        This manual is designed to assist school superintendents in planning and
implementing complete school desegregation as prescribed by law. Chapters I through
VI discuss specific techniques applicable to the following stages of the
desegregation planning process: Identification of goals; diagnosing the school
situation, development, testing, and implementation of a plan or plans; evaluation; and
recycling of planned changes. Chapters VII through XI specify methods for the
superintendent's use in obtaining support for and involvement in the desegregation
program from the following groups: The community at large, municipal and State
officials, the board of education, the superintendent's administrative staff, principals,
teachers, service personnel, parents, and students. A bibliographic summary of recent
literature of special value for desegregation planners is included. Related documents
are EA 002 386 and EA 002 388. (JH)

OE-38012

PLANNING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

VOLUME II

HUMAN RESOURCES IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
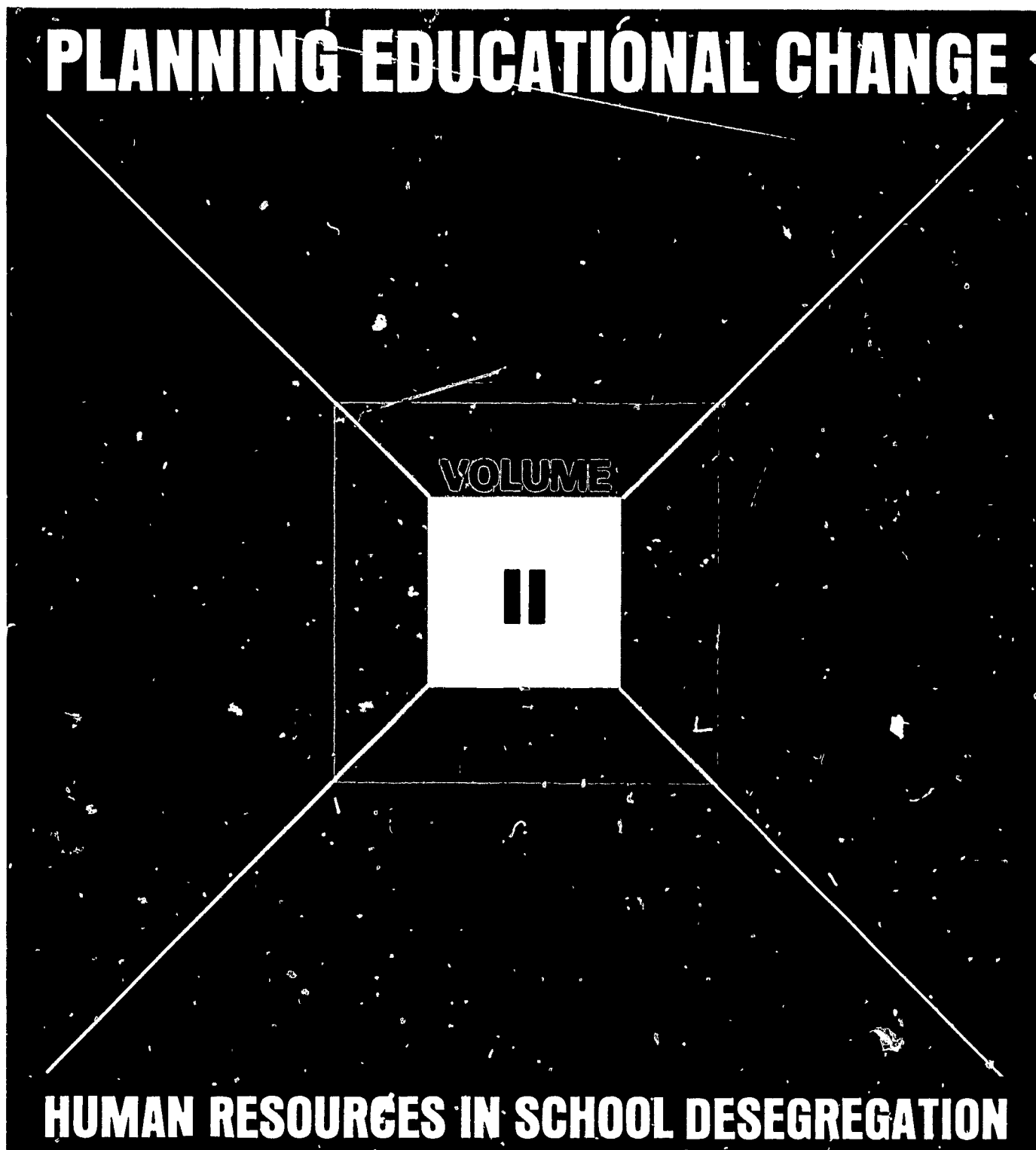
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PREFACE

This is a practical manual designed to assist school superintendents in planning and implementing school desegregation.

Compliance with Federal laws, court rulings, and policies of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare requires more than the moral or political commitment of local administrators. To accomplish desegregation, superintendents must gain the skills required to plan for any sizable educational change, and they must develop and utilize the various human resources available to the school system.

We have not designed this manual to change anyone's moral code or professional and political belief system. Rather, we anticipate that it will be helpful and informative to educators who are complying with national policy and want to know more about what to do and how to do it. It is not our intention to provide a cookbook, a digest of research findings, or a "blueprint" for any local system. Instead, we suggest specific ways by which desegregation plans can be developed and implemented, based upon knowledge about the processes of change in schools.

Chapters 1 through 6 discuss the planning process, set within the larger context of planned school change in general. A series of stages and procedures for planning and effecting desegregation is suggested. Chapters 7 through 11 specify ways in which the superintendent can organize, influence, and utilize the political and professional resources of his community and schools in the process of school desegregation. The following diagram lists both the stages of a planned change sequence and the necessary target groups for change.

The planning processes include: identification of goals; diagnosing the school situation; development, testing, and implementation of a plan or plans; evalua-

The Processes and Targets in Planning School Desegregation

Planning Processes	Resources and Targets for Change							
	Community	Municipal and State Off.	Bd. of Educ.	Admin. Staff	Principals	Teachers and Service Personnel	Parents	Students
Identification of goals								
Diagnosing the school situation								
Development of plans								
Test of plans								
Implementation of a plan								
Evaluation of change								
Recycling of the planning process								

tion; and recycling of planned changes. The resources and target groups, representing persons and/or institutions the superintendent must work with in the desegregation process, include: the community at large; municipal and State officials; the board of education; the superintendent's administrative staff; principals; teachers; service personnel; and parents and students.

Although some superintendents may feel such an elaborate design is unnecessary, the complex problems of planned school desegregation require the use of a systematic approach for the solution. The reluctance of many superintendents to face these problems and the failure of some plans that have been tried testify to the need for more systematic and effective planning for the changes racial desegregation requires. Only with such sound educational and political planning can one expect substantial support from forces in the community, from the professional administrative and instructional staffs, and from students and parents. An effective desegregation plan must take these forces into account and outline how they may best be utilized in the process of change.
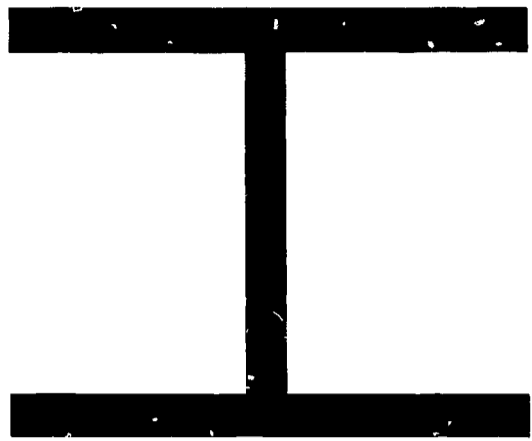
April 1969   *Mark A. Chesler*
                                                               Ann Arbor, Mich.

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Numerals throughout text are references to NOTES at the back.

What is Desegregation?

The initial issue in planning school desegregation is the nature of the goal itself. Deciding when a school system is racially desegregated may be partly a matter of terminology and partly a matter of defining education. We consider racial desegregation to have occurred *when students throughout a school system attend interracial classes, and when the schools and classes afford students an equal education without regard to racial background. Desegregation includes racial heterogeneity and parity in administrative staffs, teaching faculties, and service personnel.* In addition, curricular and extracurricular activities and programs must be designed or redesigned so that they appeal to and include racially heterogeneous groups of students.

Efforts to define desegregation in more minimal terms must be discarded as attempts to avoid grappling with real issues. For example, Kenneth Morland criticizes definitions which regard a school system "as desegregated when a single Negro child enters a school formerly attended up to that time only by whites, or when a single white student enters a school attended up to that time only by Negroes." [1]

Hence, some systems have been called desegregated when actually 99 percent of the students attended racially homogeneous schools. Several school systems attempted to accomplish quantitative student desegregation by establishing percentages of Negroes and whites who should attend schools together. In the school system of White Plains, N.Y., 17 percent of the public school students are Negro. Under that city's racial balance policy, "the Negro enrollment in each school must be within a range of approx′ ..ately 10 percent minimum to approximately 30 percent maximum." Similar limits were established by the board of education of Syracuse, N.Y., a city with approximately 18 percent nonwhite students in the public schools. [2]

In the long run the issue is less one of formal terminology than of local commitment to certain goals regarding the degree and character of racial association in public schools.

Desegregation should extend to all the personnel constituting the professional and service staff of the school system, not merely to students. Concern with faculty desegregation, which has lagged behind student desegregation, has now been accelerated through judicial channels. In *Wheeler* v. *Durham City Board of Education* (Little Rock, Ark.) in 1966, the court stated: "Removal of race considerations from faculty selection and allocation is, as a matter of law, an inseparable and indispensable command within the abolition of pupil segregation in public schools as pronounced in *Brown* v. *Board of Education.*" [3]

The position of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is clear: its guidelines state that a school system "has the affirmative duty under law to take prompt and effective action to eliminate such a dual school structure and bring about an integrated unitary school system." [4] This position is taken without regard to size of city or region of the country.

School desegregation is not a panacea for either our educational ills or the racial separatism that characterizes our society and its schools. It is, however, one step in the direction of establishing high quality interracial education. Desegregation must be followed by programs designed to enhance the possibilities of positive interracial relations and high academic performance. The attainment of these goals would constitute racial integration in education. Integration extends beyond racial heterogeneity to an explicit focus upon the quality of interaction and attitudes among students and of technical, academic, and social performance in school. This manual is limited deliberately to the initial task of school desegregation. However, to stop the process of change at its initial step would constitute failure to deal with fundamental educational issues. Without the eventual success of high quality interracial education our society will not overcome its heritage of racial distrust and exploitation; nor will it realize the promise of crea-

tive intellectual and human contributions from all its members.

This mandate does not mean that total desegregation of a school system is an easy task. It is especially difficult in those areas of the Nation where traditions, political entrenchments, or differing values and cultures strongly support racially separate schools. But desegregation can be accomplished, and it can be accomplished through the creative work of school superintendents. To end their schools' racially separate character superintendents will have to solve the difficult problems of (1) obtaining information from which to plan, (2) creating a sound and comprehensive plan, (3) developing organizational skill with which to lead subordinates, and (4) exercising political leadership with which to build community support for compliance with national policy.
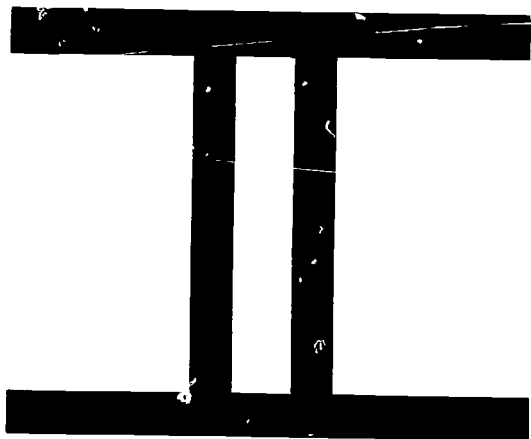
Planning
School Change

Although desegregation is not exactly like any other school improvement, it does share some common characteristics with other change efforts. The superintendent who manages a school system well is likely to plan and implement school desegregation more successfully than his less

competent colleague. Numerous educational practitioners and behavioral scientists have studied the processes of planned change in their own and other school situations. Thus there are reports and other resources available which can make planning desegregation easier.

The planning requires movement through seven stages, extending from initial attempts to understand goals through ultimate commitments to maintain and continue the changes accomplished. The seven stages are:
1) Identification of goals
2) Diagnosis of the current situation
3) Development of a plan or alternative plans
4) Feasibility test of plans
5) Implementation of plan into action
6) Evaluation of change produced
7) Recycling of the planned change process.

IDENTIFICATION OF GOALS

The first step in any process of planned change must be to identify clearly the goals of change efforts. In some circumstances, of course, planners must be satisfied with broadly stated goals. However, superintendents who can specify goals in terms of desired characteristics of a situation or observable changes in people's behavior will be better able to design strategies to reach those goals. One example of a specific goal is: "One year from today we want all our elementary school classrooms to contain from 20 percent to 33 percent Negro or other minority students and from 67 percent to 80 percent white students." This con-

crete statement is different from the following abstract and vague goal: "In the near future we want to increase the number of Negroes going to elementary school with whites." The latter statement leaves too much to the reader's imagination; it may suffice as a call to action but not as a goal toward which to build strategic plans. The concrete and specific character of the first statement has clear implications for the design and implementation of strategies.

When goals are stated too broadly there is the possibility of redefinition and implementation in multiple ways by different staff members. Every professional may thus alter the plan according to his interpretation of the superintendent's broad definition. While that may produce some innovations, it also may allow many people to continue to perform in ways that are at variance with or that actually subvert the new goals of the school system.

It is advisable for several persons in the community and educational system to participate in discussions and decisions about goals for desegregation. Often a superintendent's commitment to certain goals is made without efforts to solicit, organize, debate, or account for other opinions that may exist within his staff and within the community. Such failure to involve additional resources in these initial efforts may create several problems later: (1) The goals may be inadequate because of limited use of potential expertise. (2) The goals may be irrelevant because of a lack of information about and attention to varied commun-

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ity views. (3) The goals may un-necessarily alienate key figures in the political and educational establishments who feel they should have been involved in the beginning of the school change process. (4) The goals may be too broad to be meaningful to the many practitioners who ultimately will have to implement them.

DIAGNOSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION

Once specific goals or behavioral objectives are specified, it is important for the superintendent to understand the current situations in his school system which may be relevant to the problems and prospects of school desegregation. It will be necessary to gather information and diagnose many technical matters, such as numbers of students, physical distribution of Negro and white students, faculty placement, physical facilities, transportation possibilities, community demography, and the like. However, the superintendent must also assess the state of human resources, such as needs, desires, abilities, and responses of persons throughout the system.

The superintendent can begin with an inquiry into the postures of the senior leadership of the educational system, particularly his immediate administrative staff and all school principals. Moreover, the views and skills of teachers and other staff members must be explored. It is clear that the attitudes principals and teachers hold about members of another race and about the meaning and impact of school desegregation will influence the outcomes of desegregation. If

the superintendent assesses the attitudes and skills of his staff he will know what attitudinal changes or new skills are needed by teachers and principals. Then he can consider staff recruitment or inservice training programs that more effectively help these professionals contribute to desegregation efforts. In addition, inquiries should be made about the academic performance levels and the character of racial relations that typify differing student groups. Finally, the potential receptivity of parent groups, community organizations, and local political forces to proposed changes in current school patterns must be assessed. If receptivity is present, it can help support the plan during its implementation. If it is absent, the superintendent must plan to secure such support.

Without this information the superintendent can make a plan based only upon his internal logic and on abstract understanding of the local issues in school desegregation. *Any practical program must adapt to the possibilities and the needs for change inherent in each local situation.* Therefore, each local situation should be investigated clearly enough so that the superintendent, as well as other staff members inside or outside that system, can develop a sound rationale from which to plan a particular program for change.

DEVELOPMENT OF A PLAN OR ALTERNATIVE PLANS

The next step in the process of planned change in school systems requires the creation of a plan or several plans for reaching goals. The superintendent

must develop a comprehensive program for school desegregation that establishes clear guidelines for stage implementation of the items considered in the goal-setting and diagnostic stages of planning. The plan or plans should account for decisions and contingencies in the use of technical and physical facilities and must cope with the various problems involved in developing human resources. The U.S. Office of Education has suggested how a plan may be written to utilize available physical facilities of neighborhoods and buildings.[1] However, a plan cannot succeed unless it also attends to the development of those human resources that make the crucial difference in any educational effort.

