

EDUCATIONAL R&D AND THE CASE OF BERKELEY'S
EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

Volume II:

The Life and Fate of Individual Alternative Schools in the
Berkeley Experimental Schools Project

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INTRODUCTION

The Institute for Scientific Analysis has compiled a summative description of all the sites that comprised the Berkeley Experimental Schools Program, not only those that still were in existence in the final year five (1975/76) of BESP, but also those that fell (or were pulled) by the wayside. This volume contains 24 site descriptions. BESP, the merger of two of the original BESP schools, Agora and Genesis.

Some BESP sites, like old soldiers, did not die, they just faded away. This complicates any count of fatalities and survivors. Consequently, some explanations will be appended to the count that follows.

Putting Agora/Genesis aside to consider the 23 separate identities that had borne the BESP stamp, we find that almost half--11--still existed as distinct units in Year Five. If the individual components of the Agora/Genesis amalgam are rated as survivors, then the score stands: survivors--13, non-survivors--10. The non-survivors had either been liquidated or assimilated.

Those liquidated were Black House and Casa de la Raza, ethnically sensitive schools; KARE and Willard Alternative, the two junior high school sites that were created bureaucratically to meet the federal requirement for K-12 comprehensiveness in the program; United Nations High School for Black underachievers in the terminal phase of that checkered career; and Yoga/Reading (HILC), a ninth-grade program that never achieved the synthesis conveyed by its name.

Three work or career-oriented programs, both at the main Berkeley high school campus and its adjunct campus for ninth graders, were dismantled into more general career-work programs, which were offered to the entire student populations on the respective campuses. The dismantled trio were Work/Study and Career Exploration at the ninth-grade West campus, and On Target at the main high school. Finally, Calcola X Environmental studies was diffused into its grades 4-6 common school host.

The 11 survivors, as of June 1976, were (in addition to Agora/Genesis):

Elementary schools - Early Learning Center, Kilimanjaro, Franklin Alternative, Jefferson Tri-Part and John Muir.

Secondary schools - Odyssey, East Campus, HUI, College Prep, Model School A and School of the Arts.

We turn now to the promised explanations. On Target and Malcolm X Environmental Studies continued to receive BESP funds in 1975/76, and thus for budgetary purposes they were still alive. However, as distinct educational sites they were dead. What remained of On Target's original program was subsumed in a Career Center that serviced any interested student on the Berkeley High campus. The residue of the Environmental Studies program was used to enrich curriculum for all 6th graders at Malcolm X. In contrast to these two sites, HUI vanished as a separate entity from the BESP budget in 1975/76, but remained very much alive on West Campus. In this instance, for administrative and budgetary purposes all BESP programs on West Campus were combined into something called West Campus Alternative, but by 1975/76 HUI was the sole remaining viable BESP program on that campus. Other BESP remnants were absorbed into a service program for all West Campus students called Career Education.

In 1976/77, the year after BESP, the number of survivors dwindled to seven. The surviving elementary schools were Early Learning Center, Kilimanjaro and John Muir. At the secondary level survivors were College Prep, East Campus, Model School A and Odyssey.

In keeping with the overall framework of this final report by ISA, the site descriptions are structured to pinpoint the four strategies inherent in NIE/ESP's research and development model. Thus, each site description is divided under four major headings:

- Emergence in Local Plan
- Articulation
- Funding
- Evaluation

BLACK HOUSE

ABSTRACT

Black House opened in Fall 1970 with the help of a Ford Foundation grant and was taken into the BESP fold in 1971. It was liquidated in June 1973 because the Office for Civil Rights ruled that it violated Title VI (school desegregation) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In its two years as part of BESP, Black House was under constant OCR surveillance. The cloud of suspicion, the ever present danger to its existence, were the paramount conditions of its brief life span.

The idea for the school originated in discussions between a young Black Studies consultant-instructor at Community High School (later Genesis) and some Black students who felt that CHS was so white-oriented that it did not respond to needs of Black students. The rationale for the school was as follows: Many Black students did poorly in the high schools that were, despite desegregation, permeated with the predominant assumptions, values and aspirations of white society. These students lagged because of a vast gulf between their ethnic frame of reference, both experiential and cultural, and the educational program and ambience that emerged from a different (i.e., white) experience and culture. It was hypothesized, therefore, that a school that was steeped in Black historical tradition and contemporary reality, that nurtured Black consciousness and self-esteem, that viewed subject matter from a Black perspective and in relation to the Black condition, would eliminate the gap between the community and school environments and would motivate Black students to realize their potential.

Curriculum had two emphases: basic skills (according to a BESP estimate between 80 and 90 percent of Black House students were deficient in basic skills) and Black consciousness (typical of the latter emphasis were a political economy course in Black Nation Building and a civics course called The Black Man and the Law). The student population, estimated at between 40 and 80 9-12 grade students in the two BESP years, was all Black (except for one Chicano in 1971/72), as was the staff (without exception). BESP and the Black House staff emphasized that student composition was determined by free student choice, not system coercion, and the choice was determined by the school's educational mission, not by a racial exclusion policy. These arguments were rejected by OCR. So was a plan for an Alliance of Black House; Casa de la Raza, an ethnically oriented Chicano School; and Odyssey, a multi-ethnic BESP site. Under the Alliance proposal the three schools would have retained their autonomy and the integrity of their original conception; they would have taught core courses to their respective student populations in the morning, but in the afternoon the students would have attended multi-ethnic courses that drew not only on the Alliance schools, but

also on other BESP or common schools in the district.

Forced into a defensive position, preoccupied with the struggle for survival, Black House had little inclination, time and energy for internal evaluation, and was not disposed to be hospitable to outside evaluators. Moreover, truncation of the school's troubled existence after only two years as a BESP site also impaired adequate evaluation. As a consequence there are no evaluation data on cognitive or affective growth.

However, even if such data were available and indicated a high rate of achievement, they would not have been relevant to the decisive "evaluation" that was made by OCR. The critical issue became the right of a school district to sponsor such an experiment, rather than what the experiment did or could produce. Given the fact that desegregation, as thus far implemented in the United States, has not produced conclusive evidence of overcoming ethnic inequality in educational achievement (with all the consequent implications for ethnic inequality in the society at large), it would seem that experimentation with alternatives to the prevailing patterns is valid and vital. Black House represented such experimentation, the most innovative experimentation attempted under the BESP flag. By compelling the liquidation of Black House, OCR has cast a blighting pall on a crucial area of educational experimentation in the United States.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The origins of Black House can be traced to two sources: the "free school" movement and the powerful surge to Black identity and Black pride, which began to be generated by conspicuous currents in the Black freedom movement in the late 1960's.

The "free school" movement, in the form of Community High School I (later Genesis), served as the launching pad, but the propellant was the assertion of Blackness as a distinct and admirable value. More specifically, a young Black teacher, who was brought into CHS as a Black Studies consultant, found deep discontent among Black students at that site. They complained that CHS was oriented toward the white majority in its student body and staff, that it was not responsive, either in program or atmosphere, to needs of Black students. In discussions between the young Black teacher and the discontented Black students the idea for Black House was born. In the process of shaping the idea into a proposal for submission to the Berkeley School Board, the young teacher consulted with the originator of CHS and Herbert Kohl, the most influential "free school" proponent in Berkeley at that time.

The proposal was submitted to, and approved by, the School Board in July 1970. Black House opened in the Fall semester of that year, housed in makeshift quarters at the West Berkeley YMCA, which is in a Black community. In the plan produced by BESP in Spring 1973 for the second 30 months of the program, it was said retrospectively that "the (initial) aim of Black House was to structure an educational program which accurately reflected Black achievement and would renew the will of Black youth to learn and become prepared to survive in the hostile, racist American environment."

The young Black teacher, who was the founder of Black House and became its first director (a service that was terminated by a fatal auto accident in Summer 1971), offered a more elaborate rationale for the school. "The blatantly obvious fact," he wrote, "(is) that Black students are simply not performing according to their best abilities in Berkeley High School...The real problem at hand (is) how to motivate and teach Black students."

Berkeley High, he argued, could not solve this problem for large numbers of Black students because of a yawning gulf between the school and the home (home being used not only to designate domicile and family, but to embrace the Black community with its unique status, experience and culture). The large, "integrated" but white-dominated high school offered Black students an "ivory tower" education, unrelated to their experience and culture, and to the real problems they would have to confront in their real world. A viable alternative, he concluded, was a school that was not cloistered in a white "ivory tower" but rooted in the reality of the Black ambience, a school where shared

experience, shared culture and a broad community of aspirations created empathy and the possibilities for true communication between staff and students. Students could be motivated to learn because then education would be seen as "more than something 'the man' says one has to go through." Instead, education would be perceived as vitally relevant to the needs of the students as individuals and as members of an ethnic community. "Many students," he asserted, "cannot even begin to understand the importance of going to school unless they know that it will help their survival as Black people." Black House, as an all-Black alternative, would impart that knowledge and would, indeed, provide education designed to help the students' survival as Black people.

The essence of this argument had been articulated previously by proponents of various forms of Black autonomy at various levels of the educational system. However, here it was advanced in specific circumstances, and the form in which the argument was couched reflected these circumstances. The form was an open letter, addressed to "Whom It May Concern," dated March 29, 1971, a scant seven months after Black House opened its doors. That the founder-director felt impelled to so address a militant apologia for Black House already indicated the hostile pressures to which it was subjected from the very outset. The document was explicit on this score: the school "finds itself surrounded by heated controversy"; it is a target for "many angry epithets"; some critics have gone "so far as to include attempts to defame the characters and qualifications of some of our staff members."

To understand the intensity of feeling about Black House, it is well to remember that the school was launched in 1970. This was only two years after Berkeley had completed the bused "integration" of its entire public school system, a feat that was widely celebrated for its comprehensiveness and relative orderliness. Within Berkeley, this achievement was a source of great pride in many quarters, and nationally it enhanced the reputation of the Berkeley school system as a model to emulate.

Black House was a discordant note amid the still-resounding echoes of self-congratulation. It was a challenge to the integrationist credo. Inevitably, it offended much of the Berkeley education establishment, much of Berkeley's politically potent white liberal community, and an unmeasurable segment of the Black community that included a number of articulate Black educators and Black community figures who had been in the van of the integrationist movement.

A coincidence only exacerbated the situation. In the same year that Berkeley public schools were integrated the cry of "Black Power!" reverberated through the land. Within Berkeley, the many innuendos

of this suggestive slogan were embodied in the tangible form of the Black Panther Party. Another coincidence: 1968, the year of Berkeley school integration, was also the year when Berkeley was the scene of a sensationalized "shootout" between Black Panthers and police. In the public mind (or some part of it), it was not difficult to form a vague association: Black House-Black Power-Black Panther.

Even so brief a sketch of certain factors in the Berkeley environment circa 1970 helps to explain why the March 29, 1971 open letter from the Black House director and staff had the tone of a defiant communique from a beleaguered fortress. From its inception Black House was forced into a defensive position. A concentrated and overt manifestation of the hostility that attended the birth of Black House was an extraordinary action by the counseling staff of Berkeley High School. Even before Black House opened, the counselors announced that if and when it did open, they would not service it. They formally retreated from this position only after a dramatic confrontation with the superintendent and school board members, in which they were advised that failure to carry out their duties in relation to the new school would constitute grounds for dismissal. Abandonment of a formal position under threat of dismissal is not the same as a change of heart. Indeed, the Black House staff was never persuaded that the BHS counseling staff (with one exception) faithfully fulfilled its responsibilities to the school.

Given all the above, the question arises: why did the school board approve the Black House proposal in July 1970, which also meant district assumption of responsibility for funding the school, as this was a year before ESP came upon the scene. One tangible explanation is vigorous support of the proposal by Hazaiah Williams, a Black school board member, and Superintendent Foster. Other explanations are more speculative. Even if it is assumed that the initiative for Black House reflected only a minority sentiment in the Black community, this was a highly vocal and assertive minority at the time, and those attributes endowed it with some political clout. Moreover, with the elements of pluralism that were operative in the Berkeley school system and community, any given alternative did not have to represent a majority consensus; all it needed was a credible constituency. Black House was conceived as an experiment that would involve some 100 students at a time (out of a student population of some 15,000 in the school district). As such it was deemed worthy of active support by Foster and Williams, and if some board members had misgivings about the general conception of the school, its very modest size could have been a factor in dissuading them from entering into battle over it with such potent opponents as Foster and Williams.

Once the school had been approved and funded as a district alternative, it was hardly politic to exclude it from the BESP package that was submitted to OE/ESP in June 1971. And once Black House became the recipient of federal funds, it was also subject to special federal scrutiny. Federal pressures, it soon became apparent, could be far more formidable than hostility or criticism within Berkeley.

In Spring 1971 (just about the time when BUSD was drafting its experimental schools plan for submission to OE/ESP), the U. S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity conducted hearings in Berkeley (and elsewhere) on the progress of desegregation and its effects upon educational opportunity. The committee exhibited particular interest in Berkeley's system of educational options and seemed to regard such schools as Black House and Casa de la Raza (a Chicano school that was being proposed as part of BESP) as acceptable experiments in coping with problems of certain minority students.

Among those not present at the hearing was Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas, a committee member. Later that year, after Black House and Casa had been approved for federal ESP funding, McClellan dispatched a letter to the Office for Civil Rights, the HEW agency charged with primary responsibility for enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. McClellan posed a question: how could OCR legally countenance such "segregated" schools as Black House and Casa even as it was insisting on desegregation of the Arkansas school system? The question seemed simple, but an answer would have been complicated--if it had been given. OCR chose not to answer this question; instead it decided to investigate the two schools and subsequently adopted the position that they could not, in fact, be legally countenanced.

McClellan's thrust and the OCR response created an embarrassing situation for HEW. In approving the BESP package, including Black House and Casa, OE ruled, in effect, that the two ethnic schools were acceptable educational experiments. Thus, it appeared that two agencies of HEW were at loggerheads. However, there was no public clash. A defense of the two controversial schools would have faced formidable political odds. Some of these were:

1. Paradoxically, in Berkeley the greatest misgivings about the two schools were voiced by committed integrationists, but in Washington the pressure against them was being applied by a traditional leader of segregationist forces. To be sure, the motivations were opposite, but just the same the practical effect was to lodge the two schools between two very heavy millstones in the educational mill.

2. A conspicuous peculiarity of American politics is a re-current bloc between Republicans and Conservative Southern Democrats in the Congress. For a Republican Administration faced with a Democratic majority in Congress that bloc is the best hope for getting much of its program through the legislative process. This was the situation in 1970-73. McClellan was an influential spokesman of the conservative Southern Democrats in Congress, and it may be assumed that the Nixon Administration would not lightly risk his displeasure.

3. Within Berkeley, as already indicated, there was a serious cleavage about Black House. The school district was not in a position to play the political trump of a united citizenry behind it on this issue. Moreover, defiance of the OCR finding that Black House and Casa, as constituted, did violate Title VI would have jeopardized not only federal funding for the two controversial schools, but all federal funds coming into the district. The district could reasonably assume that this was an intolerable price to pay.

4. Finally, the issues posed by the two schools were complex. Powerful arguments could be advanced for their validity as educational experiments, but at the same time, as McClellan clearly demonstrated, they could also be used by segregationists to embarrass the implementation of the officially adopted public policy of school desegregation. Aside from their susceptibility to use as political foils, there was also the honest conviction in integrationist circles that separatist schools at this juncture represented a retrograde step educationally and sociologically.

Considering the above factors, it would seem in retrospect that once McClellan prodded OCR the fate of Black House was sealed. But the denouement was delayed. McClellan made his move just as Black House became a BESP site and two full school years passed before it was terminated in June 1973. If local hostilities and pressures pushed Black House into a defensive position in the pre-BESP period, the subsequent federal pressures, with the power of legal sanctions behind them, magnified and solidified the beleaguered fortress mentality. Sporadic ISA observations at the site confirm that the director and staff were so preoccupied with the struggle for survival that other problems received inadequate attention. The circumstances were not designed to encourage a welcome to outside evaluators.

The most ambitious strategy devised to deflect the OCR axe was the Alliance plan. The plan, shaped over an extended time in the 1972/73 school year and intended for implementation in the Fall 1973 semester, proposed an alliance of Black House, Casa and Odyssey, a

multi-ethnic BESP site. These three off-site schools were to retain core courses for their respective student populations, and the integrity of their original conceptions. However, they were also to offer supplementary programs in which they not only shared their resources, but also utilized the facilities of BUSD common schools. "The purpose of the Alliance," the plan explained, "is to link the ethnically oriented education that Black House and Casa have developed to the multi-cultural emphasis that is offered by Odyssey and other alternatives in the Berkeley district." The core courses were to be scheduled for the morning, and the other courses, exposing Alliance students to multi-ethnic settings and multi-cultural programs, were set for the afternoon. Examples of proposed daily schedules were as follows:

A 10th-grade student at Black House would attend classes, one hour each, in U. S. History, Black Studies, and Intermediate Reading and Writing at Black House. After the lunch break he would, along with students from other Alliance sites, take Physical Education at Casa and Multi-Art at Odyssey. His final period would be devoted to a Physics class at Berkeley High, attended by other Alliance students as well as Berkeley High students, enrolled in either alternative programs or the common school program.

A sixth-grade student at Casa would take World History, Math, and Language Arts at Casa in the morning. In the afternoon he would attend a Science and a Music class at Longfellow Elementary (4-6) School.

On June 13, 1973, OCR formally rejected the Alliance proposal. OCR insisted that "no student be permitted to attend a one-race or racially isolated class for greater than 25 percent of any school day." Compliance with this condition (along with some others) would have effectively nullified the rationale for Black House and Casa, as originally conceived. At this point BUSD was threatened with non-approval of its \$2,867,735 ESP contract (for the December 1973-June 1976 period) unless the two schools were closed pending adoption of a compliance plan satisfactory to OCR. The BUSD superintendent thereupon notified OCR: "We will discontinue the operation of Black House and Casa de la Raza schools."

Having sketched the history that involved the legal right of Black House to live, we turn now to what it did (aside from struggling for survival) while it was alive.

Precise data are hard to come by. When the school closed the incumbent director retained all its records. District record-keeping was spotty. Access for evaluators was uneven and uncertain. As a consequence one must rely on the best approximations.

Black House opened in the Fall 1970 semester with approximately 40 10-12 grade students, six staff members (including the founder-director), a \$28,000 Ford Foundation grant, and cramped quarters in the West Berkeley YMCA.

With BESP funding, it moved in 1971 to more ample quarters in a remodeled warehouse-office building in West Berkeley's industrial district, bordering on Black and Chicano residential communities. The student population in 1971/72 was between 40 and 70, depending upon which estimate and which method for computation are accepted. The district attendance roster carried 40 students at Black House. But this excluded students who attended Black House classes, although they were enrolled at Berkeley High School. A BESP brochure estimated "about 60" students in this school year. ISA's Report No. 1: A Retrospective Description of BUSD/BESP from Its Inception Through June 1973 (dated September 1, 1973) put the student number at "approximately 70."

A similar uncertainty attends staff size. The central BESP office estimated that certificated staff ranged between 1.8 and 3.5 full-time equivalents in 1971/72; the district attendance office put that figure at 1.4. ISA observers reported that the classified staff roster ranged between 5 and 7 in that year, and that 6 consultants and 4 work-study students rounded out the staff. The grade spread became 9-12. The administration consisted of a full-time director and a secretary.

Stated objectives were:

1. To develop ethnic pride
2. To develop a knowledge of Black history, art, literature and culture, and a consciousness of the Black experience.
3. To create a functional relationship between the school and the Black community.
4. To help students develop self-discipline, self-awareness, self-direction and motivation.
5. To develop communication and thinking skills.

To help realize these objectives, the curriculum for Fall 1971 included such class subjects as:

African Literature	Black Philosophy	Black Music
Science	Black Art	Math
Creative Writing	Black Man	Photography
Reading and Writing	Slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction	Rewriting Black History and Literature

Class scheduling resembled college patterns more closely than conventional high school patterns. If three hours per week were earmarked for a particular course, for example, it could be offered in three one-hour sessions, or in two 90-minute sessions, or in a block of three hours. Such flexibility was facilitated by the smallness of the overall student population and the smallness of individual classes.

Black House also experimented with what was called a "sexemester" (six six-week sessions within the school year, three sessions in each semester). It was felt that these short but concentrated courses would be particularly useful in teaching basic skills, helping to develop a positive attitude among students by imparting to them a sense of productivity and accomplishment upon completion of each six-week session. This system was employed in the Fall 1972 semester. For the Spring 1973 semester a modification was introduced: the semester was divided into two nine-week sessions.

According to the BESP plan for the second 30 months of the program, between 80 and 90 percent of Black House students were deficient in basic skills, and consequently a primary focus of the school was on basic skills. Team teaching, small class sizes (one teacher for 15 students), and special tutors from U. C. complemented the experimentation with class scheduling and sub-division of the semester into smaller time periods in the effort to further the acquisition of basic skills.

In interviews with ISA, administrative personnel stressed an insistence on student discipline and a serious commitment to learning. It was stated repeatedly that Black House was not the place for "jiving around." To corroborate this point, there was a decision in the Spring 1973 semester to drop 16 students because they were not responsive to the program. There were also instances when students were refused enrollment because of an apparent inclination to view the school as a congenial and convenient locale for dubious activities.

In the 1972/73 school year student population was estimated (by central BESP) at about 80 and a goal of 100 students was set. (An ISA observer counted 69 students at the school in the Spring 1973 semester, 38 males and 31 females.) The curriculum retained its dual emphasis on Black consciousness and basic skills. Typical of the Black consciousness emphasis were a political economy course in Black Nation Building and a civics course called The Black Man and the Law.

Only students who volunteered (and this included those referred by counselors) were admitted to the school. The enrollment was all

Black, except for one non-Black student (a Chicano) in the 1971/72 school year. The staff was all Black throughout the school's existence. ISA observation discerned a change in student composition between the school's first year, pre-BESP, and subsequent years when it was in the BESP fold. In the first year more than half of the students came from middle-class families. This was probably due to the principal source of the initial enrollment--Community High School. In the subsequent years the students were predominantly of working-class origin, and an ISA observer estimated that about 50 percent came from single-parent families. In part, according to Black House staff, the change in composition was due to the inclination of the Berkeley High School counseling staff to view Black House as a remedial program. About 30 percent of the Black House students in 1972/73 were steered to the school by BHS counselors. The staff would have preferred a more representative cross-section of Black students, both with respect to academic achievement and socioeconomic status.

Governance of the school was lodged essentially in the director and staff who made the major decisions through consensus. Parent understanding of, and support for, the school were sought, but parents were not involved in the governing process. Nor were the students.

One must remember that Black House existed as a BESP site for only two years, and in all that time it was under constant pressure. It is tempting--but idle--to speculate about what might have been, had it lived longer, and without the OCR axe over its head.

ARTICULATION

Because of its unique and concentrated Black consciousness orientation, Black House did not readily fit into a system-wide articulation scheme. Any student in grades 9-12 could choose Black House and secure admission on a showing of serious attitude toward the school's program. Consequently all Berkeley public schools that served these grades, as well as the grades 7-8 junior high schools, were potential recruiting grounds for Black House. To be sure, students in Black Studies courses at other sites could transfer to Black House for what was presumably a more comprehensive and more intensive Black Studies curriculum, but this hardly made for a systematic articulation design.

An undetermined number of Black House students also took courses at Berkeley High School, which possessed facilities (e.g., science laboratories) that Black House did not. Here again, the evidence is that this was a matter of individual choice, and not part of an articulation pattern.

From the available data it is not possible to spell out the articulation within the school. However, students did graduate from Black House, indicating that a process of articulation was at work.

FUNDING

Because of the uncertainty that shadowed the existence of Black House from the outset it is unlikely that five-year forward funding could have been reassuring on the issue of continuity over the allotted time span.

Like administrators of other alternative schools, especially those that were off-site, Black House administrators complained about a tight budget. However, no claim was made that Black House was discriminated against in the allocation of BESP funds.

In the pre-BESP year, 1970/71, Black House was funded by a \$28,000 Ford Foundation grant that supplemented BUSD allocations. During the BESP years, BESP allocations to Black House were:

1971/72 - \$35,242

1972/73 - \$55,266

Salaries were the major item in both years. Building costs were the biggest non-salary items: \$10,000 in 1971/72 and \$18,450 in 1972/73.

EVALUATION

As noted previously the embattled status of Black House created a virtually insurmountable obstacle to objective evaluation. With the administration and staff feeling that the school was a target of hostility and distrust, and that it was threatened with extinction, a disinclination to objective in-house evaluation is understandable. Moreover, the insistent demands of the struggle for survival left little if any time or energy to design an on-site evaluation system. The circumstances were also not conducive to an open-door policy for outside evaluators, or for acceptance of institutionalized district-wide evaluation measures. On the latter score, the argument could be made that since Black House was attempting to do something that no other Berkeley school was doing, its performance could not be measured by the same yardsticks as were used for other schools. This argument was, in fact, made in rejecting the standard CTBS. The issue of CTBS, or some alternative, was being negotiated by Black House and central BESP, but the school was closed before the negotiations were concluded.

Level I did attempt to test student attitudes toward Black House, but only 18 students responded, which invalidated the test as an evaluation measure. All 18, however, expressed a very positive attitude toward Black House.

All that remains of an evaluative nature are field notes of ISA observers and several estimates by Black House personnel and central BESP. The latter estimates were offered from a defensive

position and are, therefore, vulnerable to the charge that they are self-serving.

ISA field notes describe, by and large, good morale and self-discipline among Black House students, a dedicated staff, an atmosphere of "restrained relaxation," a sense of community, and a satisfactory rapport between staff and students.

The school's founder-director made these assertions after it was in existence for seven months:

We feel that in the past months we have very definitely seen positive improvements in our students. For example, there have been measurable changes in our students' communication skills (i.e., reading, writing, speaking and thinking). Initially we had to encourage students to get over the negative feelings they had of themselves so they could admit to their deficiencies and positively work on improving them.

* * * * *

Many of the changes we have implemented, we feel, are valuable to educational theory on any level. Small classrooms, a relaxing environment, informal teacher-student relations, college oriented class scheduling and, most importantly, building an educational system flexible enough so that it revolves around the student and his needs instead of the teacher and his lesson plans, are innovations essential to improving the educational system.

In a presentation of the Alliance Proposal (as an appendix to the second 30-month Plan for BESP), central BESP bracketed Black House and Casa in these observations.

The success of both schools, whether measured in terms of student enthusiasm or student willingness to pursue further education, has been remarkable. Over half of Black House and Casa graduates have gone on to post-secondary schooling; that feat is all the more remarkable when one realizes that these students were drop-outs from the regular system, literally plucked off the streets. Students at both schools report stronger feelings of self-worth, greater appreciation for their cultural

heritage, increased understanding of other groups and--perhaps most significant for this proposal--greater enthusiasm for additional ethnically and culturally diverse experiences.

As suggested previously, there might well be a self-serving edge in the above statements. They were ventured in a context of defense and advocacy. They are not buttressed with hard data. Nonetheless, they emanated from sources that had familiarity with, and responsibility for, Black House.

Perhaps the most important datum of all is that the decisive "evaluation" of Black House was rendered by the Office for Civil Rights, and customary measurements of educational performance and achievement did not enter into it (except by strained allusion to the premises of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954). Suppose, for instance, that Black House had done fantastically well in improving the basic skills of its students, as measured by the most honored of standard tests, would this have dissuaded OCR from rendering its summary judgment? Actually, Black House was given neither the opportunity (by dint of the relentless pressure to which it was subjected) nor the time to show what it could do. Hence, pro forma evaluation is of dubious relevance.

What was, in fact, evaluated was its raison d'être, and its right to exist. We therefore deem it appropriate to summarize the arguments for the school's right to exist as expressed by the advocates of Black House in the Berkeley school system, and to append a brief observation of our own.

The principal arguments, which were contained in documents by the Black House founder, by BESP, its legal counsel, and the BUSD superintendent, may be fairly summarized as follows:

1. The Black composition of the student population at Black House was the result of choice, not system coercion. This was true for those who chose to enroll in the school, and those who chose not to enroll. Since the development of Black consciousness and Black pride were central to the school's educational mission, it is understandable why white students chose not to enroll in it. But the choice was theirs, and it was based on a perception of educational needs, not skin color, and there was no policy of exclusion on the latter criterion.

2. Related to the above, the school was constituted as it was to achieve an educational purpose. This affirmative purpose was altogether different from a negative intent of achieving racial exclusion, especially when such exclusion is coupled with a sense of racial supremacy and superiority. Both the founder-director of Black House and the BUSD Office of Project Planning

and Development (in a draft paper, dated February 1, 1971) cited evidence to support the school's educational purpose: Black students were performing poorly in the large, desegregated high school. It was, therefore, proper to experiment with alternative settings to overcome the achievement lag.

3. BUSD had implemented district-wide desegregation. This district whole was not altered essentially by the existence of parts (small parts at that) which, in the pursuit of educational diversity and experimentation to find better ways of meeting demonstrable educational needs, departed from the district norm. Moreover, these ventures were experimental, and their duration was therefore limited to a time necessary to demonstrate success or failure.

4. On a more abstract philosophical plane there is the complex issue of what integration means in practice, and what is its relationship to assimilation. When Black students are thrust into an educational environment dominated by prevailing mores, needs and aspirations of the white society, and permeated with institutional racism, some may be assimilated (e.g., those who, for some reason or other, feel competent to compete on the terrain delineated by white society), while many will be maimed or destroyed. The latter outcome is likely because of the gap between the educational setting and the communal experience and cultural frames of reference of the Black students. Furthermore, white domination, within an integrated framework, reinforces the historical patterns of white supremacy, and is therefore destructive of pride and a sense of self-worth among too many Black students. Integration without equality may be a chimera, a replication of the racist caste system in a new guise, irrespective of the sincere desire among integrationists to achieve something different and better. If, in fact, the large, impersonal, white-dominated and white-oriented setting of Berkeley High lacerates the self-esteem of some Black students and diminishes their learning achievement, then it is not only permissible, but obligatory, to seek alternative settings that are likely to produce positive outcomes. And if, in fact, it turns out that Black autonomy, which creates an atmosphere and program that are rooted in Black experience and are responsive to distinct Black needs, provides a positive alternative setting, then it will enhance the possibilities for authentic integration. That is, by instilling in Black students a proud awareness of their own culture and an appreciation of the value of their Blackness, and by consequently motivating them to realize their potential for learning, it will equip them to enter into multi-ethnic and multi-cultural situations without being submerged, overwhelmed and alienated. They will have a sufficient sense of self-confidence and self-worth, both as individuals and members of an ethnic community, to enter into functional relationships with their contemporaries on a psychological plane of equality. In this conception, the unity of integration is best achieved through ethnic and cultural diversity, including the opportunity for autonomous manifestations of this diversity.

It seems to us that the above arguments have sufficient substance to justify at least the sort of educational experiment that Black House (and Casa) represent. Of all the alternatives in the BESE fold, Black House (and Casa) were the most innovative experiments by far. We are too cognizant of the complexity of racism and racial division in the United States, of the deep historical roots of these phenomena, to offer any simple solutions for these organic problems of our society. By the same token, the illegalization of the Black House experiment strikes us as simplistic. In education, as in other spheres of American society, racism, racial division and their consequences are still so much with us that one may prudently predict that much travail, conflict, pain--and innovative experimentation--will have to be traversed before these societal deformities are overcome. In such an expansive historical and societal context, Black House is a small thing. Still, it might have perhaps offered some clues as to what could usefully be done at this historical moment to cope with problems in education that are universally recognized as staggering. Perhaps, it could have provided empirical data to shed some small light on what should not be done. We will never know.

CASA DE LA RAZA

ABSTRACT

The plan for Casa de la Raza was produced by an ad hoc committee in Berkeley's relatively small Chicano community, which also selected the school's first director and assistant director. Staff recruitment was also performed by a Chicano community group.

An authentic community product, Casa opened as a BESP site in Fall 1971 and was immediately subject to investigation by the Office for Civil Rights on charges of practicing segregation in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Like Black House, Casa was compelled to close in June 1973 when OCR returned its verdict of guilty as charged.

Casa was a K-12 school with a bilingual curriculum that aimed to meet the special problems and needs of Chicano children, not only through bilingualism but also with a curriculum and atmosphere that were informed with Chicano culture and values. Its founders argued that the language (English) and the culture and values (Anglo) of conventional U. S. schools imposed enormous handicaps upon Chicano students reared in Spanish-speaking homes and the Chicano traditions. Casa was designed to eliminate such handicaps.

Community participation in Casa was impressive. Almost a third of the 427 Chicano students in Berkeley's public schools attended Casa. Enrollment ranged from some 130 in 1971/72 to 95 in 1972/73. The drop was explained by dissension about the "free school" atmosphere in the first year, deficient housing for the school (four wooden bungalows with poor light, no heat, and portable outside privies), and OCR pressures. In the second year, there was a new administration, a more structured format, and a sharper focus on basic skills.

Casa was governed by La Mesa Directiva, which was composed of three staff members, three students and three parents. Its regular staff was supplemented by 20-30 volunteers, including students from the University of California and local colleges, parents, and professionals from the Chicano community. It also served as a community center, especially on ceremonial occasions (e.g., Cinco de Mayo, a Chicano holiday).

For all of its two-year life span Casa was under the cloud of OCR investigation, and thus forced into a preoccupation with the struggle for the right to survive. This circumstance compounded the difficulties in designing a system of evaluation that corresponded to Casa's unique character and needs.

No hard evaluation data are available on Casa. As was true of Black House, the decisive "evaluation" of Casa was rendered by OCR, which was not concerned with specific educational outcomes at Casa. In a reply to OCR charges, Casa's staff said the school was culturally based, not intentionally segregated; that attendance was by student choice, not system coercion; that the school addressed definite educational needs of Chicano students. Casa's purpose, said the staff, was to correct ills inflicted upon Chicano children by discrimination, and it was thus unjust to call the school discriminatory. OCR rejected this defense, and also refused to accept the Alliance proposal as an alternative (see Black House description).

The fundamental issue posed by OCR's liquidation of Casa (and of Black House) was whether the legally permissible range of experimentation to overcome the acknowledged educational deficit for disadvantaged ethnic minorities in our multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society included a cultural pluralism that allowed for experimental schools based on an autonomous ethnic and cultural identity. To state the issue is already to indicate its magnitude for U. S. education.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Casa de la Raza opened in Fall 1971 as a BESP site. This timing stamped it as part of the strong alternative education current in Berkeley, but its origins can be traced to the ethnic awakening in the latter half of the 1960's that introduced such words as Chicano and Raza into the vocabulary of California and the Southwest, and thrust upon the national scene such diverse personalities as Cesar Chavez and Reies Lopez Tijerina.

Pressures from Berkeley's relatively small Chicano community brought Casa into being as an alternative school that would embody Chicano culture and meet the special needs of Chicano children. The community pressures were generated by the widespread feeling that traditional U. S. education served Chicanos very poorly; that classes taught solely in English imposed an enormous handicap upon students reared in Spanish-speaking homes; that schools, whose atmosphere and curriculum were steeped in Anglo tradition and culture, alienated Chicano students with their different ethnic background. As a consequence, it was argued, the traditional schools virtually guaranteed academic underachievement by Chicano students, lowered their self-esteem and diminished their aspirations. Indeed, it was said among Chicanos that the traditional schools tended to lessen the Chicano student's command of the Spanish he had learned at home, even as they supplied him with a woefully inadequate command of English; thus, the ultimate triumph of such a system was a functional illiterate in not just one, but two languages! Casa, as a bilingual school informed with Chicano culture, was offered as the viable alternative to all that was deplored in the conventional schools.

Casa was the most innovative of all the BESP sites in three respects:

1. It was a K-12 school.
2. Its curriculum was bilingual.
3. It provided the greatest degree of community participation in school policy-making.

Nonetheless, from the outset Casa, like Black House, was shadowed by an investigation by the Office for Civil Rights on charges of practicing "segregation" in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. As with Black House, the investigative and judgmental process extended over two years before the final verdict that shut down Casa. The history of OCR intervention is sketched in the description of Black House, as is the Alliance proposal, the most comprehensive strategy devised to save the two ethnically

oriented schools. This information will not be repeated here.

What bears repetition, however, is the destructive effect upon a school of spending a brief two-year life span under an ominous cloud. The uniquely innovative character of Casa only exacerbated that effect, as the nature of true innovation entails trial and error and free, vigorous debate about alternatives, but the exercise of such vital functions is inhibited when the innovative institution is constantly compelled to defend its right to live. A defensive posture tends to breed the excess of caution that is the blight of innovation.

Despite their common fate, Casa was significantly different from Black House in certain respects (in addition to ethnicity, grade range and curriculum), as follows:

1. Although its ethnic community was much smaller, Casa seemed to command a greater proportion of active support within it. One observer* noted, for example, that whereas Black House enrolled some 75 students out of the 1,400 Black students in Berkeley high schools, Casa enrolled some 125 students out of the 427 Chicano students in the Berkeley public schools. The comparable ratios were 1:3.4 for Casa and 1:19 for Black House; that is, Casa did about six times as well as Black House did in recruiting students from their respective ethnic constituencies.

2. Black House was governed essentially by the director and staff; Casa was governed by La Mesa Directiva, which was composed of teachers, students and parents. Moreover, the assistant director was a community representative who did not come from the educational system. Also, Casa served as a Chicano community center, especially on such ceremonial occasions as the celebration of Cinco de Mayo, a Chicano holiday.

3. A post mortem analysis of the Casa experience was performed by Chicanos (Casa de la Raza, published by the Southwest Network, Clearinghouse for Chicano Alternative Education, Hayward, California).

The case for Casa vs. the OCR was stated by the Casa staff in the terminal phase of their confrontation:

We at Casa are not an intentionally segregated school. We are a culturally based school.
Attendance at Casa is by student choice, not

*Appleton, Susan Frelich, "Alternative Schools for Minority Students: The Constitution, the Civil Rights Act, and the Berkeley Experiment," California Law Review, Vol. 61:858, May, 1973, pp. 26-86.

system coercion. Raza children have definite educational needs and Casa de la Raza is an alternative school that addresses itself to those needs. In fact, Casa attempts to correct the ills projected onto Chicano children by discrimination. We do not see how a program that tries to correct ills caused by discrimination can also be discriminatory. (Casa de la Raza, p. 9).

What Casa was about is well exemplified in the school's statement of teacher recruitment policy:

Casa seeks teachers who are not only competent in the subject matter areas, but who also are committed to Carnalismo, Raza culture, language and the values of Casa. They must understand that teaching Chicanos is not a job but a movement.*

A common ideological commitment to teaching as a movement does not, in itself, answer the question of how to teach. On this score there was great dissension within Casa from the beginning. Broadly defined, the issues between contending forces were "freedom" vs. structure, and the proper relationship between ideological abstractions and basic skill tangibles. How much emphasis should be accorded such ideological and/or anthropological concepts as Raza, Chicano and Carnalismo, and how much to development of proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in two languages? On the theoretical plane it could be agreed that there was no fatal contradiction between nurturing ethnic consciousness and imparting basic skills; that, in fact, a synthesis of the two would afford the best education for Chicano students. But this did not preclude disagreement about proportion and emphasis in the practical implementation of a theoretically conceived synthesis.

In Casa's first year, 1971/72, there was much dissension and considerable experimentation involving the issues above. At the end of the school year the director was replaced, and with the new director there was a shift to a more structured format and sharper focus on basic skills. The shift in emphasis is indicated by a comparison of an initial statement of Casa objectives (June 1971) and a revised statement drafted by the staff in Spring 1972.

*For a comment on the implications of the contradiction between Casa's teacher recruitment policy and BUSD policy, see ISA's report, A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis of the Berkeley Experimental Schools Program (1973-1974), September 1, 1974, p. 41.

The June 1971 statement included these objectives:

1. That 75 percent of the students in grades K-12 would become aware of and value their cultural heritage, traditions and values, as measured through positive attitudes reflected in the interpersonal relationships within their group and with other groups throughout the community.
2. That on a continuing basis, students would demonstrate self-actualization through the initiation and pursuit of goals and options related to their learning activities.
3. That 75-80 percent of all students would, according to the dominant language of the students, achieve one year's growth in basic language and math skills for each year of attendance.
4. That the staff would be prepared and provided bilingual training toward effective teaching of the second language through all-day involvement in the teaching-learning process in theory, language and practice. Strengths, techniques, tools, methods and materials would be developed. In addition, bilingual staff would learn through first-hand personal and academic inter-relationships with students and parents.

The above was amended by the Spring 1972 statement to include the following:

1. To train students to operate bilingually.
2. To get parents more involved in the educational experience of their children.
3. To deliver the basic skills.
4. To enable students to learn by doing.
5. To instill the concept of "carnalismo" (brotherhood) in students.
6. To train staff in bilingual techniques of teaching.

In a description of Casa (in Second 30-Month Plan), BESP said: "During the first ten months of the ESP program, Casa experimented with the idea of a free school. The curriculum was flexibly adapted to students' needs and the school day was not

structured into specific class periods. Classrooms were self-contained. Organizationally, Casa experimented with different administrative structures...."

Although progress was observed in these ten months (in students' pride and attitudes, and in a decline of absenteeism), BESP went on, "At the same time, the free school atmosphere produced a 'freedom shock' on the part of many students. An evaluation by staff, students and parents led to a re-orientation of the school. The school would continue with the same philosophy but would try a different structure. The change in educational methodology led to a revision of the school administrative structure."

The change in emphasis was, in part, a response to the demands of a sizable group of parents, who wanted more attention to basic skills, more structure, more discipline. However, the change was too late to hold many of these parents (and their children), who were repelled by the dissension and experimentation, which created an atmosphere of instability in the first year. The consequence was a significant drop in enrollment in the second year. It is not possible, of course, to gauge just how much the OCR investigation contributed to the sense of instability, although it may be reasonably assumed that it was a contributing factor.

An examination of Casa rolls for 1971/72 by an ISA observer yielded the names of 168 students. Some of these, however, attended for only a brief spell to see what Casa was like. In the lower grades, it was mostly parents who terminated such "trial period" enrollment of their children. More realistically, BUSD/BESP estimated the first year's enrollment between 132 (in the Alliance proposal) and 140 (in a sketch of Casa for the final 30-month plan). Enrollment for 1972/73 dropped to 95 (an official BUSD estimate corroborated by an ISA field observer's count). The decline approximated 39 percent.

Glaring defects in physical plant might well have contributed to the enrollment decline. For its first year, Casa was housed in four wooden bungalows behind Martin Luther King Junior High School. Lighting was poor, and there were no heating facilities (although it does get uncomfortably chilly in Berkeley during the winter). The toilet facilities were outside portable toilets. A gym and cafeteria had to be shared with King. Matters were not made better by a reported resentment among King students of their Casa neighbors. Certain other facilities (e.g., for science classes) were also lacking for what was planned as an autonomous, self-contained school.

There was some, but not much, improvement in facilities for the second year. Casa was transplanted into eight new green trailers, about a block and a half from King, in an area that

turned to mud when it rained; not until late January 1973 were asphalt pathways laid. The facilities were better than the year before, but parents (and students) who had to decide about enrollment in Fall 1972 were influenced by the discomforts of the first year.

A certain improvisation also attended recruitment of the initial staff. The director and assistant director were selected by an ad hoc group of 15-20 members of the Chicano community. This group had written the Casa proposal and included members of a short-lived Chicano Task Force and BABEL (Bay Area Bilingual Education League), along with some students from the University of California. Neither the director nor the assistant was a credentialed school administrator. They were selected primarily on the basis of their experience in the Chicano community, in Chicano education, and in dealing with BUSD on issues of concern to Chicanos. The instructional staff was recruited through an informal community grapevine and the employment of each member was subject to approval by an ad hoc community group.

The regular staff consisted of eight teachers (four full-time and four part-time, which added up to six full-time certificated positions) plus four classified employees: a clerical worker and three part-time teacher aides. There were also consultants and 20-30 volunteers, including students from the University of California and nearby colleges who helped with individualized instruction, as well as professionals and semi-professionals (some of them parents of Casa students) from the Chicano community, and a few interested parents who accompanied students on field trips, assisted in the classroom, provided transportation, participated in work crews to make the school more habitable, or monitored playground activities.

Since Casa spanned grades from K to 12, it was thought necessary to have a coordinator for the elementary grades and another for the secondary grades. These two coordinators were chosen by the director, subject to ratification by the staff.

The governing board of Casa, La Mesa Directiva, consisted of three staff members, three students, and three parents. The board dealt with overall policy and personnel issues. The director was charged with the administrative implementation of policy. Most budget expenditure decisions were made by teachers and approved by the director. The budget was explained to parents, but they did not actively participate in the fiscal sphere (although indirectly they exerted an influence to the degree that they helped shape overall policy, which necessarily affected budgetary decisions).

From the above it can be seen that there was an extraordinary amount of community input into the initial shaping of Casa and its

subsequent operation. Much emphasis was also placed on an intra-school sense of community, which was articulated in the term La Familia, conveying an image of the school as an extended family. In keeping with this concept there was much peer teaching, and espousal of the principle that all in Casa were both teachers and students. In accordance with the latter principle, which envisioned fluidity rather than rigidity in the division of labor, the director's duties were not exclusively administrative; he also had to teach.

The trend to a more structured format in Casa's second year did not diminish community input. In one respect, it was even strengthened. Responding to the expressed desire of parents, a parent was appointed assistant director to serve as liaison between the school and parents.

In keeping with Casa's objectives, the curriculum included the following:

Primary level

- o Raza Studies, focusing on individual projects to portray history and social institutions from a Chicano perspective, to develop an affirmative ethnic awareness, and to maintain and reinforce a positive image of self and Chicano cultural tradition.
- o Language Arts, teaching bilingual communications skills through use of Spanish and English materials, written and spoken.
- o Mathematics, emphasizing the practical uses of mathematics through individualized, bilingual instruction.
- o Health and Science, using student experiments and projects to guide them in discovering practical applications of scientific and health practices in the Raza community.
- o Art, emphasizing the development of cultural awareness and exposure to Raza art through such forms as teatro, murales, Ballet Folklorico, Conjunto Musical and puppet shows.

Secondary level

- o Bilingual Communications Skills, emphasizing oral and written expression through creative writing, and reading English, Spanish, Raza and Multicultural literature.

- o Mathematics, emphasizing the development of mathematical logic and practical uses of mathematics.
- o Social Science, emphasizing the perspective and contribution of La Raza as a way to develop skills for relevant social action and to further self-consciousness as a member of a pluralistic society.
- o Science, emphasizing the use of individual instruction and student projects to teach students how to apply scientific principles in their daily lives (science included biology, psychology, nutrition, first aid and ecology).
- o Special Interest Courses, including karate, yoga, guitar, boxing, film-making, sailing, photography and Ballet Folklorico.

Field trips and physical education were included in the curriculum at both the primary and secondary levels.

As noted previously, during the first school year Casa operated in a "free school" atmosphere. The shift to more structure in the second year was exemplified in such changes as: (1) at the primary level learning centers supplanted self-contained classrooms, and (2) at the secondary level all core skills courses (language arts and math) were scheduled in the morning.

In examining the operation of Casa as an educational institution, three factors should be kept in mind:

1. Much time and nervous energy were consumed in the confrontation with OCR.
2. Housing problems also diverted time and energy from educational pursuits. Aside from staff (and student) time spent to make the quarters reasonably livable, time also was spent in searching for a new site.
3. Casa was engaged in search and experimentation, but this process was truncated by the OCR axe, before some potential outcomes materialized.

The last point merits elaboration. For example, as noted previously, Casa's enrollment declined significantly between year 1 and year 2, probably because of instability, created by internal dissension and exacerbated by external pressures and defective housing. In year 2, there were greater stability

and somewhat better quarters. If the causes of the enrollment decline were, in fact, what they appeared to be, then the better situation in year 2 with respect to these causes was the basis for a reasonable anticipation that some or even all of the enrollment losses might be recouped in year 3. But Casa did not live to see year 3 and there is no way of knowing whether its conscientious effort to meet certain consumer demands would have evoked a positive consumer response.

Another example. Experience with bilingual education in the American public school system was relatively limited, especially on a comprehensive K-12 scale, and even more especially, within a framework that attached equal worth to the two languages. Casa's staff searched diligently for what it could profitably acquire, in methodology and materials, from the experience of others with bilingual curriculum. In Spring 1973, for instance, La Mesa Directiva approved a staff request to dispatch several staff members for first-hand observation of bilingual programs in other areas. Among the locales to be visited were Crystal City, Texas (where the entire school district converted to a bilingual, bi-cultural curriculum); Denver, Colorado (where Tlatelolco operated as an alternative Chicano school from grade 1 through the university level); and Seattle, Washington (where there had been more modest work in bilingual and bi-cultural education). These observation journeys were scheduled for late May and early June. In early June Casa's liquidation was announced and the results of those missions were rendered moot.

Casa hired a consultant to work with primary grade teachers on the development of the Raza Studies curriculum for grades K-7. The developmental work was to continue until June 1973. This was the month when Casa was formally finished.

It would be presumptuous to anticipate the outcome of an experiment that is abruptly terminated before midpoint in its allotted time. It is not presumptuous, in this instance, to assert that a bona fide experiment was in progress, that it was being conducted with serious dedication, that its final results seemed promising - even if incalculable.

ARTICULATION

For Casa, as a self-contained K-12 school, articulation was essentially an internal problem. As can be seen in the previous brief sketch of the curriculum at the primary and secondary levels, certain fundamental themes--bilingualism, Chicano consciousness and Chicano culture--were present from entrance into kindergarten to graduation from the 12th grade, but simultaneously there was a progression in subject matter from lower, elementary levels to higher, more sophisticated levels. The design, at any rate, provided for an impressive form of articulation. Unfortunately, two years, especially when these were formative years, do not afford enough time to evaluate how well the articulation design worked out in practice.

Systematic articulation was also a central concern in the structural distinction and coordination of the primary and secondary levels. The first year's plan for separate coordinators of the primary and secondary grades gave way in the second year to a system in which the two staffs met both separately and together. The director was made responsible for coordinating teaching. The trend, it seemed, was toward greater integration of the entire school, even as a distinction was made between the two levels, but there was not enough time to gauge how all this affected articulation.

FUNDING

As with Black House, so with Casa: five-year forward funding could hardly have provided the intended assurance of continuity while the OCR sword dangled overhead.

Unlike the Black House staff, however, Casa's felt strongly, bitterly and vocally that it was being shortchanged in the allocation of funds. At first blush the charge might seem surprising, as Casa received funds from three sources: BESP, BUSD and the Ford Foundation. But Casa personnel insisted that despite this multiple funding, its total per-pupil allocation was smaller than the average for the entire Berkeley district. This grievance was especially irritating in Casa's first year.

In an interview with ISA, Casa's budget director supplied the following computation of income for the first year:

BESP	\$ 30,000
Special BESP supplement given all off-site schools	10,000
Ford Foundation grant	30,000
BUSD	<u>80,000</u>
Total	\$150,000

The \$10,000 BESP supplement was a special allocation for that year only; it was not repeated the next year. The Ford grant of \$30,000 was

to be trimmed to \$21,000 in the subsequent year. The \$80,000 from BUSD was a rough estimate (covering salaries, supplies, services), and was, in fact, somewhat larger than the figure in the district's own tentative budget for FY 1973.

Estimating Casa's enrollment as approximately 150, the budget director concluded that total funding of \$150,000 from all sources amounted to approximately \$1,000 per student. The district-wide average for regular schools, he pointed out, was \$1,455 per student for grades K-6 and \$1,900 per student for grades 7-12. Even if one accepted the bottom figure of 132 for Casa's 1971/72 student enrollment, the total fund allocation would be \$1,136 per student, still considerably below the district-wide average, especially because about half of Casa's students were in the 7-12 grade bracket. To make matters worse, the BESP allocation was supposed to provide \$200 per student over and above the district's "normal" contribution per student, and yet, according to Casa's reckoning, it was receiving less, rather than more, per student than the common schools did.

To be sure, the budgetary comparison was not as clean-cut as presented by Casa's budget director. In computing its per-student expenditure, the district included the costs of its central administrative superstructure and its support services. Casa's budget director took into account only the funds directly available to Casa, and made no allowance for the district's administrative and service superstructure. The Casa budget director made two comments on that problem: (1) district support services were of little value to Casa; (2) district administrative costs were grossly inflated, resulting in a distortion of fiscal priorities, so that money that could be productive at the site level was eaten up by non-productive bureaucratic excesses.

Patently, the Casa-district discrepancy involved complex issues of educational cost accounting--and of educational values. Without attempting to resolve these issues, it is still possible to offer two relevant observations:

1. From the vantage point of Casa, its uniquely innovative character did render traditional district cost accounting largely irrelevant. Indeed, it does seem reasonable that a cost-benefit computation of district administration and services would be different for Casa than for the common schools, to which district operations had been geared. Latent in all this was a deep feeling in the Casa staff that the support it received from the district was a good deal less than enthusiastic.

2. The Casa staff's belief that it was being shortchanged was, in itself, a most significant factor. The edge of bitterness implicit in that belief was sharpened by several corollary factors:

- a. The poor housing provided for Casa.
- b. The chafing OCR pressures, which heightened sensitivity to any perceived slight or discriminatory treatment.
- c. The tangible reality that comprehensive bilingualism and other unique features of the Casa program did necessitate out-of-ordinary expenditures (e.g., for the creation and acquisition of special materials, for site study visits to other bilingual and bi-cultural programs).

