by his

inability to perform as well as his peers. Attempting to prevent emotional difficulties is therefore the most important aspect of treatment.¹⁶

As can easily be seen, some of the most significant and disruptive effects of brain damage are emotional problems that result from the initial or primary cause. There is yet another mental health problem that has seemingly bloomed in the last ten years, that of the emotionally disturbed child. Brain damage is just one of the possible causes, and as all the problems in children's mental health are examined, it will become increasingly clear that there are many interweaving characteristics and symptoms that are transferable from one problem to another, indeed making the job of accurately separating one affliction from another a job for the experts. Whenever one hears the term 'emotionally disturbed child,' more than likely many ghoulish visions start to rise: the bad seed, the black sheep, etc. For purposes of identification Ted Christiansen developed a

Check List of Behavioral Deviations in Children With Adjustment Problems¹⁷

1. Underachievement in school not physiological
2. Chronic displays of unhappiness or depression
3. Destroys the property of others
4. Frequently lies or boasts
5. Often steals things
6. Disrupts normal classroom procedures constantly
7. Frequent absence or tardiness for no physiological or other sound reason
8. Relates poorly to peers in cooperative situations

¹⁶ Robert M.N. Crosby, "Reading: The Dyslexic Child," Today's Education, October, 1971, pp. 46-47.

¹⁷ Ted Christiansen, "A Method of Identifying Maladjusted Children in the Classroom," from The Emotionally Disturbed Child, Larry Faas, ed. (Springfield, Illinois, 1970), pp. 59-60.

9. Shows withdrawal characteristics such as excessive timidity or quietness
10. Daydreams frequently
11. Shows unusual anxiety, fearfulness, or tenseness
12. Shows a preference for working and playing alone
13. Highly sensitive to reactions and criticism of others
14. Tires easily or appears to be drowsy much of the time
15. Has an unkempt or slovenly appearance
16. Tries too hard to please others
17. Constantly tries to gain the attention and approval of others
18. Overly concerned with a sense of order and consistency
19. Shows fear of getting dirty
20. Displays facial or other bodily twitches or tics
21. Complains of headaches, stomach-aches, etc.
22. Appears to be incapable of having fun
23. Speaks incessantly of a dislike for school
24. Immature and irresponsible in dealing with others
25. Defiant, impertinent, and disobedient in class
26. Teases, fights with, or bullies other children
27. Loud and boisterous
28. Possesses an irritable temperament, often erupting in temper tantrums
29. Overly competitive with others
30. Frequent displays of jealousy
31. Has trouble with the police
32. Uses profane language
33. Has deep feelings of inferiority or inadequacy
34. Associates mainly with younger children
35. Inattentive in class, has short attention span
36. Easily gets discouraged or flustered in some learning task
37. Displays bizarre or unusual behavior.

This checklist in no way is meant to be an entire universe from which to predict, but it can be effective if the observer is as objective as possible and close attention is paid to the number, type, and frequency of behavioral deviations. Everyone must have recognized that most of these behavior deviations are within the range of normal actions for all children if not too frequent; it is thus the frequency that probably has the greatest influence on whether these actions should be considered as indicators for further referral of the child. Another identifiable trait that is common to

many of the items on the check list, is that they are disruptive to the normal teaching environment. All too often when a child is disturbing to his classmates the most expedient solution is to transfer him somewhere else, but of all the types of childhood mental health problems, this is probably the one best treated in his usual environment where he can gain the self-confidence and peer acceptance that he desperately needs. One of the professors in the Communications Disorders area of the University of Massachusetts has repeatedly stated his belief that the two main ingredients to successful rehabilitation are LOVE and PATIENCE.

In much the same way that IQ tests are culturally biased, so too are interpretations of what is maladjusted. William C. Rhodes, Professor of Psychology and Education at the University of Michigan, has made an interesting report, "The Disturbing Child: A Problem of Ecological Management," in which he states that the interpretation of those who are "cultural violators" is dependent on the norm as seen as "culture bearers."

This restatement (culture violator-culture bearer) could be compared to the old question about the relationship of noise to a falling tree and the human ear. If a tree crashes in the forest, but there is no human receptor apparatus to be activated by the subsequent sound waves, is there a noise? Does the sound reside in the crashing tree which sets up the sound waves, does it reside in the receptor mechanism, or is it a product of both? We might ask the same thing about emotional disturbance. When an individual lives or behaves in a disturbing fashion, does the disturbance exist without a reactor group to register the condition? Does the disturbance reside in the child, the reactor, or is it a product of both?¹⁸

As with brain-damaged children, within the overall frame of the emotionally disturbed there are various labels that are used to identify peculiar individuals with certain symptomatic behavior patterns. One such label is the passive aggressive person: ". . . a personality or character disorder, an early and relatively permanent distortion of personality which prevents the individual from having an effective, flexible, and reciprocal relationship with another person."¹⁹ This type of problem usually stems from a deep resentment of some authority figure, very often the mother, for whom the child will have an intense hatred for being put down or used all the time. He will also have an overwhelming fear of reprisal if he were to act out his aggression, so he holds it inside and it slowly eats away at him as the rust finally eats through paint on the exterior of the car.

In our society of individualism, it is small wonder there has developed what David P. Ausubel refers to as "The Cult of Extroversion," which creates for nonconformists another of the possible categories for pigeonholing an individual and labeling him disturbed (disturbing?).

Now it is the child who is reserved, contemplative, and unconcerned about the opinion of others who arouses the clinical concern of the child guidance specialist.

¹⁸William C. Rhodes, "The Disturbing Child: A Problem of Ecological Management," from Educating Emotionally Disturbed Children, Henry Dupont, ed. (New York, 1969), p. 285.

¹⁹Leslie H. Rabkin, "Passive Aggressiveness and Learning," from Mental Health and the Educative Process, Harvey F. Clarizio, ed. (Chicago, 1969), pp. 229-230.

Similarly, many excellent teachers who happen to be shy and introverted are viewed with alarm by their psychologically oriented superiors. Yet there is absolutely no evidence that they impair their pupils' mental health, even though they conceivably may be less popular as individuals than their extroverted colleagues; and as far as pupils are concerned, it has been definitely established that popularity may be a grossly misleading index of social adjustment.²⁰

It is entirely conceivable that within our lifetime we will see a complete cycle of interpretation, and at some point in time a short distance from now the extrovert will again become the child who is singled out as in need of professional therapy. With this cyclical or pendulum effect firmly fixed, one might begin to question most of the assumptions that we make about what constitutes a desirable state of mental health.

There are two other contemporary ideas relating to emotionally disturbed children which warrant investigation briefly before moving on to retardation. The first is the idea of alienation as it applies to the classroom. Since early in the industrial revolution and up into the present, the term alienation has been commonly used to represent individual man's loss of continuity within the increasingly technical world that surrounded him. From Marx to Fanon the term has held fairly steadily the same value, but now it is being incorporated into the educational system. In the view of Philip W. Jackson, alienation, as it has come to be used

²⁰Philip W. Ausubel, "Some Misconceptions Regarding Mental Health Functions and Practices in the School," from ibid., pp. 28-29.

in relation to school, means that we now have a situation where there are sub-groups within the structure who don't hold the same set of values that the majority of leaders do.²¹ Put into the jargon of the day, the kids who are being seen as alienated are no longer "turned on" by the ethics of the middle-class cultural "bag" that says you get rewarded if you work for someone else all your life. They are no longer excited by the fresh discoveries in literature and history that "turned their instructors on when they took their trip." Maybe it's that they aren't fresh anymore. Here again the question of whether this really constitutes a mental health problem arises. It can be argued that the fact that it is viewed as a problem (at least by those maintaining the status quo) makes it a problem. The other question, of course, is: Who is it a problem for, the perceptor or the creator, or would they be one and the same?

Another group of society, as represented by Dr. Elizabeth Hurlock, sees adolescents today developing into a "new species" of deliberate non-conformists who threaten our national mental health as a cancer that could infest all our youth and cause the erosion of all that is "healthy" and American. The salient characteristics of the "new species" are:²²

²¹Philip W. Jackson, "Alienation in the Classroom," from ibid., pp. 78-90.

²²Elizabeth Hurlock, "American Adolescents of Today-- A New Species," from ibid., pp. 53-59.

1. Compulsive peer conformity
2. Preoccupation with status symbols
3. Irresponsibility
4. Anti-work attitude (destroying the Protestant work ethic)
5. Anti-intellectualism
6. New values (discount virginity, don't save money, etc.)
7. Disrespect for older generation
8. Criticism and reform (extremely outspoken)
9. Disregard for rules and laws
10. Unrealistic levels of aspiration

In many respects it doesn't take much insight to see the roots for most of these attitudes in the parents of these children. Conformity has been around since Ford and the Model T. Status symbols have been entrenched in our culture since long before our youngsters started today's cultural revolution, and the list goes on. Some say that these attitudes are inherent in the youth of our society and just manifest themselves differently in every successive generation. The one factor that has contributed more to the glaring clarity of the disparity between young and old today is probably this permissive attitude of the parents who allowed the whole thing to get out of hand (at least according to those who see things as out of control). If the whole mental health scene is viewed as a continuum, it is easy to see the difference between the extremes, but it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate between positions that are relatively close. It is thus true that in the gray areas between normal and abnormal there is bound to be disagreement concerning on which side any one characteristic belongs.

Educationally subnormal pupils, that is to say, pupils who, by reason of limited ability or other conditions resulting in educational retardation, require some specialized form of education wholly or partly in substitution for the education normally given in ordinary schools. (Category 2: Handicapped Pupils and School Health Regulations, 1945, defined by Minister of Education, following the Education Act of 1944.)²³

Point of fact is that this is the most common catch-all for the problem child who doesn't quite fit into any of the other categories.

In The Special Child, Barbara Furneaux relates the stories of several children who, because of their outward symptoms and behavior patterns, were diagnosed as being intellectually subnormal. After many lost years when nothing was being done to rehabilitate these youngsters, through the perseverance and hopes of their parents they came to the attention of the Lindens, a Surrey County Council unit for retarded and disturbed children. It was here that many of the children were found to be educable, often suffering from severe emotional rather than physiological or neurological impairment.

These are just three of the cases who came to our unit after having been diagnosed as severely subnormal and unsuitable for education in school. There are many others. . . . These children and the others whom we have admitted were fortunate because they had parents who somehow were both able to fight for them and also to sustain the enormous stresses and anxieties of keeping the child living at home with them. . . . One thinks of the 1600 children being admitted yearly to the hospitals and the high percentage of them listed as 'cause of

²³ Barbara Furneaux, The Special Child (Middlesex, England, 1970), p. 89.

deficiency unknown' and one feels rather frightened, not just for the children but also for the effect it must have on everyone else who is concerned in any way with the situation as it is existing at present.²⁴

These cases reported above have been documented by experts in the field; the ones that this author has been associated with personally can only be attested to on the basis of his observations during his year at the Meriden State School--again, the idea that this place was even remotely concerned with education seems ludicrous. Out of approximately twenty buildings on the grounds, there were four or five that were used as the showplaces for visiting dignitaries, where things were bright and cheerful, and those few children who could be worked with were taught to demonstrate what an enlightened atmosphere existed in state run institutions. The building the author worked in housed the 'severely retarded,' about sixty children between six years and sixteen. At least half of these children had severe problems, but whether they were retarded or not the author feels unqualified to say. The sad part is that no one else seems to be saying anything about them either. In the year he was there health care was at a minimum. There was usually one nurse in the building, primarily to give the patients medication to keep them sedated (so as not to harm themselves, ostensibly, but judging from the frequency and conditions under which they were given it would seem to be to keep them from bothering the help). The only doctors

²⁴Ibid., pp. 150-153.

these children ever saw were G.P.'s in case they became physically ill, or an occasional psychiatrist on a whirlwind tour with some state officials. The author's main impressions were that: 1) These children were there for custodial care; 2) many of them appeared to have been placed there by parents who were ashamed or guilty and could not tolerate them at home; in fact, they would seldom, if ever, come to visit them; 3) a great number of them seemed to the author to have more emotional problems than intellectual impairment. Here, again, it should be pointed out that the multiplicity of symptoms that overlap all the different areas of concern make it nearly impossible to make superficial diagnoses with any accuracy.

Some of the aforementioned difficulties that have been mentioned, at least in their more severe forms, are probably things that the average classroom teacher will never encounter; the others, and milder forms, they should at least be aware of in order not to oversimplify by tagging all their behavior problems as 'emotionally disturbed' or 'brain-damaged' or whatever their favorite classification may be. There is one final and relatively new area that has been getting considerable attention lately as a source of emotional and educational problems in children: socially and culturally disadvantaged children.

Children who need to be themselves, to live with other children and with grownups, to learn from their environment, to enjoy the present, to get ready for the future, to create and to love, to learn to face adversity, to behave responsibly, in a word, to be human beings.²⁵

What of this child who doesn't have the proper environment to foster good intellectual development? DeCecco has defined the disadvantaged child as one "who is reared in a preschool environment which fails to develop the entering behavior necessary for beginning his formal education in the public schools."²⁶ The teacher, especially the one working with children who come from poverty, racial and ethnic minorities, and low socioeconomic backgrounds, should be aware of the problems that these environmental deficiencies can cause.

In general, an impoverished environment . . . produces an adult organism with reduced abilities to discriminate, with stunted strategies for coping with roundabout solutions, with less taste for exploratory behavior, and with a notably reduced tendency to draw inference that serve to cement the disparate events of its environment such as between the light of a candle flame and the likelihood of its burning when you put your nose into it.²⁷

This idea of Jerome S. Bruner is just one of countless interpretations of what an impoverished home environment can do to the learning ability of the affected child. Clancy and Smitter²⁸ have effectively shown the correlation between

²⁵ Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom, from "A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967" (New York, 1970), p. 207.

²⁶ John P. DeCecco, The Psychology of Learning and Instruction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968), p. 186.

²⁷ Jerome S. Bruner, "Cognitive Consequence of Early Sensory Deprivation," from Educational Psychology: Selected Readings, R.C. Sprinthall and N.A. Sprinthall, eds. (New York, 1969), p. 36.

²⁸ Norah Clancy and Faith Smitter, "A Study of Emotionally Disturbed Children in Santa Barbara County Schools," from Emotional Disturbance and School Learning, D.H. Clark and G.S. Lesser, eds. (Chicago, 1965), pp. 25-35.

unusual home conditions and children who are perceived as being behaviorally or educationally deviant. Lois Barclay Murphy has presented some convincing evidence in "The Effects of Child-Rearing Patterns on Mental Health"²⁹ to substantiate the notion that the parents' ineffective attempts to provide the child with the correct cultural background and understanding can lead to overt anxiety, conflict, and vulnerability in his school years. There has been equally convincing documentation to show the disastrous effect of low socioeconomic background on motivational impairment, lesser, but substantial, correlation between minority groups and poor achievement, although some of these figures are suspect because they obviously stem from the additional factor of having some language other than English as the normal spoken tongue in the minority household. Another source of trouble under investigation is an improper nutritional diet during the crucial first three years of life. There is no other period in a person's life when his brain grows at the rate it does during these first years, and an incorrect or substandard diet can seriously retard the later intellectual development of the person. All of these things can certainly play a role in affecting the mental health of the child as perceived by his teacher and can surely limit the amount of material the child can comprehend.

James Herndon, in How to Survive in Your Native Land,

²⁹Lois Barclay Murphy, "Effects of Child-Rearing Patterns on Mental Health," from ibid., pp. 43-53.

sets down an amusing analogy that may be extrapolated from as a guideline for cultural or educational enrichment:

A famous rat psychologist has been trying for some years to conduct experiments which would show him how to raise the IQ of rats. One might wonder why he wanted to do that, considering that the rats would still be functional retardates no matter how smart they got. Nevertheless he persevered and set up lab situation after lab situation and educational environment after educational environment and the rats never seemed to get any smarter. Finally, and quite recently, he issued the statement that the only thing he could discover in ten years which made rats any smarter was 'to allow them to roam at random in a spacious and variegated environment.'³⁰

The arguments for any particular expert's theories on causation for any of the conditions examined here would take another chapter equally as long as this one. Whether or not the teacher is able to set his students' problems down to minimal or severe brain damage, malnutrition, psychoses, impoverished home environments, low socioeconomic status, emotional disturbance, or in many cases a combination of some of these and others, the important thing is not to get discouraged by the enormity of the problem, and his seemingly infinitesimal effect in solving it. Inability to make an accurate distinction as to cause of behavior or learning disability should not curtail the teacher's active and constant observation of his students, being always on the alert for signals for help from the child who is unable to help himself. It would be only too easy, and terrifyingly sad, for our teachers to succumb to their own frustration

³⁰ James Herndon, How to Survive in Your Native Land (New York, 1971), p. 116.

and seeming inability to make positive decisions, slipping backwards into the Prufrock-ian, contemporary role of passive observer.

I grow old . . . I grow old . . .
I shall wear the bottoms of my trousers rolled.³¹

Chapter three has presented a rationale for this author's concern with the central role played by mental health in the healthy development of children. Because this is such a vital area of concern, it is suggested that the Community School must consider it of central and primary importance, and must therefore devote a considerable portion of its resources to the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of mental problems of all classifications among all members of the community, especially its children.

Chapter four will present a case study of one New Haven Community School, the Conte School.

³¹Thomas Stearns Eliot, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," The Waste Land and Other Poems (New York, 1962), p. 8.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY OF CONTE SCHOOL

As previously stated, the Community School Program in New Haven is regarded as an evolving concept. Programs and resources are adapted to a particular neighborhood's demonstrated needs. This chapter is a case study of one community school serving the neighborhood in which it is located. This examination serves as an illustration of a community school model in operation, showing how that model was tailored to meet the needs of its own particular community.

Communities, especially those in which community schools have developed, increasingly have come to view their schools as important community assets, since they represent one of the community's most substantial capital investments. They have been viewed as a center around which neighborhoods and community life can be strengthened. The use of these schools for community services and as centers of neighborhood interest and programs evolves from planned neighborhood and city-wide efforts, and from programs by public or private agencies. These may be in such fields as health, preventive medicine, mental health, safety, law enforcement, and social services.

As has been noted, New Haven, Connecticut has been

a leader in the development and implementation of the community school concept, and certainly the most unique and innovative community school in New Haven is the Harry A. Conte Community School that opened its doors to the citizens of the Wooster Square neighborhood in September, 1962. One of seven community schools now operating in New Haven, it is a \$3 ½ billion complex consisting of four buildings located on a six acre site. It is the only community school in New Haven built specifically to serve as a community school.

The school is named in memory of a dedicated physician, who unceasingly gave of his time and energy to the people of New Haven.

Conte Community School, in contrast with the traditional school, operates day and night, twelve months a year. The extensive school day and year make possible a program designed to meet the needs of a total community. To help insure meaningful, diversified programs, outside agencies and groups encourage the use of school facilities as a base of operation. This means that education is not the task of educators alone, but that many outside groups can, and do, perform services which supplement and enrich the traditional school program. "Conte School's philosophy dictates a total approach to education."¹

¹Redevelopment Agency, Wooster Square Design, New Haven, Connecticut, 1965, pp. 13-14.

grey area characterized by dingy cold water flats and grimy factories into an attractive, colorful downtown neighborhood. The Conte School, which opened in 1962, symbolizes both a new educational era and the physical and emotional revitalization of the area and of neighborhood spirit and pride.

Approximately 7,000 people of mixed races and ethnic backgrounds and a diversity of socio-economic backgrounds live in Wooster Square, in a variety of housing arrangements.

Older Homes: Much of Wooster Square is made up of rehabilitated older homes including several beautiful 19th century mansions, many of which remain single family residences, and many of which house two, three, or four families in separate apartments.

Town Houses on the Park: Attractive, modern one, two and three-bedroom apartments overlooking the Columbus Green house thirty-four families. These private apartments are well integrated racially and rent for from \$120 to \$160 per month.

Columbus Mall Houses: Seventy-two moderate income families live in this non-profit cooperative housing development in two, three and four-bedroom apartments, paying from \$98 to \$125 per month after making a \$325 down payment. Each family in this well-integrated cooperative is thus a co-owner of the development.

²Ibid., p. 23.

Small Apartment Developments: Several smaller apartment complexes built by private contractors provide pleasant housing for area residents.