The superintendent should be concerned with the development and testing of several alternative plans for desegregation before selecting the one to utilize. Multiple plans provide flexibility and an opportunity to communicate more than one scenario of potential change.

FEASIBILITY TEST OF PLANS

There is generally a gap between the development of a plan and its actual implementation. In the field, even well-made plans may prove to be unrealistic and may fail to translate planners' ideals and designs into appropriate action. Therefore, it is advisable for superintendents to test their plan or plans prior to actual implementation. Some superintendents and communities have so delayed the beginning of desegregation efforts that the time required for a test may no longer exist; but when time is available,

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such tests may help provide insights for revision of the plan so that it may have a greater potential for success. They may also prevent some of the disastrous failures that premature, nonspecific, or noninclusive plans have had. There are numerous examples of ill-conceived plans that created so much community resistance in the beginning that all future plans became much more difficult. The importance of feasibility testing, however, is by no means limited to the avoidance of ill-conceived or premature plans. Even when superintendents feel confident about them, plans need extra clarification and testing. *However, the necessity of a pilot program or test of a plan's feasibility should in no way be permitted to delay the implementation of school desegregation.*

A plan may be tested in one or more of several ways: actual small-scale implementation, sharing the design with various members of professional and political communities, asking groups of parents and students for their opinions, a series of role-play demonstrations, and so forth. If possible, the respondents should experience the implications and arrangements of the plan, rather than merely its design on paper. However, any test procedure should be one that gathers the reactions of a wider group of people than were involved in the design of the plan. Thus the superintendent can go beyond guessing about the probable results of various strategies and the probable reactions of various groups and will be more able to predict the likely outcomes of a plan.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF PLAN INTO ACTION

Many good plans for desegregation fail at the point of their actual implementation in the school and community. Any successful implementation effort requires that the plan be well thought out and specific enough to deal with the variety of problems that one might expect. In addition to these aspects of the plan itself, successful efforts at implementation also require the superintendent and his staff to plan procedures for announcing school policy, for beginning the process of change, and for emphasizing their commitment to that policy. This means that a superintendent has to be vigorous, clear, and forthright about the plan he and his staff finally decide to use. In addition, he must provide continuing support to the people who implement the plan in their schools and classrooms.

The superintendent may be politically and administratively accountable for the desegregation plan, but it is the teachers, principals, and counselors on the "front lines" who must put the plan into practice. Implementation of a desegregation plan clearly requires that the people entrusted with various responsibilities know enough about the details of the plan so they can be committed to work on their own. In addition, students and parents must live with the plan daily. As these people take their own risks they must have, and feel that they have, constant personal support from the superintendent. Otherwise it will be difficult for them to cope with their own internal fears and any negative re-

actions they receive from colleagues or friends. The need for support does not cease after a plan begins; it must constantly be reinforced with energy and skill.

EVALUATION OF CHANGE PRODUCED

Once a plan has been implemented, it is essential that some design for getting feedback and for evaluating the plan's progress be instituted. The superintendent who recognizes this necessity can design evaluative processes prior to actual implementation. Evaluations can be time-consuming and expensive or quick and inexpensive. Since more reliable information can be gathered by more sophisticated techniques, superintendents should be prepared to call upon social scientists for help in designing questions, establishing a sample of respondents, and interpreting the results. In the effort to get feedback on school desegregation it matters less what method or instruments are used than that unequivocal action is taken to guarantee an evaluation.

An evaluation serves several critical functions. It can indicate the degree to which the plan is actually being implemented, *i.e.*, the degree to which teachers and principals, board members, and community people are fulfilling the provisions of the plan. An evaluation also can measure the degree to which the plan influences the lives of teachers, parents, and youngsters. Influences of desegregation may be reflected in increased levels of school performance and academic achievement, in new orientations and aspirations to future job and em-

ployment markets, in more positive interracial associations and human relationships. The kind of change created is, of course, dependent upon the goals and strategies upon which the plan is based. Moreover, an evaluation may indicate that desegregation has had additional effects that were not anticipated by planners. Finally, an effective evaluation can provide guidelines for the alteration of the plan and the effort to create a refined and more adequate desegregation program in the future.

RECYCLING OF THE PLANNED CHANGE PROCESS

Plans for future school programs must evolve from changes in current activities. *The superintendent should conceive of any particular plan, short or long term, as only one step in a series of plans to attain and maintain just and high quality instruction.* Continuing efforts will require the superintendent to identify new

goals beyond the original desegregation plan, to rediagnose school conditions, and to develop new plans for the continual improvement of the desegregation effort.

It would be unfortunate if superintendents were to terminate plans for change once an acceptable level of desegregation had been attained. Desegregation is only the first step in a continuing program of change leading to racial integration and academic and social success for all youngsters. School leaders must continually replan, modify plans, and recycle new information and goals. As problems, personnel, and the possibilities for implementation of instructional designs change, new plans must be designed, implemented, and evaluated. The notion of a continually recycling series in the process of planned change is illustrated by the flow of stages in diagram 1.
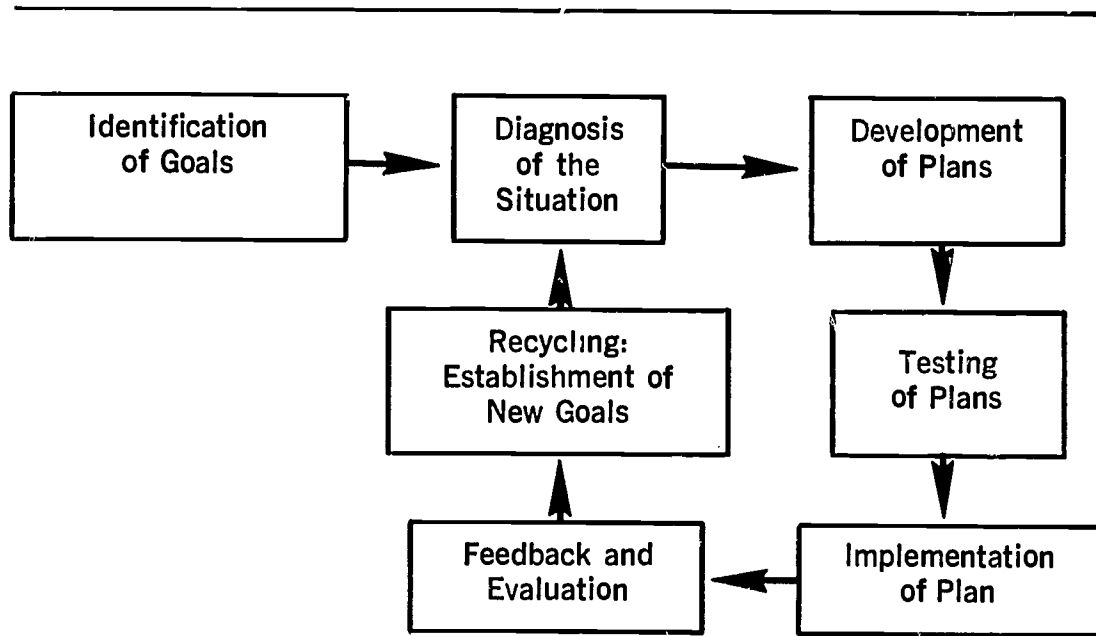
Diagnosing the School Situation

Most superintendents undoubtedly feel they are familiar with the salient aspects of their school systems. However, many aspects of any system are hidden or dormant and only come to light in periods of stress and change. Thus it is important that the superintendent thoroughly and carefully diagnose 'is school situation before creating a plan for desegregation. The diagnosis may involve tabulation of the various material and technical resources that exist, or that can be mobilized, to support the changes envisioned. In addition, the human and political resources or resistances present in the school and community must be assessed systematically.

There are two kinds of information that the superintendent must obtain in diagnosing forces relevant to the desegregation process. The first kind involves the attitudes various persons and institutions have about desegregation. Obviously, for any plan to be politically feasible it must somehow account for the climate of opinion in a community. *But to "account for" does not mean to cite resistance as an alibi for inaction or delay; accounting for resistance means building ways*

Diagram 1. The Process of Planned Change

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  ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
  │  Identification   │ ───► │   Diagnosis      │ ───► │  Development     │
  │    of Goals       │      │    of the        │      │   of Plans       │
  │                   │      │   Situation      │      │                  │
  └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
                                     ▲                          │
                                     │                          ▼
                            ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
                            │  Recycling:      │      │    Testing       │
                            │  Establishment of│      │    of Plans      │
                            │   New Goals      │      │                  │
                            └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
                                     ▲                          │
                                     │                          ▼
                            ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
                            │  Feedback and    │ ◄─── │  Implementation  │
                            │   Evaluation     │      │    of Plan       │
                            └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
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of dealing with it into the plan. An effective desegregation plan must take advantage of support and skirt or confront resistance in the community. Furthermore, inquiry must identify available professional skill and expertise either as resources or barriers to school change.

The second kind of information necessary is a profile of the needs of the community and professional staff. For a plan to be relevant it must consider the needs that a particular system has for change and the resources required for adaptation to change. If the superintendent establishes a plan that fails to respond to the present or future needs of his school system or community, he will not be able to effect its implementation and adoption.

A plan is not created by the collection and interpretation of such data. Rather, such data may provide the background for a plan formed primarily to fulfill the goals and values the superintendent adopts. Potential political and professional support, and the particular needs of a given community, determine the way goals will be realized in a unique strategy for educational change. As noted above, if a superintendent discovers that a community is highly resistant to school desegregation, that does not mean desegregation is politically unfeasible; it simply means that the plan should aim at changing that lack of community support.

WHAT KINDS OF DATA NEED TO BE GATHERED?

To develop a comprehensive diagnosis the superintendent and his staff must be informed about the relevant forces in the school and community which may affect desegregation. Among them are: availability of instructional and transportation facilities; physical rearrangements necessitated by the elimination of the dual school system; changes in class size and organization; teacher placement and responsibility; and use of building facilities (playgrounds, lunchrooms, etc.). Curriculum offerings must also be reexamined to assure their relevance to the needs of new and varied student groups.

The assessment of human resources within the school and community requires inquiry into such areas as current attitudes of various persons and groups; kinds of help teachers and students will need to support desegregation; and new role requirements created by new building use. Diagram 2 illustrates the local human resources whose views and needs must be considered in designing any desegregation plan.

Diagram 2. Human Forces Relevant to Local School Desegregation Efforts
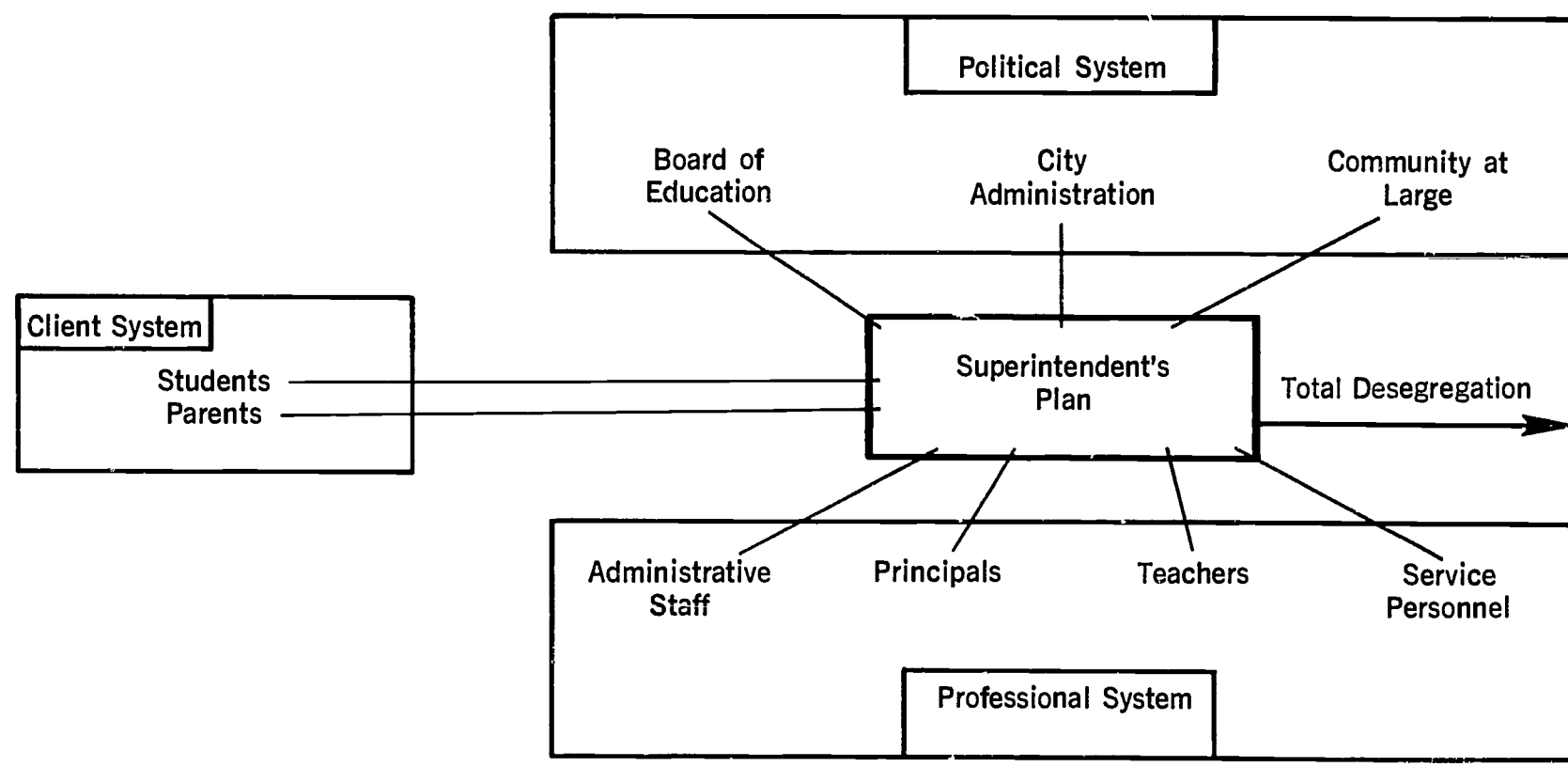
The human forces are divided into three separate categories: the political system in the community; the professional personnel; and various clients of the educational apparatus who will affect, and will be affected by, desegregation. Although non-local but relevant forces are not included in this diagram, it is vital for the superintendent to know the position and resources of court systems, State departments of education, nearby universities, and the like.

The diagnosis of local forces can begin with the character of the community at large. The vast complex of neighborhood organizations, political parties, clubs, associations, business organizations, church groups, and unattached influentials may represent either hidden resources or hidden barriers to the eventual implementation of any plan for school change. Therefore, the degree to which the entire community, or divisions of the community, will support school desegregation must be ascertained. No community is monolithic; there is no single white community, no single black community, no single multi-ethnic community of any sort. Thus the superintendent cannot depend upon press statements, reactions to media coverage, or presentations by a few vociferous members as indications of the community profile. Many communities have public or private agencies explicitly concerned with social changes and the improvement of intergroup relations. It is particularly important for the superintendent to gauge the resources and interests of these groups.

The board of education's attitudes about school desegregation efforts should be assessed also. Some superintendents already have a clear understanding of their board members' feelings, while others may wish to survey the board's views or have special sessions which inquire into desegregation plans. Since collaboration between the board and the superintendent is a critical factor in developing a workable plan for school change, the superintendent must know the steps board members might take to facilitate or resist desegregation efforts.

Other representative bodies from the political system within which the school system operates also must be assessed. In cities where the board of education and the city administration are elected separately, it is important to know the viewpoints of the mayor and the town councilmen. Reports of school desegregation in Syracuse, N.Y., for example, indicate how useful the mayor's support was in helping the board of education deal positively with the school superintendent's suggestions for change. Where the city administration has strong feelings about educational programs, school superintendents should understand the local government's posture. This knowledge helps the superintendent decide which political forces can be counted upon as aids to school desegregation, and whether the plan must include influence and pressure on these officials. The superintendent should try to predict the likely responses of the mass media and various police and law enforcement agencies, since both these institutions have played potent roles in past desegregation controversies. Conferences with representatives of such groups may provide the necessary information.

