# THE J. EARL JACKMAN RELOCATION PROGRAM

## First Year Report

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Origin of the Program:

In May, 1964, friends of Dr. J. Earl Jackman made up a purse to present to him when he left his long-time post as director of the Department of Mobile Ministry. Dr. Jackman generously decided to donate this gift to aid deserving students from areas served by mobile ministers, to get a better education. By late fall of 1964, it became known that the denomination's Commission on Religion and Race was also seeking ways to help students who were Negroes, and the two plans were brought together, resulting in the J. Earl Jackman Relocation Program.

The original agreement between the Commission on Religion and Race and the Board of National Missions (in which the Jackman Fund was lodged) was that CORAR would provide money and cooperate in administration, and that the Board would provide staff for recruitment, screening, and servicing and publicizing the program. Dr. Betty Jean Patton, administrative assistant in the Division of Church Strategy and Development who had training and experience with youth and in educational work, was assigned as Jackman Program Administrator.

It was decided that an Advisory Committee ought to be set up to help plan details of the as-yet-unformed program. Twenty-one denominational executives, pastors, and educators accepted invitations to attend the first meeting (January 11, 1965) of the "Advisory Committee on Relocation of Culturally Deprived Senior High Students for Educational Purposes." (One of the committee's first actions was to ask that the program's name be changed; thereafter it was referred to simply as the Jackman Relocation Program.)

The basic idea of the program was to assist academically-able students to relocate from areas where educational opportunities were below average, into areas with better educational opportunities, for the remainder of their high school years. Because Dr. Jackman had been connected with the Mobile Ministry Department, it was suggested that students from Mobile Ministry fields should be given priority in placements. When the Commission on Religion and Race joined the program, it was further suggested that students with an interest in civil rights, or those whose families had suffered because of participation in civil rights activities, should be preferred. Later the committee suggested that students planning on service and church vocations be considered ahead of others, and finally it was decided that students should be chosen from families at the poverty level.

There was discussion over whether "academically-able" meant only top-notch intellects, or simply good students with leadership potential - both of whom would surely benefit from enriched educational opportunities. Concensus seemed to be that in the first year, with limited funds and experience, the best possible students should be sought; thereafter it might be possible to take only average students.

To further define the program in its first year, the Advisory Committee suggested limiting recruitment of students to Mobile Ministry fields in the depressed areas of the Southeast, including the Southern Appalachian Mountains, and to limit recruitment of host families to five Synods in the North and Midwest; Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Recruitment of students would be done by the Mobile Ministers; of families, by members of the Synod Commissions on Religion and Race and the National Missions field staff in those five Synods.

Students about to enter the 10th grade were selected as the target group, in order to give them three full years in the enriched high school. A similar relocation program sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee starts with 11th grade students, but the Advisory Committee felt that two years would not be long enough to overcome educational handicaps and make necessary preparation for college entrance. The committee recognized the problem of taking students a year younger than the AFSC has handled, and the problem of asking a family to accept a child for three years instead of two, but felt the advantages outweighed the problems. The committee also specified that children of ministers not be chosen except in unusual circumstances (apparently feeling that their general welfare was better cared for and scholarship aid was already available to ministerial families).

Dr. Patton next met with a group of Mobile Ministers from the Southeast on January 26, 1965, to explain the program to them. For the first year, they decided, 18 students were to be recruited; it was suggested that ten be Southern Negroes and eight be Appalachian whites. The Mobile Minister was to work through school principals and guidance counselors and other community contacts to locate promising students. He would then check out their grades and academic ability and finally talk to the student and his family, to determine his interest, vocational goals, general attitudes. If the student passed this screening. Then

the Administrator would personally visit each potential student to observe him in his family setting; the Mobile Minister would set up this visit and accompany the Administrator to make introductions.

Names of CORAR and National Missions staff in the five chosen Synods who might be helpful in recruiting host families had been suggested by the Advisory Committee. Five of them met on January 25 to discuss the program. All responded enthusiastically, saying that they would certainly be able to find the ncessary number of families by summer. The Advisory Committee suggested that host families not be sought from major metropolitan centers such as New York City or Chicago, both because their school systems might not be as good as desired, and because adjustment would be especially hard for a rural child. Suburban cities, smaller cities, and rural areas were preferred providing they had a comprehensive high school program. (The states in which host families were sought were chosen to be far enough from the homes of relocated students so that they would not be tempted to try to run home for a weekend visit, nor would their parents be easily able to drop in on them in their new homes - both possibilities which could be disruptive to the student's adjustment.)