Actual expenditures of BESP funds indicated that the Casa budget director's estimate of \$30,000 was excessive. That is, BESP may have set aside that sum for Casa, but less was spent. In its two BESP years Casa's expenditure of BESP funds was as follows:

1971/72	\$25,963
1972/73	24,533

EVALUATION

No hard evaluative data are available for Casa. The problem of designing a system of evaluation that corresponded to the school's distinct character and needs was compounded by the hostile OCR pressure that placed the school in a defensive position, which is not conducive to objective evaluation.

Internal evaluation by staff, students and parents did go on, and did serve as the foundation for the changes in emphasis and structure in Casa's second year. However, such evaluation produced no presentation of findings or evaluative measures.

Level I produced nothing. By the time the present Level II contract was signed, Casa was on its way out, and the Level II work done under the previous contract (by DEEPS) had not reached the point of producing evaluative data about Casa.

As with Black House, what remains then are ISA field observations and several BESP judgments. Since the most important of the latter bracketed Black House and Casa, they were cited in the description of Black House and need not be repeated here. It may be appropriate, however, to repeat the caution that these judgments were rendered in the context of defending the two schools against OCR charges, and may therefore not be free of self-serving bias.

Notes of ISA field observers generally record good morale, a high degree of enthusiasm, and a spirit of La Familia at Casa. The notes also record the absence of evaluative data to measure educational outcomes.

However, as was said in the Black House description, the conventional measurements of educational performance and achievement had little to do with the decisive "evaluation" that was rendered by the Office for Civil Rights. What was evaluated by OCR was the right of such schools to exist. And the criterion for the ultimate judgment was an interpretation of legislation that had been enacted seven years before Casa was born; whether Casa did or did not overcome the universally acknowledged educational deficit that the conventional school system delivers to Chicano students was not relevant for OCR.

The gist of what was said about Black House vis à vis OCR is also applicable to Casa. However, two additional points need to be made:

1. The problem of ethnic distinction and awareness for Chicano students is rendered more complex by the issue of bilingualism, which also supplies an additional rationale for experimentation with special schools that cope with this issue. Language, in the instance of Casa, played a very special and specific role in defining the target population, and in determining the free choice of students to attend or not to attend such a bilingual school.

2. The Chicano community in Berkeley is much smaller than the Black, and consequently exerts much less political influence in the city at large and in its school system. There is a difference in kind between the impacts of the two communities on the overall school system, its curriculum and personnel policies. The loss of such an enclave as Casa, it would appear, had more serious consequences for the Chicano community than the loss of Black House had for the Black. In the light of the political realities, the prospects of school-system responsiveness to the special needs of Chicano students may be rated as even poorer than the prospects of responsiveness to Black needs. Awareness of such considerations might have been reflected in the proportionately greater community participation in Casa.

We reiterate that the experiment essayed with Casa was justified. Effective delivery of education to Chicano students is among the more acute, unsolved problems of the American school system. The experiment addressed this problem (and by extension the larger problem posed by the condition and status of the Chicano people in American life). Its findings might have produced insights that would have contributed to a solution of the problem. OCR's action precludes knowledge of what might have been. What remains is what is, and in the sphere of education for Chicanos, it is not good.

UNITED NATIONS WEST (aka Garvey Institute, aka Other Ways)

ABSTRACT

It was born in 1968 as Other Ways, conceived by white avant-garde educators as a cross between a "happening" and a seminar to disseminate new, bold educational techniques to teachers in BUSD. It expired in 1974 as United Nations West, a residual high school for Black underachievers. In between it bore the name of Garvey Institute. It began with Carnegie Foundation money and ended with BESP funds.

If a low student/staff ratio is the key to educational success, it should have succeeded. In its final year that ratio was 1/5.3, by far the lowest in BESP. If money is the secret of educational survival, it should have survived. In its final year, its BESP allocation amounted to \$1,178 per pupil. The schools most comparable to it, Odyssey and East Campus, received per pupil allocations of \$366 and \$236 respectively. If autonomy is a prescription for the viability of an alternative school, it should have been viable. Legally, it was an autonomous corporate entity that entered into a contract with BUSD.

Why then did it expire? Its metamorphoses already indicate a fatal flaw. It was engaged in a frenetic and frustrating search, first for identity, and later for an image (i.e., the semblance of identity).

Changes in name were symptomatic of changes in ideology. As Other Ways (inspired by an inchoate, white, middle class non-conformism), the school featured such subjects as Taoist Science and the Unconscious and Decision Making, along with skindiving, sailing and the Knack of Travelling Around the World. The switch to Garvey Institute in February 1972 was accompanied by a switch to Black nationalism; typical course offerings now included Black Art, Swahili and American History from a Black Perspective. UN West, the name assumed in November 1973, was a protective facade in the wake of OCR termination of Black House and Casa for racial separatism. The multi-ethnic profusion suggested by the name did not jibe with reality; the student population consisted of 52 Blacks and 1 white. In such circumstances, it was felt that "UN West" would be less provocative than "Garvey." A less provocative curriculum now featured such electives as Advanced Music and Student Store; Swahili was the sole vestigial remain of the Garvey period. With the ambiguous name came an ambiguous ideology. And with ambiguity, the rationale for being became ever more tenuous.

As Other Ways, the school was caught between its internal anarchism and amorphism on the one hand and the external hostility of the district bureaucracy on the other. As Garvey, it feared that its overt Black identity made it vulnerable to an OCR crackdown. Motivated by this fear, it assumed the disguise of UN West, but this expedient to survive an external threat vitiated whatever was left of its inherent capacity to survive. By the time of its demise in June 1974 only 10 students were left. (The peak enrollment of the BESP years had been 88 in Spring 1973, during the semester that preceded the switch to UN West).

The spasmodic twists and turns of this alternative might have suggested that something was amiss. But there is no evidence that either central BESP or NIE seriously tried to ascertain what, if anything, was wrong, and what, if anything, could be done about it.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Prior to its involvement in BESP in 1971/72, Other Ways focused on new and innovative teaching strategies and programs in order to effect change in BUSD. After BESP funding, its primary focus was on the student population.

Other Ways opened for the 1968/69 school year as a teacher training center for BUSD. It began with a grant of \$80,000 from the Carnegie Foundation. The grant was awarded to two men: Herb Kohl, a well-publicized open educator and short-term teacher at U. C. Berkeley, and Alan Kaprow, an art historian and creator of "Happenings," informal teacher idea-exchange sessions.

The program that first year involved both students and teachers. Students came by bus from Willard Junior High School, and Kohl also went on campus to BHS to teach a theatre class. About 50 teachers (including 20 regulars) came to the "Happenings." There were also individual on-site classroom consultations by the program facilitators. Six of the Other Ways staff worked with students and teachers from McKinley (East Campus), Community High School (Genesis), Berkeley High School, Willard Junior High School and several elementary schools.

Books, posters, pamphlets, folders and ideas for teachers to use in the classroom were published that year. Also, a half-hour documentary film, "Project Other Ways," was produced.

By September 1969, Other Ways officially became the first of a series of off-site Berkeley public schools. Its proponents argued that the regular schools in BUSD had become too large and impersonal, and that rules and restrictions within a large school inhibit the development of innovation and a close-knit school community. The director (now only Kohl) developed a decentralized decision-making procedure incorporating the views of students as well as staff. He designed the program as a learning facility and a social center.

During the 1969/70 school year, the students were all enrolled at one of the other BUSD secondary schools and most did attend classes at those schools. By 1970/71 Other Ways offered: skindiving, jogging, Taoist Science, the Unconscious and Decision Making, Human Behavior, Art and Drama as seen through media, Guerilla Theatre, Trash Can Films, Urban Survival, Seamanship, the Knack of Travelling Around the World and tutoring for students in grades 4 through 6. There were no basic skills offered. Although community businesses offered their services for students in skills such as dressmaking, auto mechanics, sandal making, pottery and

bookkeeping, for example, there was no indication that these resources were utilized.

Spring 1971 became a crucial time in the development of the site when BUSD received a \$10,000 grant from the Office of Education to develop plans for experimental schools. A group of alternative schools people submitted a package of 16 proposals to BUSD for ESP planning. Their intention was to guarantee the funding of each and a share in policy-making. The group included Kohl of the New Schools Network and alternative schools advocates within BUSD, representing such schools as Black House, Community High (Genesis), Casa de la Raza and Odyssey.

After submitting the proposal, the group decided to negotiate together and formed an Alternative Schools Council. The School Board and the Superintendent did not agree that BESP operate as a separate school system. Therefore, each project was rated independently by the Board screening committee. Of the proposals submitted by the Alternative Schools Council only those already in operation were approved for funding.

Other Ways was submitted to OE/ESP in June 1971 as an off-site alternative for 7th through 12th graders bored with or alienated from regular school programs. This approach was similar to that of Black House, Casa de la Raza, Odyssey and East Campus, all off-site alternatives. However, Casa and Black House specified their target populations as Chicanos and Black students respectively, Other Ways never specified which bored and alienated students it intended to serve. Some staff saw the free structure of Other Ways as harmful to the learning of students who lacked basic skills. Staff and student conflict along with BUSD's rejection of BESP's independence resulted in Kohl's resignation in Spring 1971, and a gradual shift in Other Ways during the first year of BESP funding (1971/72) to a culturally pluralistic type, primarily Black emphasis, in ideology. With the change of director and staff came a new style of leadership and new curriculum.

Of the 14 staff members, all but two (the director and the sailing instructor*) were new. Eight were full time, the remainder were part time staff or volunteers. All new members were Black. According to one student, the white students felt the Black teachers were emphasizing structure too much. The majority of students were still involved in decision making and in February 1972 the students renamed the school Marcus Garvey Institute, after the Black Nationalist of the post-World War I era. The focus of the school was now on basic skills, Black pride and cultural identity, self respect and leadership development.

*A sail boat had been purchased with funds from the Ford Foundation.

The BUSD Quarterly Progress Report on BESP (November 1971) claimed: "A much more intense focus on the needs of minority youths, especially Black, characterized the program this year. The effort revolves around the question, 'Can integration work?'"

Curriculum reflected the change in focus. By Spring 1972 courses revolved around a two-part curriculum, stressing basic skills and ethnic culture. The ethnic culture courses were Black Art, Swahili, American History from a Black Perspective, and World History from a Black and Poor Perspective. A unique offering of the school that semester was the "Business Enterprise Project," providing students with up to \$100 to borrow in the process of setting up their own business. Two businesses were started, though patronized only by Garvey students--hair styling services and sailing instructions. Attempts to develop a child care community-oriented program never materialized. Also, a weekly newspaper written and sold by the students, "Black and Determined," and a school yearbook "Garvey Soul" were published that year.

Disciplinary problems were handled through a court system comprised of students and staff. It was devised to cope with potential problems of misdemeanors, loitering, excessive absences, and felonies such as selling or using drugs. It involved punishments and sanctions with fines established by students and peers. Most of the cases, however, involved innocuous absences.

By May 1972, BUSD/BESP had printed up a new description of the site for distribution: the purpose of Other Ways/Garvey Institute is "to deal with the effect on minorities of institutional racism, to deliver reading and math skills through awareness of each individual...The form of the revamped program has more structure, including controls on and requirements of students."

This was in direct contrast with Kohl's philosophy of a learning discovery/social center. A Black student who had been at Other Ways when Kohl was director described the school as a "play pen for little smart whiteys." Now, the focus was Black. Following is Other Ways/Garvey Institute's student population by ethnicity from Fall 1970 through Spring 1974.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1970/71-1973/74

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Fall 1970	35	51	32	46	1	1	1	1					69
Spr. 1971			unavailable										72
Fall 1971			unavailable										
Spr. 1972	12	20	38	63	1	2	9	15					60
Fall 1972	1	5	18	90	1	5							20
Spr. 1973			57	85	1	1	9	13					67
Fall 1973	1	2	52	98									53
Spr. 1974													60*

*By the end of this semester in June, only 10 students remained.

For no apparent reason, the new director resigned in June 1972, and in September 1972 a former female teacher at Garvey assumed this position. She held it for two years through the school's demise in June 1974. Half of the staff remained, but half were new. Four full time and five part time employees, two volunteers and two former students comprised the staff. Nearly all were Black.

In Fall 1972, all the staff at Garvey felt they related to the basic skills issues. The basic skills curriculum--reading, journalism (writing), and math--was enhanced by a HILC laboratory from BESP money. Other courses offered were: Broadcasting, Modern and Afro Dance, Film Analysis, Swahili, Wood Shop, Personality Assessment, Computer Programming, Politics in Current American History, General Science and Slide Rule. Classes remained small and non-graded.

The school's social events were ethnically oriented. In 1972/73, school opened with 20 students. In November there were 48 on the rolls, in January 1973 there were 67, in March 1973 there were 88. Of the 88 students, 87 were Black, one was Asian. Between March and June 1973, 27 new students came to the alternative. The number of dropouts is unknown. With the student body made up of all Black students but one, and with the focus on Black pride and Black American culture, and because it was an off-site school, unaffiliated with BHS, Garvey Institute changed its name to United Nations West of Garvey Institute in November 1973, following the Office for Civil Rights investigation of the two separatist off-site schools, Black House and Casa de la Raza. UN West then signed a contract with BUSD for educational services. The contract between BUSD and UN West gave UN West the authority to receive and expend

funds for services rendered by "specialists" who were NOT district personnel. The service agreement stated that: (1) classes for pupils will be conducted per Board policies and (2) a final report for ten months work will be submitted by July 31, 1974. BUSD was held responsible for utilities and rent (25% BUSD, 75% BEBP), Funds for materials were not stipulated for either party.

Essentially, the staff was responsible to provide the raison d'être for the students' educational goals and attendance. There were fewer staff members, one certificated full time, four certificated part time and five classified full time. Half of the previous year's staff was gone. There was an increase in attendance and popularity with courses such as audio-visual and broadcasting/creative writing. Social Living, which discussed current events, became more popular. The required courses were physical education, basic English, algebra, U. S. history, social living, and world history. The innovative electives were Student Store, Advanced Audio Visual, Advanced Music Workshop and Swahili III. Several skills classes were electives such as Office Experience, Basic Math, Reading Labs I and II. Field observations during the year indicated that these basic skills classes had smaller enrollments than the more innovative classes.

As an alternative to dropping out of the educational system, UN West was to provide students with survival skills. Its three main areas of focus during the second contract period were: (1) expansion of the use of communications media in instruction, evaluation and production, (2) establishment of higher standards for student achievement, and (3) making real within the school the concept of cultural pluralism.

In the Spring 1974 semester, 60 students enrolled at UN West, but by March this dropped to 37 and by June all but 10 of the students had left. This was an 83 percent dropout rate.

ARTICULATION

The BEBP plan submitted to OE/ESP for funding in 1971, allowed for articulation between and throughout the sites.

The design will provide a mechanism for continuous participation in educational experimentation throughout the entire school life of students who, in collaboration with their parents and teachers, choose this educational path. The program will be so structured that no student K-12 who enters an experimental school at any juncture will be denied the choice of

alternatives at a future juncture--within the specified zones, and throughout all grade levels, as well as across the grades, no student need leave Zone A or D in order to participate in the alternative school programs; and the district need not jeopardize its control over desegregation.

The original proposal for Other Ways as a part of BESP was to include grades 7-12, the only program with this particular grade range. Since zones did not apply at this grade grouping, students from BESP or common elementary schools were allowed to matriculate into the program. Only two BESP programs proposed were at all similar in philosophy to Other Ways. Lincoln Environmental Studies (later Malcolm X Environmental Studies), already in existence for a year, had stated goals to integrate technology into the curriculum. The K-6 PTAE School (later Kilimanjaro) also was similar to Other Ways. PTAE involved the children in the community and had a non-graded thrust. In spite of the purported 7-12 grade grouping during the entire three years with BESP, Other Ways had only two eighth grade students and no seventh graders.

When Other Ways became Garvey Institute in February 1972, the school went from freedom and chaos to one that upheld structure and order, according to the Berkeley High head counselor at that time. Counselors began to recommend Garvey as a viable alternative to the regular program at Berkeley High for those students with attendance problems. Students transferred from Black House, East Campus, College Prep, Odyssey, King and from West Campus with no academic credit difficulties. By the end of 1972/73, 25 percent of students referred to Garvey, according to the director, were students with "recalcitrant behavior or excessive truancy." A counselor at Berkeley High reported:

Some students choose to transfer to Garvey when they get behind in their studies either because they have been cutting classes, have been in jail and miss too much work or when they realize that for them the environment at Berkeley High School is too big for learning.

Another 25 percent of the referrals were students East Campus could not accept or who couldn't make it there. Garvey staff was confident that their program had something special to offer those students: a Black perspective to learning and film/video production. BHS counselors referred students from BHS and College Prep to Garvey, hoping the student "would look more seriously and

realistically at him/herself and his/her goals" at Garvey. And so it became a type of residual system for Black students.

Although the staff at Garvey seemed highly committed to the goal of helping minorities succeed in their education and in life, they began to reevaluate their open door policy and planned to regard the individual student's potential before admitting him/her to the program for the 1973/74 school year.

When Garvey became UN West the school's reputation and focus changed again, according to counselors at BHS. Now UN West was the school for serious attendance problems and for those students with fitful behavior manifested by "thick school folders," one BHS counselor's indicator of a school problem.

According to an articulation study done in November 1972, the trends indicated that "there seems to be a pattern of rejection of Berkeley High School among both incoming and outgoing Garvey students. For example, most of the old students came from BHS or Project Other Ways. Those students who left for other schools went to other experimental schools (only one student went back to BHS). The fact that four new students came from Black House may indicate that students are trying to combine several ethnic educational experiences for their high school degree."

Records indicated only a few alumni had been able to utilize fully this alternative as a means of continuity in their education--one of the focuses of the original overall BUSD plan submitted to OE/ESP. Two alumni worked in the alternative, one as the school secretary, another as janitor. Other students were reported to be attending college (Alameda and Laney Community Colleges and U. C. Berkeley), working for BUSD and writing a book, attending East Bay Skills' Center for welding and working in a library.

For most of the students, however, articulation of curriculum, of education in general, became an obsolete issue. UN West's entire history described a means for survival--not only as a site, but also for the students involved. As the director said in February 1974, "In a way, we are a survival station, for many students who can't function in the traditional setting, we are the alternative to dropping out and burning bridges into the future." And, without this survival station, students in the population served by UN West have the same options today that they had before UN West, before Garvey, before Other Ways. They can attend East Campus (provided there is space), or drop out.

FUNDING

UN West's educational philosophy and goals emphasized survival skills and teaching students (mostly Black) the politics of self-determination. Ironically, this alternative lost its authority to control its own destiny when it accepted funds from BUSD/BESP.

UN West was in its initial stages fiscally autonomous. As a non-profit corporation able to set up its own contract with BUSD/BESP the possibility existed to control its focus, its goals, the hiring and firing of personnel and other monetary allocations. Without BESP funding, Garvey would have had to seek alternative funding sources much more aggressively, resulting in time and energy taken away from the education of its students. But as the school became more dependent on BUSD/BESP money, it came under federal and district regulations, such as the Office for Civil Rights regulations regarding racial composition.

Other Ways began with Carnegie Foundation money, supplemented through Ford Foundation's "Options Through Participation" in 1970. This money paid for salaries and the initial purchase of expensive video equipment that remained a unique aspect of the site.

Garvey received \$140,587 (4.46 percent of the total BESP site budget) from BESP between 1971 and 1974. The Ford Foundation supplied \$12,409 in teaching salaries during the first 19 months of the grant period.

From 1971 through 1974, \$74,345, over half (53%) of BESP funds allocated to Garvey, was spent on salaries for contracted teacher services. An additional 6 percent (\$9,081) of Garvey's BESP allocation was expended for certificated and classified personnel salaries and fringe benefits.

As indicated earlier, there was a tremendously high staff turnover rate. There were 35 paid staff members during the life span of this alternative, 1968-74, with never more than 14 in one year. The majority participated during the BESP years. With staff members considered to be contracted service providers, there was a constant level of uncertainty which contributed to the lack of far-reaching plans at the site itself. Of those 35 persons involved in the site in any way, only four remained with BUSD. One is an Environmental Studies Coordinator* at Odyssey, one is a custodian at BHS, another is a science teacher at BHS, and Kohl is working with the New Schools Network in a BUSD elementary school with funds

*Considered a "professional expert," his salary was paid out of BESP Support Services (Training).

separate from the district.

Building rental and purchase of major equipment--audio-visual, teaching machines, teletype terminal, office equipment and site renovation--each used 17 percent (\$24,412 for capital outlay, equipment; \$24,314 for rental) of Garvey's BESP funds from 1971 through 1974.

With the innovation of contracting services came the ultimate power that BUSD held over the site, namely, to cut off the contract at will.

EVALUATION

Other Ways began as a way of effecting a change in a school district, an opportunity for several reputedly creative educators to experiment. Guidelines of the grant were vague from the very beginning. As Kohl said in Half the House,

We could have done anything we wanted for and with the kids. We were free to cooperate with one another...all of a sudden, however, I had to deal with peers, not kids, and it was much more difficult...we could talk about alternative life styles but essentially we didn't know how to be any different from our parents and teachers. (pp. 15-16).

In 1970/71, Other Ways joined with Black House, Community High (Genesis) and Odyssey to present to the Board an alternative system of student evaluation, including a reading test devised by Kohl. It was not considered seriously by the Board and finally dismissed as unacceptable with no explanation.

Michael Scriven, a philosopher with educational evaluation expertise, has said that quality and uniqueness are not enough to continue innovative programs. Ingenuity and responsibility toward a workable implementation are as important, he says. In Garvey/UN West's case, quality and uniqueness were never evaluated either by internal or external methods. Level I was not sought out, nor did it place itself in a position to evaluate the UN West program.

Evaluation of student achievement, however, became an issue in 1972/73. Since the off-site alternative had been exempted from taking CTBS for a year, this was the first year that Garvey was to use them. The staff did not resist CTBS, but the issue arose because the staff believed that its own criteria for achievement were more important. This judgment was based on the premise that

the staff was more fully aware of the prerequisites for survival in the Black community. The director said, "Our purpose is to define those areas where a student should work harder to improve." However, the method of definition was never clear or specific.

On Level I's '0.0.-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, UN West was rated a perfect 1 for "alternativeness," between .5 and 6. for "effectiveness," and between .5 and .6 on the combined "effective alternative" scale. This placed it a close second to top-rated Agora among BESP high schools. But apparently this evaluation bore no relation to the school's chances for survival.

COLLEGE PREP

ABSTRACT

College Prep, a sub-school of Berkeley High, has served 125-150 Black students each year in grades 10-12. The plan for CP was submitted with the original BUSD proposal to OE/ESP in April 1971, and after an interval for planning, it opened in February 1972.

Its stated purpose was "to provide courses of study for underachieving Black secondary students that will insure college admission and/or entry into non-college career lines for 60 percent of the graduating seniors." Traditional subject content was taught from an Afro-American perspective. It also offered such elective courses as African-American Literature, Black Drama, Poetry and Poetry of Soul Music, the Black Man and the Black Woman.

CP is the only "separatist" school in Berkeley that has survived at the secondary level, a phenomenon explicable in part by two facts: (1) it is on-site, and therefore part of a larger, integrated environment; its students take courses in the ethnically mixed common school, and (2) its pragmatic goal--preparation for college--is eminently acceptable to the educational and political establishment, and does not offend conventional ideological sensibilities, as did Black House and Casa de la Raza, whose motivation was more overtly ideological. Moreover, at first blush, CP's pragmatic purpose seems to have been crowned by pragmatic success. Of the 37 CP graduates in June 1975, 34 (92%) were accepted by colleges, and the other three graduates were accepted for modeling or airlines training. (An independent ISA follow-up indicated a rather high dropout rate for these graduates; of the 29 for whom ISA was able to obtain information in Spring 1976, 14 [48%] were still in the programs to which they had gained entry a year earlier.)

With the end of federal funding, CP continued, except that there was less money for "extras" in staff and materials.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

College Prep was included in the original BESP proposal submitted to OE/ESP in April 1971. The proposal was supported because of its focus on the particular problem of Black students, who, although inclined to go on to college or careers, lacked certain basic "survival skills." Its aim was to provide those skills and thus sustain the motivation to go on to college. CP opened on schedule in February 1972, after one semester of planning, choosing a director and recruiting students and staff.

Historically, the program ideas germinated long before CP opened. There had been a growing discontent among Berkeley High School Black students since 1967/68 when BUSD reorganized the K-9 schools to achieve racial balance by busing. BHS, as the only high school in Berkeley, necessarily was ethnically balanced. Ethnic identity, however, became the issue. The Black Student Union demonstrated on the BHS campus and presented a request for a Black Studies program to the Board of Education. In November 1968, the Board appointed a teacher at BHS with a master's degree in Black Studies as coordinator for a Black Studies Department at BHS. In February 1969, he was quoted in the Oakland Tribune: "There can be no real integration of the races until a Black person has respect for himself as a Black. Then he will be able to deal with the white people on an equal basis. Black teachers establish a certain rapport with (Black) students."

He and a Black Studies teacher, who later became district Black Studies coordinator, wrote the proposal for College Prep. Although CP was similar to the Black Studies Department in three ways--staff, students and curriculum--the difference was the directed pragmatic goal of CP versus the ideological one of the Black Studies Department. One objective of CP was stated in the original proposal: "To institute a college preparatory program for underachieving Black secondary students, utilizing an Afro-oriented approach to the traditional subject content....." It offered core courses--Math, English, History--establishing innovative and related electives such as College Survival Skills and Communication (and Futurism).

The goals and design of CP created its staff and student population. The program opened with eight certificated teachers filling five full-time positions. Most of the certificated teaching staff came from the Black Studies Department, including the director. Two teachers--Math and History--came from the overage pool of the district. Two of the certificated teachers were hired as classified staff paid out of BESP funds. One other classified staff person was hired from the community. All staff was Black.

The director and one teacher were full time staff at CP while the remaining staff spent from 40 percent to 80 percent of their time there. Most of the part time staff spent the remainder of their teaching time in the Black Studies Department at BHS.

In 1974/75, an Asian math teacher was brought into the CP faculty for several classes. This was the first non-Black staff member. Involved in another BESP sub-school at BHS, Model School A, she was well received by the students at CP. In 1975/76, the district-wide staff shifts began, causing "bumping" with persons at the administrative level scheduled to return to the classroom. This directly affected CP when the former BESP Training Coordinator was scheduled to teach "Communication (and Futurism)" at CP. The course was an elective, accredited for English or Performing Arts, and focused on examining possible future developments in jobs, communications, family life, etc. as well as gaining practical experience in media--radio, press and television. The teacher was white, the class had a very low enrollment, and by November the class had dwindled to four students.

CP staff from 1972 (Spring) to 1975/76 is listed below:

TABLE 1: STAFF BY ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1971/72-1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Total
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	
1971/72 (Spring)			* (1) 3	(2) 5			(3) 8
1972/73			(1) 4	(2) 5			(3) 9
1973/74				(2) 4			(2) 7
1974/75			2	4		1	7
1975/76	1		1	3			5

* () Classified personnel

The certificated staff has remained fairly stable with five teachers teaching two to four classes at CP each year. The first director, a former teacher at BHS for three years in the Black Studies Department, remained in his position through June 1975. He was

replaced by a Black female teacher who had been at CP since 1972/73, teaching College Survival Skills with the former director. The first director was committed to CP as a program, but he left to accept a higher paying position in another San Francisco Bay Area district.

The teachers, who divided their time between CP and the common school, said that despite this dichotomy they felt an allegiance to CP and its philosophy. The alternative actually enjoyed a positive relationship with the BHS administration. This was, in part, due to the CP director's diligence in completing BESP/BUSD paperwork for BHS.

Sixty-five sophomores were enrolled in the first semester. About 70 percent, recommended by counselors, were students who demonstrated some potential and wanted to get into college. The director, however, felt that the referral system was not working because BHS counselors often did not recommend students to BESP sites. Therefore, the director recruited his own new students for the next year by talking to classes at West Campus and telephoning others. Most of the students in 1972/73 chose the program through personal contact with the director, staff or peers. Several students transferred between CP and Black House.

The requirements for becoming a CP student are twofold. First, the student must be admitted to BHS during his or her sophomore year (with certain specific exceptions). Second, sophomores and juniors must take a minimum of three courses in CP and seniors at least two. The students view CP as a sub-school in which they may study Black cultural history while fulfilling their high school requirements.

The public image of the school has an effect on entry. Course scheduling plays a major part in leaving. A reported turnover rate of about 10 students each year is quite low relative to other alternative secondary sites. The student ethnic composition has been 100 percent Black with nearly twice as many females as males.

TABLE 2: STUDENT POPULATION BY SEX, 1971/72-1975/76

Year	Male		Female		Total
	n	%	n	%	
Spring '72	25	38	40	62	65 (sophomore)
1972/73	50	36	90	64	140 (65 soph/75 juniors)
1973/74	56	37	97	63	153
1974/75	35	28	90	72	125
1975/76	48	37	83	63	131

In June 1973, when the Office for Civil Rights closed Casa and Black House for not conforming to integrationist criteria, CP did not want to be confronted with the same problem. Although CP operated under the umbrella of the racially integrated BHS and had never officially been confronted with the question of its all Black student population, the CP staff chose to have an active summer recruitment for whites. As a result, 15 white students took classes at College Prep in Fall 1973. None of them was considered an enrollee of CP, however, since none met the minimum three (or two if a senior) class requirement. That was the only semester that white students (or any non-Black students) took any courses at CP.

With an all Black population, CP has tried to deal with the racism issue by teaching the students how to cope with it through elective courses on the Black heritage and the Black condition. Some of the electives have been Black Woman, Poetry and Poetry of Soul Music, Black Drama, African-American Literature--all in 1972/73; and the Black Man and the Black Woman in 1973/74. In 1974/75 and 1975/76 only English and History were being taught from a Black perspective.

The basic curriculum and the teaching styles have remained generally the same since the alternative began in February 1972 with 65 sophomores. Discrepancies in skills and motivation prompted a group of students to initiate a survey of all students to determine course organization and student grouping. The student survey resulted in a multi-graded approach for all courses except College Survival Skills (I and II for grades 10-11 and III and IV for grade 12) and Advanced Composition for grade 12.

Since the start of the program there has also been both a better defined and more expansive curriculum offering with the core classes. The core courses mandated by BUSD--U. S. History, Math and English--have all undergone changes throughout the history of CP. College Survival Skills, beginning in 1972/73, is a course that changes focus as the students overcome their academic weaknesses. As an elective, it is offered for history credit--though not acceptable for the University of California--for no particular reason other than the director had been a credentialed history teacher.

The two electives that were unique to CP were College Survival Skills and Communication (and Futurism). The former was considered a history elective, and the latter an English elective. For BHS graduation credit, students could realistically take these two electives with math. This would round out their requirements with College Survival Skills as a supportive course, Communication as a social break and math as a stringent effort.

CP did not intend to be considered a basic skills program and the basic skills courses in math and reading were not so labelled. Math, representing 21 percent of the total courses, was the only subject naturally falling into a remedial curriculum once the skill level of the students was determined. At first CP offered a differentiated program of modern algebra and trigonometry. By 1972/73, however, algebra and geometry were the top of the math line, with the elimination of trigonometry. Often the math teacher found it necessary to begin with basic math skills for some students with a specific weakness in one area. College Survival Skills also served as a basic math tutoring program when a student indicated that need.

Reading as a basic skills course was offered under the title "Developmental Reading" and utilized the High Intensity Learning Center, purchased by BESP in 1972/73, for those students reading below the 8th grade level. "Introduction to Composition Writing" was developed as a basic skills course to upgrade writing skills including grammar and sentence structure.

The strengths of the program have remained the same from its inception: (1) All of the classes at CP have had a low student-teacher ratio. (2) There has been a direct and close relationship between the teachers and students. (3) The program exists around a structured framework of courses and teaching style. The student-teacher ratio was especially low during the time BESP funded classified staff in 1972/73 and 1973/74. During those same years, the basic skills classes in English/Reading and College Survival Skills were taught by the classified staff members. Class size also depended on the particular grouping; e.g., Developmental Reading often had fewer than eight students and College Survival Skills has had as many as 19 (in 1974/75).

In spite of the structured framework, the original director felt that he and the staff were flexible. For example, after the first semester, the staff tried one team teaching effort with 28 students in an English class. When the teachers were unhappy and the students were unresponsive, the teachers split the class into two groups of 14 students each. This was more agreeable to all but there have been no other attempts at team teaching since then.

In March 1976, BESP recommended to the Board of Education that College Prep be continued and expanded. BESP said:

College Prep represents an opportunity for the Berkeley School District to make a concerted effort to service the Black students at the secondary level. Also, it would provide an

opportunity for leadership in the education field of a positive nature dealing with minorities...The program has developed a very positive image and is generally accepted as an opportunity to provide for a high school education for Black youngsters. Consideration should be made to expand the program.

Articulation

According to the BESP second thirty-month operational plan dated June 1974, CP's value to students was "better achievement in school and improved self-image" and the value to the district was "increase in diversity and effectiveness of instructional program and counseling available to students." The rationale stated: "CP is one of the few programs that has addressed itself to the capable minority students and has provided a way for them to survive in the academic world."

This has caused the school to have a selection policy rather than a recruitment policy in the district. Generally students are selected after assessing recommendations from the teacher and counselor along with the CTBS test scores. This is not to say that Black students who have potential or the intention to continue their education only select CP. Many articulate, successful Black students who have learned to cope in the competitive integrated classes are enrolled in MSA or remain in the common school. Several of these students interviewed saw CP as being too limited in its scope of classes or in the range of student interests and abilities to satisfy their needs. They did, however, view the program as positive for those who chose CP as an option.

Parents and students have had little input into the program operation in an active or advisory capacity. During the 1972/73 school year, the director said that "the parents have a sense of security about the school that seems to give the school a certain amount of harmony." The anniversary banquet that year was well attended by parents, and there was also contact between the individual teachers and the home that year. Since then the extent of parent participation or school-home contact has been minimal. Only the Awards Dinner held in May each year draws parent interest. In 1973 (Spring) one Black counselor at BHS said, "This (CP) program has gotten more Black parents out to learn about college opportunities than we have ever had at similar orientation meetings for 11th graders." A student advisory group began as an active segment of the site with the initial multi-grading survey and the implementation of intramural basketball. But when CP's autonomy as an on-site sub-school of BHS became an obvious bogus, the students lost interest in trying to effect changes even at their own site.

Attendance has been monitored and controlled by several methods throughout the history of CP. During the first year, students decided to monitor their own attendance and report peer absences to the director in the office. Few absences were actually reported and when BHS requested attendance lists for all BESP schools, CP was forced into a more stringent policy. Teachers then took attendance systematically. Attendance affected students' academic grades. CP students had to maintain a passing grade in order to stay in school. The philosophy of CP was to help the students both with academic and personal problems within the classroom to ensure their remaining in school. Several students interviewed at CP said that for the first time at BHS they had a feeling that teachers actually cared about their success or their academic problems. Students felt that the fact the teachers were also Black affected their own attitude toward CP.

Funding

College Prep spent a total of \$96,422 over a period of four and one half school years from February 1972 to July 1976. It received the most in salaries and materials through June 1974. Salaries accounted for 72 percent (\$69,210) of the total with most spent for classified staff. Only 15 percent was used for certificated hourly substitute salaries for teachers' in-service release time. Of the three classified staff members hired specifically for CP for 1972/73, two were credentialed teachers and one was a community person. Two of the classified staff remained on the BESP payroll through 1973/74 and a half-time secretary (shared with Genesis) was added. But by 1974/75 the only classified salary accounted for was the half-time secretarial position.

By Fall 1972, the 11th grade was added to CP. As a college survival program with a concentration on reading, CP was one of the BESP sites selected by BESP Training to utilize the Random House Reading Package, High Intensity Learning Center (HILC). The HILC materials were combined with those of Agora and Genesis for a more complete lab run more efficiently by one manager in 1973/74. With 41 percent of CP's five year budget spent in 1972/73, about 20 percent of the money that year purchased HILC materials.

In 1975/76, College Prep spent \$8,000 (only 8 percent of its total five year budget). Most was spent on instructional supplies and part for substitute hourly salaries for certificated teachers' in-service release time. A minimal budget of \$2,300 is projected after BESP to enable College Prep to buy college books and pre-college examination booklets and to pay for special college courses for students and trips to local colleges. Twelfth grade students enrolled in college courses at either the University of California or the junior colleges in the area while at College Prep in 1973/74. There were no 12th graders at CP in 1971/72 and 1972/73. In 1973/74

there were 25 12th graders, in 1974/75 there were 37, but in 1975/76 there were only three.

BESP funds enabled the school to purchase ethnic publications for its English classes and extensive audio-video equipment for the Communication (and Futurism) class. Equipment purchasing ended in 1972/73 when CP was notified of a cut in BESP funds for the coming year (1973/74) with those monies going toward teacher training.

Several extra classified staff persons (three at first, then two) enhanced the CP program, particularly in the Reading and College Survival Skills areas, through 1973/74. Another \$8-10 thousand budget cut in March 1974, caused the lay-off of these classified staff members, however. To offset the inevitable increase in class size, the director added a new class to his teaching load for the 1974 Fall semester.

By 1975/76, CP was paying for no extraordinary expenses and had all but phased itself into BUSD.

Evaluation

CP's original goals were concerned with affecting student achievement standards. They were:

- 1) A minimum of 60 percent of students finishing College Prep would enroll in college--more than half at a four year school.
- 2) A minimum of 70 percent of students finishing CP would take the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test/The National Merit Qualifying Test.
- 3) A minimum of 33 percent of CP graduates would complete the requirements for admission to the University of California.
- 4) The average gain in achievement scores in English and math would be a minimum of three grade levels for the three years of attendance at CP.
- 5) The average student completing CP would show cognitive growth in all courses completed and positive affective growth at the end of each year as measured by an appropriately normed instrument.

Evaluative measures relative to those objectives have been essayed by Level I and the director. Level I used district mandated test (CTBS) data and the CP director used his own student sample

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over a three year period considering attendance, student flow, types of courses taken and entrance into college.

Few scores were available for ISA's sample students prior to 1974/75. In 1974/75, the sample students' scores (most of whom were in their junior year) indicated that the highest rate of achievement existed in math, with the equivalent of almost a full year's average growth. A lack of growth in reading was indicated from the sample. Students were nearly at grade level in reading when tested in the Fall and remained about stable.

TABLE 3: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, COLLEGE PREP

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Fall 1974	10.367	8.633	8.043
n	15	15	7
Spring 1975	10.291	9.189	8.960
n	11	9	5

The director's evaluation (special progress report of June 21, 1974) was accomplished in conjunction with supplemental information supplied by Level I at his request. When CP began with 65 sophomores in Spring 1972, 80 other students were considered as potential CP students according to the criteria established for admittance: (1) CTBS scores, (2) counselor recommendations and (3) teacher recommendations. The only difference noted was that those 80 control group students never applied. With most of the control group continuing in the common school, much information was available. Unequivocally, the CP students over the course of three years had better attendance records, stayed in one program of study longer, took more academically oriented classes and entered college at a higher rate. The study was designed by the director to indicate that CP was effective in motivating the potentially achieving Black students and enhancing the prospect of their further education in a college. Disappointed in the lack of feedback from Level I, the first director said in his special evaluation progress report: "Effective evaluation of educational programs has been a long-standing problem. Hopefully these alternative evaluation designs as noted through results above, can be used to gain a better understanding of 'what is happening' in this special alternative school."

Of the 37 graduates in June 1975 92 percent (or 34) were accepted to college with 70 percent (or 24) of them accepted to a four-year college. This was far above the 60 percent ratio

established in CP's original goals. The three remaining students were accepted to modeling or airlines training. In the 1976 Spring semester/quarter, ISA followed up the graduates from June 1975. With information unavailable for seven students accepted to four-year colleges, 53 percent (or 9 of 17) were still enrolled in the four-year colleges by the Spring quarter/semester. Four of ten students (or 40%) were still enrolled in the two-year colleges. With information unavailable for one student, one of two was still enrolled in occupational training. Of the 29 students followed up by ISA 14 (or 48%) were still enrolled by Spring 1976 in the programs for which they had been accepted upon graduation in 1975. See table below.

TABLE 4: COLLEGE PREP: 1975 GRADUATES' ENROLLMENT
IN HIGHER EDUCATION BY SPRING 1976

	<u>Four-Year College</u>	<u>Two-Year College</u>	<u>Other (air- lines, modeling)</u>	<u>Total</u>
No. graduates accepted June 1975	24	10	3	37
No. followed up in Sp. semester/qtr. 1976	17	10	2	29
No. enrolled as of Sp. semester/qtr. 1976	9	4	1	14

On Level I's 0.0-0.1 "Effective Alternativeness" scale CP was rated as follows: for alternativeness, a shade above 0.5, which was the mean among BESP high school programs; for effectiveness, between 0.9 and 1.0, which was second only to MSA; on the combined scale, between 0.4 and 0.5, which placed it third, after Agora and U.N. West.

EARLY LEARNING CENTER

ABSTRACT

Early Learning Center is a combination of nursery, day-care center, and K-3 school. Its population ranges in age from 2 1/2 to 8-9 years. Its functional diversity is matched by diverse funding; the director has to prepare six budgets to receive district, state and federal money under six separate labels. Its new building, designed especially for ELC and completed in 1974, was funded by the state, both the construction and land purchase.

BUSD launched ELC with state funds in 1968 as an exemplary early childhood education center. Because of its multi-funding, ELC was not included in the original BESP package. However, in Spring 1971 two elementary school administrators and two parents, who were not associated with ELC, developed a plan for a "Junior Community School." But they could not find a site. Their dilemma was resolved by a decision at the district level that fused their project with ELC to produce a proposal for ESP funding. In September 1972 this new BESP alternative was in business.

BESP was exclusively concerned with the K-3 population. However, it is not easy to separate the BESP facet from other facets of ELC. Parental relationships with the school, for example, were manifestly affected by the day-care service (available until 5:30-6 p.m.) provided for some two-thirds of the K-3 students. Day care may also do more than educational innovation can to explain the large waiting list--up to 340 at one point--for admission to ELC, which accommodated only 61 K-3 students in 1975/76 (up from 40 in 1972/73).

The school featured an "open classroom" approach and an intense multi-cultural focus for a multi-ethnic population. Of the 61 K-3 students in 1974/75, 38 percent were white, 31 percent Black, 16 percent Chicano, and 15 percent Asian. All other special funding was essentially marked for ELC's nursery and day-care facilities; hence, BESP funding was primary in enriching the K-3 program through more staff and consultants, more materials, more books, especially for an impressive multi-cultural library. Even with termination of BESP, ELC plans to retain its multi-faceted character and increase its population.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Efforts to create the Early Learning Center began in 1968 when BUSD received state funds to develop an exemplary center for early childhood education. Using a small educational facilities laboratory, a group of parents, teachers and administrators worked for a year to develop a model:

The ELC was conceived as a combination nursery school and day care center with primary education. Advocates of the model maintained that the effects of neither nursery school nor day care were carried into the primary grades. They felt that the three experiences should complement and reinforce each other. (Proposal for an Early Learning Center, 2/28/74)

The district used state funds to purchase land at the former Savo Island Naval Barracks site in Berkeley. State children's center funds were reserved for construction of a permanent building. No funds were left for education program planning.

Unrelated to the ELC project, in Spring 1971, a junior community school proposal was accepted for the OE/ESP grant, but it had no site. With the development of the educational program for ELC in need of funds, it became realistic to combine the existing program of ELC with the concept of the junior community school.

Planning proceeded during the 1971/72 school year, with emphasis on recruitment of families, selection of staff, search for additional funding and an interim facility. Parents worked with the school director in planning the program and interviewing and selecting the teaching staff. The school opened at a temporary location in September 1972, as a part of BESE, and remained there through Spring 1974.

Two major factors influence the educational strategy of the center--the integrated day and the British Infant School concept of informal education. The day-care hours for children of parents who work extend from approximately 7:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. Usually, about two-thirds of the students in the K-3 program have been served by these day-care arrangements. In 1975/76, for example, 47 of the 61 K-3 students were involved in both morning and afternoon day care. The program included a hot lunch and three daily snacks.

The integrated day involved several advantages. The first is that students in the K-3 program are able to be complete participants in the ELC's model "responsive environment." There is

a continuity and familiarity in staff, materials, and environment. The second advantage has become a reality only in 1975/76--that of a 20-hour commitment per parent, established through a contract each semester (twice a year). These 20 hours may be fulfilled by participating in one of the following areas: the classroom, the library, or one of the special-interest committees.

In ISA's report submitted to NIE/ESP in September 1974, ELC was considered a Type I - Innovative School, characterized by relatively open classrooms and a highly multi-cultural atmosphere. One ELC teacher noted:

The ELC is basically an open classroom situation. There is often too much freedom, which leads to unconstructive activity.

According to the Proposal for an Early Learning Center (2/28/74):

The program intends to develop a multi-ethnic, non-sexist curriculum with the collaboration of staff and parents. An "open" classroom approach offers student choice in group learning activities, peer-teaching, and personalized instruction, in order to encourage self-confidence, responsibility, and self-direction.

Cross age groupings mean that there is a wider range of skills so the child is not trapped in failure situation.

Actually, the staff has changed its instructional style several times. Prior to BESP, the K-3 students were in one large group. Students on their own spontaneously regrouped themselves according to skills and interests. Beginning with ELC's inclusion in BESP in 1972/73 (and through 1973/74), the staff divided the students into the age groups of K-1 and 2-3. By 1974/75, the staff went back to the total cross-age grouping of K-3, switching once more to the K-1 and 2-3 division in 1975/76.

Learning centers were set up in language arts, math, science and art at first. Children were free to choose their own activities while teachers guided small-group discovery experiences, and tutored individual children. The K-3 student ethnicity from 1972/73 through 1975/76 is given below.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1972/73 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1972/73	15	38	15	38	2	5	6	15			2	5	40
1973/74	14	34	17	43	5	13	2	5			2	5	40
*1974/75	13	30	13	30	11	26	6	14					43
1975/76	23	38	19	31	9	15	10	16					61

*In 1974/75, parents and staff discussed their concern with the lack of ethnic identity for children of racially mixed parents. As a result, there was an effort to shift children who previously had been categorized as "other" to a specific ethnic category.

Designed as a "responsive environment" for the total needs of both the child and the family, ELC attempted to incorporate this concept in the physical structure, through careful architectural planning. ELC moved into its modern, asymmetrical structure in Fall 1974. Several major deficiencies of the structure became obvious. First, at odds with ELC's commitment to handicapped children*, stairs leading both upstairs to the balcony where the library was situated and downstairs to where the offices were situated, were inaccessible to certain handicapped youngsters. Second, the balcony necessitated a different type of sprinkler system to comply with the fire code. This put the balcony and the library off-limits to all until the problem was resolved by 1975/76.

ELC has taken its multi-cultural program focus very seriously with respect to staff hiring (within district limitations), students' curriculum materials, and parent understanding. It has acquired a comprehensive multi-cultural, non-sexist library collection.

In trying to incorporate the concept of preventive social services for families within the program itself, the parent-staff council planned a series of workshops dealing with racism. During Spring

*According to the Operational Plan for July 1, 1974 to June 30, 1976: "The school is participating in a training project involving the inclusion of handicapped children of all types in a normal school environment." At that time there were two handicapped children. By 1975/76, there were three (two in grade 3 and one in Kindergarten). One was neurologically and orthopedically handicapped, one had severe hormone imbalance, and the other severe asthma.

1975 workshops held on Saturdays were led by a Black psychologist as consultant/moderator dealing with overt/covert racism. These were directed mainly toward the re-education and counseling of white parents and racially mixed couples experiencing cultural/racial identity crises.

ELC operates the year round; in the Summer 1975 program further development of multi-cultural curriculum was undertaken. This involved development of Spanish bilingual tapes for the library center and a Chicano studies program for pre-schoolers, as well as an environmental yard curriculum.

The ELC staff has reflected some of the internal programmatic changes. The staff by ethnicity and numbers is listed in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1972/73 - 1975/76*

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1972/73			** (3)	75	(1)	25							(4)
	2	33			1	17	2	33			1	17	6
1973/74	(1)	20	(3)	60	(1)	20							(5)
	1	17	2	33	2	33	1	17					6
1974/75	(1)	20	(2)	40	(1)	20	(1)	20					(5)
	1	33			1	33	1	33					3
1975/76			(3)	75	(1)	25							(4)
	1	33			1	33	1	33					3

*Not including director (white female)

** () Classified staff

The decrease in certificated personnel between 1973/74 and 1974/75 reflects structural change in the ELC program. In 1973/74 several staff members were on a rotation basis with the day-care facility. In 1974/75 this was changed so the K-3 teachers spent the entire school day with the K-3 children during regular school hours. The nursery program's staff rotated among themselves.

In 1975/76 a quarter-time librarian (or multi-cultural specialist) was available from the district for the wide variety of multi-cultural books in which ELC prides itself. This library was

also managed through volunteers--parents and University of California students. With no centralized library services by the district, even this meager part-time position was held up as an issue of favoritism by Kilimanjaro, another off-site school with no district support staff and 33 percent more students.

ARTICULATION

In Spring 1971, in anticipation of the Experimental Schools program, a K-3 BUSD school's (Cragmont's) administration and several parents devised the Junior Community School for the original BUSD proposal to OE/ESP. Approved in the original proposal, it was scheduled to open in September 1972, but had no particular site, since Zone B, in which its parent school was situated, was not within the negotiated K-12 articulation plan. Instead, the director of Early Childhood Education in Berkeley was asked by BUSD to plan for an Early Learning Center, including the parent and community input into the Junior Community proposal. Therefore, 1971/72 became the planning year for merging Early Learning Center with the proposed Junior Community School.

ELC (as K-3) once was planned to be a part of a K-12 educational complex on Savo Island. "The ELC is the first phase of a long range plan for three schools of approximately 135 children each" (Proposal for an Early Learning Center, 2/28/74). East Campus for grades 9-12, in its shared facilities with the Adult School, was already built on this land. Missing from the K-12 configuration were grades 4-8. Although nothing has come of it to date, there was a good deal of talk about how to incorporate the missing five grades into a Savo Island complex.

Generally, the approach was to add grades 4-6 to ELC because ELC was solid and stable: it had community/parent support, a new building, funds, and a director with influence in the district. At different times the ELC administration contemplated the absorption of either Kilimanjaro or Malcolm X Environmental studies, both of which included grades 4-6, but nothing tangible materialized. As for grades 7-8, Odyssey was a contender to fill that gap by locating on Savo Island. After a flurry of communications involving NIE, Central BESP and Odyssey in 1975, the plan was indefinitely tabled.

Meanwhile, primary considerations for enrollment at ELC were age, sex, ethnicity, address and income level. Then priority was given to siblings of enrolled students, children of the staff, and formerly enrolled students who returned to the area. Half of the children must reside in Southeast Berkeley and half in the other Berkeley areas. However, this pattern is flexible, as non-Berkeley residents with special needs (e.g., handicapped children) are admitted. ELC strives for an equal number of boys and girls and tries to maintain an equal number in each grade. Table 3 below indicates that only in 1975/76 was the latter goal beginning to be realized.

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY GRADE LEVEL,
1973/74 - 1975/76

	<u>K</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
1973/74	15	16	5	4	40
1974/75	1	15	16	6	38
1975/76	15	20	12	14	61

With so few openings there has been a decrease of students on the waiting list. In 1973/74 there were 340 and in January 1976 there were 160. With staff and parents' concern for outgoing 3rd-graders not finding an equivalent 4th-grade program, ELC plans to add a 4th-grade age group to its program for 1976/77. It will retain its present third-grade students (14) to accomplish this. According to the director, the ELC building can ultimately accommodate 125 children.

FUNDING

ELC received \$106,449 from BESP during the years 1971/72 through 1975/76. This was 3.38 percent of the total BESP sites' budget. Prior to its official BESP affiliation in Fall 1972, ELC got \$13,664 from BESP, most of which was used for the partial salaries of the director and three consultants for project development.

Site rentals consumed 25 percent of the total BESP allocation; 63 percent was spent on salaries of certificated staff, classified staff consultants and fringe benefits for all categories. In 1974/75 the total of \$18,272, or 17 percent of the total five-year budget, was spent mostly on salaries--release time for in-service credentialed teachers, and a secretary--and instructional materials and books to help develop their extensive multi-cultural library.

In 1975/76, money was only spent in two categories--\$3,000 for consultants' fees for multi-ethnic programs brought into the school

and \$850 for field trips. For 1976/77, ELC is asking for a half-time multi-cultural media specialist (librarian) for more complete service by the library. Continuing field trips, including overnight camping trips, "are needed to continue basic educational experiences" (BESP Budget Report to Board of Education, December 9, 1975).

As indicated earlier, ELC receives special funds from several sources for its nursery, pre-school and day-care programs, along with the standard allotments from the state (ADA) and BUSD (e.g., for credentialed teachers). This permits some flexibility. For example, the initial state allocation to develop an "exemplary center for Early Childhood Education" was all spent to acquire the school site on Savo Island, necessitating additional funds for program development. BESP funding helped to meet this need, as well as some others.

EVALUATION

ELC considered evaluation an important segment of its comprehensive, integrated day-care/K-3 program. Parents were brought into the process--they developed an inventory of students' competencies. An ambitious evaluation program was announced after the 1973/74 school year. "ELC has developed a documentation process which will be initiated in September, 1974. It is based on the work of Pat Carini at Prospect School in Vermont, the E.T.S. (Educational Testing Service) Early Childhood Group and the work of the Education Development Corporation. ELC will request that ESP Training and Evaluation Components provide direct expert assistance to implement this program" (BESP Progress Report, July 30, 1974). This evaluation meant a review of the childrens' work from teacher observations each week, comparing it to stated goals and objectives.