The superintendent who is prepared to assume leadership in school desegregation needs to know the degree of support and expertise he can depend upon from his senior administrative colleagues. His immediate team of assistant and associate superintendents and central staff personnel may have a variety of views about the kinds of goals or plans they would prefer. A careful and indepth sampling of the views of these school leaders may provide additional insights into the available resources and potential resistances within his own professional system.

The superintendent must also discover the extent to which he can count on each of his principals to provide information about the local school situation, support for system desegregation, skillful leadership of teachers, and leadership in the neighborhood. Most communities are composed of different neighborhoods, each typically served by a neighborhood-oriented elementary school. Therefore, each local principal is a valuable resource for the history, traditions, and potential for change in his subcommunity. *To the extent that the superintendent will rely on principals to inform and assist teachers, he must know the resources of his principals and the special help they will need prior to and during school desegregation.*

The superintendent also must understand the views and capa-

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bilities of the professional teaching staff. Many teachers, regardless of their ideological commitments, simply are not prepared to teach interracial classrooms. However, other teachers are willing and able to master this complex instructional task. In the development of a workable desegregation plan the superintendent needs to know what kind of teaching staff he has: what kinds of teaching skills he can expect; who is likely to fight desegregation either overtly or covertly; what kinds of skills or inservice training are needed; and how much support teachers perceive they need or are receiving. Moreover, to the degree that teachers in any school system are organized into professional associations or unions, the positions of those organizations must be taken into account in understanding the forces that might operate for or against different plans for school desegregation.

The present and future racial composition of the teaching staff are also important elements in the desegregation plan. Information about current assignments of Negro and white teachers provides the basis for planning the reassignment of teachers or recruitment of new staff. It is important to gather information about teachers' views of staff desegregation. These views can then be used as a basis for planning successful interracial relations among staff members.

The superintendent must also be concerned with the views and behaviors of the oft-neglected school service personnel (clerks, secretaries, bus drivers, custodians, etc.). These persons are in constant contact with young-sters, teachers, and the community at large. Since they are part of both the educational and political systems, their resources and views must be assessed and understood.

The third major system of human forces outlined in diagram 2 is the schools' client system. This system includes students and parents of students. Some client factors relevant to the creation of a plan for successful system desegregation are: how different groups in the Negro and white communities look upon association with students of another race, whether parents are encouraging youngsters to make friends across racial lines, likelihood of transfers to private schools, and readiness of those students and parents who intellectually support interracial instruction to behave in ways that lead to success in the interracial classroom.

The superintendent also should review the academic performance records for different groups of students, and for students at different schools. Although national studies generally report different achievement scores for white and black youth, one cannot assume the particular form such findings will take in each community. The way youngsters of different races and social classes and from different schools perform on various achievement tests can indicate to the superintendent what new and varied curricular offerings should be incl 'ed in the plan. Only with this information can he decide which of many desegregation designs would best suit the needs and abilities of his unique client system.

HOW CAN THE SUPERINTENDENT PERFORM THIS DIAGNOSIS?

General information about a community may be retrieved from newspaper files, historical reports, and census tract records. Other information can be found in the accumulated experiences of desegregation programs in other parts of the Nation or of the State in which a system is located. In this respect interviews and conversations with other superintendents from similar communities might be very fruitful.

The contemporary tenor of a community should be reassessed periodically, and a community survey is one useful method. Some superintendents have reported success with surveys when they are preceded by a carefully organized public information program. If the superintendent has a staff which includes persons trained in the methodology of attitude surveys and social research, the survey may be undertaken by members of his own staff. If such resources are not immediately available it should be possible to arrange a contract with a local university or research institution.

The superintendent also might gain important data by interviewing representatives of various formal and informal interest groups. The superintendent must take care to cast such sessions purely in the interest of inquiry. It makes a great difference whether sessions of this sort are seen as political forums or preliminary planning inquiries. The former perspective can lead to premature expectations of influence and commitment that can esca-

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late easily into political warfare.

No superintendent can afford to design a plan for school desegregation unless he understands its financial costs and the physical facilities necessary to accommodate or transport youngsters. Similarly, *no plan can be designed and implemented if the superintendent does not understand the professional, personal, and political forces that may affect the desegregation process.*

IV

Developing a Plan or Plans for Desegregation

The development of a desegregation plan requires detailed attention to the goals of the leadership team and the actual state of affairs in each particular community. The specific strategems employed to realize national policy goals must be tailored uniquely to the character of each community and school system. The superintendent of schools of Berkeley, Calif., noted:[1]

> . . . the approach used in attacking the problem must of necessity vary from community to community. . . . There are no pat solutions that can be applied universally. Although cities have much to gain by taking note of experience gained in other communities each must solve its

problems in the light of its unique situation.

The superintendent can approach the design of his system's unique desegregation plan by using the knowledge of school-community forces gained through the diagnostic effort described earlier.

Since there may be plural ways of reaching the goal of total desegregation, it may be appropriate for superintendents to develop several plans which may be tested before they are actually implemented. A superintendent may consider one or more plans which are attractive and appear to be effective. In the developmental stage each plan could be examined and laid out in detail. Then each might be tested to see which has the best chance of success at the least cost. Only after tentative plans have been tested in practice, in simulation situations, or in discussions with potential targets, can the superintendent confidently settle upon a final plan.

WHO SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING THE PLANS?

The superintendent's decision about whom to include in deliberations about the schools' desegregation plans will have far-reaching political and educational implications. Principals and teachers are more likely to implement plans in good faith if they are involved in the developmental process as well. Representatives of students and parents, the recipients of the change program, also can be involved. The inclusion of these groups is useful not only for their later contribution to political support and implementation, but also for the broader base of expert help they

provide. Furthermore, such efforts at involvement may help decentralize school decisionmaking and increase democratic participation in school system operations. Such participation may be increased by giving some local teams or professional staffs full responsibility for the design of subparts of the plan. However, *it will not be effective for the superintendent merely to be receptive to persons who volunteer comments and reactions; if he wishes community and staff participation he must actively solicit it.*

Some superintendents who attempted to enlist the support of a wide variety of such groups in the development of a desegregation plan encountered increased community resistance. In some situations this was because the superintendent seemed to present them with a *fait accompli* and thus made a mockery of the process of involvement and influence. Such is the case when superintendents solicit contributions and suggestions and then arbitrarily disregard them. In other situations, community resistance was raised when the superintendent himself did not clearly present his values and define the kind of help needed. If the superintendent merely presents the professional and political community with his own confusion, he can expect nothing but confusion, and thus frustration and resistance, in return. If, on the other hand, representatives are provided with specific guidelines as to how they may contribute to the development of a plan for the improvement of their school system, they are more likely to respond with significant

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assistance. To the extent that various groups can be included in this process in the early stages of plan development, they may be able to contribute to the entire structure of a program and not merely to odd bits and pieces.

One way to seek community and professional involvement is through special committees appointed by the superintendent or the board of education. In Syracuse, N.Y., the board appointed a citizens' committee to develop a plan for the elimination of *de facto* segregation. A similar procedure was followed by the Berkeley board of education more than once. On one occasion in Berkeley the appointed committee issued a critical report with many recommendations. The report was distributed to all PTA units and placed in public libraries and in all schools. A special committee was established to hold public meetings to discuss the report with community groups.

There is no political "magic" to the involvement of committees, community groups, or professional representation in plan development. This procedure may add wisdom and professional expertise to the plan. It may also soften political resistance and encourage support. Sometimes it may seem to do the opposite as well. However, it is unlikely that resistance to school desegregation is created by such patterns of involvement; it is more probable that hidden resistance merely becomes overt. There are real political issues and pressures involved in desegregation—issues that are relevant to the life of any community. *If the superintendent chooses not to involve community groups in planning school desegregation he does not thereby vanquish opposition; he merely delays its appearance.* In the meantime he may have failed to create important sources of commitment and support for the plan.

WHAT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN DESEGREGATION PLANS?

The superintendent must require great specificity and detail in the desegregation plan. Even though he and his aides may know what they wish to do, other school personnel will not understand their new roles unless they are spelled out in detail. One important detail regards the reallocation of school facilities. When old facilities are used in new and different ways personnel may have to function differently as well. For instance, the creation of new roles when a shop houses a systemwide program may confuse shop teachers who don't know how to establish procedures for larger groupings. Thus the plan must not only specify new facility usage, but also how to help the community and staff adapt to their new duties.

A desegregation plan must contain a time schedule for the conclusion of the planning process and the initiation of the plan. Further, it should specify the timing and sequence of various subparts of the plan. In a number of communities the process of planned school desegregation began with the institution of open enrollment or one-way bussing. Such strategies are satisfactory only as the *first steps* in moving toward more comprehensive programs of school desegregation. These two strategies place the major burdens for the initiation of desegregation on the Negro community. They create a problem in inequity that often evolves into political problems as Negro parents become less and less willing to take the risks in solving a communitywide dilemma. The result has been that *open enrollment and one-way bussing have not led to effective desegregation.* Any comprehensive plan that includes these options in the early stages should specify how they would be woven into a sequence of events that will end up with an equitable and high quality desegregated school system.

Another example of the importance of a sequence of strategies for school desegregation is provided by those programs built upon the promise of educational parks and complexes. The ecological and economic problems as well as the political issues involved in such massive metropolitan planning will require major efforts at long-term collaboration in the community. Communities that have contemplated this approach to school desegregation must envision it as a later stage in a sequence that must begin rapidly with smaller-scale efforts to change the school system.

The superintendent must also be concerned about planning for new assignments within his staff. Assistant superintendents and other administrative personnel must know what special responsibilities they will have when the plan takes effect. School desegregation will require new considerations relative to teachers and perhaps principals: how irrational fears of job loss can be quieted; what professional staff

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members will move, and to where; how interracial staffs can best be established; what special training programs must precede or accompany new instructional responsibilities; how such programs will be financed; and where the skilled personnel will be found to direct them.

A carefully developed plan must also indicate how the community and the professional staff will be informed about the mechanics of school desegregation. Many desegregation plans have failed to prepare or inform teachers and students about the changes they are about to experience. Such changes must be recognized and included in the system's desegregation plan. When the superintendent does not conscientiously concern himself with specifications for the people who are involved in the desegregation process, he can expect poor use of their educational skills and talents.

PLAN FLEXIBILITY AND FEASIBILITY TESTING

Any serious and comprehensive plan for school desegregation must be carefully thought out and planned far ahead of time. However, it must also include alternatives and be flexible enough so that it can be adapted to changing patterns in the community. Many communities which had already instituted desegregation plans experienced short-term change which resulted in resegregation once community housing patterns had altered certain neighborhoods. In Baltimore, many previously all-white schools went through a transition period of being desegregated, then be-

came all black. This was due in large part to the failure of the school desegregation plan to account for and include preparation for changes in the population of the inner city. It is possible that a diagnosis of the views of city residents, historical analyses of community mobility patterns, and knowledge of urban renewal and industrial development programs could have helped predict this eventuality. With such foresight an alternative plan could have been developed which might have begun a new phase of desegregation if and when housing patterns did start to shift. New educational programs might have been specifically developed to provide an incentive for white youngsters to remain in these schools or neighborhoods. Of course not all eventualities can be predicted and planned for, but plans that include provision for community change and continual review stand a better chance of adapting to a fluid situation.

Another way of increasing the potential for success of a desegregation plan is to provide an opportunity for its actual test before full-scale implementation. The various parts of the plan can be tested with the target groups concerned. If bussing youngsters from one school or neighborhood to another is part of the plan, some pilot efforts to bus youngsters might help guage the difficulties and advantages involved. Further, if the development of a desegregation plan in a community requires extensive teacher retraining, it would be appropriate to test the design for retraining with some individual teachers, with the teachers' or-

ganization, and with educational consultants.

In addition to trying out a plan in a neighborhood or a subpart of the school system, feasibility tests could involve community meetings wherein the outlines of the plan are shared with members of the professional or political community for their reactions. *A dry run is very likely to provide information that can add to the possibility for success of any particular plan.* Another way the superintendent can gather information about the feasibility of a plan is to visit the community where a similar plan has in fact been tried out or is now being used. Consultations with social scientists, educators, or other educational leaders also may indicate the ways in which any particular plan has failed, has succeeded, or may be expected to fail or succeed in a given situation.

Another advantage of the use of a feasibility test is that it may provide clients or professionals with information about the plans and changes that are in store for them. In several communities students, parents, teachers, and principals first learned of school desegregation when Negro youngsters walked off a bus into a previously all-white school. Preparation of the professional staff and the community is often one of the most underrated necessities in any plan for system-wide school desegregation. To the extent that feasibility tests may aid in this process they can serve the double purpose of gathering information about the plan's chances and alerting the staff and community to change.

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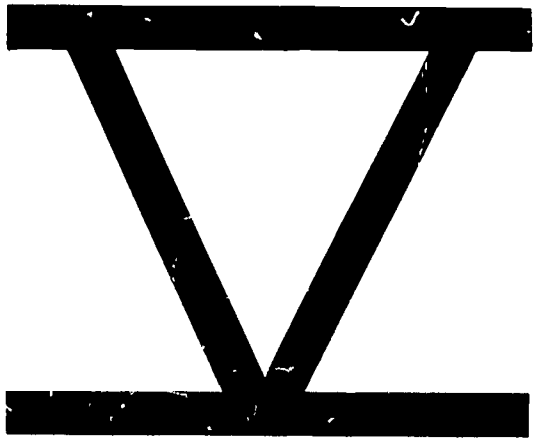
Implementing A Plan for Desegregation

Well-designed plans for school-system change often fail because insufficient attention has been paid to the actual steps involved in implementation. Skillful implementation may be more crucial to the success of school desegregation than the particular design of any single plan. This is not to say that different plans do not lead to different goals; however, the factors accounted for in putting a plan into operation may be more important than the numbers of students and personnel shifted and buildings used.

PREPARATION FOR DESEGREGATION

Once the plans have been tested, and modified or selected, the superintendent's next important step is to insure that key persons are fully prepared for change. Any plan that seeks to change the character of school life must consider the potential reactions of school personnel and clients of the school system. Such reactions should be predicted from the diagnosis of community reaction and the issues in plan development. The superintendent must be concerned again about these parties as he ap-

proaches the actual effort to put a plan into practice. Initially this effort requires alerting the community and professional staff for the changes in their schools, and their lives, that must accompany the plan for school-system desegregation.

There are a number of ways in which community groups, even if they have not been involved in developing the plan, can be prepared for a particular program. An orientation program for parents and students of both races would be an excellent way of preparing everyone for the eventual change in the racial character of their schools. Moreover, it is likely that more than 1 day might be necessary to help clients think through and adjust to new school demands. Public meetings held on school grounds may be another means by which a superintendent can demonstrate, and prepare clients for, forthcoming changes. In some neighborhoods informal social gatherings were held to welcome parents of children who were being moved into the neighborhood school. One cannot expect initial meetings to be peaceful and harmonious; these new experiences may create painful confrontations until and unless people of both races discover new ways of relating to one another.

Superintendents must be careful not to assume that Negro students are the only ones to benefit from successful desegregation; they are not the only students who must be prepared for it or asked to invest in its success. Preparation that is designed to warn or caution Negro students to "behave themselves" or "take

any abuse without retaliation" may do a great disservice to eventual hopes for the success of desegregation. If the focus of such advice is not multiracial, it places an inequitable burden on Negroes that inhibits open interaction among peers.

Orientation programs should also he held for staff members, particularly those whose roles are directly affected by school desegregation. The superintendent and his leadership team can solicit principals' and teachers' questions about the plan and can help explain its provisions. Training programs or practice sessions may be useful ways for staff members to prepare for new classroom situations, new colleagues, and altered curriculum patterns and assignments. Superintendents who do not meet with staffs personally should nevertheless insure that such sessions are held. Further support can be provided by written memorandums informing staff members of the plan's details and their roles.

COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVE DESEGREGATION

The superintendent must make his position and expectations clear, and must share publicly his concern for the successful accomplishment of desegregation. This kind of clarity can be established by expounding a plan that brooks no delay, that creates total desegregation, and that provides for the burdens of school change to be shared among whites and blacks. Further, the plan should include means of discouraging white students from transferring out of the interracial

situation. Only with this clear model of school commitment can students and parents be expected to accept the challenge of new school patterns. For many parents and students public notification of a desegregation plan does not in itself indicate that a school system really intends commitment to the new educational program. In the absence of clear commitment, parents and student groups of both races may resist the desegregation program and do their best to subvert its success.