The recruitiers were asked not to simply broadcast the need and wait for volunteers, but to approach personally those families that they knew or who were referred to them as being the sort of family desired. The family would have to be willing to accept the child for at least a year and probably up to three years, be willing to accept a child of any race, and not expect to be getting a cheap domestic helper, although the student would be expected to assist with chores in the same way other children of the family did. The possibility that the student might turn out to be the only Negro in his school, church, or community, was considered and recruiters agreed to check out attitudes to be sure the student would not be damaged by his placement. Non-integrated communities were certainly not ruled out, because a hoped-for side-effect of this whole program would be quiet education on race relations for the receiving family and community, but the intensity of possible opposition must be taken into account.

When a family agreed to take a student, the recruiter was to assist them in getting approval from their church Session, and together with the Session to name a local sponsoring committee.

The goal was to line up twelve possible families in each of the five Synods, so that a selection could be made of the most appropriate ones for the particular students selected, and so that alternate families would be available in case the first placement did not work out, or was transferred or became otherwise unable to participate for more than one year. Target date for recruitment of families was set for April 15; it was expected that students would be selected and tested by May 15, so placement and exchange of biographical information between student and host family could be done in June, the students could attend Summer Study Skills Programs and go on to their new home a few days before the opening of school.

Financing:

Original financing was $500 from Dr. Jackman and $5,000 from CORAR; additional gifts from churches and individuals added $1,250 by summer 1965, and small contributions of $5-$50 continue to trickle in. Appeals for funds have been made cautiously in order to avoid what the Administrators feel would be harmful publicity to the program in its initial stages.

A request has been made to the Women's Thank Offering committee for a substantial allocation for future years, which has not yet been acted on. The program has been referred to the Division of Funds Development. Individual letters to interested groups and persons and gradually-increasing indications in general publicity about the program have let the public know that they are allowed and even encouraged to contribute. In the printed brochure about the program, published in April 1965, one sentence at the very end notes "Additional funds are needed for many aspects of this program. Resources must come from voluntary gifts," with an address where money can be sent. Letters going to members of the local sponsoring committees in communities where students are relocated also mention that money is needed, but always there is the reassuring comment that if it cannot be found locally, "other sources available to the Board" can be tapped for the difference. (Some $18,000 in scholarship aid has been promised from various sources for Jackman Program youngsters who will need help to go on to college when they complete high-school, but this is, strictly speaking, extraneous to the program.)

A basic decision made by the Advisory Committee on strong urging of some members was to avoid publicity about the Jackman Program in the cities where students were placed, to avoid undue pressures on the student while he was making adjustments to the new situation. Although the church, the school, and to some extent, the community would have to be prepared for the student's arrival, it was strongly advised that this preparation be done quietly by personal conferences rather than by newspaper or broadcast coverage. Students were advised against granting interviews to reporters, although an exception might be made for a local school newspaper or church bulletin item. In fund raising letters, the Program Administrator did suggest to potential contributors that they might wish to correspond with one of the students they were helping to support. None has acted on this suggestion yet.

Several interested denominational executives have recommended that much more publicity be given to the program itself - not necessarily to the individual students or families - in women's circles, where a favorable response in both cash and volunteers might be expected.

Many efforts have been made to save what little money is on hand, such as choosing a site for the students' orientation week where relatively low-cost medical and psychological testing services were available instead of having each student tested in his own area, which would have been much more expensive. Other attempts to save money that did not work out included requests for half-fares on the bus and train lines which the students traveled to orientation, and for cut-rate prices or outright donations of the clothes they had to buy to move to a colder climate. Both of these were rejected by the companies approached. Many administrative and office expenses were picked up by other units of the Board rather than charged to the Jackman funds.

Original estimate of per-student cost per year was $800. This was to include travel by bus to the host family in the fall and home the next summer, one bus trip home at Christmas the first year, liability insurance, medical testing and psychological interviewing fees, clothes as needed, enrollment in a summer Study Skills program, school lunches, and $5 a week spending money. When medical and psychological tests were obtained at a much lower rate than budgeted ($100 for the entire group instead of $45 per child), when the Study Skills program did not materialize in time to include these children, and when it was apparently decided

administratively that the host families and/or sponsoring committees should pick up the tab for school lunches and spending money, the estimated cost was reduced to more like $500 per child.

The Jackman Fund ended up paying for some background reading materials sent to all host families to help them understand the culture their children were coming from, and for some books for the students. It also took care of costs of their travel and accommodations at the four-day orientation period, and where local committees did not take over, for new clothes as needed.

The host family is expected to pay for the student's room and board costs (in some cases with aid from the sponsoring committee) and to include the student in family outings or vacation trips during the school year just as they would include their own children. The school lunches, spending money, insurance, eyeglasses or dental work, and clothing costs were to be covered either by the family, the committee, or the Board. The student's own family was queried on how much financial support it could provide, but in this first year at least, these poverty-stricken families could provide very little, if any, aid. The most affluent did agree to sent $25 a month to their child.