This process was never realized. It was considered too tedious with too few results by the teachers in 1974/75. ELC felt that Level I did not spend the necessary time with the staff to train it in documentation-evaluation. Level I did, however, make ELC aware of the complexity of developing an evaluation process for an alternative school. It was Level I's feeling that "every teacher and parent must be involved in the documentation process" and this training should involve a minimum of one day per week. Training became a part only of the User Evaluation Component as mandated by the district. The January 1976 BESP Progress Report said ELC was still in the process of developing "an alternative evaluation model using verbal and written language samples."

In the meantime parents were trying to devise their own process evaluation for the program. In 1974/75 four parents observed teachers and wrote out a short sketch of their impressions of the teachers'

strengths and teaching techniques. The observations were descriptive but could not measure growth during the year. In Spring 1975, parents were asked to respond subjectively to an evaluation sheet developed by parents and staff for suggestions for the future. They were asked to consider structure, curriculum, teaching styles, and evaluative techniques, also social environment and overall perspective of parents and children. The main categories were instructional program, social environment, physical environment, options and services available to students and parents, school rules and disciplinary procedures.

For the children's academic progress and growth, the district used the CPT and the CTBS tests. As indicated below, the changes in mean scores reflect an average growth of more than one grade equivalent over a single academic year in both reading and math.

TABLE 4: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, ELC GRADE 2

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Fall 1974	1.967		2.387
2nd grade n	9		8
Spring 1975	3.130	3.080	3.630
2nd grade n	10	10	10

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale*, ELC's ratings were: .5 for "alternativeness," somewhat above .4 for "effectiveness," and between .2 and 3. on the combined "effective alternative" scale. This placed ELC in the middle of a cluster that included all the BESP elementary schools, except Malcolm X Environmental Studies, which scored close to .8, about .5 ahead of the runner-up.

*For construction of this 0.0 to 1.0 scale, see Appendix.

KILIMANJARO (aka Parents and Teachers for Alternative Education)

ABSTRACT

Kilimanjaro, a non-graded, off-site K-6 alternative, existed with a grant from BUSD for a year before BESP funds became available.

It was founded by parents who wanted a child-centered, open-structured, "free school" type format, in which parents had the decisive voice. Their radical bent was articulated in the aim "to facilitate maximum communication for a truly dynamic, human, creative, and yet productive alternative to a racist, sexist, authoritarian, economically exploitative society."

As an off-site alternative, Kilimanjaro has faced the fiscal problem stemming from the need to allocate a sizable portion of its budget for rent, and the elementary problem of finding an adequate home. With its particular constituency, it has also been beset by internecine quarrels that are not uncommon in a radical milieu. Issues of leadership and degrees of structure and accountability have been recurrent. Despite such problems, Kilimanjaro apparently responded to a felt need in the Berkeley environment: in the five years of BESP funding its enrollment swelled from 48 in 1971/72 to 95 in 1975/76. Although parents have expressed deep concern with racism and inter-ethnic understanding and respect, the school has tended to revert to its original "white hippie" image. The proportion of whites in the student body declined from 57 percent in 1971/72 to 46 percent in 1972/73, but then grew to 61 percent in 1975/76.

Throughout its tempestuous and discordant history (and possibly because of those traits), Kilimanjaro has managed to retain enough of a parent-directed "free school" image so as to seem like an authentic alternative to a Berkeley constituency. It continued to exist in the post-BESP year of 1976/77.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Kilimanjaro began in the Spring 1970 semester at Le Conte elementary school. It was taught in part by students from Other Ways, another alternative school in Berkeley prior to BESP funding. Kilimanjaro was designed as an unstructured classroom model for K-3 students. Parents whose children participated in the open classroom at Le Conte met together during the Summer of 1970 to plan a program more stimulating and relevant than the traditional elementary school program in the district. BUSD granted permission to the parents of about 50 children in the K-6 bracket to move off-site for the 1970/71 school year.

The new off-site K-6 school was named Parents and Teachers for Alternative Education (PTAE). Its philosophy was: "the world as classroom." The parents and teachers hoped to "develop an appreciation of ethnic, sexual and personal worth of the individual child in a free learning environment." In the PTAE community, children were viewed as people who should be taken seriously and who should be allowed to contribute to the direction of their own education.

In Spring 1971, PTAE submitted a proposal to BUSD and obtained BESP funding before the Fall semester. With BESP funding, PTAE changed its name to Kilimanjaro. For the next two years the staff and parents did not accept the concept of a school director, preferring to govern themselves collectively by group consensus. Parents and later teachers were designated as liaisons to BUSD and BESP. The liaison position was jointly filled by two parents in the first year (1971/72) and by a teacher in the second year. Initially, the liaison served as nominal director for BUSD/BESP purposes. By 1973/74, there was, in fact, a director.

Initially, the parents and teachers sought to establish an open structured community school in which the students would have a say in regulating their own learning, and parents could be actively involved at the school in the educational process. However, when some parents ceased active participation in the classroom, those who remained were angered and felt cheated. The question arose, why did some parents leave and how could they be brought back? The parents who left felt the true issue was not their irresponsibility to their children's education but rather the creation by a few influential parents of a selective, cliqueish decision making body which prevented the development of a total participating community.

While the parents were involved in that struggle, the students came to realize the lack of influence and control they actually

exerted in the program.

During the first BESP year, the program chairpersons were two parents voted in at a general meeting of the school community. For the 1972/73 school year, a teacher was voted in. Following the teacher's selection, some parents felt they abdicated their responsibility for the school to the teachers. The chairperson position would negate the school's finance committee since the duties included control of the money. And, during the 1971/72 school year, all of the designated BESP funds went toward rental costs of the site.

At the close of the first BESP year, the Kilimanjaro community set up objectives for the coming year: to become more of a multi-cultural community, to develop effective means of program and staff evaluation, and to expand and perfect the teaching of basic skills.

During Summer 1972, a core group of parents and teachers worked to explore and plan ways to meet the new commitments. Governance was more defined, the functions of school committees were established, a multi-cultural program was designed and a search for more minority students was initiated. Discipline procedures and rules were also examined.

The curriculum in the second year continued to reflect the skills and interests of students and participating adults. The school was also relocated to another site at which it remained through the 1974/75 school year. A complete arts and crafts curriculum was implemented, including pottery, sculpture, painting, woodworking, jewelry, welding and stained glass. The photography class was expanded with new equipment. Basic skills remained in a "work room," supplemented by an activity room that provided space for students to develop math and reading skills through games and projects. Black Studies and Asian American Experience courses were added during the 1972/73 school year. Attendance was not mandatory. The school remained un-graded.

During the 1973/74 school year, general meetings were held weekly to discuss business matters and procedures for building a more positive environment. Students and staff also met separately on a weekly basis. Budget, admission and recruitment committees convened as the need arose, reporting at general meetings to keep the community informed. Parents functioned more as advisors to the staff during the 1973/74 school year than in prior years. The staff and director were responsible for decision making at the school, with final say resting in the hands of the director. The

staff and administration, according to the director, shared responsibility for curriculum development, planning, course requirements, disciplinary procedures and school governance. The following table shows certificated and classified staff by ethnicity during the five years of BESP funding.

TABLE 1: STAFF BY ETHNICITY,
1971/72 - 1975/76

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
1971/72	* (2) 3	(1)	(3) 3
1972/73	(2) 2	(2) 2	(4) 4
1973/74	(1) 2	(3) 2	(4) 4
1974/75	(1) 4	1	(1) 5
1975/76	(1) 2	2	(1) 4

* () = classified staff

Parent participation waned during the 1973/74 school year, partly because of increased BUSD involvement in the school. During the 1972/73 school year, BUSD/BESP did not approve of the parent directors of the program, and for 1973/74 the District demanded that a teacher be placed as director. The first teacher/director lasted one year. By 1974/75, there was a new director/teacher selected by the parents, who remained until the Spring 1976 semester. He was an advocate of incorporating Black Studies into the curriculum at Jefferson Tri-Part and was a promising candidate for organizing Kilimanjaro's multi-cultural and basic skills curriculum.

With a new director came a new form of governance. For the first time, class attendance and follow-up were made mandatory. According to the director, the free school approach resulted in educational accountability difficulties for BUSD and for the education of the students themselves. Progress was difficult to chart. Stricter rules of discipline and teacher evaluation/accountability controls were implemented.

With three certificated teachers (one part time), including the director, the curriculum was divided into reading, language arts and math. The director taught reading with additional materials by Random House for the HILC. This program, inherently structured and managed to specification, philosophically did not jibe with the free structure approach. It did allow for individualization and instituted self-discipline, an issue of continued conflict within the site.

In order to maintain discipline among students, and to decentralize power to discipline, staff and parents established a Conflict Committee in 1974/75. The director, however, felt that dispersal of other controls at the site resulted in chaos. He stressed the need for accountability for all--students, teachers and parents. A process for curriculum changes was established by the director, requiring parents and staff to attend curriculum workshops. The parents resented the director's dictum, and viewed it as stifling creativity. As mentioned earlier, when Kilimanjaro began, curriculum was to be developed spontaneously and by trial and error. The general scheduling of basic skills in the morning and activities in the afternoons remained throughout Kilimanjaro's history. What specifically occurred, however, in each of these time periods changed drastically in 1974/75.

Grade configurations changed several times. In the beginning students were grouped according to their particular choice and preference. By 1974/75, there were two groups: K-3 and 4-6. Within those two groups, students could then make their choices. In 1974/75, the kindergarten students spent most of their morning time with a student teacher and the remaining students rotated in three groups of approximately grades 1-2, 2-4 and 5-6. By 1975/76 there was an additional teacher and additional upper grade students, which prompted a regrouping to include K-2 in a self-contained classroom and rotating 3-6 graders among three teachers for social studies, reading and math. The number of students at each grade level also affected the groupings that year.

TABLE 2: NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY GRADE LEVEL, 1971/72 - 1975/76

<u>Grade</u>	<u>1971/72</u>	<u>1972/73</u>	<u>1973/74</u>	<u>1974/75</u>	<u>1975/76</u>
K	10	7	4	8	6
1	3	6	3	3	8
2	9	7	6	8	9
3	9	6	6	8	15
4	4	8	11	13	19
5	14	7	8	12	19
6	5	7	8	8	19
Total	<u>54</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>95</u>

The director's peers, the other two teachers, resented impositions placed upon them regarding structuring the classroom, planning curriculum, and accountability to the director. At the same time, certain parents resented the usurpation of power by the director. The director often bypassed both parents and BESP administration in his efforts to create order. Sometimes the results were favorable, sometimes not. For example, only when he complained to BUSD about the filth and lack of maintenance services at the site was the janitor replaced (in Fall 1974).

In the BESP Progress Report issued in the Spring 1975 semester new policies were cited, policies developed and instituted by the director. Some of these were: restrictions on leaving the campus, wearing shoes on campus, and attendance.

Resistance to change grew to the point where a professional counselor was brought in to lead a group therapy session with the parents and teachers.

In the Spring 1976 semester, the director recommended the site secretary be replaced. Extreme hostility resulted from the staff, students and parents. The director, though, had some support from the Kilimanjaro community.

The conflicts that began between the director and both the parents and the staff in 1974/75 continued during the 1975/76 school year, culminating in the medical leave of absence forced upon the director by BUSD/BESP in April 1976. At this time, the directorship was jointly held by two volunteer parents under the direction of the central BESP director.

By April 1976 student enrollment dropped by 12 percent from January, from 95 to 84 students. Following is a table showing the student enrollment at Kilimanjaro from Fall 1971 through Spring 1976; the student drop in the middle of the Spring 1976 semester is not noted in the table.

TABLE 3: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	31	57	16	30			2	4	1	2	4	7	54
1972/73	22	46	21	44	1	2	3	6			1	2	48
1973/74	22	48	13	28	4	9	7	15					46
1974/75	38	63	17	28	1	2	3	5			1	2	60
1975/76	58	61	10	10	9	9	11	12			7	8	95

Although Kilimanjaro did not maintain a racial quota, an attempt was made to admit every non-white applicant. The issue of a waiting list for the white families was raised every year. The list peaked with 40 families in the 1972/73 school year when Kilimanjaro seriously sought out more minority students to implement the multi-cultural emphasis it was undertaking.

Black student enrollment increased between 1971/72 and 1972/73, but this only lasted for one year. (White student enrollment decreased presumably because of the attempts to make Kilimanjaro more of a multi-cultural school, thus putting white students on the waiting list more readily than others.)

White student enrollment remained constant, both absolutely and relatively, through the 1972/73 and 1973/74 school years (between 46 and 48% of the student population); however, Black student enrollment decreased during these two years primarily because Black parents did not want their children enrolled in such an unstructured chaotic school as Kilimanjaro. In 1974/75, Asian and Chicano enrollment dipped, the reduced Black enrollment remained stable, and the white enrollment increased significantly. As a consequence, white student preponderance (63%) was the most pronounced in the school's history.

ARTICULATION

Since Kilimanjaro began before BESP funds, it was never considered an alternative that would have to accommodate the comprehensive K-12 plan. As a school for children from kindergarten through grade 6, it eliminated the necessity of K-3 matriculation into a 4-6 school program (the desegregation plan). As a K-6 configuration bent on remaining autonomous, it was housed in non-BUSD property, an off-site rental until the last BESP year, when it was temporarily situated at a K-3 school.

Kilimanjaro could reasonably fit well with the program at Odyssey, a 7th-9th grade BESP alternative--the curriculum, governing policies, non-graded configuration and classroom structure were similar. Few students, however, matriculated there. When Willard Alternative was functioning (1972/73 - 1973/74) the Kilimanjaro staff often interceded with their graduates for enrollment there. In reality, Odyssey and Kilimanjaro were very different in two major areas. First, the ages of their parents (much younger at Kilimanjaro), and second, the difference in leadership at each alternative. Both factors have worked interdependently for each school. For Kilimanjaro, they created continuous internal difficulties for teachers, parents, students and director.

As an off-site school, ultimate survival for Kilimanjaro was a tenuous issue at best. In the plans for a merger into the district the BESP Progress Report of Spring 1974 stated:

Kilimanjaro has staffing problems and will have housing problems eventually; considering merger with Early Learning Center though philosophies are a little different; however, it will be a matter of survival.

In March 1976 the BESP administration recommended Kilimanjaro "to be continued." The unique aspects of this concept were discussed:

A viable concept serving K-6 (ungraded) students is the most innovative of the Experimental Schools Project programs. As yet to be refined to the degree necessary for smooth management, this should be the major emphasis for the program. The program serves an unique segment of Berkeley's diverse population.

Kilimanjaro's future as of June 1976 was still tenuous. Parents had considered the extra space at Willard Junior High School in which to move their program. The director had been on a leave of absence since April, two certificated staff members were scheduled for the district layoffs, and the additional teacher brought on for the 1975/76 school year from the district's overage pool in order to equalize the staff/student ratio with the increase of student population did not wish to stay at Kilimanjaro. The possibility existed that the Kilimanjaro alternative would move to a new site with an entirely new staff. This had ramifications for another cycle in the philosophy, governance, and curriculum structure at the site.

As of June 1976, Kilimanjaro and Odyssey were planning on relocation at Willard Junior High School. The central BESP director

recommended one director for the two programs, solely responsible for administration. The intent was to move toward merger of the two programs to implement a K-9 grade configuration.

FUNDING

In 1970/71, BUSD gave PTAE two half-time and one full-time certificated teachers as well as \$14,000 to operate off-site at a service center called Kilimanjaro. The funds went toward rent and supplies. Parents contemplated charging tuition at \$7 per month per child, on a sliding scale. This was never implemented. Financial records were not kept that year.

With the onset of BESP in Fall 1971, and a move to a church rental, the name of the school was changed to Kilimanjaro, borrowing the name of the service center where it had been housed the previous year.

During the five years of BESP, Kilimanjaro received \$110,541 or 3.51 percent of the total BESP five-year budget for sites. Of that amount, \$44,412 (40%) was expended on salaries, primarily for classified staff, but also consultants and release in-service time for certificated teachers. The next highest expense, \$37,682 (34%), was for building rental (not including renovation). Supplies consumed \$15,699 (14%) during the five years; more than three-fourths of that sum was spent in 1974/75 and 1975/76, most of it for the Reading HILC lab. The director was the HILC manager during those two years.

With the afternoon program at Kilimanjaro heavily relying on field trips, a relatively small proportion (3%) of the budget was expended in this category. Many of the afternoon excursions, therefore, were limited to the Berkeley area and to walking distance.

At Kilimanjaro forward funding was never considered a security cushion. Fiscal survival was not planned for, the school was expected to exist on a shoestring--both by Kilimanjaro staff and parents and by BESP, which did not give special consideration to rental cost for off-site schools. As a result, in 1971/72 nearly the entire BESP allocation to Kilimanjaro (\$14,715) went for rent (\$940 per month). The school found it difficult to obtain enough instructional materials to run the program.

There was a curious gap between Kilimanjaro's needs and the district's awareness of them. For example, it was not until the director of BUSD business services chanced to see an old VW bus leaving Kilimanjaro filled with children that an adequate bus was provided to the school. Janitorial service is another case in

point. Physical upkeep of the site was at a small until a new director took over in Fall 1974. His vigorous complaints finally moved the district to provide reasonably adequate janitorial service.

Money, or the services money can buy, was a recurrent problem at Kilimanjaro. In a sense, this was a price it paid for the "freedom" of operating off-site.

EVALUATION

In the original BSP proposal Kilimanjaro's sole behavioral objective was:

Throughout the school year, to create a spontaneous learning situation for K-6 students and their parents that will meet the needs and interests of all those involved, as measured by parent, student, teacher responses and attitudes reflected in narrative reports, check lists, questionnaires, interviews and observation, according to P.T.A.E. and District measurements.

For two years there was no documentation either by site or by Level I of any of the above-mentioned areas. By Spring 1973, an Evaluation Contract was drawn up with Kilimanjaro by Level I. It stated:

Baseline performance will be determined by site developed inventories and/or stipulated standardized tests to measure math and English skills, site developed attitudinal surveys to elicit student ethnic awareness, appreciation of other races and cultures, occupational goals, perceived self-confidence and sense of personal responsibility, and by recorded teacher evaluations.

Again documentation by site (and within the site) was not accomplished primarily due to continuous internal conflicts, upheavals and struggles for fiscal survival. The Spring 1973 contract provided that the documentation of progress "made toward the realization of site/student objectives..." would be administered by site staff and done twice yearly. Although CTBS tests were never named, this was the only documentation accomplished, albeit marginally. Kilimanjaro parents and staff refused to submit the students to CTBS testing in 1971/72 and 1972/73. But by the 1973/74 school year, Kilimanjaro students took the tests, which at that time were

mandated by BUSD. However, not until the Spring 1975 tests were scores available for a significant number of ISA's sample students in the 2nd and 5th grades at Kilimanjaro. These were as follows:

TABLE 4: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, KILIMANJARO, GRADES 2 AND 5

<u>Grade Level</u>	<u>Reading</u>		<u>Language</u>		<u>Math</u>	
	<u>2nd</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>5th</u>
Spring, 1975	3.631	6.920	2.546	7.047	2.438	5.319
n	6	8	6	10	6	10

Record keeping within the site of the individual student's progress in each subject was neglected until 1974/75. In spite of the director's insistence upon individual student files with updated progress reports and his own immaculate record keeping within his reading/HILC program, resistance by the other two staff members prevented this process from being realized.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Kilimanjaro was rated slightly below .9 for "alternativeness," between .2 and .3 for "effectiveness," and between .2 and .3 on the combined "Effective Alternative" scale, placing it second only to Malcolm X Environmental Studies among BESP elementary schools on this scale. This, however, is not quite as good as it seems because MXES was way out front with a score of almost .8, and all the other BESP elementary sites were bunched between .2 and .3.

FRANKLIN ALTERNATIVE

ABSTRACT

Franklin Alternative (originally Franklin Multi-Cultural) opened in 1971/72 as a BESP option for grades 4-6 on site at Franklin Intermediate. By the end of BESP funding in June 1976, Franklin had more alternative programs (seven) and more students (nearly the entire population at the site) enrolled in alternative programs than any other intermediate school in Berkeley.

The school's early years were marked by tension between the principal-director and parents and teachers. Although antagonistic to "alternativeness," the principal wrote the original proposal for BESP funding at the direction of BUSD to meet BESP articulation needs in Zone A (the zonal pattern was designed to facilitate integration). Acceptance of the proposal did not reconcile him to "alternativeness." Simultaneously, in the Asian and Chicano communities there were pressures for an innovative response to their needs, and a group of teachers and parents, who had cooperated in an alternative "mini-school" for children with behavior problems at Franklin, reinforced the opposition to the principal-director. The upshot was that in 1973/74 the principal was replaced. The new principal/director and a co-director were fully committed to alternative education.

Initially, reflecting the existing pressures, the alternative consisted of three components--Asian, La Raza and Multi-Cultural. Later, La Raza was incorporated into the Multi-Cultural component as a bilingual (Spanish-English) option. The school finally listed seven distinct programs: the Asian component, four within the Multi-Cultural component, a School of the Arts, and a Fundamental (focus on basic skills) program.

Franklin Alternative's enrollment was stable, ranging between 336 and 357 in the five BESP years. Fluctuations in ethnic composition were minor; in 1975/76 the breakdown was: white 42 percent, Black 31 percent; Asian 20 percent; Chicano 6 percent, and "Other" 1 percent.

With the end of ESP funding, the alternative and common schools were combined into a whole in which the alternative aspects were predominant.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Reluctantly Franklin Administration submitted a proposal for BESP funds in Spring 1971. The principal's negative attitude toward "alternativeness" stemmed from his previous experience with vocal white parents asking for "innovation" in the school program. His major concern at the school was to provide basic skills to disadvantaged and minority students. He expressed sympathy with their needs rather than those of the white middle class with its demands for "alternativeness."

For the two years prior to BESP there was one "alternative" at Franklin (backed by vocal white parents) involving two teachers in a team teaching situation. Experiencing success teaching children with behavior problems they wanted to create an autonomous unit with a high concentration of such children. Their emphasis was on personalizing and individualizing instruction in order to improve students' self-image and self-motivation.

Two other groups emerged in the midst of negotiations at Franklin for autonomy to implement their "alternative" models. The strongest of these with the most community and BUSD support was an Asian group. The Board of Education had created an Asian Studies Coordinator to facilitate the development of Asian-oriented instructional programs. An Asian teacher at Franklin was trying to create an Asian Studies Model School. The purpose of the school would be to help children understand patterns of racial stereotyping by studying the Asian-American experience. As an "Asian Cluster" model, the plan would feature a high concentration of Asian students and Asian teachers.

A second group, the Bay Area Bilingual Education League (BABEL), had received support from BUSD to set up bilingual classes in several schools, including Franklin. Similar clustering of bilingual Spanish-speaking students and teachers would occur. Students would learn about Mexican-American culture and a second language, either English or Spanish.

These groups submitted proposals for ESP in late February 1971 to BUSD's Office of Project Planning. None was approved and Franklin was not included in the first BESP draft sent to OE/ESP. Out of the initial negotiations between BUSD and OE came the decision that Franklin was in the designated experimental zone to fill the 4-6 grade level gap (Jefferson, a K-3 feeder school, had already been operating for a year as an alternative on a Ford Grant). Franklin's involvement was forced. The Franklin principal met the deadline given him by the BUSD superintendent by ignoring parents and the already existing alternative at Franklin. Instead, he incorporated

all three distinct groups urging the sole establishment of their educational alternative--Asian, La Raza, and Multi-Cultural. Each was to contain children from all cultural groups.

BESP public relations literature in 1971/72 said the Asian component was "to improve self-image through awareness of past history and contributions and appreciation of the uniqueness of the different minority groups." The La Raza component was "to develop proficiency in conversation and written Spanish and English and to improve school attendance by Spanish-speaking students." The Multi-Cultural component was "to increase understanding of the nature and worth of all cultures to find new ways to work together toward common goals and to help each child to learn by himself."

With BESP funds, the Franklin principal was appointed the director of the alternative there as well. He outflanked and alienated both teachers and parents. Their built-up resentment fostered two important developments within the site. First, it helped to keep the alternative segments supportive of each other and against the leadership. Second, it helped to organize the parents for the eventual ousting of the principal.

By 1972/73, the Multi-Cultural groups asked for and were granted a coordinator within this component's teaching staff. By 1973/74, after pressure from the parents to the School Board, the principal was replaced by the former assistant director in charge of BESP training. He has remained at Franklin in a role both supportive to the alternative offerings and acquiescent to the Multi-Cultural teacher/coordinator who subsequently became co-director of the entire alternative there.

Excluding staff shared with the common school, the alternative certificated staff remained fairly stable as noted below in Table 1:

TABLE 1: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	(1)* 3	33 27	(1) 1	33 9	(1) 4	33 36			(3) 11
1972/73	(1) 3	13 27	(2) 3	25 27	(5) 5	63 45			(8) 11
1973/74	(1) 4	14 29	(2) 3	28 21	(3) 5	43 36	(1) 2	14 14	(7) 14
1974/75	4	33	2	17	5	42	(2) 1	100 8	(2) 12
1975/76	3	27	2	18	5	45	1	9	11

* () = Classified aides

Comparing the alternative staff in 1974/75 and 1975/76 to both the combined classroom teaching population and the total site certificated staff, two facts are noticeable. The alternative has all of the Asian classroom teacher population. And the percent of Blacks in the alternative is slightly lower than in the combined classroom teaching staff. See Table 2 below:

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF BESP CLASSROOM TEACHERS, COMBINED BESP AND COMMON CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND ALL CERTIFICATED STAFF, 1974/75 AND 1975/76.

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other	Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>
BESP												
1974/75	4	33	2	17	5	42	1	8				12
Combined	14	42	8	24	5	15	5	15		1	3	33
*All certified	24	49	12	25	7	14	5	10		1	2	49
BESP												
1975/76	3	19	2	13	5	31	1	6		5	31	16
Combined	13	37	9	26	5	14	3	9		5	14	35
*All certified	23	45	13	26	6	12	3	6		6	12	51

*All certificated staff include administrators, prep time teachers, district personnel assigned to Franklin as well as classroom teachers.

The major program changes occurred with the bilingual La Raza component and the Multi-Cultural component. The La Raza component historically began with the Chicano Community Task Force efforts of three years prior to BESP. A former teacher in the La Raza component said that the program's strengths were the acceptance of both English and Spanish as languages and the fact that white and Black kids were included too.

By 1972/73, the bilingual sub-school, however, had been eliminated from the BESP funding, continuing under funds from BABEL. And by January 1975, the Chicano component was re-approved as an integral part of BESP through the Franklin Alternative's insistence. The principal said, "They were functioning as orphans up until about 3-4 months ago." (Interview May 1975.)

The special identity of the Multi-Cultural cluster was continuously being developed. By 1974/75 the Chicano component (a 4-6 grade class) was considered a part of it and two additional groups were emerging--Neo-Arts Cooperative and Monkey Business. The Neo-Arts Cooperative, originally proposed for low-achieving Black students by the teacher/coordinator of the alternative, was accepted as a heterogeneous student program. Fifth and sixth grade students in two classrooms were involved in this educational experience interweaving home and community, transcendental meditation and physical activity. It became a testing ground for the issue of students sharing in policy decisions within their own structure at these grade levels.

Monkey Business was started by two teachers in order to make school stimulating and provocative. It was, in fact, a micro-economic game that provided a reward system for effort and cooperation. Utilization of the concepts and techniques in both of these sub-programs has spread through interest (rather than mandated workshops, etc.) to other teachers in the school.

In ISA's report submitted to NIE/ESP in September 1974, an analysis of the field observations classified schools on the basis of classroom structure and cultural diversity. Franklin was considered an Innovative School, characterized by relatively open classrooms and a highly multi-cultural atmosphere. Although there was a mixture of both emphases within each model, the Asian Studies component has been concerned with delivering specific content and the Multi-Cultural component focused on developing children's cognitive and affective processes. Team teaching occurred in both models and between models. Teaming within models was to deliver basic skills instruction, while cross-teaming between models was to deliver specific ethnically-oriented content.

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During the first year of BESP, students were merely placed with a teacher. The teacher's place in the program was dependent on his/her preference and/or ethnicity (for the Asian cluster). Teachers were recruited from the regular program to form the Multi-Cultural component. By 1973/74, parents were able to select classes in the Asian cluster. In the Multi-Cultural cluster, parents were able to sign up for waiting lists according to classes. The principal/director in 1974 was asked whether the classes in the alternative were innovative. He replied, "If by innovative (you mean) we accommodate all parent requests, then Franklin is innovative."

Student population remained stable both at the site and within each component from 1972/73, with the separation of the bilingual program, through 1975/76 as noted below in Table 3.

TABLE 3: STUDENTS BY ETHNICITY AND BY CLUSTER, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
Multi-Cultural (including bi-lingual)	85	37	88	39	21	9	33	15					227
1971/72													
Asian	66	51	29	22	35	27							130
Total Alter-native	151	42	117	33	56	16	33	9					357
*Multi-Cultural	116	56	76	36	12	6	4	2			1	1	209
1972/73													
Asian	49	39	33	26	42	33	1	1			2	2	127
Total Alter-native	165	49	109	32	54	16	5	2			3	1	336
Multi-Cultural	100	46	76	35	20	9	18	8			2	1	216
1973/74													
Asian	51	39	28	21	48	37	1	1			3	2	131
Total Alter-native	151	44	104	30	68	20	19	6			5	1	347
** Multi-Cultural	112	50	81	36	16	7	13	6			2	1	224
1974/75													
Asian	50	38	36	27	45	34	2	1					133
Total Alter-native	162	45	117	33	61	17	15	5			2	1	357
Multi-Cultural	94	44	76	36	19	9	20	9			3	1	212
1975/76													
Asian	49	39	29	23	47	38							125
Total Alter-native	143	42	105	31	66	20	20	6			3	1	337

*The bilingual program moved out to become incorporated with Casa.

**Included the Chicano component from the common school.

The recommendations from the BESP Administration Office, March 8, 1976, was to continue as is:

The influence of the Experimental Schools Project on Franklin School has been to enrich its curriculum offerings and to allow for different teaching styles. The teaching styles have been fairly well adopted by the staff involved with the project, thus the refinement of Franklin School has been along the cultural lines and should be incorporated as just a multi-cultural school.

A variety of offerings for all of the youngsters has been developed, and the staff training has enhanced the commitment on the part of the other staff members at the school.

ARTICULATION

Franklin was the obvious 4-6 school to follow the previously established Zone A articulation scheme. Zone A already had an alternative at the K-3 level which was planned for funding--Jefferson Tri-Part. Significant for the social character of the zone is the high concentration of Asian and Chicano youngsters. Figures gathered prior to the BESP proposal were as follows: of all Asians in grades 4 through 6 in Berkeley 45.4 percent lived in Zone A. Of all Chicanos in these grades 89.1 percent lived in this zone. The area also contains larger Black and white populations, but is so mixed ethnically that no one group is predominant.

Franklin Alternative's bilingual programs, designed to appeal especially to Chicano and Asian students, represented a salient form of articulation with its BESP feeder school, Jefferson Tri-Part, which also had classes offering Spanish or Chinese, along with English. Moreover, the Bay Area Bilingual Education League (BABEL), which was involved in the bilingual programs at both schools, also served as a bridge between the two. However, these special threads of articulation within the BESP network were broken once a student left Franklin Alternative to go on to the 7th grade. Not only were there no bilingual programs in the short-lived BESP junior high schools, but there was no program that focused on Chicano or Asian-American culture. As a consequence, the "peak" Chicano enrollment was 1 for KARE and 0 for Willard Alternative; Asian enrollment peaked at 1 in KARE and 14 in Willard Alternative (at a time when Franklin Alternative enrolled 68 Asian students).

Franklin Alternative, as a sub-school of Franklin Common, was subject to the common school's administrative policies and protocol.

Initial conflicts between BESP and common teachers resulted from the allocation of additional funds to BESP teachers. Sharing of ideas and materials as well as organizational development group retreats in 1973/74 (with BESP funds) helped alleviate those conflicts.

Both BESP and non-BESP teachers shared the facilities offered by the school--U. C. tutorial program, Help Center and HILC Lab. Students were recommended by teachers to receive one-to-one tutoring twice weekly in reading. The Help Center (begun in 1973/74) was staffed by guidance personnel and volunteers for immediate (crisis) student problems. And the HILC, paid for by BESP funds, was the first to be operationalized in a 4-6 school. It was opened in Fall 1974 to all 4th grade students and teachers. The HILC at Franklin was inherited from Black House after that alternative school was forced to close because of OCR regulations. A second HILC opened in February 1976 at Franklin. Teachers used HILC as a reading center to supplement their classroom language arts instructions.

FUNDING

Franklin Alternative expended 5.3 percent (or \$166,739) of the total BESP funds allotted to all sites during the five years, 1971-76. Almost all the funds (87%) were spent during the first three years. The expenditures those years were mainly for classified salaries, fringe benefits and consultants.

The second major expense included purchase of the High Intensity Reading Lab. According to the principal, one of the least costly though important benefits BESP afforded Franklin was in the area of organizational development with sensitivity type sessions opening the lines of communication among staff and components. It subsequently helped to alleviate jealousy between the common school and the alternative teachers.

The principal discussed the issue of funding and its BESP history at Franklin (May, 1975):

Well, I don't think we can divorce funding from any program. I think money does set values, and in terms of the original Franklin project, the money was really not into a program, but into classrooms. So that when the allocation came, the first director of ESP (at Franklin) took the \$60,000 and said, 'Okay, we have 12 classrooms, each of you will get \$5,000 apiece.' And the classrooms did whatever they wanted to do with

that money. So there is really no program...
Some classrooms didn't spend money at all.

In the revised Operational Plan (July 1974) a criticism was leveled at the manner of funding:

The inconsistent level of ESP funding has made planning and efforts to achieve original goals very difficult.

After internal conflicts were resolved, eventual judicious use of funds and stable site goals were justifications for the 1976/77 budget as stated in the December 9, 1975, BESP budget report:

The continuation of funds for training in classroom management techniques, maintenance of resource labs, and participation in community multi-cultural activities are required to meet the diverse population served by the alternative.

EVALUATION

Although the original proposal stated that evaluation techniques would be continuous and extensive in all areas of development and achievement, there was no formalized evaluation other than CTBS testing. Informal evaluation was done on an individual class/teacher basis or in an impressionistic vein on an overall site level. The July 30, 1974, Revised Operational Plan, submitted to NIE/ESP, said:

Informal evaluation indicates a satisfied community and staff regarding their past year's involvement with the experiment.

Student CTBS scores at Franklin--common and alternative--were overall higher than those at any of the other three 4th - 6th grade schools. ISA's sample students in 1973/74 and 1974/75, in 4th and 5th grades, respectively, showed aggregate gains in reading, language and math which reflect growth of more than one grade-equivalent in all areas.

TABLE 4: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, FRANKLIN ALTERNATIVE, GRADES 4 AND 5

	Reading		Language		Math	
	<u>Fall</u>	<u>Spring</u>	<u>Fall</u>	<u>Spring</u>	<u>Fall</u>	<u>Spring</u>
1973/74						
(Gr. 4)	5.041	6.000			4.342	5.468
n	49	50			48	50
1974/75	6.654	8.286	3.443	6.797	6.438	7.567
(Gr. 5) n	41	37	40	39	21	40

Those students in the sample, whose scores were reported in Fall 1973 and Spring 1975, showed better than two years growth in all three areas.

TABLE 5: GROWTH IN MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, FALL 1973-SPRING 1975

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Fall 1973 to Spring 1975	2.965	2.281	3.117
n	34	36	36

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Franklin Alternative's ratings were: between .5 and .6 for "alternativeness"; just below .4 for "effectiveness"; and just above .2 on the combined "effective alternative" scale, the lowest among the BESP elementary schools, although all of these (except Malcolm X) were clustered nearby.

JEFFERSON TRI-PART

ABSTRACT

Jefferson Tri-Part, a K-3 school, emerged out of a parents' revolt against educational inertia a year before BESP appeared on the scene. In the pre-BESP year (1970/71) the alternative was funded mostly by the Ford Foundation. The three parts or models, which gave the school its name, were called Multi-Cultural, Individualized Personal Learning, and Traditional, and were supposed to represent the approaches implied in the nomenclature.

Within the Multi-Cultural model Chinese and Spanish were offered in bilingual classes, and these have been the most unique offerings in the school, creating the only significant distinction among models or, for that matter, within the Multi-Cultural model itself. At one time the Multi-Cultural model was also distinguished by a Black Studies component, but this has been made available to the other models.

Generally, the trend has been toward blurring rather than sharpening the differences among the models. Aside from similarity in curriculum, two other factors encouraged the trend toward uniformity: (1) a desire to eliminate what was seen as a destructive inter-model rivalry, and (2) the difficulty of maintaining K-to-3 articulation within each separate model. In practice, such articulation was never consistent.

BESP's most significant contributions to Jefferson Tri-Part were a High Intensity Learning Center, a Math Lab, and in-service staff training. Such alternativeness as exists was formally designed prior to BESP and appears to have been diminished, rather than enhanced, during BESP's tenure.

For reasons unrelated to BESP, school enrollment declined steadily from 663 in 1970/71 to 416 in 1975/76. In the latter year, the breakdown by model was: Multi-Cultural - 197; Individualized Personal Learning - 139; Traditional - 80. The school goes on.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The Jefferson Tri-Part Model, a K-3 school, was one of the first large scale educational experiments in BUSD involving an entire site. It was developed as a consequence of vociferous parental dissatisfaction with a traditional school coupled with administrative resistance to change. In 1968 parents applied pressure to BUSD concerning Jefferson's administration. The parents' major complaint was that there were too few teachers at Jefferson who were offering their children an exciting and positive educational experience. Parent requests for placing their children with specific teachers were not honored and the administration was apparently content with the status quo within the staff.

As a result, a new principal was brought in for Fall 1969 to develop a program more suited to the desires of the parents, namely choices in teaching style and curriculum focus.

During 1969/70, the principal, with several consultants, developed the three-part model program after consultation with the BUSD. The proposal, submitted to and approved by the Ford and San Francisco Foundations, was implemented during Fall 1970 with funds mostly from the Ford Foundation. The proposal was resubmitted as one of the 55 ESP proposals (February 1971) and approved by central administration as part of the BESP grant. The three-part model was placed under the auspices of BESP in September 1971--after the first year of operation.

Although many parents felt that traditional education was meeting the needs of their children, they indicated interest in individual and multi-cultural programs as well. Thus, the three prototype models--Traditional, Individualized Personal Learning (IPL) and Multi-Cultural--were selected by parents for the Ford Grant "Options Through Participation." A parent advisory group (of about 50) was formed after the announcement in May 1969 to develop these three models. Their desire was to create a model school that would maximize the development of skills and values in the learner and maximize the number and kinds of settings in which learning can take place.

When the site opened in Fall 1970 unforeseen problems began relative to logistics of forced matching of the three models. First, more parents opted for the IPL model than did teachers. The principal's solution created more problems. She suggested that some traditional teachers move to the individualized model. Her strategy was to reduce the magnitude of the traditional

approach, but she did not want to do away with it altogether. Second, teachers forced to participate in a model they didn't believe in became hostile to both the principal and the models themselves. The traditional staff felt its days were numbered. By Fall 1971 this group unsuccessfully tried to secure a no confidence vote in the principal from other staff members. As a result one teacher was transferred and two others retired. Third, with the introduction of the three models, the competition level among the staff was heightened.

With the principal's attempts to move the school more fully toward the tri-model concept, staff retraining became a major focus of program development. The principal was accused of favoring first the Multi-Cultural model, and then the IPL. In August 1970, a five-day workshop on individualization was conducted at the district's expense. In developing a viable Multi-Cultural Model, the principal expressed the need for expanding minority staff to work with the existing mostly white staff. A Chinese Studies program, a Spanish bilingual program and later a Black Studies curriculum were developed. The traditional (white) teachers felt alienated.

In the revised educational plan submitted to OE/ESP for the BESP grant, each previously developed model was identified as follows:

1. Multi-Cultural: "a total community for students, parents, staff will be developed through a Heritage House, community center and artists in residence."
2. Individualized Personalized Learning (IPL) "will provide a psychological environment."
3. Traditional: "The major instructional thrust will be in the field of children's literature through bibliotherapy, role playing, creative dramatics, and live theater...there will be an integration of all subjects in the use of children's literature."

Anxious to please all during the first year of BESP, the principal turned each model's BESP budget over to the staff and parents for planning. With the principal and vice principal making the final decision--since the staff and parents did not meet the deadline--many emotional discussions resulted in serious problems. In November 1971 the staff went to Calistoga for a weekend retreat at which the following issues emerged: teacher support was coopted by the administration; emphasis on Black concerns, including a Black Studies program, was carefully avoided by the staff; staff members, in general, had become insecure about their positions, mistrusting the administration and feeling threatened by the intermediate staff--consultants, resource teachers and specialists.

The conclusion was: "The rhetoric of the innovation in the experiment suggested democracy and some more openness but the reality of the transition involved principal control" (a staff member at the retreat). The staff then reorganized and formed a faculty senate consisting of representatives from all three models. With issues of insecurity and support still unresolved, the model representatives began vying for recognition and funds, further dividing the teachers with inter-model rivalry.

By February (1972) grievances against the Jefferson principal were filed with the Board of Education by a group of Jefferson parents. The grievances involved unmet promises, subtle racism within the site unquashed by administration, and misuse of funds, of materials, and of available rooms at the site. The June 1972 Progress Report from BEBP observed:

This year has been traumatic for Jefferson staff and parents. Parents have pushed for more communication and to be able to have an impact on the program. Staff have pushed for approximately the same. Some results are more frequent task-oriented sessions with parents and all-school, staff meetings of a faculty senate nature. The Multi-Cultural model continues to soar as a together and productive unit. The Traditional model looks more and more like the Individualized-Personalized. Jefferson this year has given witness to the fact that bringing about change, and conducting alternative education, involves pain and struggle. Power sharing is the term now at Jefferson and the process is difficult.

By 1972/73 non-communication was the norm within the structure of the school. There were no meetings with/for teachers or parents. The principal's strategy was to retreat from the public eye. But as a result of continuous parent and staff pressures, in Fall 1973, the principal was replaced by a Black female vice principal from another K-3 BUSD school. The new principal's main task was to rebuild trust and communication. She said,

The teachers have had enough of this inter-model rivalry and now the most important thing to do is try to get the staff in the whole school together regardless of models.

She stopped the individual model meetings, the staff discontinued its faculty senate and there was freedom to communicate with the principal on a personal level.

The Operational Plan of July 1974 was a testimonial to the improved year with the new principal/director:

In terms of governance and shared decision-making, Jefferson has had a long history of parental involvement and this year has one of the most highly organized and active parent advisory groups in the District. The group deals with general school issues as well as specific ESP matters. As a result of the degree and quality of community and parental involvement, the tension and internal difficulties which characterized the school in the past have ceased. Staff morale is high as a result of the strong, positive leadership of the school, involvement and shared decision-making and improved relations with the community.

Ethnic distribution by individual model from 1973/74 through 1975/76 is listed in Table 1 (student enrollment) below.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY AND SITE MODEL, 1970/71 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other	Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	n	
T												221	
*1970/71 MC												209	
IPL												233	
Total	266	40	265	40	99	15	33	5				663	
T												149	
*1971/72 MC												234	
IPL												217	
Total	246	41	240	40	66	11	35	6	1	-	12	2	600
T												111	
*1972/73 MC												244	
IPL												200	
Total	218	39	207	37	71	13	48	9	1	-	10	2	555
T	30	32	46	48	13	14	1	1			5	5	95
1973/74 MC	73	31	77	33	30	13	40	17			13	6	233
IPL	75	38	90	46	16	9	8	4	1	1	6	3	196
Total	178	34	213	41	59	11	49	9	1	-	24	5	524
T	29	39	32	43	10	14	1	1			2	3	74
1974/75 MC	86	43	46	23	25	12	39	19			5	2	201
IPL	74	36	95	46	26	13	7	3			5	2	207
Total	189	39	173	36	61	13	47	10			12	2	482
T	31	39	34	43	10	12	3	4			2	3	80
1975/76 MC	76	39	45	23	35	18	40	20			1	1	197
IPL	48	35	63	45	18	13	7	5			3	2	139
Total	155	37	142	34	63	15	50	12			6	2	416

*Ethnic distribution by model not available for first three years.

Because most of the students lived within walking distance, Jefferson was able to institute a split schedule that enabled teachers to spend more time with smaller groups of students at both the beginning and the end of each day. Most teachers had two academically homogeneous groups of students. Generally, the higher achieving students came to school at 9 and left at 2, the lower achieving students arrived at 10 and left at 3. Teachers could spend more time with students on reading skills on a more individualized basis. By 1975/76, however, this was a little used teacher option. Previously, the extra teaching time was eased by the prep time for teachers during the day. With cutbacks in staff (particularly prep time teachers), this was no longer available in 1975/76.

Through both a decrease in enrollment and district and BESP cutbacks, Jefferson's staff, racially stable proportionately each year, has decreased considerably. Beginning with 1971/72, the certificated classroom teachers have gone from a high of 24 to a low of 16. See Table 2.

TABLE 2: CLASSROOM CERTIFICATED STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1971/72	14	58	6	25	3	13	1	4	24
1972/73	14	61	5	22	3	13	1	4	23
1973/74	12	55	4	18	5	23	1	4	22
1974/75	8	42	5	27	5	27	1	5	19
1975/76	7	44	3	19	4	25	2	12	16

Staff shrinkage exceeded the decline in student enrollment. The ratio of certificated classroom staff to student population was 1:26 in 1971/72 and 1:27.6 in 1975/76.

In June there was a BESP cutback of classified staff, reducing the classified staff at Jefferson from 10 to 6 the following year (1974/75). With a decrease in classroom teachers, there was a shifting (bumping) of teachers to accommodate administrators at all levels within the district moving back to the classroom for Fall 1975. At Jefferson this meant several shifts. One HIL teacher retired, several classroom teachers took over specialists' positions (HIL, Math Lab), a former science prep time teacher took over the library (the former librarian was transferred to a classroom in

another K-3 school in the district). At the site since 1971/72, the vice principal, an Asian male, was moved out and replaced half-time by a Black male from the district administration. See Table 3 below:

TABLE 3: COMPARISON OF SPECIALISTS, ADMINISTRATORS AND CLASSIFIED STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1973/74 - 1975/76

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Chicano</u>	<u>Total</u>
1973/74*	(2) 4	(3) 5	(2) 3	(3)	(10) 12
1974/75**	4	(1) 4	(2) 2	(3)	(6) 10
1975/76***	3	3	(2) 2	(3)	(5) 8

() = Classified Staff (includes aides, Black Studies coordinator, instructional display technician, 1971/72)

*Principal	**Principal	***Principal
Vice principal	Vice principal	Vice principal (1/2 time)
Librarian	Librarian	Librarian
Learning assistance	Learning assistance	HILC (2)
Psychologist	Math	Visually handicapped
Guidance	Guidance	ESL (English as a second language)
Reading specialist (2)	HILC	Math
Science (2)	Science (2)	
Chinese bilingual specialist	Visually handicapped	
Visually handicapped		

For 1976/77, another major shift was scheduled at Jefferson with the principal to be transferred to the 4-6 receiver school, Franklin Intermediate, to accommodate the district's new 4-6 school plan.

Since 1973/74 preferential services and/or consultants by model were non-existent. The Multi-Cultural model's Heritage House was disbanded and materials were distributed, the Black Studies teacher was available to everyone, and in-service training was open. Any services to the school involved everyone. This included the High Intensity Learning Center and the Math Lab, both purchased by BESP in 1972/73. The HILC, in 1974/75, was the research model for all

Berkeley elementary schools in the district's attempt to develop a viable reading curriculum. The Math Lab, packed away in 1973/74, was managed by a Compensatory Education teacher in 1974/75 and a former IPL teacher in 1975/76. The entire site was included in the in-service training of TABA Social Studies (and questioning strategies). The principal said that with the site's adoption of the (TABA) program "it will get at the feelings and attitudes of all cultures, not just one..."

Emphasis on basic skills was primary at all three models. Individualized instruction was a technique encouraged to attain them. There was no particular curriculum distinction between the models when they actually were planning to be distinct. Curriculum differences existed then--and continue to do so--only in the bilingual (Chinese and Spanish) classes in the Multi-Cultural model. Here, too, there has been a shift from the intended multi-cultural emphasis with bilingual augmentation to a bilingual focus with multi-cultural emphasis diminished. BEBP's perspective for Jefferson is as follows:

The recommendation for the K-3 (Jefferson) program has been to be continued. By this it is meant that the program has been able to develop curriculum that has enhanced the school's functions. They are not necessarily to be seen as alternatives as much as they are enrichment for the curriculum that the school normally has. The district should be enriched by having schools at this level that have different teaching styles, thus giving the community choices in the educational offerings. (BESP, March 1976, Recommendations to the Board.)

ARTICULATION

After operating for one year as a three-part model with funds from a Ford Grant, "Options Through Participation," Jefferson was easily included in the K-12 articulation plan proposed to OE/ESP.

Jefferson is one of the K-3 schools in Zone A which feeds into Franklin Intermediate, a 4-6 school. Because of Jefferson's assured BEBP status, Franklin was developed as a BEBP alternative specifically to fit into the articulation pattern as mandated by OE/ESP in the original negotiations. Jefferson is the only K-3 school in Zone A that achieves ethnic balance by drawing students from the immediate neighborhood. Busing is for 15 percent of the students who live more than a mile from school, which is a long way for K-3 children; busing is for transportation, and not for achievement of ethnic

balance. Students from other zones are occasionally enrolled in the bilingual programs--Chinese and Spanish. Students in these bilingual programs can continue bilingual studies in Franklin Alternative, which makes for a specific and clearcut articulation that was unique in BESP.

It was planned to enhance the options of Jefferson's students (parents) by offering an ostensibly free choice between the three models. Since the differences were not necessarily intended to be in curriculum, but rather in approach and style, the model was to have been the parents' ultimate choice for the duration of the child's enrollment at Jefferson. The teachers made decisions about specific classes within the model. However, the available classes did not allow for movement from one grade to another within each model. From 1974/75 to 1975/76, there were several problems that hindered such intra-model movement. First, often no classes were available for the students within that model the following year (e.g., a student in the Traditional Model in Grade 2 in 1974/75 was forced into another model for 1975/76 since there was no Traditional grade 3 that year). Second, there were not enough grades at certain levels for which students could matriculate.

Table 4 (below) shows that the number of classes per model each year changed with a continuous decrease in classes and students in the Traditional Model, a slight decrease in the IPL and a relative increase in Multi-Cultural--all proportionate to the overall decrease in student population at the site in general.

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND CLASSES
PER MODEL, 1970/71 - 1975/76

	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Multi-Cultural</u>	<u>IPL</u>	<u>Total</u>
1970/71	221 (10)	209 (9)	233 (10)	663 (29)
1971/72	149 (6)	234 (9)	217 (9)	600 (24)
1972/73	111 (5)	244 (10)	200 (8)	555 (23)
1973/74	95 (4)	233 (10)	196 (8)	524 (22)
1974/75	74 (3)	201 (8)	207 (8)	482 (19)
1975/76	80 (3)	197 (8)	139 (5)	416 (16)

Jefferson does not meet earthquake safety standards established by the California Field Act. The Board tabled the vote (May 18, 1976) on the issue of demolition and reconstruction versus rehabilitation. A vociferous community favored the latter but lack of funds may play the deciding role, favoring the former, for which more funds are available on the state/federal levels. Either decision will result in transferring teachers. Despite these complications, Jefferson continued to operate as an alternative school in 1976/77, after ESP funding ceased.

FUNDING

The original Jefferson Tri-Part design was funded in 1970/71 by a Ford Foundation Grant, "Options Through Participation." The \$352,631 from BESP over five years was used to maintain and develop rather than initiate a new program. Jefferson Tri-Part has been the most heavily funded BESP site, with 11.20 percent of the total amount budgeted for sites.

In the first two years, Jefferson spent 82 percent (\$287,757) of its five-year budget, and 85 percent of this amount was used for salaries, fringe benefits, and consultants' fees. Although Jefferson added three resource persons and three consultants--one each per model--as well as a number of classified staff, the bulk of this money was used for certificated monthly salaries, salaries which were previously and subsequently paid by BUSD. The \$15,400 spent on certificated

hourly salaries involved training funds for release time teachers.

The High Intensity Reading Center and then the Math Lab were purchased and maintained with BESP funds. Equipment for the Perceptual Motor Development Room, which was consequently integrated into the math lab and disseminated to other schools, was also purchased by BESP. Another several thousand dollars was spent on audio-visual equipment.

In the early years of BESP funding at Jefferson, budgetary issues were the source of much dissension that involved the different models, parents, teachers and the principal. Indeed, this dissension was probably the catalyst for the first principal's fall into disfavor with her constituencies. She was accused of showing favoritism toward the Multi-Cultural and then the IPL model. With the disproportionate amount of money spent on the Multi-Cultural model's Heritage House and extra staff, and then on retreats for the IPL teachers, rifts continued between the models. There are, however, no records to indicate how funds were finally allocated to each model. Accountability through evaluation was the issue raised in many discussions among parents, principal and staff, but never followed through by the administration.

Requests for additional monies after BESP funds end are concentrated in two areas--staff development and materials. This includes in-service (release time) hourly certificated salaries, funding for consumables and replacement of non-consumables for the maintenance of the HILC Reading and Math Labs and materials and equipment for the Perceptual Motor Development Room.

EVALUATION

One of the original goals developed by parents in creating an alternative school (prior to BESP funding) was "to test the viability of choices between the three models in this project as a prototype for other elementary schools in Berkeley." There was never any plan in which the three models would be tested, however, and Level I never made any distinctions, even with CTBS comparative testing--the whole of Jefferson was treated as one alternative. The fact that it was based on the offering of three choices seemed irrelevant.