Teachers, principals, and service personnel also must be helped to commit their energies to the success of these new forms of racial relations in their schools. Sanctions should be applied to staff members who frustrate or subvert the desegregation plan and public support given to those who demonstrate creative implementation. The superintendent also can demonstrate his commitment by refusing to accommodate preferential transfers of white or Negro teachers out of interracial classroom or staff situations.

Many superintendents have done little more than inform their communities and professionals a few days beforehand that school desegregation was on its way. Sometimes superintendents delayed efforts to gain the commitment of community and professional groups because they assumed that the less said about the plan, the greater the chance for success. Other superintendents mistakenly assumed that a few pamphlets or news stories could communicate the important dynamics of the plan to

all persons involved. In some cases superintendents deliberately avoided taking leadership in what appeared to be an unpopular cause. But it is imperative that public and professional support be mobilized for the implementation of any plan for school system desegregation. If support is not so mobilized, it may be mobilized in the opposite direction by opponents of school change. Such support for desegregation will not be forthcoming without the superintendent's active demonstration of his commitment of others.

CONTINUAL SUPPORT FOR DESEGREGATION

Teachers and principals will not continue to meet the challenges in interracial education creatively without continuing assurance that the superintendent supports and recognizes these efforts. Similarly, youngsters and parents will be reluctant to persevere under conditions of harassment, intimidation, or indifference without substantial support from the educational establishment itself. Many desegregation efforts have resulted in Negro students and parents suffering intimidation by violence, economic coercion, and official indifference. Much the same official indifference and lack of daily support has caused other efforts at school desegregation to result in discomfort and antagonism among groups of Negro and white students and parents. It is also clear that many educators themselves participate in such harassment of students and parents, further demonstrating the effects of low commitment from professional groups.

Strong support for persons who are fulfilling the plan is a necessary ingredient in overcoming negative community trends and creating successful desegregation.

An example of a support mechanism that does not come directly from the superintendent's office, but may be affected by him, is the development and communication of community approval of principals and teachers. Most parents who say anything to teachers about any kind of instructional change, let alone desegregation, take the opportunity to gripe and complain. The vast majority of parents who are typically quite satisfied or complacent about the educational apparatus do not take the opportunity to share their more positive feelings. The superintendent can be helpful by reminding parent groups to share with teachers their positive feelings about classroom desegregation, not just their negative feelings. Thus, the market on teacher awareness of public reaction can be shared by people who feel the school is moving in the right direction, not cornered by those who feel it is moving in the wrong direction.

Plans must be implemented in ways that make clear the professional system's obligations and the sanctions that will ensue from their failure to meet these obligations. The superintendent's willingness to use sanctions such as dismissal, peer pressure, and withholding salary increase, as well as rewards such as pay raises and letters of commendation, all provide support to those professionals whose commitments may waiver in the face of

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community resistance. This support alone will not guarantee success, but it is required for desegregation to occur in a community that has not moved fully to support such school change. One cannot expect to change all of the community elements that oppose desegregation prior to school implementation of desegregation programs. In some cases, such change may be impossible. Furthermore, the superintendent may not always need to make an objective of changing community feelings and attitudes. In fact, *school desegregation itself may be the opening wedge in an effort to build new racial patterns in the community.*

VI

Recycling the Planned Change Process

The process of planned change is a never-ending effort to improve school life. *Efforts at social change need constant monitoring to insure their continuing relevance to the original goals and diagnoses which constitute the basis of a plan.* In many cases a plan may need to be altered while it is being implemented. In all cases the completion of the process can only be seen as a beginning for further school change. Thus there is a continual recycling of change, leading to additional improve-

ments in education for all children.

FLEXIBILITY IN IMPLEMENTATION AS AN EXAMPLE OF RECYCLING

The plan must contain options for the insertion of new designs that flexibly adapt the overall program to unexpected events. Even a well-designed plan may not account for the entire range of contingencies in school-system desegregation. Federal or State policy may change, new forms of community politics may develop, buildings or facilities may be built or destroyed. Where bussing is used as a preliminary stage toward geographic redistricting, a high rate of voluntary participation may speed up the implementation date for the second stage. An unusually low rate of volunteering may create the necessity for greater solicitation of participants and change of later designs. Such unforeseeable contingencies make it necessary for flexibility to be built into the plan and also into administrative efforts to implement the plan. This flexibility requires a constant effort to get feedback on what is happening so the superintendent can make necessary adaptations in the operation of the plan. The monitoring of the plan can utilize techniques such as conferences with students and parents; problem-solving sessions with teachers; careful recording of school and community incidents; and consultations with community leaders, model city program directors, and so forth.

EVALUATION AND FEEDBACK

The process of recycling assumes that the superintendent has some

evidence of changing conditions and of the success or failure of the current desegregation plan. It assumes, therefore, some evaluation or feedback process whereby the superintendent learns how students and parents, teachers and principals, and community members and municipal politicians feel about what is going on. It also requires more objective evidence of new achievement patterns, new relational patterns in school, and new teaching styles. Only with this information can the plan be readjusted to respond more effectively to the needs of the students, the goals of the school-system leadership team, and the current community situation. *The evaluative effort can also be used as a rediagnosis; it is a way to discover anew the school-community situation.* Recycling involves utilizing evidence and bringing it to bear upon improved aims for the purpose and direction of the educational system. It calls for the design of new plans for more effective desegregation.

The same methods that were appropriate for the diagnosis may be useful for evaluation. Examples include attitude surveys, standard performance tests, observational records of classroom interactions, and interviews with staff members or clients. Since there is always a danger that the evaluator's values and interests may bias the results, the superintendent may gain a more objective review from an outside agency than from experts on his own staff.

RECYCLING THE ENTIRE PROCESS

Until the superintendent can say

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that students have an optimal learning environment, that teachers have an optimal teaching environment, and that principals and community members have an optimal school-management system, there will be new goals to reach and new problems to solve. As any particular program is put into effect new problems are generated and new visions for change are created. Reaching one goal often creates a situation in which other problems or goals can be seen more clearly. With desegregation accomplished, more serious attention can be given to treating the underlying dynamics of racial tensions in the school and community. If the partial solution of school and community racial tensions is successful, other concerns relative to the quality of instruction and the justice of certain academic standards may be given more attention. Thus, *a reclarification of goals, accompanied by a rediagnosis, sets the stage for new plans for change.*

It is in this context that we see recycling the entire planned change process not as an end to the process but as a completion of a circular program which reflects and creates a never-ending concern with the planned improvement of instruction. Most desegregation plans are only the beginning phases of a whole series of plans to change the racial character of a system's educational program. The long-range success of any program for school change requires constant attention to efforts to diffuse and disseminate what is happening in any program to other parts of the school system. School desegregation itself can only be the first step in the movement towards integration and the realization of goals relevant to racial justice and high quality learning in educational systems.

VII

The Community

The superintendent's role as educational leader requires his active involvement in shaping and responding to community postures toward school desegregation. Desegregation should not be expected to receive wholesale community support, especially from community members who feel inconvenienced or threatened by such changes. However, within every community there are important sources of support which must be understood and organized into a program for school-community change.

The superintendent's first step is to inform the community of his intent to comply with national policy. It may be helpful for him to share the basis for this position in terms of recent court cases and good educational policy. The importance of a forthright and positive position is illustrated by reports of hearings in Virginia: [1] "In systems which had achieved complete desegregation, school officials—superintendents, assistant superintendents, members of boards of education—had taken the position that Federal law was to be obeyed and that desegregation could be accomplished." Educational researchers also report that *school desegregation moved forward when local authorities acted firmly and fairly, and expressed their determination to accomplish desegregation.* The most relevant argument was that desegregation is an important component of good education for all youngsters; thus racial relations was not established as the prime bone of contention. The experiences of many school systems stress the need for superintendents to announce and clarify public policy and to exercise strong leadership in their communities.

Policy intentions should be shared at an early stage of desegregation planning because of the great public concern about educational issues. Several unique features of the public schools make them particularly vulnerable to local community concerns and pressures: (1) Schools are monopolies which serve consumers who have little choice about attendance and are individually powerless to bring about change. (2) Schools affect many people in the community in very personal and powerful ways. (3) Schools are seen as important institutions for imparting selected traditions and values of the community. (4) Schools are tied to local politics since school boards and superintendents, whether appointed or elected, represent powerful elements of the community. (5) Schools are supported partially by local taxes. (6) Schools provide an important channel to success for some students and act as repressive, alienating, and failure-oriented institutions for others. Considera-

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tion of these combined forces clarifies why efforts to change schools are bound to reflect community pressure, debate, and probably conflict.

These factors stress the need for the superintendent to be accessible to the community's attempts to influence him. *Organized and unorganized groups and persons who care about the schools should be able to meet with the superintendent and/or his staff with ease.* Such accessibility cannot be created accidentally nor via a passive "open door" posture. The superintendent should create accessibility by encouraging community members of all persuasions to seek him out and by seeking them out at public meetings, forums, and informal gatherings. The separation of schools and communities which has characterized public education for most of this century, as well as the traditional desires of superintendents to prevent community "meddling" in school affairs, often leave a residue of mistrust and suspicion that will not be overcome quickly. But it can and should be overcome. If community groups are successfully involved in influencing desegregation they will feel "we have done it." rather than "it was done to us." The effectiveness of social engineering approaches can often prove illusory and short-lived insofar as they are merely manipulatory. Unless they are combined with substantial initiative on the part of community groups they will ultimately fail for lack of support.

As the superintendent begins to diagnose community forces in the preparation of a plan for desegregation he must identify various interests: What is the nature of the groups seeking change? What are their beliefs, fears, and hopes? What strategies and tactics are they likely to use to bring about change? Who is resisting the change? How are they likely to express their resistance? How will they attempt to influence decisionmaking?

There will be components of each racial group which offer support, apathy, or hostility to the idea of desegregation and to any particular plan for its attainment. The superintendent may discover support for desegregation in local service groups, church organizations, neighborhood associations, and other civic groups. Many superintendents may sell short their community's potential for change, expecting more resistance than does occur or than is likely to occur with careful planning. These superintendents, North and South, will be surprised at the degree of support they discover and the groups which can be called upon later for help.

The local press and radio station are other institutions where interests may or may not be partisan, but with which it is important to develop good relations, communication, and trust. The way in which news media cover or do not cover stories, and stress or do not stress particular events, has enormous impact upon community perceptions of desegregation. Few superintendents can "control" the news, but many can so involve the press in desegregation planning that they have full information about the system's intentions and designs. In a similar vein, close liaison with law enforcement agencies can help assure them that their concern for civil order can support parallel concern for educational processes. There are several instances wherein police help was not forthcoming when it was needed and requested in the schools. On the other hand, there are also several examples of premature and overenthusiastic police intrusion that created conditions disruptive to the progress of school desegregation. This is another example of the need for community institutions to understand each other's roles and goals and to collaborate early and often in the process of plan development and implementation.

After identifying various groups and understanding their positions the superintendent should also solicit their help in diagnosis and plan development. A superintendent in Alexandria, Va., brought together 118 people for a 2-day conference on school desegregation. These groups consisted of parents, teachers, school administrators, clergymen, and representatives of city agencies such as law enforcement and recreation. On the first day the conferees divided into groups of about 12 persons each. Individuals with opposite viewpoints were often in the same group. They were given the task of stating the problems and issues they felt would arise because of desegregation, such as its actual and potential effects upon students, teachers, schools, curriculum, community, and parents.

The second day was spent suggesting how some of the problems raised the previous day could be dealt with in a plan. The

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result was an open discussion of issues, an airing of feelings, and the beginning of community participation and support for desegregation.

The history of school desegregation clearly suggests that community pressures of various sorts constantly affect the desegregation process. In many communities white groups have resisted and opposed the process; in some communities whites and blacks have become allied in support of rapid desegregation. Often this press for change has been a major force that has pushed or permitted the superintendent to proceed with school desegregation programs. One superintendent reported quite frankly: [2] "We kid ourselves frequently, and make believe we've been especially virtuous and altruistic in taking these successive steps. However, protest activity was indeed a factor. It does make a difference. Some degree of militancy at the right time and at the right place was useful." A study of 10 communities engaged in desegregation concluded with essentially the same finding: "Desegregation has proceeded haltingly, grudgingly, and in response to organized demands . . . by members of the Negro community and their white allies." [3]

Pressure from one group to hasten desegregation often leads to the expression of resistance from other community groups. Faced with such conflicting pressures the superintendent may play any one of several roles.

He may attempt to mediate between the various forces and thus respond to a variety of pressures generated by the community. Such a posture cannot and should not be taken without the superintendent's awareness of his own values and goals. Even as mediator he must attempt to work in ways that lead to the realization of school desegregation. Without such goal direction he and the school system will be tossed and buffeted by different interest groups. This model of community leadership may permit the superintendent to remain in contact and potential collaboration with a wide range of community forces which are in conflict with one another over school desegregation.

The superintendent can also take the position that it is not necessary for him to wait for such pressure and protest to develop. When he reacts to, rather than initiates, discussion and action relative to desegregation he may weaken his leadership position. The superintendent who takes the lead in advocating desegregation plans may head off or overpower any burgeoning protest from resistant white or militant black groups that seek to prevent school desegregation. *When the superintendent takes a clear position of advocacy, he lends the full weight of his person and office to the prosecution of these goals.* One result of such forthright alignment may be a loss of his linkage or potential collaboration with antidesegregation forces in the community. This position is most likely to be taken by a superintendent who defines his role as a change-agent, and who is willing to leave a community when his partisan goals have been fulfilled.

Regardless of which model the superintendent adopts, if he sincerely wishes to accomplish school desegregation he must not fail to announce and seek this goal publicly and forcefully. Hesitation, doubt, or deliberate delay in developing and implementing desegregation plans not only gives resistant forces the opportunity to organize, but may also lead them to believe there are sources of resistance to school desegregation within the superintendent's leadership team. There well might be!

The potentiality of protest and pressure from community groups sometimes creates panic in those superintendents who either fear such action or are not very strongly committed to desegregation. Some educational leaders react by trying to contain and control such groups and events. When faced with community pressures and protests they act impulsively, out of fear or a desire to maintain order. Some superintendents so feared reaction to minority group demands that they rejected these demands even before the school board had a chance to discuss the issues.

Efforts at controlling community politics usually do not succeed. Parties and interests polarize, strategies of confrontations escalate, and full-scale crisis may result. When school officials demonstrate their inability to handle conflict, and thus lose the trust of many citizens, the community may search for new means of legitimizing change or resistance. One method used is an appeal to a higher educational authority, such as a judicial hearing, a State board of education, or a State department of intergroup relations. This may be the only alternative for some communi-

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ties: it also can provide local authorities with the protection that lets them "get off the hook" and move forward in the development of a desegregation plan.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN PLAN DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

These approaches to community involvement are consistent with an analysis of school desegregation as a communitywide problem. Such a view stresses the superintendent's need to involve a broad and varied range of community groups in helping design and implement the desegregation plan. In Atlanta, Ga., leaders of the business community took the initiative and organized biracial committees to work on the school desegregation program.

An interesting example of a superintendent's use of community forces to help develop a plan took place in Wilmington, Del. The superintendent brought together about 60 people who were members of local PTA's and black militant groups. These 60 persons met in a private home and selected an ad hoc committee of parents, teachers, and the school administrators. The large group set up meetings with groups of 25-30 people, plus at least one member of the ad hoc committee. Thus, there were several simultaneous meetings within the community, each assembling in private homes. At these meetings people discussed problems in the schools, and the representative from the ad hoc committee reported the information back to a central office. On the basis of those discussions, the ad hoc committee drew up 16 recommendations for changes in the schools. At the next school

board meeting, the ad hoc committee made a presentation of the recommendations, with about 200 people, including numerous newspaper and television reporters, in the audience. The board approved all recommendations. This superintendent facilitated community influence by bringing together people with different interests, orientations, and beliefs. Recognizing the importance of community involvement, he then solicited and accepted private citizens' recommendations for changing the schools. Again, recognizing the impact that community pressure would have on the board, the superintendent encouraged the committee to make the presentation at an open board meeting and invited the press to be there.