Winslow-Celentano Apartments: This 64-unit high-rise building offers one and one-half room units at an average of \$45 per month to senior citizens over sixty years of age.

Farnam Courts: A federal housing project for low-income families, Farnam Courts provides housing for approximately 1,000 Wooster Square residents in one, two, three and four-bedroom apartments at an average rent of about \$65 per month. Forty-seven per cent of the children attending Conte live in Farnam Courts.

SCHOOL POPULATION AND GRADE ORGANIZATION

The about 700 students in the Conte Community School's regular K-8 program have been of the following ethnic backgrounds:

Year	White	Black	Puerto Rican	Other	Total
1963	309	301	99	3	712
1968	221	348	140	7	723
1971	104	429	113	2	648

As can be seen, the total school population has been declining slightly, with the loss occurring mainly among white families. The black school population has increased over the ten years the school has been in operation, and the Puerto Rican population, though showing some fluctuation, has remained relatively steady over the ten-year

period.

PHYSICAL PLANT (see Figure 4.1, p.118)

The school complex consists of four buildings spread over two city blocks, designed to implement the community school concept.

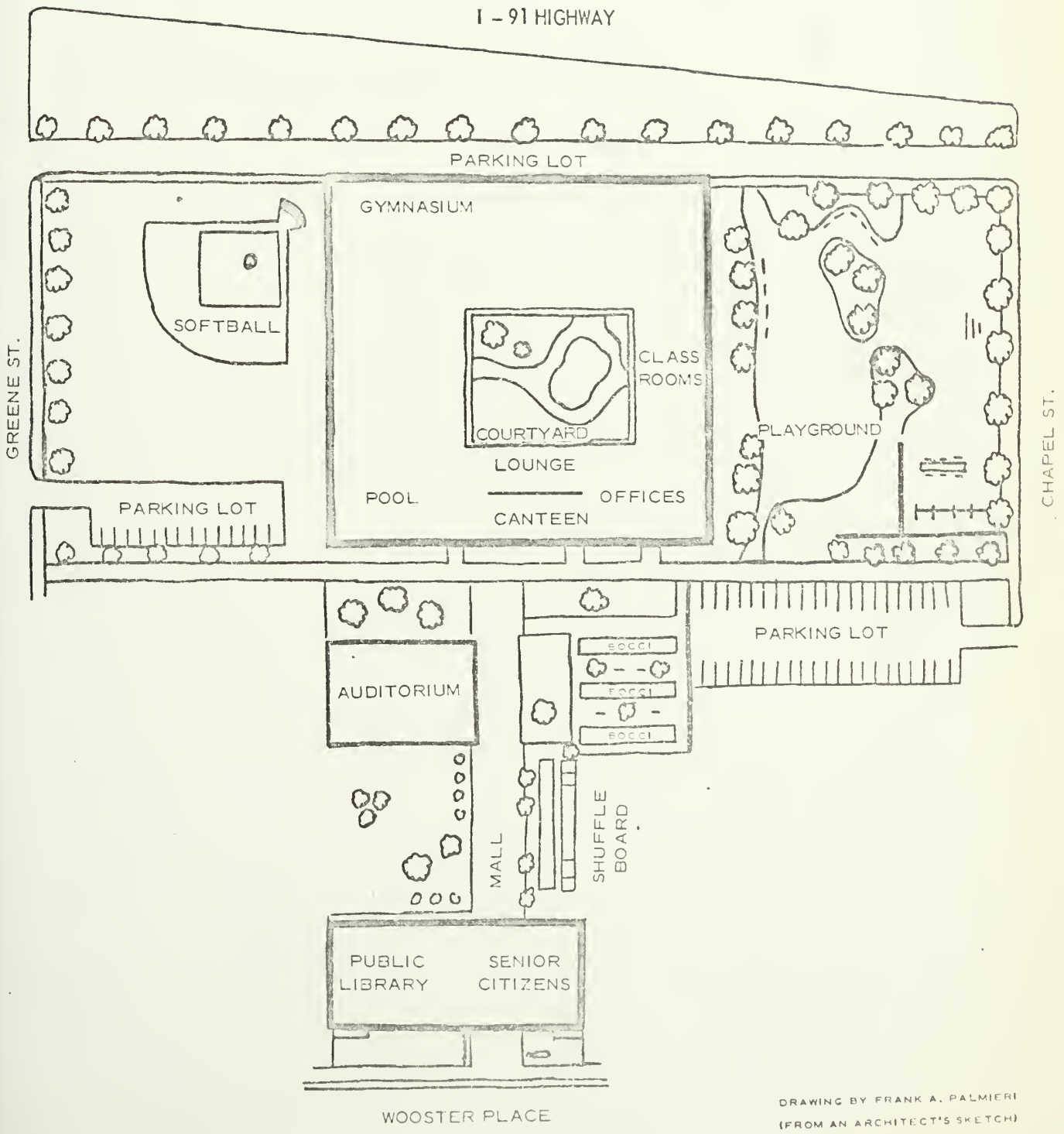
Senior Citizen Center: This building serves Wooster Square residents aged 62 and over with a diversified program of activities from 1-9 p.m. Monday through Saturday. (See table pp. 120-121.)

Wooster Square Library: Across from the Senior Citizen Center is a branch of the New Haven Public Library which also serves as the Conte School Library. Open until 8 p.m. many evenings, the library serves the entire community in its programming. The library houses over 15,000 volumes, plus an up-to-date periodical section.

Auditorium: The well-equipped auditorium or concert hall seats 350, has theatrical lighting and appointments, a projection booth and a grand piano. It is used for semi-professional productions, and by community and civic groups as well as for school functions.

Main Building: The main building is constructed as a large square, with a courtyard in the center. It houses

- twenty-five regular classrooms
- five specialized classrooms (music, home economics, industrial arts, art, science)
- two multi-purpose classrooms
- a cafeteria which seats 156 and serves 300 hot lunches daily
- a 65 x 109 foot gymnasium, which can be divided. It includes shower rooms, locker rooms, bleacher seats, and an outside entrance to allow direct access.



DRAWING BY FRANK A. PALMIERI (FROM AN ARCHITECT'S SKETCH)

- a 50 x 60 foot institutional swimming pool, used in the regular school program and open to the community from 3 to 10 p.m. Monday through Friday and on weekends.
- a teenage lounge and canteen area, designed and used as a teen center and for civic meetings, group functions, tutorial programs and regular school activities.
- administrative offices for the principal, two assistant principals, counselor and secretaries.
- a health suite including waiting room, examination areas, and a modern dental facility, with outside access.
- the center courtyard has trees and playground equipment for kindergarten children, whose rooms open directly onto the courtyard. In addition, it is used for a wide variety of functions, including concerts, an animal zoo, exhibits, shows, etc.

Outdoor recreational areas: In addition to the courtyard, a large area bordering Chapel Street contains playground apparatus for children, an area bordering Green Street provides a softball field, bocci (lawn bowling) courts provide older men with a lighted court, and the mall area offers horseshoe pits, shuffleboard, and concrete benches, tables and stools, with checkerboards painted on the tables.

Parking: 140 cars can be accommodated in three parking areas.

ADMINISTRATION

All three administrators, the principal and each of the two assistant principals, are twelve-month employees of the New Haven Board of Education, and are responsible for the total, twelve-month programs of the Conte Community School.

The principal's responsibilities extend far beyond those of a traditional principal, as is witnessed by the

fact that he is commonly referred to as the "Principal of Wooster Square." In addition to traditional responsibilities, he must know and interact with the neighborhood, which he does by attending civic meetings, making home visits, maintaining an open-door policy, and being available at all times--days, nights, and weekends.

As was explained previously, the Assistant Principal-Instruction is basically responsible for the traditional program while the Assistant Principal-Community School is basically responsible for coordinating all aspects of the community-school program. Thus the Assistant Principal-Instruction has the responsibility to develop and evaluate curricula, to manage discipline, to evaluate classroom teaching, and to develop a better understanding of the total instructional program. The Assistant Principal-Community School must become involved with all the various organizations functioning within the school complex in order to develop a community program involving outside groups which relates to the regular school program. But, as was explained earlier, these two individuals are seen, in New Haven, as one interchangeable unit, in order to insure a cohesive program that meets the needs of all the residents of the neighborhood. The two assistant principals at Conte work closely together, often exchanging roles and responsibilities, and together developing and implementing the total approach to education embodied in the community school concept.

School Personnel

Conte School is fortunate to have a diversified professional and non-professional staff. All staff members play an important role in the school program. Following is a brief description of each staff member's function.

Teachers

The thirty-five teachers are on the firing line every day and are basically responsible for transmitting to children the educational and social skills necessary to succeed in and adjust to modern society. All teachers are certified by the state in their specialties. The Conte teaching staff is made up of:

<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>Assignment</u>
2	Kindergarten
10	Primary (1-3)
5	Intermediate (4-6)
8	Departmentalized (7-8)
3	Special Classes (Educable Mentally Retarded)
2	Trainable Classes (Trainable Mentally Retarded)
2	Special Assignments
2	Physical Education Instructors
1	Swimming Instructor

The teacher's official work day extends from 8:15 a.m. to 3:15 p.m., and teachers are not required to be involved in programs and activities after regular school hours. However, teachers are invited to become involved on a paid basis (\$5 per hour) in community school activities, and most do. Many regular teachers frequently design and implement new programs and contribute extensively to already

established programs. At Conte Community School, teacher involvement in after-school programming is common. Thus the coordination of the regular and after-school programs is enhanced.

Guidance Counselor

The full-time counselor at Conte, who is state certified, works with individual students on a one-to-one basis, and coordinates the total guidance program of the school. The philosophy at Conte is that the work of the teacher and of the counselor complement each other, and teachers are an integral part of the guidance program. Teachers offer what guidance they can and help the counselor to identify children with special needs. Frequently the counselor seeks the assistance of other school personnel--psychologist, reading specialist, nurse, pediatrician, school social worker or community relations worker--or assistance from outside the school, including referring the child to various community agencies for help.

Although the counselor is only one person, he attempts to extend guidance services throughout the school and community.

Unified Curriculum Teacher

The city of New Haven employs a number of curriculum specialists on the Unified Curriculum Services (UCS) staff. Conte receives the services of the UCS staff member who assists in identifying problem areas in the school helps

teachers develop curriculum methods and techniques especially suitable for the children in their classes.

School Community Relations Workers

Conte School uses the services of two full-time indigenous non-professionals, one who is paid by Community Progress, Inc. and one who is paid by the New Haven Board of Education. Neighborhood residents apply to the school and are hired by the administration with the recommendation of the School-Community Council. They are responsible for improving relations between the school and the neighborhood, and do so by making home visits, responding to identified needs of children and parents, seeing that sick children are cared for, relaying messages, helping community people find jobs or learn to care for themselves, collecting necessary items for needy families, etc. These workers have proved to be invaluable in building sound, trusting relations between the school and the neighborhood.

Teacher's Aide

Conte School employs one teacher's aide, who assists teachers in a variety of ways--checking daily attendance, correcting homework, keeping permanent records up to date, assisting in instruction, and other tasks which, without an aide, would place an added burden on the teacher.

The aide has usually been a student at a local teachers' college. Thus, her experience is preparing her for her future profession.

Vista Workers

Two Vista (Volunteers in Service to America) workers are on the Conte School staff. Under the supervision of the social group worker from the YWCA, they are assigned to work full-time in the Wooster Square neighborhoods, especially with teenagers and potential juvenile delinquents.

Vista volunteers are paid a subsistence wage by the federal government. They receive no additional salary by the New Haven school board.

Reading Consultant

Conte employs the full-time services of a reading consultant, who works on a one-to-one basis with children who need special help in reading, and who serves as a consultant to teachers in selecting and using reading materials and methods.

Speech Therapist

A speech therapist is available to work with individual children on a one-to-one basis for two half-day sessions each week. In addition, a speech therapist is available to each of the three special classes (two classes of educable and one of trainable mentally retarded) for two hours weekly. In these classes, the improvement of speech and diction and the fostering of language development are the goals of the therapist's work in the groups.

Yale Psycho-Educational Clinic

The clinic is part of the psychology department at

Yale University. Its basic objectives at Conte School are to: 1) consult regularly with teachers concerning problem children in classroom situations; 2) work directly with these children, in and away from school; and 3) offer group therapy to small numbers of problem children in settings away from the classroom.

This program is planned and implemented by three Yale graduate students in psychology. Each student is at the school an average of one day per week.

Pre-Kindergarten

Four pre-kindergarten classes, which meet daily at the Farnam Courts Housing Project, each contain about fifteen children and is staffed by an instructor and an aide, plus volunteers. The program is considered a vital part of the school program, and has available to it the services of a social worker and of a psychologist. A unique and important feature of the program is that the parents are required to attend one two-and-a-half hour training session, conducted by a trained parent counselor, each week. Baby-sitting is provided for younger children while parents attend the session.

Visiting Nurse

The health suite at Conte School is staffed by two visiting nurses. The New Haven Board of Education has arrangements with the Visiting Nurse Association under which the board pays the salaries of the nurses and the VNA is

responsible for their training and supervision.

One nurse is at the school for two and one-half hours a day, on a rotating morning and afternoon schedule. The remainder of her time is devoted to her neighborhood case-loads. Her counterpart works primarily in the neighborhood, but is constantly feeding back to the school valuable information regarding health needs in the homes of Conte children.

The VNA's operation of the school health program enables the school to work with nurses who do not only see the children in the school setting but who also visit their homes. This results in a much greater awareness of the neighborhood's total health needs than would be the case if one group of nurses worked in the school and another group in the neighborhood.

A student health aide, trained and supervised by the VNA, is on duty throughout the regular school day. She handles minor first aid cases.

A well baby clinic is conducted by the VNA nurses in the health suite every Thursday from 1 to 4 p.m. Parents can thus take advantage of the school health facilities and the services of a pediatrician in maintaining the well-being of their pre-school children. Each clinic visit costs 50 cents.

Dental Hygienist

A dental hygienist is at the school three full days a week. The hygienist works closely with the VNA nurses in planning and providing dental hygiene for Conte children.

She is an employee of the New Haven Health Department.

Dentist

A dentist is at the school a half day each week. His duties are basically filling and extracting teeth. General examinations are done by the hygienist. The dentist is employed part-time by the New Haven Health Department.

Custodial Staff

An adequate custodial staff is on duty all the time the school is open. Two full-time shifts of custodians maintain the facilities from 7 a.m. to 10:30 p.m., with custodians being paid overtime whenever facilities are used beyond the normal hours.

Cafeteria Staff

The regular staff consists of a manager and three general workers, plus thirteen neighborhood mothers who supervise the lunch program for one hour per day at the rate of \$2.50 per hour.

Volunteers

Volunteers are considered a vital part of the total Community School program at Conte School. They participate in a variety of activities, including recreation, group work, adult education and senior citizens' programs, plus the regular school program. Volunteers are recruited from everywhere--colleges, high schools, business and professional organizations, neighborhood parents and residents. Each year

more than 60 different volunteers work in the various school programs.

COMMUNITY SCHOOL TEAM

As explained previously, the team approach is an important concept in the implementation of community schools in New Haven. Each school has a neighborhood-planning team consisting of the assistant principal-community school (employed by the Board of Education), a group-work supervisor (employed by the YMCA), a youth-recreation supervisor (employed by the Parks and Recreation Department), and a neighborhood coordinator (employed by CPI). Each of these persons works full time in the community school program, and the group meets weekly to evaluate present programs and community needs. The assistant principal heads the team and bears major responsibility for the functioning of the community school program. The park recreation supervisor has major responsibility for the diversified recreational program operating through the school. The group work supervisor plans and directs small groups of children and teenagers in an attempt to help them with problems and realize aspirations. The neighborhood coordinator serves as the "arms and legs" of the team in recruiting for the programs. This employee of New Haven's community action agency alerts the team to community needs and helps develop appropriate programs.

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

Four neighborhood organizations are active in community and school affairs.

Conte School Advisory Council (CSAC)

Forty community members--senior citizens, parents, professionals, non-professionals and students serve on the School Advisory Council, whose basic function is to advise the community school team on programs and programming needs. Monthly council meetings are held, with smaller committees meeting more frequently as needed. The community school team and the school administrators act on the recommendation of the council. Although the council itself has no formal power to implement decisions, it in fact is the power behind the community school, and its recommendations virtually become policy.

Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO)

The approximately 150 members of the PTO work to promote the welfare of the children in the home, school and neighborhood.

Wooster Square Community Association (WSCA)

The approximately 150 members of the WSCA meet monthly to work for improvement of all phases of neighborhood life.

Young Mothers' Club - Farnam Courts

The 25 mothers involved seek to enrich their lives through recreational and educational programs. They are

assisted by a staff member of the YWCA.

PROGRAMMING

In addition to the regular school program, Conte Community School offers programs and activities for virtually everyone in the neighborhood, pre-schoolers to senior citizens, day and night, summer and winter. The Conte Senior Citizens' Center, for example, has a mailing list of about 900 and an average daily attendance of over 100 in its 1-9 p.m. schedule. A full-time director, paid by the Department of Parks and Recreation, plus regular volunteers, plan and supervise activities. Some of the regular activities include oil painting, knitting, square dancing, bus trips, cooking, sewing, luncheons, interest group meetings, parties, films, lectures, card playing, Bocci (lawn bowling), social activities, charitable work, and volunteer work for other agencies.

The Wooster Square Library also serves the entire community. In addition to programs and services offered to Conte School children, "tiny-tots story hours," orientation programs, and interest group series are offered.

Community school programs offered during the regular school year fall into the categories of educational programs, group work programs, recreation programs, and programs involving outside groups who utilize recreational facilities on a regular basis. Table 4:1 presents a list of the programs presented at Conte Community School during the

1965-66 school year as supplemental to the regular school program.

Use of the community school programs by neighborhood residents by month for the years 1963 and 1971 is presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.3, pages 120 and 121. All areas of activity remain well-attended over the years, with group work activities making the greatest gain over the eight-year period included in these two reports.

These are the programs and activities regularly scheduled within the school complex. Not listed, however, are special events, outside programs, dances, parties, and Girl and Boy Scout and senior citizens activities. The school is also used regularly by the New Haven Opera Society, New Haven Civic Ballet, New Haven Folk Music Society, and the University of Connecticut (for extension courses). It is also used extensively by civic groups for meetings, dinners, and social events. Yet, the faculty and administration fully realize that they have only scratched the surface. But they strongly feel that this scratch represents a major step in the improvement of inner-city education.