A financial problem foreseen from the first but not completely worked out was the question of tuition ($500-$1,000) for "out-of-state" students in some high schools, where the local school board would not accept the student as a "child" of the host family. Most school boards, when asked, agreed to waive this tuition even if they felt it legally applied; in two districts in the state of Ohio tuition was not waived. In one of these cases the sponsoring committee picked up the cost without comment; in the other, the student has started classes while the tuition question is still pending; if necessary, the money will be paid either by the Board of National Missions or the local committee, though neither is anxious to do this. It is the opinion of the Board's legal counsel that a family hosting a Jackman Program child stands "<u>in loco parentis</u>" to that child for the time of the placement, and as such is entitled to free tuition according to Ohio law.

The "in loco parentis" status of host families is also expected to give them an income-tax advantage in being able to claim the child as a dependent (at least after the first calendar year) because the family will have provided more than half the child's annual expenses. It is possible that even in the first year,

during which the child was only with the host family for four months, his cost to the family might be more than half his total annual expenses, due to the higher cost of living in the new community.

Actual Recruitment of Students:

None of the original deadlines for recruitment was able to be met; although some 22 students were eventually suggested to Dr. Patton; by May 20 only 15 were still in the running for her to visit, and none of these was the white Appalachains the program had hoped to include.

Of the original 22, two had been recommended as "overflow" by the American Friends Service Committee program and that program found itself able to accommodate them after all; two others withdrew after an initial display of interest; four turned out to have such low grades that they were ineligible (a point the recommending minister had neglected to check); two were only in 9th grade and after her interview, Dr. Patton felt they were too immature for the Program so were placed on a waiting list for next year; two others did not show up for the appointments with Dr. Patton and were dropped for lack of interest.

This left 10 students who were invited to attend the final screening and orientation session in mid-July; before it took place, a minister from Tennessee who had just heard of the program phoned to ask if he could send a white boy from his parish, who was immediately accepted. Before the students actually got to the orientation, two more girls dropped out. One decided to go live with a cousin in New York City instead of being relocated by the Program; the other didn't want to take time during the summer for the orientation week and her family had doubts about her leaving home anyway.

The 22 original students were referred by five Mobile Ministers, one parish minister, and educational counselor and an interested friend. Of the final nine students, two came from rural Georgia, four from small towns in South Carolina and Tennessee, one from Richmond, Virginia and two from Cookeville (one Negro and the white boy recommended at the last minute by his parish pastor).

These students differed significantly from the original theoretical criteria set up for recruitment. All but one were Negroes instead of half being white. Three were not entering 10th grade; one, the white boy, was a 9th grade dropout;

one had completed 10th grade and another had completed 11th grade. The Advisory Committee later recommended that students not be accepted who had only one year to go - though the AFSC program does take some like this - because college preparation really takes longer in a good district. The Committee understood that this particular group of students was a little atypical and that some were accepted simply because not enough of the expected sort had been found this first year. The white boy was accepted despite his dropout status, both because he was bright enough to benefit and because the program wanted at least one white child in the group. None had been involved in any kind of civil rights activity and all were almost totally uninformed that there was a civil rights movement going on. This seems to reflect either the poverty communities or the type of families known to the recruitiers. Two wanted to be doctors and one mentioned teaching as possible career choice; the others either had no specific career in mind or were not interested in religious or service vocations any more than any others. Some were not the "top-notch" students academically that had been requested. Five were some variety of Presbyterian; three some branch of Methodist. The one requirement almost all did meet was that they be from families living at the poverty level and from areas where educational opportunities were segregated and severely limited. Even here, the girl from Richmond did not fit these two criteria completely, but was accepted because it was felt she needed to get away from home for emotional reasons and was bright enough to benefit greatly from the comprehensive educational program in a northern city. Accepting her into the program (partly just because there was room) caused considerable discussion at the Advisory Committee when final selections were announced. It also caused disappointment and some anger in the relocation community when the sponsoring committee found their student was not the sort they had expected. They had planned to aid a victim of poverty and discrimination and found, instead, that they were dealing with a child who seems to be handicapped more by emotional problems based in her own family than by her social environment. It took a visit by Dr. Patton to a special meeting of the committee to convice them they had not been recruited on false premises and to persuade them to continue their aid. The Advisory Committee concensus seemed to be that this type of student not be accepted in the future, though they realized it was too late to turn this particular girl down since she had passed all the tests and been brought to this point with no warning of a problem.