In Greenburgh, N.Y., the superintendent generated community support by activating a committee that had members in every one of 14 local civic organizations. These civic leaders sponsored public meetings and spoke in private homes, explaining why they felt schools should be desegregated. The Evanston, Ill., Citizen's Advisory Commission, composed of 18 people representing a broad spectrum of the city, developed a plan for local desegregation. On the West Coast the Berkeley Friends of Better Schools held meetings in more than 100 private homes to develop support for the board's attempt to desegregate the schools. A member of the Berkeley school board felt that involvement of the community was a major ingredient in that city's movement towards greater desegregation. *If an advisory group or committee hastens effective*

desegregation it is a good device; if it delays change, throws the basic policy decision into doubt, protects the superintendent from important confrontation, or cools out meaningful protest it is a dangerous device of negative value.

Citizens' advisory groups or boards are likely to be effective only if they include legitimate leaders of the Negro community and the white community. The necessity for broad appeal and a blend of uniquely different contributions means that the board should represent and recognize the conflicting pressure groups in the community. Getting adequate representation of the Negro community will be particularly difficult because of the historic lack of trust in white authorities who appoint Negroes to such boards. Negro representatives who agree to serve may be seen as "sellouts" or "Toms" and thus jeopardize their ability to lead. Some school authorities hope that if Negroes are on an advisory board minority groups will be less likely to attack the decision. Further, if there is a community attack, it will be an attack upon the advisory board and not upon the school system. But it should be clear that the superintendent cannot be and should not be protected or saved by such advisory groups.

Although such tactics may be useful in involving citizens in the process of school desegregation, they may be hazardous as well. For it can prove extremely difficult to establish a body that, in fact, affords representation for the many potent interest groups whose participation would be desirable. The superintendent may

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think he has included potent interest groups when he may not have. The inclusion of previously uninvolved minority groups may stimulate majority groups to resent the specter of "bending over backwards"; thus it will not be easy to include divergent interests in a single body. The use of such groups broadens involvement beyond professional educators but may still utilize an elite planning group that may not be able to represent or influence masses of black and white citizens. If these groups meet secretly, the appearance of unrepresentative elitism may be even stronger. In addition, various community forces may mobilize against the superintendent if it appears that he is establishing this group to silence vociferous leaders of actual or potential protest groups. The involvement of community leaders, without listening to or using their ideas, amounts to efforts to "buy" their cooperation via prestigious appointments.

Advisory groups may take time to meet, hold hearings, and write a report; sometimes they take too much time and contribute to the delay of desegregation. Any advisory group must be given a time limit for its work and a mandate to report back to the superintendent or board. Advisory groups that recognize these problems and avoid them have been useful in a number of communities. They have been especially helpful when generated by community forces seeking influence rather than by superintendents seeking an easy political victory.

The advantages of broad community participation in the de-velopment and implementation of desegregation plans are obvious. Having the community, black and white, knowledgeable about and in favor of the desegregation plan is an advantage during the implementation stages. When parents themselves know what is happening they can help prepare their children, they can influence other parents in the neighborhood, and they can help the local school's principal and teachers by giving support or additional help when problems arise. School superintendents cannot afford to underestimate the influence and power of formal and informal community groups to help or hinder the implementation of a desegregation program. When the community is involved and understands the plans or has participated in drawing them up, it is more likely to support desegregation of the public schools. This support will have an influence on all those involved in the implementation of school change.

VII

The Board of Education and the Administrative Staff

Boards of education, whether elected or appointed, are the formal political representatives of the community on school matters. Reports from many communities demonstrate that a strong and united position by the superintendent and the board greatly enhances the possibility of successful desegregation.[1]

A united front presented vigorously by the leadership can do much to foster general acceptance of an innovation—such as public school desegregation —that might otherwise lead to significant community conflict. Further, it seems essential that leaders take a principled, responsible stance publicly on controversial issues if responsible community behavior is to follow.

Thus clear and forthright positions supporting desegregation, both by the superintendent and the board, are important bases for school change.

Often the superintendent and the board of education may not be in agreement. Then the superintendent's mission is to convince board members of the educational advantages and legal imperatives of desegregation. Research on school management indicates that superintendents typically are more progressive on educational matters than their school boards.

Large numbers of school board members see their function as one of "representing" existing community values and not taking educational stands in advance of community thinking. Because of their personal values, traditional roles in the community, or political ambitions, school board members generally desire to maintain the status quo.

One way the superintendent can influence his board is through

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specifications of the educational advantages of school desegregation. The superintendent is the system's chief professional educator; if members of the board perceive him as a repected member of his profession, he may be able to lead them toward new alternatives in spite of their prior ideologies and fears. Many board members view desegregation as "a thing to do for the Negroes," not as a way to overcome the social isolation and cultural myopia of white youngsters as well. *The superintendent's presentation of the advantages of desegregation for the entire community decreases the possibility that plans and programs will all proceed from a one-sided viewpoint of "helping Negroes."*

The superintendent who wishes to influence his board may establish a special advisory committee to investigate and report on various desegregation plans. He can also plan public meetings where the board is exposed to community forces that desire change and wish to express their views. Some superintendents have testified to the ways in which organized community pressure may influence the school board: [2]

"We did have many organizations . . . that over a period of time were constantly exerting pressure on the Board of Education, to educate the members to the problems. That was the first step."

Other superintendents have more systematically seen their boards as targets for change. They have advocated change by lending their energy and skill to community efforts to organize and pre-

sent demands to the board. A superintendent may act in terms of his office as an interpreter for various pressure groups, or he may take a more active role as an advocate of change by participating directly on the side of the community groups. The exertion of this sort of pressure on the board may require the superintendent to take a stand of open confrontation with board members as he seeks to persuade them to listen to partisan groups. The use of such strongly persuasive power involves certain risks. It may cause early polarization of people and groups that could make negotiation more difficult. If the superintendent acts as an advocate, debates may escalate to personal threats and stalemates more quickly than if he mediates among a variety of opposing forces. However, the difficulty in arriving at compromises may be useful: dormant conflicts may be aired which surface important issues and prevent token desegregation. Another danger is the superintendent's own tenure in the face of board opposition or stalemate. But this is a two-edged sword; a superintendent's shaky tenure usually means the board's security also is or can be threatened. Superintendents have used the threat to resign, actual resignation, and efforts at political recall or appeal to bring about change in board composition and policy.

The board of education that supports school desegregation can be helpful in the diagnosis of the school situation. By virtue of their prestige in the community board members can initiate inquiry in town meetings. In small towns they can hold informal

meetings in their homes. These *personal touches can be very helpful when white board members deal with other whites' fears or resistance to desegregation.* In addition to acts of individual members, the board can hold hearings, commission studies, and conduct other diagnostic inquiries.

Similar alternatives are available to the board during plan development and implementation. In some communities' desegregation plans, "the board and the superintendent sought community support for it . . . and spoke to any audience that would listen." [3]

Public announcements of intent to carry out and support desegregation, constant attention to the progress of the plan, and continued efforts to demonstrate commitment, interest, and concern will encourage all parties to grapple with the continuing challenge of change.

Another way the board can help with plan implementation is by its involvement in issues which affect race relations, but with which schools traditionally have not been involved. For example, one school board's attempt to influence the community to adopt fair housing legislation and to create greater job opportunities for unemployed youth was an indication of interest in broad aspects of social change. An advisory committee set up by the school board in a Midwestern community proposed: [4]

. . . that the board exercise leadership in enlisting promotion of open housing as a long-

term goal. Specifically, the board should appeal to every possible source of help, including the city commissions of the community and surrounding cities, the human relations commission, the real estate commission, the chamber of commerce, labor unions, civil clubs, churches, news media, financial institutions, and civil rights groups, in an effort to achieve a truly integrated community.

The legitimacy of an appeal by school authorities to broad segments of the community may be increased if minority groups see the appeal as an attempt to change discriminatory practices in the community as a whole. In addition, the board may take leadership in using school desegregation to stimulate changes in many different aspects of community life. It can be anticipated that such action will arouse the ire and probably heighten the resistance of community groups that resist both school desegregation and other changes in racial relations.

THE SUPERINTENDEN''S ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

The school system's administrative staff is an excellent source of information and help in the desegregation process. The size of the school district will dictate staff size and the types of responsibilities staff members assume. Various people within the administration hierarchy will have pertinent information at their disposal with which to help identify and diagnose existing school problems. For instance, assistant superintendents in charge of

instruction or business may review the curricular and financial changes necessary for effective desegregation. Respective superintendents of elementary or secondary instruction can provide detailed information on the needs of their special constituencies. If a large city system utilizes assistant superintendents with responsibilities for geographic areas, they may have information regarding specific neighborhood or community concerns, transportation routes, and facilities. These persons are likely to have expert knowledge about certain aspects of the school system, information which is needed for the system's diagnosis and planning for change. The experience and sense of reality this staff can provide is important in the development and implementation of a meaningful and practical plan.

The administrative staff should also be a model of desegregation in action. A superintendent who has not desegregated his staff cannot possibly expect his principals to desegregate theirs. It is important to provide for desegregated staffs at senior leadership levels as well as at lower echelons of administrative responsibility.

There may be resistance to school desegregation within the ranks of the administrative staff. Some administrators may be firmly committed to old forms of school and community organization and not want to change. The disparity between the superintendent's position and that of his staff may be heightened when the superintendent is new to a system and the staff is held over

from the prior administration. Such opposition may make itself felt through various forms of apathy, sabotage, or plan subversion. The superintendent should carefully assess his staff's willingness and ability to plan for and support desegregated schools.

Efforts can be made to help superintendents deal with staff resistance and to develop a unified, committed cadre of administrators. Some staffs have undergone special training to help them work as a unit on new and difficult school policies. When such efforts fail to persuade resistant staff members to support desegregation either out of intellectual commitment or organizational loyalty, other alternatives need to be explored, such as: (1) retention of resistant staff members so the superintendent can know how opposing groups in the community feel; (2) reassignment of staff members so they may fill staff positions that are useful but do not require decisionmaking responsibility; and (3) termination of contracts of those staff members unable or unwilling to support basic school policy.

Desegregation may also require new staffing patterns to meet new organizational problems in the school system. The commitment to work actively with the black community and to recruit additional black teachers may require special assignments and new roles for certain staff members. Community relations directors, human relations specialists, and training assistants are examples of new functions

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that may need to be performed. The desire to reward and utilize the skills of teachers who can work creatively in the interracial classroom may require special roles for "disseminators" or "master teachers." The creation of such roles allows the superintendent to institutionalize new policies and staffing innovations developed during school desegregation.

IX

The Principals

The superintendent should make every effort to involve school principals in the planning of school desegregation. As chief administrator of a school, a principal is likely to be aware of student and teacher needs and their potential for change. Thus he can estimate the extent of preparation that will be required prior to desegregation. He can also help identify any special problems that his school may have, including: the implementation of additional curriculum offerings, the addition of administrative personnel, and the retraining of counselors or teachers. If the principal cannot delineate his present staff's strengths and weaknesses, the superintendent should press him to expand his role to gather relevant data.

A principal who is merely a recipient of a preset plan may comply with it as his duty but feel no responsibility or desire to be innovative and creative in its implementation. Many principals feel harassed and overloaded by administrative obligations and respond to new requests with apathy and opposition. The adoption of a laissez-faire attitude on the part of some principals may permit local resistance or inertia to develop to the point where it threatens actual desegregation. The principal who is uninformed or opposed to the plan may make no attempt to implement it or may be negative as he tries.

Superintendents must place part of the burden and challenge of planning school desegregation upon their principals. Participation and influence in planning are important for principals because those leaders who are out of touch with or cannot exert influence on their professional peers and supervisors are seldom trusted by their own staff. *If staff members perceive that their principal cannot or does not exert influence upon his peers and supervisors, then they may decide that their principal is inadequate or incompetent and need not be followed.*

The superintendent also can help principals by being alert to their needs for professional assistance and development. Superintendents can take the initiative in bringing together principals within their district. Meetings in which principals prepare for desegregation are vital in helping them share ideas with each other and plan new approaches. When such a meeting or discussion group is made up entirely of

peers its members should be able to anticipate some of the problems with which their colleagues must deal. The loneliness or risk that any single principal is facing can be reduced in such settings. This is also an effective procedure when desegregation plans include the appointment of new principals who may be unfamiliar with the system. Negro principals leading a predominantly white staff, or white principals leading a predominantly Negro staff, will need special support from the superintendent and other principals. These administrative desegregators have to be open and forceful in presenting their own views, skills, and expectations to their staffs. They also must be prepared for community resistance, perhaps even temporary school boycotts. If such staffing decisions are made in the best educational interests of the school and community and are presented and defended by the superintendent in that vein, most resistance soon will cease.

Special administrative staff meetings can be held which explicitly focus upon the problems of managing a desegregated school. Central to this effort should be principals' exploration of their own racial feelings and perceptions. The superintendent should make funds available for this sort of training, and should support it either with his own attendance or via public notice. If the superintendent actually attends such training sessions it should be clear that he is a participant and neither an observer nor judge of other participants. If principals are anxious about the superintendent's evaluation posture he should not attend such sessions

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if he cannot participate fully on an equal basis. Training programs can utilize a variety of re-education techniques: sensitivity training, role playing, collection and feedback of data, and other exercises in personal and behavioral confrontation. In addition, principals' skills in organizational and community leadership probably need to be enhanced. Finally, there is also a need for principals to understand the implications of social-science findings about race, social administration, curriculum development, and the desegregation process. The superintendent will probably need to locate educational consultants who can design and conduct training programs. Sometimes he may be able to add a training officer to his senior administrative staff.

THE PRINCIPAL AND HIS STAFF

One of the most important tasks facing the principal of a newly desegregated school is to work effectively with his staff in implementing school change. The principal will find it hard to talk about desegregation with teachers and students if he still has a segregated teaching, administrative, or service staff. It will not be an easy task, but it is important that the entire school staff be desegregated and work well together. Faculty desegregation must proceed with careful attention to the development of understanding and collaboration among professional peers. Negro and white teachers encounter many of the same problems in racial relations as do newly desegregated students and community groups. They must give special priority to collaborative effort, however, because faculty rela-

tionships often are models for observant students. White and Negro teachers who have never worked with peers of another race may resist their introduction to the staff. Moreover, the white or Negro teacher who joins a staff largely composed of members of another race may be fearful and anxious about the reception he or she can expect.

Recent experiences suggest that even where apparent acceptance is the rule, racial condescension or separatism characterizes racial interaction in desegregated faculties. Many white teachers reject Negro colleagues as peers and try to make life professionally and personally difficult for them. In a more subtle vein, it is not uncommon for the few Negroes on a white staff to be treated as local experts on black culture, and for them to be called upon to explain everything from dashikis to jazz to African revolutions. This pattern assumes that lone Negroes are capable of "representing" a race. In addition, it lets white teachers escape from their own confrontations with Negro youngsters by substituting information-gathering sessions with Negro faculty members. On the other hand, when there are a few whites in a largely Negro staff they may have a sense of being missionaries or martyrs, a posture repugnant to many of their white and black colleagues.

In addition to the problems involved in faculty desegregation, two other aspects of teachers' responses pose tactical problems for the principal: (1) How can he help teachers who may be unskilled or frightened, but not negative, at the prospect of an interracial classroom? and (2)

How can he deal with the overt or covert resistance to desegregation on the part of some staff members? The principal has two avenues open to him in his efforts to deal with teachers' peer relations and classroom patterns. First, he may attempt to influence the personal values, priorities, and skills of individual teachers. His efforts at direct influence on individual teachers may take the form of visits to their classrooms and sessions in which he shares his own concerns, values, or observations regarding classroom behavior. Teachers are likely to be made uncomfortable by principals who "breathe down their necks." At the same time they may feel supported by nonpunitive efforts to help. Principal leadership may also be reflected in the provision of special training opportunities or curriculum materials for those teachers who wish to increase their skills. Teachers who are frightened or anxious may feel encouraged by the principal's sincere interest and concern; they may also be buttressed by any specific strategies or tactics he may suggest for their classroom use.

Second, the principal may attempt to influence the peer culture by building staff norms that encourage or discourage certain kinds of teacher actions and classroom priorities. It is important that teachers work in an environment that supports efforts to make desegregation effective; those persons who are naive or fearful may relax, find new resources and help from colleagues, and be encouraged to try innovative forms of classroom management. A specific focus on such issues might involve staff

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meetings and inservice training programs that explore the character of racial feelings and attitudes among teachers.