Table 4:1

The Diversity of Activities

Activity	Ages and Grades
<u>Educational Program:</u>	
Play groups	Ages 3-7
Non-English Speaking Program	Grades K-8
Arithmetic Games	Grades 1-3
Primary Enrichment	Grades 1-3
Puppet Workshop	Grades 1-3
Reading Improvement	Grades 4-6
Great Books Clubs	Grades 4-6
Library Assistance	Grades 4-6
Dining out Club	Grades 4-8
Newspaper Club	Grades 4-8
Educational Games	Grades 5-8
Choir	Grades 4-8
Audio-Visual Club	Grades 6-8
Mathematic Improvement	Grades 6-12
Evening Tutorial	Grades 6-Adults
Basic Electronics	Grades 7-8
Drama Workshop	Adults
Community Orchestra	Adults
Help Johnny Read	Adults
Adult Basic Education	Adults
Dress-making	Adults
Elementary Americanization	Adults
Intermediate Americanization	Adults
Advanced Americanization	Adults
Cooking and Baking	Adults
<u>Group Work Programs:</u>	
Fun Clubs	Grades 1-8
Hobby Clubs	Grades 1-8
Arts and Crafts	Grades 3-8
External Programs (Roller skating, Ice skating, etc.)	Ages 8-19
Pre-Teen Lounge	Ages 10-13
Sewing Classes	Grades 4-8
Knitting Classes	Grades 4-8
Charm Classes	Grades 6-8
<u>Park Recreation Programs:</u>	
Primary Grades Physical Fitness	Grades 1-3
Biddy Basketball	Grades 3-6
Ballet Workshop	Grades 3-8
Eaton Twirling	Grades 3-8
Intermediate "Free Gym"	Grades 4-6
Gymnastics	Grades 4-6

Table 4:1--continued

Activity	Ages and Grades
<u>Park Recreation Programs--continued:</u>	
Weightlifting	Grades 5-8
Boy's Athletic Club	Grades 5-8
Judo	Grades 5-8
Cheerleading	Grades 5-8
Girl's Athletic Club	Grades 5-8
Girl's Athletic Teams	Grades 5-8
Teenage "Free Gym"	Grades 7-12
Boy's Athletic Teams	Grades 7-12
Men's Physical Fitness	Adults
Men's Night	Adults
Ladies' "Early Bird" Physical Fitness	Adults
Ladies' Slimnastics Class	Adults
Tennis	Adults
Volleyball	Adults
Badminton	Adults
<u>Pool Programs:</u>	
Family Swim	3-Adults
Aqua-Tots Swimming Instruction	Ages 2-5
Community Swim	Ages 6-Adults
Intermediate Swim	Ages 5-8
Canoe Safety Demonstrations	Ages 10-Adults
Swimming Instruction--men	Adults
Swimming Instruction--women	Adults
<u>Outside Groups Utilizing Recreational Facilities on a Regular Basis:</u>	
New Haven Rehabilitation Center--Gym (Wheelchair Basketball--Handicapped men)	Adults
Salvation Army--Gym and Pool (Group Activities)	Ages 10-15
Young Marines--Gym and Pool (Group Activities)	Ages 9-13
New Haven Regional Center--Pool	(For the Mentally Retarded)
New Haven Area Catholic Nuns--Pool	Adults
Highland Heights--Pool (Center for emotionally disturbed children)	Ages 10-16

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table 4:2

School Conte

MONTHS	REG.					GRAND TOTAL
	EDUCATION	RECREATION	GROUP WORK	VOLUNTEERS	SCH. ACT.	
September						
October	389	3469	-----	84	302	1307
November	518	3932	156	64	307	1192
December	303	3468	267	585	224	2561
January	332	3998	256	556	527	1208
February	224	4708	805	610	558	1219
March	337	4549	624	849	839	3286
April	297	3839	840	841	848	2125
May	259	3118	550	664	843	1333
June	606	2348	-----	-----	616	2653
Total	3265	33429	3498	4253	5064	16884
Av. per Mo.	363	3714	500	532	563	1876
July	337	12810	1757	-----	3795	543
August	340	14096	1384	-----	3207	352
Total	677	26906	3141	-----	7002	895
Av. Total	338	13453	1570	-----	3501	477
Grand Total	3942	60335	6639	4253	12066	17779
Av. Per Mo.	358	5485	738	532	1097	1616

Table 4:3

1971

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

MONTHS	School _____ Conte _____						REG. SCH. ACT.	OUTSIDE GROUPS	GRAND TOTAL
	EDUCATION	RECREATION	GROUP WORK	VOLUNTEERS					
September									
October									
November	403	3901	465	242	303	1944	7258		
December	336	3953	1682	235	235	1939	8288		
January	232	4209	1867	116	319	1375	8118		
February	269	4153	900	306	241	1260	7129		
March	639	4503	924	358	303	2102	8829		
April	733	4317	1839	298	247	2530	9964		
May	470	1761	1324	359	230	1647	5791		
June	381	3105	964	241	190	2667	7548		
Total	3463	29857	9965	2155	2068	15464	142925		
Av. Per Mo.	432.8	3732.1	1245.6	269.3	258.5	1933.0	17865.6		

EVALUATION

To date, no evaluation techniques have been found which effectively measure the success of the Conte Community School. Those involved in evaluating its effectiveness, especially the administrators of the school, have used the following unobtrusive measures as evidence of success:

Vandalism has been very limited. The school is "wrapped" in glass yet few windows have been broken. Only one which can be attributed to vandalism has been broken since the school opened.

An air of excitement and enthusiasm prevails throughout the day, especially among the children. This is due to the fact that the school and a multiplicity of activities are always open to the children.

The faculty and administrators are an eager and dedicated group who work hard and long hours to provide expanding educational opportunities for inner-city children.

Teacher turnover is low. When a teacher does leave, it is generally because of pregnancy, promotion, or reassignment. It is relatively easy to fill vacancies because many teachers want to teach at Conte. Not many cities in the country find it easy to recruit teachers for inner-city schools.

Parents and neighborhood citizens have become extensively involved in the school. Such involvement fulfills the most basic goal of the Community School.⁴

SUMMARY

Chapter four has presented a case study of the Conte Community School, a school designed and built to implement the community school concept in an inner-city neighborhood. Although the best way to learn about and understand the

⁴Tirozzi, Gerald N., "Conte Community School," Offset publication, June, 1967.

Conte School would be to visit the school and talk with staff, children and residents of Wooster Square, this chapter has attempted to provide a fairly comprehensive substitute. Only an overview has been presented, for a detailed examination of each program offered at Conte would be both quickly outdated, as programs are designed to be flexible, and beyond the scope of this examination. This chapter has instead presented an overview of the neighborhood, its history, demography and housing; the school population and grade placement; the physical plant; the administration; school personnel; the community school team; neighborhood organizations; programming; and subjective measures of evaluation.

Chapter five will present this investigator's subjective evaluation of the success of the community school operation in New Haven, with his personal recommendations for future change.

CHAPTER V

EVALUATION OF THE NEW HAVEN COMMUNITY SCHOOLS, INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS

Evaluation of the success and effectiveness of the community schools in New Haven has been inconsistent, generally unplanned, and subjective. Although it became clear late in the 1960's that some more objective and objectifiable means of evaluation were necessary, to date nothing that this investigator is aware of has yet been devised. The comments below and the opinions they represent are therefore the investigator's own, developed over nine years of experience in New Haven, including four years of experience as an Assistant Principal-Community School at Troup Community School in New Haven.

GENERAL EVALUATION

In Chapter I of this dissertation, models and theories of community schools were presented. Included was the sixteen-point statement concerning community school characteristics issued by the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, in Madison, Wisconsin in 1948 (pp.13,14). The list remains clear and comprehensive, and seems to this investigator to provide a concise but thorough means of evaluating community school programs.

What follows, then, is this investigator's personal analysis of how well the community school program in New Haven, Connecticut meets the sixteen objectives outlined.

1. The community school seeks to operate continuously as an important unit in the family of agencies serving the common purpose of improving community living.

The New Haven community schools not only work in cooperation with other agencies, the CPI, the YMCA and YWCA, the Redevelopment Agency, the Park-Recreation Department, the Community Council, and other agencies and organizations, but actually is the center of the constellation, with one of its major focuses being the pulling together of other agencies. Through the school-community teams and the school-advisory councils, the New Haven community schools have worked consistently to coordinate agency functions to improve community living. The task of coordination is monumental, especially since in New Haven a vast network of organizations and agencies has sprung up, with an attendant vast number of services. The community schools, though unable to coordinate all services, have done an excellent job in focusing the services of the larger, more obvious agencies.

2. The community school shares with citizens continuing responsibility for the identification of community needs and the development of subsequent action programs to meet these needs.

The New Haven community school concept includes an emphasis on the sharing of responsibility and provides numerous avenues for so doing. The school-advisory councils, the PTO's, the community associations, the CPI

neighborhood coordinators, the school community relations workers, the VISTA and other volunteers, and the health workers, all have built into their responsibilities the identification of community needs and the provision of appropriate programs and activities to meet those needs. Communication between community schools and their neighborhoods is two-way, open and continuous.

3. The community school begins its responsibility for better living with the immediate school environment.

Although not a focus of this study, the regular day school program, like the community school program, emphasizes the importance and impact of the environment on neighborhood life. Only Conte Community School possesses the facilities that so enhance school life; but current building programs include plans for five more community schools tailored to meet the needs of each unique neighborhood served. Each is intended to provide a model of enriched life.

4. The curriculum of the community school is sufficiently comprehensive and flexible to facilitate the realization of its purpose.

In most areas of endeavor the New Haven community schools are providing services in a flexible and comprehensive manner. It is this author's opinion that most educational and social needs of New Haven residents are being met through community school programming but that psychological services fall far short of meeting obvious needs, let alone those not so obvious. (See chapter three for a rationale for attention to mental health needs.) The referral system currently in use is both cumbersome and inadequate, with help realized

either never or too late. The statistics on the increase in work activities at Conte School alone (Tables 4:2 and 4:3, pages 120 and 121) speak for increased demand. Sadly lacking, in this author's opinion, are psychological services for entire families. In addition, community health care in general is less than adequate. Children attending community schools are provided with medical and dental care, but except in a few instances (Conte's well-baby clinic, for example), the care does not extend beyond the school children. Family living programs for adults are also less than adequate. Programs and courses in nutrition, meal planning, budgeting, child care, etc. are lacking in most areas.

5. The community school program is dynamic, constantly changing to meet emerging community needs.

The New Haven community schools are especially responsive to the social needs of the community. In most schools parents are involved in decision-making concerning curriculum and textbooks, personnel, and programming. The program is designed to be flexible, and much effort is expended in seeking out community needs. The prevailing philosophy is one of meeting needs as they arise, not after they have become problems.

6. The community school makes full use of all community resources for learning experiences.

Most New Haven community schools seek out neighborhood resources and either bring them into the school (if they are portable) or take interested participants to them. Various skill centers have been established throughout the

city to provide skill training unavailable in the schools, existing facilities are used for training of apprentices and para-professionals, and both people and materials are continually brought into the schools.

7. The community school develops and uses distinctive types of teaching materials.

New Haven has not, in this author's opinion, been a pioneer in developing and using distinctive materials, except in cases in which innovative programs demanded attention to innovative materials. The elementary schools have been more innovative than the secondary schools, but both have pretty much relied on existing and available materials.

8. The community school shares with other agencies the responsibility for providing opportunities for appropriate learning experiences for all members of the community.

Perhaps one of New Haven's community schools' greatest endeavors is to play a central role in coordinating and using the services of all associated agencies. The Community School Team, composed of a representative of the Board of Education, a representative of the Park Recreation Department, a representative of the YMCA, and a representative of CPI, the community-action agency in New Haven, is responsible for programming in each of New Haven's community schools. This has been a highly effective mechanism for sharing responsibility, but the fact that each team member reports to a different agency has caused some difficulties in decision-making and implementation among the team itself.

9. The community school recognizes improvement in social

and community relations behavior as an indication of individual growth and development.

As witnessed by the unobtrusive measures selected by Conte's administration as measures of success--decreased vandalism, resident involvement, air of excitement, teacher and student involvement (pp.118-19,chapter 4)-- the New Haven community schools certainly do look to improvement in social and community relations as an indication of individual growth and development. New Haven community schools are, it seems to this author, characterized by a commitment to fostering healthy teacher-student-administrator and school-family relationships.

10. The community school develops continuous evaluation in terms of the quality of living for pupils, teachers, and administrators; for the total school program; and for the community.

Although evaluation by those involved in programming is continuous and pursued with the intention of improving the quality of living for all concerned, very little formal evaluation is conducted. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to find in the records any evaluation of specific programs. Evaluation is best seen in terms of changes that have occurred: successful programs continue; unsuccessful ones are revised or dropped.

11. The pupil personnel services of the community school are cooperatively developed in relation to community needs.

New Haven community schools work cooperatively with the Health Department, YMCA, Redevelopment Agency, Yale Psycho-Educational Clinic, and other agencies in developing

pupil personnel services, and have tried to meet pupil personnel needs. It is this author's opinion, however, that although a basis for cooperation exists, the existing health-care facilities in New Haven are not used effectively to provide satisfactory health care to residents of the city. It seems, more often than not, that real help is simply not available.

12. The community school secures staff personnel properly prepared to contribute to the distinctive objectives of the school, facilitates effective work and continuous professional growth by members of the staff, and maintains only those personnel policies which are consistent with the school's purposes.

The New Haven community schools consistently attempt to secure appropriate staff, but often have difficulty finding people with clear ideas concerning the goals and functions of community schools. Minority persons are sought, and the schools expend great effort in finding personnel who can best serve unique community needs. For example, because of the school population at Conte School, the School-Community Relations workers were selected on the basis of their ability to relate to neighborhood residents. Thus one worker is black and the other Spanish-speaking, and both have been long-time Wooster Square residents. Although time is granted professional employees for professional growth, it is the observation of this author that New Haven, like so many other school districts, operates a defeating reward system. Outstanding classroom teachers are encouraged to continue professional development, but are most often rewarded (both financially and in terms of prestige) by

being given administrative posts. A far more equitable reward system, and one which facilitates the growth of students, would provide incentives for outstanding teachers to remain in the classroom.

13. The community school maintains democratic pupil-teacher-administrator relationships.

Although democratic relationships are most dependent upon individual leadership styles and could easily vary considerably from school to school, it is this author's observation that throughout New Haven community schools, democratic relationships are the norm. Students as well as adults serve on Community School Advisory Councils and on various administrative committees; community school administrators almost never act without the recommendation of faculty, student and citizen boards, and, in fact, (though not on paper) the advisory boards hold ultimate power. At times, the democracy inherent in the New Haven community schools has been a hindrance to effective administrative action, and delays are common. A lack of definition of authority among team members frequently results in inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

14. The community school creates, and operates in, a situation where there is high expectancy of what good schools can do to improve community living.

The New Haven community schools have worked diligently to create just such an expectancy, and in this author's opinion, have succeeded. People in New Haven now expect and receive much from their community schools.

15. The community school buildings, equipment, and grounds are so designed, constructed, and used as to make it possible to provide for children, young and adults those experiences in community living which are not adequately provided by agencies other than the school.

In New Haven the Conte Community School (Figure 4:1, page 118) was designed and constructed to provide such services. Shortly after construction, however, it was discovered that a pre-kindergarten program could not be accommodated, and it had to be housed elsewhere. Otherwise, the Conte School has served the neighborhood well. Currently, five more community school complexes are in various stages of planning and construction, each unique in design, in New Haven, attesting to New Haven's commitment to serve its residents.

16. The community school budget is the financial plan for translating into reality the educational program which the school board, staff members, students, and other citizens have agreed upon as desirable for their community.

Certainly in New Haven the community school budget acts in this way. In addition to the regular budget, federal, state and city funds are funneled into the community schools, as are agency funds and assistance of agencies through the contribution of staff members to the community schools.

MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS, WITH RECOMMENDATIONS

The Community School Program in New Haven remains far from the ideal its supporters envisioned. Like most ventures of its kind and magnitude, the program is plagued

by many of the shortcomings of its personnel, resources, and its design. These, however, persist on a daily basis and, for the most part, elude complete remediation.

There are problem areas which, in this author's opinion, continue to sacrifice the effectiveness of the program and which deserve closer scrutiny by those responsible for the program. These are insufficient decision-making authority of the community school principal and coordinator; a lack of personnel trained in the community school concept; some lack of cooperation between neighborhood service agencies outside the community school; and the need for an extensive school-centered psychological service for entire families.

1. Insufficient decision-making authority of the Assistant Principal-Community School.

As structured now, the community school team has members from various city governmental agencies, such as the Redevelopment Agency and Park Recreation. The Assistant Principal-Community School requires the full cooperation and accountability of these representatives in their participation in the program, but because each team member is responsible to a supervisor in another city agency, accountability is virtually impossible. It is recommended that the authority of the community school administration be enhanced and clearly defined to include direct accountability of team members from other city agencies. If necessary, job descriptions for these members should be rewritten to provide for this result.

2. A lack of personnel trained in the community school concept.

New Haven's experience has been much like that of other school systems nationally when the problem is the lack of appropriately trained community school personnel. In fact, the only training which currently exists is that received on the job. It is recommended that the New Haven School System provide as part of its in-service training offerings, a well-structured program dealing exclusively with the community school, its philosophy and operation. Additionally, it is recommended that the school system approach the local institutions of higher education (particularly Southern Connecticut State College, the local teacher education institution) to enlist their aid in providing pre-service training in the Community School concept.

3. Some lack of cooperation between neighborhood service agencies outside the community schools.

Unfortunately, New Haven is over-programmed. Any visitor to the city who makes the effort to inquire is likely to be strangely amazed at the complicated proliferation of service agencies in the city. This is due in part to the national reputation of New Haven and the sophistication of individuals and groups in soliciting financial support. The problem results from the tendency to generate a new agency or organized group to provide a service or a variation of a service which can be provided by an existing agency or group. The community school concept was designed to provide a comprehensive approach to a neighborhood's needs through

the school facility and resources. Since 1962, however, community-based groups have established health service programs, drug abuse programs, consumer protection, and the like as separate operating entities without investigating the use of the community school at least as a cooperating service center. It is recommended that the city-wide Director of the Community School Program form a permanent city-wide committee of community school team representatives to investigate all of the family service agencies and programs available in the city with the intent to establish a referral network and, possibly, a resource exchange program.

4. A need for an extensive school-centered psychological service for entire families.

Through the community school concept, the City of New Haven has tried to determine the problems that affect the children in the system. However, the schools are not provided or equipped with facilities or trained personnel. The absence of comprehensive mental health services, which is badly needed in the schools, makes it impossible to educate the "total" child. The present method of handling emotionally disturbed children (children that cannot function in a normal situation) is one that is not offering much help to the student. Children are referred to mental health agencies but many times the families or the agencies do not follow through. (See Table 5:1 for statistics concerning psychological examinations requested and completed.) In the meantime, the children disturb classes, cause problems, and are sent out of the room with a paraprofessional who

will work with the child. The para-professional is, therefore, used as a babysitter because they are not trained to help the student in any other way. Health services within the school should provide services for the whole family, as well as the student, which is so desperately needed.

The schools have attempted to meet the needs of all students including the ones with social and emotional problems. During the initial concept of the community school, group-works supervisors were a part of the school program. They are functioning to meet the social needs of students, providing them with social activities such as field trips, small craft groups, dances, and clubs. Although these activities are important, this takes care of a small part of the problem.

Table 5:1

Number of Requests for Psychological Evaluations
in New Haven Elementary Schools

		<u>Completed</u>
1962-1963	1,200	782
1963-1964	1,298	847
1964-1965	1,342	917
1965-1966	1,415	1,005
1966-1967	1,356	602
1967-1968	1,251	763
1968-1969	1,146	747
1969-1970	1,305	894
1970-1971	1,381	916

Many students fail to learn, not because of social problems but because of emotional ones. The social group worker is not trained to successfully meet the needs of these students. Just to work with the student is not enough, but the total environment should be involved--the student, parents and sisters and brothers. Most emotional problems begin at home and the home problems must be treated to make any successful impact on the problem.

It is therefore recommended that the city of New Haven remove the referral system presently existing. It is suggested that the city use as a pilot project one of its community schools and find space within that community school to house mental health services with trained professional staff so that the entire family can be treated. The chief administrator will continue to be the principal of the school, and the psychologist will report directly to the principal of the school. The principal is directly responsible to the director of community schools, and so responsibility would follow down a line-organization.

SUMMARY

New Haven's community schools have, over the last ten years, moved from fledgling, somewhat unsure new institutions trying to help meet community needs in whatever ways seemed possible to well-established, extremely significant centers of community life. The community school concept has been tested and accepted in New Haven; it is this author's opinion that it is likely to provide a central means of improving the quality of life in New Haven for a long time to come.

The existence of a . . . community school and its success can be explained with one key word--commitment. The city administration, Board of Education, Community Action Program (CPI), and voluntary agencies have all committed themselves to the community school philosophy, to the extent that these groups have formed a type of polygamous marriage in fostering and bringing to fruition the community school concept. Without unwavering commitment, the New Haven community school program would probably still be in its embryonic stage.¹

That commitment serves New Haven well.

This dissertation has attempted to provide a developmental picture of community schools in the city of New Haven, Connecticut. Chapter One presented an overview of the community school concept, including theoretical findings, general objectives and characteristics of community schools, and a brief history of the development of community schools in New Haven. Chapter Two develops a picture of community schools in Flint, Michigan, where both the concept and the

¹Tirozzi, Gerald N., "Conte Community School," Offset publication, June, 1967, p. 34.

first implementation of community schools began, and a general model of community schools in New Haven. In Chapter Three, this author's personal concern for attention to mental health needs is developed, with a rationale for making the meeting of mental health needs the central concern of community schools. Chapter Four presents a case study of the most outstanding community school in New Haven, and Chapter Five offers a personal, subjective evaluation of the success and effectiveness of community schools in New Haven, including identification of major problem areas and recommendations, based on this author's nine years of observing and working within the New Haven community schools.