Orientation:

Originally it had been planned that the Mobile Ministers or other recommending person would see that academic tests were given to the chosen students in their own towns sometime before the orientation week. Because the recruitment process took longer than expected, this plan was changed and the orientation was set up to include academic tests, psychological interviews, medical examinations, and general conversation with Northern Negro adults and Presbyterian Executives, all for screening purposes. The actual orientation parts of the Four-day session were limited to a couple of talks by Dr. Patton to the group, her interpretation of academic test scores, medical and psychological examination results to each student in a private session, and several meetings of the whole group with civil rights workers to acquaint them with that Movement.

In choosing a site for the orientation session, Dr. Patton sought a place where low-cost medical and psychological examinations could be obtained, and where board and room was not too costly. The Delta Ministry Center at Mt. Beulah (near Edwards), Mississippi, was suggested as such a place, since a Child Guidance Center was in operation on the grounds with medical doctors and psychologists volunteering their services. Also, when the site was chosen, it was thought that some students might yet be recruited from the state of Mississippi and it would be convenient to them. The presence of civil rights workers was thought to be an extra educational advantage for these students.

The obvious negative factors about the site were the climate of opinion about Negroes and civil rights in Mississippi, which gave many of the students and their parents considerable anxiety about the trip; the distance of the site from most of the students' homes; and (for the staff at least) the crudeness of the accommodations and the climate of Mississippi in mid-summer. (There was one electric fan on the grounds; the temperature never dropped below $95^{\circ}$ day or night; humidity was similar.)

The anxiety about Mississippi was justified - shortly before the Jackman Program people arrived at Mt. Beulah, it was machine-gunned by a night-rider; every day during the orientation week some incident of harassment to the Mt. Beulah staff occurred; two of the children had trouble getting accommodations in Jackson when they came in on a late-night bus, although Dr. Patton who met them, was able finally to cajole a desk clerk into providing rooms. No harm came

to any of the Jackman Program people but all were mightily relieved to leave the state when the week was over.

Academic tests were administered by Mrs. Lemoine Callendar, wife of a prominent Presbyterian pastor in New York City and a professional guidance counselor in the New York City schools. She was asked to take this assignment because it was assumed that the children would feel more at ease being tested by a Negro rather than a white adult. Also, Mrs. Callendar, in her interviews with each student, could help determine how he might react to a Northern situation where he was living and dealing mainly with white people, and help to prepare him for it.

On the California Achievement Tests, the students scored between 10th and 14th grade level on a national scale. Only three were behind the grade they had completed and four were well ahead. One girl from rural Georgia tested out at 6th grade level academically; since the psychologist's report indicated that she would find it extremely difficult to compete in a Northern school and could be emotionally damaged by having to try, Dr. Patton and Mrs. Callendar decided to let her know before she left Mississippi that she would not be accepted for the program. The girl took the decision with outward calm but an undertone of bitterness; Dr. Patton told her it might be possible to enroll her in Boggs Academy in her home state instead, but at that point the girl was not ready to hear about alternatives.

The medical and psychological tests were given by New York City doctors who were spending some time as volunteers under the Medical Committee for Human Rights and were not licensed to practice in Mississippi. Therefore, the test results could not be reported as "official," although the Jackman administrators recognized that they were both competent and thorough.

The presence on the Mt. Beulah grounds of about 30 young Mississippi Negroes being trained for the "Freedom Corps" gave the Jackman Program youngsters a vivid introduction to the civil rights movement, and also some social life the program directors had not counted on. Besides getting information in informal conversations over meals, the Jackman students were scheduled to spend a two-hour session just to ask questions of the Freedom Corpsmen and women one morning. The most impressive part of that session was the response to a question on how these workers had become involved in The Movement, and what it meant to them now. The Jackman youngsters had tended to regard demonstrations and protests as just

for beatniks and rabble-rousers; now they were faced with likeable young people with horrifying segregation stories to tell and an enthusiastic hope for the future because of demonstrations.

In her final conversations with each student, Dr. Patton asked how they felt about civil rights, and about the Freedom Corps, and discovered (as expected) that all were more sympathetic than when they had arrived. A couple of the boys were beginning to question what they could do in their own towns, which were not integrated except in a token way. To continue this education, Dr. Patton sent each student a packet of books when he arrived at his new home in the fall, including a couple on Negro history and culture and biographies of Negro leaders.

The opportunities for socializing between the Freedom Corps boys and the Jackman program girls gave Dr. Patton some anxious moments, especially when she learned that one of the girls had accompanied a group of Corpsmen on a night trip to Vicksburg, 20 miles away, and ended up staying out all night when the car ran out of gas and no stations were open until morning. The girl had not asked permission to leave the grounds and did not seem to understand Dr. Patton's concern. The next night Dr. Patton moved from her room in the administration building to the girls' dormitory, to supervise; she had difficulty persuading two of the girls to say goodnight to their new boyfriends and come in, at 11:30 P.M. When questioned the next day, the girls saw nothing out of line in their actions, bringing forcibly to Dr. Patton's attention the potential problems of teenagers being transferred not only from one culture to another, but from one moral code to another.