Although it was the only K-3 school with true autonomy in both BESP and BUSD, Jefferson's means of evaluating student progress was basically no different than at any other K-3 school in the district. It used both CPT (Cooperative Primary Test) and CTBS.

ISA's sample students in the first grade (Spring) 1973/74 and second grade (Fall and Spring) 1974/75 scored above mean grade equivalent on CTBS tests.

TABLE 5: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, JEFFERSON GRADES 1 AND 2

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Grade 1 Spring 1974	2.138		2.342
n	36		35
Grade 2 Fall 1974	2.754	2.759	2.524
n	28	17	25
Grade 2 Spring 1975	3.815	3.859	3.293
n	27	27	27

From Spring 1974 to Spring 1975, reading scores indicate more than one year's growth. In math it was a little less than one year, though still above grade level*.

Because Jefferson was a BESP school, additional evaluations were being administered. One, the ICX, a culturally unbiased test developed from Stanford and U. C. Berkeley to assess progress in reading and math, was used until 1975/76 and administered by Level I. According to Level I, the administration decided to discontinue it because it was satisfied with the new CTBS.

Because Jefferson had a Random House HILC (purchased with BESP funds) two other Random House tests were used at the site. One, the Criteria Reference Test, was developed by Random House to assess the effectiveness of conventional classroom teaching in which behavioral objectives and accountability were major concerns. In 1974/75, Jefferson was to be the "model" and "test" school for the K-3 HIL Centers. The Gates-McGinitie Reading Test (Comprehension section) was administered to measure students' gain from using the HILC itself. Both second and third graders that year had an average gain of one year's growth over a four-month period. Also, Spanish and Chinese bilingual classes developed pre and post oral and written nonstandardized tests to measure comprehension.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Jefferson was rated between .3 and .4 for "alternativeness," just below .7 for "effectiveness," and between .2 and .3 on the combined "effective alternative" scale. On the combined scale it was in a cluster with all the other BESP elementary schools, except Malcolm X Environmental Studies, which was first by a wide margin.

*Grade two should score @ 2.80 by Spring testing.

Parent participation obtained some results at the school. Most crucial was the selection of and eventual removal of the first BESP principal/director and the subsequent selection of the second principal for Fall 1973. This was important but does not lend itself to qualified evaluation.

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JOHN MUIR CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

ABSTRACT

John Muir Child Development Center, a K-3 alternative, is situated in one of Berkeley's most affluent residential districts, and even its architectural design--English Tudor--blends with the socio-economic ambience.

The alternative was patterned after the British Infant Model, utilizing the open classroom approach and emphasizing learning as a process. One of Berkeley's oldest schools, erected in 1910, Muir has served several generations of well-to-do whites. It has tradition--and part of it has been high academic achievement.

With integration of Berkeley's schools in 1968, minority children, primarily Black, have been bused to Muir from Berkeley's economic underside. At the Muir alternative the non-white student population has ranged between 46 percent and 50 percent of the total. Such statistics, however, do not convey the character of the school. White parents in the neighborhood, whose children walk to school, retain a proprietary attitude toward it. They are nearby, articulate and influential; they set the tone. Efforts to involve Black parents have been sporadic and ineffectual. The total staff has been between two-thirds and three-fourths white. Among certificated personnel the proportion of whites has been between 76 percent and 88 percent.

Initially, all of John Muir was slated to be a BESP school; some parents demurred, and as a concession to them a traditional enclave was carved out, but it never attracted more than 19 percent of a total campus population that ranged between 321 (1975/76) and 416 (1973/74).

Essentially, John Muir was left unchanged by five years of BESP. It retained its elitist image. It did nothing tangible to alter inter-ethnic relations, or to diminish the racism implicit in the pervasive white domination of a school with an enrollment that is almost half non-white. In retrospect, ESP funds subsidized a status quo that was relatively comfortable and comforting for a privileged stratum of Berkeley residents.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The Child Development model for the Berkeley Experimental School Project was developed by an intermediate (4th-6th grade) school principal who, in submitting her proposal, was also requesting a transfer. The proposal was based on the British Infant Model and utilized an open classroom structure. The idea was readily accepted by BUSD and was incorporated into the BEBP proposal submitted to OE/ESP in Spring 1971.

With several openings for principals in the K-3 schools at the time, she was assured of placement in one of them. The BUSD's desire to implement experimentation in the district without disrupting the integration plan of 1968 necessitated the placement of the Child Development Model in an integration zone where a 4-6 alternative school was operating (Malcolm X Environmental Studies). Because of this, the originator of the plan was appointed principal of John Muir Elementary School, and the Child Development Model was designated to be implemented at this site. Within the zone then, children could attend traditional K-3 and 4-6 schools or alternative K-3 and 4-6 schools; thus, articulation was realized.

Once funding was assured, the newly appointed principal met with John Muir staff and parents to explain the BEBP concept. Staff members were given the option to remain in the school or transfer out. About half the staff remained, additional staff members were recruited from the principal's previous intermediate school. Parents were critical of the failure to consult them in selecting the new staff.

Parents of John Muir students, particularly the white parents who lived in the surrounding neighborhood, regarded John Muir as a neighborhood school, despite the busing of about half the students from a predominantly Black neighborhood. Parents at Muir have played an important role in governance and shaping the educational program. Parent involvement, however, was marked by racial division: white parents participated, Black parents did not. Efforts to involve Black parents in decision-making were never successful. The failure may have been due to channels of communication geared to and controlled by the neighboring white parents.

John Muir Child Development Center was intended to involve the entire Muir student population. Parent opposition to this concept plus the criticism of staff selection prompted a compromise between the principal and the white parents. A traditional program was retained at Muir, but less than one-fifth of Muir students ever took advantage of it.

A federally funded project, "Project Follow Through,"* was incorporated into the BESP program. This decision was reached by a committee of teachers and parents prior to BESP operation.

Parents of bused children (mostly Black) were especially encouraged to participate in the school by the principal. Meetings in Summer and Fall 1971 were held for these parents to open up channels of communication between them and the school. These meetings, however, did not result in a strong Black parent interest group. In Spring 1973, "Concerns of Black Parents for Education," a group of Black parents, contacted the Muir staff to voice dissatisfaction with the continued low achievement of their children. The principal responded with a plan for increased contact between school and home and intensive personalized instruction for underachievers. Follow-up of her plan indicates that these policies were not instituted the following year.

In the Fall 1971 semester, Muir claimed a commitment to ethnic studies. In science courses, taught by the administrative assistant, a Black man, Black studies and ethnic studies materials were used. The course was discontinued after the 1973/74 school year. The principal claimed lack of student interest caused the discontinuance. In fact, teachers did not participate in the program and therefore could not follow through on classes the A.A. taught. Field observations indicated that ethnic-related material was used only in connection with holidays.

Parents of children in the neighborhood attending Muir formed a committee in 1974/75 to deal with the state earthquake regulations. The issue was rehabilitation vs. reconstruction (or replacement) of the site. The "John Muir Site Committee" favored rehabilitation of the building for practical reasons. If it were razed, their children would have to be bused to other schools. Besides, it was an aesthetically pleasing structure which blended well with the neighboring single family dwellings, and thus enhanced property values. The School Board voted in June 1975 in favor of rehabilitation, based on feasibility studies that found it was less expensive than reconstruction.

Teachers and parents collaborated in a project to provide breakfast for Muir students. A proposal for funds for the program was submitted to BUSD but was denied. Nonetheless, the breakfast

*The Follow Through program began in 1967 at five elementary schools in BUSD. Its avowed purpose was to open the school up to the community for the benefit of the child, the home and the school. Project Follow Through at John Muir was incorporated into five classrooms prior to BESP funding.

program was partially implemented by teachers and parents for a short while early in the BESP project. It was supported by the principal.

The Muir administration was also responsive to teachers' suggestions related to program. At the request of teachers, for example, a reading specialist was hired and assigned classroom teaching responsibilities. (The child development model was somewhat distorted, however, when low achieving students were channeled to this specialist.) Also, after teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the BUSD-mandated Wirtz Math Program, they were granted a summer BESP training workshop to develop a math curriculum of their own in 1975. Early in the BESP involvement, an environmental yard, utilizing the creek running through the school grounds, was proposed by one teacher but received no response. Later, however, a "People's Playground" was constructed and provided a choice of attractive play areas rather than the barren black-topped playground.

The curriculum focused on science and reading, both taught by specialists and the regular staff. Science was taught by a specialist for the first two years and later by the regular teachers in their respective classrooms. Other specialists were hired to teach music, dance, movement and perceptual motor development. During the first year of operation, organized activities and play through the City Recreation Department were provided. Ceramics, film making, tumbling, and French language classes were offered in the afternoons.

There was very little staff turnover during the five years of operation. Budget cutbacks, especially for 1975/76, forced reduction in the use of certificated teachers on-site at Muir but not assigned to a classroom. These teachers were the several specialists and the media librarian.

The following table shows the certificated and classified staff of Muir by ethnicity during the five years of operation.

TABLE 1: STAFF BY ETHNICITY,
1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	* (4)	44	(5)	56			(9)
	21	84	3	12	1	4	25
1972/73	(3)	38	(5)	62			(8)
	22	85	3	12	1	3	26
1973/74	(1)	17	(5)	83			(6)
	22	85	3	12	1	3	26
1974/75	(1)	17	(5)	83			(6)
	19	76	5	20	1	4	25
1975/76	(1)	17	(5)	83			(6)
	16	89	2	11			18

* () classified

The following table shows certificated* staff at Muir who were not classroom teachers.

TABLE 2: CERTIFICATED NON-CLASSROOM STAFF ONLY*

	White		Black		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	6	86	1	14	7
1972/73	6	86	1	14	7
1973/74	6	86	1	14	7
1974/75	4	67	2	33	6
1975/76	2	100			2

*Included in certificated staff in Table 1 above.

The proportion of white staff members, including classified aides, classroom certificated and non-classroom certificated teachers ranged from 64 percent to 74 percent of the total staff during the five years of operation. Among certificated staff assigned to a classroom, whites constituted between 79 percent and 88 percent of the total.

There was only one full time male on the staff at Muir through June 1975, the administrative assistant, and he was Black. The Black classified staff members were the Follow Through aides. The number of Black non-classroom certificated teachers employed ranged from zero to two in any year, with one being the norm.

In the 1975/76 school year, staff changes occurred at Muir. The vice-principal (administrative assistant) was cut, the single Asian teacher requested a transfer due to personal and professional disagreements with the administration and some staff, and the principal/director of the program took a leave of absence from the district. She was replaced by the former administrative supervising teacher of Early Childhood Education for the district.

In the classroom, there was little recognizable difference between the experimental and the traditional approaches to education. In the experimental classroom, children were re-grouped according to skills, specialists were brought in particularly to assist those students deficient in skills. Access to a media center/library and new reading and math materials was available to all. The differences between this program and the traditional program were in the further use of particular BESP personnel (specialists) and in-service training. Follow Through had its own support staff within the district. Guidance, speech, health and community aides were available to the program until the 1974/75 school year when all positions were grouped under the one Community Aide classification.

Children at Muir were singled out according to behavioral problems and deficiency in skills. According to ISA field observations, Black children were far more often labelled problem students than white children, both behaviorally and academically. The administrative assistant (through June 1975)--known as "Big Daddy" by the Black children--handled the discipline problems. Teachers (who were mostly white, anyway) were more apt to send Black students to him for discipline, utilizing their own measures for handling white students' discipline difficulties.

Following is a table of students enrolled in the BESP program by ethnicity during the five years of operation.

TABLE 3: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1971/72	194	50	183	47	10	3	1	-			1	-	389
1972/73	202	52	171	44	7	2	3	1	2	1	1	-	386
1973/74	231	56	172	41	7	2	1	-			5	1	416
1974/75	209	53	175	44	6	2	3	1					393
1975/76	172	54	136	42	6	2	1	1	2	1	4	1	321

Evidenced in the table is the student population stability, both ethnically and in total enrollment. The greatest change has been in the last year of BESP funding, when student population declined by 18 percent. Enrollment still was ethnically proportional to previous years.

In general, the John Muir Child Development Center model went through very few changes during the five years of operation. Provided with BESP funds, specialists and new reading and math materials were made available. The program itself was not significantly different from the traditional program.

ARTICULATION

With the availability of federal funds in Spring 1971, with a proposal submitted for a child development program by a 4-6 principal requesting a transfer to a K-3 school, with an existing alternative (Malcolm X Environmental Studies) in a 4-6 receiver school, BUSD selected John Muir as a K-3 site for the BESP program. To round out the K-12 articulation of the entire BESP program, and to avoid interference with the integration program of the BUSD, Muir was designated as the site in which the Child Development Model would be implemented.

Some choice of schools is available for white John Muir parents while virtually none is available to Black parents. Certain neighborhood residents can choose between two other common K-3 schools (Emerson and LeConte) while bused children must attend their designated school. There is also a small number of Muir students, who are neither bused nor live in the surrounding neighborhood. Enrollment of these students at Muir is based upon their parents' need for child care arrangements. The majority of these students are white, as is the waiting list for Muir. In May 1973,

80 students from outside Zone D enrolled in Muir. Of these, 50 children were white, 30 were Black. The possibility of enrollment at Muir on the basis of child care needs is one of those policies informed parents are aware of, yet it is not widely publicized. Muir does not openly make any effort to inform parents of this option.

On the other hand, Black students from outside the zone came to Muir with the Follow Through program. Those students are identified by the district and then assigned to one of the five elementary schools which have a Follow Through program operating.

When John Muir Child Development Center began in Fall 1971, the principal/director requested each parent to choose either the BSP program or the traditional program for her/his child. Efforts to inform parents during Summer 1971 and into the first semester of operation, resulted in 400 out of 500 families choosing the BSP program in the first semester. The following table shows the number of students in the Child Development program and those involved in the traditional program during the period 1971/72 through 1975/76.

TABLE 4: ALTERNATIVE AND TRADITIONAL ENROLLMENT, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	BESP		Traditional		Total <u>n</u>
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	
1971/72	389	82	88	18	477
1972/73	386	85	69	15	455
1973/74	416	89	52	11	468
1974/75	393	85	72	15	465
1975/76	321	81	76	19	397

The traditional program was staffed by four teachers the first year (1971/72) and three teachers each of the remaining four years of operation under BSP funding.

FUNDING

In the five years of BSP funding, John Muir was allocated \$240,643. This amounted to 7.64 percent of the total BSP budget for sites, the second largest allocation to any site in the entire program. (Jefferson Tri-Part was allocated the largest amount of the budget.) Of the total amount, \$122,433 (51%) paid for salaries of certificated and classified staff (monthly and hourly) as well as consultants. The second largest expense was instructional,

including reading and math materials. This expense accounts for 35 percent (\$84,434) of the total Muir budget over the five BESP years. Nine percent (\$22,424) went for capital outlay and equipment. This included the "People's Playground" constructed in 1972/73. In addition to the construction of the new play areas, capital outlay expenditures went toward media center equipment such as 8mm and slide projectors, cameras, tape recorders, etc. In addition, a kiln for the ceramics class, furniture and vacuum cleaners were also purchased for use by the entire school.

During the first two years of operation, half of the money expended in salaries went toward the monthly certificated salaries of three staff members: the administrative assistant/vice principal, the dance, movement and physical development teacher, and a teacher-consultant in program planning for the experimental project classrooms. By the 1973/74 school year, all three positions were salaried by the district. A sharp increase, from \$3,538 to \$21,657, in certificated hourly salaries between 1971/72 and 1972/73 reflects the use of substitute teachers hired for teachers attending the in-service workshops.

In all, salaries and instructional materials were the major benefactors of BESP funding, easing the strain on the district budget for one of the larger K-3 BUSD schools.

EVALUATION

The original proposal for the John Muir Child Development Center called for stringent evaluation controls. Standardized testing was regarded with disdain by most of the teachers, however. Internal evaluation was the prime consideration in recording students' progress. Teachers, reading specialists and tutors collaborated to determine the individual remedial or accelerated material utilized in the grouping of children.

But because Muir had a reputation of being an academically excellent school, standardized testing had always been a sure way of endearing the school to the district administration and the neighborhood residents. In the following table, the district mandated CTBS tests of ISA's sample students show mean grade equivalent growth in achievement from Spring 1974 to Spring 1975, with .923 in Reading and .423 in Math. In Spring 1974, the sample was completing grade one with second grade equivalencies in both Reading and Math. By the end of the second grade the mean gain did not indicate a full year's growth, although the students were scoring above their grade equivalency of 2.9.

TABLE 5: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, JOHN MUIR

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Spring 1974	2.508		2.804
n	26		26
Fall 1974	2.453		2.415
n	19		20
Spring 1975	3.431	3.854	3.227
n	26	24	26

Even though teachers questioned whether the standardized tests adequately assess comprehensive growth and felt the test to be culturally and racially biased, the staff recognized that since the test results showed growth, they could be utilized to endear the project to and facilitate teacher requests from the district.

With that in mind, teachers asked Level I Evaluation team to make a comparative study of John Muir to other K-3 students from the time busing began in 1968. The focus was on the third graders by school and into their 4th grade school over a three year period, 1972 - 74.

On the district level, third grade Black children scored lower than white children. The degree to which the scores of Black children were much lower by the fourth grade was a major concern in the district. The same trend held true for Muir students. At Muir, there was a further delineation of students by alternative and traditional class grouping for grade three in 1972 and grade four in 1973.

TABLE 6: MEAN CTBS READING SCORES OF JOHN MUIR THIRD GRADERS TESTED IN GRADE 3 AT JOHN MUIR (May 1972) AND IN GRADE 4 AT MALCOLM X (May 1973), BY ETHNICITY

Year Tested:	White				Black				Total Group			
	1972		1973		1972		1973		1972		1973	
	3rd grade		4th grade		3rd grade		4th grade		3rd grade		4th grade	
Percentile Score and # Tested	%ile	n	%ile	n	%ile	n	%ile	n	%ile	n	%ile	n
Traditional Group	86	24	79	17	50	20	29	12	68	45	44	29
Alternative Group	81	45	87	37	30	31	30	26	59	79	55	66
Total Group	83	69	79*	123*	37	51	31*	113*	63	124	49*	250*
Total District	77	602	77	479	39	442	29	424	61	1167	47	1033

* John Muir was the 3rd grade school, which included both traditional and alternative groups of third graders. Malcolm X was the 4th grade school which included not only former traditional and alternative students from John Muir, but also students from two other K-3 schools as well. The totals refer to all 4th-graders at Malcolm X.

As the table above indicates, the traditional third graders scored better than the alternative third graders for both Black and white students. However, alternative fourth graders scored better than traditional fourth graders for both Black and white students (though for the Black students, the difference was only 1 percentile). A possible explanation might be the number of high achieving students transferring to private schools beginning in grade four. This would also account for the decline in the number of students considered at the fourth grade level in general.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale Muir's ratings were: slightly above .2 for "alternativeness" (the lowest for any BESP elementary school); 1.0 for "effectiveness" (the highest for any BESP elementary school); and slightly above .2 on the combined "effective alternative" scale.

The principal/director of John Muir was very critical of the activities of both Level I and Level II evaluation teams.

MALCOLM X ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES (MXES)

ABSTRACT

What is the value of evaluation?

This is an intriguing question posed by the fate of Malcolm X Environmental Studies (MXES), an on-site alternative for grades 4-6. On the Level I evaluation team's "Effective Alternative" scale* MXES was rated .8, the highest by far of any BESP site. The runner-up elementary school, Kilimanjaro, scored only .25. MXES was rated a perfect 1 for "alternativeness" and a near-perfect .8 for "effectiveness." Such perceived excellence was not, however, sufficient for autonomous survival.

MXES was launched as an alternative mini-school on the Malcolm X (then called Lincoln) campus in 1969/1970, two years before BESP, by parents and teachers, who wanted something smaller and more personal than the common school. They also wanted to use the total environment in the educational process. BESP seemed like a boon: additional funds could be used for more intensive exploration of the environment by students and for retaining the services of persons in the community who could help illuminate the environment.

MXES did much that was imaginative (e.g., students conducted much-publicized TV interviews with top city and school officials; reading and language skills were taught initially from stories told by Cousin Wash, a radio-TV personality, whose TV studio the students visited.) Yet, it was caught in a bind. An internal dynamic seemed to impel it in the direction of a school that served Black students by helping them to comprehend the Black environment and the Black relationship to the larger environment. Countervailing pressures (accentuated by the closure of Black House and Casa for racial separateness) pushed it toward cultural pluralism.

This contradiction was manifested in a divergence between enrollment and curriculum. Between 1971/72 and 1974/75 the proportion of Blacks in the student body grew from 56 to 84 percent--and the curricular emphasis shifted from a Black perspective to multi-cultural offerings. Simultaneously, enrollment shrank--from 180 for a brief spell in 1971/72 to 45 in 1974/75. The decision was then made to phase out the program, in effect, by transforming it into a non-optional supplement for eight classes selected by the administration.

*For construction of this 0.0 to 1.0 scale, see Appendix.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Malcolm X Environmental Studies (MXES) began as a mini-school for 4th - 6th graders in 1969 on-site at Malcolm X Common (then known as Lincoln Intermediate School) through parent and teacher collaboration. Its further development was made possible by a planning grant from the San Francisco Foundation in 1970/71. Program focus, leadership, enrollment procedures and student population were all interdependent factors in the seven years of operation (1969-1976). The program went through two major changes-- in 1973/74 and 1975/76.

In the beginning of BESP, MXES emphasized basic skills taught from a Black perspective, utilizing the physical and social environment. The student population was representative of the heterogeneous common school. The teachers were mostly Black (4 out of 6). The teacher/director, who was Black, was intent on maintaining the established goals.

The original proposal submitted to OE/ESP in Spring 1971 was a composite of the attempts of the two previous years. It described MXES's uniqueness:

For this program "environment" will connote the personal, human entities, or environment of, by, for and through whom this program will operate.

The students will be the developers of their instruction through their relationships and responses to the daily teacher-planned experiences. These personal experiences will be the vehicles for the development of basic skills for all students, as well as for a variety of other related interest-activities.

Paraprofessionals from the community will add a variety of skills and interests to the diversified program.

The initial staff planned for innovative approaches to teaching basic skills, improving student self-image and combating institutional racism. The program was designed to be responsible to the common school principal, a non-BESP participant.

Readjustments began in the first year of BESP regarding scheduling, enrollment procedures and site identity. After trying a departmentalized approach for basic subjects, the teachers changed to a self-contained classroom concept, which continued through June 1975.

The student enrollment procedure changed after dissension over the Black perspective emphasis forced two white teachers to withdraw from the Environmental Studies Program; they and their classes were absorbed into the common school. With student enrollment dependent upon the participating teachers up to then, it was changed to be one of parent choice. This continued through June 1975. Because of continued staff disagreements that first year concerning site identity, the staff hired a consultant psychologist in 1972/73 to lead sensitivity sessions.

As far back as 1971/72, the focus of the program was on Blacks. In regard to the student population, the original director said:

Students come to us because either their parents want them in a Black setting or they are having problems with other schools. White students attend because they gain experience and reward from such a setting. They are mainly from liberal backgrounds.

From the onset of BESP funds in Fall 1971, the student population at MXES slowly decreased until Fall 1975, when the program was turned into a non-optional supplement for eight common school classes, chosen by the administration. Table 1 below indicates the percentage increase of Blacks enrolled through Spring 1975.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other	Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>	
*1971/72	77	43	101	56	2	1						180	
1972/73	41	46	48	53	1	1						90	
1973/74	19	28	46	67							4	5	69
1974/75	5	11	38	84			1	2			1	2	45
**1975/76	76	36	130	63			1	1			1	1	208

*Figures are prior to the withdrawal from MXES of two white teachers and their classes, which reduced the student population to 120.

**Program turned into something else; see paragraph preceding table.

The first major change at MXES, however, was in 1973/74, prompted by the second director. First hired as a consultant to abate internal difficulties, she then advanced to assistant director during the same

year, 1972/73. She was politically aware of the situation with the Office for Civil Rights closing Black House and Casa and recommended MXES move away from the Black perspective. MXES began to feature a multi-cultural curriculum, conducting consciousness raising sessions with students about racism, involving Black, white and other ethnic groups. The change in the curriculum was ostensibly to realize the BSP goals of cultural pluralism; however, the students enrolled that year were even more disproportionately Black than the previous year. By 1974/75, 38 of the 45 students enrolled were Black.

The second director indicated that an understanding between the home and the school occurred best when Black parents were involved with Black teachers. She said: "I think the parents relate better to these teachers because they are Black. Parents will come in and talk to my teachers like they are old friends. And they are willing to sit with a Black teacher and expose their very personal kinds of problems at home where they may be hesitant to do that with a white teacher."

Internal staff strife became a major problem of MXES. Prior to BSP, a Black male was the teaching director. He was assisted by five teachers (3 Blacks, 2 whites) in developing the project as a mini-school. College students and parents helped in the classroom and on field trips. BSP funds made possible additional staff, including a Black Studies coordinator and two aides (both Black males). One taught photography and tutored in basic skills and remained as a specialist through June 1975. The other edited the project's newsletter, taught gospel choir and supervised and planned field trips.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY,
1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
*1971/72	2	29	5 (2)**	71	7 (2)
1972/73			4 (3)	100	4 (3)
***1973/74	1	33	2 (2)	67	3 (2)
1974/75			2 (2)	100	2 (2)
****1975/76	4	50	4 (2)	50	8 (2)

*Two white teachers withdrew from MXES and were absorbed (with their classes) into the common school at Malcolm X.

** () = classified staff

***There was a series of 10 4th grade substitute teachers (mostly white) taken from the teacher overage pool.

****The program was administratively expanded within the common school.

As noted in the table above there were two major staff changes. First, in Fall 1971, two white teachers withdrew from the program and were absorbed by the common school. This resulted in an all Black staff the remainder of that year through 1973/74. Second, in 1975/76 the program was expanded to include eight teachers, four Black, four white, selected by the Malcolm X common school administration.

When both the directorship and the focus of the program changed in 1973/74, another staff problem occurred. The 4th grade had a series of ten substitute teachers from the overage pool in the district that year. Most were white and most were unable to cope with the students and the program. As a direct consequence of this continuous problem, the student population decreased considerably in 1974/75.

In the December 1974 BESP Quarterly Progress Report, the MXES director was very forthright in her comments:

An emerging problem is the decreasing non-Black enrollment in this predominantly Black program. The BESP director has initiated planning sessions through the Principal and site director [herself] to alleviate this condition which is considered to be a total school, and not merely an ESP, problem.

The director's position was in jeopardy. Justification for maintaining the program with four adults--two certificated teachers, the director and the media skills aide--was improbable.

The daily curriculum plan through June 1975 had been to concentrate on basic skills in the morning--reading, language arts, math, etc.--and 4-6 week projects in the afternoons. Math was taught in relation to planning a camping trip, excursions to grocery stores, etc. Reading and language skills were taught initially from stories told by Cousin Wash, a radio-TV personality introduced to Environmental Studies by an ESEA Project. MXES printed his and students' stories as its basic texts. The major field trip that year was to his TV studio.

Aside from three field trips to East Bay parks, the afternoon projects involved community organizations, educational structures, community businesses, multi-cultural awareness centers, recreation facilities, and civil service organizations. One instructional aide, involved with media and equipment, helped one group of students record the activities of others through video tape and photography.

As stated in the revised site goals relative to the 1973/74 multi-cultural change in emphasis:

Students will be exposed to social resources that will enable them to appreciate a broader cultural perspective.

Several units were subsequently developed--Chicano, Native American, Asian-American, City Government. In 1973/74 students went to Alcatraz, Intertribal Friendship House and Wagner Ranch School for a Native Nature Area Tour in conjunction with their multi-cultural units. They also went to city government offices, TV newsrooms and were involved with career exploration projects visiting businesses as well as bringing in speakers.

In 1974/75, students visited other schools in Berkeley, BESP evaluation, BUSD Transportation Department, Business Office,

Instructional Media Center, and BUSD Administration Office. They interviewed the Superintendent and the Malcolm X common school principal on TV.

By 1975/76, the program was abandoned as an autonomous entity and transformed to include all 6th grade students. The aides' salary remained in the BESP budget, the director's was transferred to BUSD. The concept of environmental studies now had no cultural emphasis. Eight individual teachers with their classes were assigned by the Malcolm X common school administration to the program.

After the teachers' strike in the Fall 1975, teachers and the director developed three classroom options for the Environmental Studies Program: Berkeley City [government] Project, Project Water [conservation], and Malcolm X Beautification Project.

Field trips were rotated among the classes on Fridays and included City Hall, a fire station, Bay Delta Model, San Pablo Reservoir, EBMUD* Filter Plant, Angel Island and a tour of Berkeley.

In March 1976, BESP administration recommended:

In view of the difficulties the district is having at the 4-6 schools and also the projected configuration, the Environmental Studies approach offers a different slant that might enrich the curriculum at this particular 4-6 level. It is the plan of the school's staff to enlarge this concept and to utilize it throughout the school.

On April 27, 1976, at the Board of Education meeting the BUSD Superintendent presented a plan for a near complete shift of teachers and principals from the 4-6 schools and transformation of the latter into more intimate "mini-schools." He told the board that "drastic changes must take place in the 4-6 schools' organization and staffing patterns. We must rethink, reorganize and rejuvenate the entire 4-6 elementary instructional program." In essence the superintendent asked for the concept MXES represented when it began in 1969. In view of his comments, if the MXES concept continues it will necessarily begin with a reorganization of staff and without its present director.

*East Bay Municipal Utilities District.

ARTICULATION

In 1969/70, MXES established itself as an alternative to the common school. It was not only convenient to include it in the BESP proposal in Spring 1971 but also to use this zone as a basis for articulating a K-3 elementary program. Consequently John Muir Child Development Model was included in the final proposal and submitted to OE/ESP as the K-3 feeder school to Malcolm X in zone D.

This supposed articulation not only between the two BESP programs but between the two overall (common) schools became a bone of contention for the vociferous John Muir neighborhood parents. They had objected to busing their children to Malcolm X since the desegregation plan was instituted in 1968. They said they were critical of busing their children because: (1) the Malcolm X (common school) staff had poor administrative leadership, (2) the quality of education was not commensurate with that at John Muir and (3) there were no options at Malcolm X.

Leadership and staffing at the two sites were different; John Muir showed a definite disproportion of whites consistently whereas Malcolm X was consistently ethnically balanced. John Muir's principal was a white female, Malcolm X's was a Black male. John Muir had only two males on the full time staff (and this was only in 1974/75). Nearly one third of the staff at Malcolm X were males.

In the table below, several blatant facts emerge regarding the differences between the two sites in 1974/75 and 1975/76.

TABLE 3: FULL-TIME CERTIFICATED STAFF AT MALCOLM X AND JOHN MUIR BY ETHNICITY, 1974/75 and 1975/76

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Chicano</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>JOHN MUIR</u>							
1974/75	20	5	1				26 (2 males)
1975/76	17	2					19 (0 males)
<u>MALCOLM X</u>							
1974/75	22	19	2	1		1	45 (13 males)
1975/76	16	18	2	2			38 (11 males)

Regarding quality of education the same group of complaining parents at Muir did research on the CTBS test scores. Their findings were that student growth in the 4-6 grades at Malcolm X was not up to the growth patterns of students at John Muir (See John Muir report in this volume).

Regarding options, BESP funding of an alternative at Malcolm X had no impact on the parents for two major reasons: (1) the Environmental Studies did not have the same emphasis as the Child Development Model, (2) by 1971/72 when BESP funds were available, the MXES program had a reputation for being a "Black school." In actuality students enrolled in MXES at that time were ethnically proportionate; however, four out of six teachers were Black.

On all three issues--poor leadership, poor education, no options--parents manipulated their findings and conclusions as a way of regaining the power they felt they had lost from their own neighborhood school. At Malcolm X, they confronted an administrative leadership that was Black, as were nearly half of the teachers. Also Muir parents now were up against male teachers and administrators--something they never had to deal with at Muir. Low achievement in the 4-6 grades, particularly among Blacks, was an issue that was not unique to Malcolm X. As for options, they were available at Malcolm X in the same way they were at John Muir--parents could request a teacher; however, the parents did not consider this a viable option since honoring their requests would lead to ethnic imbalance in those classrooms.

FUNDING

MXES received a total of \$169,519 (or 5.38 percent of the total BESP sites' budget) from 1971/72 through 1975/76. Prior to BESP the mini-school (as it was called at first) was awarded a \$35,000 grant from the San Francisco Foundation in 1970/71.

Eighty-two percent (\$138,388) of the BESP allocations was spent on salaries--certificated hourly and classified monthly and hourly--and fringe benefits. An additional \$7,963 (5%) was spent for consultants. Much of this money was used to bring personnel into the program who could implement the concept of integrating the environment with the curriculum.

Classified salaries covered a secretary, instructional aides (two the first two years, one each year through June 1975), and an instructional aide from 1972/73 to phase-out in June 1976. The director was paid by BUSD in 1975/76. Consultant fees accounted for the two outside resource people--a "professional" storyteller and a psychologist--in 1971/72 and 1972/73 respectively.

With the program's basic tenets--basic skills taught through the use of the physical and social environment--it was necessary to develop a curriculum based on its own materials and outside activities. The budget, however, represented a scant use of funds for instructional materials/books and field trips. Six percent

(\$9,946) of the total site budget was spent on instructional materials, including printing of the storyteller's and students' stories. Only 4 percent of the budget was expended on field trips beginning with \$3,000 in 1972/73 and gradually decreasing to \$1,000 in 1975/76. This was disproportionate to the number of students involved in the program, since the nominal enrollment was the highest in 1975/76 and the program focused primarily on field trips. From another vantage point, however, the figures suggest that the apparent expansion of the program was, in fact, its dilution.

The BESP administration (March 8, 1976), recommended phase-in for MXES, stipulating the need to keep the two classified staff members, shifting the one BESP salary to BUSD funds.

They have been an integral part of the development of the program and there is need for management. The recommendation of the additional staff is based on the need for coordination of the school's offerings.

By the time BESP funds drew to a close, maintaining the staff actually was more important than maintaining the program.

EVALUATION

"Evaluation" was always a moot issue at Environmental Studies. The original teacher/director felt there was a schism between home and school environment which adversely affected student learning processes, especially that of Blacks.

We are having success (with out students) but have basic problems of defining and showing it (i.e., demonstrating results via testing procedures).

Reading, according to him, was not a gauge of education.

Reading is not as colorful as communication on the corner. Things that are important for survival for Blacks can be picked up on the corner.

In order to minimize the gap he saw the need for inculcating different values in Black students--things that cannot be measured by standardized testing.

In spite of his beliefs, the April 1971 Environmental Studies proposal linked district mandated (CTBS) evaluation with behavioral

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objectives in both the areas of reading and math. The second director has been vociferous in her condemnation of CTBS validity, placing more importance on teacher-made tests for basic skills and her own multi-cultural unit tests. She contended that the congruency between the parents and the staff at MXES necessarily remained an important (though untapped) measure of the program's success. The Black parents were supportive of the Black staff and subsequently of the daily school activities. Students could feel this mutual understanding and support which, in turn, affected their behavior and motivation. These factors were not measurable in any way other than satisfaction figures compiled from student and parent surveys and behavior problem progress.

The second director said in Spring 1975:

You can't test everything. You can't evaluate everything. There is a lot of change in attitudes. Ninety-eight percent of the kids who have been referred to us have been discipline problems. We lay a lot of responsibilities on the kids as to what they have to do.

The June 1974 BESP Quarterly Progress report cited comments by the principal of Malcolm X common on the Environmental Studies program. He stressed "the progress of the children on the route to self-control in the area of student behavior" and described Environmental Studies' style as "using a diagnostic prescriptive approach to the whole area of discipline." He attested to the success of this approach and transferred at least seven "hard to manage" students into the program for two years in a row. In his laudatory summary he said, "We are pleased that the Environmental Studies Program at Malcolm X affords us an alternative when placing children." Level I Project Studies for its Quarterly Report of June 1974 involved MXES in its site specific studies in these previously mentioned areas: site developed surveys for parents, staff, students, and teacher made tests in basic skills. Its analysis of the Teacher-Made Tests was: "Pre and post testing was done on a program-wide basis in all basic skill areas. The data revealed marked student growth in math, language arts and social studies." Included in this was the pre and post multi-cultural unit testing. Level I reported that "results showed a 75 percent rate of growth in awareness."

In 1972/73 Level I reported that the 4th grade CTBS (numbers unavailable) mean scores in reading, language and math were at grade level. ISA's sample 4th and 5th grade students in 1973/74 and 1974/75, respectively, indicated that mean grade equivalents were not up to par, as shown in table below:

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TABLE 4: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA
SAMPLE, MXES GRADES 4 AND 5

	READING		LANGUAGE		MATH	
	<u>Fall</u>	<u>Spring</u>	<u>Fall</u>	<u>Spring</u>	<u>Fall</u>	<u>Spring</u>
1973/74 (Gr. 4) n 8	4.100	3.592			3.886	4.317
		12			7	12
1974/75 (Gr. 5) n 15	3.473	4.087	3.443	3.513	3.664	4.521
	15	15	14	15	14	14

Not only do the above scores indicate that ISA's sample students were below grade level; in several instances they also indicate retrogression, rather than progress over a period of time. The apparent discrepancy between Level I's findings in 1972/73 and ISA's findings in the subsequent two school years might be explained perhaps by changes in student composition. In 1972/73, the student population was 46 percent white; this percentage dropped to 28 percent in 1973/74 and 11 percent in 1974/75. Thus, it is very likely that ISA's sample contained a higher proportion of ethnic minority students than was represented in the group whose test scores Level I recorded.

KARE (King Alternative for Relevant Education)

ABSTRACT

KARE was a 7-8 grade alternative on-site at King Junior High School. As with the other BESP junior high school program at Willard, the creation of KARE was bureaucratically decreed by BUSD to fill the junior high gap in meeting the OE/ESP requirements for K-12 comprehensiveness. King and Willard are Berkeley's only junior high schools.

However, what was conspicuously absent at Willard in 1971 was present at King; namely, a desire and movement for alternative education. A parents' group was actively trying to revive an alternative program that had existed on the King campus in 1969/70, but King's principal, mandated by BUSD to draft a proposal for ESP funding, totally excluded the parents' group from the formulation and implementation of his proposal. This rock of bureaucracy managed to kill two birds: the parents' program perished for lack of administrative support, the administrative program was doomed for lack of support from parents, students, or teachers.

KARE opened in Fall 1972 and was terminated by BUSD in Spring 1974. In the two years of its fitful existence, marked by constant turnover in administrative and classroom personnel, KARE served largely as a dumping ground for academic underachievers. It was pejoratively labelled "CARE." In the one year (1973/74) it served both 7th and 8th graders its enrollment was 226, 68 percent of it Black. In formally recommending KARE's termination to the Board of Education in March 1974, BESP noted: "The alternativeness was not readily recognizable." The Level I evaluation team seemingly contradicted that judgment by rating KARE as the most "effective alternative" in the grades 7-9 range. But no one seemed to take Level I's evaluation seriously, and there was no post-mortem to ascertain the cause of KARE's demise. Its short life line extended from bureaucratic birth to bureaucratic death.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The emergence of KAPE appeared to be a timely one for several reasons: (1) at the district level, it would round out the K-12 articulation by helping to fill the gap at the junior high level for the original OE/ESP proposal; (2) at the community level some parents exhibited an interest in an alternative school at King; (3) at the site level, there was to be a new principal at King for Fall 1971.

Of these three seemingly promising and timely factors, only the first provided positive impetus to the alternative's emergence. That some parents at King were interested in developing an alternative was discounted by the BESP developers who deferred instead to the changing heads of the King administration.

Meanwhile, the outgoing principal was still on board, and he was requested by the district administration to develop a proposal to round out the K-12 articulation plan for OE/ESP. Oblivious of this assignment, the group of parents, in the process of trying to revive a 1969/70 program they had called Martin Luther King Cluster School, presented their ideas to the principal. They proposed a small school within King that could generate small learning groups; it would develop skills for high school survival, productive choice making, and the pursuit of a variety of meaningful human relationships. These parents did not know of the ESP funds in the offing--and the principal did not let them in on the secret.

The principal, as a final duty before he left in Spring 1971 to become a Rockefeller Intern, submitted his own proposal to BESP. Its emphasis was on "psychology which would prepare students to deal with themselves as worthwhile individuals before dealing with basic skills in English, Math, Social Studies and other areas." This bore a marked resemblance to what the parents had been saying.

When the original alternative parents learned that BUSD had ESP money, that they were not entitled to any, and that the BESP alternative to be funded at King would not start until Fall 1972, they decided to go ahead with their scant plans anyway for two years. This would allow their children to have the benefits of an alternative sub-school during the BESP planning year. And in 1972/73, when BESP would enroll only 7th graders, their 8th graders could continue in their program.

The parents' group was, however, put off in finalizing its plans until school began with a new principal. By then, rearranging of students and the four staff members' schedules resulted in further delay. The parents' mini-alternative opened in November.

BESP gained leverage from the parents' alternative in several ways. First, the BESP alternative originally chose the same name and gave the group a coordinator who was the director selected for the BESP alternative to begin a year later. Second, the parents' alternative was given no funds from BESP and was labelled a "pilot" for the actual BESP program to open in Fall 1972.

The parents' King Cluster and the BESP alternative later re-named KARE were different, however, both in the participation of parents and the composition of students. In the parents' King Cluster, the parents were the impelling force and actually were in total charge of the afternoon elective program. In KARE, the parents were totally removed from the process of planning or operationalizing the alternative. Their only participation was in parent-teacher conferences concerning their own individual children. The parents' alternative began with 110 seventh and eighth grade students: 59 percent white, 33 percent Black and 8 percent other ethnic groups. Minority students tended to drop out, increasing the percentage of whites enrolled.* At KARE the program started out with 149 seventh graders in 1972/73 and grew to 288 seventh and eighth graders in 1973/74. The proportion of white students decreased from about two-fifths to one-fourth during the two years.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1972/73 - 1973/74

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1972/73	57	38	89	60	2	1					1	1	149 (7th graders)
1973/74	60	27	154	68	3	1	7	3			2	1	226 (7th & 8th graders)

Despite the rhetoric in the outgoing principal's proposal, the program's focus shifted to basic skills. Counselors referred students to KARE as a last resort for basic skills. In 1972/73 35 percent of the student population were at least two years below grade level in reading (May 1973 CTBS scores). By 1973/74, with the addition of grade 8 and a total of 226 students, the entire population changed, with 80 percent of the majority ethnic group (Black) achieving below grade level in math and reading.

*The parents' alternative, King Cluster, after failing to merge officially with Odyssey for 1972/73, disbanded in June 1972. The reason was primarily lack of administrative support and the lack of a firm commitment from any teacher.

One of the issues debated during the planning year was that of heterogeneity vs. homogeneity in class groupings. The issue was never settled officially because the students' general range of academic achievement was at or below grade level. Accelerated or high potential courses were offered in science, math, social studies and English. The courses were basic skills oriented with the addition of the HILC for a diagnostic/prescriptive means of teaching reading. Innovations in curriculum were Majority/Minority Rights and coed P.E. in 1972/73. Offerings in 1973/74 included a cosmetology mini-class, Black Studies, and an interdisciplinary science program that integrated math, science and reading.

Students at KARE could take a range of electives in the common school (e.g., art, shop, drama, creative writing). However, students not enrolled in KARE were not allowed to take its courses.

KARE proposed to provide a humanistic learning environment sensitive to the difficult transitions of adolescent development. A smaller teacher/pupil ratio and its counseling-oriented program were to promote affective growth as a means to accelerated academic achievement. The planning year (1971/72), involving recruitment of staff and students, was to be used for developing a curriculum commensurate with this philosophy. Five prospective certificated teachers, four prospective instructional aides (two paid out of BESP funds), a secretary and a counselor were involved in sensitivity training sessions in December 1971 and later in Spring 1972. The full time counselor was to be responsible for setting up programs in peer counseling, with parents and staff.

When the counselor and one teacher left the staff before the program was operationalized, sensitivity training as a prerequisite became impossible, since teachers were assigned to KARE by the King principal according to the King schedule. The principal did not assign another counselor to KARE. Without the impact of a counselor, KARE essentially became a basic skills sub-school at King. Although two teachers became involved with students outside of school this was not a scheduled part of the program. The counselor then--or lack of one--became the scapegoat for the program's inability to fulfill its basic tenets.

With staff turnover imposed upon KARE by the King principal, a total of 16 certificated teachers were involved with KARE, though never more than seven at one time. All teachers taught from one to four classes at King. Staffing patterns are indicated in the following table.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1971/72 - 1973/74

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Planning		(2)*		(2)	(1)				(5)
1971/72	2	1	1	1			1		6
1972/73		(1)		(2)					(3)
	1	4	2	2		1			10
Fall 1973				(3)					(3)
	1	4	2	2		1			10
Spring 1974				(3)					(3)
	1	3	2	1		1			8

* () = Classified staff

During the 1973/74 school year there were four teachers at KARE during the Fall who were transferred out in the Spring. Two teachers from the common school were assigned to two KARE classes during the spring.

With this high certificated staff turnover rate came minimal program identity and/or stability. The two positions that may have offered program stability were those of the secretary and the director, but occupancy of these posts also was unstable. The original director took two unplanned leaves of absence and the Social Living teacher became the acting director during the Spring semesters of 1973 and 1974. The focus of the site changed according to each woman's style and priorities and the students' reaction to first the Black woman and then the white woman. Both women, however, followed through on their concerns about problems of the alternative, directing these concerns to the BESP administration as well as the King principal. Regardless of their attempts at keeping communications open, they received no responses. For example, after many unanswered memos and calls to the BESP director in Fall 1973, a crisis memo stated:

As a result of these problems and concerns the following things are happening: (1) we are losing students as they report the confusion to their parents and (2) there is a great deal of misplaced hostility in both King and KARE staffs which eventually will affect the relationship of the teachers to their students.

Several months later the KARE director took her second leave and finally the BESP Assistant Director sent a memo to the BESP Director, posing the following issues:

- 1) the desire for a viable alternative after BESP funding, 2) the need to make the program more attractive for next semester, 3) ethnic balance needs to be achieved and the curriculum should be the primary focus for recruitment, 4) needs assessment should be carried through at the site, and 5) immediate BESP support staff is needed for staff training and organizational development.

None of these issues was dealt with, however, and in March 1974, BESP recommended to the Board of Education KARE's discontinuance by June 1974. Justifications for this phase-out were:

1. The program would have required a complete reorganization to enable it to continue for the duration of the project.
2. The lack of continuity in the leadership of the program. There have been two directors in two years. 1974/75 would require a change again.
3. The internal strife that existed at the school has not been conducive to the proper management of the program. With even another change in principalship for 1974/75 further adjustments will be required.
4. The alternativeness was not readily recognizable.
5. The staffing requirement could not fit into the district's pattern.

It was further recommended that BESP monitor the HILC in 1974/75. In 1975/76, BUSD would take over complete support of this BESP contribution. Plans for phase-out triggered new considerations for students' needs among KARE staff and director. They worked at developing a basic skills program with a focus on environmental education. This new alternative, called Urban Prep, was to be based on two assumptions: (1) the need for basic skills would be better accepted in a context of relevancy, i.e., environmental education, and (2) money from BESP was still available. The co-director of BESP Training said: "For the NIE/ESP scope, Urban Prep should be shown as an organized evolution from KARE rather than the starting of a new program."

Publicity was minimal and recruitment by mail resulted in the expressed interest of 18 seventh graders and 33 eighth graders. With such small numbers, Urban Prep as an alternative was impossible.

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ARTICULATION

Articulation was KARE's reason for existence. It was conceived to fill the void left by the missing junior high link in the BESP K-12 chain of articulation. Originally, junior high schools themselves were bold innovations, created to cope with the very special problems of puberty and early adolescence. One might have reasonably anticipated, therefore, that some special thought would have been given to an alternative school intended for children in a very sensitive phase of their development. This, as we have seen, was not the case. KARE was the product of bureaucratic ukase in pro forma compliance with the OE/ESP requirement for K-12 comprehensiveness. After two years BUSD decided that so weak a link was no better than a missing link. KARE was done in; the formal pretense of K-12 articulation in the BESP program was formally abandoned.

From the very beginning, according to KARE personnel, the school was used as a dumping ground. Recruitment of students for KARE's opening in Fall 1972 was accomplished by the director and one staff member talking to the staff and students at the feeder intermediate schools. The students were self-selected primarily on the basis of their interest in the proposed program. There was no alternative site screening committee or policy other than district racial and sexual balance at first. By August 1972, 175 seventh graders signed up to attend KARE--68 were from Franklin Intermediate (a school with a predominantly ethnic minority student population) and the remainder were from the other three intermediate schools and elsewhere. By November, however, only 149 seventh grade students were actually enrolled. The KARE staff felt that the King principal and counselors, through a tracking system, were responsible for both the decrease in enrollment (26) and the disproportionate number of disciplinary problems. One teacher said that high achieving students were convinced KARE was not the place for them, accounting for the decrease. Another said that administration directed students with disciplinary problems to KARE.

A High Intensity Learning Alternative was being promoted by the principal of King to include science, history and math developed to accelerate teaching/learning. The fact that it began to emerge at about the same time that KARE was operationalized is more than a mere coincidence. It included the Random House Reading Package's High Intensity Learning Center, a BESP funded reading program, shared by KARE with King common. Although the HIL Alternative was

not given much attention by the district,* it nevertheless continues to function as the only viable alternative for some students and a legacy of the principal.** When KARE closed down in the Spring 1974, the HILC materials were sent to Odyssey to begin a new HILC at that 7th-9th grade alternative school.

FUNDING

BESP allocated a total of \$119,598 to KARE from 1971/72 through 1974/75. This included one planning year and one post-operational year. Approximately 80 percent of the total amount went toward salaries, fringe benefits and consultants' fees. The remainder went for instructional supplies: a large amount for the High Intensity Learning Center and a smaller amount for the equipment and furnishings of the KARE office.

Of the total BESP funds, 25 percent were spent during the planning year, 1971/72, on salaries for the director, the secretary, pre-service training by the consulting psychologist and the release-time substitutes for both the director and the teachers. During the first operational year (1972/73) 45 percent of the total BESP funds were spent, 29 percent the second year, with \$1,000 expended for replacement materials in the HILC for 1974/75.

All certificated salaries except for the director during the planning year and one teacher in the first operational year (1972/73) were paid by BUSD.

The program's personnel mainstays were two female classified staff members who were with the program from beginning to end. Both women were paid out of BESP monies and remained with the district after KARE dissolved. One became the HILC teacher at Odyssey for one year. When the district then shifted her to a parent nursery program in 1975/76 she resigned. The other woman went to West Campus with students in BESP's Work/Study. There her salary was paid out of funds from HUI for the 1974/75 school year and taken over by BUSD beginning in 1975/76.

*Probably because of the type of students it both accepted (high track) and excluded (low track).

**The principal left at the time of KARE's phase-out in June 1974 and was succeeded by the head counselor of King common. When KARE's phase-out was in the making and the Urban Prep project fizzled, some KARE staff members proposed a second High Intensity Learning program to be funded by BESP. But since the first HIL program, promoted by the principal, required no additional funding, both he and BESP rejected extra funding for a duplicate and the proposal died.

EVALUATION

The benefit to the students at KARE was to have been "increased sensitivity to environment and increased sophistication toward and understanding of social forces, systems and institutions; a minimum of a year's academic growth for a year's attendance in school; experience of success in academic advancement; concern with sharing and caring for others." The only area measured was academic growth.

For 1972/73 the educational objectives stated that by June 1973, 90 percent of the students enrolled since October would gain at least one grade level in reading and math as measured by the CTBS. In May 1973, the CTBS indicated that 35 percent of the students were at least two years below grade level in reading, and 39 percent were at least two years below grade level in math. Complete scores (both Fall and Spring) in Math were available for 114 students. With an average of .7 of a year's growth in math, 42 students indicated a year's growth or more. With an average of .2 of a year's growth in reading, out of a total of 112 students with complete scores, 24 achieved growth of a year or more. The director was not optimistic, however. She said that an entering 7th grader reading at a 4th grade level and gaining one year's reading growth in one year's time does not elevate his or her chances for ever catching up.

The results of the 7th graders' Fall and Spring (1973/74) CTBS scores were:

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, KARE GRADE 7

<u>Scoring at:</u>	Fall 1973		Spring 1974	
	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>
4th grade or below	35%	35%	37%	38%
5th - 7th grade	41%	54%	35%	40%
8th - 10th grade	16%	7%	15%	17%
11th - 12th grade	8%	4%	13%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
n	85	85	78	81

The mean change in reading from Fall to Spring for the 72 students who took both tests was .354 with a standard deviation of 1.811. The mean change for math scores for the 74 students was .322 with a standard deviation of 1.353.

Level I was not involved in any recommendations for phase-out. Ironically, knowing full well that KARE was being discontinued, Level I included KARE in its Spring 1974 "Effective Alternativeness" scale--ranking it overall as the highest of 7-9 grade BESP program. On a 0.0-1.0 scale KARE's ratings were: .7 (second only to Odyssey) for "alternativeness;" slightly below .6 for "effectiveness;" and between .4 and .5 on the combined "effective alternative" scale.

It is perhaps indicative of Level I's impact upon the BESP program that just at the time that it was giving KARE a high score for "alternativeness," central BESP was advising the Board of Education, in recommending the program's termination, that "alternativeness was not readily recognizable" at the site.