Regular teachers are not the only staff members who interact with students. Counselors, special subject personnel, custodians, and secretaries all contribute to the tone of a school. They must be seen as targets of principal and superintendent planning and influence, and included in retraining programs.

The most important factor in dealing with these issues is the taking of a clear and forthright stance by both the superintendent and principal. The superintendent can be helpful to the principal and the teaching staff by making public and clear his own expectations and requirements. Moreover, he can support the principal's efforts to follow through on these policies by suggesting formats and materials for meetings, responding to requests for funds for teacher training facilities and programs, and backing up the principal who decides to pressure resistant teachers. The superintendent must be prepared to go to the board or the teachers' association to argue for the suspension or removal of teachers who subvert the school system's stated policies.

THE PRINCIPAL AND HIS STUDENTS

The superintendent must caution principals to be alert to prevent student resegregation within the school after a desegregation plan goes into effect. When Negro students learn in different "tracks," sit in different classes, and participate in totally different extracurricular activities, the

danger and threat of racial resegregation is very real. Any group may, of course, decide to pursue some social and cultural activities in a separatist manner. But when barriers are placed in the way of equal access to school traditions and facilities the aims of desegregation are frustrated. Student protests about the biased selection of cheerleaders, homecoming queens, and athletic teams and coaches all stand as clear signals of the dangers of resegregation and continuing discrimination.

The principal can help youngsters adjust to the new realities of school desegregation by behaving in ways that demonstrate a sincere concern for all students in the school. Simple acts like walking through the halls talking to white and Negro students alike help set a tone for the school. The enforcement of patterns of disciplinary and instructional guidance that truly respond to individual needs and abilities helps youngsters learn how they should act. If the principal himself is frightened of students of another race he is likely to communicate that feeling, thus justifying and encouraging student fear and anxiety. If principals are exposed to varied groups of students prior to school desegregation this contact may reduce their fears to a more manageable level. If such expectations remain potent and debilitating the superintendent must question the principal's ability to lead a school through desegregation.

A study of Negro students entering previously all-white schools in the Deep South revealed the significance of the principal's influence in supporting or inhibit-

ing things that happened in school. Youngsters showed remarkable acumen and insight into the principal's behavior and the conflicts that he was facing: [1]

The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have any friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they was getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really tough and tight on them, but he begun to slack up on them and they began to get like they were the year before.

The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

The principal's activities directly affected the character of the desegregation experience for these Negro students. *An open attempt to deal with real issues, clear statements and actions that implement school policies, and energetic efforts to highlight the positive potential of school desegregation are the strategies most likely to be helpful to youngsters.*

The principal must communicate actively with his students so they know whether and how they can find support and authority in the school system. Youngsters need to know if they can count upon a principal to be fair and equitable when they encounter difficulty in their relationships with other students and teachers. When a principal cannot be trusted by his students, or does not appear to be open to their attempts at influence and communication, students have nowhere to go to vent their grievances but extra school and community arenas. Such distrust and alienation is one of the prime factors contributing to protest, disruption, and community violence in the school setting. As some white and black high school students point out: [2]

The problem of this school is the colored kids were all up in rebellion against the administration. And they wanted to talk and they wanted some action from last September's disturbances. But they never got anything; nothing was ever done. And so it just started up again. And I guess now that after they had a little trouble, we're finally getting . . . somebody's listening to us.

You need trust. It's gotten to the point don't nobody trust anybody. And that's all the student body's got to look up to. You know, if you've got a problem, you're supposed to take it to the administration. if you feel that your counselor couldn't handle it, you know, you go to the administration. And when you can't do that, what can you do?

We decided that the problem was that the students had no way of communicating with the administration on a level that they would be heard and really listened to. So they did the only thing they knew how to do; this was to riot, to get attention; or *revolt* is a better word, to get attention. They revolted so that the administration would pay some attention to them. So the students are now saying to all the rest of the administrators: "What are you going to do now?" We have tried in all the ways possible to communicate with you . . . we want to talk to you but we haven't thus far been listened to. The only time you listen to us is when we riot. So what *other* method do you want us to use?

School administrators must be readily accessible to students, and principals must be able to demonstrate their openness to information and influence. Without such communication students are likely to express their views, grievances, and anxieties in dramatic and disruptive ways. Merely instituting "open door" policies or reactivating dormant student governments will not meet burgeoning student needs.

The principal's posture in actively seeking information from students and student groups is more likely to open up clogged and embittered communication channels than are vague and passive pronouncements of a willingness to listen. A principal's poor judgment, anxiety, or confusion about racial matters, and his lack of information about students' values and feelings, have detrimental consequences. Recent reports indicate that many school-related disorders at the time of Martin Luther King's assassination [3] "are traceable to a certain insensitivity on the part of school officials . . . (for instance) the failure of a school to close in honor of Dr. King . . . the refusal of school authorities to allow a group of students to leave a high school and conduct a memorial march for Dr. King . . . because a flag at a local high school had not been lowered."

Although some superintendents insisted that principals observe this event by closing schools or adopting other forms of official mourning, many superintendents did not know what was going on in local schools.

If principals are not responsive to student demands and protests, disorder and disruption may occur throughout the system. Further, potent sources of help that reside in the student body may not be utilized. On the other hand, such disorders may so highlight principals' inadequacies and the need for change that grievances which were overlooked may now gain the superintendent's attention. The superintendent should replace or retrain principals who have not adopted close and attentive pos-

tures relative to their students' needs. Furthermore, the superintendent can help redefine the principal's role or provide him with staff assistance so he can spend more time relating directly to students.

THE PRINCIPAL AND THE COMMUNITY

Just as the superintendent must be politically astute and aware of his community's profile prior to assuming the leadership in system desegregation, so the principal must have similar skills in his own sphere. *Creative principals have tried to help the community develop block-by-block, area-by-area, interest-group-by-interest-group support for school programs.* Principals who anticipate community needs and help the community organize have more freedom in their own operations than those principals who sit and wait for community support, or who hope the community will not bother their programs.

When the principal lives in the neighborhood served by his school he may lead efforts to organize the local community. If he is an outsider, however, a preferable option would be to support and encourage local efforts. Some principals who have lived and worked in a given neighborhood over a long period of time may have vested interests in protecting the status quo of that area. While such longevity may be useful in keeping abreast of local dynamics, if it inhibits school change the superintendent should transfer and reassign his leadership staff.

The principal also can announce his concern and attempt to create positive interracial relations among students and parents of both races. An elementary school principal in Syracuse visited the homes of Negro and white children who had complaints about events surrounding the desegregation of their school. He also tried to reassure white parents, and suggested that the school PTA take the lead in helping bussed Negro youngsters feel comfortable in their new school.

The need for informing and involving a variety of community members in the process of school desegregation is as important in the Negro as in the white community. It is deceiving to assume that all Negroes favor school desegregation. Recent moves toward decentralized and local control of schools on the part of Negroes as well as whites indicate that any community is likely to have militant and apathetic, conservative and liberal elements among both races. It is important that all elements of the community understand and be aware of what the principal and superintendent are doing. It also is important that principals try to develop community support for their own, their teachers', and their students' efforts to make desegregation work. Negro principals in white neighborhoods, particularly in the South, may have difficulty generating acceptance for their leadership; similarly, white principals in largely Negro neighborhoods in the North and Border States are likely to experience even greater difficulty. In both circumstances the appointment and use of desegregated school leadership

teams represent an effective political and educational strategy. In some cases principals' initiatives in community affairs have helped create new forms of social organization and interaction in heterogeneous neighborhoods. The generation of block parties, interracial discussion groups, and adult education courses focusing on school and classroom issues may weld school-community patterns of collaboration that extend beyond the particular focus on desegregation.
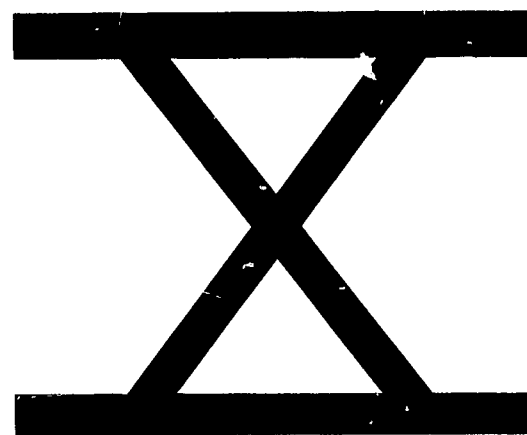
The Teachers

The superintendent who develops a plan for school desegregation cannot afford to overlook the resources and needs of teachers. Teachers' personal views and classroom activities must be extensively diagnosed. A comprehensive plan will be of little use if it is not relevant to and does not contribute to successful classroom learning. All too often desegregation plans have failed at this point; *superintendents satisfied with transportation and reassignment designs have not bothered to consider the real problems and possibilities of interracial association and instruction.* The front-line worker in this area, the classroom teacher, is not prepared by background,

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training, or experience for desegregation. His preparation, involvement, and skills are all essential to the success of a good plan.

There are several ways in which teachers can contribute to the school diagnosis. First, teachers can report their views of youngsters' perceptions of interracial relations and school desegregation. Though teachers' reports should not be taken as conclusive evidence of students' views, they are excellent indications of the way teachers see their students, a perspective that influences teachers' own approaches to the classroom. Second, teachers can report students' academic achievement levels. Third, teachers can suggest new curricular emphases. Negro and white students coming from different schools have had different educational experiences and may possess different skills; thus new instructional designs and programs may be required.

Teachers may also be of great help in developing plans for desegregation. In Berkeley, Calif., the superintendent circulated proposed plans for desegregation to all school staffs. One teacher suggested a modification of the plan, and her idea was later included. When teachers' opinions are solicited and considered, the school system may end up with a more meaningful approach to the problem. If teachers help diagnose and plan for desegregation they probably will be more effective in actual implementation. Furthermore, teachers who are aware of the changes and problems beforehand may have time to prepare to overcome them.

Teachers' personal feelings regarding desegregation are another important element of a good diagnosis, and a vital concern for any plan. Teachers' views about racial matters, as well as their professional confidence and competence, must be assessed. Overt bigotry, ignorance of the traditions and feelings of people of other races, and anxiety and discomfort at close interracial contact may be present among large groups of teachers. Teachers' insecurity about their ability to teach youngsters who are "different" and perhaps defiant, and their fear of classroom disruption or attack appear to be typical concerns about desegregation. Many white Southern teachers indicate they were quite nervous on the first day of desegregated classes. For some, this anxiety was a function of their own inexperience with Negroes; it also reflected concern that a major incident might erupt in their classroom. For others, it was based on ambivalence and confusion as to whether they should pay any special attention to the new students, or to the new facts of racial mixture.

When teachers suffer from such resistance, confusion, or hesitancy, youngsters perceive this and are likely to become more tense, cautious, and alienated. For instance, when a teacher does not intervene in a racial fight and assumes a hands-off policy, the students learn they can get away with abusing other students. By a teachers' action or lack of it students know exactly how much personal abuse and lack of respect for others the teacher will tolerate.

Other teachers have engaged in behavior that is disconcerting to both Negro and white students— creating uneasiness by the use of the words "nigger", "colored", "boy", "negra", or even "Negro" rather than "black." The use of one word rather than another may communicate or be received as a hostile or ignorant act. The following reports from Negro students in the North and South indicate how teachers communicated their feelings: [1]

> One teacher, he felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much done. It was kind of difficult.

> • • •

> We were not accustomed to saying "yes ma'am" and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. . . . It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am".

> • • •

> She'll run you crazy. She always lets the white kids do something. She hardly ever lets the colored kids do anything.

In some situations white students, too, were frightened or angry at what they felt was teacher mistreatment of Negroes or an abdication of adult responsibility for control and order. Some

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white elementary school students reported: [2]

> I think sometimes my teacher looks down on Negroes in my room. It's because she's white and she does look down on whites too, but more on the Negroes.

. . .

> They (the Negroes) just chew gum and candy and the teacher tells them to spit it out and they don't even spit it out. Then she doesn't do anything; she just lets them have it.

Teachers' views and expectations of classroom life and students' abilities determine the way they treat their students, and hence the success of desegregation. Research indicates that an important reason for low achievement among children of minority groups is that too many teachers do not believe that these children are educable beyond a limited extent. The students are aware of these expectations. *When a teacher responds to a youngster in a way that implies the student has little ability, the student may accept that evaluation and thus decrease his motivation for achievement.* Low student achievement then reinforces the teacher's initial presumption. Thus student and teacher attitudes combine to establish a self-fulfilling cycle of low expectation, minimal effort, and rejection.

School desegregation can produce changes in classrooms, and it is important that all parties understand these effects before dealing with the actual situation. Teachers must be prepared for

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racial jokes, name calling, segregated seating patterns, separated social networks, and occasional fights. All of the frictions and friendships that previously existed in any classroom may now exist on a racial basis, too. The crucial problem is whether the teacher sees these changes and how he treats them. Teachers need help in learning to diagnose their classroom situations and discovering how youngsters feel about what is going on. They also need help in discovering innovations that may reduce distance and increase student acceptance of one another and of their learning tasks.

The superintendent must, in the diagnosis of school conditions, obtain some information about the degree to which these factors characterize the relations among teachers and between teachers and students in his system. Once such data are available the superintendent can incorporate needed changes into his plan for effective desegregation.

TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS OF DESEGREGATED CLASSROOMS

Providing training programs for teachers is one way in which the superintendent can help prepare his staff for total desegregation. In establishing such programs he also demonstrates his recognition that there will be some difficulties and problems. The kinds of issues discussed above are likely to be present among teaching staffs of all systems, regardless of locale, region, or staff characteristics. However, some educators will argue that teachers already understand the nature of their students and do not need special training to prepare for school desegregation. This argument is generally made when a school system has a sizable component of Negro teachers. *But being Negro does not necessarily mean that one is predisposed to be in, or skillful enough to work in, an interracial classroom situation.* Some Negro teachers do not wish to teach in desegregated classrooms. Therefore, having a high component of Negro teachers on the staff does not automatically mean that the staff can be successful in interracial classroom instruction.

The design of a particular training program requires the selection of some targets and strategies and their integration into a coherent and systematic series of learning experiences. Some appropriate goals are: a clarification and explanation of the characteristic attitudes and behaviors of white and Negro youngsters in the classroom; a review of the way the school and society reacts to different youngsters; a presentation of the cultural styles of the family or background of white and black youngsters and of poor white and other minority groups; a self-examination of each professional's personal feelings and values about racially potent matters, and the effect of these values on behavior; a specific focus upon the development of teaching procedures; and concrete and feasible classroom suggestions.

The strategies and techniques that can be used in teacher training programs are as varied as the programs themselves. How-

ever, the superintendent planning teacher training can keep some of the following ideas in mind. Many programs have used vast amounts of books, films, and other materials. In general, material resources cannot stand alone but must be accompanied by some kind of discussion or activity. Such resources must be seen and used as tools by teachers and discussion leaders and should become part of a comprehensive training program.

Different programs have used various forms of direct interpersonal experience as a learning technique. Laboratory training devices, particularly sensitivity or encounter groups, operate on the basis that sufficient attention to one's interaction with others can help develop enough trust so that persons can be honest and open about their racial views. Such openness is probably a precondition for testing one's views with others, getting feedback and clarification, and trying out new behavior. Role playing and skill practice exercises are among those techniques used in a more comprehensive effort to help people achieve change. In role playing, a dramatic situation is created which closely reflects a portion of reality. Under the protection of playing out an artificial drama, players can take risks in experimenting with new behaviors that would ordinarily be threatening. When these experiences are discussed, efforts can be made to transfer learning from this dramatic representation of life to actual situations. Skill practice exercises also utilize a deliberately structured situation and a norm of experimentation to support the learning and

trying out of new behaviors. Practice in the interpersonal skills of giving and receiving feedback, of value clarification, of conflict resolution, and of listening intently to others' messages are examples relevant to improved teaching. Training programs of this sort recently have included students as participants and aids to teachers. Students may more often be able to "tell it like it is," to explain to teachers the cues that betray racism, fear, disrespect, or rejection of black or white students.

Another strategy that has been used successfully in a variety of change programs is the feedback of survey results. This involves the collection of data about the performance of a teacher or group of teachers, and the feeding back of that data, with interpretations, to the teacher. Under appropriate conditions the assumption is that teachers who can now see their own classes' attitudes toward them may be able to make changes in a direction more fulfilling and satisfying for everybody. The data collected can be used as part of a problem-solving process similar to the one outlined for the superintendent.