The white boy had no visible problem adjusting to his all-Negro fellow students; there seemed to be a ready and mutual acceptance especially by the other boys. The white boy admitted that his pastor had put off until the last minute telling him that "most" (not all) of the others in the program would be Negroes, but he said he didn't mind; he could get along with most anybody if they could get along with him.

Recruitment of Families

Again, original deadlines proved impossible to meet. The recruiters working in Pennsylvania and Illinois were unable to locate any suitable families at all. Both said that they and the pastors with whom they had worked were

surprised and upset that no families came forth. The Illinois man reported that he located one family who would accept a student only if he were white, and also three ministers' families who would take any student, but his understanding was that lay families were sought so he did not follow up on the others. He wrote in April that he was continuing to work through many channels "including presbyterials, churches, national missions persons, men's groups, women's associations, and likely individuals."

In New York State, several regional executives were asked to recruit and had somewhat more success. The Hudson River Presbytery officially passed a resolution endorsing the Jackman Program and designating the National Missions field staff man as a recruiter for families, working in cooperation with interested pastors. They secured five families, (three of whom later dropped out or were eliminated after Dr. Patton's visit to them). Farther upstate, the Synod's urban ministry executive was able to work with local pastors and secure three volunteers, all of whom eventually were matched with students. The Ohio recruiter secured a couple of families, one at the last minute, for Dr. Patton to visit during May and June. By July the Illinois recruiter had a list of eight possible families whom he had asked to write directly to Dr. Patton; none ever did, but she expects to follow up with them for next year. One family was found in New Jersey.

In New York and in New Jersey, when initial reactions showed that it would be hard to locate suitable families by personal contact alone, the recruiters went ahead and put out publicity on the program, although that was not the recommended procedure. New York Synod sent a letter to National Missions and Church and Society committees and staff, asking for recommendations of suitable families. New Jersey wrote to 100 selected persons asking for recommendations but by late June, had only one for this year and several possibilities for next.

Dr. Patton visited each of the recommended families before finally accepting them into the program; this process eliminated three of the original applicants who hadn't realized the extent of the commitment they were being asked for, or where community sentiment about Negroes was so hostile that the child would be under undue pressure. Dr. Patton talked with each family until they saw the problems themselves and voluntarily withdrew.

It finally worked out that the exact number of families was found for the number of students who survived the orientation screening; a few other families were listed as definitely interested for future years.

The occupations of the heads of families chosen for the first year of the Program included minister, marketing executive, health-plan administrator, high school language teacher, manager of a family-owned factory, production-control supervisor, pharmacist, and dairy farmer. All happened to be Presbyterians, active in their local churches. One couple was childless; the rest had from two to four children of their own from two years old to college age. Several had experience entertaining foreign exchange students in their homes for periods of a couple of weeks up to a full school year; some had also entertained Negro friends or visiting students in their homes. None appeared to be militant activists in civil rights, although the minister and the professor had both taken part in local committees for human rights and were deeply concerned.

A contract was drawn up by the Board of National Missions legal counsel, to be signed by the student, his family, and the host family. It stated that the student's family voluntarily consented to his participation in the Jackman Relocation Program, and that the family agreed to place the student with the host family "to enable him/her to continue his/her education in a high school of that area." The parents authorized the host family to arrange for hospitalization or other necessary medical care. The contract also protected the Board of National Missions from suit for medical costs above those provided for in the accidental death, health, and dismemberment insurance policy which the Board bought for each student. The contract could be terminated by any party on thirty days written notice. (The matter of delegating power of attorney to the host family was not included in this contract, but was recommended to be arranged separately by the two families, if desired.)

At least one host family felt the contract was inadequate on two counts: it protected the Board of National Missions but they felt it did not protect them from any potential suit for mistreatment, etc., by the student's parents; and by stating that the purpose of the relocation was to provide a better education, it raised questions in the minds of the local school board as to whether or not the student was indeed a full member of the family and thereby entitled to free tuition.

In every case, the recommending recruiter or the family itself, on his advice, took up the program with their local Presbytery and got official approval for their participation. The next step was to form a local sponsoring committee; ideally, the original recruiter would work with the family and their local pastor to invite people to serve on this committee; in some cases, the family alone took on the job. This committee was to include at least one Negro so the student would have some entree into whatever Negro community existed in that town; somebody from the high school, if possible (several committees included the principal and/or guidance counselor); perhaps a medical doctor or dentist; and other interested persons who would agree to entertain the student in their own homes from time to time and generally ease his way into the larger community outside his new host family.