WILLARD ALTERNATIVE

ABSTRACT

Willard Alternative, an on-site program for 7th and 8th grade students, was the product of bureaucratic edict. To comply with the OE/ESP requirement for K-12 comprehensiveness in the BESP plan, BUSD had to fill the gap at the junior high school level, where the only available alternative in 1971 was Odyssey, an off-site school that could accommodate about 100 students at best. Furthermore, Odyssey was a defective articulation link because it was not formally included in the BUSD integration plan.

Therefore, BUSD directed the Willard Junior High School principal to produce a plan for an alternative school on his campus. Prepared in 72 hours, the proposal promised to "provide an alternative school model...involving parents, staff and students," which would offer students "a body of knowledge relevant to their life styles" and would "maximize (their) future social, educational and career options." The substantive specifics in the proposal were three staples from the grab bag of educational innovations: (1) smaller class size through use of teachers' aides, (2) interdisciplinary modules, and (3) rearrangement of time schedules to allow for more field trips.

Points (1) and (3) required money; more money, as it turned out, than BESP was disposed to supply. The fundamental problem, however, was the absence of demand or movement for this particular alternative. Two Willard teachers, committed to alternative education, had left the school a year prior to BESP to launch Odyssey. They presumably siphoned off from Willard those students and parents most interested in innovation. To populate the new, unwanted alternative on the Willard campus, teachers had to be coerced and students had to be cajoled or conned with a false image of the school.

Although the original proposal envisioned a program for 300 students, Willard Alternative enrolled only 138 at its peak (Spring 1973); by Fall 1973 this was down to 78. BUSD terminated the program in Fall 1974. No one protested. No one mourned.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The Willard common school staff was requested by BUSD to submit a proposal for an alternative program in Spring 1971. They had 72 hours in which to come up with one. Teachers at Willard who had felt a need for an alternative junior high school left a year earlier to develop an off-site alternative, Odyssey. The Willard principal was then left with the responsibility to develop a plan.

His proposal stated that the primary thrust of Willard Alternative would be to "maximize future social, educational and career options" for participating students. The Willard Alternative proposal was approved for funding in June 1971, with provision for a planning year.

A director, selected by the common school principal over several other applicants, was hired during the summer of 1971. In September 1971, the principal requested the director, who was a trained counselor, to assist in the first two weeks of crisis registration at the common school. The director had hoped that in so doing he would win the affections and trust of the common school staff, who were cool to the alternative school concept. His counseling role in the common school was extended several times through to November 1971 by the principal, leaving little time to plan the alternative program.

By Spring 1972, problems encountered by the director centered around the potential relationship between the alternative and the common school. Major problems had emerged in the relationship of the director to his staff. Of the five teachers who agreed to discuss the alternative with him, four backed down. With only one staff member in April 1972, and as yet no planning, the principal intervened. He sent a memo to the common school staff in the form of an ultimatum, presenting three possibilities for staffing the alternative:

1. on a volunteer basis with the Willard common school staff,
2. on an assigned basis from the Willard common school staff,
3. on a volunteer basis within the district teacher overage pool.

The third possibility, the principal ventured, would result in the involuntary transfer of common school teachers whose positions would be eliminated by the decrease in the number of Willard common students (who would be enrolled in the alternative program).

Faced with this threat, five teachers agreed to fill two full time positions on a part time basis. The justification was to

ensure variety of available skills. Teaching 20 to 80 percent of their day in the common school intensified feelings of split allegiance between the two programs for the teachers.

The director had hoped to avert these feelings by keeping in close contact with the principal. The close contact, however, resulted in his capitulation to the principal who became de facto director of Willard Alternative. Later, this was to widen the distance between the staff and the alternative school director.

In May and June 1972, the still incomplete alternative school staff spent one full week of release time, followed by scattered lunch hour and after school meetings, in planning their forthcoming program. Though the planning year was whittled down to a week, the staff managed to define five basic objectives. These included: power sharing, student voice in curriculum development and school governance, expansion of the teacher's role as counselor, elimination of suspension and detention, and curriculum relevant to students' needs and life styles.

The principal's initial objectives for the program cited in the June 1971 proposal were not integrated into the new design. They were delivery of skills, raising individual's self-esteem, preparation for the future (college or work), and creating a secure educational community for maximum effectiveness in learning, a humanist attitude toward society, and understanding of self. Instead, three components--learning dynamics, core curriculum and afternoon application--were developed to differentiate the alternative from the common school program.

Learning dynamics was to involve continuous self and program evaluation. The core curriculum was designed as a school without walls, interdisciplinary in approach and modular scheduling. Math/Science and English/History were the basic components. Afternoon application was to include electives in the common or the alternative school, independent study and/or field trips.

The director predicted that Willard Alternative would be similar in emphasis and in teaching approach to Odyssey, the 7th - 9th grade off-site alternative. As the director saw it, Willard Alternative would also be different because of its half day academic structure and defined student expectations, thus answering some of the major criticisms directed at Odyssey. The director's forecast was unfounded.

Staff cohesiveness eventually developed, however negatively. Seven teachers took issue with the poor planning and financial inefficiencies. A petition was presented to the common school

administration, by-passing the director altogether. Major problems, as the teachers saw them, were delineated:

1. unfulfilled promise of teacher aides,
2. afternoon application component promised to new students could not be realized because of limited funds,
3. additional physical education course assignment to each teacher on top of teaching six periods with no prep time was unworkable,
4. lack of support staff for the director, who already served as a counselor for the alternative school students plus common school students, and acted as assistant principal,
5. no explanation was given to parents and students as to why they were not involved in the planning of the program and curriculum (an objective of the planning week used to entice students into the program).

Because of these problems, the teachers proposed that the opening of the school be postponed to the Spring 1973 semester, and that they all work part time during the Fall 1972 semester planning and structuring the school.

The petition was ignored by the common school administration. The director did not sanction the method employed by the teachers in expressing their grievances. The staff and director became even more factionalized. Several members of the staff exchanged places with common school staff, a move sanctioned by the principal. Four teacher aides began working weeks after the program had begun.

Although the original proposal was geared for 300 students, incorporating 35 percent of the Willard Common School student body, the actual program planned for 150 students, 75 in each grade level. Parents and students each anticipated something different from the alternative. Parents were reassured that their children would receive basic skills training. The students thought they were coming to a free school, something that sounded like what they wanted, something different from Willard Junior High School. During the first year of operation, it became clear to students in and outside of Willard Alternative that it was not a free school. With expectations shattered, enrollment declined by 42 percent between Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 (from 138 students to 78 students.) The following table shows the student enrollment at Willard Alternative for the two years of operation by ethnicity.

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TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
FALL 1972 - FALL 1973

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Fall '72	72	53	53	40	4	3			1	1	5	4	135
Sp. '73	55	40	69	50	14	10							138
Fall '73	42	54	36	46									78

Noticeable in the above table is the increase of Black student enrollment during the first year of operation, from 53 students in Fall 1972 to 69 students in Spring 1973. The Willard Alternative director claimed that an extra effort was made to recruit Black students, and it proved successful. During the two years of operation, both Black and white students, however, complained of classroom disruptions. They felt a lack of disciplinary policy caused increased disruptions. Classroom disruptions were felt to be the sole difference between the common and the alternative schools.

The declining student enrollment points to dissatisfaction among both Black and white students in the handling of behavioural problems in the classroom. Because no specific disciplinary process existed, teachers leaned heavily on their expectations for each individual student. Behavior was not so different among students, but teachers interpreted differences by race. White students who were considered radical by the teachers were labelled as truants, or as having difficulty in keeping rules. Black students, on the other hand, were considered by the teachers to view schools as an authoritarian based structure, resulting in these students balking at the rules and teacher expectations. Teachers drew ambiguous lines according to the degree and time of classroom disruptions.

Willard Alternative policy called for every effort not to refer disciplinary problem students out of the classroom. The issue of teachers as counselors, intended to stimulate warm, trusting relationships between teacher and student, was bitterly debated by staff and director. Some staff members felt that teaching basic skills to potentially problematic students meant they could not relinquish control over the students, negating any possibility of counseling. The power issue was heightened when some teachers felt the director took the side of parents and children against them in disciplinary matters. The teachers felt that the director backed down under community pressure. Frustrated by their

powerlessness, most of the staff took refuge in split allegiance with their common school assignment.

The planned curriculum of the alternative called for core courses in English/History and Math/Science. The courses were taught, but the interdisciplinary approach was not utilized during the Fall 1972 semester. By Spring 1973, however, the English/History core was implemented. A prospective Math/Science teacher from outside the district could not wait for BUSD to loosen hiring regulations, so this core was never realized.

The science teacher from the common school was scheduled for 40 percent of his time in the alternative, but refused to use the interdisciplinary approach. During the 1973/74 school year, the English/History core continued to function. A judo class was also offered the second year of operation. Afternoon application and learning dynamics were never realized.

ARTICULATION

BUSD has only two junior high schools (grades 7-8): King and Willard. The development of on-site alternatives at that level promised to be expeditious for both the district and the specific common schools involved.

For district-wide articulation of the BESP plan, it was necessary to involve the junior high schools in alternative education. Neither common school administration had initiated an alternative program proposal in the original pool of 55 submitted by groups inside and out of the BUSD in February 1971. Although Odyssey School, a 7th-9th grade off-site alternative, was included in the BESP proposal to OE/ESP, it still did not round out K-12 articulation because it was not forced to comply with the BUSD integration plan. Moreover, Odyssey was so small that it would have been, by itself, a bottleneck rather than a channel for articulation at the junior high level.

Willard Alternative, developed by the common school principal, planned to provide more intensive training in basic skills, directed to students not quite up to level, yet not far enough behind to warrant full time status in the Learning Assistance Program or other special programs for slow learners. Some of these students were disciplinary problems.

There were three basic strategies utilized in publicizing and promoting Willard Alternative:

1. at the feeder schools'* parents' meetings there was a sales pitch for sixth graders to enroll in the alternative,
2. the director and one teacher visited the feeder schools, and talked to students, teachers and counselors in an effort to attract students who would benefit from the program,
3. at Willard common school student body assembly, students were told of the alternative program, encouraging the then 7th graders to enroll in the program the following fall as 8th graders.

By June 1972, however, the director stated he was 20 students short of the 7th grade quota. By September 1972, the seventh grade quota of 75 was realized, accomplished through student word of mouth rather than a planned summer recruitment drive by the director or staff.

As mentioned earlier, the director had hoped that Willard Alternative would be similar to Odyssey in content but more structured. Because of this, Willard Alternative had hoped to attract students from Kilimanjaro. This was a rare occurrence, however.

The 4th to 6th grade alternative feeder school for Willard Alternative, Malcolm X Environmental Studies (Zone D), was in no way similar in structure, curriculum, governance or program ideology. There was never any attempt to coordinate Willard Alternative with any of the West Campus alternative programs, though theoretically Willard Alternative students could have possibly fit into the West Campus Yoga/Reading (HILC) or Career Exploration programs (for low achievers and middle range students respectively).

Because of staff animosity to the program and to the director, the intended staff training, particularly in counseling techniques, was not actualized.

Willard Alternative's relationship to BESP central administration was purely a paper one. Internal workings of the alternative were handled through the common school principal and BESP appeared only relative to funding. The common school principal later (December 1974) commented on Willard Alternative's premature phase-out as though it were an autonomous entity: "They really do not know why they got rid of it."

*Malcolm X and Columbus, 4th to 6th grade schools in zones A and D, were the BUSD designated feeder schools for Willard common and Willard Alternative Schools.

FUNDING

During the period 1971 through 1974, Willard Alternative spent \$22,868 (20%) of its total budget on instructional materials, books, supplies, capital outlay and equipment. A large portion of that money was used for supplying materials for the HILC, developed during the 1972/73 school year. Upon the alternative's dissolution in June 1974, Willard common school retained the lab. The BESP office recommended the HILC be monitored and developed further by the BESP Training Component for the 1974/75 school year, and after that, it would be the responsibility of BUSD, in effect Willard Junior High School. The principal further requested the HILC be repaired and remodeled with promised BUSD funds, separate from any site allocations.

Although field trips were integral to the three component plan of the Willard Alternative design, only \$2,918 or 2.5 percent of the total budget was expended for this purpose.

During its three year life, including the planning year, Willard Alternative spent a total of \$114,895, 3.65 percent of the total BESP five year budget for sites. The greatest expenditure went for salaries, fringe benefits, and consultants' and professional aides' fees. This amounted to \$86,107, or 75 percent of the site's total budget. The site's stated aim to enhance the learning process by a "warm, congenial relationship between students, staff and parents," necessitated a low student-teacher ratio, and a correspondingly higher money-student ratio. This budgetary pattern was used against the site's survival. One of the reasons the BESP office gave for closing the site was:

The budgetary requirement of the Willard Alternative precluded a recommendation to the Board for continuance of the program. The projected staffing for this program would not have enabled it to meet the District's staffing pattern. The program had essentially become a team teaching effort requiring additional staff and supplementary funding.

EVALUATION

Willard Alternative planned for evaluation to be integral to the achievement of its goals. Testing, written records, observation and evaluation were to be integral to the learning and teaching design. In practice evaluation was perfunctory. The director had hoped to incorporate student/parent evaluation of the program and diagnostic/prescriptive testing of basic skills into the Willard Alternative program. These were only used marginally during the two years of operation.

During the planning year, the Level I Director scheduled to meet with the director and the new staff, but the meeting was postponed due to staff disintegration. Another meeting with a new staff was never scheduled.

CTBS testing was a routine measure of the district. The results of the CTBS testing of ISA's sample 7th graders at Willard Alternative in the 1973/74 school year were as follows:

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, WILLARD GRADE 7

<u>Scoring at:</u>	<u>Fall 1973</u>		<u>Spring 1974</u>	
	<u>Math</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>	<u>Reading</u>
4th grade or below	22%	22%	26%	25%
5th - 7th grade	53%	31%	42%	40%
8th - 10th grade	19%	36%	19%	16%
11th - 12th grade	6%	11%	13%	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
n	36	36	31	32

The mean change in reading scores for those students who took the test in both Fall 1973 and Spring 1974 was $-.173$ with a standard deviation of 1.250. The mean change in math scores for those students who took the math test in both Fall 1973 and Spring 1974 was $.386$ with a standard deviation of 1.351.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Willard was rated slightly below .5 for "alternativeness," slightly above .7 for "effectiveness," and between .3 and .4 on the combined "effective alternative" scale. This was the second highest rating (KARE's was highest) among all BESP programs for grades 7-9.

BERKELEY HIGH SCHOOL WEST CAMPUS

West Campus is the 9th grade school for BUSD, situated three-fourths of a mile from the main Berkeley High School campus. The 9th grade school was an innovation in Berkeley, originating in the Berkeley Desegregation Plan.

During the 1963/64 school year, a School Board-appointed community committee, the Hadsell Committee, recommended the desegregation of the three 7th to 9th grade junior high schools. It was hoped that through redistributing the students, tracking by ability would be reduced.

Marjorie Ramsey, at that time an English teacher at West Campus (formerly Burbank Junior High), felt "the revisions recommended would do too little to effectively end segregation in these schools." Ramsey developed a proposal based on psychological findings that 14 year olds were in a very vulnerable stage of transition to maturity. The proposal recommended an all 9th grade school to serve this age group "without the babyishness of the 7th and 8th grades or the too early sophistication of the big (main) high school."

She proposed the present West Campus site, formerly a mostly minority school (primarily Black students), to be the 9th grade school. The 7th and 8th graders would then be divided between the other two junior high schools (one was formerly mostly white and one was ethnically mixed). In September 1964, the Ramsey Plan to desegregate the junior high schools was implemented, serving all 9th graders in one school, and 7th and 8th graders in two schools.

The Berkeley articulation K-12 plan for the original BESP proposal in Spring 1971 had to include all grade levels. The West Campus principal* at that time was instrumental in the original decisions of what to include and meting out internal planning to the respective coordinators. The staff considered the school's "extreme" student populations--both the high achievers and the retainees--to develop HUI and Work/Study respectively. Middle range students were earmarked for Career Exploration and Black underachievers for an extension of Black House, which later became Yoga/Reading (Basic Skills). None of these programs was ever a separate, self-contained alternative; each utilized the common school's facilities, resources, administrative and support services.

*By Fall 1971 and the beginning of BESP, the principal had been selected as a Rockefeller Intern. Upon his return, he became the BUSD's BESP Director, ministering to all the BESP programs.

Of all 9th grade students scheduled for West Campus since BESP began in 1971/72, approximately 50 to 100 students have selected other alternatives. Other Ways, Black House and Casa were available for the first few years of BESP funding, and East Campus and Odyssey throughout BESP's existence. Within West Campus itself, the BESP programs' enrollment has included from 37 percent to 48 percent of the total school enrollment.

TABLE 1: WEST CAMPUS: COMPARISON OF STUDENT ENROLLMENT BY BESP PROGRAM, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	HUI (9A)		WORK/STUDY (9B)		EXPLORA-TION (9C)		YOGA/READING (9D)		TOTAL BESP		TOTAL W.C.
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1971/72	342	32	48	5					390	37	1058
1972/73	*270	27	41	4	**51	5			362	36	1000
1973/74	249	24	58	6	36	4	150	15	493	48	1026
1974/75	276	27	24	2	53	5	98	10	451	45	1010
1975/76	276	30	31	3			90	10	397	43	925

*Includes 20 Tenth Graders

**Began in Spring, 1973

As evident in the above table, HUI was not only the most heavily enrolled BESP West Campus program but the only one to remain intact throughout the BESP years. HUI was the high potential program operating even prior to BESP.

The Black House extension was changed to Yoga/Basic Skills/Reading after pending difficulties with the Office for Civil Rights. It was geared for underachievers. It did not begin until the Fall 1973 semester, and became a two-part program--HILC and Yoga--and then only HILC (in 1975/76).

Work/Study was an existing program for students who didn't pass 9th grade, funded by the city's Workrecreation program prior to BESP. By 1975/76, it merged with the ill-defined Career Exploration, a program fraught with difficulties from the start with the death of its coordinator, putting off the starting date to Spring 1973.

West Campus alternatives were coordinated under the directorship of the HUI director in 1974/75 school year. In effect, BESP afforded West Campus the opportunity to expand the existing tracking system with materials, experience, and extra staff. Alternativeness was never intended, rather tracking was meant to be legitimized.

WEST CAMPUS: CAREER EXPLORATION (aka West Campus Alternative 9C)

ABSTRACT

Career Exploration, launched with BESP money in Spring 1973, was an elective and supplemental program that offered three classes to ninth graders on Berkeley High School's West Campus.

During the planning phase, the program's creator said it "is not to be seen as a vocational exploration," but in operation this is what it became. Originally, the program was intended to stimulate "middle range" students by relating academic subjects to the world of work, but in practice it tended to become a "dumping ground" for problem students. These were, however, exposed to information about a variety of occupations, ranging from the armed forces and cosmetology to agriculture and banking. For one class that centered on occupations in which language skills were paramount (e.g., advertising, teaching) students received English credit. For another class, which dealt with occupations in a historical framework (e.g., the industrial revolution), students received History credit. The third class focused directly on "jobology."

At its peak (1974/75) Career Exploration enrolled 53 students, 70 percent of whom were Black. In Fall 1975 the program was merged with Work/Study, a work program for students who had spent a year in the 9th grade and were not advanced to the 10th. The merged programs became part of a mini-conglomerate called Career Education.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

In the June 1971 amended BEBP package submitted to OE/ESP, West Campus Alternative school 9C was briefly and poorly developed. Its stated aim was "to build within each student an acceptance of his own responsibility in determining his future by contracting for part of his education through the utilization of the resources of the community." The program was contractual between the student and outside community resources focusing on exposure to various careers. The students for whom the program was geared were those oft-forgotten "middle range" students.

The 9C Alternative, later named Career Exploration, was initially intended to be a complete program, encompassing an interdisciplinary approach to education. Course credits would be fulfilled in the fields of mathematics, social science, English, history and science. The program was to open in the Fall 1972 semester, but only 20 students enrolled. It was then postponed for another semester and opened in Spring 1973. The complete educational program did not get pulled together for that semester either, so the program was designated a "pilot." The staff of Career Exploration planned to work through the summer of 1973 developing program structure and curriculum. Another reason for lack of organization in that first semester of operation, according to the director, was staff schedule conflicts in the common school.

As a pilot program, CE provided students field trips to work sites so they could experience first hand actual working conditions, and guest speakers from community business and industry. During the first semester staff members individually developed their own CE curriculum but hoped to coordinate their efforts into an integrated curriculum during the summer of 1973. Recruitment during the Fall 1972 semester was productive and 61 students enrolled in the CE program for Spring 1973. The director of the program, a white woman, was the Student Activities Director for all of West Campus. Her intent was to make school meaningful to those students who rarely were provided with alternative options to the traditional school, namely the middle range students. In a planning document issued in the Fall 1972 semester, she said:

Career Exploration is not to be seen as vocational exploration...the new emphasis (is) bringing together the many parts and facets of education in an attempt to make school meaningful and relevant to students...One of the basic goals of the concept is that change is inherent.

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She had hoped to provide three to four class periods in a morning session for CE students. But, when the program finally began, students could choose between one and three classes in CE during a semester. Student enrollment changed each semester.

The curriculum was developed around the 15 occupational clusters developed by the Office of Education. The director developed one class called "Jobology." The focus of this class was to help students learn about their range of career option through interpretation of their interests and aptitudes. The staff was handpicked by the director from the certificated staff of the West Campus common school. Shortly after the first curriculum development meeting of the CE staff in the Summer of 1973, the director died. Her planning documents, notes, etc., were thrown out by her parents. With few working papers other than their own particular course outlines used during the pilot semester, the staff organized the program. Rather than a total program, they retained the concept of the CE elective. The energy level and commitment were not the same as when the director was alive. A drama teacher at West Campus, earlier chosen by the director to participate in the CE experiment, assumed responsibilities as interim director. He concentrated most of his energies on developing the Career Center, finally made available to all West Campus students by Spring 1975. The CE elective developed after the director's death provided English credit, only because of the amount of research students were forced to do if they utilized the available resources in the Career Center. Teachers taught on a rotational basis, initially changing every six weeks in a semester, and later every nine weeks in the 18 week semester. All staff were assigned part time to CE, 60-80 percent of their time was in the common school.

The sudden change of directors left little planning time for the Fall 1973, and thus once again CE opened with a poorly developed structure and a partially developed curriculum. Phase-in was already topical in progress reports. During the 1973/74 school year, all four West Campus alternative programs and budgets were consolidated under one coordinator.

Curriculum was finally systematized on a much smaller scale than originally anticipated but did utilize the expertise of the staff members in drama, multi media/audio visual, shop and sewing. In these areas, the 15 occupational clusters of OE were divided up so that on a rotational basis students were exposed in one class in one semester to: environment ecology, armed forces, cosmetology, personal services, science and health careers, oceanography, interior design; and advertising, teaching, performing arts, public services and individual study of six other jobs in the Career Center. These groupings were split between two teachers, and students received English credit. Students in this course were considered CE students.

The two other staff members in a second class covered such areas as: basic tools, industrial revolution, metal, plumbing, graphic arts, jobology, agriculture, home industries, and engineering, small business, merchandising, banking, transportation, communications, clerical/office careers. There were no job oriented workshops, exhibits or demonstrations and few field trips during the 1974/75 school year. Field trips to job sites were found to be inappropriate for 14 year olds. There was very little to which 14 year olds could relate. Hospitals, for example, would not allow them to examine operating rooms or emergency rooms.

Because the design of the program was a one semester elective, student enrollment never reached the proposed 60-100 student range. In fact, after the first semester, student enrollment dropped by almost 30 percent (from 51 to 36 students).

The interim director claimed that the original director intended to recruit students personally during Summer 1973, but, due to her untimely death, student recruitment during that summer was not attempted. Except for the interim director, the CE staff relied on the counsel or referral system. The interim director recruited students from his drama class.

Below is a table showing the student enrollment in the Career Exploration elective from Spring 1973 through Spring 1976. In the 1975/76 school year, CE and Work/Study were functioning as one under the Career Education program.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
SPRING 1973 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sp. '73	14	27	36	71	1	2							51
1973/74	7	19	25	69							4	12	36
1974/75	15	28	37	70							1	2	53
1975/76	6	19	18	58	4	13	3	10					31

Noticeable in the above figures is the preponderance of Black students involved in the CE program.

Institutional racism was dealt with, according to CE staff, by exposing students to all possible career options, regardless of race. This seemed to beg the issues of racism that are encountered on the job and in the search for work.

Increased enrollment between the 1973/74 and 1974/75 school years was a direct result of the consolidation of all four West Campus alternatives under one director and budget.

There were very few staff members because the program was small. Student/teacher ratio ranged between 7/1 and 13/1. Following is a table showing the CE staff by ethnicity from Spring 1973 through Spring 1975.

TABLE 2: CERTIFICATED STAFF BY ETHNICITY,
SPRING 1973 - 1974/75

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Total</u>
Spring 1973	4	1	1	6
1973/74	3	2		5
1974/75	3	1		4

Proportionately, there were more white teachers than white students involved in Career Exploration.

Articulation

West Campus Alternative 9C/Career Exploration attracted only 20 students the first semester it was to begin (Fall 1972). Because of low student interest, the program's implementation was postponed for one semester, rescheduled to open in Spring 1973. Recruitment procedures for Spring 1973 proved more successful and 51 students enrolled in the program.

Those recruited into the program that first semester were referred by counselors from King and Willard Junior High Schools and West Campus, and by the principal of West Campus. Although the program was geared for middle range students, it quickly became a "dumping ground," according to the interim director, for students with behavioral problems. In addition, middle range students referred to the program were frequently misled into thinking the program was work study, that is, job placement.

A Career Center was developed under the direction of the interim director/drama teacher. Without a systematic plan, nonetheless did acquire materials. The Career Center of the BHS campus, affiliated with and developed by BESP's On Target program, invited the director to investigate its materials and layout, but he claimed he never had time to do so. When Career Exploration was consolidated during the 1973/74 school year with the other three West Campus alternatives, the interim director no longer related to the program as director but rather as one of the teachers on the staff.

Formally, there could have been articulation between Career Exploration (for 9th graders) and On Target (for 10th through 12th graders), but students regarded the two programs more as student services provided by the sites, and not as autonomous programs. Common school and BESP school students both utilized the Career Centers on both campuses.

During the 1974/75 school year, the merger of the West Campus Work/Study Program and Career Exploration was planned. The proposed merger implied a tacit recognition that the practical similarities between the two programs outweighed the theoretical differences. In theory, CE aimed at middle range students, whereas Work/Study was created for non-achievers who failed to make it out of the 9th grade. In practice, CE was populated primarily, not by middle range students, but by low achievers, usually referred by a counselor. Thus, the distinction between the two programs was blurred, leading to the recommendation by the West Campus administration and the West Campus alternative director that they be merged.

The resistance from the CE staff to merger with Work/Study seemed to be related to the loss of status in focusing energy on "trouble makers" rather than middle range students.

The merger, implemented in Fall 1975, produced Career Education. This new program integrated Work/Study's work experience, both in and out of school, and features of the Career Exploration program, which now centered on utilization of the Career Center. A memo from the Director of Career Education (March 1976) listed program activities since the previous autumn: field trips, visits to employers, weekly seminars for students to discuss work related problems, assignment of counselors to the Career Center to guide students in exploring careers, participation by community persons with expertise in various careers in the guest speakers program, maintenance of individual folders on each student, which were updated every three weeks. After the merger, the Career Center was available as an elective course to any 9th grade student at West Campus.

Funding

During the five years of BESP funding, Career Exploration received \$19,462, or .62 percent of the total BESP site budget. Even though CE did not begin operation until the Spring 1973 semester, the program was allocated several hundred dollars prior to that time. In the 1971/72 school year, CE spent \$562 in capital outlay for equipment. The bulk of the CE BESP money was spent between Spring

1973 and Spring 1975; half of it went toward salaries for certificated and classified staff, the other half went toward field trips, conferences and travel expenses, instructional and office materials, capital outlay for equipment. Classified salaries were allocated funds only in the 1974/75 school year, and capital expenditures occurred during the years prior to 1974/75 when all West Campus alternative programs were incorporated under one budget and program.

Mostly, the CE BESP funds paid salaries and purchased materials for the Career Center. Field trips and guest speakers were minor items, as these features of the program were only partially implemented. During the 1975/76 school year all West Campus Alternatives were allocated a total of \$22,150. Of this amount, \$15,600 went for certificated and classified salaries. Another \$2,500 went for consultants' fees. Instructional and office supplies and field trips were allocated budgets of \$3,000 and \$700 respectively. How much of the 1975/76 budget went toward the Career Education program is unknown.

Evaluation

CE had no mechanism for evaluating either curriculum or the students incorporated into its design. Attitudinal surveys regarding job interests were administered through the Career Center. These tests included the Kuder Interest Test, SRA Interest Profile and Vocabulary Test on Careers.

Simulating work sites on West Campus students compiled "employer" reports on the job performance of their peers.

The program materials were geared to middle range students. However, counselors referred problem students and underachievers to the program, and much of the available career related materials was inappropriate for most of these students who were reading below grade level. Basic skills testing was left to the common school.

WEST CAMPUS: HUI (aka West Campus Alternative 9A)

ABSTRACT

HUI was the 9th grade school for high potential students, or "mentally gifted minors," as state law phrases it.

Launched a year before BESP funding became available, the program was then guided by the "Berkeley Plan," which was intended to make it less exclusively white and upper middle class than such programs are ordinarily. To achieve this purpose differentiated admission standards were established for ethnic minorities. Initial impact of BESP seemed to serve this purpose. In the pre-BESP school year the student body was 70 percent white; in BESP's first year it was 55 percent white. Since then, however, the trend has been in the opposite direction. By 1975/76 the percentage of white students had climbed to 65 percent, whereas the percentage of Black students declined from 28 percent in 1971/72 to 22 percent in 1975/76.

Thus, BESP did not produce a sustained improvement in ethnic mix. BESP's most distinctive contributions to HUI were funds for additional staff and a variety of materials, and in-service staff training. This did not make for a qualitative change in HUI; it served to enrich what already was a rich academic program. In an exercise of noblesse oblige, HUI shared materials and some of its BESP funds with its less prestigious co-inhabitants of West Campus. At its peak (1971/72) HUI enrolled 342 students and although this levelled off to the 270 range, it retained the largest enrollment by far among the BESP programs on West Campus.

Given the character of the school and the selection of its student body, its students did well academically before BESP, during BESP, and presumably will continue to do well after BESP. HUI was, by definition, a tracking instrument. This essential quality was subsidized--and not altered--by BESP money. HUI seemed destined to continue after ESP funding ceased. but a massive reshuffling of students in BUSD, necessitated by the requirement that several schools be brought up to state-mandated earthquake safety standards, resulted in a total reorganization of West Campus and dismemberment of HUI in 1976/77.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The West Campus HUI program originated in the high potential program which began operations at West Campus in Fall 1970. Students in that program were those identified by state testing as "mentally gifted" plus those identified by teachers and counselors either diagnostically or through intuition as students who potentially would benefit from exposure to a high-academic-level program. This, in effect, was the Berkeley Plan. The Berkeley Plan was aimed at bringing other than middle and upper class white students into a high potential program.

In Fall 1970, the West Campus principal (later BSP director), a small group of parents (Berkeleyans for Academic Excellence, then known as Berkeley Association for the Gifted), students and teachers began discussions of alternative means to deal with the diverse abilities in heterogeneous classes. The focus was on the advanced students.

Discussions led to an old device: tracking. The West Campus High Potential program began operation in Fall 1970, with commitment from the Berkeleyans for Academic Excellence to develop recruitment procedures for students not state-identified as mentally gifted but with potential to blossom in an environment offered by a high potential program. The purpose of the Berkeley Plan was to counteract the practice of tracking as a means of racial separatism for white students.

When federal funding became available, the West Campus high potential program, under the principal's direction, submitted a proposal for the BSP package of June 1971. Originally known as West Campus Alternative 9A, it soon was renamed HUI, Hawaiian for "working together." According to the June 1971 proposal, students eligible for HUI/9A were those students identified by state standards as mentally gifted and ethnic minority students who were identified under the Berkeley Plan as potential high achievers or were qualified under a state law (AB 807), which provided for selection by a screening committee rather than through standard testing.

Teachers of HP classes from the 1970/71 school year were recruited to help plan the program. The director was appointed at that time. Program goals were: smaller pupil-teacher groups, more diverse courses than at the common school; increased student motivation, initiative and sense of responsibility; and creation of a closer working relationship between students and teachers.

Initially scheduled to open in the Spring 1972 semester, HUI opened in Fall 1971, thanks to staff planning during the Summer of 1971. HUI was the only BESP school that opened ahead of, rather than behind, schedule. The curriculum for the first year of BESP operation was planned by HP English and history teachers; thus the focus was on English and history. In Fall 1972, math and science teachers were recruited. Art, music and independent study were also added to the HUI curriculum. However, in adding all the disciplines to the program in 1972/73, the HUI staff found that the student-teacher rapport, facilitated by small class size, was thwarted because classes were enlarged. Class size averaged about 25 to 30 students, smaller for independent projects.

HUI English and history classes were required for students in the HUI program, all other classes were electives, with much crossover into the common school. HUI teachers taught common school classes in addition to their HUI assignment. The curriculum provided by HUI through the five years of BESP funding has not undergone any major transformations. Core curriculum has remained, plus courses in science, math, foreign language, physical education and art.

Non-traditional time scheduling, instituted in 1974/75 at HUI, has allowed students to choose "alternative" day classes or "regular" classes. The "alternative" day provided students with special courses, such as Hawaiian legends, Asian, Chinese and Italian cooking, and field trips to such places as the San Francisco Asian Art Museum, U. C. Berkeley's Lawrence Hall of Science, Silkscreening workshops, Batik workshops, or the San Francisco Zoo.

HUI has also developed a summer school program for incoming and outgoing HUI students.

An ongoing project of the HUI staff has been the development of a multi-cultural curriculum. But implementation has never been successful. The multi-cultural approach, as the HUI staff called it, was seen as a triad: helping students understand the ethical and cognitive contributions to the human experience in all areas of learning, broadening values by understanding the ideals and mores of many peoples, and understanding the effects of modern technology on the world.

This triad was never incorporated into the curriculum though some multi-cultural courses were offered, broaching an anthropological focus. Some of these classes included: Tradition and Change in Three Societies (Asia, Latin America and Africa), Trouble Spots (using current events as the springboard to study the cultural,

political, religious, social and ethnic characteristics of peoples "in the news").

As stated earlier, students were recruited into the program through state tests that identified mentally gifted students, the Berkeley Plan and AB 807. The director reported that based on these criteria, he selected students for the program.

During the 1972/73 school year, 20 tenth graders were included in the program. Due to resistance from the BHS administration and the overabundance of paper work involved, HUI returned to 9th graders only in 1973/74.

Following is a table showing the student population of HUI from Fall 1970 through Spring 1976 by ethnicity.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
1970/71 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	
1970/71	167	70	43	18	24	10	1	-			5	2	240
1971/72	188	55	95	28	49	14	7	2	1	-	2	1	342
1972/73*	144	53	73	27	43	16	4	2	1	-	5	2	270
1973/74	146	59	58	23	34	14	3	1			8	3	249
1974/75	177	64	52	19	37	13	1	1			9	3	276
1975/76	180	65	60	22	32	12	4	1					276

*Includes twenty 10th graders

In an effort to achieve ethnic balance, white students were admitted only if they scored in the 99.9 percentile on standardized tests, whereas Black students were admitted on the basis of referrals by teachers, counselors and/or parents.

In the Fall 1972 semester, Black students reported that on the whole HUI was an extension of the traditional school system. During the 1972/73 school year, at least seven Black students were placed arbitrarily in each of the HUI English and history classes in order to eliminate the tendency to isolation because they were so few in the program. One counselor claimed that peer pressure from outside the program was such as to prevent high potential Black students from enrolling. The image of HUI in West Campus and throughout the district was one of an "elite" white school. After the first year

of BESP funding, the student population levelled out at around 250-275.

Below is a table showing the staff ethnicity of HUI from Fall 1970 through June 1976. As with the student ethnic distribution, more than 50 percent of the staff was white.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1970/71 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	
1970/71	ethnicity unknown											6*	
1971/72	ethnicity unknown											8**	
1972/73	9	60	5	33	1	7							15***
1973/74	7	58	3	25	1	8					1	8	12**
1974/75	7	64	3	27	1	9							11**
1975/76	10	62	5	31			1	6					16**

*No director 1970/71.

**Includes one white classified staff, rest are certificated.

***Five full time at HUI.

Unique to the HUI program was the focus on the education of the teachers involved. While in-service training was practiced throughout the district through BESP funding, at HUI the training was utilized on a much larger scale, and on a regular basis.

The major purpose for the in-service training of HUI teachers was to improve "teacher-to-teacher relationships" (according to the November 1, 1971 - March 3, 1972 Progress Report). Weekly meetings, afternoon workshops, all-day curriculum planning sessions, retreats, occasional staff dinners led to the development and strength of unity among HUI staff members. While personal relationships were enhanced, developing more professional approaches to working with high potential students was also included in training workshops. Leadership development, curriculum development, communications skills, etc., were prime ingredients of HUI teacher training.

Trained psychologists were brought in at different times to work with the staff in developing the group's ability to work together in greater understanding of each other. In addition, BESP training workshops attended by HUI staff included: Enhancing the Self Image of the Minority Child, White Teachers in a Multi-cultural

School, Leadership/Staff Relation Training, etc. HUI staff attempted to bring the common school staff into training workshops by providing funds for substitute teachers out of the HUI BEPP budget. One common school teacher, however, felt that in bringing subs in, and with HUI teachers leaving at various times throughout the school year for training sessions, students' education was unnecessarily interrupted; in addition, staff members who did not attend the workshops were left to deal with the subs and the inevitable chaos that ensues in the classroom.

Teachers at HUI often took on the role of counselor, much to the dismay of the West Campus counselors. West Campus counselors gave varying views of the HUI students. Some felt that HUI Black students needed special counseling to help them understand their "special status." The seeming intent of the "special counseling" was to let the Black high potential students know they had a privileged position in the upper echelons of the school hierarchy. On the other hand, some counselors felt that white students in HUI needed special counseling in order to prevent snobbishness.

Decision-making power was concentrated in the BESP West Campus Coordinator who was also director of HUI, and chairman of the Social Science/History Department at West Campus. The parent group most involved with HUI was an outside, BUSD-wide organization called Berkeleyans for Academic Excellence: its membership was almost exclusively white and middle and upper class. The only case of power-sharing with parents was the approval of the overall West Campus budget, presented to the larger West Campus parent committee.

In June 1974, the coordinator of the BUSD High Potential program reported that 22 percent of the total BUSD student population were state-identified as mentally gifted. (Compared to 2 percent for the Nation, and 3 percent for California). Of Berkeley's state-identified gifted students 71 percent were white (2152/3043). In addition to those identified by the state, BUSD also had 175 ethnic minority students identified by the Berkeley Plan included in the district's high potential program.

In the 1973/74 school year, for which district-wide figures of state-identified and Berkeley Plan-identified high potential students are available, HUI had 8 percent (N=249) of the total BUSD high potential students (N=3,218).

ARTICULATION

HUI was unique in that the entire site was officially designated as high potential. However, the existence of a district-wide high

potential program suggests tracking both before and after the 9th grade watershed. In this sense, HUI served as a conspicuous link in an articulation chain, but not within the BESP system. To be sure, Model School A would seem like an appropriate destination for HUI students going on to high school, but there was no alternative at the junior high level that "naturally" fed HUI.

FUNDING

From Fall 1971 through Spring 1975, HUI was allocated 3.75 percent (\$118,004) of the total BESP site budget. In the 1975/76 school year, all four West Campus alternatives were coordinated under one token BESP budget of \$22,150.

In a report dated July 1974, a HUI teacher described in detail how HUI shared its BESP wealth with the common school. HUI staff claimed that it shared all audio visual material ordered for the HUI program, provided money to pay for substitute teachers so common school staff could attend in-service training sessions, provided 75 percent of the funds that enabled classes in literature, creative writing, and improvisational drama to have new texts (HUI students were enrolled in all these common school classes), provided funds to purchase printing machinery to assist the graphic arts and art metal teachers, sponsored a part time art teacher and supplied money to buy necessary materials (HUI students were enrolled in these classes too).

In all, 63 percent of the HUI budget between 1971 and 1975 went for salaries. Twenty percent or \$23,539 went toward instructional materials and office supplies. Conferences, travel expenses, and field trips consumed \$6,149 or 5 percent of the budget over the four years. Capital outlay for equipment amounted to \$7,431 or 6 percent of the HUI budget. (This money was spent between Fall 1971 and Spring 1974, most of it during the 1972/73 school year.)

More than four-fifths of the HUI budget between 1971 and 1975 went toward salaries and materials, and because HUI teachers also taught at the common school, and HUI students also were enrolled in common school classes, much of the HUI BESP funds served to supplement the common school budget.

EVALUATION

In the June 1971 proposal to OE/ESP, HUI provided for evaluation and measurement of program effectiveness. Narrative reports, teacher-student observation, questionnaires, interviews with teachers and students, and district approved measurements were the

means by which HUI was to assess its effectiveness in providing continued academic achievement for high potential students.

HUI did utilize teacher/student observations, but the results are not available. Most of the evaluative strategies utilized by the HUI staff were geared toward helping the teachers better meet the needs of high potential students. By 1974/75, HUI stopped making site surveys on the assumption that the Level I and II evaluation components could do a better job, and had more time to commit to those surveys than did the HUI staff and director.

Standardized testing showed above average scores for HUI students. Below are the grade equivalent scores of ISA's sample students in CTBS tests for the 1974/75 school year.

TABLE 3: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, HUI GRADE 9

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Fall 1974	12.222	10.911	12.188
n	27	27	26
Spring 1975	12.193	12.465	12.365
n	28	26	26

Of the 429 honor roll students at West Campus in the winter of 1975, 194 (45%) were HUI students; 70 percent of HUI students were on the honor roll. (HUI student population comprised 27 percent of the West Campus population in 1974/75). Of the 52 West Campus students with 4.0 G.P.A., 38 were HUI students; of the 141 students with 3.5 to 3.9 G.P.A., 79 were HUI students; and, of the 236 students with 3.0 to 3.4 G.P.A., 78 were HUI students.

The scores of HUI students, both on standardized tests and in grade point averages, are impressive, but there is no evidence that they would have been less impressive if there had been no BSP. Most of the students, after all, were in HUI because they had previously scored in the 99.0 percentile on standardized tests. Most of them also came from the ethnic (white) and socioeconomic (upper or middle class) origins that have traditionally stamped the academic high achievers in our school system. If BSP was conceived as an instrument for change, then HUI's service to this purpose evokes the French aphorism: the more things change the more they remain the same.

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WEST CAMPUS: WORK/STUDY AND PRAGMATICS (aka West Campus Alternative 9B)

ABSTRACT

Work/Study, launched with BESP money in Fall 1971, was developed as a program for students who had spent a year in the 9th grade but were not advanced to the 10th because of academic and/or behavioral problems.

The stated aim was to change their attitude and behavior by providing them with work opportunities, either on-campus (e.g., as teachers' helpers or cafeteria workers) or off-campus (e.g., as department store clerks or animal shelter employees). They received compensation either in cash or course credit. Because of limited job opportunities off-campus, most of the work was in-school for course credit. Work assignment was theoretically contingent upon a student's regular attendance at common school classes. Theoretically, the classes were selected for the student on the basis of the teachers' special competence or interest in teaching such problem students. The theoretical guidelines were generally ignored in practice.

In 1974, informally in the Spring and formally in the Fall, a daily "Pragmatics" period was introduced. This consisted of lectures (e.g., on such subjects as job applications and good behavior) and "rap sessions". These sessions were conducted by administrative and counseling personnel. They were supposed to be rehabilitative.

At its peak (1973/74) Work/Study served 58 students, 91 percent of them Black.

There is no evidence that Work/Study effectively served a rehabilitative purpose by modifying attitude and/or behavior. Indeed, its merger with Career Exploration in Fall 1975 to be absorbed into a program called Career Education suggests a district judgment that it did not fulfill its stated mission. For students it never was truly an alternative. For the district it was another variety of residual program into which a particular group of problem students could be tracked.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

West Campus Alternative 9B/Work/Study was created by the West Campus principal in Spring 1971 and submitted to OE/ESP with the amended BESP proposal in June 1971. Work/Study was designed to serve those students who had failed academically and had been detained at West Campus. Initially, Work/Study was scheduled to operate for only one semester but upon recommendation of the West Campus vice principal, it continued operations. West Campus had a constant group of failures, usually numbering around 50 students per year.

The proposal submitted to OE/ESP in June 1971 asserted that the Work/Study program for 9th grade retainees would provide basic skills and attempt to develop positive attitudes toward school in those students who had been ignored, alienated, and/or turned off to school to such a degree that they were kept back from proceeding to the 10th grade. Attitudinal changes would result from positive working experiences, compensated with either money or course credit. It was hoped that education would appear to be relevant to these students, and that they would develop a sense of responsibility through work experience.

There were two parts to the Work/Study program. One was job placement either on-site at West Campus as teachers' helpers, cafeteria workers, or off-site in such fields as sales clerks in department stores, aides in school libraries, animal shelters, etc. Theoretically, if a student persisted in cutting classes (as this was one of the major reasons for retention in the 9th grade level), the student would not be allowed to keep his/her job. In practice, however, this did not bear out.

The second facet of the Work/Study program was course programming in which students were to be assigned to common school classes on the basis of the teachers. Those teachers with the greatest capacity to create personal and positive relationships with students and those teachers most responsive to the aims of the program were to be earmarked for Work/Study students. This part of the program was not implemented. Students were not given consideration with respect to course scheduling, and in fact, some students were placed with the same teachers who flunked them the semester before. In all, between the program's inception in Fall 1971 through Spring 1974, the only functioning facet was job placement, and that was primarily in-school work experience (IWE).

In the 1974/75 school year when all four West Campus alternative programs were consolidated under one director and budget, the Work/Study program was de-emphasized in terms of target student

population, and teacher sensitivity to retainees. The only aspect of the program actually operating at this time was the job placement; even with this, many students remained unemployed.

In Spring 1974 the coordinator of all four alternative programs at West Campus recommended the merger of Work/Study and Career Exploration for the 1974/75 school year. The merger was delayed until the 1975/76 school year, however, because of resistance from the CE staff. It seems the CE program geared for middle range students (even though not attracting these students) was felt to be quite different from job placement for low achievers and retainees who were tracked into Work/Study. The CE staff came up with a suggestion to avoid the merger, and that was to have potential 9th grade repeaters meet daily the first period in the same classroom. These sessions began in the Spring 1974 semester and were formalized by September 1974. The new program was called "Pragmatics," and became a part of the Work/Study project.

Pragmatics encompassed the CE staff suggestion of daily sessions with students in order to "rehabilitate" the students through closer staff contact with them and their parents. On a rotational basis, the West Campus vice principal, administrative assistant, coordinator of student support services, school guidance consultant and three counselors met with the students. Lectures on such topics as job applications, proper behavior, and general rap sessions between students and counselors were the format for the Pragmatics class.

The original target students were those failing the common school program, but with the addition of Pragmatics to Work/Study, the program admitted any student interested in a Work/Study situation and paid work experience, either in or out of school (OWE). In addition to jobs, students were required to take five common school classes daily.

In the 1975/76 school year, Work/Study and Career Exploration merged under the Career Education program. In this umbrella program, Career Education, IWE and OWE, Career Center and interaction with the Berkeley Workrecreation program operated for the purpose of exposing students to careers and work experience and to positively affect attitudinal change in students. The Work/Study facet of Career Education no longer dealt primarily with turned off students, under achievers, low achievers, or retainees. Rather, students from every ethnic background, students who were experiencing academic success in school, students who used the Career Center regularly and/or who dropped into the center, students who needed special skills training, students who received wages from employers and/or West Campus and students receiving only credit from West

Campus were involved in the Career Education program.

Following is a table depicting the ethnic composition of the students enrolled in the Work/Study program from Fall 1971 through Spring 1976. In the 1975/76 school year it was incorporated in the larger Career Education program.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72-1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other	Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	6	12	38	79	2	4	2	4				48
1972/73	6	15	30	73	3	7	2	5				41
1973/74	3	5	53	91			2	3				58
1974/75	5	21	18	75	1	4						24
1975/76	6	19	18	58	4	13	3	10				31

Student enrollment in Work/Study was low throughout the BESP years. The drop in enrollment between 1973/74 and 1974/75 (from 58 to 24 students) may be attributed to the shrinking availability of jobs in the community and the minimum wage increase from \$1.65/hour to \$2 /hour.

Figures for 1974/75 and 1975/76 do not include those students participating in the Career Center and other facets of the umbrella Career Education program. Total student involvement in Work/Study and Career Center use in 1974/75 is presented below.

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other	Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>
1974/75	20	14	106	72	17	12	4	3				147

Student enrollment in the umbrella Career Education program at West Campus in 1975/76 was: 31 in Work/Study, 30 in Out of School Work Experience, 185 in In School Work Experience, 30 in Career Exploration program, and 27 who utilized the Career Center. These figures total 303 students.

Noticeable in all the figures is the majority of Black students connected with the program throughout the BESP funding period.

Staffing in the Work/Study program consisted primarily of a director and job coordinator for students involved in IWE and OWE, and an instructional aide for Pragmatics. The Pragmatics aide, salaried by HUI in 1974/75, was retained by West Campus in 1975/76. Program directors at various times had secondary responsibility to Work/Study, their primary duties were as vice principal or West Campus alternative coordinator, or some such administrative position for the entire complex. Because there were no classes in the Work/Study program there was no need for a staff. In the Pragmatics classes, as mentioned previously, West Campus counselors supervised the class and counseled students on a rotational basis.

Primary emphasis of the entire program, prior to the merger with CE and the addition of the Pragmatics facet, was job placement.

ARTICULATION

The Work/Study program was initially aimed at those students who needed extra motivation to complete 9th grade requirements. It later expanded to include potential problem students, that is, students who would probably be retained at West Campus because of poor class attendance, low or underachievers.

The alternative to the Work/Study program for retainees was the East Campus continuation school, and until Spring 1974, United Nations West (formerly Garvey Institute).

Students were primarily tracked into the Work/Study through the junior high school counselors and counselors at West Campus. It was hoped that involving students in positive work experience (through in-school and out-of-school working situations) would change their attitudes toward school.

FUNDING

Between Fall 1971 and Spring 1975 Work/Study was allocated \$62,764, or 2 percent of the total BESP site budget. In the 1975/76 school year, under one budget, the West Campus Alternatives were allocated \$22,150 (.7% of the total BESP budget.)

The focus of the Work/Study program was to provide students jobs as a means of changing their attitudes toward school. Because of this, most of the Work/Study BESP budget, between 1971 and 1975, went toward hourly wages of students holding jobs through Work/Study. The amount allocated was 60 percent of the Work/Study budget between 1971 and 1975 or \$37,636 (typed as classified hourly salaries in budget).

Other salaries, such as certificated hourly, classified monthly and service contracts used 26 percent (or \$16,517) of the Work/Study budget during the period 1971-1975. Most of this went toward the classified monthly salary of the job coordinator/community liaison person during the 1973/74 and 1974/75 school years.

Three percent of the budget (\$2,019) went toward office materials and instructional supplies and books; 8 percent went toward capital outlay for equipment (\$5,148).

EVALUATION

As stated in the ISA 1974/75 report on Work Study/Pragmatics, since the death of the former vice principal of West Campus during the summer of 1973, all but one instrument to measure the growth of students has been discontinued. Under his direction, evaluative instruments included: teacher and parent logs documenting student behavior, pre- and post-tests for basic skills, comparison of grades before and after work experience, CTBS scores and criterion reading tests, student attendance before, during and after the work experience to test attitudinal change toward schooling.

The only semblance of measurement is the routine class attendance record maintained by the school attendance office, and that is done simply for ADA purposes, not to measure growth. There is no evaluation to evaluate. However, the absence of any pretense of evaluation indicated that the program served as a residual refuge into which educational "misfits" were tracked.

WEST CAMPUS: YOGA/READING (aka 9D/Black House and Basic Skills)

ABSTRACT

Yoga/Reading, launched with BESP money, was a ninth grade program designed to bring below grade readers up to par by combining intensive instruction in reading with yoga exercises to develop the ability to concentrate.

It was an innovative idea but it was never truly tested because the planners had not reckoned with their host. Students were tracked into the reading component of the program, but they were not required to take the yoga class. These target students did not take it. They were almost all Black and the explanation given for their abstention from yoga was that they perceived it as a "cult" or "religion" that was alien to their own experience and culture.

In the end the yoga class was dropped and all that remained was a High Intensity Learning Center to impart basic reading skills to 90 students, 78 of whom were Black.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

The West Campus alternative program originally intended for Black underachievers was called 9D/Black House, and was submitted to OE/ESP in the June 1971 amended BESP proposal. The idea was to appeal to Black underachievers through utilization of the Black perspective in teaching basic skills. The program, however, got off to a late start due to staffing difficulty.

The original Black House idea was never implemented, presumably due to Office for Civil Rights objections to separatist programs. In the 1971 proposal, Black students were earmarked as the target population. Following abandonment of the first plan, a new plan was produced during the 1971/72 school year which proposed to provide work experience for Black students with Black employers. This plan proved unfeasible and a third plan was developed which aimed at providing intensive basic skills instruction to students who were considered underachievers. The two men who designed the initial proposal were the principal and vice principal of West Campus, both Black, one of whom became BESP director for the district, the other remaining on as vice principal of West Campus.

The third and final plan combined yoga and basic skills instruction. The West Campus vice principal had some exposure to yoga, having studied it for five years, was interested in the concept of applying yoga to human potential.