Training programs of this sort can be established on an inservice basis in a number of ways. In some school systems they have been instituted after school hours on a continuing basis; in others teachers are released from normal duties to attend retraining sessions. Many systems have closed school for several days to devote time to retraining teachers. Another approach is to hold special institutes or training programs for teachers during the summer months. An Illinois

superintendent encouraged his teachers to attend such a summer institute dealing with problems of desegregation. The program included specific emphasis on how to handle a desegregated classroom for the first time and how to identify teacher actions which may perpetuate racial discrimination. The superintendent of Richmond, Calif., committed teachers, students, administrators, and community members to a 3-week institute on the problems of school desegregation. Lectures, seminars, and sensitivity groups were among the training devices used. In several southern Georgia communities and elsewhere throughout the South, university extension courses now focus upon the interracial classroom. Many other superintendents have also found retraining programs helpful to teachers in identifying, discussing, and understanding the kinds of new pressures and responsibilities to be faced in desegregated classrooms. Some teacher concerns may be personal *and* emotional: How do I feel talking to, eating with, or sitting near a Negro student or teacher for the first time? Others may be academic: How do I effectively relate the classroom activities to the larger world? Does the class read Richard Wright and Malcolm X? Still others may have to do with interpersonal relations: Under what conditions can students of different races contribute to each other's academic growth? How can I break down fear or hostility and create friendship or respect? In extended and intensive discussions with interracial peers teachers may identify and get help with many problems they feel they have or might have.

In any such venture the superintendent's efforts to finance and support a program are crucial to successful retraining. He can also help set a systemwide atmosphere that encourages teachers to get extra training and that provides institutional support for their later efforts to try out new things with youngsters in classrooms and with peers in the building. It is not enough that superintendents and principals be aware of these matters; for teachers who are constantly attuned to the nuances of administrator reward or punishment it is important that supervisors publicly demonstrate their concerns. *No retraining effort is likely to be helpful unless there is continuing support, notice, and reward for new ways of teaching.*

In designing and conducting any of these efforts the superintendent may want to call upon the assistance of State and Federal departments of education and upon university- and agency-based consultants.

CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR TEACHERS

Teachers are clear in stating ways in which superintendents and other administrators make desegregation more difficult: [3]

The policy about school desegregation isn't clear.

There is a lack of strong support for a staff sharing program.

There is a lack of direction for change efforts; someone should tell us what to do and how to do it.

There is a lack of support for teacher initiative in the classroom or with colleagues.

There is a lack of money for extra time, school meetings, etc.

The resistance of parents needs to be met by the administration's justification of what we're doing as a school and as teachers.

The above comments about policy, support, money, and justification do not necessarily mean policy is unclear; but they do mean teachers do not see policy in action. The result is that teachers are unwilling to take risks or to extend themselves when they are unsure of the support or rewards they will receive from principals and superintendents. *Educational leaders must conscientiously go out of their way to demonstrate their commitment to desegregation and their support of teachers and principals who try to make it work.*

If the superintendent meets personally with teachers, he can reinforce his concern with their classroom problems. A series of meetings with individual teaching staffs or with groups of teachers within a district could encourage the teachers to ask the superintendent to clarify or elaborate upon his plans and feelings. These gatherings also might refresh the superintendent about classroom life, and thereby suggest new plan alternatives. In addition, such meetings held in advance of desegregation would provide excellent opportunities to prepare teachers for their new assignments, roles, and duties.

In some school systems student and faculty desegregation has been accompanied by a drastic reduction in the number of Negro teachers. On occasion, the recruitment of Negro teachers in the desegregation of Northern communities has resulted in a cutback in white teachers. Fears of displacement and loss of job become a major source of anxiety in teachers' individual and organizational resistance to desegregation. The superintendent can quiet such fears by assuring teachers that no jobs will be lost due to faculty and student desegregation itself. This does not mean that removal cannot occur for good cause—incompetence, willful sabotage of school goals, or brutality to youngsters.

One of the most important forces acting upon teachers is their relationships with professional colleagues. It is not unusual for teachers with a desegregated class to be vilified, rejected, or ignored by their colleagues. Or lower status may be conferred upon such teachers, which further isolates them from former friends. However, peer relations can work either way; teachers in a difficult situation may find it easier to approach colleagues for help. Teachers can help each other by listening and providing information about what they themselves are doing to overcome some of the problems within their own classrooms. Superintendents and principals can help by providing opportunities, encouraging, and perhaps requiring teachers to get together and share ideas, problems, and experiences.

The sharing of ideas and classroom practices that facilitate de-

segregation requires more than information exchange: although teachers often talk together they seldom make use of those conversations to focus on the improvement of their professional skill and expertise. A program to encourage teacher sharing of classroom methods can probably best be built upon: (1) the recognition by peers or authorities of a need to know what others are doing, a need to fill the void of ignorance about interracial classrooms; (2) the creation of a climate of interpersonal trust among colleagues whereby difficulties can be admitted and resources shared without competition and judgment; (3) the reorientation of the conception of a teacher to include an element of teacher as learner and colleagues as partners in a learning process. The greatest amount of teacher innovation and adoption of new classroom practices seems to occur in schools that provide staff time and opportunity for peer professional exchange, and that encourage colleagues to support one another's ideas. These support systems greatly facilitate the sharing of ideas with colleagues, and teachers who learn about new practices under these conditions are more likely to adopt them for use in their own classrooms. Teachers do have significant expertise in how to teach, often far more than administrators or scientists credit them with. The failure to capitalize on, train for, and support such expertise constitutes a waste of key educational resources as well as a further diminution of teachers' perceived competence and esteem.

Although the superintendent's insistence upon desegregation of the school staff helps set a supportive tone, just mixing the races does not solve potential staff problems. Members of a desegregated staff, more so than those of any other, need to work on, improve upon, and learn from relationships among themselves. One specific example of this need can be seen in the effort to adopt techniques of team teaching, utilizing Negro and white teachers. After the educational value of this innovation has been assessed, one must ask what kinds of roles the Negro and white teachers will have. To provide team teaching, and place one of the teachers in a subordinate position of keeping order or some other nonteaching responsibility, defeats the purpose of biracial team teaching.

Many teachers, black and white, are nervous at the prospect of meeting parents of another race, or any parents at all. The administrative leaders of the school or school system can establish sessions at which parent and teachers sit down together and talk. One of the fruitful topics they may discuss is their impressions of youngsters' new experiences in school desegregation. Although it is to be hoped that such meetings will be above personal vendettas, teachers must be prepared for criticism from parents who feel that teachers either are not doing enough or are doing too much toward influencing race relations. It is most common, of course, for only those parents with grievances to communicate with the teacher. But when initiative has been taken to discover or create sources of support for

school desegregation among parents, teachers have often been surprised to encounter fulfilling and supportive reactions.

XI

The Parents and Students

Students and parents are the most important groups in the process of educational desegregation: it is their interests which are served and their lives which are altered most by the elimination of a dual school system. For a child who has previously attended a segregated school, to sit and work next to a child of another race can be an unhappy event or the start of an exciting learning experience. The lasting value of that experience depends largely on how effective the superintendent and his staff are in accurately diagnosing, effectively planning, and successfully implementing school desegregation.

Preparation of students and parents is a necessary part of successful desegregation efforts. Coming from backgrounds that traditionally teach distrust of persons of the other race, children approach desegregated schooling with a battery of stereotypes, hesitations, and anxieties. Examples of negative stereotypes that hinder effective desegregation are provided by these expec-

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tations Northern white elementary school children reported about Negro students: [1]

> I thought they were going to be lousy and rotten. Well at first I wasn't so sure, but other people said they were real mean and then there were a lot of riots. Whenever there was a lot of fights people would say it was the colored people.
>
> • • •
>
> I knew they (Negroes) would be hard to get along with because my brother is in a junior high school and he said they were hard to get along with there.

Negro students about to enter this all-white school reported the following expectations: [2]

> I thought we would not get along.
>
> • • •
>
> When I first came over here, I dian't want anyone to touch me because I would get mad because I wasn't used to them. I mean used to the white folks.

These statements indicate that students were not anticipating a positive experience. Mistrust and fear dominated expectations about interaction with members of the other race. One can expect that such orientations would make it improbable that friendships would form or that students would accept one another. Peer relations fraught with constant tension typically are not conducive to high quality intellectual performance.

Southern Negro high school students reported that they usually encountered considerable resentment and hostility as they entered previously all-white schools. Some stated they were called names such as "nigger" and "black bunny"; others noted that white students: [3]

> . . . acted like they were shocked by seeing a Negro; they acted like they had never seen a Negro. You could see the hatred. They call you out of your name, throw spit balls. If you walk down the hall they would push someone on you. . . .They would throw glass in your food.
>
> • • •
>
> . . . throwed paper. If you turned your back you will be kicked. Sometime when you are walking down the hall the big boys will try to walk over you or elbow you. They throw paper on you on the bus. They made a sling shot and shot one boy in the head with a pecan.

These comments typify the experiences of about half the transferring students in the first year of desegregation in the Deep South. In some other cases Negroes experienced positive receptions from their white peers: [4]

> They were nice. They had on signs that had their names on it that said, "Hello".
>
> • • •
>
> A student council member met me at the door and walked me in and talked to me.

These positive reactions are particularly instructive, because they suggest some techniques and arrangements whereby students can make the first few days more comfortable. Such friendly acts, or efforts to counter negative ones, cannot be expected to happen by themselves. *School officials must plan, and help student groups plan, how best to welcome, accept, and respond to students of other races.*

The principal and superintendent can call meetings of white and Negro students before school opens. Such orientation sessions can be planned to encourage intensive discussions wherein students may understand each other's fears and hopes for desegregation. It is not likely that students of different races will talk honestly with one another with ease; but open exchange and exploration probably are crucial for later collaboration and acceptance. Students also may be able to formulate plans to overcome their heritage of distance and guard themselves against the additional pressures of adults resisting desegregation. If sessions of this sort are useful they can be continued during the school year and even institutionalized into regular classroom activities.

School officials also should plan to help allay fears quickly and challenge the fictions upon which racial stereotypes are based. Open public meetings for parents, or for parents and students, may be one way to approach the issue. Initially, one may want to hold separate meetings for white parents and Negro parents. Ini-

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tial homogeneous groupings may permit free and easy discussion of fears and attitudes. However, it is absolutely necessary to follow quickly with meetings of both races together. *Parents' concerns and anxieties for themselves and their children cannot be coddled; neither can they be ignored.*

In interracial meetings parents may talk about their educational goals and expectations. The topic also may be their experiences in sending their children to school with children of another race. Parents of different races may find that they hold similar attitudes about educational aspirations. At the same time, Negro and white parents probably view the advantages and disadvantages of desegregation differently; their youngsters undoubtedly are undergoing different experiences even if they are in the same classroom. If these differences can be explored and understood it may be easier for parents to relax through trying times. If such differences can come to be accepted, the school and community have won an additional bonus.

STUDENT AND PARENT INFLUENCE ON SCHOOL POLICY

Within the entire educational structure, parents and students have the least amount of power and influence on school policy. Although individuals may be represented in PTA's and other parent groups, local PTA's rarely exert the power they might have. First, they are hampered by lack of school support except when they agree with school policy.

Seldom does a principal aid his PTA on issues he opposes. Second, racially mixed PTA's often cannot or will not meet. In one Southern rural area Negro mothers organized to divide the labor of school-related duties: one mother taxied youngsters to school, another raised money to buy clothes and writing materials, and another was in charge of maintaining liaison with the principal. A report from another Southern town concludes: [5]

> In order to develop better understanding and smoother working conditions for all concerned, the Negro parents asked about organizing a PTA for the entire school. They were told that the climate at that time wasn't favorable for a PTA, and that most white parents would not attend. They then asked for permission to meet informally with teachers in order to iron out common problems and this was also refused. As a last resort the Negro parents organized into a closely knit group in which all subsequent strategy, counseling, mutual assistance and the like were initiated. In fact, this group, at a later date, was successful enough to inveigle some white parents to join and thus form the nucleus group of what is now a small but growing PTA.

In order to insure the full and effective participation of parents in systemwide desegregation, superintendents must encourage active, critical, and powerful interracial PTA groups. In this way the superintendent or principal can solicit and channel the criticisms and grievances of parents and students into a meaningful voice in school affairs. The superintendent should encourage special committees comprised of parents, students, and school officials when the PTA refuses to recognize and act upon individual complaints against the school. When complaints go unheard, the only receptive audience may be the public and press. Public confrontation through these media may be the only way to get an adequate response; however, it also becomes more difficult for school officials to work with the alienated group, and decisions frequently are less than satisfactory to all concerned.

The possibilities for student involvement and influence in school policymaking are more severely circumscribed than for parents. Participation in an educational system where the student role requires subservience places serious constraints upon creative groups. Students who are developing a semblance of autonomy by wearing ethnically unique garb or unconventional hair styles often find that punitive actions are taken against them. These actions, often arbitrary, do not treat them with respect and dignity, do not admit to legitimate subcultural norms and styles, and do not follow due process in judging behavior and assigning penalties. Criticism of one's hair length or shirt style is often a criticism of one's identity. It is very unlikely that students wearing Afro-American dress disturb the classroom, and if they do it is probably useful to discuss these issues in class instead of suppressing such behavior. When

an administrator summarily prevents students from expressing unique cultural traditions, his behavior is racially insensitive if not discriminatory.

The superintendent or principal can involve groups of students in suggesting and implementing modifications of the curriculum. Students can design new courses which take as their topic the state of current school affairs and its possible change, or the experience of desegregation. Among the curriculum areas most in need of updating are vocational education, on-the-job training programs, courses in interpersonal and intergroup relations, and offerings in "black history" and "black culture." Attempts to offer greater choice in curriculum, course selection, and scheduling of their own time may also be fruitful responses to students' desires for autonomy, initiative, and personal responsibility.

Many student riots look like racial fights, but they are only partly that. Often students fight each other because they are frustrated with school life and do not know how to articulate their concerns. For desegregation to succeed, racial fights of this unnecessary character must be prevented: effective prevention lies in reform of the curriculum, the teaching procedures, and the role of the student in the school.

One way in which student antagonisms and grievances can be managed creatively, yet without suppression, is by the establishment of a grievance committee within each school or for the entire school community. Such a

unit would have to be concerned primarily with justice, not with order, harmony, and good images. Most current "student courts" exist only to adjudge student misbehavior. A grievance system composed of student and faculty members could adjudicate all instances of violations of personal dignity and due process, whether by students to teachers, teachers to students, administrators to teachers, or otherwise.

Another procedure is to establish committees wherein students participate in making school policy. Revamping the student government or including a few "good" student leaders as listeners in occasional faculty meetings will not satisfy students who really wish to be helpful and potent. Participation of students and faculty at the highest levels of school decisionmaking must include representatives reporting back to their constituents. In all of these innovations it is necessary to provide special instructions and training so participants can perform their new roles effectively.

In the past students have been relatively unsuccessful in asserting power or influence on the administrative and educational regulations which affect them. They are demanding such power, and now they are getting it. Disruption of school life by student fights with one another, student protests against school policy, or boycotts of certain classes is a form of power. Whether such expression produces fear and hostility or honest reevaluation and help in planning school change depends on administrators' responses. The superintendent who

recognizes and foresees the positive contributions that students can make toward their educational experience has won half the battle. The superintendent who attempts to organize, utilize, help, and plan for that creative student energy is that much further ahead.

XII

Bibliographic Summary

The following books, articles, and pamphlets were selected because of their special value for desegregation planners. Some items focus directly upon school desegregation; others treat educational issues in a more general perspective.

A few outstanding books cover a variety of topics and contain a wealth of useful information:

Coles, R. *Children of Crisis*. New York: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1967.

Crain, R. *The Politics of School Desegregation*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.

National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (and Appendixes). Washington: U.S. Govern-

ment Printing Office, 1967.

Weinberg, M. *Integrated Education*. Beverly Hills: The Glencoe Press, 1968.

Educational leaders must constantly face the necessity of changing and improving the public school system. As the society changes it requires changes in the formal educational system. The following books deal with the processes involved in planning for educational change:

Lippitt, R., J. Watson, and B. Westley. *The Dynamics of Planned Change*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1958.