Committees met with Dr. Patton when she visited the host family, to discuss the financial arrangements needed for the student. In some towns, the committee agreed to raise all the money for clothes, books, spending money, and miscellaneous school expenses (gym suit, lab fees, etc.), leaving the host family with only board and room to contribute. In other towns, the committee agreed to raise as much money as possible, but doubted that it could cover all expenses; Dr. Patton assured them that essentials would be cared for by the Board's sources but urged them to find as much local support as possible.

Matching Students to Families:

A week after the orientation, the Advisory Committee was convened in New York City to match students with host families. Two days before the meeting, Dr. Patton, Mrs. Callendar and Dr. Bryant George of the Board, went over all the information and made a list of recommendations about placement. Factors of which sex was requested by the hosts, personality, location in relation to medical care for one boy whose medical report indicated possible neurological problems, a strong father for the boys, a permissive family for a shy girl, were taken into account, as well as the practical question of arrival dates: a few school districts required incoming students to be on hand early, and some of the Jackman students could not leave home early enough to meet those deadlines. In the committee meeting, all these recommendations were accepted virtually without question.

Most of the discussion at the committee meeting concerned the one girl who did not survive the orientation and screening period. The Mobile Minister who had recruited this girl was on the committee representing the recruiters. He was very concerned that something be done for her, or the entire program he had been building in her small community would be hurt, if not destroyed. Another committee member pointed out that it was emotionally damaging to the girl to get that far into the program and then be dropped, especially since she was the only one to fail. Dr. Patton reminded the committee that all the students knew that the Mississippi week was a final screening and that nothing was certain yet and, further, that it was better to disappoint the girl at that point rather than to accept her into the program and have her experience a more serious failure later on when she was unable to cope with the Northern schools. However, the committee was unanimous in directing that something special must be done for this girl; at best, she should be admitted to Boggs Academy (none too simple a chore at this late date) or at least, she should be sent a gift package of books for educational enrichment. (Dr. Patton was later able to arrange a place at Boggs and the girl and her family agreed to accept it.)

The committee was concerned about future students who would fail at some point in the screening process to qualify for the program. Some will be recommended by persons whom it is politically impossible to ignore; others will be tops in their own area but not up to standard, which will be a blow to the entire community; others are simply average students who could benefit from better educational opportunities but may not be quite as good as somebody else who applies, and would be cut out simply for lack of room in the program.

The Mobile Minister commented, "Children in my area are not ever going to be up to 9th grade work on a national scale; it's too late by then. If we're going to help them, we'll have to take them earlier." The question of how young to accept students was discussed; it was pointed out that the Southern Negro has a long tradition of sending the children away from home at a very early age in order to get a better education, so long as they live with some family rather than strictly on their own. This tradition is not prevalent in the white Appalachian families, however. Asking a host family to accept a child for as long as three years is something of a hardship; to try to make placements for children from 6th grade through high school, as one committee member suggested, would be practically impossible.

The Advisory Committee asked and was reassured that although all the host families were Presbyterian, they would allow the children to go to their own churches; that clothes for the winter would be paid for out of Jackman funds, though bought by the host family with the child when he arrived to acquaint him with the local stores; and that the students knew they could telephone Dr. Patton if things got so bad they needed to talk to someone outside the situation.

The committee debated criteria of selection for future years ("assuming this year works out satisfactorily in at least some of the cases," Dr. Patton said conservatively.) The budget dictates a limit of 18 students per year. Also, Dr. Patton's workload limits the number of students and families she can see. The AFSC program takes 25 students but has a full-time staff member to process them; Dr. Patton spent full-time only in the month of July; about quarter-time from January to June on this program, in its first year. Although there was a good case made for expanding the geographic areas from which recruitment was made (Southeast and Appalachia), the committee recommended that for the three-year experimental period, the same limits would be observed in order to keep the experiment consistent. After that, the program could be expanded (assuming adequate funding) to include disadvantaged youngsters from anywhere in the nation, including cities, and from all backgrounds, including American Indian and Spanish-speaking as well as Negro and white. During the experimental period, priority will be given to children from small towns and rural areas, and to those handicapped by poverty in otherwise adequate schools (having to work full-time so can't study, for instance.)

Not all the committee recommendations were adopted by the Jackman administrators. On further discussion, Dr. Patton and Dr. George agreed that in the second year, students would be recruited not only from the Southeast and Southern Appalachia, but by Mobile Ministers and educational counselors in New England and the Synod of the Rockies, New Mexico, other deep poverty areas, and Southwestern Spanish-speaking youth. In a September 28, 1965 memo to the Board, Dr. Patton further explained that host families will be sought in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado and the Southwest and Rockies, as well as the five states included this year, in order to have placement possibilities nearer to the homes of any students chosen from the Southwest and Western areas. She further comments that unless more money is received for the Jackman program, recruitment

will have to be limited to only ten new students in 1966, instead of 18, as previously planned.