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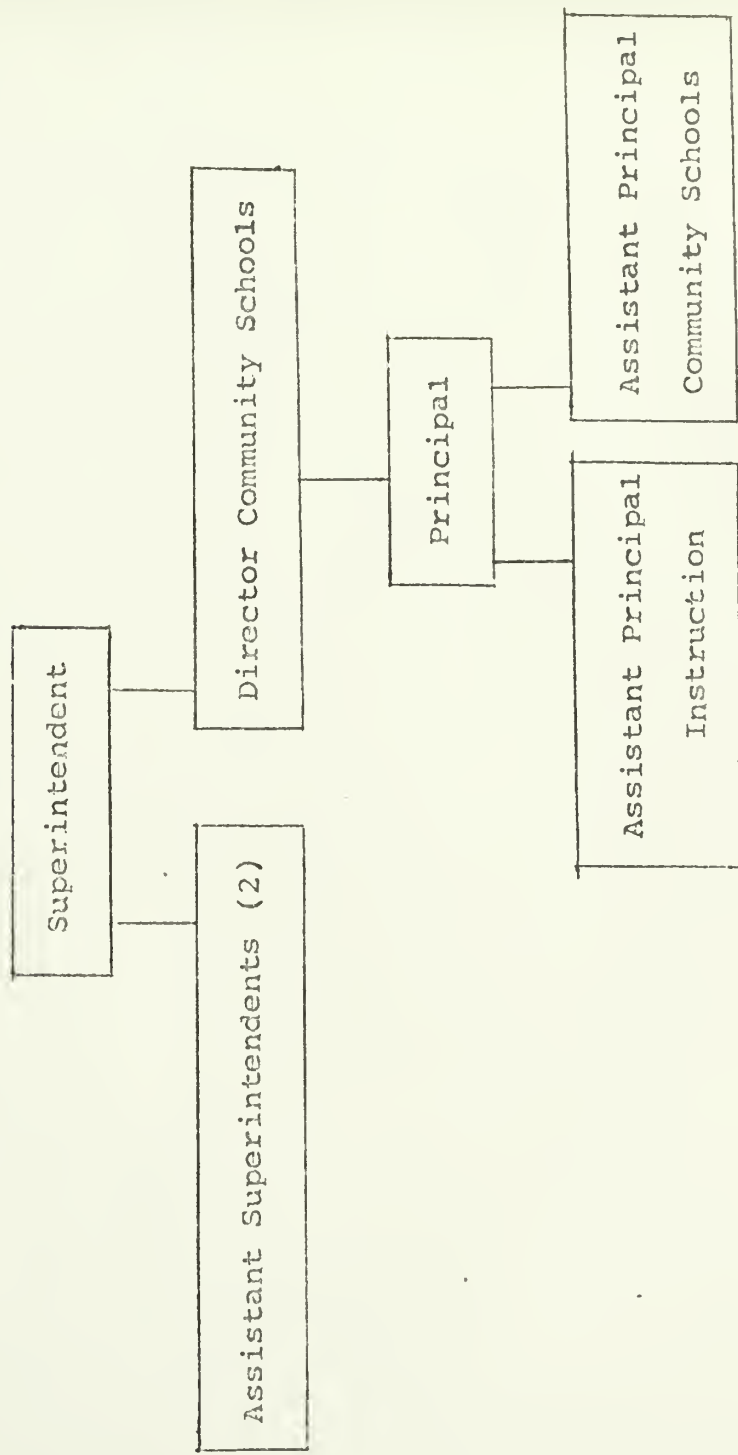
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APPENDIX

K-8 SCHOOLS

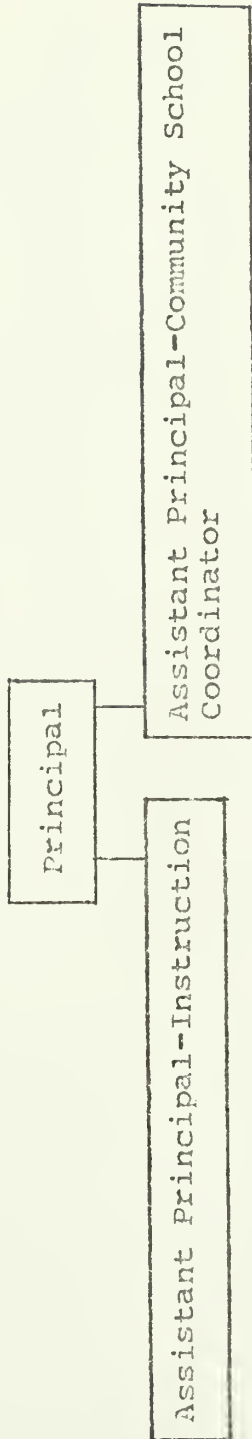
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K-8 SCHOOLS

COMMUNITY SCHOOL ORGANIZATION 1963-69

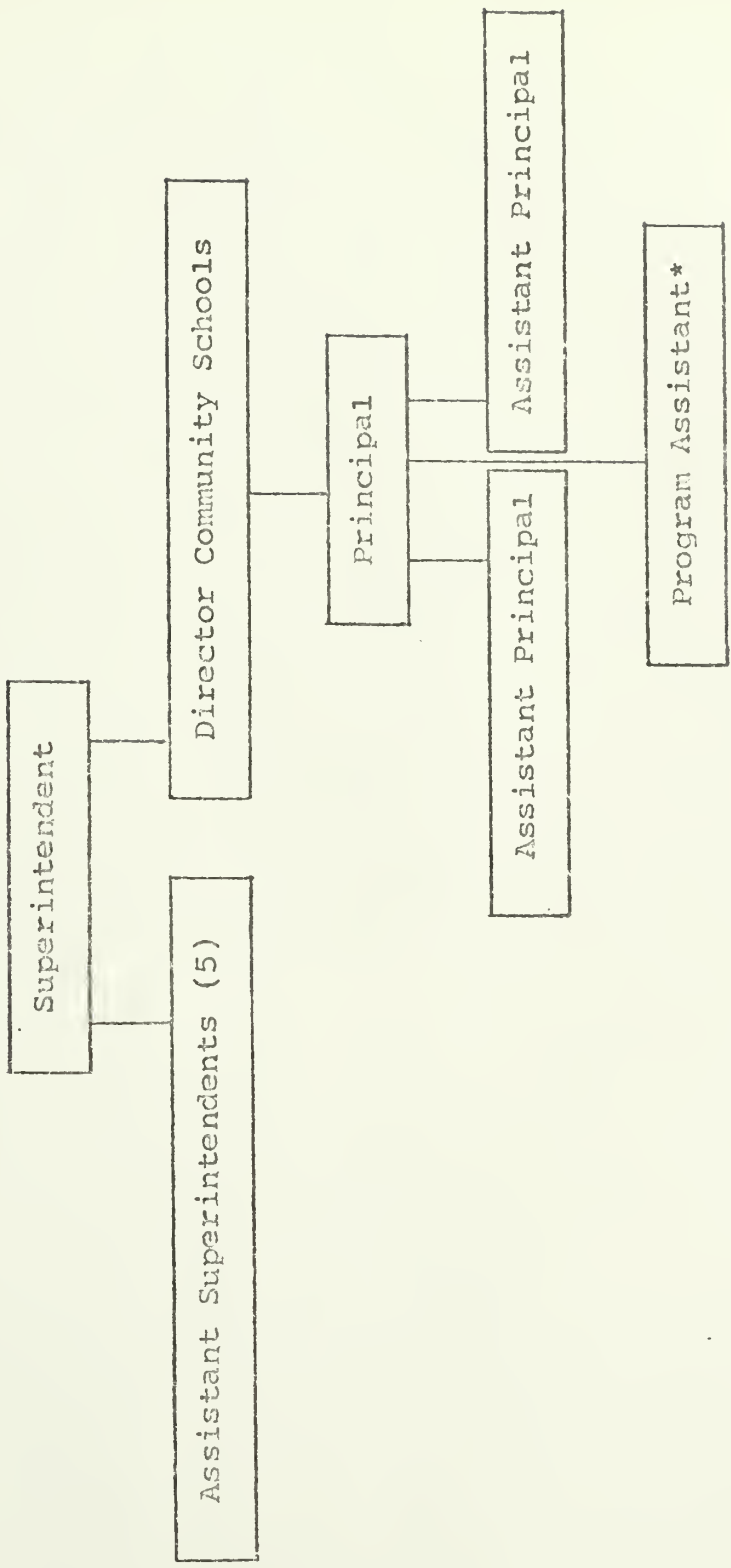
Community School Team



- Park Recreation Supervisor
- Group Work Supervisor
- CPI Community Coordinator
- Community Council Representative
- Redevelopment Project Director
- Public Health Representative

MIDDLE SCHOOLS

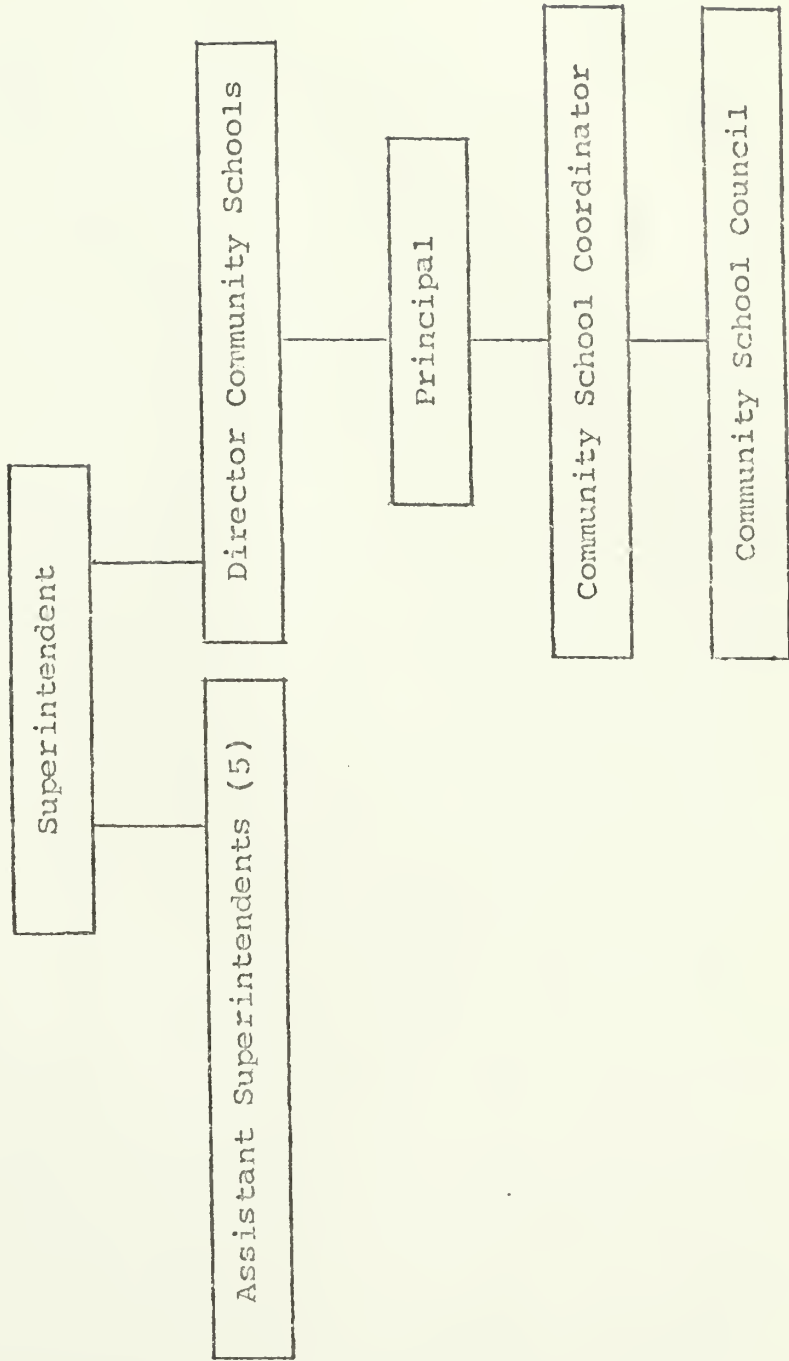
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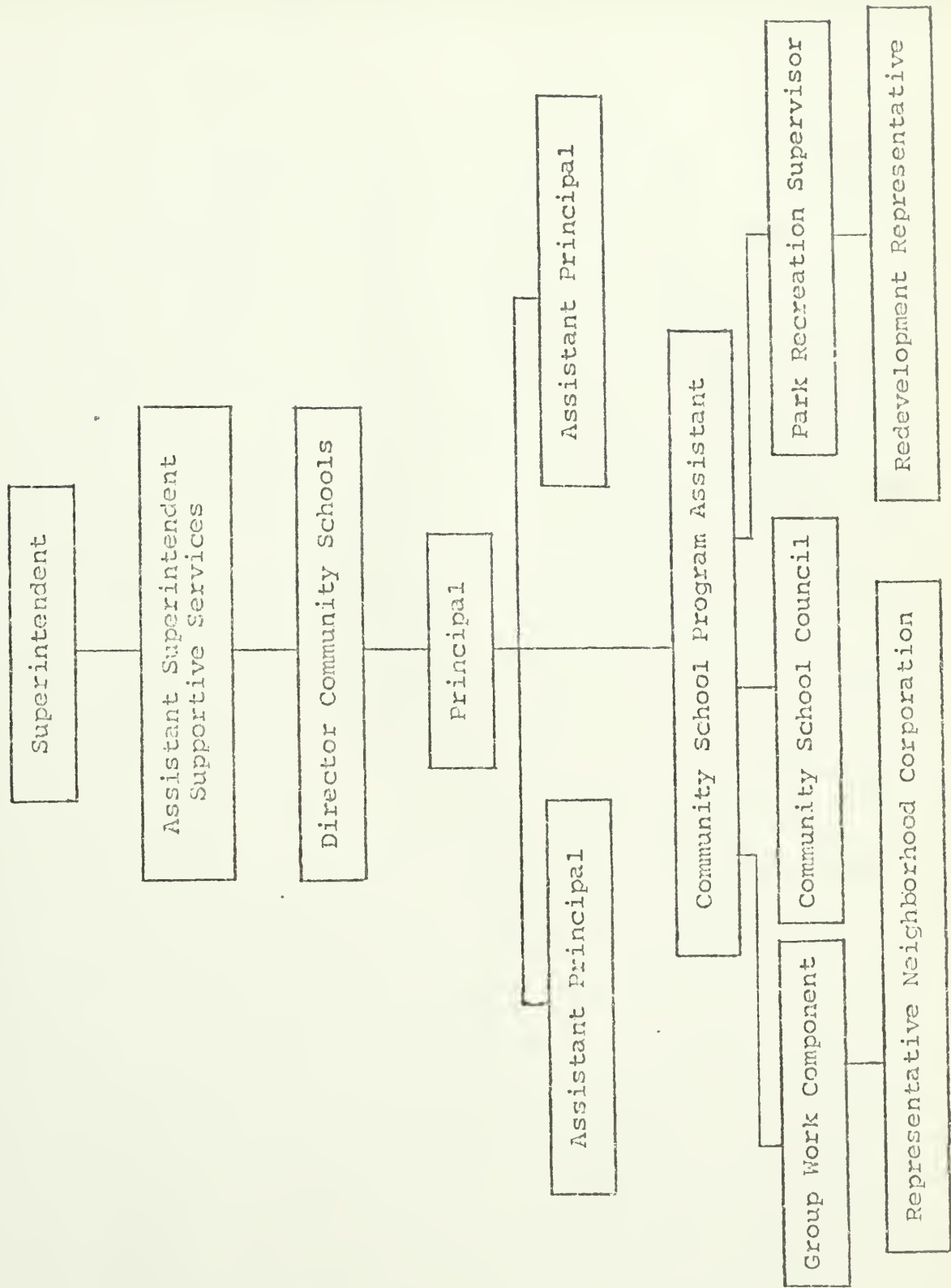


*The Program Assistants' total responsibilities are to work under the direction of the Principal in community development. He serves as advisor to community groups and chairs the Community School team.

HIGH SCHOOLS

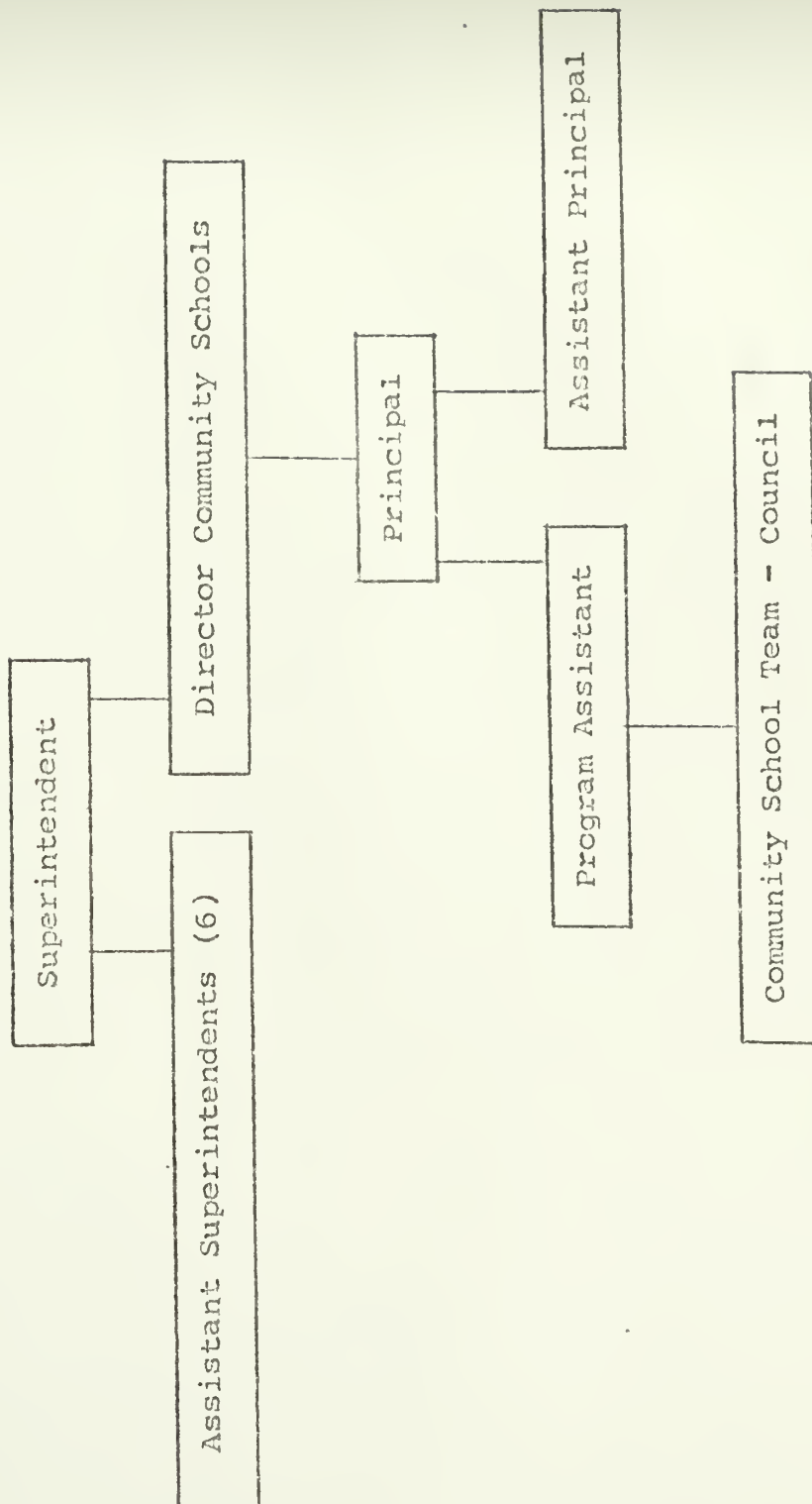
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K-8 SCHOOLS