Schmuck, R., M. Chesler, and R. Lippitt. *Problem Solving To Improve Classroom Learning*. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1966.

Watson, G., editor. *Change in School Systems*. Washington: National Training Laboratories, National Education Association, 1967.

The first step in planning school change is the forthright and public identification of specific goals. Members of the community and the school staff can be involved fruitfully in discussions and decisions about goals for educational desegregation. Some examples of statements and data about desegregation goals appear in:

Blake, E. "A Redefinition of Educational Problems Occasioned by Desegregation and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities*. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Morland, K. *Token Desegregation and Beyond*. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1963.

Policies on Elementary and Secondary School Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights of 1964. Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968.

Southern School Desegregation 1966-1967. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

One of the factors facilitating new definitions of school desegregation has been judicial hearings and litigation. Court cases dealing with desegregation plans and policies are summarized in:

Blaustein, A., and C. Ferguson, *Desegregation and the Law*. New York: Vintage, 1962.

Weinberg, M. *Race and Place*. Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1967.

In diagnosing the condition of a school or school system the superintendent must utilize a diverse set of resources. The administrative staff, principals, teachers, students, parents, and the community at large will be good sources of information and help. Various factors such as population characteristics and changes, professional staff views and skills, finances, and curriculum must be included. Some examples and resources useful for local diagnostic efforts include:

Because It's Right Educationally: Report of the Advisory Committee on Racial Balance and Education. Bos-
ton: Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1965.

Coleman, J., and others. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Hyman, H., and P. Sheatsley. "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," *Scientific American*, vol. 195, 1965.

Iggers, G. *A Study of Some Tangible Inequalities in the New Orleans Public Schools*. New Orleans: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Education Committee, 1963.

Schmuck, R., R. Fox, and M. Luszki. *Diagnosing Classroom Learning Environments*. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1966.

The development of comprehensive, detailed, and relevant plans for desegregation requires consideration of both educational goals and local diagnostic data. Meaningful plans respond to the needs of each particular school system or community. Thus it is important that participation in plan development be broadly based, to include suggestions from the professional staff, the community at large, students, and parents. The following publication, to be released in 1969, discusses some of the technical aspects of plan development:

Planning Educational Change: Vol. I. Technical Aspects of School Desegregation. Washington: U.S. Office of Education, 1969.

Discussions of the advantages and disadvantages of various de-

segregation plans used or designed for Northern and Southern systems may be found in:

Dentler, R., and J. Elsberg. "Big City Desegregation: Trends and Methods," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities*. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Fisher, J. "The School Park," in *Educational Parks, Clearinghouse Publication No. 9*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Sullivan, N. "Desegregation Techniques," in *Educational Parks, Clearinghouse Publication No. 9*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Survey of School Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, 1965-66. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1966.

Weinberg, M. "Techniques for Achieving Racially Desegregated, Superior Quality Education in the Public Schools of Chicago, Illinois," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities*. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

A well-developed plan is useless unless it is properly implemented. The plan must include designs for preparing administrators, teachers, service personnel, parents, and students, and for obtaining their on-going commitment. Without attention to these details, implementation may be catastrophic, planning efforts wasted, and desegregation unsuccessful. The superintendent can use various methods for implementation of school desegregation plans. Although the situations for different cities are not identical, case studies frequently provide insightful clues as to how others developed and implemented plans, including some of their mistakes and oversights. Several excellent sources of comparative case studies are:

Crain, R. *The Politics of School Desegregation*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.

Law and Society Review, vol. 11, no. 1, 1967.

Stout, R. "School Desegregation: Process in Eight Cities," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities*. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Individual case studies which offer more detailed perspectives on various local situations include:

Anderson, M. *The Children of the South*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1966.

Bouma, D., and J. Hoffman. *The Dynamics of School Integration*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968.

Buchheimer, A., and N. Buchheimer. *Equality Through Integration: A Report on Greenburgh School District No. 8*. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1968.

Carmichael, J., and W. James. *The Louisville Story*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957.

National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967. (See especially the articles by Avakian and Sullivan on Berkeley; Coffin on Evanston; Barry and Jaquith on Syracuse; and Johnson on White Plains.)

"Process of Change: The Story of School Desegregation in Syracuse, New York," *Clearinghouse Publications No. 12*. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968.

The potent forces and influences within a community cannot be ignored or overlooked in the planning of desegregation. Groups of concerned parents, civic and church groups, individual political leaders, and local press and radio stations have the potential to help or hinder educational desegregation efforts. As community organizer, or as responder to community pressures, the superintendent must draw upon the resources of powerful community groups. He should also be aware of the ways in which these groups may resist desegregation. Involving various community groups in active dialogue about desegregation may locate a strong base of support and surface dormant hesitations and resistance which can then be dealt with overtly. Conceptual approaches to community politics, and some applications to racial change, may be found in:

Gamson, W. *Power and Discontent*. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1968.

Killian, L., and C. Grigg. *Racial Crisis in America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Swanson, B. "The Political Feasibility of Planning for School Integration," *Integrated Education*, vol. 5, 1967.

The mobilization of protest by Negro and white groups who wish to hasten desegregation has been a major factor in several communities' efforts at school change. Discussions of protests of this type can be found in:

Becker, J. *Final Report: A Study of Integration in Racially Imbalanced Urban Schools—A Demonstration and Evaluation*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Youth Development Center, 1967.

Crain, R. *The Politics of School Desegregation*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. (See especially the cases of Baltimore, Bay City, Lawndale, and Newark.)

Federal Law Enforcement: School Desegregation in Virginia Under Title VI. Virginia State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968.

Fuchs, E. *Pickets at the Gates*. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

"The Negro Protest," *The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1965.

Protest has also been generated by white groups resisting the possibility of school desegregation.

Crain, R. *The Politics of School Desegregation*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968. (See especially the cases of Buffalo and New Orleans.)

Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools. Baltimore: Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, 1955.

"Whites in Mobile Fight on Full-scale Racial Integration of Schools," *New York Times*, June 10, 1968.

The board of education can influence school change in general and planned desegregation in particular. Statements by board members can help parents and community organizations accept or reject the desegregation plan. Thus early involvement and support of the board is an important ingredient and assures the superintendent of a "united front." Board neutrality or resistance may generate broad community opposition to desegregation. Some considerations relative to superintendents' relationships with boards, as well as examples of successful and unsuccessful superintendent-board leadership, can be found in:

Bouma, D., and J. Hoffman. *The Dynamics of School Integration*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968.

Crain, R. *The Politics of Desegregation*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.

Gross, N., W. Mason, and A. McEachern. *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role*. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1958.

Inger, M., and R. Stout. "School Desegregation: The Need to Govern," *Urban Review*, vol. 3, 1968.

LaFrankie, R. "Englewood: A Northern City in Crisis," in *The Urban R's*, edited by R. Dentler, R. Mackler, and M. Warshauer. New York: Praeger, 1967.

The most effective studies of the ways advisory boards have been and can be used are:

Coleman, A. Lee. "Genuine Advisory Committees Can Help," *New South*, March, 1966.

Killian, L., and C. Griss. *Racial Crisis in America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

The principal's role in effecting successful desegregation is crucial. His skills, attitudes, and professional expertise influence the way teachers and students respond in a newly desegregated school. Discussions of the issues involved and the strategies a principal may use can be found in:

Chesler, M., R. Schmuck, and R. Lippitt. "The Principal's Role in Facilitating Innovations," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 2, 1963.

Gross, N., and R. Herriot. *Staff Leadership in Public Schools*. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1965.

Lipton, A. "Day to Day Problems of School Integration," *Integrated Education*, vol. 3, 1965.

Efforts devoted to planning school desegregation culminate in the

classroom. Teachers are involved daily in implementing or frustrating the school's plan for change. The teacher's personal attitudes and classroom behavior influence the academic and interpersonal relationships between himself and students, and among students. Recent reports of the effects of teachers' attitudes and behavior relevant to interracial classrooms include:

Anderson, M. *Children of the South.* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1966.

Chesler, M. "What Happened After You Desegregated the White School?" *New South,* vol. 22, 1967.

Chesler, M., and M. Wissman. *Teachers' Reactions to School Desegregation Preparations and Processes: A Case Study.* Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1968.

Coleman, J., and others. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Gottlieb, D. "Teaching and Students: The Views of Negro and White Teachers," *Sociology of Education,* Summer 1964.

Haubrich, V. "Teachers for Big City Schools," in *Education in Depressed Areas,* edited by A. H. Passow. New York: Columbia University, 1963.

Neimeyer, J. "Some Guidelines to Desirable Elementary School Reorganization," in *Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

Rosenthal, R., and L. Jacobsen. *Pygmalion in the Classroom.* New York: Holt, 1968.

Youth in the Ghetto. New York: Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HAR-YOU), 1964.

Perhaps the best guide yet for the teacher of interracial classrooms is:

Noar, G. *The Teacher and Integration.* Washington: National Educational Association, 1966.

Most teachers require new information, skills, and support to teach effectively in an interracial classroom. Some examples of special training programs which might improve teachers' instructional value during desegregation are described in:

Chesler, M. "Teacher Training Designs for Improving Instruction in Interracial Classrooms," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities.* Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Fielder, M., and L. Dyckman. *Leadership Training Institute in Problems of School Desegregation.* University of California, 1967.

Flanders, N. *Helping Teachers Change their Behavior.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, School of Education, 1965.

Green, R. "Crisis in American Education: A Racial Dilemma," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's*

Cities. Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Miles, M. "On Temporary Systems," in *Innovation in Education,* edited by M. Miles. New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1964.

Being the first to go to school with students of another race is not an easy task. If preparation for this experience has been poor it may be especially unpleasant and inhibiting to academic success. Understanding how students feel and act with persons of another race is very helpful in planning for desegregation. A most perceptive and interesting work which deals with students' reactions to desegregation is:

Coles, R. *Children of Crisis.* New York: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1967.

Other reports and studies of youngsters' reactions and performance in desegregated situations include:

Chesler, M. *In Their Own Words.* Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1967.

Chesler, M., and P. Segal. "Southern Negroes' Initial Experiences and Reactions in School Desegregation," *Integrated Education,* vol. 6, 1968.

Chesler, M., S. Wittes, and N. Radin. "What Happens When Northern Schools Desegregate," *American Education,* June 1968.

Gottlieb, D. "School Integration and Absorption of Newcomers," *Integrated Education,* vol. 3, 1965.

Hansen, C. "The Scholastic Performance of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Schools of the District of Columbia," *Harvard Educational Review,* vol. 30, 1960.

Katz, I. "Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes," *American Psychologist,* vol. 19, 1964.

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (and Appendixes). Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

St. John, N. H. "De Facto Segregation and Interracial Association in High Schools," *Sociology of Education,* Summer 1964.

Webster, S. "The Influence of Interracial Contact on Social Acceptance in a Newly Integrated School," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1961.

School desegregation also places many new responsibilities on Negro and white parents. Many parents remain opposed to desegregation, even when they permit their children to stay in changing schools. Some parental reactions to desegregation are reported in:

Chesler, M., and P. Segal. *Characteristics of Negro Students Attending Previously All White Schools in the Deep South.* Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1967.

Meyer. *Parent Action in School Integration.* New York: United Parents Association, 1968.

Swanson, B., and C. Montgomery. "White Citizen Response to the 'Open Enrollment Program'," *Integrated Education,* vol. 2, 1964.

Teele, J., E. Jackson, and C. Mayo. "Family Experiences in Operation Exodus," *Community Mental Health Journal,* vol. 3, 1968.

In his efforts to plan, implement, maintain, and evaluate educational desegregation the school superintendent may want to seek expert help outside his own school system. A number of public and private institutions can be helpful; chief among these are the local desegregation centers located in universities across the country. A preponderance of these centers are located in the South and may be uniquely relevant to Mid- and Deep South communities. A list may be obtained from the Division of Equal Educational Opportunities, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. Various regional educational laboratories and research and development centers, also sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, may also offer relevant and useful consultation. These laboratories and centers do not focus solely on the problems of school desegregation, but their staffs have more interest in applied matters than do those of most research institutions and universities. Most major universities, of course, employ educational consultants and scholars of applied research. Finally, there are a variety of public and private agencies which may be excellent sources of help. Public agencies include the Federal and regional offices of the Community Relations Service (Department of Justice) and Federal and State Commissions on Civil Rights. Private agencies include: professional State and national organizations such as the American Federation of Teachers, National Education Association, and Association of Afro-American Educators; community-oriented organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council; and special training and consultant systems such as the National Training Laboratories' Institute for Applied Behavioral Science.

The superintendent must be aware of certain problems in utilizing any consultant or consultant agency. First, the superintendent alone remains responsible for what happens in his school system. Second, most consultants come with a ready-made bias of some sort. The superintendent should be prepared to seek and deal with consultant resources with this perspective in mind. Third, a consultant's visit must be planned for; otherwise he may not be of full value. Such preparations include giving the consultant enough information so that he can prepare to offer specific help. Finally, the superintendent must plan ways to integrate the consultant's advice into the school's program for change.

The use of consultant resources and the use of human resources within the school system and community can aid the superintendent's efforts to plan and implement school desegregation. This aid is not only informational, but political and emotional as well. The superintendent who decides to move forward aggres-

sively can mobilize staffs and communities to make new ideas feasible and practicable. More-over, he can develop and encourage the on-going commitment to change that is necessary for the eventual success of high quality instruction and learning in racially desegregated schools.

Notes

Chapter 1

[1] Kenneth Morland, *Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond.* New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1963, p. 4.

[2] These examples are discussed in C. Johnson, "White Plains Racial Balance Plan," and D. Jaquith, "School Integration in Syracuse, New York," both in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities.* Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

[3] *Southern School Desegregation 1966-67.* Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p. 131.

[4] *Policies on Elementary and Secondary School Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.* Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968.

Chapter 2

[1] *Planning Educational Change: I. Technical Aspects of School Desegregation.* Washington: U.S. Office of Education, 1969.

Chapter 4

[1] N. Sullivan, "Desegregation Techniques," in *Educational Parks, Clearinghouse Publication No. 9.* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 66.

Chapter 7

[1] *Federal Law and Its Enforcement: School Desegregation in Virginia under Title VI.* Virginia State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968.

[2] G. Coffin, "How Evanston, Illinois, Integrated All of Its Schools," in *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities.* See note 2, Chapter 1, above.

[3] R. Mack, quoted by C. Voss in "School Desegregation: A Political Scientist's View," in *Law and Society Review,* vol. 11, 1967, p. 149.

Chapter 8

[1] J. Becker, *Final Report: A Study of Integration in Racially Imbalanced Urban Schools—A Demonstration and Evaluation.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Youth Development Center, 1967, p. 158.

[2] G. Coffin, *op. cit.,* and R. LaFrankie, "Englewood: A Northern City in Crisis," in *The Urban R's,* edited by R. Dentler, B. Mackler, and M. Warshauer. New York: Praeger, 1967, p. 39.

[3] *Process of Change, Clearinghouse Publication No. 12.* Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 1968, pp. 5-6.

[4] D. Bouma and J. Hoffman, *The Dynamics of School Integration.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968, p. 47.

Chapter 9

[1] M. Chesler, "What Happened After You Desegregated the White School?" in *New South,* vol. 22, 1967, pp. 14-15.

[2] M. Chesler and J. Franklin, "Interracial and Intergenerational Conflict in Secondary Schools." Paper presented to meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, Mass., 1968.

[3] *Riot Data Review.* Brandeis University, Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, vol. 2, pp. 74-75.

Chapter 10

[1] M. Chesler, "What Happened. . . ?"
See note 1, Chapter 9, above, pp. 11-12; and M. Chesler, S. Wittes, and N. Radin, "What Happens When Northern Schools Desegregate," in *American Education*, June 1968, pp. 2-4.

[2] Chesler, Wittes, Radin, *op. cit.*

[3] This list is abstracted from M. Chesler and M. Wissman, *Teacher Reactions to School Desegregation Preparations and Processes: A Case Study.* Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1968.

Chapter 11

[1] Chesler, Wittes, Radin, *op. cit.*

[2] *Idem.*

[3] M. Chesler and P. Segal, "Southern Negroes' Initial Experiences and Reactions in School Desegregation," in *Integrated Education*, vol. 6, 1968, p. 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[5] M. Chesler and P. Segal, *Characteristics of Negro Students Attending Previously All-White Schools in the Deep South.* Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1967, p. 71.

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