Though the aim of Yoga/Reading (HILC) was to provide basic skills instruction with yoga training in order to develop powers of concentration, which in turn was hoped to improve reading scores, the two facets of the program never were presented as a unified program. Rather, they operated separately throughout the existence of Yoga/Reading.

Yoga/Reading, then, was two courses offered to ninth graders. The yoga facet was amended to include physical education credit for a body contact sport available to any West Campus student in the Spring 1974 semester. Reading or HILC was for students achieving below the 9th grade level in reading, but above the 5th grade level. (West Campus already had a remedial program for students between the 2nd and 5th grade levels.)

The HILC was part of the Random House package purchased by BUSD in 1972. The materials were not multi-cultural, though apparently geared for students to work individually at their own pace. However, in 1974/75, the HILC teacher claimed she did not utilize all the available material and equipment for fear that students would destroy or steal them.

Students in the HILC class were tracked into the program, based on their reading scores in standardized tests, by counselors and/or teachers. In the first semester of operation, 81 percent of the students participating in the HILC were Black. By the third year of operation, 1975/76, the yoga class had been dropped out of the program due to budget cuts. It was also felt that due to the failure of attracting Black underachieving students into the yoga classes, it was no longer feasible to continue the experiment in developing concentration skills among underachieving students. Yoga class was attracting the high potential students, almost all of them white, from the HUI program.

Below is a table showing the student enrollment in Yoga/Reading from Fall 1973 to Spring 1976, by ethnicity.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
1973/74 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total <u>n</u>
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	
1973/74	37	25	101	67	7	5	2	1			3	2	150
1974/75	10	10	78	80	5	5	3	3			2	2	98
1975/76*	8	9	78	87			3	3			1	1	90

*HILC only, Yoga phased out for Fall 1975 semester.

In the 1973/74 school year, 80 of the 150 students in the Yoga/Reading program were enrolled only in the HILC/Reading, of these 81 percent (N=65) were Black students. Sixty of the 150 students were enrolled only in the yoga class, of these 59 percent (N=35) were Black. Ten students were enrolled in both yoga and reading, of these one was Black.

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There was no attendance policy for Yoga/Reading students separate from what existed throughout West Campus. There was also no separate administrative component to the program. In 1973/74, the vice principal of the common school acted as Yoga/Reading director. In 1974/75 and 1975/76, the West Campus BESP coordinator served as director for the Yoga/Reading program. Major decisions weremade by the West Campus BESP coordinator in cooperation with the West Campus principal and vice principal.

Two teachers constituted the Yoga/Reading staff for two years of the program. In 1973/74 and 1974/75, a white certificated female taught the HILC/Reading classes and a Black classified female taught yoga. In the Fall 1975 semester, both teachers went back to the common school. The yoga class was dropped from the curriculum and the reading/HILC coordinator/teaching position was taken over by an HILC teacher from Agora/Genesis (who also helped at MSA's HILC and led training sessions for HILC throughout the district.) In 1975/76, the HILC/Reading staff consisted of one white certificated male.

ARTICULATION

West Campus Yoga/Reading in actuality functioned as two separate classes: yoga (physical education elective for body contact sport) and reading (English Introduction). Students were tracked into the reading (HILC) class but recruited into the yoga class.

The program was an enrichment program for the common school. It provided an HILC with special emphasis on students reading between the 5th and 8th grade levels, and though initially intended to appeal to Black students through a Black perspective, the curriculum materials in the HILC were not multi-cultural.

Yoga/Reading, with its HILC, could be viewed as fitting into the articulation plan with the other grade levels that also had an HILC, such as Willard Junior High School, Agora/Genesis, College Prep, MSA. However, such articulation was dubious to the degree that it implied continuing underachievement, thus seemingly pre-supposing failure of the HILCs to achieve their aim of bringing underachievers up to the norm for their peers.

The HILC did provide West Campus with a program for students reading at the 5th to 8th grade level, an area not previously covered by the West Campus common school program. (Areas covered at West Campus were 2nd to 5th grade reading level, high potential and retainees.)

The HILC teacher was originally from Willard Junior High School. Before transferring to West Campus in Fall 1973, she took a summer workshop with the Cappuccino program, which was sponsored by BUSD as in-service training for English teachers. As an HILC coordinator/teacher, she utilized the training component of BUSD/BESP, just as other HILC coordinators in the district did. She remained with Yoga/Reading (HILC) until the 1975/76 school year when she was transferred into the West Campus common school and an HILC coordinator from Agora/Genesis (also an HILC coordinator at one point in MSA) was assigned to the West Campus HILC.

Through the cooperation of the counselors, who follow the students through to BHS, the students in Yoga/HILC were placed in some appropriate level of the skills classes in the high school English Department when they passed into the tenth grade.

FUNDING

During the five years of BESP funding, Yoga/Reading received 1.43 percent (\$44,995) of the total budget for sites. This amount was allocated during the period 1971 through 1975. In 1975/76, all four West Campus alternative programs were operating under a single budget of \$22,150, or .7 percent of the total BESP five-year site budget. It is unclear how much of this money went to each of the four programs.

In the period when Yoga/Reading was receiving its own budget, 55 percent (\$24,815) went toward salaries, including the classified staff member, and in-service training of HILC teachers; 23 percent of the budget went toward instructional and office materials, books, etc., most of which was for the reading HILC, and 13 percent went toward capital outlay for equipment, and again most of this was for the HILC.

In all, the impact of BESP funding of Yoga/Reading on the common school came from building, developing and equipping the HILC laboratory.

EVALUATION

Because Yoga/Reading operated as two separate units, the evaluation/growth practices varied. According to the October-December 1974 progress report from Yoga/Reading,

in Yoga P.E. 20 yoga poses have been mastered.
 In Yoga/HILC, some introduction of yoga has
 been made to responsive members of class and
 during interludes in student work.

There was no attempt to check on the acquisition of concentration skills through yoga exercises against improved reading ability. The reason primarily was the infrequency of students in HILC/Reading participating in yoga as well. Through the 1973/74 school year, students were allowed to wander in and out of the HILC lab to participate in the yoga class; however, in 1974/75 this practice was stopped. Students were required to stay in HILC for the entire schedule time period. This decision was made on account of students misusing the freedom; that is, students would go into yoga class because they didn't like the reading/HILC, resulting in poor work performance and production in the reading lab.

HILC students were evaluated on the basis of the Gates McGinitie tests, CTBS and the Reading Criterion Diagnostic Test for Cognitive Basic Skills. In addition, skills testing occurred every six weeks. The HILC teacher said that she incorporated this measure from the Cappuccino program. The HILC teacher also attempted to record the participation ratio scores in the HILC for the BESP/HILC coordinator.

HILC students were placed, based on their CTBS scores. Counselors in both the West Campus school and the junior high schools informed teachers of students with diagnosed and undiagnosed reading problems of the West Campus HILC program.

Of ISA's sample students who took the CTBS in the Fall and Spring, 1974/75, the grade equivalencies show the most average growth in the language area with over one year achievement by grade equivalency. Though the scores indicated general below average basic levels in all three areas (math, reading and language,) there was improvement between the two semesters. As stated earlier, the HILC was geared for students reading between the 5th and 8th grade level.

TABLE 2: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS,
 ISA SAMPLE, HILC GRADE 9

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Fall 1974	6.100	5.467	6.300
n	6	6	2
Spring 1975	6.740	6.800	6.500
n	5	4	2

The Gates McGinitie test results in the 1973/74 school year indicate reading students were not only progressing at the required growth rate demanded by the district, but on the average, they doubled the required growth rate. The HILC teacher stated:

Seventy three total student test scores are given. Of the 73, 80 percent (N=53) are Black students. The average entering score of this 80 percent was 5.0. The average January 1974 score for these students was slightly over 5.8.

The other 15 students (out of the total 73) had average entering scores of 5.0 too. The average January score for this group was 6.5. For both the Black and non-Black students, the regressive score was included in the averaging.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Yoga/Reading was rated slightly above .0 for "alternativeness," slightly above .8 for "effectiveness," and slightly above .0 on the combined "Effective Alternative" scale, just ahead of last-place Odyssey among BESP's 7-9 grade programs.

EAST CAMPUS

ABSTRACT

As a traditional continuation school, East Campus was an obligatory "alternative" for student "rejects" from grades 9-12. In 1967, a newly appointed principal began an effort to transform East Campus into a continuation school with a difference, or an alternative to the "alternative."

This effort was well under way before BESP. However, inclusion of East Campus in the BESP network, beginning in September 1971, served two purposes: (1) it legitimized East Campus's status as an alternative school and thereby diminished the continuation school stigma, and (2) it provided funds to enhance the academic and human relations aspects of the school's program. At the same time, East Campus remained the continuation school with the mixed blessings of this status: special regulations and special subsidies.

As is the norm for such institutions, ethnic minorities were overrepresented. Blacks constituted between 50 percent (1973/74) and 60 percent (1975/76) of the student body. In the five BESP years the student population grew from 124 to 219.

Persuaded that a continuation school need not be just a "human warehouse," but could serve as a house of learning, the innovative principal placed a premium on the personal factors: the individual teacher's commitment, empathy and skill - and the individual student's instructional needs and aptitudes. The academic emphasis on basic skills was supplemented by courses that ranged from Gardening to Black Awareness and the Sociology of Men and Women. The school did change, and increasingly students actually applied to it, instead of being sentenced to it, although a major proportion continued to fall into the latter category.

BESP funds helped in the purchase of materials (notably a High Intensity Learning Center), permitting greater flexibility to recruit and enlarge staff, and acquisition of such extras as a professional family counseling program. Symptomatic of the change in the school was the change in the sex makeup of the staff. In the first BESP year (1971/72), consistent with the tradition that males can best handle such difficult students, the certificated staff consisted of nine males and three females; in the last year (1975/76) there were nine males and eight females.

With termination of BESP, phasing East Campus into BUSD posed no special problems, and necessitated no change in identity. There will just be a little less money. For 1975/76 the BESP allocation to East Campus had dwindled to \$63 per student.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

East Campus won a place in BUSD as an alternative for a number of reasons long before it became part of the proposal submitted to OE/ESP in April 1971. In order to consider its emergence as a BEBP alternative, it is necessary to discuss some of these reasons. First, EC was needed to deal with those high school students not succeeding in the common school. Second, a facility was needed to contain dropouts and/or students with attendance, family or personal problems (i.e., probation, parole, etc.)

Two salient points in the East Campus development, beginning in 1967, were leadership and planning. The newly appointed principal in 1967 and his self-selected new staff reshaped the continuation school "dumping ground" approach into a program which attempted to provide individually tailored instruction in basic skills in an atmosphere of personal concern. The result was that many disenchanted students opted for, rather than were forced into, the school. The nature of the school's population remained the same, but a change in attitudes was obvious.

The director with the staff decided to eliminate the F-grade. They continued to test but used the results as a relative standard of performance and as a diagnostic tool rather than as an absolute measure. The new message was that students could and would learn. The director abated the impact of constrictive rules, but demanded students not disturb those who were trying to learn. Finally he made staff changes through voluntary transfers out and in. A teacher's skill and commitment to the principal's philosophy were the determining criteria, and not any particular educational method.

The school was autonomous and, in fact, staff members were accountable only to each other. In January 1972, Herb Kohl discussed the changes that took place at McKinley (as East Campus was then known). He said that the staff "got away" with the total governance of their school because the superintendent never visited the school, he never knew what was happening there. Other teachers in the district felt the McKinley staff did not recognize legitimate authority, but... "it was a safety valve for the system. It was used to let off steam... And the kids were all on paper considered psychiatrically disturbed."

By the time the opportunity for developing a proposal for BEBP funds came about in Spring 1971, the East Campus staff was stable and had settled into a new and permanent district-owned site.

They were able to plan consciously for expansion of their existing program (i.e., counseling, work experience, individualized instruction) and for one far-reaching goal, stated in the proposal:

Experience over the past year has indicated that in order to more effectively meet the needs of the students, we must lengthen the school year to 11 months and the school day to include evening classes. A small 24-hour residence facility to house 6-8 young people at a time should be provided.

They did, in fact, extend the program through the summer, and opened it to non-EC students as well. Evening classes were held during that first BESP year, but student interest waned after one semester. The residence facility never was realized. Adequate funding for this would have been a major undertaking. BESP did not take this part of the proposal into serious account, according to its budget allocations for 1971/72.

BESP was able to help effect changes and enhance two vital areas of the EC program--basic skills and interpersonal humanistic contacts. In addition to reading, writing and math skills, social and/or survival skills were included. The principal/director called those survival skills "knowing how to get along with your fellow man and how to deal with the system." Besides fulfilling teaching responsibilities, the staff related to students individually, helping them to deal with conflict, counseling them on how to take tests and fill out job applications, how to make decisions and accept the consequences.

An evaluation of East Campus, developed by one of its counselors in 1972, aptly describes one of its major features:

At East Campus everybody teaches, counsels and admin-
istrates. Some staff members have more time to do
more in the week in all three. However, we all
must be held accountable for opportunities.

East Campus operated on a four period morning schedule. The present director takes issue with those who consider this a half-day program. Whereas the high school requires the common school students to take six 40 minute periods, EC students are required to take four 60 minute periods; thus students at both schools are required to take 240 minutes per day. The major difference is that EC has no physical education requirements because it is a continuation school.

The morning scheduling serves several purposes: (1) it enables students who work or who have children to be free for the afternoon, (2) it keeps a student in school once he/she arrives, and (3) it enables the staff to meet regularly to plan and spend extra time with individual students.

East Campus has seven different areas/rooms used by the students: High Intensity Learning Center, Career Center, Math Lab, Library and Snack Bar, Art Room, and Business Lab. BESP was directly involved with one since 1972/73: the HILC. Although it was well supplied with materials it was misused by managers and students. Until managers were changed in Spring 1975, students learned their reading skills in other classes and in other ways. The Career Center was funded in 1974/75 by a Rosenberg Foundation grant of \$18,765, written up by one of the staff members. Called "Project Outreach," it contained materials on the world of work, and helped students in finding jobs.

Aside from the basic skills courses, other courses have been offered and developed in response to interests expressed by students: such as Black Awareness, Gardening, Communications Skills, Social Problems, Psychology, Sociology of Men and Women, Science, Human Biology and Library Project. In 1972/73, the BESP media department helped teach photography and the use of video equipment.

At EC no hard lines were drawn between who teaches, who counsels, and who administers. There were four positions that incorporated both teaching and counseling (part time). This was not an unusual phenomenon, especially for the alternative secondary schools. Often counseling occurred while teaching. What was unusual were the roles of the principal and the vice principal. When McKinley functioned solely as a continuation school, an invisible line separated the administration from teaching and counseling. At East Campus, when the innovative principal took over, he also taught, and the vice principal was a half time counselor. In an interview in 1973/74, the director described the ideal teacher necessary for EC as "a strong, mature, intelligent person willing to give of self and not necessarily looking for love of students."

The EC certificated staff numbered 12 at the beginning of BESP and stabilized the next year at 15 with a number of part time positions (three in 1973/74 and two in 1974/75). Classified staff positions began at eight and decreased to one in 1974/75. The certificated staff has ethnically represented only whites and Blacks, with Asians from classified staff since 1972/73. The Black staff has remained stable with four of the same teachers throughout BESP history.

TABLE 1: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	*(6) 8	75 67	(2) 4	25 33			(8) 12
1972/73	(3) 11	38 73	(4) 4	50 27	(1)	13	(8) 15
1973/74	(5) 12	50 75	(3) 4	30 25	(2)	20	(10) 16
1974/75	11	73	4	27	(1)	100	(1) 15
1975/76	13	76	4	24			17

* () = classified staff or counselor aides paid out of BESP budget.

The male/female ratio of certificated staff has steadily become more equalized as noted:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1971/72	9	3
1972/73	9	6
1973/74	9	7
1974/75	8	7
1975/76	9	8

In 1974/75, the founding BESP principal/director was appointed principal at BHS common. With this drastic change the EC Assistant Principal/Head Counselor (and long-standing staff member) was temporarily appointed to take over administrative duties for the year. When the position of principal/director was officially advertised in Spring 1975, another BESP site director (College Prep) applied as well. The subsequent appointment of the temporary director as new principal/director of West Campus beginning in Fall 1975, was contingent on EC staff's vote.

BESP funds were used to hire counselor aides between 1971/72 and 1973/74. A Woman's Rap Group, originally organized as an inter-racial women's class by two university students, later extended into evening meetings in people's homes. It was continued in 1972/73 through two foundations. Several students, who were later interviewed, said that it was one of their most meaningful experiences at EC.

In 1974/75 under the supervision of the principal and staffed by interested counselors at EC, a family counseling program began. Its aim was to "help students and their families develop the ability to meet their emotional, social-economic, and education needs through a variety of healthy, established, socially acceptable, and legal means" (Kappan, Feb.1976). It began from the need for a therapeutic focus to alter hardened attitudes. The necessary training was provided at the Family Therapy Institute of Marin County, California, partially subsidized by in-service funds from BESP.

Since the EC philosophy was altered in 1967, an increasingly larger number of white students applied for admission and were enrolled through 1973/74 when the charismatic principal/director left to take the appointment as principal of BHS.

Enrollment at EC was ideally set at the limit of 175 students with the onset of BESP. This number was ostensibly dictated by the limited facilities at the site shared with the Adult School on Savo Island. EC administration and staff, however, were somewhat flexible in enrolling more students (see table below), considering several factors: the overwhelming need as exhibited by the extensive waiting list, the constant turnover of students, and the willingness on the part of the staff to accommodate as many students as they possibly could.

TABLE 2: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1971/72	42	34	67	54	1	1	2	2			12	10	124
1972/73	71	41	94	55	2	1	3	2			2	1	172
1973/74	86	41	105	50	6	3	8	4			3	3	208
1974/75	96	40	127	53	2	1	9	4			6	3	240
1975/76	72	33	131	60			6	3			10	5	219

ARTICULATION

East Campus was considered an alternative to an alternative (the continuation school concept). EC, however, offered little choice for the students once enrolled.

Admission and the subsequent educational processes within EC suggest the following pattern of facilitating or inhibiting students' options. First, no other district options are available for those "in trouble." Although more whites than Blacks apply, proportionately more Blacks are admitted. (In part, as will be seen later, the relatively greater enrollment of Black students is due to their overrepresentation among those involuntarily assigned to the school.) Second, it was necessary to have sufficient courses and teachers that were responsive to the large Black student population, that reinforced a sense of Black identity. To avoid any one-sided focus on Blacks there are also courses aimed at attracting white and Asian students, though not necessarily the same courses (e.g., Black History, Asian Studies). Third, all students are subject to restrictions in terms of the specific math, English or other basic courses they choose to take. Students' course schedules shifted in accordance with staff and student evaluations of students' needs (e.g., at their skills level). Fourth, the student is subject to a routine and structures forcing him/her to live up to his/her educational commitment. The ultimate restriction is that no student is graduated unless he/she performs at an absolute level as defined and measured by the staff, usually around 10th grade. The practice of placing the non-performing student on the waiting list applies only to the student's behavior: namely, failure to live up to the "contract" that the student makes with the school. Although the school exercises considerable control over the students, the "contract" between teachers and students is reciprocal--the student can call upon the staff to deliver what they promise, too.

EC facilitates student choices between schools. Thus, at the same time that a student is rejected by EC, the staff directs the student to other school choices that seem reasonable alternatives. EC staff as facilitators, likewise, help to direct their own students toward future choices related to the goals the students set for themselves (e.g., junior college).

By 1972/73 a majority of students at East Campus were self-referred (sometimes with the counsel of peers), and almost half were without a clouded dossier at some other institution. The following table depicts prior records and types of referral of the student population in 1972/73.

TABLE 3: STUDENT REFERRALS AND PRIOR RECORDS

	<u>Students with un- favorable records at other institutions</u>		<u>Students with favorable records</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Court Assignment	28	30		
BHS Counselor Referral	46	50		
Self Referral (advice from peers)	18	20	80	100
Total	92*	100%	80**	100%

*Of this number 71 were non-white and 21 white, which means that 70 percent of all non-white students and 30 percent of white students were in this category.

**Of this number 50 were white and 30 non-white, which means that 70 percent of all white students and 30 percent of non-white students were in this category.

The removal of students from the school because of inappropriate behavior is not considered to be a disciplinary action. Rather, suspensions and expulsions--though never reported as such on student records--are viewed as either catalysts for improving students' commitments or as necessary for clearing the rolls of uncommitted students so that those on the waiting list can have their chance. Removals are handled through a case conference approach with the entire staff involved rather than through traditional and inflexible disciplinary processes.

Therefore, the waiting list--the same waiting list that accommodates as yet unmatriculated students--becomes a tool to revitalize commitment. Being put on the waiting list for a time is temporary suspension used to encourage students to attend and try harder in their classes. Students are cycled back in as soon as they promise recommitment. An average of five students a month undergo this process.

Removal occurs only after repeated attempts to reach a student have failed. Reasons for temporary removal include unrelenting hostility (especially to other students), unwillingness to relate to at least one adult at the school, continual absence and continual lack of application to learning while in class. District rules can be used rendering the student ineligible for continuous enrollment. Students over 18 and students living outside of Berkeley's attendance zone may be exempted from school. A female student can withdraw if she has a child, for child care needs can be construed as superceding matriculation needs.

Transfers in and out have high frequency rates; e.g., in the period, February 26 - March 23, 1973, with a population of 186, 24 students transferred in and 25 transferred out for a month's turnover rate of 12.5 percent. As a consequence the secretaries' record-keeping focuses primarily on keeping the enrollment list complete and up to date.

For that entire 1972/73 year, of the 172 students enrolled in the fall, 140 withdrew throughout the course of the year. Of those students small numbers either graduated, transferred out of the District, went back to BHS, transferred to another BESP school (Black House, Garvey Institute), or entered a program like Job Corps. Most who left, however, did not continue their education. They either had a residence out of Berkeley, or had child care needs.

Because of the system of partial credits at EC, students can graduate any time during the school year. A few students do graduate during the course of the school year, a few go on to the Berkeley Adult School, a few go on to community or state colleges. The largest group, however, loses contact with the school.

Parent meetings were organized in 1975/76 by a counselor. Several small group meetings were held to discuss problems in raising and living with adolescents. Leaders of these small groups came from outside of the school (Bridge Over Troubled Waters and the Institute of Human Development). Parent input into the site was, otherwise, negligible. The staff felt that most EC students functioned better without parent interference; that actively seeking parent input would have alienated their students.

To lend itself to a gestalt of evaluation involving day to day activities, the staff met twice a week in the afternoon. They discussed individual student needs, behavior, etc., and discussed and aired their differences. Open confrontation was encouraged at the staff meetings as well as in the classrooms. Consistency was the byword.

FUNDING

In spite of its alternative school status, East Campus was still considered a continuation school on the District and state records. It therefore continued to receive extra monies from both the state and local property tax base. East Campus was reimbursed by the state for students' hourly, rather than daily, attendance. BESP monies, however, helped East Campus develop its formative program beyond that which the District supported per pupil.

By the onset of BESP and alternative status in the District, attendance at East Campus was becoming less of a problem. Considering the "commitment" policy and philosophy at East Campus, the waiting list became a constant source for filling in the ADA (Average Daily Attendance) gap. The ADA increase enabled East Campus to have a higher dollar rate per pupil paid by the District.

Over the five years of BESP, East Campus received \$146,859. This was about 4 percent of the total amount allocated to all BESP sites. BESP money allocation to EC over five years described an arc: beginning with 18 percent of the total (\$26,140) in 1971/72, rising to 33 percent (\$49,099) in year three (1973/74) and descending to 17 percent in year four and 9 percent (\$13,750) in its final BESP funded year. For 1976/77, the site requested \$4,000 for only one area of the program--Instructional Materials. This would primarily be used to update and upgrade the HILC program.

Salaries consumed 78 percent of the total budget during those five years. This included salaries of both certificated and classified staff, fringe benefits and consulting contracts. The certificated salaries were paid hourly, accounting, in part, for the in-service release-time of teachers. The monthly salaries of certificated personnel continued to be paid out of BUSD's budget. Classified salaries include both hourly and monthly salaries. Of the 1972/73 BESP allocation 92 percent (\$30,812) was expended on salary allotments, contributing to the extensive counseling program incorporated that year with three student workers and four counselor aides.

In 1972, East Campus began a summer program which was funded by BESP. This involved six teachers, two administrators, and various student aides. The director planned to phase this program out of the BESP budget into BUSD to ensure its ultimate permanency after BESP funds.

Fifteen percent (\$21,346) of the total five-year budget went toward Instructional Supplies, 38 percent of which was spent in 1973/74 to expand HILC materials. An additional \$4,557 from "Capital Outlay and Equipment" went into the HILC lab for study carrels, projectors and video and audio tape recorders.

EVALUATION

The EC principal/director methodically planned for an in-house evaluation when the school became a BESP alternative. Tentative plans for developing student and teacher evaluation techniques were outlined in July 1972. Their evaluation was divided into three areas: (1) the individual student, (2) the staff, and (3) the institution (i.e., how it serves the needs of students, parents, and the community). The student evaluation was the most comprehensive and included measures for academic skills and psychological, emotional and social adjustment. The staff evaluation, Ted Parsons' Guided Self-Analysis, was to be used to help teachers recognize their teaching patterns and to set their own goal for change. BESP helped train the teachers in the use of this instrument. The final measure would be in students' and parents' attitudes toward teachers. No evaluation was set up for EC as an institution other than the input of parent satisfaction coupled with the other two phases of the evaluation--that of students and teachers and the satisfaction level of each.

Record-keeping was important at EC. All students' testing in academic and adjustment areas became a routine part of EC. The teacher evaluation was never developed as planned, nor were the attitudes of students and parents systematically tapped for evaluative purposes.

The present principal said (1974) that EC considered itself to be an alternative to BHS or any other BESP alternative, because it offered something no other program could offer--a continuation school with a half-day program focused on basic skills for survival in the world, supplemented by a caring and cohesive staff. In spite of this, EC was the only BESP program clearly missing from the evaluation scale of "Effective Alternativeness", developed by Level I in Spring 1974.

In 1973/74, Level I reported that 4 percent of the EC 10th graders "topped out" of the CTBS reading tests; 5 percent "topped out" in math. No information was available for the students in ISA's 10th grade sample, however.

ODYSSEY

ABSTRACT

Odyssey, the only off-site junior high school alternative and the only grades 7-9 school in Berkeley, was the stormiest petrel of BESP.

At various times it has endured a temporary (cooling off) shutdown, the layoff of its entire staff, eviction from a warehouse site because the Fire Marshall found it in violation of Berkeley's fire code, a Black student boycott organized by a Black staff member. Odyssey lived up to its name; it was a wanderer, looking for a home, perching briefly at six different sites in one three-year span. Initially, it changed directors about as often--four of them in the first two years. Despite all this and more, with the help of BESP and extra financial support from ESP in Washington, Odyssey managed to achieve stability and viability, and since Fall 1974 has generated enthusiasm among its teachers and loyalty among its students.

From the foregoing it may be accurately inferred that Odyssey had been plagued by problems of governance and racism. The latter was reflected in a decline of the Black proportion of the student population from 54 percent in 1972/73 to 25 percent in 1974/75. Simultaneously the total student population declined from 170 to 104. There has been an improvement on both scores: in 1975/76 129 students were enrolled and 27 percent of them were Black.

The problems of governance were related to what was perceived as Odyssey's most distinctive hallmark: community control. In the first two years, there was neither structure nor process to implement the concept. In Fall 1972 a School Council was established and designed to represent a communal trinity--staff, students, parents. But it was ineffectual because it lacked power. In Fall 1973 it was endowed with full powers to govern the school (except for final authority to dismiss employees). But then it was discovered that in a power-wielding body a determined minority can usurp authority. In this instance, according to the last site director, the usurpers were parents, most of them "white racists," whose aggressive intervention in school affairs turned the 1973/74 council into the most "counter-productive force in Odyssey's history."

Central BESP, which had intervened piecemeal at Odyssey, finally decided to confront the problems more fundamentally and retained an outside consultant to help it find solutions. The resultant recommendations appear to have been effective, and currently a director was found who could and did assume responsibilities

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of leadership, while remaining accountable to the School Council. Noteworthy features of the Odyssey program have been its use of community facilities (e.g., the Lawrence Hall of Science computer center, a local FM radio station), extensive field trips and weekend excursions, (e.g., the entire student body went to Modesto to observe a Farmworkers union march), an emphasis on "learning by doing," and its multi-cultural courses.

Its attractiveness as an alternative to the other junior high schools was attested to by a waiting list of 180 in 1975/76. With the end of ESP funding, Odyssey was to remain as an off-site school, presumably retaining some of its distinctive characteristics. It continued to operate in 1976/77.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

In the Fall 1969 semester, two teachers at Willard Junior High School and some of their students collaborated with Herb Kohl of Other Ways and designed a course to study the problems of junior high school education in Berkeley. (The junior high schools in Berkeley had been integrated since 1965, where there used to be three 7-9th grade schools, there were now two 7-8th grade schools, and one 9th grade school for the entire district.)

The course, entitled Contemporary Problems in Education, was incorporated into the Willard curriculum in the Spring 1970 semester. The course explored alternative education, in response to the criticism levelled at traditional educational approaches in Berkeley's junior high schools. The students and teachers developed the Odyssey concept, an off-site junior high school, smaller and more personalized than the larger, impersonal, junior high school.

With school Board approval and BUSD funds, Odyssey began operations in September 1970 off-site at the University of California's Lawrence Hall of Science. Eighty students were selected from the 7th and 8th grades at Willard by the two teachers who taught the contemporary problems course. Students were selected on the basis of their "need for and probable success in a school offering the chance for more responsibility and individual attention." The goals of Odyssey in the 1970/71 school year were "to create a stimulating and cordial atmosphere for students to enable them to develop emotionally and intellectually." As a small school, Odyssey incorporated the notion of shared decision-making, insisted on the importance of basic skills and maintenance of complete racial integration, and aimed for heterogeneous grouping by race, sex and academic level.

Major problems faced by Odyssey the first year of operation, 1970/71, were: although the staff had hoped to implement a free school approach to education, it did not develop a viable curriculum to facilitate such an approach; though community control was desirable, no processes were developed for parent and student involvement in decision-making; Black families were critical of the free school, unstructured atmosphere, and whereas an off-site, autonomous school was integral to the Odyssey experiment, Lawrence Hall of Science did not prove to be accommodating to the junior high school. Odyssey was evicted after the first year because the "scientists" did not feel comfortable with the alternative school on their grounds. The scientists felt the students were disruptive to scientific research and did not take care with the expensive science and math equipment in the complex. Odyssey was in the basement of the LHS.

With the advent of federal funding of an experimental school project in Berkeley, the director/teacher originator of Odyssey applied for BESP funding. The Odyssey alternative was included in the BESP proposal to OE/ESP with the stipulation from the BUSD Superintendent that the director would resign. It seems the Superintendent did not want another "hippie-dippie" free school in the spirit of Other Ways, and Community High School I (Genesis) included in the proposal, and felt that with a new director, the junior high school alternative would be easier to direct from the administration's point of view.

The director/originator accepted the Superintendent's demand, and the Odyssey proposal was approved for funding along with the other alternative school proposals in June 1971.

The Odyssey proposal included in the BESP packet was descriptive of the school's operations and goals for the BUSD funded year prior to BESP. The aim was to "provide three approaches to learning: traditional classes, experimental classes and workshops-projects." Emphasis was still to be on personalized learning through individual and small group attention. Accountability to the community at large was also included whereby students would move beyond the classroom walls for extended educational experiences. The June 1971 proposal to OE/ESP did not include means by which shared decision-making was to be realized, though students and parents were to be interviewed before admittance into the program in order to ensure understanding and acceptance of Odyssey's goals and approach. The impetus for interviewing students and parents apparently arose out of Black families' criticisms of the free school concept and unsystematic approach to curriculum. Odyssey was labelled a "white hippie" school and, while the student enrollment was overall integrated, the stigma intensified racial turbulence and the heated debate between pro-structure and pro-free school advocates. Following is a table showing student enrollment by ethnicity for the Fall 1970 through Spring 1976 school years.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1970/1971-1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1970/71	38	49	32	41	5	6	3	4					78
1971/72	46	48	39	41	5	5	5	5					95
1972/73	60	35	91	54	8	5	9	5	1	-	1	-	170
1973/74	52	52	34	34	4	4	10	10					100
1974/75	61	59	26	25	3	3	13	12			1	1	104
1975/76	68	53	35	27	5	4	14	11			7	5	129

During the height of racial tension among staff, students, parents, and administration at Odyssey in the 1972/73 school year, Black students constituted 54 percent of the school population.

The huge drop in Black student enrollment between 1972/73 and 1973/74 was probably in part due to the effects of the turmoil at the school during the 1972/73 school year, the lack of formal recruitment proceedings for the 1973/74 school year, and the firing of all staff between Spring 1973 and Fall 1973 by the BESP administration.

Black student enrollment continued to decline until the 1975/76 school year, which was unfortunate for the developing organization structure, the new leadership and viable curriculum integrating in a workable fashion multi-cultural courses, workshop-projects in the community and basic skills.

A new director was appointed for the first BESP funded year, 1971/72, the second year of operation for Odyssey. A new location was found at a neighborhood church and leased for one year. The free form structure of the first year was revised. A morning session covering basic skills curriculum was instituted with the afternoon session set aside for volunteer community work experiences, cultural, social and academic course electives, and field trips. There was a general tightening up of the Odyssey structure with BESP funding, managed by BUSD/BESP administration and generally approved by the Black parents and students involved in the Odyssey program. White parents and students viewed the tightening up of the school as a move back to the traditional educational approach they hoped to escape by participating in the Odyssey program. This Black/white dilemma was to peak during the 1972/73 school year. At the end of Spring 1972, Odyssey relocated again, this time in a warehouse.

In the period, 1970 through 1973, staffing problems flourished at Odyssey. As previously noted, in order to be accepted by the Superintendent in the original BESP proposal, Odyssey's director/originator had to resign. The 1970/71 Odyssey pre-BESP staff was then cut from full time to part time for the first BESP year, 1971/72. During that period, the new director was classified along with all the other staff members, save one who was certificated. The teachers were getting paid for 11 hours of work per week but some teachers were putting in far more time on-site than others. Staff morale began to take a turn for the worse. During the summer of 1972, the director and most of the staff (except for two) left Odyssey. Those that remained had the responsibility of finding a new director, selecting other needed staff members, planning the curriculum and finding a site location. No formal procedure was developed for student input into curriculum development. Thus the 1972/73 school year began. On top of that, the new director lasted no more than six months, resulting in the hiring of another director, the fourth in a period of two years.

During the 1972/73 school year, the Odyssey staff was accused by parents and students of ineptitude, and shirking their responsibilities: the directorship was found to be weak, uncommitted to alternative education and lacking administrative ability. The end result of the year was the firing of all the staff by the central BESP Director and the search once again for new director and new staff.

In April 1973, when the entire staff was notified of layoffs by the central BESP Director, the school relocated into rented trailers on Berkeley city property.

The Governing Board/School Council advertised for five teaching positions throughout the area, not limited to BUSD teacher overage. Ninety applications were submitted. The director was selected from the staff of 1972/73 (all staff were laid off but were allowed to re-apply with no preferential treatment). The director has stayed with the school since then.

In the 1974/75 school year, Odyssey advertised for teachers in math and English from within the BUSD teacher overage pool, particularly teachers from KARE and Willard Alternative, phased out after the Spring 1974 semester.

Following is a table of the Odyssey staff over the five year BESP period by ethnicity. Ethnic breakdown for 1971/72 staff is not available.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1971/1972-1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	unavailable								13
1972/73	8	57	5	36	1	7			14
1973/74	3	38	4	50			1	12	8
1974/75	5	56	3	33			1	11	9
1975/76	5	63	2	25			1	12	8

The numbers above may be broken down as follows:

- 1971/72: 1 certificated, full time; 12 classified, part time.
- 1972/73: 1 certificated, 13 classified; 9 full time, 5 part time.
- 1973/74: 6 certificated, 2 classified (1 white, 1 Black).
- 1974/75: 5 certificated, 4 classified.
- 1975/76: 5 full time (4 white, 1 Black, the director); 3 part time (Black, white, Chicano).

During the 1970/71 school year, prior to BESP funding, Odyssey staff numbered: four full time certificated, one classified secretary, six full time student interns from U. C. Santa Cruz, and an unspecified number of student teachers' aides from U. C. Berkeley, and community volunteers. Ethnic breakdown of these staff people is not available. Staff ethnicity in the main shows a majority of white teachers. Black students were alienated from the identity crisis Odyssey was undergoing. They felt that the school was oriented toward and preferred white students who did not need basic skills instruction (even though the Black students during the 1972/73 school year comprised 54 percent of the total school enrollment).

A Black staff member organized a Black student boycott and made clear to the entire school, to BESP and BUSD, that the school did not provide what Black students and parents wanted.

A new director was appointed, and lasted for no more than six months. During his term as director (Summer 1972 and part of Fall 1972) further moves toward a more traditional approach to education took place, though white teachers were dissatisfied with the Odyssey administration. Black teachers conceded to the white teachers during the Fall 1972 semester and fired the latest director and together they hired a compromise candidate. The new director favored structure. Under his direction homeroom period was instituted, letter grades were required for 9th graders, parents were sent written evaluations of

their children's progress.

BESP central support staff in the latter part of the Fall 1972 semester led group discussions with students at Odyssey which dealt with racism at the school, the director, staff, curriculum, communication, parents and student governance. Drawing on the report of these discussions, the BESP administration made recommendations to deal with the discord at the school. These recommendations included: (1) bring in an outside consultant to help with organizational problems in group interaction, multi-racial understanding and collaborative problem solving; (2) define structure, (3) establish a more unified, racially tolerant staff; (4) find means to communicate with all students, staff and parents regarding information about race, school enrollment, curriculum and governing body to squelch rumors; (5) evaluate curriculum, teachers should decide what they can teach within their abilities; (6) director should be at site most of the time to be more involved in interaction with students, exert stronger leadership, should have training in site management, staff and student relationships and leadership problems, director should be relieved of all duties for the selection of a new site; (7) reduce number of staff meetings and increase efficiency of the meetings, (8) student representatives should be utilized in polling and consulting students to get input into decision-making; (9) use parents to help with intergroup relations; (10) provide ways for students to communicate with each other.

During this period of evaluation, Odyssey was again evicted from its warehouse/site by the Berkeley Fire Marshall because it was not up to fire code. BUSD/BESP then arranged with West Campus (the BUSD's 9th grade school) to house Odyssey. Problems were intensified with this new location. As an off-site separate school for 7th to 9th graders, Odyssey found West Campus chafing. By the end of the Spring 1973 semester, Odyssey had acquired a permanent trailer(s) home on Berkeley city property, in a Black residential area in southwest Berkeley. Odyssey has remained there to this day, though threats to move it back to West Campus for the 1975/76 school year were made.

An outside consultant was hired by the BESP office to help Odyssey get its act together. His report focused on how some of Odyssey's problems might be solved, "problems which appeared to be the major barriers to the school fulfilling its educational and community mission."

Staff, parents, students, administration, governing council and BESP were viewed as they related to the school, and as the school related to them. Recommendations for improvement included:

(1) continuing the development of the Governing Board/School Council as a positive move in formalizing parent, staff and student relationships; (2) developing avenues of power-sharing, a viable solution to program stability, curriculum continuity, site location, and employment procedures; (3) formal recognition of the Board by BESP, and BESP assignment of a liaison to communicate with Odyssey in order to eliminate misinformation and poor communication channels, (4) assumption of responsibility by BESP to secure a permanent site for Odyssey.

Other recommendations included: multi-cultural courses, core and elective courses (to be approved by the Governing Board/School Council), and contracts with staff clarifying terms of work to avoid unequal distribution of labor on-site (where some of the \$400 per month staff members were doing more work than the \$11,000+ per year full time employee from BUSD).

Overall, the consultant's report pointed to problems created by poor organization: no one person or group to be accountable to, no regular channel through which to express dissatisfaction.

The change in the program between the conflict filled 1972/73 school year and the next year points to the positive benefits of better organization, accountability, quality leadership, and formalized channels whereby students, parents and staff were enabled to contribute to the running of the school.

Prior to the growth years from Fall 1973 through Spring 1976, however, the Spring 1973 semester saw yet another director fired, all the staff laid off, and absolute control of the Odyssey budget by the central BESP Director.

After the 1973/74 school year, the staff stabilized and the director was still there in June 1976. Leadership played a vital role in the Odyssey experiment: when sensitive, insightful, facilitative leaders/directors were lacking, the program floundered. Some of the directors hired also had little if any administrative experience or training.

The Odyssey School Council, commonly known as the Governing Board, began functioning during the 1972/73 school year, but without much real power. It wasn't until BESP central support evaluation of the program in Fall 1972, and the outside consultant's report on problems in Spring 1973, that a new focus on actualizing the role of a governing board in school governance beyond crisis situations took place.

The school by-laws provided for 15 members (six parents, five students and four staff members) to constitute the council. These directors, elected from each constituency, had exclusive power over the school (except where limited by legal code or BUSD by-laws). The power included: selection of agents and employees, recommendations for firing employees when necessary to BUSD, making rules and regulations for the school, site location, and conduct and control of school affairs, including curriculum planning, grading, course requirements, students evaluation, disciplinary procedures, and fiscal allocations.

Students took a more active role in the governing board during 1973/74. While the board handled school problems and developed plans for the future, as opposed to crisis intervention, the director in the 1973/74 school year, hired by the board after the 1972/73 school year ended, had the final decision in almost all matters. He was, however, held accountable to the board.

During the 1973/74 school year, math, English and ethnic studies became required courses for Odyssey students. Courses included: Black Experience, Espanol, Photography, Human Biology, Third World Studies, Creative Writing, Arts/Crafts, Life Study, Sex and Psychology, P.E., French, Raza Studies, Team Sports, Landscaping, Afro Haitian Dance, Wilderness Survival, Computer Math, Publications Workshop, Photo Journalism, Street Theatre Group, Science Projects, Student Power, History of Sexism, Mural Painting.

After KARE was phased out in Spring 1974, the HILC materials at KARE were sent to Odyssey to begin a new HILC there. Average class size in the HILC was nine students. One field studies university student managed the HILC from Fall 1974 until the Spring 1976 semester when the HILC was closed down due to lack of funds to pay an HILC manager.

Curriculum remained about the same from the 1973/74 school year through the 1975/76 school year. The multi-cultural course requirement was slightly altered in the 1974/75 school year, when Black, white and Chicano students were required to take Black, white and Chicano experience respectively in the Fall semester, then in the Spring semester the students were divided equally in three ethnically integrated groups for the multi-ethnic experience course.

Odyssey Project, offered in 1973/74, was for students in need of basic skills intensive instruction, and HILC labs for math and reading also were required for students in need of basic skills.

Field trips, weekend excursions, and total school experiences were integrated into the Odyssey curriculum as part of the commitment

to community involvement. Camping trips, boat trips, food collection and delivery to farm workers, observation of the United Farmworkers march from San Francisco to Modesto, etc., were types of out-of-school education Odyssey students experienced.

In all, Odyssey has emerged out of its tumultuous beginnings as an on-going experiment in developing viable processes for student/parent/staff involvement in power sharing, and in combining basic skills/academic instruction with workshop-projects for school plus involvement in the outside community. Leadership has played an important role, whether in hindering the program or facilitating its development.

ARTICULATION

Odyssey was a non-zoned 7th to 9th grade alternative school, the only junior high level alternative option in the district (since the phaseout of the KARE and Willard Alternative programs in Spring 1974). Odyssey was also the only 7-9th grade configuration in BUSD/BESP.

During the first and second year of BESP funding (1971-73), Odyssey recruitment efforts were organized and extensive, including advertisements in the junior high schools (Willard and King) and in the intermediate schools (4-6), through direct mail, and through student word of mouth. During the third year (1973/74), the school made no effort to recruit students formally save by peer contact.

Students were admitted to Odyssey based on their ethnicity, sex and other factors. During the first year prior to BESP funding, students were admitted into the program by the originator/director on the basis of their need for and probable success in a school offering the chance for more responsibility and attention.

During the Spring 1973 semester, Odyssey, Black House, Casa de la Raza, and a proposed Asian studies program collaborated in developing a proposal, The Alliance, in order to protect the survival of the two ethnically homogeneous schools, Black House and Casa, from the Office for Civil Rights threats of closure because they were separatist.

The Alliance proposal was never accepted by OE/ESP. The proposal, though, was an innovative attempt to bring together four programs, each meeting different needs of designated ethnic populations. The Alliance was to utilize facilities of each of the sites, as well as the common school facilities. BUSD buses were to transport students around the different sites, as well as to

community facilities in Berkeley for field study of community services and to recreation areas belonging to Berkeley for outdoor education in natural settings.

During the 1974/75 school year, Odyssey joined with Early Learning Center in proposing the housing of Odyssey at Savo Island. In December 1975, the Odyssey director was appointed to the board of directors of the Savo Island Project Area Committee. Savo Island is part of Berkeley's Model Cities program redevelopment, sponsored by HUD. The committee was formed by neighborhood residents concerned with the quality of life in their area. The committee is concerned with development of low to moderate income housing in the area. Odyssey was primarily interested in Savo Island as a permanent location. Odyssey's present site will be used by the City of Berkeley for housing development.

FUNDING

Over the five years of BESP funding, Odyssey was allocated \$239,850 or 7.62 percent of the total BESP budget for sites. As an off-site school, particularly plagued with relocation virtually on an annual basis, building/site/land rental used up 32 percent (\$77,957) of the allocated funds. In 1973/74, the amount expended, \$17,355, was 75 percent of the total rental costs, BUSD paid the remaining 25 percent. In 1974/75, 50 percent of the rental costs was paid by Odyssey's budget, or \$11,520. In 1975/76, BESP funds were initially to pay for 75 percent of the rental costs; however, protests from the Odyssey director, staff, parents and students resulted in NIE/ESP paying the entire rental. This amounted to \$30,240.

In the 1971 through 1973 school years, Odyssey paid all of the rental costs, which amounted to \$18,842.

BESP funding provided the BUSD a means by which to experiment with an off-site school, as BESP funding was the primary source of rental payment, relieving the BUSD of the burden. BESP, however, did not exhibit responsible leadership in finding a permanent site for Odyssey and, therefore, contributed to the insecure atmosphere which permeated Odyssey throughout its five years as a BESP alternative.

Although rental costs used up about a third of the total Odyssey budget, 41 percent (\$98,212) of the Odyssey BESP funds went toward payment of salaries (including certificated and classified hourly, classified monthly, fringe benefits and consultants' fees). This amount primarily went for classified personnel, who comprised over half the Odyssey staff through the five years. Such staff composition was due to the commitment of the school community to hire Third

World staff from outside the district teacher pool overage.

Instructional and office supplies and materials used 12 percent (\$28,081) of the total budget. Of this amount, \$13,354 was spent in the 1974/75 school year on stocking the HILC lab.

Field trips, while an integral part of workshop-project community services and experiences, consumed 3 percent (\$6,718) of the Odyssey BESP budget between 1972/73 and 1975/76.

EVALUATION

Evaluation played a vital role in Odyssey's survival beyond the troubles of the 1972/73 school year. Outside consultants were brought in by BESP to help reorganize the school, to salvage the concept of this unique alternative.

Level I even participated as part of the evaluation team made up of BESP central staff in presenting students' views of what was wrong with the program, and how to reform it.

During the 1973/74 school year, parents of Odyssey students had a special agreement with the teaching staff not to release CTBS scores to the Level II evaluation team. This agreement, made after attempts to develop their own testing devices failed, was later rescinded. Below are CTBS reading, language and math grade equivalencies' scores of ISA's sample students for the periods: Fall 1973, Spring 1974, and Spring 1975. Fall 1974 scores are not available.

TABLE 3: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, ODYSSEY

	<u>Reading</u>		<u>Language</u>		<u>Math</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>G.E.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>G.E.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>G.E.</u>
Fall 1973	7	7.940	6	6.575	7	6.066
Spring 1974	11	8.235	10	6.775	11	5.600
Spring 1975	15	10.628	14	8.328	14	7.560

These scores show a steady advance in reading and language, approximating two years' growth over the two year period. In math, despite a slump between Fall 1973 and Spring 1974, 1.5 years' growth was achieved in the two years.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Odyssey rated the maximum 1.0 for "alternativeness" and the minimum 0.0 for "effectiveness." Since the combined score was computed by multiplying the scores for the two separate components, it rated 0.0 as an "effective alternative." Paradoxically, KARE and Willard Alternative,

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which were in the process of being phased out when Level I performed this evaluation in Spring 1974, were rated well above Odyssey as "effective alternatives." Their scores hovered around .4.

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Berkeley High School: Overview

The main campus of Berkeley High School is situated in a four square block area on the fringe of downtown Berkeley. It houses grades 10 through 12. Alternative education in Berkeley public schools was primarily a high school movement. Six of the ten programs in existence prior to BESP funding were high school programs. In part, this can be attributed to the influence of the self-determination movements for student power and Black power centered on the University of California's Berkeley campus. Turned off high school students, inspired by university radicals, and aided by radical educators, started a movement of their own.

In March 1968, the BUSD School Superintendent appointed a committee of teachers, headed by the BHS History Department Chairperson, to examine staff-student relations in grades 7-12. This committee recommended changes in staffing, student governance, curriculum, and proposed one model school program with a heterogeneous student body but with fewer students involved than at the main campus of BHS.

During the 1969/70 school year, the BHS principal appointed a committee to establish guidelines for alternative schools, on-site, or schools-within-a-school. The guideline committee was needed in order to establish accountability processes and responsibilities for both the sub-schools and the common high school. By then the first alternative sub-school (Community High School) was in operation on the BHS campus, and there was talk of more. Hence, a need for guidelines was felt.

Following is a table depicting the student enrollment at Berkeley High School (including those students involved in the BESP on-site programs) during the five years of BESP funding.

TABLE 1: BHS STUDENT POPULATION* BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1971/72	1337	43	1366	44	239	8	114	4	3	-	38	1	3097
1972/73	1270	43	1273	43	258	9	77	3	6	-	49	2	2933
1973/74	1272	41	1418	46	259	8	101	3	3	-	62	2	3115
1974/75	1267	42	1394	46	258	8	81	3	4	-	49	2	3053
1975/76	1181	42	1273	45	226	8	62	2	1	-	82	3	2825

*Figures from BUSD Office of Research and Evaluation, Report of the Student Racial Census.

The original alternative secondary schools, Community High (Genesis) and Other Ways, were based on the white counter-culture critique of the educational system. BHS was seen as excessively large, inflexible, impersonal, boring, not motivating the student to take responsibility for his/her own learning, and tending to discourage rather than foster autonomy. The remedy was to provide a small, intimate learning situation, where students directed the content of learning around their own interests, often learning informally through action. Classes were to be interdisciplinary, based on interests rather than traditional disciplinary divisions. Students were to actively participate in their own education.

The alternative model sketched above did not appeal to the needs of Black, Asian, Chicano students. Ethnic schools, first Black House then Casa de la Raza, were more likely to emphasize that they offered a clearly defined but radically different direction. The content of the educational critique and changes envisioned differed from school to school, though sharing a similar motivation: intense dissatisfaction with BHS and the perceived irrelevancy, discrimination and poor quality of the traditional educational process.

The site histories that follow reveal a common thread: a struggle by almost all the secondary schools in the BESP program for autonomy versus the bureaucratic needs of the larger BHS. Different methods of coping with BHS administration were attempted by the different sites, depending on their needs and plans for their own survival beyond BESP funding. Students participating in the on-site alternative programs comprised between 25 percent and 50 percent of the total BHS student population during the period 1971/72 through 1975/76. The following table shows the student population in each of the on-site schools during the BESP funding period and the percentage of students involved compared to the entire BHS main campus student population.

TABLE 2: BESP STUDENT POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BHS, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	Agora		Ag/Gen		C/Prep		Genesis		MSA		S/Arts		OTS		BESP		BHS
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1971/72	168	5			65	2	174	6	415	13	200	6	**		1022	33	3097
1972/73	96	3			140	5	150	5	400	14	187	6	508	17	1481	50	2933
1973/74	100	3			153	5	90	3	289	9	196	6	442	14	1270	41	3115
1974/75	-- *		167	5	125	4	--		320	10	211	7	212	7	1035	34	3053
1975/76	--		94	3	131	5	--		323	11	150	5	--		698	25	2825

* The dotted lines, --, designate the phase-out of the respective sites.

** Unavailable.

As is evident in the above table, student participation in the on-site BESP schools at BHS remained fairly constant up until the final year of funding, 1975/76. In this last year, student involvement in the BESP programs declined by 32 percent (from 1,035 students to 698 students). BHS overall student enrollment (at the main campus, including those students involved in the BESP programs) declined by 7 percent.

What follows is the history of each on-site alternative program for 10th - 12th grade students, how each emerged out of the dissatisfaction with BHS, and how each attempted to change the high school students' experiences through alternative education.

GENESIS (aka Community High School)

ABSTRACT

Genesis (originally Community High School) was the first on-site alternative school on the Berkeley High School campus. It emerged out of the social ferment of the late 1960's in Berkeley, and more specifically out of the "Berkeley Summer Project" of 1967, an experimental initiative by two BHS Art Department teachers to "explore basic questions of self-worth, relationships with other people and ways to control one's own destiny."

Community High opened its doors in January 1969 as an alternative school: non-graded, open-structured, interdisciplinary, and committed to the input of "student power" in decision-making. Given its origins, it was dubbed a "white hippie school," a label that was reinforced by its initial 70 percent white enrollment. A concerted staff effort changed this picture: in 1970/71 half of the 298 students were from ethnic minorities. The following year--1971/72--BESP came on the scene, and Genesis began Exodus. From the high of 298 in the pre-BESP year, enrollment steadily shrank to 90 in 1973/74. The exodus of minority students was even more pronounced; by 1973/74 they constituted only one-fourth of the Genesis student population. Inadvertently, BESP facilitated this decline by creating other alternatives, but this did not account for all of it. Yet, Genesis performed a seminal role: ethnically focused Black House and Agora were its outgrowths.