After the committee meeting, letters were sent to both students and host families telling their placements, along with letters of introduction with photographs which had already been secured from both students and families.

First Quarterly Reports:

Two page questionnaires were prepared and sent out early in November to the students, their host families, the sponsoring committee chairmen, the student's own family back home, and the student's recruiters, with a request that they be returned to Dr. Patton by November 15. All but the recruiters and some committee members replied promptly.

Five of the eight students appeared to be settled in their new homes with no problems other than the usual ones of adjusting to a new environment, and the expected necessity of constant hard work to keep up in school.

The three with problems were not entirely unexpected. The girl with emotional difficulties was still experiencing emotional difficulties. About a week after arriving in her new home she became so homesick that she returned to her parents for a brief visit. After her return, Dr. Patton talked to her at length and sent a long letter encouraging her to stay, and reminding her that every situation has its hardships but that she was certainly benefitting from her new home and ought to give it a chance. The girl stayed and her host family continues to cope with her periods of depression.

The girl who had worried Dr. Patton at the orientation session because of her free and easy social behavior was placed with a firm and understanding family. The family apparently felt more strain than the girl did at trying to educate her to proper diet, grooming, and study habits, but they kept at it with considerable good humor. (In response to a question on what about the Program was bringing happiness to the family, the mother wrote "Another teenager has been added to the family;" in response to the next question on what was bringing distress, she wrote "Another teenager has been added to the family.")

The white boy, after an initial good adjustment to his new family, began receiving letters from his mother back home asking him to return to her. Finally when she wrote that she was on the verge of complete physical collapse from a recently-contracted illness, he could take the pressure no longer and informed his host family and Dr. Patton that he was going to drop out and go home. His host family was understandably upset; they felt a bit cheated and unappreciated, and at the same time they liked the boy and were sorry to lose him as a person. Against Dr. Patton's advice, the host mother told the boy that if he wanted to come back later, he could do so; Dr. Patton had warned him that once he dropped out, he was out for good, hoping to impress on him the seriousness of this decision. There had been some advance warnings of this problem; in September the boy's pastor had told Dr. Patton that he wondered if the boy would even go to his relocation, because his own mother was beginning to pressure him to stay home. In her letter to the host family after the boy left, Dr. Patton reminded them that the psychologists had warned that Appalachian white families would be difficult to handle in this type of program, and that this experience, unfortunately, only confirmed this prediction. Other people had pointed out that Appalachian white families tended to be very clannish and not to have a tradition of going far from home for extended periods; also, it was difficult to persuade them that their own schools were inadequate because, in comparison to the local Negro schools, they were far better. The boy was undisciplined in study habits and tried to get along on personal charm; both traits which had been seen in the screening but not recognized as so serious.

The students were asked on the quarterly questionnaire how long it took them to feel at home in their new family; half said one week; the others said up to a month. The parents, responding to a similar question, were apparently less adjustable; although all agreed that immediate acceptance was easy, half commented that in some ways they still did not feel completely comfortable with their new children.

Factors named by the students as having contributed to their happiness in their new family were: similar interests, help on personal problems, being allowed to be self-reliant, being allowed to help out with chores, and just being loved by the family. Parents' lists of factors contributing to good adjustment included the friendliness of other children in the family, the talents or person-

alities of the students, the frank recognition of racial differences with mutual acceptance of this fact even when the family was stared at in public.

Factors leading to good adjustment in school, church, and community were; a general friendliness and acceptance by people in all of these places; the student's being able to contribute talent or leadership in the church choir or youth group or some school team or club (one boy was elected vice president of his class at school; another was elected to lead a community club; another was on the basketball team; a girl was proficient at all the latest dance fads; three sang in their church choirs). All the students except one Methodist were attending the Presbyterian Church with their host families. One boy mentioned that being introduced to some people before school opened was helpful (he was the one elected class officer); a parent reported that after the first day of classes, the Mother of another student telephoned to say how glad she was that her children now had the chance to know a Negro; another parent felt that the presence of four high-schoolers on the sponsoring committee was helpful.

The students themselves reported no unhappy incidents; the parents noted that in two cases there was some community opposition but it had not been expressed directly to them or the student. In one town, the first barber the student visited refused to cut his hair, but another one would, and the sponsoring committee chairman wrote firmly "We are taking care of this."