COMMUNITY SCHOOL ORGANIZATION 1969-71



A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN SCHOOLS

1963 and 1971

Percentages and Parentheses

	<u>Elementary Schools</u>		<u>Junior High or Middle Schools</u>		<u>Senior High</u>	
	1963	1971	1963	1971	1963	1971
White	7,643 (56.9)	4,327 (34.2)	2,184 (61.7)	1,118 (37.3)	3,113 (78.9)	2,273 (45.6)
Black	5,305 (39.5)	7,074 (55.9)	1,298 (36.7)	1,625 (54.2)	810 (20.5)	2,447 (49.6)
Puerto Rican	425 (3.2)	1,186 (9.4)	51 (1.4)	238 (7.9)	16 (.40)	224 (4.5)
Other	56 (.4)	59 (.5)	7 (.2)	17 (.6)	9 (.2)	14 (.3)
TOTALS	13,429 (100.0)	12,646 (100.0)	3,540 (100.0)	2,998 (100.0)	3,948 (100.0)	4,988 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN HIGH SCHOOLS

1963 and 1971

Percentages in Parentheses

	Wilbur Cross High School		James Hillhouse High School		Richard C. Lee High School	
	1963	1971	1963	1971	1963	1971
White	1,457 (78.2)	1,034 (56.9)	1,656 (79.5)	421 (29.6)	-----	818 (46.8)
Black	395 (21.2)	708 (38.9)	415 (19.9)	957 (67.3)	-----	812 (46.5)
Puerto Rican	9	72	7	35	-----	117
Other	3 (.2)	4 (.2)	6 (.3)	8 (.6)	-----	2 (.1)
TOTALS	1,864 (100.0)	1,818 (100.0)	2,084 (100.0)	1,421 (100.0)	-----	1,749 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN MIDDLE SCHOOLS

1963 and 1971

Percentages in Parentheses

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Fair Haven	1963	696 (87.4)	113 (10.2)	25 (2.2)	1 (.2)	1,108 (100.0)
	1971	623 (64.7)	214 (22.3)	125 (12.9)	1 (.2)	963 (100.0)
Sheridan	1963	741 (83.4)	145 (16.3)	2 (.2)	1 (.1)	889 (100.0)
	1971	154 (22.3)	526 (76.3)	10 (1.4)	-----	690 (100.0)
Troup	1963	419 (44.9)	490 (52.5)	19 (2.0)	5 (.6)	933 (100.0)
	1971	119 (12.2)	740 (72.2)	97 (10.0)	15 (1.6)	971 (100.0)
Lincoln Bassett	1963	55 (9.0)	550 (90.2)	5 (.8)	-----	610 (100.0)
	1971	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Petsy Ross	1963	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	1971	222 (59.3)	145 (38.8)	6 (1.6)	1 (1.3)	374 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1963 and 1971

Percentages in Parentheses

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Baldwin	1963	14 (4.8)	275 (94.2)	3 (1.0)	---	292 (100.0)
	1971	3 (1.0)	303 (95.0)	14 (4.0)	---	320 (100.0)
Barnard	1963	264 (91.0)	19 (6.5)	---	7 (2.5)	290 (100.0)
	1971	133 (55.0)	72 (30.0)	31 (13.0)	4 (2.0)	240 (100.0)
Beecher	1963	342 (98.5)	5 (1.5)	---	---	347 (100.0)
	1971	208 (70.0)	76 (26.0)	10 (3.0)	3 (1.0)	297 (100.0)
Brennan	1963	237 (41.5)	323 (56.4)	7 (1.2)	3 (.9)	570 (100.0)
	1971	7 (2.0)	347 (96.0)	7 (2.0)	---	361 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cheever	1963	226 (83.4)	31 (11.4)	14 (5.2)	-----	271 (100.0)
	1971	136 (64.0)	17 (8.0)	59 (28.0)	-----	212 (100.0)
Clinton Avenue	1963	373 (85.3)	56 (12.8)	8 (1.9)	-----	437 (100.0)
	1971	174 (44.4)	176 (44.9)	42 (10.7)	-----	329 (100.0)
Conte	1963	309 (43.3)	301 (42.3)	99 (14.3)	3 (.1)	712 (100.0)
	1971	104 (16.0)	429 (66.2)	113 (17.5)	2 (.3)	648 (100.0)
Davis	1963	531 (98.9)	4 (.7)	-----	2 (.4)	537 (100.0)
	1971	270 (66.0)	130 (32.0)	6 (2.0)	-----	406 (100.0)
Day	1963	218 (50.1)	201 (46.2)	16 (3.7)	-----	435 (100.0)
	1971	76 (14.8)	344 (66.6)	96 (18.6)	-----	516 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

Schools		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dwight	1963	45 (16.7)	213 (79.4)	7 (2.6)	3 (1.3)	268 (100.0)
	1971	41 (10.0)	327 (76.0)	47 (11.0)	15 (3.0)	430 (100.0)
Edgewood	1963	321 (98.5)	2 (.6)	-----	3 (.9)	326 (100.0)
	1971	265 (86.0)	32 (10.0)	7 (3.0)	3 (.9)	307 (100.0)
Edwards Street	1963	223 (82.0)	42 (15.4)	7 (2.6)	-----	272 (100.0)
	1971	123 (71.0)	46 (26.5)	1 (.5)	3 (2.0)	173 (100.0)
Hale	1963	470 (99.6)	-----	2 (.4)	-----	472 (100.0)
	1971	515 (99.0)	1 (.2)	4 (.8)	-----	520 (100.0)
Hooker	1963	383 (97.0)	6 (1.5)	-----	6 (1.5)	395 (100.0)
	1971	221 (75.0)	46 (15.0)	17 (6.0)	12 (4.0)	296 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ivy Street	1963	76 (11.0)	606 (88.0)	6 (1.0)	---	688 (100.0)
	1971	12 (2.6)	434 (95.2)	10 (2.2)	---	456 (100.0)
Jepson	1963	231 (100.0)	---	---	---	231 (100.0)
	1971	183 (95.3)	3 (1.6)	5 (2.6)	1 (.5)	192 (100.0)
Kimberly Avenue	1963	247 (78.1)	58 (18.4)	8 (2.5)	3 (1.0)	316 (100.0)
	1971	166 (45.6)	161 (44.2)	37 (10.2)	---	364 (100.0)
Lincoln Bassett	1963	51 (8.6)	540 (90.4)	6 (1.0)	---	597 (100.0)
	1971	11 (1.9)	557 (95.5)	15 (2.6)	---	583 (100.0)
Lloyd Street	1963	51 (70.8)	17 (23.6)	4 (5.6)	---	72 (100.0)
	1971	---	---	---	---	---

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lovell	1963	191 (86.0)	25 (11.2)	5 (2.3)	1 (.5)	222 (100.0)
	1971	127 (53.0)	70 (29.0)	42 (18.0)	-----	239 (100.0)
Prince	1963	146 (28.6)	239 (57.5)	71 (13.9)	-----	510 (100.0)
	1971	46 (10.0)	321 (69.1)	95 (20.5)	2 (.4)	464 (100.0)
Betsy Ross	1963	520 (91.0)	46 (8.0)	1 (.2)	2 (.5)	569 (100.0)
	1971	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Scranton	1963	188 (32.3)	359 (62.6)	19 (3.3)	7 (1.3)	573 (100.0)
	1971	39 (8.0)	389 (76.0)	77 (15.0)	4 (1.0)	509 (100.0)
Sherman	1963	207 (49.5)	204 (48.8)	-----	7 (1.7)	418 (100.0)
	1971	76 (27.0)	189 (67.0)	14 (5.0)	4 (1.0)	283 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

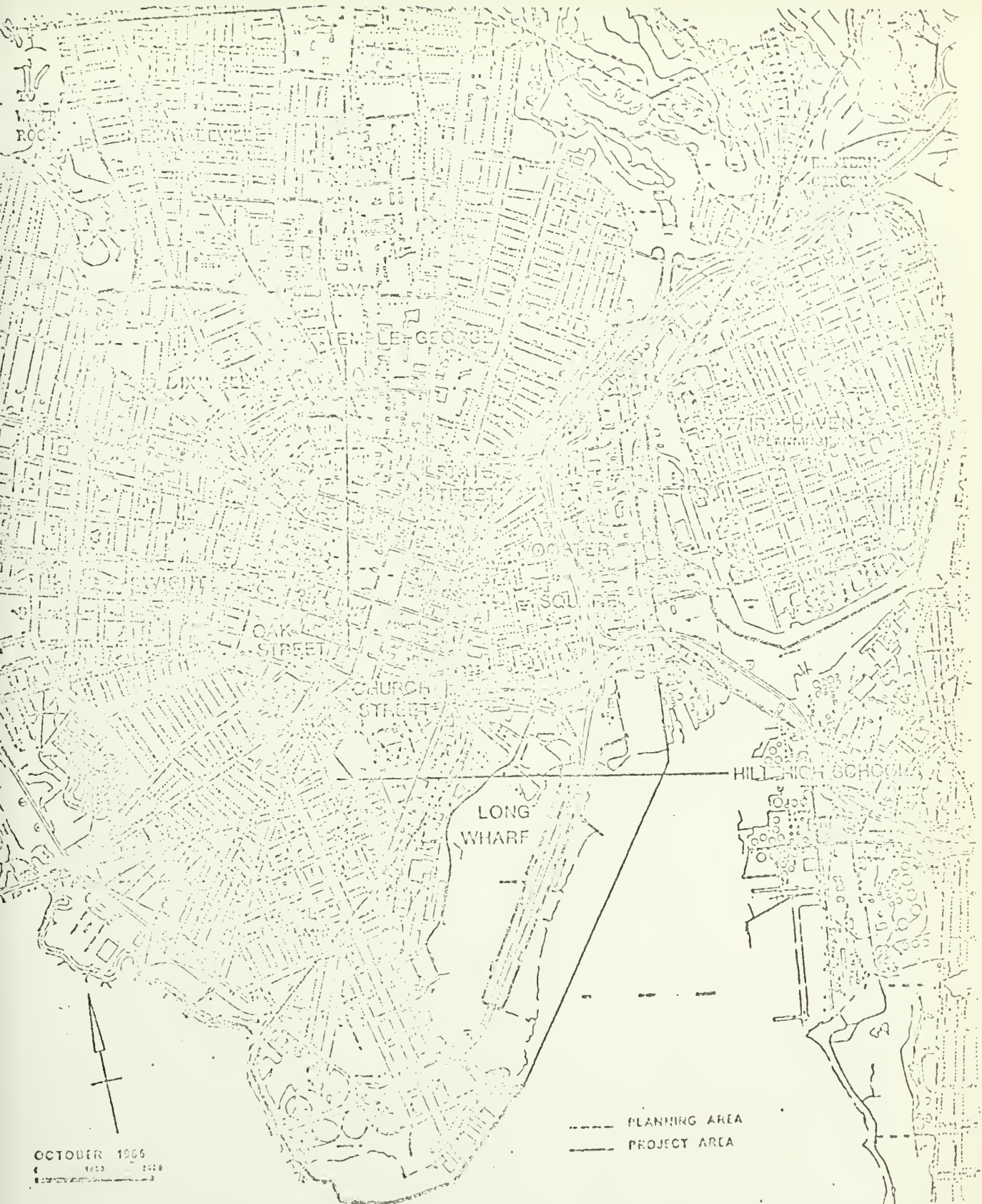
<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
King	1971	11 (4.2)	253 (95.8)	----- -----	----- -----	264 (100.0)
Quinnipiac	1971	127 (39.0)	188 (58.0)	6 (2.0)	1 (1.0)	322 (100.0)
Welch Annex	1971	22 (9.7)	155 (68.6)	48 (21.2)	1 (.5)	226 (100.0)
Bishop Wood	1971	371 (92.2)	25 (7.3)	----- -----	2 (.5)	344 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Woodward	1963	353 (99.4)	2 (.2)	-----	-----	355 (100.0)
	1971	343 (94.0)	19 (5.0)	4 (1.0)	-----	366 (100.0)
Woosley	1963	359 (69.9)	128 (24.9)	26 (5.2)	-----	515 (100.0)
	1971	87 (43.0)	76 (37.0)	42 (20.0)	-----	205 (100.0)
Church Street South	1971	2 (2.5)	75 (91.5)	5 (6.0)	-----	82 (100.0)
	1971	147 (46.4)	109 (34.4)	61 (19.2)	-----	371 (100.0)
Grant	1971	18 (5.2)	308 (94.5)	1 (.3)	-----	327 (100.0)

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN NEW HAVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CONTINUED

<u>Schools</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Strong	1963	274 (88.9)	33 (10.7)	1 (.4)	---	308 (100.0)
	1971	186 (73.0)	37 (15.0)	31 (12.0)	---	254 (100.0)
Truman	1963	376 (74.2)	110 (21.6)	18 (3.5)	3 (.7)	507 (100.0)
	1971	97 (20.0)	264 (55.0)	122 (25.0)	---	483 (100.0)
Welch	1963	169 (35.0)	246 (50.6)	66 (13.7)	2 (.4)	483 (100.0)
	1971	8 (2.5)	241 (66.5)	98 (30.4)	2 (.6)	322 (100.0)
West Hills	1963	208 (49.5)	239 (52.7)	2 (.5)	4 (.9)	453 (100.0)
	1971	23 (7.5)	279 (90.6)	6 (1.9)	---	308 (100.0)
Winchester	1963	10 (.7)	921 (97.2)	29 (2.1)	---	990 (100.0)



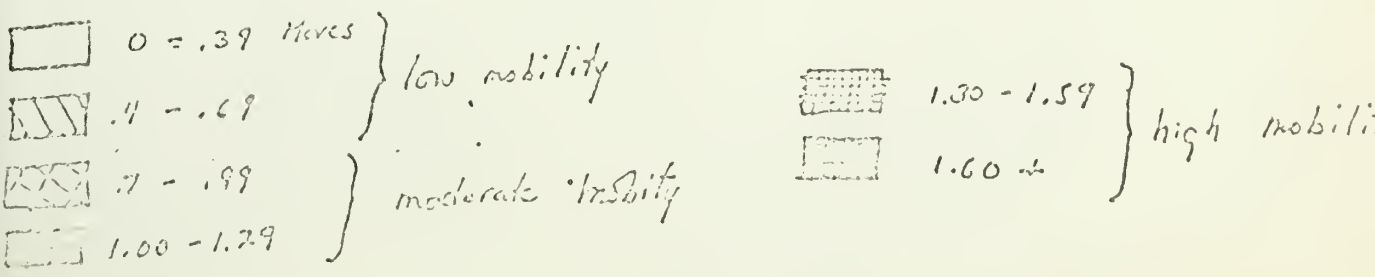
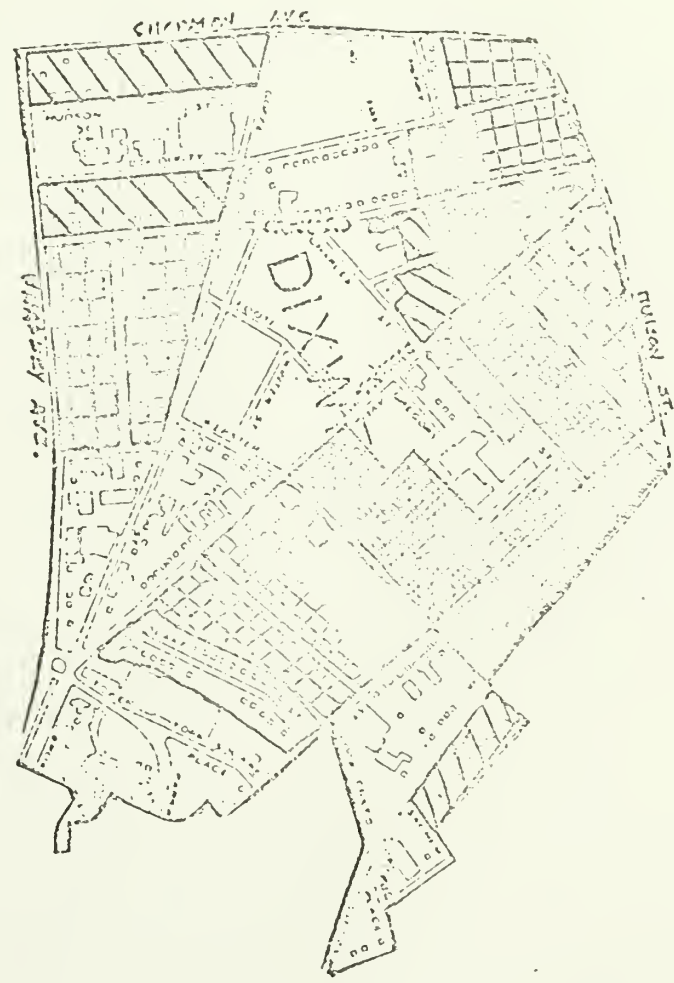
OCTOBER 1965
 1:25,000

--- PLANNING AREA
 — PROJECT AREA

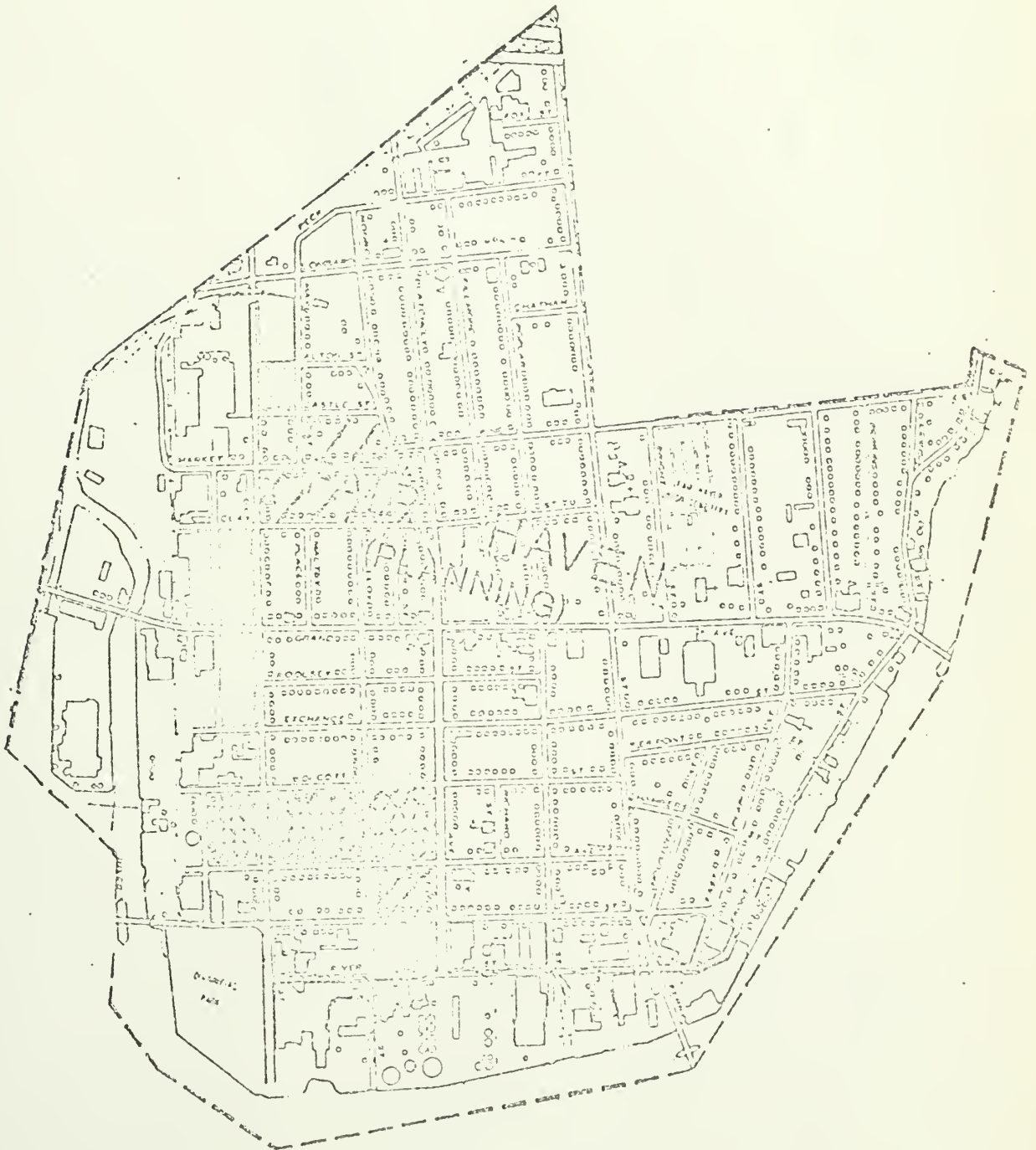
PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT

Mobility of Population

00



ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION



Percentage Non-White



0 - 19.9%



20.0 - 39.9%



40.0 - 49.9%



50.0 - 69.9%

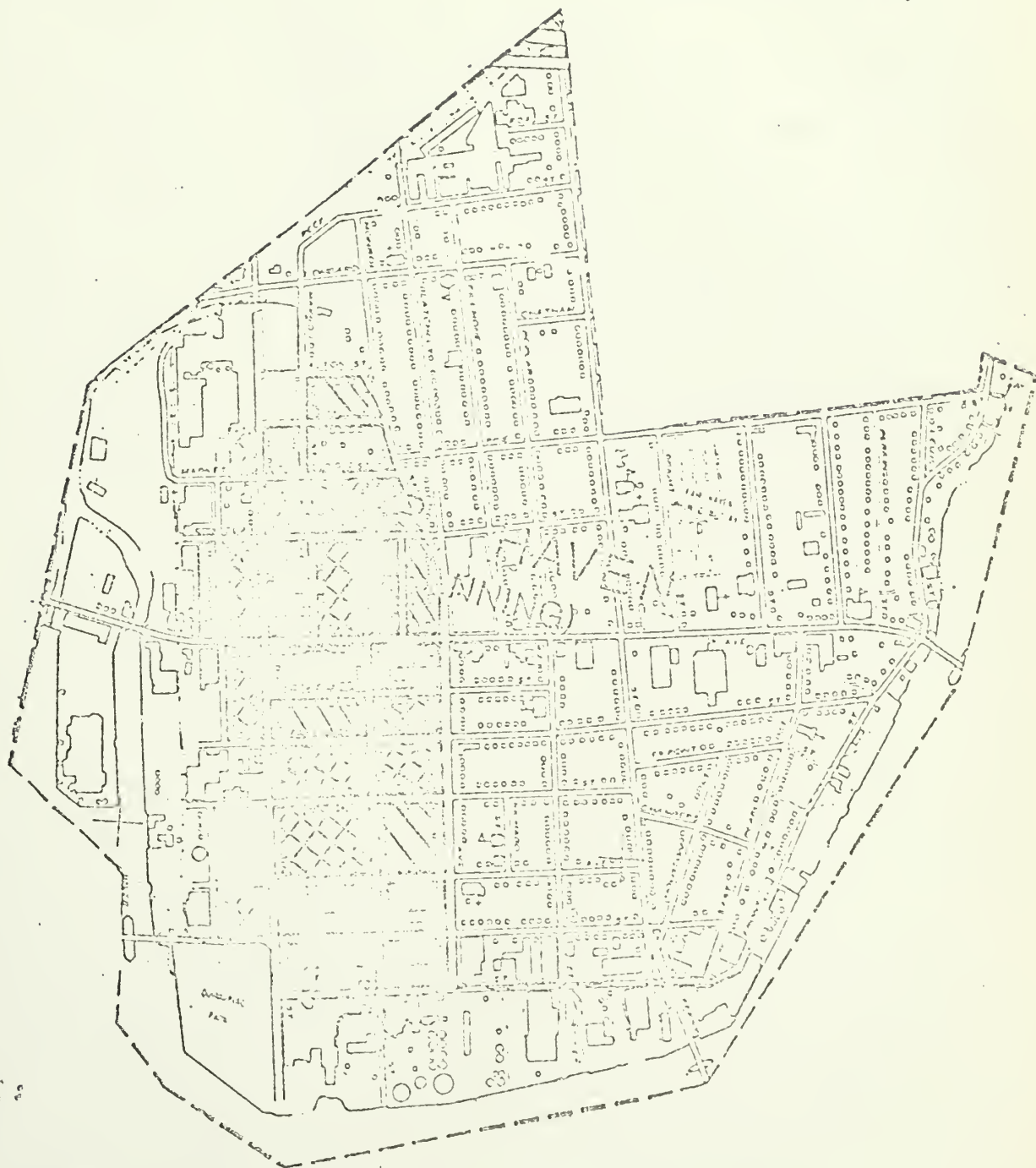


70.0 - 100%

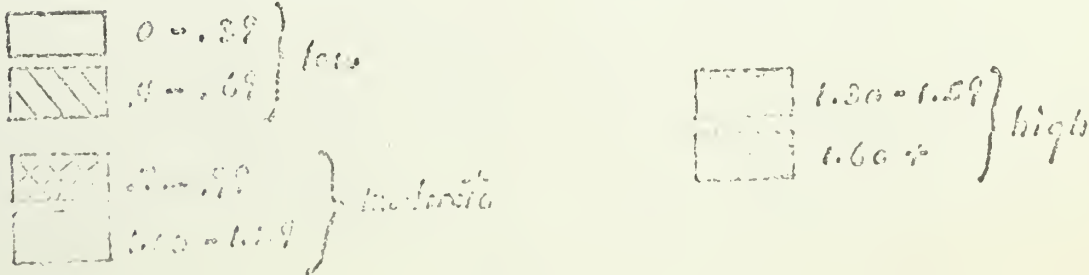
FAIR HAVEN

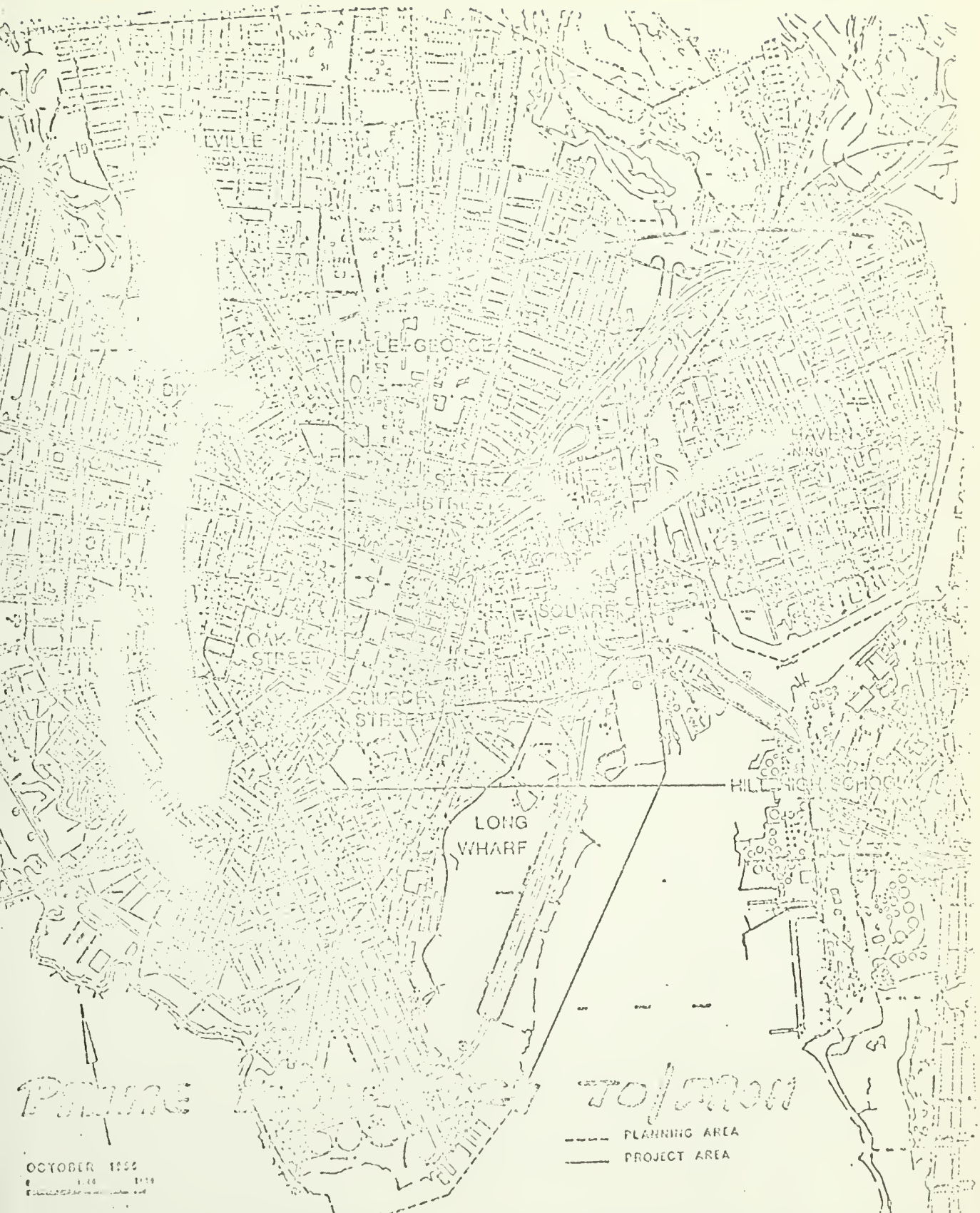
16

MOBILITY



MOVES:





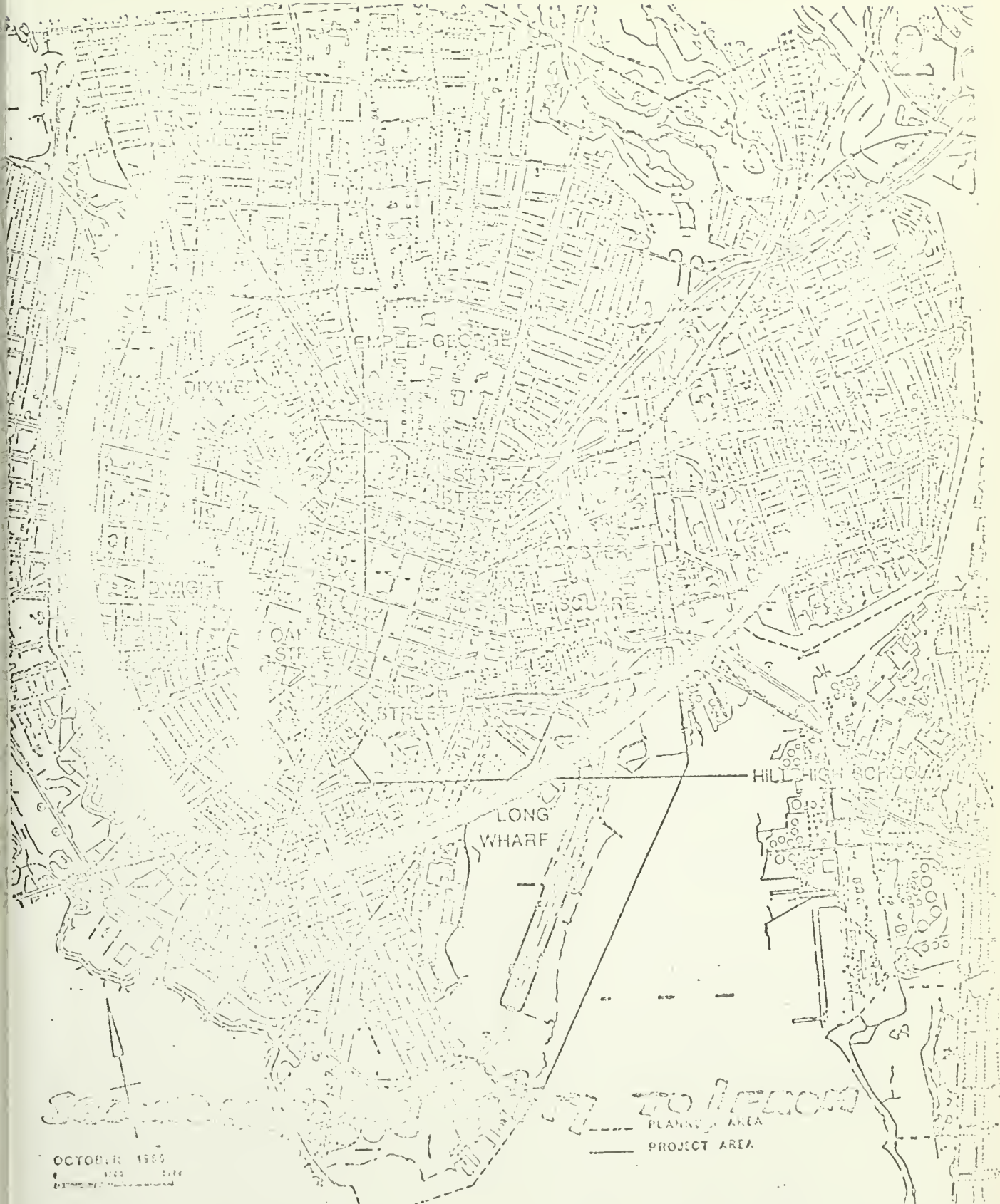
Prime

TO/FRON

OCTOBER 1956
1:25,000

--- PLANNING AREA
— PROJECT AREA

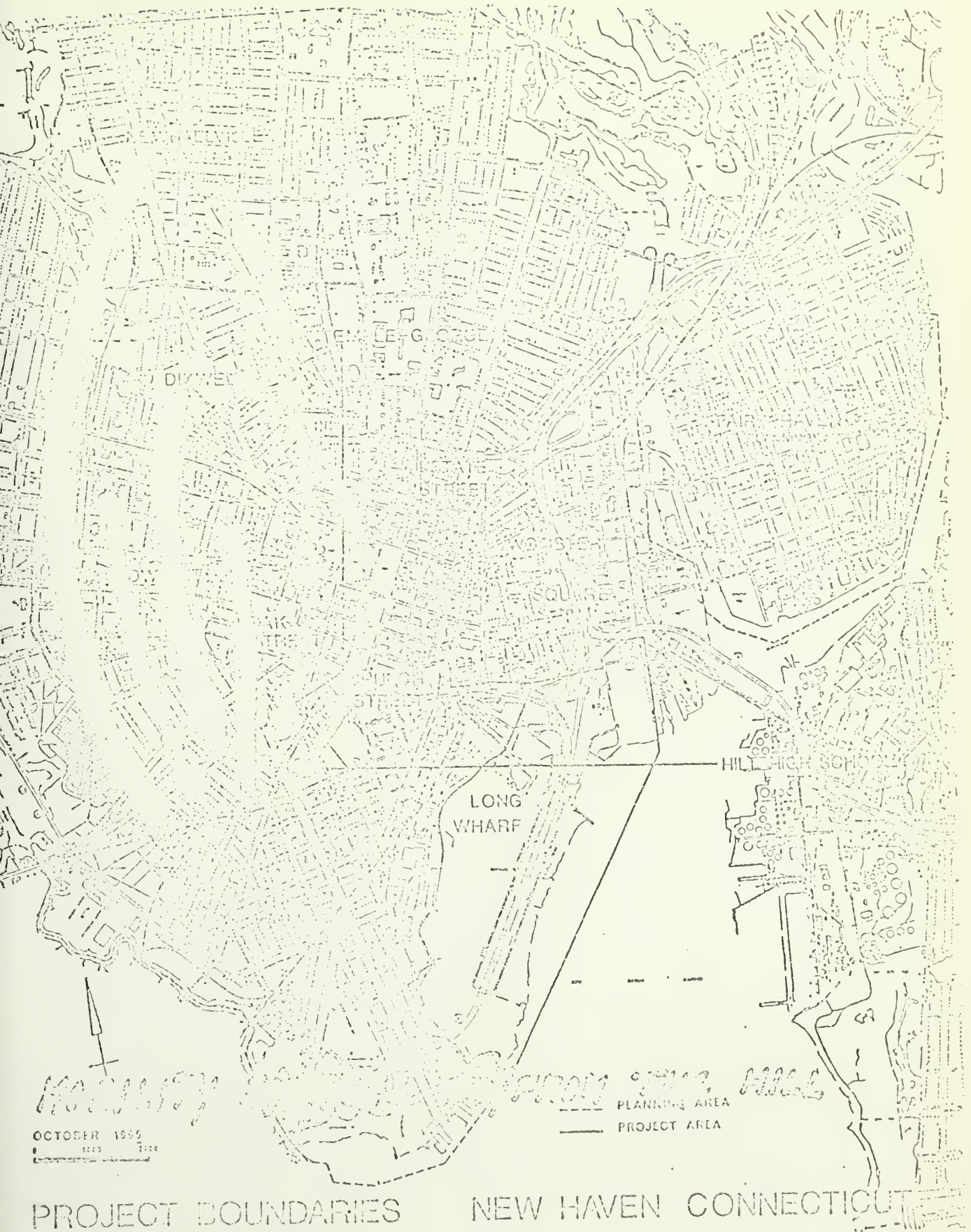
PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT



OCTOBER 1959
 1959 1960 1961
 ESTIMATED

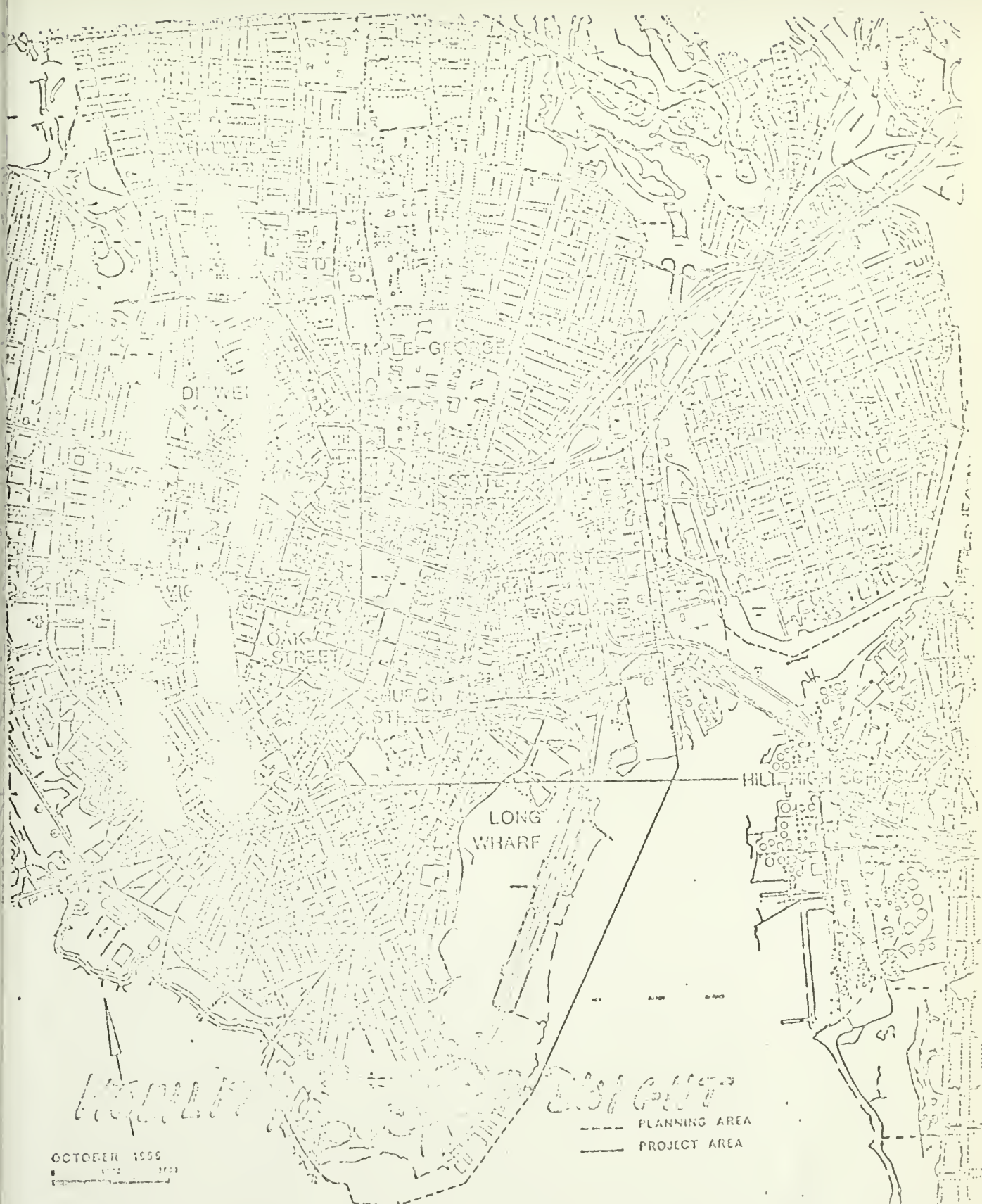
PLANNING AREA
 PROJECT AREA

PROJECT BOUNDARIES. NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT



PROJECT BOUNDARIES

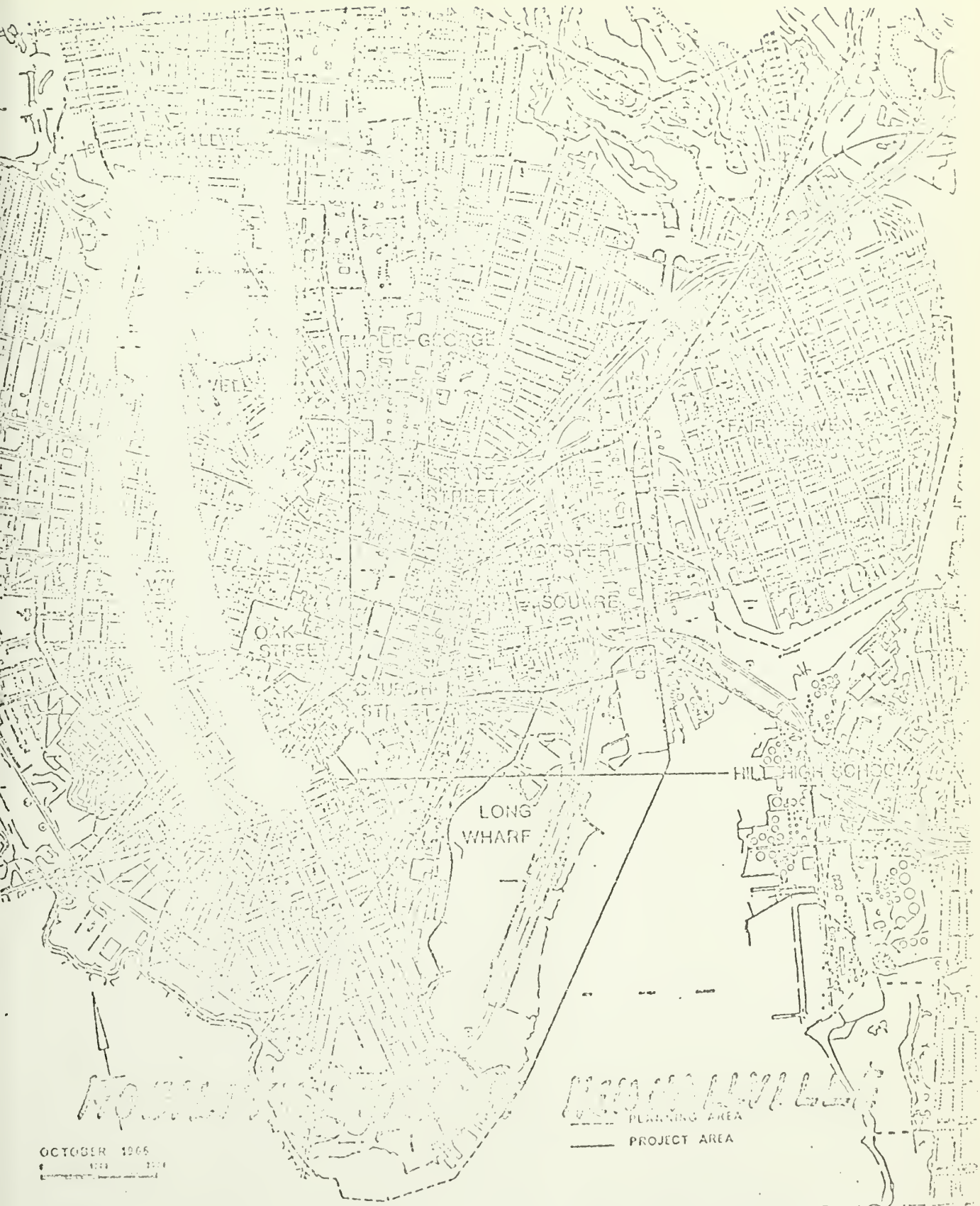
NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT



OCTOBER 1956
 1952 1953

PLANNING AREA
 PROJECT AREA

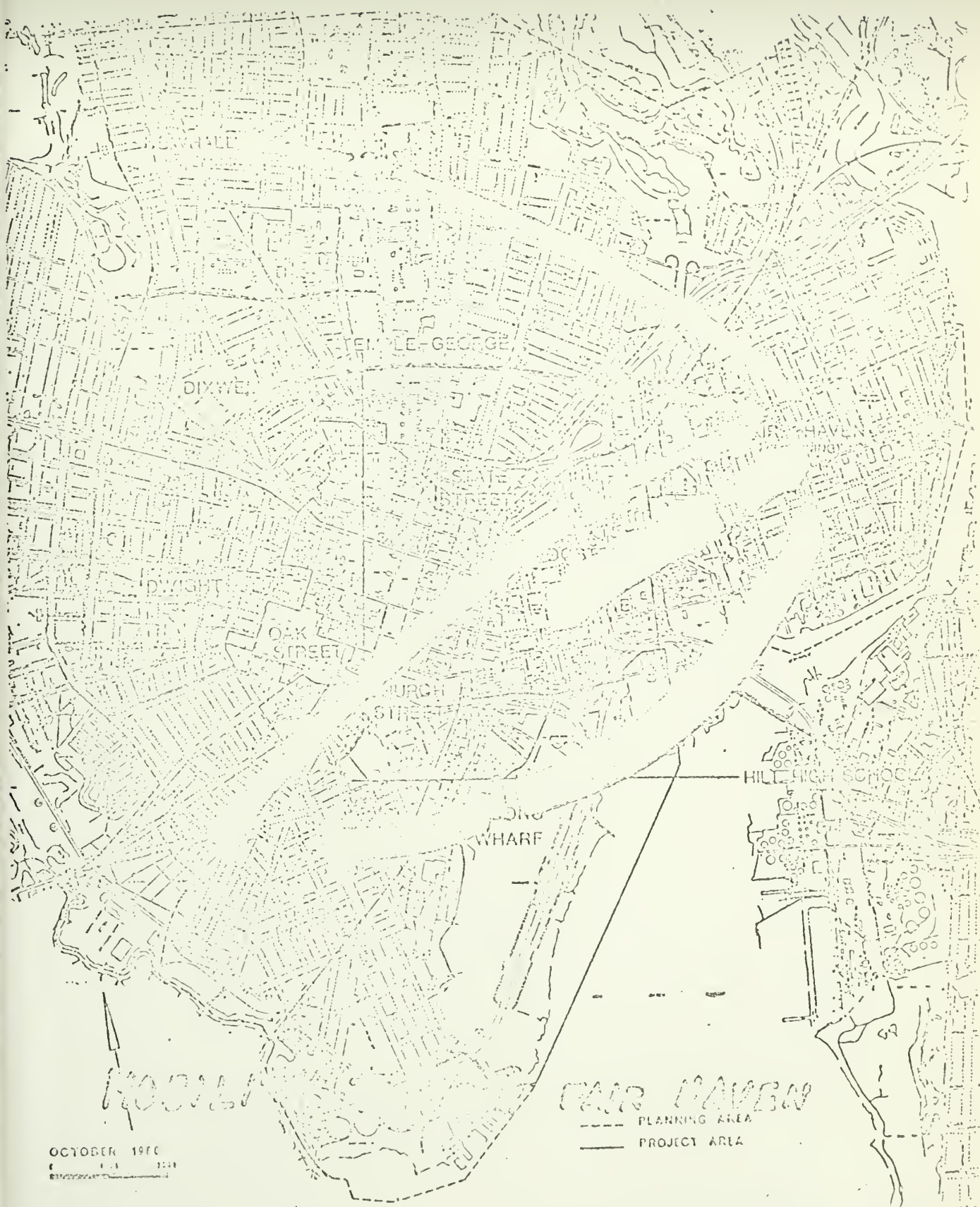
PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT



OCTOBER 1965
 1964 1964

NEW HAVEN, CT
 PLANNING AREA
 PROJECT AREA

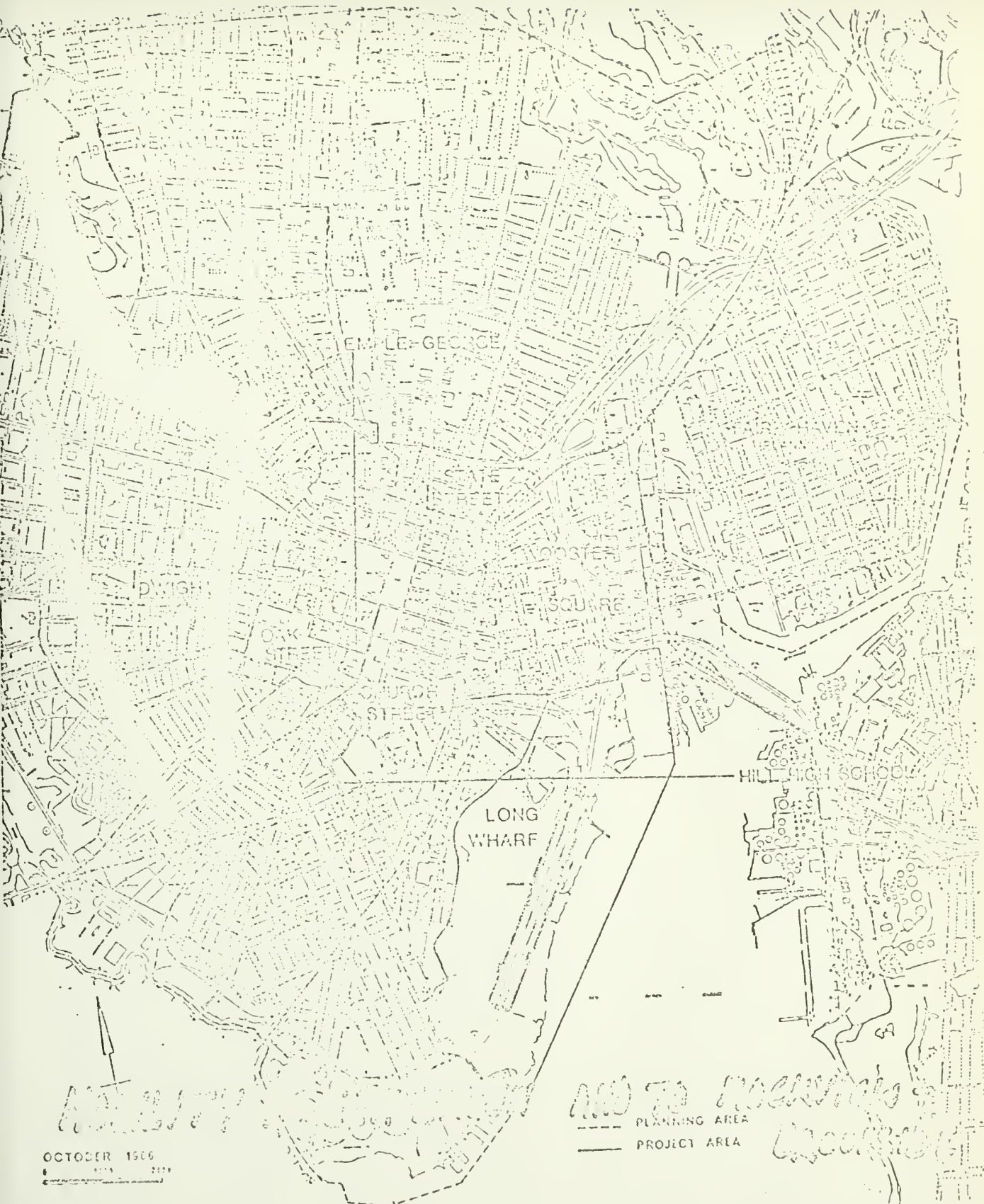
PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT



OCTOBER 1960
 1:1
 1248

NEW HAVEN
 PLANNING AREA
 PROJECT AREA

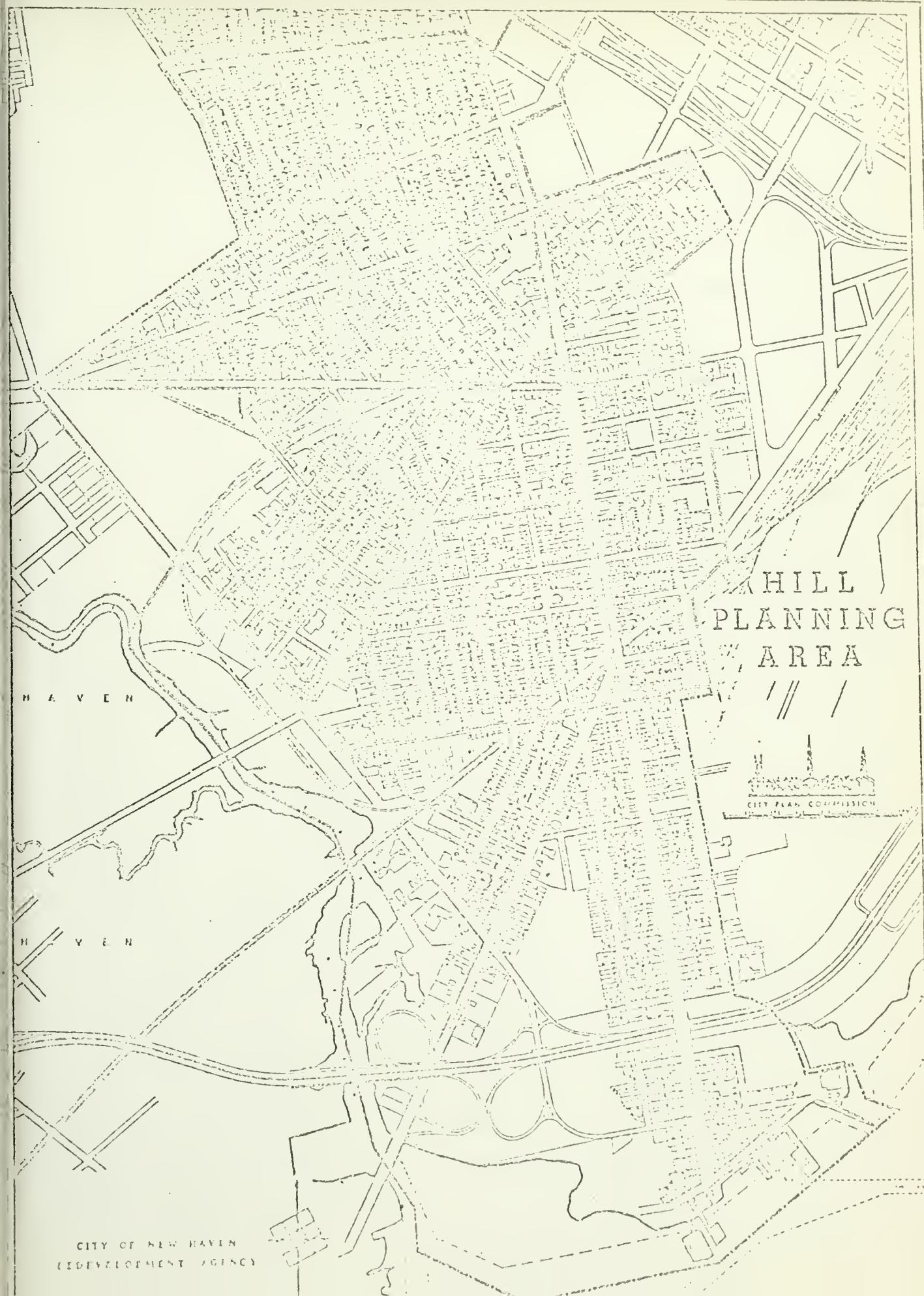
PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT



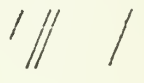
OCTOBER 1966
 0 100 200

AND TO Rockville
 PLANNING AREA
 PROJECT AREA
 Lacrosse

PROJECT BOUNDARIES NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT








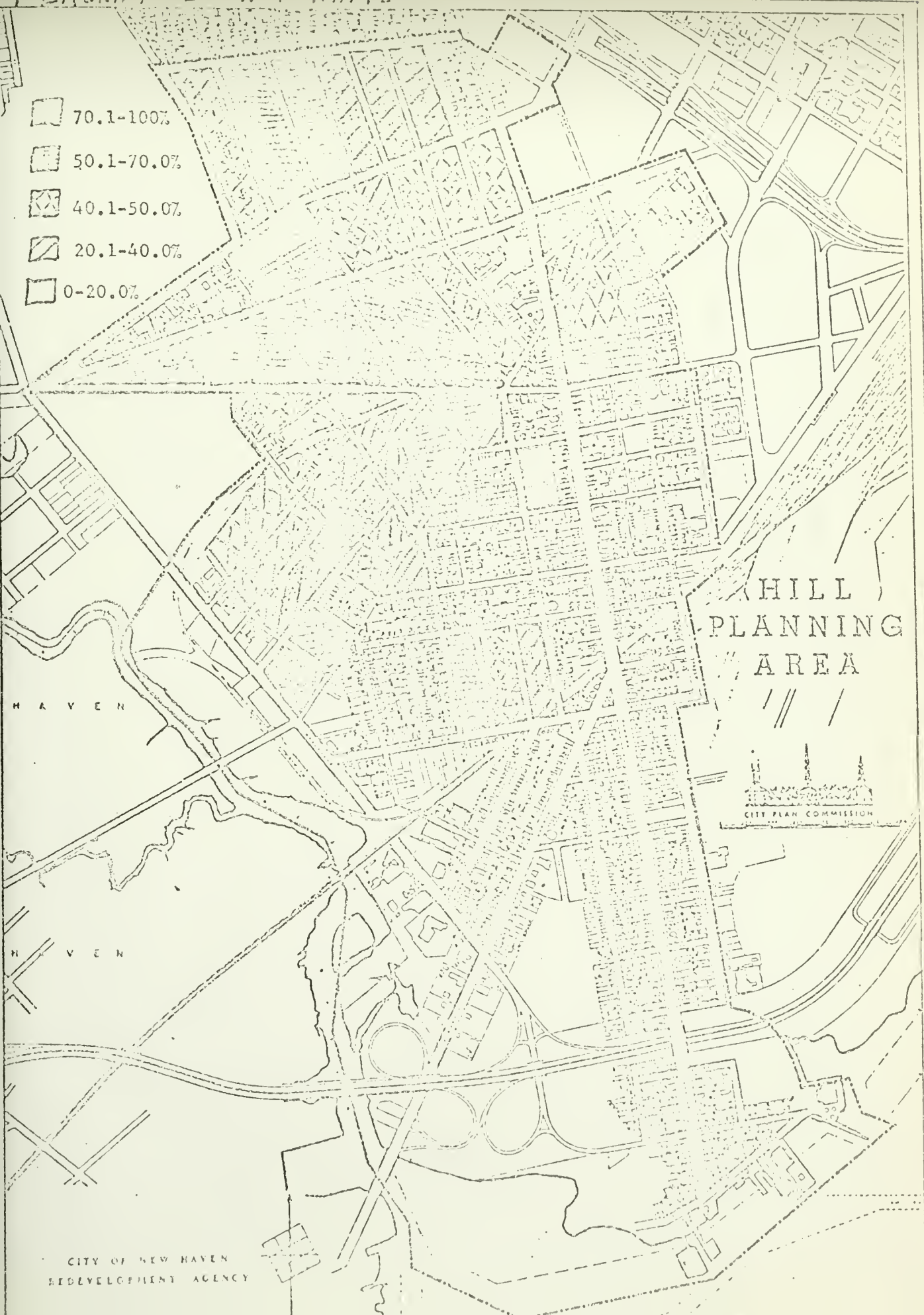
HILL PLANNING AREA



H A V E N

H A V E N

-  70.1-100%
-  50.1-70.0%
-  40.1-50.0%
-  20.1-40.0%
-  0-20.0%

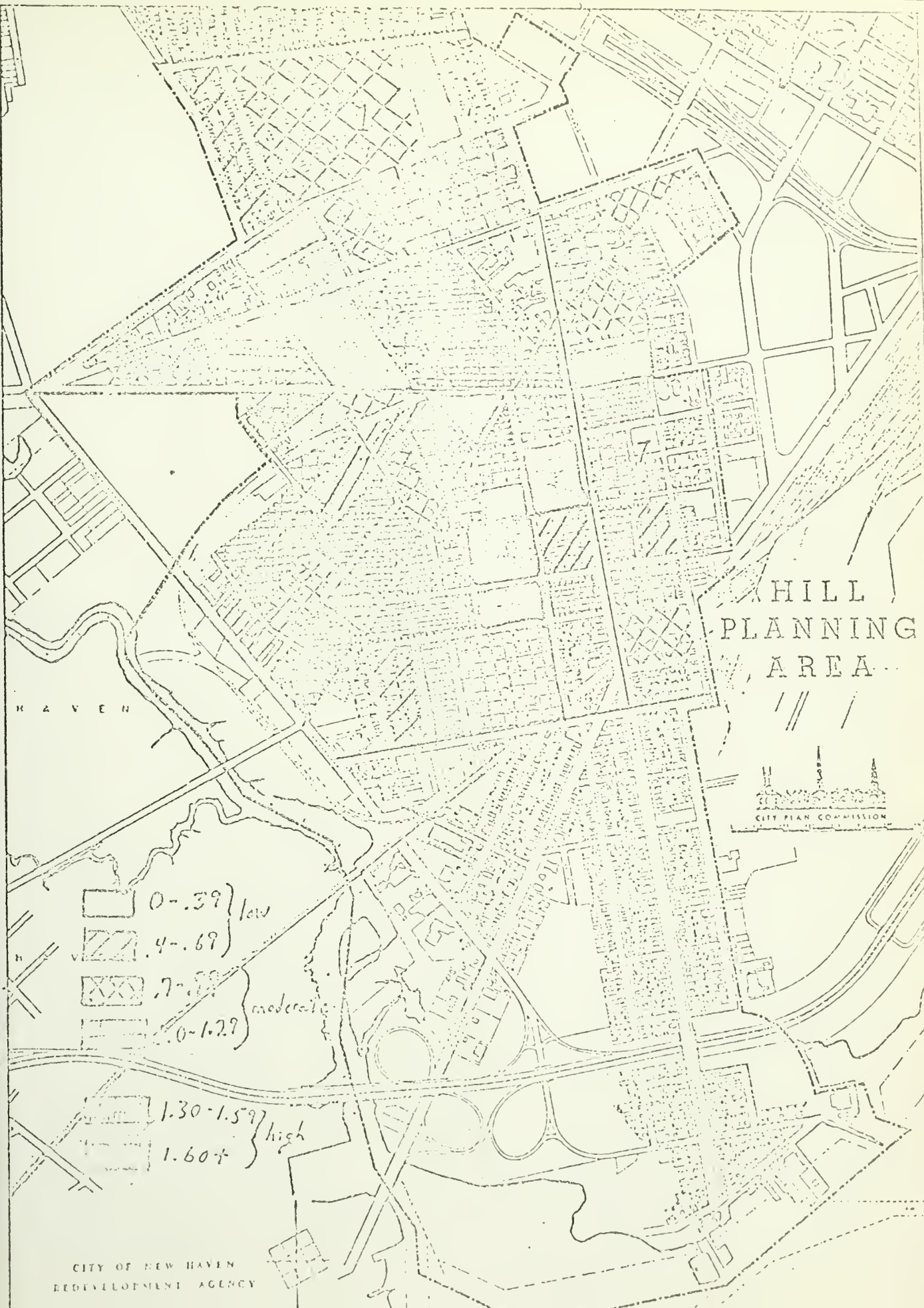


HILL
PLANNING
AREA







H A V E N

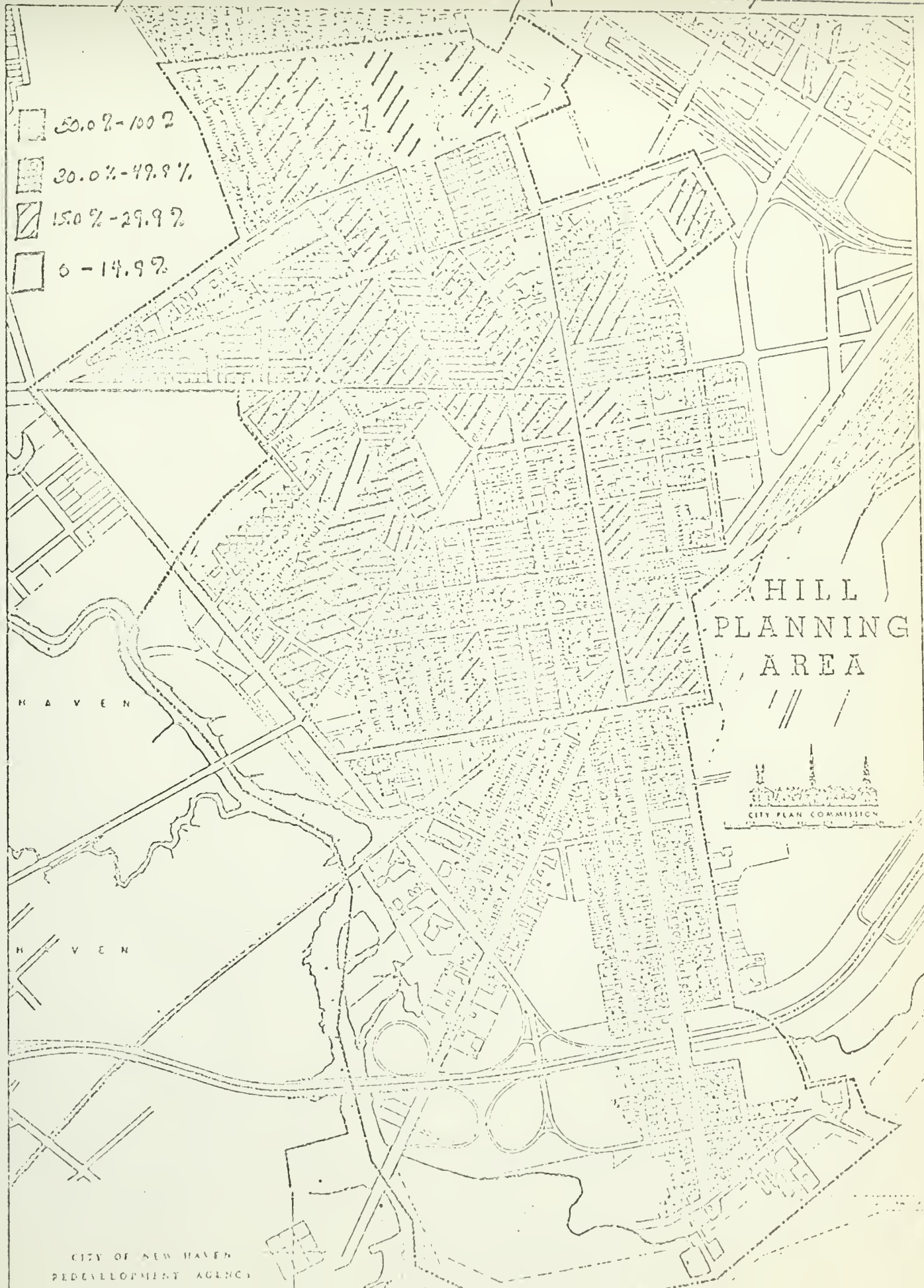
H A V E N



[White Box] 0-.39 } low
 [Diagonal Lines Box] .4-.69 }
 [Cross-hatch Box] .7-.89 } moderate
 [Horizontal Lines Box] .9-1.29 }

[White Box] 1.30-1.59 } high
 [Horizontal Lines Box] 1.60+ }

-  50.0% - 100%
-  20.0% - 49.9%
-  15.0% - 29.9%
-  0 - 14.9%



HILL
PLANNING
AREA



H A V E N

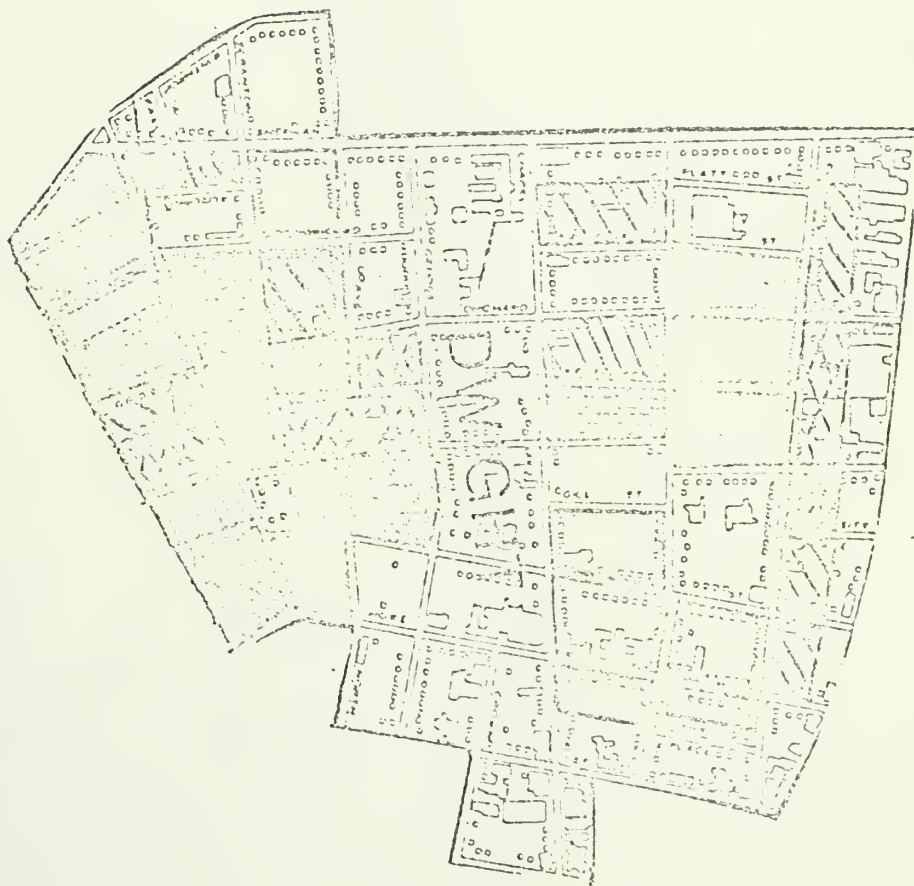
H V E N

10

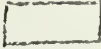
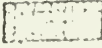

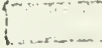

NEWHALLVILLE NEIGHBORHOOD BROKEN
DOWN INTO SECTIONS



ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION



Percentage Non-White

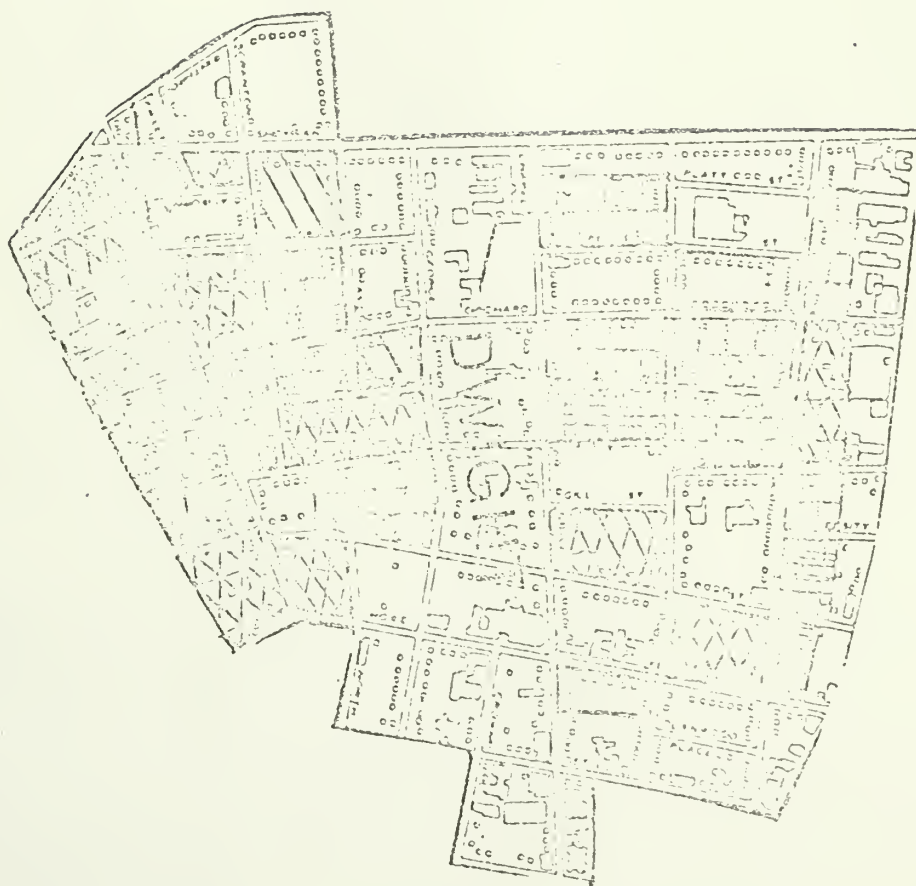
	0-19.9%		50.0-69.9%
	20.0-39.9%		70.0-100.0%
	40.0-49.9%		

DWIGHT

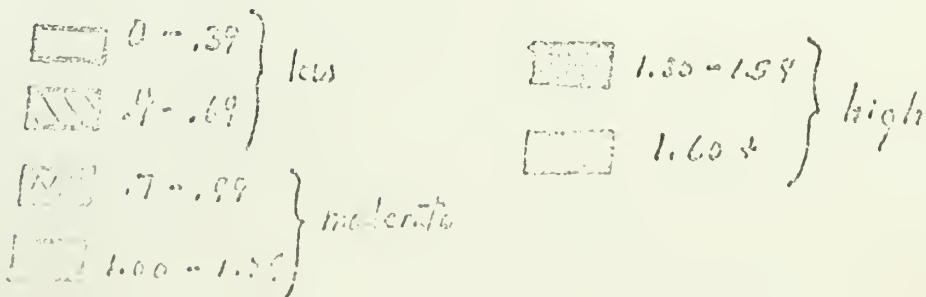
DWIGHT

18

Mobility



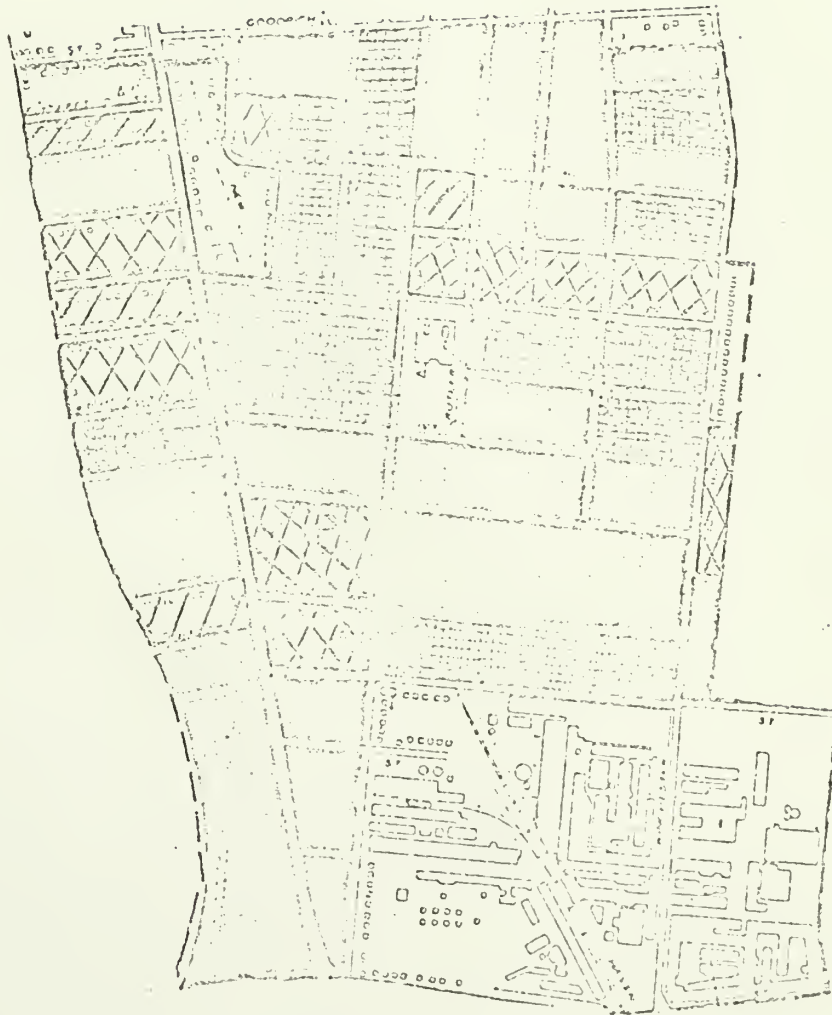
MOVES :



NEW HALLVILLE

19

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION



PERCENTAGE NON-WHITE



0.0 - 24.9%



25.0 - 49.9%



50.0 - 64.9%



65.0 - 79.9%

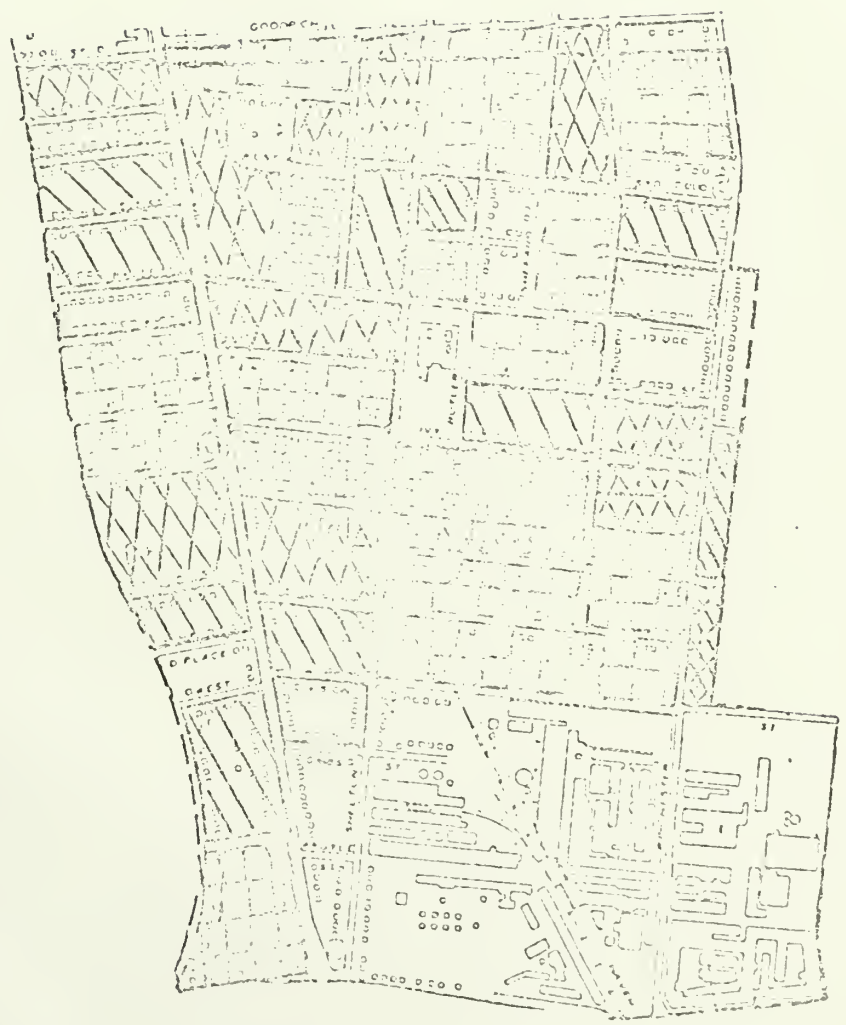


80.0 - 100%

NEW HALLVILLE

20

MOBILITY



MOVES:

0 - .39		} low		1.3 - 1.59	} high
.4 - .69				1.6 - 4	
.7 - .99		} ...			
1.0 - 1.59					