However, Genesis could not overcome its own contradictions: the natal stamp of white, middle class discontent vs. conflicting needs of ethnic minority students; its original "free school" style and need for autonomy vs. inhibiting pressures and demands of the common school environment and administration; the commitment to "student power" vs. countervailing powers (administrative) and pulls (partially ethnic, in that power for a white student majority did not jibe with minority student aspirations).

When its enrollment hit the untenable low of 90 in 1973/74, Genesis sought a merger of survival with Agora. They merged in Fall 1974.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Genesis (then called Community High School)* began in the Spring 1969 semester on-site at BHS. Genesis was an outgrowth of a successful BUSD summer project experimenting with a small, intimate learning environment. It was a means of responding to the needs of students alienated by a larger, impersonal urban high school. The "Berkeley Summer Project" of 1967 explored the basic questions of self-worth, relationships with other people and ways to control one's own destiny.

The project was initiated by two BHS Art Department teachers. The success of the program resulted in continuous meetings from Fall 1967 to Spring 1969 to enlist interest in an alternative approach to education based on the arts and dedicated to restructuring education and building an affective curriculum.

Genesis opened in the Spring 1969 semester with an enrollment of 120 10th graders. According to the BUSD Office of Project Development site description (December 3, 1968), Genesis was a design for a radically new urban high school in America. An approach to education was needed to make integration more than the sharing of the same building by Black and white students. An approach was needed to cause students from heterogeneous backgrounds to share feelings, concerns and knowledge. A non-graded model school encompassing grades 10 to 12 was envisioned.

With teachers of English, history, drama, art, music, science and physical education, curriculum was to be interdisciplinary to maximize student-teacher cooperation and to allow for student input into the decision-making process.

Because Genesis was for two years (1969-71) the only on-site alternative at BHS, it had to serve the diverse needs of all individuals seeking alternative education. As a result of ensuing complications, Genesis was instrumental in creating other options at the secondary level. The BHS student newspaper, the JACKET (February 6, 1974), reported 600 out of 1,054 Berkeley 10th graders applied for 116 openings for Genesis in January 1969.

Because of the overwhelming interest in alternative education at the secondary level and the inability of Genesis to handle all the students who applied, Community High School II was created. It opened in Spring 1971 and by Fall 1971 had changed its name to Agora.

*In this report, the name Genesis will be used, even in referring to the period when the school was called Community High School.

The stigma of a "white hippie school" haunted Genesis from its first semester, when 70 percent of students randomly selected were white. With the emphasis on student involvement in decision-making and considering its overwhelmingly white student body, Genesis very quickly geared itself to the alienation they experienced at the larger BHS. The problem Genesis did not foresee was that alienation experienced by white students was necessarily different from the alienation experienced by Black, Asian, Chicano, Native American and other non-white students.

Discontent emerged as a result of the school's neglect of the needs of minority students, particularly Black students. The result was an off campus program, Black House, formed during the 1970/71 school year by a Black Studies consultant at Genesis and the Black students at Genesis.

Genesis felt a need to tighten up its objectives and approach to education in response to the issues raised by the Black House split and the emergence of CHS II (Agora). A planning document for reorganizing and redefining the school was released in the Spring 1971 semester by a committee of students and staff members.

What began as a program of self-actualization through self-direction and little formal structure underwent a process of re-emphasis and more formalized instructional and department policies. Student power was a vital part of the Genesis philosophy; however, as emphasis on basic skills for Third World Students became a priority, student power declined.

The new objectives of the school for the 1971/72 school year were: (1) increased representation of minority teachers to at least one half the staff, and (2) recruitment of an ethnically heterogeneous student body of approximately 225 students, 45 percent white, 45 percent Black and 10 percent other ethnicities.

During the same semester, the director was replaced in a student election by a three vote margin, (61-58).

While the restructuring was taking place, Genesis also submitted its proposal for BESP funding in April 1971. The proposal combined goals from the initial Genesis plan which evolved from the Summer Project of 1967 and those from the restructured program.

Staff concerns with meeting the needs of Third World students produced a gradual drain of power from the students. This occurred primarily because the students were white and the program's new focus was non-white. The needs of white students were not being met, and they felt left out of the decision-making process.

The 1971/72 school year was marked by a power struggle of competing interests, namely: students vs. staff, Third World people vs. white people, and staff-site autonomy vs. BHS bureaucracy.

Students organized themselves to maintain a voice in the decision-making process at the site. What developed, however, was a tension between white students and Third World staff. Input from the new Third World staff and their alignment with the Third World students, led to a new multi-ethnic focus strengthening a basic skills curriculum. The whole staff stepped up the struggle for site autonomy against BHS administration.

In November 1971, the staff felt that the developing goals of Genesis focusing around institutional racism could be better met by a Third World director. The new director (the fourth), a Chicano who had been with the school since Fall 1970, was chosen by the staff. He proposed that the staff share the duties and responsibilities of the directorship. The staff then developed a new decision-making structure, the aim of which was to increase the collective power of the staff as a group.

Up to this point, Genesis structure provided for student input into the program through an Inter-Tribal Council, with representatives from four Tribes. Tribes were organized around interests such as ecology or arts and crafts, and students and teachers would select the tribe of their choice, interests, or field of expertise. But, in the latter part of the Fall 1971 semester, the Inter-Tribal council was eliminated. Student response to the new structuring was negative. A group of white students initiated a student newspaper, The Rag, which criticized and debated the action of the faculty. In the first edition, the editorial discussed the restructuring of the school:

It is very important that we develop a trust in the staff but the trust has to be two-way; the staff has to trust us to be responsible enough to help in the planning of our school ...We the students, the majority of the school, shouldn't be left out of forming "our" school ...We do trust the staff and we Know they are not trying to fuck us over. But they, as teachers, represent different interests and have different ideas than we do. The staff has no right to exclude us and our views from these meetings that are forming our school. (Emphasis in original.)

In response to student requests, the director proposed to set up a school Governing Council. Student representatives would comprise two whites, two Blacks, two Asians, one Chicano and one other person of mixed racial background.

At the end of the Spring 1972 semester, Third World students suggested Community High School I be renamed Genesis to symbolize the birth of the new multi-cultural philosophy and the new emphasis of the school. In the beginning of the summer of 1972, a Black woman was selected as the new director (the fifth) by a committee of staff, students and parents.

In the Fall 1972 semester, a Genesis Constitution was established with three goals: (1) to deliver basic skills to all students who lacked them, (2) to encourage the development of individuality and independence on the part of all students, and (3) to provide a positive learning environment for all students by recognizing and meeting the different needs of Black, Chicano, Asian and white students.

The Constitution also provided for a Governing Board to consist of all certificated teachers at the site (and, at their discretion, consultants), and students and parent-elected representatives. The Board's responsibility was general decision-making, setting the budget, and reviewing the position of the director.

A mandatory cross-cultural course was developed in which students and staff would explicitly confront their own and others' ethnic group identities. In addition, a Black Awareness course was developed and made mandatory for all Genesis Black students.

Modular scheduling was utilized to facilitate the variety of courses offered. Literature and Psychology, Black Drama, Juggling and Chess (student taught classes dealing with the practical application of mathematical principles), S.A.T. preparation, Urban Survival Skills, Women's Studies, and Independent Study in math, English, history and the sciences were some of the more innovative courses offered to Genesis students during the 1972/73 school year. By 1973/74, all course offerings emphasized basic skills. More traditional courses emerged with 11 math related classes. Additional courses included Cross-Cultural English and History, Sexism, Women's Literature and History, and Black History 1619 to 1877.

Staff turnover was very high, and between Spring 1971 and Spring 1974, Genesis had five directors. Three probable causes for the turnover rate are: (1) the use of student teachers, work study students and volunteers, to reduce class size (in fact,

averaging a 10:1 student-teacher ratio,) and provide program variety; (2) the conflicts between the common school and Genesis regarding the autonomy of an on-site school versus the rules and regulations of district bureaucracy, and (3) program restructuring.

Following is a table of the Genesis staff by ethnicity for the period 1971/72 through 1973/74.

TABLE 1: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1973/74

	White	Black	Asian	Chicano	Total
	<u>n %</u>	<u>n %</u>	<u>n %</u>	<u>n %</u>	<u>n</u>
1971/72	7 44	5 31	3 19	1 6	16*
1972/73	2 25	4 50	2 25		8**
1973/74	3 38	4 50	1 12		8***

*Certificated Staff: 3 whites, 3 Blacks, 1 Chicano, 1 Asian

**Certificated staff: 1 white, 2 Blacks, 1 Asian

***Includes 4 certificated teachers, including the director

During the period, Spring 1969 to Fall 1971, out of a total of 36 staff members, 19 were Third World. Of the 36 members, eight were certificated, six were consultants, 12 were student teachers, six were work study students and four were volunteers. Ethnicity is not available for all these people. By the Fall 1972 semester, no founding staff members were still with the project. The decrease in white staff members between 1971/72 and 1972/73 can be attributed to the restructuring of the school, with its new focus on Third World student needs.

Students were recruited into the program through formal presentations at West Campus and informally through student word of mouth. The following table represents student enrollment (over the five years of Genesis operation). The change in ethnic composition of the student body is an indicator of internal strife at the school.

**TABLE 2: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
SPRING 1969 - 1973/74**

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sp. '69	81	70											116*
1969/70													225**
1970/71	148	50	119	40	18	6	13	4					298
1971/72	109	63	40	23	14	8	5	3	4	2	2	1	174
1972/73	106	71	32	21	6	4	2	1	3	2	1	1	150
1973/74	60	67	23	26	5	6	2	2					90

*10th graders only, non-white student figures not available.

**Director claimed same ethnic proportions as BHS.

The above table discloses two glaring facts: (1) a declining number of student enrolled at Genesis, and (2) a sizable white majority of students. The causes can be described historically. In Berkeley, "alternative education" appealed primarily to the white middle and upper class students. For Black, Asian and Chicano parents, "alternative education" connoted an unstructured, undisciplined atmosphere in which learning the basic skills by their children could not be accommodated. Patently, many ethnic minority parents were dissatisfied with the sort of education their children received in the common schools. Implicitly, therefore, they desired an alternative to the educational status quo, and quite often they asserted this desire explicitly. But there are alternatives and alternatives. The term "alternative education," as used here, is burdened with its historically determined meaning in Berkeley circa 1970, reflecting the discontents and aspirations of certain strata of the white population.

Because of ethnic minority distrust of "alternative education," application for enrollment in the experimental schools, particularly at the secondary level, was dominated by white students. The figures for the 1970/71 school year reveal, however, a high enrollment (about 50 percent) of Third World students at Genesis. As the first alternative school attempting to deal with the alienation felt by many students--white, Black, Asian, Chicano and others--Genesis was seen as no worse and potentially better than the large impersonal common school. Increased options in Fall 1971 with OE funding of BESP may be one of the primary causes for the large drop in enrollment at Genesis, from 298 students in 1970/71 to 174 in 1971/72.

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As mentioned earlier, Black House began operation in the Fall 1970 semester with Black students from Genesis who felt that school was not meeting their needs. Decline in Black student enrollment between 1970/71 and 1971/72 reflects the appeal of Black House and College Prep to Black students.

Even with the new organizational structure and new focus on meeting the needs of Third World Students, white student enrollment increased, both relatively and absolutely, in the 1972/73 school year over the previous year, whereas there was a relative and absolute decline in ethnic minority enrollment. Interesting to note, too, is that when Genesis finally emerged in 1973/74 as a basic skills, multi-cultural curriculum program overall student enrollment had been drastically reduced. The reduction was 70 percent from the 1970/71 peak. In the BHS student newspaper, the Jacket (February 6, 1974), it was reported "that for the first time in several years, Genesis has made no attempt to recruit new students which explains why only 22 tenth graders entered this fall (1973)."

In December 1973, the director was notified that beginning the 1974/75 school year, the budget would be cut in half. All classified staff was lost. This is when Genesis and Agora began to discuss merging.

Articulation

One of the major obstacles faced by Genesis was that as a new model for education, district-initiated, district-sponsored, and operating prior to any BESP administration, it had to function within the confines of district regulations, particularly within those already established rules and procedures of the common school.

Rufus Browning (July 1972) examined the internal organizational structure of Genesis and its relationship with the common school. He stated: "BHS is concerned with CHS should it lose its ability to offer the student, especially the bright student who does not need special work in basic skills, greater opportunity for independent study and flexible curriculum than the common school provides." For the common school, Genesis was a dumping ground for students who did not conform and/or abide by the BHS structure and policies.

Conflicts were compounded between the two schools as Genesis turned more to a basic skills curriculum through a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic approach. Restructured, Genesis was viewed as effectively counteracting BHS's original intentions in supporting the concept of alternative schools on-site. BHS needed a school or program for students bored but adept in the basics who were biding their time until graduation. BHS did not know what to do with these students, but felt that an on-site alternative school would potentially keep them busy and out of trouble.

With the onset of the entire BESP project, there was no plan for 9th grade students' matriculation into the Genesis program. Genesis recruited at West Campus but the efforts were not geared toward any particular academic, curricular, or special interest groups. The thrust of Genesis recruitment for the 1971/72 school year was aimed at Third World Students due to the Spring 1971 restructuring.

The Genesis staff was hounded for acceptable accountability measures, attendance records, letter grades (rather than pass/not pass grading), measurable products for any independent study taken on by students. In the Second 30 Months Plan, Genesis attempted to devise strategies to deal with the constraints imposed by BHS. These strategies resulted from negotiations between the Genesis staff and the BHS administration during the Spring 1972 semester. The Genesis staff was angry and bitter during these negotiating sessions. The staff's position paper stated:

...The main thing that we have discovered through all of this is that BHS administrators may be very good at managing budgets to suit themselves, at building schedules, at quoting the law, at indoctrinating parents, at manipulating students and teachers through their bureaucracy; but they care little for and know even less about learning and education. In three and a half years the BHS administration has often hindered and blocked us; they have never once attempted to constructively help us accomplish any goals established by students, staff or parents of Community High.

The Genesis staff strongly believed that if the school was to be a viable alternative, it had to have autonomy and the power to make its own decisions.

The end results of the negotiations were: the Genesis staff would turn in attendance reports with the understanding that the information would be used only for ADA (average daily attendance) purposes, and that the Genesis staff would do "hall" duty in the common school complex.

Funding

During the 1970/71 school year, Community High School and Black House survived on a joint budget of \$50,000 from the Ford Foundation, with BUSD financing credentialed teachers. The Ford grant paid for a secretary and consultants who were hired to make the staff more representative of the racial composition of the school, which in that year was 50 percent non-white.

During the BESP period, 1971 through 1974, Genesis was allocated a total of \$110,214 in BESP funds, or 3.5 percent of the total BESP five year budget for sites. The greatest portion of this money went for salaries, particularly classified monthly salaries, fringe benefits and service contracts with consultants. Over the three school years that amount totaled \$76,170, or 69 percent of the Genesis budget. The next greatest outlay of funds was for instructional and office materials and books, amounting to \$26,570, 24 percent of the Genesis budget. The bulk of this money went toward the HILC which was implemented in Fall 1972.

The effects of institutional racism became more apparent when funding problems surfaced as the BESP funds were cut back in the alternative schools. The commitment to staffing alternative schools with Third World teachers and consultants created problems. The district overage of teachers was predominantly white. Thus, Genesis relied heavily on service contracts in order to bring in Third World staff. To provide role models for students, and to make it possible for multi-cultural, multi-ethnic programs to function at all, the staff had to reflect multi-cultural and multi-ethnic backgrounds.

Because the greatest portion of BESP funds went to salaries and consultants' fees, many of the alternative schools were doomed to be phased out as BESP funding dwindled and finally ended after five years.

Small class size and tutorials necessitated more staff than was used in the common schools, further depleting the BESP allocations. Because so much of the BESP funds was used to staff the schools, purchase of educational materials, outside of HILC lab

materials, that were non-racist, non-sexist and non-alienating was neglected.

At Genesis, the budget was cut from \$47,568 in 1972/73 to \$23,522 in 1973/74. Between May 1973 and the Fall 1973 semester student enrollment declined by 40 percent, from 150 to 90 students. In the Fall 1971 semester, the first semester of BESP funding, Genesis enrollment dropped to 174 from 298 students the previous Fall. This occurred during a budget increase (from sharing a budget with Black House during the 1970/71 school year to having its own budget of \$39,124 in 1971/72). Thus, it would seem that budget cuts do not explain the year-to-year drop in student enrollment.

Evaluation

Students were evaluated at Genesis with the traditional grading system of A to F after a short period of pass/not pass grading. The A to F grading system was required by BUSD and by colleges and universities. Field observations found that teachers in 1973/74 had a low regard for the usefulness of standardized tests; nonetheless, the staff did use standardized tests to determine which classes the students should take and where they would need the most help. The results of the CTBS testing of ISA's sample 10th grade students in 1973/74 were as follows:

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, GENESIS GRADE 10

<u>Scoring at:</u>	<u>Fall 1973</u>		<u>Spring 1974</u>	
	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>
4th grade or below	17%	15%	8%	0%
5th - 7th grade	25%	23%	17%	33%
8th - 10th grade	8%	23%	25%	22%
11th - 12th grade	50%	39%	50%	45%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
n	12	13	12	9

The small sample of available test scores is a reflection of BUSD policy which did not require students to take the CTBS test once they scored at the 13th grade level. The percentage of ISA sample 10th graders at Genesis who "topped out" in 1973/74 in the CTBS Reading tests was 40 percent, in the math tests, 23 percent. For the whole site, 50 percent topped out in the CTBS reading and math tests combined in Fall 1973.

Level I evaluators completed two measures by Summer 1974 and reported the following results.

Survey of Educational Priorities: A majority of the 67 students surveyed attached high priorities to knowledge of own race, social skills, knowledge of other races, creativity and expression, personal development and college preparation; low priorities were given basic skills and training in citizenship.

Effective Alternativeness Scale: On this 0.0-0.1 scale, Genesis was rated .73 for "alternativeness," .41 for "effectiveness," and .29 on the combined "effective alternative" scale.

The Genesis director evaluated evaluation as follows:

The internal evaluation component (Level I) could have been more effective by helping sites to structure surveys, interviews, and collect data which they could use to evaluate their programs. Much information has been collected by Level II, little of which can be utilized by directors. Level I evaluation should have worked with ESP training in order to help sites develop better evaluative tools. It is hoped that during the final phase of the program we will have help from the evaluation component.

AGORA (aka Community High School II)

ABSTRACT

Agora (then called Community High School II) was constituted as an on-site alternative at Berkeley High School in the Spring 1971 semester, before BEBP funding, out of the waiting list of applicants for Community High School I (later Genesis).

Its initial enrollment--110 white students and 12 Black--reflected the ethnic composition of the CHS I overflow. However, from the outset the Agora staff was bent on avoiding the "white hippie" label of CHS I, and on creating the staff, style, curriculum, and sense of community that would make for positive inter-ethnic relationships in a multi-ethnic population. In the first year of BEBP funding (1971/72) Agora's student body of 168 was made up of four components--white, Black, Chicano and Asian--each numbering 42. This precisely equal numerical division did not last, but the multi-ethnic mix did, and in 1973/74, Agora's final year, the student population was 39 percent Black, 29 percent white, 26 percent Chicano, 6 percent Asian.

Agora was distinguished for its sensitivity to Chicano needs. It was also guided by a perception that the "Third World" is not really one world but several worlds, which are diverse and at times antagonistic. This perception produced a summer course on Blacks and Chicanos in Contemporary Society to develop a better understanding between the two groups. Along with its heavy emphasis on multi-cultural courses Agora also focused on basic skills.

Despite Agora's strengths, its enrollment declined during the BEBP years, from 168 in 1971/72 to 100 in 1973/74, which was not as precipitous as the Genesis decline. As an on-site alternative it faced the contradiction between its desire for autonomy and the demands of its common school host. It was also affected by the prevalent suspicion among ethnic minorities of "alternative education" as it evolved Berkeley.

Budget cutbacks in 1973/74 rendered its continued existence precarious. The Agora administration, therefore, entered into merger discussions with the Genesis administration. The two schools merged in Fall 1974 in the hope that they could survive together rather than perish separately.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

Agora (then called Community High School II) was initially an outgrowth of another alternative sub-school, CHS I (later Genesis). Due to tremendous interest in learning environments that provided an alternative to the larger, impersonal urban high school, CHS II began with students on the waiting list for CHS I.

During the summer of 1970, an originator of Genesis met with students and parents. Focusing on a small, intimate learning environment, this planning committee designed a school for 125 students. Conflict was imminent with the BHS principal, however. A Guideline Committee, appointed by the BHS principal, for sub-schools within the common high school had established a minimum of 200 students for which a sub-school was to be structured. The BHS principal would not support the CHS II planning committee. Superintendent Foster, however, encouraged the CHS II committee to present its plan to the School Board. The School Board, convinced that CHS II would attempt to increase enrollment once it opened, approved the plan. CHS II began operations in the Spring 1971 semester. Soon after opening, CHS II changed its name to Agora, invoking the ancient Greek word for a place of popular assembly to convey the image of a school that was open to the free exchange of ideas.

Agora was part of the Berkeley BESP proposal approved by the Office of Education in June 1971. Its objectives were: (1) to build a sense of community among the diverse students, teachers and parents involved in Agora, and (2) to deliver basic skills to all students.

The "sense of community" was to be achieved by creating conditions whereby institutional racism and student and parent apathy in decision-making could be confronted.

With respect to basic skills the aims were: (a) as determined by district testing, to ensure a minimum of one year's growth in reading, writing, and computation for one year's instruction, (b) to ensure intensive experience in the communications skills of listening and speaking, and (c) to provide intensive remedial assistance to all Agora students reading, writing, communicating or computing below grade level.

Incorporated in the plan was a description of student population and curriculum. For Fall 1971, the plan proposed that the student population would reflect certain racial proportions, namely, 40 percent Black, 50 percent white and 10 percent Chicano, Asian and other ethnic groups. The curriculum was to be student-staff

developed, with a flexible organizational structure to allow for new, fresh courses each semester. General course offerings were suggested, though not limited to the following: English, history, art, math, drama, science, dance and physical education.

Crucial to the goals of the Agora plan was commitment by the students, staff and parents to work and struggle together.

The Agora community began in earnest to develop an organizational structure as soon as the School Board approved its plan (prior to BESP funding). Agora's account of its history states:

Student-made questionnaires were distributed to determine reasons for disenchantment with the traditional high school. Democratic decision-making processes were established, and students worked with staff to determine curriculum.

The major concern of both the staff and students was that the student body was almost all white (110 out of 122 students in Spring 1971).

A Black teacher who taught an Agora class in Minority History Survey approached a University of California Chicano Studies teacher to teach a class on Chicano history. He then recruited a Black Studies teacher, in BHS at the time, to join in the effort to recruit Chicano and Black students. The plan was to develop Agora into a minority student center for the district.

The originator, also from Genesis, who was the first director of both sites, lasted for one semester at Agora. During the summer of 1971, the appointed director for the following year was forced to resign because he opposed the influx of minority students in the virtually all white program, according to his successor, the Black Studies teacher from BHS.

By the Fall 1971 semester, the Black Studies teacher was director and the Chicano Studies teacher was her assistant responsible for ethnic studies. The Agora structure developed rapidly under their leadership. Agora was to be an alternative school where all ethnic groups were represented equally and a school where "staff and students would be dealing with racism on an absolute, overt daily level" (director's interview, May 1972).

The Agora perspective on education considered "cultural imperialism" to be the fundamental cause for discrimination and the systematic exclusion of "minority" peoples from the mainstream of

the American society.* The Agora perspective on education proposed a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic environment to create conditions wherein students and staff who had been historically excluded from active responsibility in their education could participate. Through active and equal participation in the educational process, Agora felt that students, staff and families would be stimulated to actualize their potential in acquiring skills necessary to survive and possibly to participate in social movements trying to change the social structure dominated by a white culture.

The first students at Agora were overflow students from CHS (Genesis). Below is a table describing student enrollment for Agora between Spring 1971 and Spring 1974 by ethnicity.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
SPRING 1971 - 1973/74

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sp. '71	110	90	12	10									122
1971/72	42	25	42	25	42	25	42	25					168
1972/73	30	31	42	44			24	25					96
1973/74	29	29	39	39	6	6	26	26					100*

*In September 1973, enrollment at Agora totaled 74 students. At the end of Spring 1973 semester, Black House and Casa were closed by order of Office for Civil Rights. The effect on Agora was an increase in the number of Chicano and Black students enrolled during the 1973/74 school year. In September 1973, white students=21 (28%), Black students=25 (34%), Chicano students=23 (31%) and Asian students=5 (7%).

The distinctive feature of Agora's student population was its ethnic composition each year. With a nearly all white population at the opening of the alternative in Spring 1971, the 1971/72 school year reflected a successful recruitment program by concerned teachers. The desired ethnic composition of the school was unique for the district, especially for an alternative school. It was not proportional representation but equal distribution. Agora hoped to achieve by the end of the Fall 1971 semester a student enrollment of 25 percent white, 25 percent Black, 25 percent Chicano, and 25 percent Asian. As the table shows, it succeeded.

*"Cultural imperialism": the domination of one culture over other cultures, where the dominant cultural values are the norm and the guiding values of the society.

While Genesis was having problems in appealing to Third World students, Agora was implementing practical methods of bringing students from different ethnic backgrounds together. It recognized traditional frictions between Blacks and Chicanos and developed a "Blacks and Chicanos in Contemporary Society" summer program in 1971. The Black and Chicano students who participated were, at the request of the director and co-director, the most difficult problem students with regard to behavior, attendance and/or probations in the district.

The success of the summer program brought these students into the school. The Asian component of the student body was shortlived. An Asian Studies teacher in the common school was approached by the directors. She and her 40 students agreed to join the Agora community in Fall 1971. With the prospects of developing a separate Asian Studies alternative in the district, the "Asian Component" of Agora left. The disassociation of the Asian students and teacher from Agora was not a reflection on the inability of the Agora goals and structure to appeal to Asian students; it resulted from the perceived need of the Asian students and staff to develop a sense of worth, importance and strength in themselves and their cultures. The Asian students and staff felt this would be better actualized in a separatist environment.

The learning process at Agora was holistic. Consensus of students and staff in decision-making, intercultural exchange, intracultural classes, political history classes and an arts and cultural program were integrated into the Agora curriculum. Courses changed from semester to semester in response to needs and understanding of the students.

A mandatory multi-cultural experience class was held daily. It was offered in four sections, and all students took all four units, rotating monthly. The focus was on Black, Asian, white and Chicano history. Classes dealing with the oppression women have experienced also became part of Agora's curriculum offerings. The BUSD progress report for March-June 1972 remarks that "the school gained a strong reputation in its first year as being a learning place with vitality, openness to and acceptance of youths where an earnest effort was being made to match the curriculum to the interest of the students." The curriculum in general was developed to meet two needs: those determined by the larger educational and social system and those of the students, staff and families of the Agora community.

Like Genesis and many other on-site schools, Agora had its share of conflict with the BHS administrative bureaucracy. Some of the Agora staff felt the "on-site experience with BHS

administrative rules" affected staff turnover. Between Spring 1971 and Spring 1972, there was a 60 percent staff turnover*; 50 percent between 1971/72 and 1972/73, and 74 percent between 1972/73 and 1973/74. The turnover between 1972/73 and 1973/74 was also due in part to the district policy of freezing the hiring of classified staff. Below is a table describing the staff's ethnic composition from Spring 1971, when Agora opened, through Spring 1974, the last semester prior to the merger with Genesis.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, SPRING 1971 - 1973/74

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Spring '71	7	64	1	9	1	9	2	18	11
1971/72	3	37	4	50	1	13			8
1972/73**	2	33	2	33			2	33	6
1973/74	2	22	4	44			3	33	9

**Certificated Only. In 1972/73, there were 15 consultants and three work study students in addition to the certificated personnel.

Characteristics and skills necessary for teaching at Agora were codified. They included: (1) flexibility to perceive and respond to changing student needs, (2) ability to work effectively and affectively with students from all racial and ethnic backgrounds, (3) strong self-image based upon one's own racial and ethnic background, and (4) belief in the concept that growth is a life time process.

In coping with institutional racism, Agora staff and students found racism to be intricately imbedded within every part of daily life. "We've had some touchy situations," the 1971/72 director stated in an interview (May 1972).

For example, the bilingual Spanish class was all Chicano the first semester. The second semester about eight or ten white students enrolled and right away there was difficulty because the Chicanos, having been made ashamed of speaking Spanish all of these years, were now taking pride in learning to speak their

*There were so many classified staff, consultants, professional experts, at Agora, it is impossible to account for them all. These turnover percentages are a close approximation. The staff ethnicity table numbers are of part time personnel composite relative to full time positions.

language except for the fact that many of the whites (in the class) were in Spanish 2,3,4,5, or 6, so that Chicano students, in struggling to learn their language, were being corrected by white students..Chicanos stopped coming to class, the whites stopped coming to class and what we ended up doing was separating the classes...Fortunately we already had a white Spanish teacher and a Chicano Spanish teacher ...Out of it also came a series of group meetings, with the groups individually and with the groups together so that the white students came to understand why this was happening to them and the Chicano students were able to verbalize why they felt the way they did.

A drop in the number of Chicano students in 1972/73 coincided with the decrease in the Casa de la Raza student enrollment, reflecting a general decrease of Chicano student involvement in alternative education. Casa began operation in the 1971/72 school year, and after one year, lost 40 students "because of the 'free school' atmosphere and the protracted division within the staff over the school's program and direction" (Chicano Alternative Education, by Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, 1974).

In December 1974, BESP described Agora as

the only setting at the 10th to 12th grade level where cultural and individual needs (of Chicano students) are recognized and receive planned attention through the curriculum and related activities.

While Chicano students maintained a 25 percent representation in the Agora student body, the actual number of students peaked at 42 in 1971/72, and levelled out to about 24 students from 1972 through 1974. Still, even at the lower figure Agora accounted for more than half of all Chicanos enrolled in BESP programs on the Berkeley High campus (e.g., 23 out of 41 in September 1973).

Students, parents and staff were expected to learn tolerance and understanding of cultures and races other than their own.

Chicano Studies, Black Experience, White Studies, Black Drama provided a unique focus on each ethnic group. Other courses included in the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic program were: Multi-Cultural World History of Ideas, Multi-Cultural U.S. History, Pocho

Spanish, Bilingual Spanish and English, Swahili, History of Black Music, Multi-Cultural Women's Class, Crime in the Streets, International Cooking, Harlem Renaissance, Multi-Cultural Drama. Evident in these course titles is the Agora commitment to deal with institutional racism through exposure to a variety of cultures.

Agora also offered traditional basic skills courses such as: Geometry, Algebra, Creative Writing, and Language Lab. Classes were open to all students. The multi-cultural classes included the different cultures while focusing on cross-cultural course content. The White Studies course dealt with the causes of racism, how racism affects white people, how white people practice racism and what white people can do in their personal and public lives about the elimination of racism. The impetus for this class was the problems many white students were facing in dealing with guilt when they became conscious of the whole issue of racism.

In 1972/73, Agora implemented the Random House HILC package. In the Spring 1974 semester, Agora, Genesis and College Prep combined their HILC materials and formed one lab, available also to BHS common school students.

During 1973, parent participation was dropped from the school objectives at the request of the students, a reflection not on the school or staff but rather a sign of teenagers attempting to be independent.

The director and ethnic studies consultant/assistant director resigned after completion of the 1971/72 school year. Two new co-directors were chosen by the staff and students. One was from the Agora teaching staff and the other from the Black House teaching staff.

Even with budget cutbacks, Agora created in 1973/74 a community liaison position to promote better relations between Agora and the Berkeley community. Pot luck dinners in parents' homes, open houses, classes held off campus from time to time, and circulation of mail announcing activities relevant to the community were practices Agora utilized to keep the school in touch with and accessible to the community. For example, students were given time off from school to work with the United Farmworkers, a union with wide support in Berkeley, but especially so in the Chicano community.

Further cutbacks announced in the Fall 1973 semester necessitated the eventual merger of Genesis and Agora for 1974/75. The Agora director stated that "the merger is being effected in order to create a structure and program for the school which will allow continuance after federal funding ceases."

Articulation

There was no formal plan for students leaving the 9th grade Odyssey or West Campus alternative programs to matriculate into Agora. Informally, multi-cultural courses at Odyssey could have been followed through with participation in the Agora curriculum.

Agora, recognized in the district as the only secondary school with special concern for Chicano students, had no formal plan for Chicano students leaving the 9th grade.

The similarities between Agora and Genesis--their origins, multi-cultural curriculum and use of classified staff--provided each site an opportunity to survive beyond 1973/74 through merging. Although the organizational structure and student ethnic composition were vastly different, both sites began to plan for the merger during the 1973/74 school year due to severe cuts in each of their budgets.

The merger of the two schools, the effects on articulation, and survival strategies will be discussed in the Agora/Genesis site description. Suffice it to say that except for the merger with Genesis, Agora was not articulated with any other BESP school program.

Funding

During the first semester of operation, Agora and CHS I (Genesis) shared a grant of \$12,000 from the Ford Foundation. The funds were used for planning purposes and salaries for one secretary and one Chicano Studies consultant. With BESP funds, Agora was budgeted at \$200 per student with BUSD supported teaching positions. BHS allocated ADA funds on the basis of three-fifths of the students enrolled.

During the school years 1971 through 1974, Agora received \$77,989 in BESP funds. This was 4 percent of the total BESP budget for sites from 1971 through 1976. Most of this money (87%) was spent on salaries, service contracts, fringe benefits. This amount totaled \$68,102 over the three years. Eight percent or \$5,980 was spent on supplies and/or instructional materials between 1971 and 1974, most of which went into the HILC laboratory implemented in 1972/73.

Like many of the other BESP schools, Agora relied heavily on BESP funds to bring Third World teachers, classified and certificated, into the district. These staff members were hired on a temporary basis. When BUSD put hiring restrictions for anyone

outside the district in Spring 1973, even with BESP funds, many sites experienced high staff turnover.

In Spring 1973, Agora was notified of funding cutbacks of 37 percent (from \$27,560 in 1972/73 to \$17,302 in 1973/74). To meet the new budget, Agora reduced curriculum offerings as well as personnel. Despite budget cuts, and though enrollment in Fall 1973 was initially down from Spring 1973, Agora showed an overall increase in student population in the 1973/74 school year.

Evaluation

Student evaluation was done at Agora through classroom testing and CTBS scores. The results of the CTBS testing of ISA's sample Agora 10th grade students in 1973/74 were as follows:

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA SAMPLE, AGORA GRADE 10

<u>Scoring at:</u>	Fall 1973		Spring 1974	
	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>
4th grade or below	15%	8%	0%	14%
5th - 7th grade	39%	50%	50%	72%
8th - 10th grade	31%	33%	25%	0%
11th -12th grade	15%	8%	25%	14%
Total	100%	99%	100%	100%
n	13	12	8	7

Scores for all 26 ISA sample 10th graders at the school were unavailable. BUSD policy did not require students to take the CTBS once they scored at the 13th grade level. This contributed to the low availability of scores. The percentage of 10th grade Agora ISA sample students who "topped-out" in the CTBS Reading test in 1973/74 was 15 percent, in the CTBS Math test it was 8 percent.

In the Spring 1974 semester, the Agora director reported:

We have had very little contact with Level I evaluation. Although we have generated a number of questionnaires designed to measure student-teacher and student-student interaction, it has never been clear whether it was Level I's role to help us with analyzing the data. The promised analysis of CTBS scores to help us identify areas of student deficiency has never come through.

In the Agora generated questionnaires regarding teacher-student interaction, results showed that students had a closer

relationship with Agora teachers than with BHS teachers. Students discussed "race" with Agora teachers much more than with BHS teachers, and more often with teachers of their own race. However, students also discussed race with teachers of other races more at Agora than in BHS.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale, Agora's ratings were: between .9 and 1.0 for "alternativeness"; .65 for "effectiveness"; and .6 on the combined "effective alternative" scale. Its combined score was the highest among the BESP high school programs.

AGORA/GENESIS

ABSTRACT

In January 1969, when Community High School (later Genesis), the first alternative school on the Berkeley High campus, opened its doors 600 of Berkeley's 1,054 10th graders applied for admission.*

In Fall 1974, after Genesis merged with Agora (founded in the Spring 1971 semester as Community High School II, partly to accommodate the Genesis overflow), the product of this merger, Agora/Genesis, had an enrollment of 167 in grades 10-12. By March 1976 the Agora/Genesis enrollment had dwindled to 79. The contrast between 600 applicants in 1969 and 79 enrollees in 1976 suggests a conclusion:

The promise of alternativeness seemed to have been more attractive in the heady socio-political ambience of the late 1960's than its reality, after five years of existence, in the different climate of the mid-1970's.

In the operational plan for its final phase, BESP explained, "The Agora/Genesis merger is being effected in order to create a structure and program for the school which will allow continuance after federal funding ceases."

Thus, post-BESP survival was the rationale for the merger. However, the merger also signified the non-survival of the two schools as distinct entities. In a way, the merger was a form of life after death. Agora/Genesis did survive for the two years of federal funding after the fusion. When federal funding ceased, so did Agora/Genesis. The merger failed in its stated purpose.

*The Jacket (Feb. 6, 1974), Berkeley High School's student newspaper.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

At the end of the 1973/74 school year, the existence of both Agora and Genesis was threatened by district wide budget cuts, specifically because of BUSD policy discontinuing many new non-certificated teaching positions. Both Agora and Genesis relied on classified staff to teach the multi-cultural classes, act as role models, provide students with a wide choice of electives and personalized instruction. With these aspects jeopardized, Agora and Genesis mutually agreed to merge. The merger was to take effect in the Fall 1974 semester.

Genesis' survival was also threatened because of a massive drop in student enrollment, from 140 in 1972/73 to 90 in 1973/74. Agora's enrollment, on the other hand, had stabilized at about 100 students in 1972/73 and 1973/74 after suffering a 44 percent decline between 1971/72 (168 students) and 1972/73 (96 students). (See separate site descriptions for an examination of causes of decline in student enrollment).

The merger affected Agora and Genesis differently. For Genesis the new school represented an advance in curriculum, staff and student ethnic composition, whereas for Agora it meant a setback in ethnic composition and loss of a sense of community among students and staff. By Spring 1976, Agora/Genesis seemed no more than a small supplemental program for BHS students.

Following is a table showing the ethnic identities of Agora/Genesis students just prior to the merger and then up to Spring 1976.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
1973/74 - FALL 1975

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
Agora													
1973/74	29	29	39	39	6	6	26	26					100
Genesis													
1973/74	60	67	23	26	5	6	2	2					90
Agora/Gen													
1973/74	89	47	62	33	11	6	28	15					190
Ag/Gen													
Fall 1974	80	48	66	40	5	3	15	9			1	1	167
Ag/Gen													
Spring 1975	59	45	52	40	4	3	14	11			2	2	131
Ag/Gen													
Fall 1975	41	44	32	34	5	5	13	14			3	3	94*

*March 1976 Agora/Genesis enrollment totaled 79 students.

Between the first two semesters (Fall 1974 and Spring 1975) in which the two schools functioned as a unit, the overall drop in student enrollment was 22 percent, with white student enrollment experiencing the largest decline. Even with the drop, the ethnic distribution remained about the same. Between Spring 1975 and Fall 1975, enrollment dropped again by 28 percent, from 131 to 94 students. Because of the declining enrollment, there were no selection criteria--all student who applied were accepted. The declining enrollment each semester pointed to the ineffective appeal of the merged school as an option for students.

Previously at Agora there was an equal representation of all ethnicities. Both Agora and Genesis limited white student enrollment to provide an opening for other ethnic groups, though the "ceilings" were different for each site. The selection criteria at Agora were enforced for only one year, presumably because it appeared that a satisfactory ethnic balance could be achieved "naturally."

For Genesis, however, an overrepresentation of white students was considered to be a chronic problem. With the merger, there were proportionately fewer white students than previously at Genesis.

With the merger, Black student enrollment remained about the same in the first semester; however, by Spring 1975, Black student enrollment dropped by 21 percent and again by 38 percent by Fall 1975. Chicano student enrollment, never more than 5 percent of the Genesis student enrollment prior to the merger, decreased by 46 percent (from 28 students to 15 students between 1973/74 and 1974/75). Twenty-six out of the 28 Chicano students were from Agora.

Agora's reputation as the only secondary school in the district where Chicano students' cultural and individual needs were recognized was damaged. The curriculum remained about the same as before for a year after the merger, but the atmosphere and spirit of the school did not. In Agora, 26 Chicanos in a student population of 100 achieved near parity with the other major ethnic groups; in the larger merged school they were a numerically insignificant minority (only 9 percent of the total in the first semester).

A major limitation on maintaining the Agora community and/or creating a new Agora/Genesis community was created by the actual physical setup of the merged alternative as well as the BHS scheduling. Before the merger, the sites were in two different wings of the BHS complex and that setup continued through Fall 1974. Meetings during the day became virtually impossible. In the BESP Progress Report for October 1 - December 31, 1974, it was said that school

meetings were not being held because they would disrupt the students' participation in BHS classes. Teachers also had difficulty with meeting times because many had split assignments with BHS and other BESP schools. Students expressed concern that things were not happening to pull the school together. A student committee was set up to deal with the problem. There was, however, a general apathy among the students. Agora/Genesis was no longer considered an autonomous entity. Agora/Genesis no longer offered a comprehensive program. Students' enrollment in BHS courses for graduation requirements became necessary. Though students shared activities with BHS and other BESP schools, as well as an HILC with College Prep, these activities and resources did not lead to mutual planning.

For the first time in the two schools' histories, teachers were assigned by BHS. Classes were pushed up to maximum size in the district, with a 30.1 student-teacher ratio. The two co-directors found it impossible to carry out an ongoing evaluation and supervision of the staff and classes in the school because they also had a teaching load of four classes each. Student counseling suffered because administrators were not as available as in the past.

Below is a table of staff ethnicity at Agora/Genesis for 1973-76.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1973/74 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Agora													
1973/74	2	22	4	44			3	33					9
Genesis													
1973/74	3	38	4	50	1	12							8
Ag/Gen													
1973/74*	5	29	8	47	1	6	3	18					17
Ag/Gen													
1974/75	**3	27	4	36	1	9	2	18			**1	9	11
Ag/Gen													
1975/76	2	40	2	40			1	20					5

*Full time equivalent positions for Agora and Genesis in 1973/74 were: 3 white, 6 Black, 1 Asian, 2 Chicano; total = 12 F.T.E.

** Classified staff: 1 white, 1 "other." There were nine certificated during the 1974/75 school year.

The most noticeable feature of the staffing at Agora/Genesis is the sharp decline in staff between 1974/75 and 1975/76. The merger was intended to prevent this by increasing student population, but

it did not. Staff was still trimmed because of budget cuts and declining student population. The effect on the curriculum offerings was severe. The two co-directors also had assignments in the common school, one even had an assignment to School of the Arts.

ISA reported in 1974/75 (Volume II) that although the multi-cultural curriculum was still the main thrust of the program, the effect of the merger seemed to neutralize the previously separate programs: Agora no longer was a positive experience for its students, especially for Chicanos, according to one co-director; Genesis students benefited with more exposure to Third World students.

Basic skills courses comprised 32 percent of the 1974/75 curriculum (including physical education courses.) Multi-cultural curriculum included Chicano Workshop, Multi-Cultural Women's Studies, What is White?, Multi-Cultural History/English, Black Experience and Black Drama. By the Spring 1976 semester, courses offered were down to ten (30 courses had been offered in the Fall 1974 semester). The courses dropped from the curriculum were all the physical education classes except for self-defense and most of the innovative and multi-cultural classes developed separately over the years: Journalism, What is White?, Multi-Cultural History/English, Black Experience, advanced math classes, U.S. History I, Multi-Cultural Women's Studies, Black Drama and Mexican Folk and Afro-American Dance classes.

The only courses remaining with a trace of the multi-cultural/ethnic emphasis were: Chicano Workshop (Agora), Art Workshop (Agora), Literature and Psychology (Genesis), Crime in the Streets (Genesis), and Self-Defense I and II (Agora). Cross-cultural/multi-cultural courses, once mandatory for both Agora and Genesis students, have been incorporated into the BHS Black Studies and English Departments as electives. Other courses, such as Women's Studies and Spanish for Chicano students, have also been incorporated into the BHS curriculum. Another Agora-initiated course, What is White?, dealing with institutional and personal racism, is no longer offered in any secondary school program.

For Spring 1976, most advanced math classes were dropped, leaving only Algebra Lab and Mathematics.

FUNDING

The merger of the two sites allowed for their continued funding; if they had not merged, total phase-out was imminent.

Since the merger of Agora and Genesis in the Fall 1974 semester, total allocation of BESP funds has been \$39,938 (1.2 percent of the total five year BESP site funds). Between 1973/74 and 1974/75,

the funding decreased by 23 percent (from combined budgets of \$40,824 to \$31,588). Between 1974/75 and 1975/76, there was a 74 percent decrease in BESP allocations, from \$31,588 to \$8,350.

Between Fall 1974 and Spring 1976, 41 percent of the Agora/Genesis joint budget paid for salaries, fringe benefits and service contracts. Slightly more money was used, 43 percent or \$17,302, for instructional and office materials, books, etc., most of which went into the HILC lab. Travel expenses accounted for 8 percent or \$3,332 of the budget during the two years of operation as a merged school.

BESP funding allowed the two sites to function as one unit for two years. And it was in the merged state that salary-related expenses were finally second to instructional materials and books.

EVALUATION

As reported in ISA's 1974/75 report (Volume II), Agora/Genesis grading policies and practices were those standard at BHS, including the F-rule (failing grades) for excessive cutting of classes.

Besides the Gates-McGinitie test used in the HILC lab, the COOP English Test and CTBS were used for all students. The COOP English Test (of vocabulary, comprehension and expression) has a standardized score set at a mean of 150 with a standard deviation of 10. With only 7 or 6 students from ISA's sample having recorded test results in Fall 1974, the students' average was close to the mean or within one SD above.

TABLE 3: MEAN COOP ENGLISH TEST SCORES, ISA SAMPLE, AGORA/GENESIS

	<u>English Vocab.</u>	<u>Eng. Com. Level</u>	<u>Eng.Com. Speed</u>	<u>English Expression</u>
Fall 1974	157.143	154.143		148.167
n	7	7		6

Among ISA's sample students taking the CTBS the average scores from Fall to Spring (1974/75) improved from 1-1/2 grade equivalencies in reading to nearly 3 grade equivalencies in language. The students' test scores did not approach their actual grade level, however.

TABLE 4: MEAN CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS, ISA
SAMPLE, AGORA/GENESIS

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Math</u>
Fall 1974	8.392	6.682	6.624
n	12	11	7
Spring 1975	9.929	9.500	
n	7	5	

Level I could have been instrumental in the decision-making process that led to the merger of Agora and Genesis. If Level I had acted (or had been permitted and encouraged to act) as a trouble shooter, the merger might not have been for naught. Continuous evaluation of the merger as a survival strategy could have potentially proved useful to all BESP schools faced with phase-out. The absence of systematic evaluation of the merger, both before and after its consummation, is not simply, or even primarily, the responsibility of Level I. After all, the ultimate power to effect the merger rested with central BESP.

Thus, a key issue is central BESP's perception and utilization of formative evaluation as an ongoing process to help ensure the most informed and thoughtful decision-making. BESP, in turn, had been subjected to many pressures and demands from the federal ESP office with respect to Level I's operation. However, it is not at all clear that federal intervention was designed to enhance the utility of Level I in confronting such concrete problems as were involved in the merger of Agora and Genesis.

MODEL SCHOOL A

Abstract

Model School A (MSA) began operations on the Berkeley High School campus in the Spring 1971 semester, when BESP was in the making but not yet funded.

Its name already said something about the purposes of its founders; it was to be a model of academic achievement. The administration-sponsored founders emphasized structure, disciplined academic instruction, accountability and expectations of performance. The classroom was their temple and the teacher was its prophet. MSA was the answer to the "free school" wave--and a response to the perceived needs of achievement-oriented students. As a small sub-school, MSA was designed to shelter its students from the depersonalization, the social tensions and the common denominator pressures of the large, urban high school; to create an environment in which traditional education virtues would prove their worth. It was conceived, paradoxically, as an experiment in non-experimentation.

When BESP appeared, MSA's founders modified their design in a candid bid for federal dollars. They developed basic skills courses for "low achievers" and resolved "to do something about improving the racial composition of MSA." The latter effort produced quick success, followed by swift, huge retrogression. Black enrollment peaked at 53 percent of the total in 1972/73--plummeted to 33 percent in 1973/74. In that period total enrollment declined from 400 to 289, but white enrollment increased--from 168 to 171--whereas Black enrollment nosedived from 212 to 96. By 1975/76 the enrollment of 323 was 68 percent white. The proportion of whites in the staff held steady at about 70 percent.

Academic division coincided with ethnic division; almost all white students were in advanced classes, almost all Black students were in basic skills classes for "low achievers." As the ethnic balance shifted, so did the academic, and MSA tended to revert to its original type: a school for academic high achievers who were white with a secondary track for Black students.

The most noteworthy effort to bridge the ethnic gap was a physical education program called Leisure Sports, which introduced Black students to such pastimes as archery, badminton and skiing, and reflected the hope that play would do more than study did for inter-ethnic relations. When BESP funding was scaled down the sports commonly associated with white affluence or near-affluence proved too expensive for MSA, and the program was absorbed by Berkeley High's PE department.

By and large, MSA did well in what it was intended to do before BESP; it did not do as well with its announced objectives as part of BESP. It continued to operate in the post-BESP year.

Emergence in Local Plan

In a press release issued November 18, 1970, MSA was announced as a new sub-school of Berkeley High School. Its focus was "academic work and a more personalized structure to begin in the Spring semester, 1971, for 360 students, 10th and 11th graders, and to expand to include all three high school levels in the Fall semester 1971."

Initially, MSA was to have opened in the Fall 1970 semester, but due to undefined goals and philosophy, it did not attract the hoped-for students. Consequently, during the Fall 1970 semester, the staff developed a more structured program and recruited students for MSA. A director was named during the planning semester. He coordinated efforts with other teachers already committed to the sub-school concept to define and structure the new school. The director was Chairperson of the BHS History Department, and also served as Chairperson of the 1968 BUSD Committee on Staff Student Relations. He was appointed by Superintendent Noel Sullivan to chair this committee.

The main characteristics of the new school, according to an MSA counselor, were: interdepartmental courses, team teaching and an emphasis on the basic skills of reading, writing and thinking. An impetus for the sub-school was provided by a study of the decentralization of the larger Berkeley High School by a committee appointed by the BHS administration in 1969. This committee and MSA itself were a response of the BHS administration to the growing alienation felt by Berkeley High School students. Although the Committee to Study Decentralization of the High School was composed of students, staff and parents, the design, philosophy, and curriculum of MSA were the products solely of the teachers under the direction of the director, who were to become the MSA staff. MSA was the system's answer to alternative education, intended as a model for other programs. BUSD subsidized the school during the first semester of operation. MSA utilized the interdisciplinary curriculum approach to education but de-emphasized self-determination, a radical emphasis which other alternative schools such as Community High School I and Other Ways/Garvey Institute/UN West adopted in their designs.

In an MSA letter to the School Board in March 1971, the courses were described as structured and heterogeneous. The philosophy was integration through pluralism. This letter also claimed:

MSA will prove that within structure, learning flourishes best. MSA will prove that self-image is enhanced through a mastery of basic skills, we will prove that students can be creative and imaginative within a framework of expectations and accountability.

During the first semester of operation, MSA also submitted a proposal for ESP funding. The director stated that:

...Once enrolled into the BESP (plan)... we had to look at the objectives of BESP. One of them was developing or bringing skills to those who needed them and also, that the school had to reflect somehow racially the mother school. So, in order to get the money, which frankly we wanted, it became necessary for us to create some kind of program which would meet BESP goals and at the same time do something about improving basic skills. (Director interview, May 1975)

ESP money was not the sole incentive to change; the MSA staff was also aware of student complaints and unrest. Students complained about not understanding what was happening in the classroom, and teachers observed that absenteeism increased sharply soon after school opened in Spring 1971. In a reaction to this situation, all MSA students were given the CTBS tests. The results were that almost 40 percent of the 324 students enrolled (about 125 students) at MSA were reading below 8th grade level. MSA staff then began developing courses geared specifically "to aid low achievers reach a level of competency in reading." The effects of the basic skills component of the MSA program were far-reaching and will be discussed later in this report. For now, we can say the MSA program led to dual tracking: low achievers and high achievers were in separate programs. The programs were further differentiated by the racial composition of the students, where low achievers were overwhelmingly Black and high achievers were white.

In the BESP proposal submitted to the Office of Education in Spring 1971 MSA defined itself as a "structured skill-oriented sub-school at BHS." Courses were to be interdepartmentally offered with emphasis on the humanities and personalized instruction. They were designed to "enhance the basic skills of students, eliminate racism, and promote the joy of learning and focus on the pluralistic aspect of society."

These stated aims were not incorporated wholistically into the MSA curriculum. There was some overlap of personalized instruction and cultural pluralism and basic skills, but generally, basic skills and personalized instruction were grouped together, and cultural pluralism and the elimination of racism through interdepartmental course offerings were grouped together. For example, a vehicle for dealing with racism was the Study of Man course developed by MSA staff. It was a core course required of all MSA students in 10th grade. History and literature from Asia, Africa and Europe were the studied topics, and students received both history and English credit for the course. Eleventh graders were required to take the American Culture class in which the history and literature of the many nationalities and cultures in American society were studied. This course also offered English and history credit.