Five of the students were officially placed in 10th grade, although most were taking split courses, some at 9th grade level. One pupil was asked to repeat 9th grade, another was advanced to 11th, and the boy who had finished 11th grade at home was repeating it. Only two were taking extra tutoring - both, as it happened, in French. Only two families reported severe worry about the student's ability to keep up in school, and one of these said if sheer determination and hard work could pull her through, she would certainly succeed.

The major area of complaint from both students and parents in this report was financial. Two students and three host families said the financial arrangements were not completely clear, or that they had not sufficiently thought about how to handle spending money. (One girl said she had the impression that she was coming to a rich family and was upset to find that she was actually on a strict budget and had to count pennies; she was doing some baby-sitting in the community to earn extra cash but had not expected to have to do this. Her family said she was not

extravagant and her requests were reasonable, but beyond their present means.) The host families were not sure what rules to enforce about spending and how much allowance the student legitimately ought to have, and from which of three available sources (family, committee, Board) such funds ought to come.

Three parents commented that they would have liked to know more about the family and previous home-life of their student, as they felt they could not ask without seeming to pry. One Father explained that in the case of foreign students, it was assumed that an inter-cultural understanding was part of the exchange program and questions were not considered impolite, but here where the two cultures involved were economically differentiated and tied up with the shame of racial discrimination, they did not feel free to inquire.

Four of the students, asked to give suggestions for future Jackman programmers, stressed that they should work hard at school and especially at reading habits. In the space for additional comments, one student wrote his discovery that "the program is more than just educational, it is social learning and adjustment!" The parents' comments were mostly praise for the program; one wrote "He knows more people in town than we do, and the community is being educated on race relations."

A question to students and to host families about the reading material that was sent to them by the Board revealed that only half the students read the books, although those that did, enjoyed them (and one girl used them for required book reports at school); of the parents half felt the orientation material was moderately helpful, the others said it didn't tell them anything they didn't already know from past reading and personal experience.

Only four sponsoring committees returned the questionnaires on time; of these, only two committee members said they had entertained the student in their homes, though a couple of others said they were planning to do so shortly. All but one reported some degree of preparation of their church for the student's arrival (announcements from the pulpit, an item in the bulletin or newsletter, a committee presentation to a community group, session approval of the program). The one reporting no special preparation said the church had experience with foreign students before and needed no other orientation. In one church, a member complained to the sponsoring committee that they should have consulted the neighbors before accepting a Negro child, and for a few weeks this member kept

his own children away from Sunday school in protest, but later sent them back.

All the parents of the students back home wrote that their children were corresponding regularly and so were most host families; all expressed great gratitude to the Jackman program for giving their children this opportunity.

Future Plans:

Dr. Patton plans to visit each of the students in his new home during the coming year. If funds are available, she would also like to bring the students to a group meeting, (probably some week-end in February) to see what reactions and suggestions they have by then.

Recruitment of students and families for 1966 placement will begin sooner than it did in 1965, hopefully in January at the latest.

There are no further meetings of the Advisory Committee on the schedule at the present time.

General Comments:

The need which this program is intended to meet is obvious, and several groups are attacking it from various perspectives. The Urban League is now collecting data on these various programs, with a view to proposing some coordinated effort. (The American Friends Service Committee is also re-studying its program, possibly to re-structure it. One consistent result of the AFSC program, according to its director, has been a sense of guilt on the part of the student about being given so much more than his peers at home; no remedy has been found for this and the AFSC director wonders if it was so damaging as to negate the intended effect of the program.) The Jackman Program seems to be operating pretty much as intended, but is much too limited to begin to have an impact on the problem; if the area for recruitment is enlarged, the impact will be even less in proportion to the need.

Several areas need to be more carefully worked out: the financial arrangements - both sources of money and ways it is to be spent by the Board, the student, and the host family; and the whole question of conflicting social mores, especially inter-racial dating, which though foreseen, is yet to be faced in fact. Placing a Negro girl with a well developed interest in dating in a town with no other Negroes, although necessary because of the limited number of

families available this year, seems to be asking for trouble. The American Friends Service Committee two-year relocation program reports that the students do not tend to make deep friendships in that limited time, so this problem has not been serious for them; in a three-year program it might be different.

A Note on Methodology

The Observer/Reporter was present at the last three days of the orientation session in Mississippi, and at the subsequent meeting of the Advisory Committee at which students were matched with host families.

The Observer/Reporter had access to all of Dr. Patton's files on the program, the individual students and host families, and general correspondence, and read all this material. The Observer/Reporter also talked at length with Dr. Patton, and with the students and staff at the Orientation session.

The first draft of this report was checked out by Dr. Patton, staff of the Institute of Strategic Studies, and was also read by other executives of the Division of Church Strategy and Development before final editing.