These two innovative courses continued to be required of MSA 10th and 11th graders, but they were geared for the advanced academic students. Basic skills students received personalized instruction in the labs (reading, math, and language/arts and history) and materials available to them included multi-ethnic and multi-cultural literature. The basic skills students, however, were separate and distinct.

Recognizing the de facto segregation that persisted in the two programs--basic skills and advanced academic--MSA developed a unique co-educational physical education course offering, entitled Leisure Sports, to bridge the gap. Through Leisure Sports, the MSA staff hoped to bring together Black and white students as well as expose Black students to games and physical exercises traditionally practiced by white middle and upper class students, e.g., skiing, archery, badminton. Leisure Sports was an MSA course for all students until the 1973/74 school year, when it was cut back to a 10th grade option only. In 1974/75, the common school incorporated it into its P.E. elective offerings. The primary impetus for BHS control of Leisure Sports was the expense attached to the course itself. With budget cutbacks, Leisure Sports became financially prohibitive for MSA's BESP budget.

The development of the basic skills program at MSA was a priority for the MSA staff. During Summer 1971, teachers participated in a workshop in reading skills (Gattegno's Words in Color program). In Fall 1971, MSA supplemented its academic program with Words in Color, and modified it again in the Spring. During Fall 1972, MSA enhanced its skills development program with a High Intensity Learning Center developed and distributed by Random House Publishing Co., and later added Cohen's systematized program.

Improved test scores of MSA students were advertised throughout BUSD. The effects proved a boon to the growing respectability of MSA. Throughout the five years of operation, MSA was perhaps the most accepted and most popular alternative school within the BESP. Its popularity reflects the positive growth in reading and math skills students acquired while enrolled in the special skills programs. MSA has always had waiting lists of students anxious to get into the program. As a BESP school, MSA was even more unique in the popularity and respect it generated among BHS administrators and other educational leaders throughout the BUSD.

The process MSA developed and utilized in its efforts to gain popularity is rife with political implications for alternative education. In a Spring 1975 interview, MSA's director stated:

We have had very little association with other (alternative) schools. Partly we were caught up in our own things. Also, we were trying to avoid close identity with other alternative schools because we were suffering from faculty hostility. There has always been an enormous resentment from the (BHS) faculty toward sub-schools. And...being primarily concerned with the survival of MSA, we avoided close identification with other sub-schools. Also, we didn't believe in their philosophies and we still don't.

Students were required to participate directly in the common school. In so doing, MSA could keep abreast of the attitudes common school teachers and students had toward the sub-schools. A letter, sent to parents of 9th graders inviting them to enroll in MSA, stated that as a sub-school of the common high school, MSA required students to take courses in both schools:

This [the director explained] was planned deliberately. By moving back and forth between MSA and BHS, the students serve a valuable, dual function: they become catalysts for change in BHS, and they encourage further exploration in techniques within MSA.

MSA staff was required by the MSA director to participate in the common school department teachers' meetings in order to counter antagonisms toward sub-schools, and to ensure a fair representation for the MSA staff and program. Contact with BHS also was maintained through monthly reports by MSA to BHS department chairpersons.

Perhaps the most important vehicle of communication and cooperation between MSA and the common school was the sharing of MSA's BESP "wealth" with common school staff and students, particularly the HILC laboratories.

The MSA program was not isolated from the BHS program; rather, MSA attempted to integrate its program into the larger school. MSA director and staff consistently defined MSA as a sub-school of BHS, supplemental to the BHS program, not an alternative school, separate, distinct or autonomous. In so doing, MSA teachers were freed from the conflicts other secondary on-site alternative schools experienced with BHS administrative policy and procedures. The MSA teachers were thus enabled to focus their energies on teaching the student in their own classroom.

Throughout the five years, MSA staff viewed themselves as "midwives" assisting each student to develop his or her own potential. The school was a "seedbed" for the "cultivation of instructional methods and courses which, if successful, could be transplanted into the larger instructional field of BHS." (MSA promotional brochure, 1974/75.)

Student enrollment at MSA remained fairly constant throughout the five years of operation. Below is a table showing the enrollment figures for MSA over the five years by ethnicity.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sp. '71	139	43	185	57*									324
1971/72	207	50	208	50*									415
1972/73	168	42	212	53	20	5							400
1973/74	171	59	96	33	16	6	6	2					289
1974/75	220	69	68	21	22	7	3	-	2	-	5	2	320
1975/76	221	68	73	23	22	7	2	1			5	2	323

*Numbers under "Black" in Spring 1971 and 1971/72 include all "non-white" students. There was no breakdown for the several ethnic groups under that heading.

Besides publishing the results of the reading skills programs, MSA recruitment practices also included letters to all 9th graders' parents describing MSA and formal presentations at West Campus inviting students to enroll in the program when they entered the 10th grade at BHS.

Informal recruitment practices included word of mouth. Particularly helpful to MSA enrollment was the fact that the BHS principal, School Board members and other education leaders in the district had their high school age children enrolled in the MSA program.

BHS counselors also recommended students returning from suspension or exemption status into the MSA program. The discipline, rigid structure and the intensive basic skills development program were considered ideal for these students.

Over all, however, as shown in the table above, Black student enrollment steadily declined after 1972/73, whereas white student enrollment rose. From 1972/73 to 1973/74, Black student enrollment declined drastically (by 55%). The director contacted P.E. teachers and coaches, particularly the Black coaches, and requested their help in recruiting Black students into the program. Also, an effort to recruit Black students from West Campus' HUI program was made by MSA staff. But, as the table shows, these efforts did not halt the decline in Black enrollment.

In its Fall 1975 progress report, MSA offered the following explanation for the drop in its ethnic minority student population:

When MSA was the only school offering specific courses in skills in reading, writing, and math, the minority enrollment hovered around 50 percent. With skills courses now being offered in other sub-schools, and BHS, the minority population dropped off.

A question arises: why did so many Black students find some other alternative more attractive? At the close of that 1973/74 school year, the BEBP director recommended the merger of MSA and College Prep, the all-Black school and the principal alternative to MSA for Black students who wanted to overcome academic underachievement (Berkeley Gazette, 7-1-74). This, however, never materialized.

Another possible contributing cause to decreasing Black student enrollment may be MSA's reputation carried over from the first semester of operation, that is: another alternative school for white hippie students.

We had envisioned it (MSA) primarily as being attractive to white students. That was the original conception because the (Community) High School had appealed at that particular time only to a white, if you will, hippie student. (MSA director's interview with ISA, Spring semester, 1975).

Even though the school staff amended its program to include skills programs for underachievers, the overriding focus and course offerings appealed and were geared to advanced academic students. For MSA, dual tracking broke down along racial lines--white students were primarily enrolled in the advanced classes and Black students were in the basic skills program.

All incoming 10th graders were required to take a minimum of 20 units within MSA, 11th graders were required to take 15 units, and 12th graders 10 units. As stated earlier, The Study of Man, American Culture and Leisure Sports were the required courses for MSA students (10th and 11th graders). Other elective courses included: math classes, advanced and below grade level (including a math skills lab and eventually an HILC/Math lab which began operation in Spring 1975); English and history classes such as: Harlem Renaissance, Comparative Religion, S.A.T. Exam Prep, American Political Institutions, Writing/Study Skills (for underachievers), Composition and Creation, HILC Language Arts (for underachievers), science classes, a tutorial program with MSA skills students tutoring elementary students at a nearby BUSD elementary school (Washington), and multi-area courses which changed according to interest each semester. These courses included: Fixit, Apartment Living, Trends in Film, World-wide Cooking, French Civilization, The Human Body and Medicine.

Except in the area of the math electives, the MSA course electives were governed by certain factors: availability of funds, student enrollment, availability of certificated teachers and approval of BHS principal. After the first semester of operation, the basic skills program was initiated and required of those students unable to function in the English and history curricula.

The skills development was initially designed to supplement the academic program. But, in practice, students remained in the skills program for at least one year, and many students continued skills courses in their second year at MSA. ISA field observations during the 1972/73 school year reveal that 97 percent of the students enrolled in the advanced academic program were white, while 97 percent of the students in the low skills program were Black. The remaining 3 percent of each track were either Black and Asian or white and Asian students respectively.

In 1974/75, ISA observed many of the MSA classrooms, and "mapped" such variables as the student ethnicity, course content, teaching style, etc. White and Asian students and Black and Chicano students were grouped together because the MSA student enrollment was primarily white or Black with few Chicano or Asian students enrolled at any time during the five years.

Of the 37 classes observed, eight were geared for low skills students. In these classes, the majority of students enrolled were either Black or Chicano. Nine classes were geared for advanced academic students, of these seven classes had a majority of white or Asian students enrolled with few if any Black or Chicano students. The remaining two classes were considered integrated. The other 20 classes observed by ISA were not distinctly geared for either advanced academic or basic skills students. Of these, five had mostly white or Asian students, 14 were integrated, and one class had mostly Black or Chicano students. (Although 14 classes ISA observed were considered integrated, the school enrollment for 1974/75 shows 69 percent of the student body were white.) Students who remained at MSA through the 12th grade did so usually because they were in the skills program. Twelfth graders were a relatively small proportion of the MSA student body, primarily because they had exhausted the electives MSA offered, so returned to BHS for advanced foreign language, science and math courses.

Parent involvement was never a priority of the MSA program, and was usually discouraged rather than encouraged by the staff. Even so, parents were notified of what was going on at MSA on a regular basis.

The role the staff played in MSA is unique compared to other BESP programs. The staff, for all practical purposes, gave MSA its identity. The staff-designed program focused on the teachers in the classroom. The design was structured and disciplined which allowed for each individual teacher to go about the business he or she was hired and trained for: to teach. Advanced classes had student-teacher ratios of 30:1. It was in the HILC labs where intense individualized instruction occurred. The teacher in the classroom was not entangled in red tape as were other alternative school staff. The teachers mutually agreed to give all authority to the director to take care of administrative duties. The director felt he was the prime mover for what has become MSA.

The staff that came to MSA in the Fall 1970 planning semester has remained fairly constant to this day. Most of the staff were credentialed BHS teachers committed to serve the changing needs of students. Staff turnover was a result of MSA courses being incorporated into BHS curriculum, particularly HILC lab teachers, P.E. teachers and basic skills teachers.

In a student-designed teacher evaluation questionnaire, sanctioned by the director and staff, the director's cover letter to the students stated:

The staff wants to know what students think of courses, the teachers. MSA was designed to serve you, the student. It was designed by the MSA staff to meet your needs. The staff volunteered to serve, they could have remained within BHS but they chose to give of their time and energies to serve.

During the 1973/74 school year, the director went on sabbatical and was replaced by the HILC manager. The temporary director, in an interview in November 1973, said that MSA was not nor did it consider itself to be an innovative school. The main emphasis, he felt, was on having a small student body, which allowed the teachers to maintain closer contact with individual students, to teach interdisciplinary courses. Curriculum changes occurred mainly as a result of the teachers perceiving unmet needs in the programs, with the exclusion of changes due to budgetary problems. These changes, however, primarily reflected teacher preferences and capabilities, and only secondarily, students' desires.

The MSA staff advocated "teachers' rights," all (except for one) were members of the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT). The permanent director is a past president of BFT. During the 1974/75 and 1975/76 school years, a math teacher at MSA was president of BFT also and played an important leadership role in the Berkeley teachers' strike in the Fall 1975. In addition, another MSA teacher was chairperson of the BHS staff Senate in 1975/76.

Following is a table showing the MSA staff over the five years of operation by ethnicity.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, SPRING 1971 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Spring '71	10	77	2	15	1	8	13
1971/72	10	71	3	21	1	7	14*
1972/73	11	61	5	28	2	11	18*
1973/74	11	69	4	25	1	6	16*
1974/75	13	72	2	11	3	17	18*
1975/76	10	77	2	15	1	8	13*

*Includes one classified, typist in 1971/72; HILC coordinator 1972/76.

Clearly, from the figures above, white teachers remained the dominant racial group throughout the five years of MSA. Except for the HILC Reading Lab coordinator and a typist, all MSA staff were certificated. Such staff turnover as occurred was primarily concentrated among those teachers who were assigned to MSA for less than 60 percent time.

Most MSA staff who began with the project in Spring semester 1971 have remained with it to this day.

Following are two tables which show the flow of teachers out of and into MSA by race over the five years of operation.

TABLE 3A: STAFF WHO LEFT MSA, BY ETHNICITY

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Total</u>
Spring '71 to 1971/72	1	3	1	5
1971/72 to 1972/73	1	1		2
1972/73 to 1973/74	2	1	1	4
1973/74 to 1974/75	2	2		4
1974/75 to 1975/76	9		3	12

TABLE 3B: STAFF WHO CAME TO MSA FROM BHS, BY ETHNICITY

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Total</u>
Spring '71 to 1971/72	2	3	1	6
1971/72 to 1972/73	2	3	1	6
1972/73 to 1973/74	2			2
1973/74 to 1974/75	4		2	6
1974/75 to 1975/76	6		1	7

Articulation

MSA was designed not as an experimental alternative to the common school but as a sub-school within the system offering intense academic instruction. MSA supplemented the common high school, but with one major difference, it was much smaller, averaging 350 students per year, slightly over 10 percent of the common school student population. Recruitment of students into MSA at the ninth grade level was aimed particularly at the West Campus HUI alternative program for high potential students.

The organizational structure of MSA, with power firmly in the hands of the director, supported by his staff, allowed the MSA model to flourish. The staff and director had the discretion to share their BESF wealth with the common school to ensure good relationships.

MSA related more to the BHS administration and district-wide traditional educational goals than it did to BESP goals. The school/staff ideology was grounded in a sub-school mentality rather than that of an alternative school in the experimental school project. As such, MSA staff did not identify with BESP. And more important, they did not want to be identified with BESP or any of the projects of the program.

Impact of Five-Years Funding

MSA strategically planned for survival at BHS after BESP funding ends by sharing its BESP-bought materials, labs, machinery, etc., with the common school. In a report by Rufus Browning (Policy Making in American School Systems Project, Center for Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, July 1972), MSA was described as a BESP school which avoided the charge of success through riches. It did not strengthen teaching staff by hiring additional teachers with its BESP allocations. In particular, its student-teacher ratio was about 30:1, the same as in the common school. This ratio refers to the advanced classes. In the skills labs, individualized instruction took place with respect to students working at their own individual speed.

Unique to MSA in the history of BESP is the Reading HILC lab coordinator's particular position. A classified staff person, she has become an expert in the field and, in the 1975/76 school year, was salaried by BHS for her services. Prior to that year, MSA/BESP funds paid her salary. It is believed she will be kept on by BHS.

The director stated, in the oft-quoted Spring 1975 interview:

. . . I am not a supporter of ESP. I work for the money and also because Wong told me to go in there. BHS is normal for participation in the area of ESP . . . Now we have an \$18,099 duplicating and processing print shop and two labs and everything else is ESP.

In the first semester of operation, prior to BESP funding, MSA was allocated \$12,000 by BUSD. Staff salaries were provided by the district as well. BHS allocated ADA (Average Daily Attendance) funds based on the number of students enrolled. With BESP funding approved in June 1971, MSA was allocated \$49,131 for the 1971/72 school year.

During the five years of funding, MSA was allocated \$234,556 or 7.45 percent of the total BESP budget for individual sites. Salaries, including fringe benefits, service contracts and classified staff salaries (with a small amount for certificated hourly staff salaries), used 39 percent (\$92,225) of the total five year MSA/BESP Budget. Capital outlay for equipment totaled \$54,361, or 23 percent of the total budget. Capital outlay was primarily for the Reading and Math High Intensity Learning Centers. Instructional and office materials, including materials for the HILCs and other books, totaled \$72,104, or 31 percent of the total five year budget. The Reading

Lab has been increasingly utilized by the common school, and the Math Lab, opening in January 1975, has always been used by the common school.

Role of Evaluation

After the first semester of operation, MSA committed itself to the use of standardized testing of its students. Primary impetus for this was the increased absenteeism after a few weeks of operation in Spring 1971, and the growing number of complaints from students who were having trouble keeping up with the course instruction. MSA staff then gave the CTBS tests to all students and discovered that 125 students were reading below the 8th grade level. The result was the development of the intensive reading lab course. To deal with similar deficiencies in math, a math lab was also planned though not operationalized until January 1975. (Absenteeism since the first semester has not been a problem at MSA in either the skills or advanced academic programs.)

From that point, MSA students were required to take the CTBS test each semester (unless, of course, they "topped out," scoring at the 13.9 grade level). In addition, students in the skills programs were measured by teacher generated tests at the beginning, middle and end of each semester to record their progress in acquiring reading and math skills. From ISA field notes, improved scores for selective years are available. In the Fall 1971 semester, reading comprehension scores using the Gates MacGinnitie test showed an overall increase of 1.98 school years from September to January for a total of 48 students. The average growth achieved by 96 students who took both the September 1972 and June 1973 CTBS tests was 1.4 years. Of these students, 86 percent were Black.

In the Fall 1973 semester, of the 67 10th grade ISA sample students, 53 took the CTBS reading test, 55 took the language test, and 16 took the math test. Those students in our sample who did not take the test presumably already topped out prior to entering MSA. Of those who did take the CTBS reading test, 73.5 percent (or 39 students) scored at the 12th or 13th grade level. In the CTBS language test, 56 percent (or 31 students) scored at the 12th or 13th grade level. Of those students taking the CTBS math test, 12.5 percent (or two students) scored at the 13th grade level.

In the Spring 1974 semester, of the 67 ISA sample students, eight took the CTBS reading test, four took the language test and 15 took the math test. Two students scored at the 12th or 13th grade level in reading, two scored at the 12th or 13th grade level in language and none scored at the 12th or 13th grade level in math.

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In 1974/75, most MSA students from ISA's sample were exempt from the CTBS testing. One student (out of our 67 sample students) took the CTBS reading test and scored at the 5th grade level. One student took the language test and scored at the 4th grade level. Nine students took the math test and scored between 2nd grade and 10th grade, all below their level (11th grade).

Most of ISA's sample MSA students in 1974/75 did, however, take the COOP English Test which has a standardized score set at a mean of 150 with a standard deviation of ten. Of the students from our sample, the average scores in the Fall 1974 and Spring 1975 semesters were as follows:

TABLE 4: MEAN COOP ENGLISH TEST SCORES,
ISA SAMPLE, MODEL SCHOOL 7.

	English Vocab.	English Comp. Level	English Comp. Speed	English Expression
Fall 1974	160.981	154.879		155.923
n	54	58		52
Spring 1975	163.449	161.196	160.882	157.844
n	49	51	51	45

In June 1972, the director wrote to the director of the BESP program defending the work of the Level I Evaluation director. A group of BESP site directors had met to discuss grievances against the Level I director, particularly concerning his insistence on the use of standardized tests, or some other meaningful device for measurement. In the letter to the BESP director, the MSA director stated:

It has always been my belief that Dr. Pugh [the Level I Evaluation director] and you were far too lenient in your attitude toward evaluation in some of our alternative programs. Schools that rejected the use of standardized tests have had almost an entire year to develop something in its place . . . I can't but wonder if the move for dismissal would have materialized if Dr. Pugh did not push so vigorously for some form of evaluation.

His attitude toward evaluation, as evidenced in the letter, has become part and parcel of the MSA program.

Another form of evaluation utilized by MSA staff was the student generated evaluation which began in the 1971/72 school year, and has been used by the MSA staff and student body each year. In a cover letter addressed to students regarding the student evaluation of the teachers, the director stated: "MSA is the first group of teachers

to agree to have students evaluate them." On the evaluation form itself, questions asked pertained to grading systems of particular teachers, course assignments, teaching techniques, teaching attitudes towards students, students' attitudes toward MSA in general. Results of these evaluations are not available.

Level I Evaluation did not exercise formative evaluation techniques until the Spring 1974 semester, when it introduced the 0.0 - 1.0 scale of "Effective Alternativeness." In Alternativeness, MSA ranked between 0.2 and 0.3, slightly below School of the Arts and second lowest to On Target. On the effectiveness scale MSA scored a top 1.0. In the combined scale, MSA ranked between 0.2 and 0.3, slightly below Genesis.

MSA staff members have stated at different times that their concern in the basic skills program was the "future educatability and employability" of students, not political education or cultural pluralism. Progress reports issued by Level I, usually nothing substantive, stated in Fall 1971 that "time is needed for MSA teachers to learn how to offer true alternative education," quite a discrepancy from MSA goals and philosophy. By January 1975, Level I revealed a better understanding of the MSA design and stated: "The educational program is adult directed, which provides stability and allows a particular course to be refined over time. The skills labs and in-service training of staff served to make the program richer in instrumental resources compared to the common school."

There is no evidence that Level I evaluations played any formative role in the sense of affecting what was done or not done at MSA.

ON TARGET

ABSTRACT

On Target School, launched in September 1971 with BESP funding evolved out of prior vocational and career-oriented programs at Berkeley High School. Although called school OTS actually was a supplemental program that sought to impart an explicit career orientation to courses offered by the BHS Mathematics, Science, Business, Industrial Arts and Home Economics departments. As the program developed, the heavy emphasis was on the first three of these departments, which was in line with a focus on white collar careers that require some acquaintance with modern technology and science, or clerical skills.

Certain classes in these departments were labelled "OTS" on the premise they would highlight career possibilities. In some of these--e.g., Computer Programming, Introduction to Data Processing, typing, shorthand--the career potential was obvious, and these included familiar staples in high school curricula. In others--e.g., Trigonometry and Advanced Biology--the career connection was more subtle. Indeed, ISA observers could not discern what difference an "OTS" tag made in an Advanced Biology class. A few classes designed under OTS aegis were innovative; notably Man Made World, which investigated the interaction between man, society and technology, placing the issue of career in a wider context. Field trips and guest speakers were also part of the OTS program. BESP funds helped in this respect, as well as in maintaining a Computer Center, an OTS centerpiece.

The number of students who took at least one OTS class declined from 508 in 1972/73 to 212 in 1974/75. This was due mainly to a reduction in the number of classes with an "OTS" tag, as part of a phase-in process, and to the loss of field trips and guest speakers. Generally, the trend was to subsume OTS in Career Center, which was designed to respond to career needs and interests of the entire student body at Berkeley High. The absorption of OTS into the Career Center was smoothly consummated in 1975/76, but OTS continued to receive BESP funds as a distinct budgetary entity.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

A Berkeley High School biology teacher developed the OTS proposal submitted to OE/ESP in April 1971. OTS was created, according to the proposal, "in order to provide students with knowledge about careers and occupations open to them. The BHS Business, Math, Industrial Arts, Science and Home Economics departments collaborated in developing a career-oriented program."

BUSD has had a short history of vocational education. In 1964/65, Project R.E.A.L. began at the high school level. Funded with Alameda County money, it focused on health care, and provided students with exposure to the processes involved in seeking out health related careers and the nature of such occupations (e.g., doctor, nurse's aide, etc.). To this day, Project R.E.A.L. operates within the Vocational Education Department of BHS. These programs offer to all BHS students such courses as Graphic Communication, Office Experience, Merchandising and Display, Investment and Hospitality Careers, in addition to the health care offering.

In 1970, the city of Berkeley funded a Jobs for Youth Program, originated by the School Board president. This was part of the "Dreams for Berkeley" project, and focused on job placement for high school students. The BHS Career Center had its roots in this project; however, it was not utilized to its full potential until it was merged with OTS.

Finally, with the promise of federal funding through BESP, the OTS developer was encouraged to expand his original design into a contained program providing a technological career-oriented program to the regular BHS math and science curriculum. Field trips, guest lecturers representing business and industry, and a career center were incorporated into the OTS design.

The OTS curriculum was guided by three principles:

1. vocational preparation in the high school through the work world contacts, field trips and business courses,
2. science curriculum designed to equip students for employment in science and science-based industry,
3. supplements to the BHS math and business curriculum.

During years 1971-1975, any changes in the curriculum were staff initiated. Students had no voice in determining course content. They were, however, free to select their own program.

Courses were offered in block scheduling patterns incorporating speakers and field trips in the daily offerings and providing students the opportunity to secure necessary graduation

requirements from BHS. At first operating only on a morning schedule, OTS very soon expanded to a full day schedule. During the first year 15 courses were offered, including Typing, Short-hand, Bookkeeping, Model Office, Pre-Nursing and Health, Nursery Teacher Aides, Electronics, Geometry, Algebra II, Trigonometry, Computer Programming, Advanced Biology, Physics and Physiology. Other courses were later added; some of these were: Chemistry (Spring 1972), Introduction to English (Fall 1973) Physical Science (Spring 1974), Man Made World (1973/74), Planet in Peril (1975 '76), Human Anatomy and Physiology (1973/74) and Introduction to Data Processing (1973/74).

The technological aspects of OTS, primarily developed by the director included the Computer Center and coordination of the University of California Lawrence Hall of Science* programs with BHS. In Fall 1973 an OTS staff member became co-director with the original director managing the Career Center until his retirement in June 1975.

In a promotional brochure (BESP), the Computer Center was described as open to all students, helping them make decisions about themselves through personalized testing. The computer programming courses were geared toward their application to future occupations, whether in the computer science field specifically, or in helping students come to responsible decisions about their future careers. It was integrated into the Career Center services. With BESP funds, OTS spearheaded the development of the Computer Center for the entire high school. Available equipment prior to BESP was put to use by OTS staff and students after the Summer 1972 when equipment was purchased from another project (ESEA) in the district.

The Career Center was used to train staff, aides and students in the use of occupational information, media, computers, employment agencies and related occupational and career literature. As part of OTS, the Career Center offered career reference material, facilities, personnel, testing materials, contacts with the business world, agencies and institutions needed in the OTS program. In return, OTS provided the Career Center with funds and personnel, enabling the Career Center to enlarge its potential and deliver expanded services to all BHS students, not just those students enrolled in OTS designated classes.

Success of the Career Center is, however, measured by its actual use by students. Monthly and yearly reports through Spring 1975 indicated an increase in the services offered by the Career

*The original director still maintains an office there.

Center and their use by students. Following is a table showing the number of times students utilized the Center's services and the amount of services provided by the Center.

TABLE 1: UTILIZATION OF CAREER CENTER SERVICES, 1971/72-1975/76

	<u>71/72</u>	<u>72/73</u>	<u>*73/74</u>	<u>*74/75</u>	<u>75/76</u>
1. Counsels students concerning their future careers, occupations and job opportunities.	293	200	2,400	3,280	725
2. Issues credit to students for paid and voluntary work while going to school.			270	399	145
3. Provides speakers representing different occupations, who may be heard and consulted.	863	1,302	4,324	4,448	200
4. Provides computerized and standard interest testing. Informational sound slides and cassette tapes related to securing and holding jobs are also available.	255	700	1,549	1,514	500
5. Issues work permits which all students under 18 years of age are required by law to hold when working.			1,533	672	700
6. Provides library materials relative to all kinds of occupations.					400
7. Aids and places students in jobs which include work experience and work reaction.			467	156	80
8. Provides Career Center orientations.				(70)	270
9. Provides computerized scholarship information.				136	--
10. California Occupational Preference Survey administered.					300
Totals	1,411	2,202	10,543	10,605	3,320

*Including numbers of enrolled students in OTS designated classes.
 () Classes not included in totals.

The 1973/74 and 1974/75 school years indicate a tremendous increase in all areas of the chart. Included in those figures were all students enrolled in OTS classes. On the other hand, the 1975/76 figures indicate a sharp decrease in overall use of the Center. The decrease reflects absorption of OTS into the Career Center, which meant an end to OTS-designated classes and to the OTS speaker recruitment efforts. There was also a severe cutback in funds for consultants.

OTS designated classes were those classes, taught in the common school, in which students received OTS credit. In the BHS class schedules issued each semester from 1971 through 1975, OTS designated courses were listed in the Mathematics, Science, Business, Industrial Arts and/or Home Economics departments of the common school. In 1975/76, there were no OTS designated courses.

By the Fall 1973 semester OTS was described in a news release (issued by On Target) as a "drop-in alternative rather than a self-contained sub-school." It was designed to provide students with experience to improve their chances to secure jobs or enter a higher institution of education. In an interview in January 1973, the OTS director stated that whereas the initial students attracted to OTS were college prep material, by the second year of operation the majority of students enrolled in OTS classes did not plan to go to college. He attributed this to the change in ethnic composition with proportionally more ethnic minority students enrolled in OTS classes.

According to the director, no more than 50-60 full time students were ever enrolled in OTS. Each year, however, there were between 200 and 500 part time students enrolled. Students could take from one to three OTS courses, and those who took three courses were considered full time OTS students, whereas those who took one or two courses were considered part time. In the first year (1971/72) there was such confusion about how many OTS courses individual students took that enrollment figures are unavailable. Following is a table for student enrollment by ethnicity during the three subsequent years. There were no OTS designated courses in 1975/76.

TABLE 2: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 1972/73 - 1974/75

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1972/73	248	49	200	39	45	9	10	2			5	1	508
1973/74	165	37	195	44	67	15	5	1			10	2	442
1974/75	88	42	86	41	30	14	6	3			2	1	212

The 52 percent drop in enrollment from 1973/74 to 1974/75 was the result of a reduction in the number of OTS classes, and the loss of guest speakers and field trips, which had been regular features of the OTS program.

The On Target staff remained a stable group from the program's inception to its phase-in in 1975/76. Following is a table showing the On Target staff from 1971/72 through 1974/75 by ethnicity.

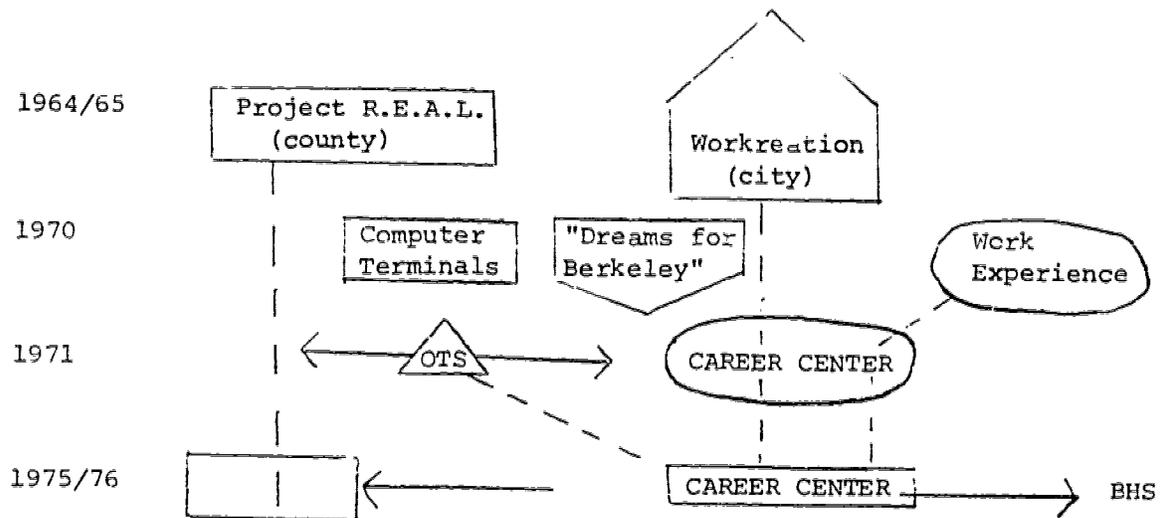
TABLE 3: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, 1971/72-1974/75

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1971/72	9	75	2	17	1	8					12
1972/73	8	80	1	10	1	10					10
1973/74	9	75	1	8	1	8	1	8			12
1974/75	5	71	1	14	1	14					7

Notable in the above table is the consistently high proportion of white teachers involved in the program. Most of the staff were from the BHS faculty, most were credentialed teachers. The seven staff members in the program in 1974/75 also began with OTS in 1971/72. Unlike teachers at other alternative schools, none of the OTS teachers taught in any other BESP school. Each taught at least 20 percent time in OTS with the rest of the teaching time at the common school (BHS).

The historical development of the Career Center through OTS can best be understood by use of a chart. Following is such a chart showing the origins of the Career Center at BHS and the final outcome of the Center as an integral part of the BHS student services.

CHART 1: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAREER CENTER



In February 1975, the OTS director issued a memo to the BESP Director, recommending that On Target School be considered a part of the Career Center and Work Experience programs at Berkeley High School. The formal merger of these programs would then be considered the BHS Career Education Department, it was suggested by the BHS vice principal. In addition to the aforementioned three programs, the MESA Program (Math, Engineering, Science Achievement) which encouraged minority youth to enter these related technical fields, and the Career Exploration Courses (such as Health Occupation Education, Model Office and Planet in Peril) would be incorporated into the new program. (Career Education never attained department status in BHS). Career Education courses were considered, in the 1975/76 school year, to partially fulfill high school graduation requirements for all BHS students.

Articulation

Except for On Target School, BESP secondary schools emphasized a liberal arts and humanistic approach to education. OTS' focus was on science, math and business, a program which supplemented the common school curriculum. The OTS program utilized the expertise of BHS teachers from such departments as Home Economics, Industrial Arts, Math, Business and Science with the emphasis on future career-oriented development.

Administrative difficulties at BHS at the beginning of the 1971/72 school year created problems for On Target course scheduling, particularly because OTS had relatively few full time students.

enrolled in the program. The 1969 Guideline Committee for Decentralization of BHS (a BHS administrative committee) stipulated that 200 students were the desired minimum enrollment for any sub-school. Consequently, OTS arranged with BHS to count its students in terms of the numbers enrolled in its classes. Eventually, BESP funds were allocated to OTS on a 3/3, 2/3 or 1/3 student basis. A full time student was enrolled in three courses, totalling 15 units. This was the only BESP site which had this type of allocation. The OTS designated courses were available to any BHS student, though OTS full time or 2/3 time students were given priority for enrollment and allowed to go on field trips automatically.

Recruitment of students in the OTS program was informal. The "soft sell" approach, according to the director, was utilized with publicity focused on the field trips and field studies. At the end of each semester, recruitment of students on the basis of available courses for the following semester was done on a first come first served basis. Oftentimes, students who wanted one or two courses were prevented from enrolling because of conflicts with the regular BHS program. When courses reached maximum enrollment, OTS staff then suggested other courses to students, either at OTS or BHS. Special efforts to publicize the program were made at the West Campus Career Exploration program.

In 1973/74, the BHS vice principal stated there was no major attendance problem at OTS. Students attracted to the program were felt to be highly motivated in the specific areas of study provided by OTS. The Career Center advertised activities and available jobs throughout BHS. Flyers and notices in the BHS daily school bulletin announced guest speakers and job opportunities.

Funding

During the period of BESP funding, On Target School was allocated less than 2 percent (\$59,631) of the total BESP budget for sites between 1971 and 1976. Of those funds 47 percent was spent in 1972/73 with the major outlay toward the purchase of computer terminals and materials for the Career Center. Both the Career Center and the computer terminals existed prior to BESP. The Career Center, begun in 1970, was funded with federal money through the "Dreams for Berkeley" project. The computer terminals were left over from another ESEA-funded project and were purchased by BHS through BESP funds during Summer 1972. Fourteen terminals were purchased by OTS, primarily during 1972/73 and 1973/74. Of the 14 terminals, most are located off campus, namely, at King and Willard Junior High schools and at East Campus. BHS has access to four--one in the science department, one in the HILC Math lab (the lab

itself was purchased and developed through the BESP budget of MSA), one in the Career Center (which is also shared by the Social Living/Home Economics classes), and one in the computer programming class. The sum of \$13,613, or 23 percent of the OTS budget, went toward purchase of these computer terminals.

Salaries and fringe benefits during the five years of operation used 43 percent of the total budget (\$25,674), most of which went toward classified monthly salaries. By 1974/75, no money was used for stipends for guest lecturers and teachers were not released to accompany students on field trips. At this time, massive efforts to reach the total BHS student body became the primary emphasis of OTS. Career orientation for all 10th graders upon entry in BHS was introduced.

During the 1975/76 school year, OTS was all but phased into BHS. Its BESP budget amounted to \$1,600. On March 10, 1976, OTS's discontinuance was recommended by the BESP director. He stated: "The program is career oriented and has been able to function without a great deal of input from the Experimental School Project." Financing throughout the five years was directed toward enrichment of the BHS curriculum and student services, e.g., the Career Center.

The secretary of the program was paid out of BUSD funds during the 1975/76 school year. In addition to doing clerical work necessary for the operation of the Career Center, the secretary also was instrumental in maintaining and supervising the entire Career Center for BHS in general.

Evaluation

Because OTS was not an autonomous sub-school of BHS, the director and staff felt that the type of evaluation and measurement conducted by Level I was irrelevant. Nonetheless Level I persisted.

In 1972/73 Level I decided to administer CTBS tests to OTS students. The OTS staff regarded this venture as ridiculous because OTS offered no basic skills courses in reading and math, and thus the scores would tell nothing about the OTS program. Still, Level I managed to make the math portion of the CTBS test mandatory for OTS students in 1973/74. In 1974/75 OTS was finally exempted by BES from the CTBS tests.

Level I conducted an attitude survey each year through 1973/74. Because there was no feedback from the survey, according to the OTS director, the students were uncooperative. The OTS and Career Center directors attempted to develop their own attitude survey

but their requests for help from Level I went unanswered.

On Level I's 0.0 to 1.0 "Effective Alternativeness Scale" OTS was rated slightly below .1 for "alternativeness," slightly above .1 for "Effectiveness," and barely above 0.0 on the combined scale, which placed it at the bottom of all BESP high school programs.

There is no evidence that Level I evaluation had any effect on OTS, except for apparent irritation of the staff.

The OTS staff employed several standardized instruments (e.g., the California Occupational Preference Survey or the Work Values Inventory), but these indicated the students' occupational preferences or aptitudes, and did not provide measures for evaluating the program.

SCHOOL OF THE ARTS

ABSTRACT

For personnel in the Performing Arts Department of Berkeley High School ESP was a providential arrival on the scene. In the district's fiscal crisis circa 1971, the inclination was to impose severe cutbacks in such "frills" as drama, dance and music, rather than in basic skills. Faced with this threat, PAD personnel submitted a proposal to create School of the Arts as an alternative sub-school on the BHS campus to secure federal funds that would relieve specialists and consultants then facing dismissal, and make possible the purchase of musical instruments, mass media equipment, and other tangibles essential to the performing arts. Moreover, within the framework of the sub-school students could be granted course credit for participation in stage productions, an activity that had been considered extra-curricular in the common school.

After a year of planning the curtain rose on S/A in Spring 1972. Credit for language skills and history was given for courses offered in the school. S/A students took their math, science and/or physical education in the common school.

S/A tried to focus on multi-cultural themes and to attract Black students, but ethnic composition was a persistent problem. In a student population that was in the 200 range, except for the last year, 1975/76, when it dipped to 150, whites constituted between 76 percent (1972/73) and 95 percent (1975/76) of the total. Comparable proportions obtained for the staff, and although claims were made that a more equitable ethnic distribution was achieved in hiring consultant/classified staff, the actual difference was modest. In this category 64 percent of the personnel was white.

S/A adequately performed the role of a federally subsidized enrichment program for PAD and did provide an alternative for students who were bored or repelled by the common school, and had an aptitude for or affinity with the performing arts. With the end of federal funding, S/A was phased into PAD.

EMERGENCE IN LOCAL PLAN

School of the Arts was developed by the chairman of the Performing Arts Department of Berkeley High School, and encouraged by the BHS principal. Interest in establishing a performing arts oriented alternative school began in 1969, during the organization of Community High/Genesis. At that time, however, it was not encouraged by BHS administration because of stipulations set forth by the 1969 Guideline Committee for the Decentralization of BHS. There was fear that a single discipline sub-school would reduce the integrity of the comprehensive Berkeley High School.

With federal funds available through BESP, the chairman of PAD (who was also district coordinator of the Performing Arts program) in conjunction with the PAD staff wrote a proposal for the arts-oriented alternative. The PAD staff was especially interested in a sub-school because classified specialists' positions were threatened by the financial crisis in the district, which had to place basic skills before drama, music, etc.

The School of the Arts proposal was approved by OE/ESP in Spring 1971. But a planning semester was scheduled for Fall 1971 in order to tighten up curriculum and recruit staff and students. The students for whom the program was oriented were: "(1) those who have demonstrated success in the arts though not necessarily proficient in basic skills; (2) those who are seeking a broad cultural approach to the arts; and (3) those who wish to develop in-depth skills and knowledge as a performance specialist." (June 1971 Proposal to OE/ESP.)

During Fall 1971, a core group of five teachers and the PAD director planned the program. All but one of the teachers were members of the PAD. The non-PAD teacher involved in the planning semester was earlier involved in the development of the Community High/Genesis program. He saw the S/A program as a means of developing the processes for students' and parents' participation in governance, and for the further development of interdisciplinary humanities courses he helped pioneer in CHS I/Genesis.

Although this former CHS I/Genesis teacher was viewed with some distrust and uneasiness by his more tradition-bound colleagues because of the educational iconoclasm associated with CHS I/Genesis, he was appointed co-director of the S/A program in the first semester of operation, Spring 1972, and remained with the program through June 1976.

The program focus developed during the planning semester was a "universal and multi-cultural study and practice of the arts,

based on the belief that the study of artistic creation can provide every individual with a vision into the soul and cultures of humankind" (S/A self description of first 18 months of operation, Spring 1973). Performing arts productions and performance experiences were considered co-curricular, providing practical application of skills rather than learning by simulation only. The intended curriculum was to integrate arts, drama, music, foreign language and communications skills in the areas of writing, TV, radio, film making and an English/history humanities core course. Math, science and physical education requirements were to be fulfilled through common school courses. The result was that S/A was not an autonomous program, but rather an enrichment program for the common school's PAD.

Courses offered during the five years of operation were not any different from performing arts courses found at any large urban high school. They included: theatre workshop, performance workshop, stagecraft, costume production, music history, classical drama, glee clubs, harmony, marching band, concert band, conducting, stage band, basic musicianship, and dance production.

With BESP funding, more specialized courses were made available and oftentimes, through these courses, the multi-cultural emphasis of the program was brought forth. These courses included: Black Drama, Jazz/Modern Dance, Israeli Folk Dance, Greek Dance, Jazz Folklore, Rock/Soul Instrumental, The Art of American Politics and Law, The American Mind, Environment: Human and Natural; Dream, Myth and Magic, and Children's Theatre Workshop.

Academic oriented courses were offered such as Creative Writing, Developmental Reading and Writing, and English Composition. BESP funds were used to develop radio broadcasting studios and television and video studios. Classes in radio-journalism, television and videotaping were offered.

S/A and PAD shared facilities, staff and materials. However, they did maintain some semblance of separate identities through the students involved in the programs. S/A students could enroll in PAD courses and receive S/A credit, but PAD students could not enroll in any S/A classes. Most of the students enrolled in the program were white high achieving students. There were never more than 10 or 15 students who required specialized attention for basic skills. S/A course requirements were such that at least 15 students had to enroll in a course before the course would be taught. Consequently, basic skills students were systematically kept out of the program by a self-perpetuating situation. If each year there were not enough of them to warrant basic skills courses, then it became necessary for them to seek accommodation elsewhere.

The S/A structure provided performing arts related courses to high achievers, who were in the main white students. Recruitment of Black students was attempted each semester but never proved very successful. One staff member stated: "Black House, College Prep, etc., confiscated a lot of Black students. Since School of the Arts is not Black enough, no new Black students come. We get white and whiter." The Black students sought out by S/A were the high achievers, but these students seemed to find other programs in which to participate, such as College Prep, the Black Studies Department of BHS, etc.

Another effort to deal with institutional racism was hiring some minority consultants; however, the credentialed S/A staff were for the most part white PAD teachers. One S/A staff member stated: "The accidental, unintended, side-benefits from BESP funding were: 1) minority staff jobs (not in the BUSD teacher overage)--which helped the community unemployment problem, and 2) the elective program was kept alive in the secondary level. If it hadn't been for these, I would have long ago told Washington, D.C. to take their money and stick it up their ass."

To recruit students in the program, S/A staff and students paid visits to West Campus and Odyssey with a bevy of talent shows, media demonstrations, and publicity of special courses provided at S/A. Federal funds were used to construct a piano lab equipped with 15 pianos. This lab enticed some students into the PAD. In the Spring 1974 progress report, the directors claimed that the piano lab had attracted Black students. During that semester, 40 percent of the students enrolled in piano classes were Black. Piano classes were incorporated into the PAD curriculum in 1973/74. Thus, students from the common school enrolled without having to involve themselves in the S/A program.

The presence of a Black jazz musician on the staff was also used to entice Black students into the program. But this apparently was no more successful than other recruitment devices. Following is a table of student enrollment at S/A from Spring 1972 through June 1976 by ethnicity.

TABLE 1: STUDENT POPULATION BY ETHNICITY,
SPRING 1972 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Native American		Other		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sp. '72	151	76	31	16	8	4	7	4			3	2	200
1972/73	142	76	30	16	6	3	3	2			6	3	187*
1973/74	165	84	18	9	4	2	5	3			4	2	196
1974/75	174	82	23	11	11	5	2	1			1	-	211
1975/76	142	95	5	3	3	2							150

*63 students left Sept. 72-Feb. 73; 14 students left Feb-May 1973.
Total: 77 + 187 = 264; figures include grads.

Notable in the figures is the overwhelming white majority during the five years of operation. The usual form of recruitment was through student word of mouth, and with so many white students, it's not surprising they recruited primarily white students. There was no selection process, students needed only to apply and were openly accepted into the program. As a last resort to involve Black students in the program, S/A and College Prep worked out an arrangement whereby College Prep students received performing arts credit for one College Prep course, "Communication and Futurism." Begun in 1975 (Spring) it was first taught by the C. P. Director. In Fall 1975, though, it was taught by a white male from PAD (who also taught in Agora/Genesis) and was received poorly.

Students enrolled at S/A were required to take three out of five classes in the school. Math, science and most of the physical education requirements were satisfied at the common school.

There was a great deal of overlap among PAD teachers and S/A staff. The PAD chairman continued as co-director of S/A during the five years of operation. Following is a table showing the S/A staff by ethnicity between Spring 1972 and Spring 1976.

TABLE 2: STAFF BY ETHNICITY, SPRING 1972 - 1975/76

	White		Black		Asian		Chicano		Total
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
Sp. 1972	17	74	5	22	1	4			23*
1972/73	16	84	1	5	1	5	1	5	19**
1973/74	12	80	2	13			1	7	15+
1974/75	9	82	2	18					11++
1975/76	6	86	1	14					7

* 12 certificated; 11 classified/consultants, including 6 white, 4 Black, 1 Asian

** 14 certificated; 5 classified/consultants, including 4 white, 1 Black

+ 11 certificated; 4 classified, including 2 white, 1 Black, 1 Chicano

++ 9 certificated; 2 classified, both white

Despite claims of hiring consultants or classified staff who were not white, non-white consultants/classified staff were the exception rather than the rule. During the five years of operation, 22 classified/consultants were employed at S/A, of these, 14 (64%) were white, 6 (27%) were Black, 1 (4%) was Chicano and 1 (4%) was Asian. In all, the proportion of white staff to white students was about the same.

Most of the certificated staff at S/A shared their time with PAD, and some even shared time with other BHS departments and other BESP schools. Following is a table showing the number of S/A certificated staff over the five years of operation and the various assignments they had in addition to their S/A assignment.

TABLE 3: CERTIFICATED STAFF BY ASSIGNMENT, SPRING 1972 - SPRING 1976

	<u>At S/A Only</u>	<u>At PAD</u>	<u>At Other BESP</u>	<u>At Other BHS Depts.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Spring 1972	2	6		4	12
Fall 1972	1	6		5	12
Spring 1974		7*	2*	2	9
Fall 1974	1	5	1**	2	9
Spring 1976		5	1***	2***	7

* Two staff workers were at both PAD and West Campus.

** Co-director Ag/Gen (not the same one as in 1975/76).

*** One teacher at BHS and BESP (co-director Ag/Gen).

ARTICULATION

As an enrichment program for PAD, S/A maintained a unique identity within the whole experimental schools project. Though other BESP programs were enrichment programs for the common school, S/A was the only one geared to artistic expression through drama, music, media, dance, etc. With an emphasis different from the other experimental programs, S/A attempted to cooperate with these programs in order to enhance their academic and multi-cultural emphases with performing arts and media related experiences. Through sharing resources with College Prep, Black House, or the Black Studies Department of BHS, S/A was able to claim involvement in dealing with institutional racism.

In addition, productions geared to a multi-cultural or ethnic thrust were incorporated into the "combat racism" drive. Some of these were: Purlie, Serpent and Elhajmalic, The Me Nobody Knows, Fiddler on the Roof and Bernarda Alba.

S/A aimed student recruitment drives at Odyssey and West Campus HUI programs, particularly for the Black students in those programs. However, the intent was to increase Black students' involvement in S/A rather than achieve any degree of articulation between Odyssey or HUI with S/A.

Through PAD and the director's involvement with the district-wide performing arts program (he was coordinator of it), S/A related to every grade level in BUSD; however, it was not a conscious goal or plan to do so, rather coincidental because of the PAD and the director.

FUNDING

Over the five years of BESP funding, S/A was allocated 6.41 percent of the total BESP sites' budget. This amounted to \$201,712. Federal investment in the S/A program was primarily in the area of salaries for certificated hourly staff and classified staff, and consultants' fees, with 61 percent or \$122,511 thus expended. Capital outlay and equipment expenditures amounted to \$61,494, or 4 percent of the total budget. In this area, special television and radio equipment, musical instruments, stage materials, and the piano laboratory were acquired with BESP funds. Instructional and office materials, including books, musical scores, etc., used 10 percent (or \$19,973) of the total S/A budget over the five years.

PAD was the benefactor of BESP funding of S/A. PAD had access to the equipment, musical instruments, television and radio broadcasting studios, and other resources bought with BESP funds.

During the 1975 Spring semester, S/A began exploring the role the program would play after BESP funds ended. The staff viewed total phase-in as a means of expanding PAD. In addition, the staff felt larger classes and less variety due to reduced funding (particularly in 1975/76 with \$9,169) necessitated the incorporation of S/A into PAD. Within PAD, more students would be accommodated and the budget, staffing and curriculum overlap problems would be resolved once and for all.

The S/A program always was integral to the PAD. Through BESP, S/A broadened performing arts resources and successfully carried the PAD and its staff through financially threatening years.

EVALUATION

In the five years of operation, the S/A staff was critical of the Level I evaluation component. The staff requested assistance from Level I to evaluate affective goals. S/A wanted to measure the connection between successful performance on stage and successful performance in academic subjects. Such a measure was never designed. Instead, S/A issued evaluation questionnaires to students which covered program content, student/teacher relationships, program administration, and student voice in decision-making. One of the co-directors tabulated the results. They were used as a descriptive measure, communicating to the staff student attitudes and satisfaction with the S/A program.

On Level I's 0.0-1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale S/A ratings were: for alternativeness, between .2 and .3, slightly above MSA, and third lowest among BESP high school programs; for effectiveness, slightly above .2, second lowest; on the combined "effective alternative" scale, between 0.0 and .1, second lowest to On Target.

With respect to standardized testing, most S/A students were exempted from taking the CTBS because they had topped out at the 98th percentile. In 1973/74, CTBS scores in both reading and math are available for only 10 students in ISA's sample of 49 10th graders at S/A. The results of the CTBS testing of 10th graders in our sample who took reading and/or math are as follows:

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF CTBS GRADE EQUIVALENTS,
ISA SAMPLE, SCHOOL OF THE ARTS

<u>Scoring at:</u>	Fall 1973		Spring 1974	
	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Math</u>
7th grade or below	6%	33%	-	12%
8th-10th grade	33%	33%	4%	25%
11th-12th grade	61%	33%	96%	63%
Total	100%	99%	100%	100%
n	18	3	22	8

Of the ISA sample students who took the CTBS test in the Spring 1975 and were then in the 11th grade, all but one scored about the 11th grade equivalency.

In 1974/75, students did, however, take the COOP English Test which has a standardized mean score of 150 and a standard deviation of 10. Of ISA's sample students who took the test, the average score was at least one half of one standard deviation above the mean as noted below.

TABLE 5: MEAN COOP ENGLISH TEST SCORES, ISA
SAMPLE, SCHOOL OF THE ARTS

	<u>English Vocabulary</u>	<u>English Comprehension Level</u>	<u>English Comprehension Speed</u>	<u>English Expression</u>
Fall 1974 n	162.040 25	158.870 23		157.364 22
Spring 1975 n	163.500 12	157.333 12	156.33 12	157.909 11

APPENDIX

EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVENESS SCALE

In the Spring 1974 semester the Level I formative evaluation component of the Berkeley Experimental Schools Program rated all the then-existing BESP sites on a 0.0 to 1.0 "Effective Alternativeness" scale. The sites were first rated for "alternativeness," then for "effectiveness," and then those two scores were multiplied to produce a combined "effective alternative" rating. Thus, if a site were rated .8 for "alternativeness" and .2 for "effectiveness," its "effective alternative" rating would be .16 (i.e., $.2 \times .8$).

"Alternativeness" embraced these five factors: emphasis on ethnic identification, emphasis on personal growth, freedom allowed students, emphasis on political education, and cultural density (i.e., presence of art works, library materials displays and other cultural artifacts that signalled the presence of culture as a major contextual variable).

"Effectiveness" embraced these three factors: emphasis on basic skills, clarity of objectives, and efficient organization.

Level I's ratings of the sites on this scale in Spring 1974 are included in our site descriptions.