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## ABSTRACT

A discussion of the dilemma of desegregation/resegregation requires discussion of the demands of a changing urban society, open housing, efficient mass transit systems, the court rulings which too often have become substitutes for our own decisions and initiatives but which have set out steps in the right direction, and what we can do about it. A dilemma is usually thought of as any situation necessitating a choice between equally unfavorable alternatives. But it doesn't have to be. Why can't we have good schools in both places, suburbs and cities? If the life style of parents draws them to the suburbs or to the cities, they should be able to know that the quality of schooling will be high and that it will be consistent in quality. This standard has been challenged in recent years. One of the main reasons people leave cities has nothing to do with schools; it's the shortage of decent housing. But there are important Federal aids to housing available through Housing and Urban Development. In addition, fair housing assistance is being strengthened. In the aggregate, efforts to assist minority business development will have expended 265 percent between 1970 and 1975. The primary value of these programs has been to increase the earnings of the minority banks and thereby enhance their ability to attract capital. The courts cannot do it all. The ultimate responsibility is where it always has been--with us and our teachers, with our school boards, with community leaders, and with the children's parents. Plenty of Federal and State assistance is available to make the transition to a desegregated school system a little easier. (Author/JM)

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## THE DILEMMA OF DESEGREGATION/RESEGREGATION\*

I am asked by the AASA program chairman to talk to you today about a dilemma. All systems of our society have dilemmas. And I should imagine most also have national conventions with dilemmas on their agendas. Unfortunately, however, the issues which surround this topic go beyond the powers of the membership at this national convention. We, a group of school administrators, are going to be talking to each other about desegregation and resegregation. This panel probably should have been made up of one school person, one mayor, a director of a major regional housing authority, a banker who makes decisions about mortgage policies, a chamber of commerce director, the head of an urban transportation service and an authority on public health and environmental issues. But conventions rarely work that way. The mayor will probably attend a mayor's conference on "The Dilemma of the Cities and Suburban Sprawl." The housing man will go to a convention where he discusses "The Dilemma of Rising Interest Rates in a Falling Economy" at his meeting. And the health expert will consider "The Dilemma Posed by Urban Air and Water Pollution on Public Health."

Yet this is a meeting of school administrators--men and women who are responsible for providing quality education in the Nation's schools and for assuring the right of equal opportunity to every American child. I'm here today in the company of my school colleagues to discuss what we call our dilemmas, which include many of the same issues facing persons in the other fields mentioned. So along with quality and equality in education I will

\*A Presentation by Herman R. Goldberg, U.S. Associate Commissioner for Equal Educational Opportunity at the American Association of School Administrators, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 24, 1974

need to talk about the demands of a changing urban society, open housing, efficient mass transit systems, and the court rulings which too often have become substitutes for our own decisions and initiatives but which have set our steps in the right direction all the same. And finally I will talk about what we can do about it.

A dilemma is usually thought of as any situation necessitating a choice between equally unfavorable alternatives. But it doesn't have to be. Since a lemma is an argument assumed to be valid, why can't a dilemma be a choice, for a change, between two good things?

Why can't we have good schools in both places, suburbs and cities? If the life style of parents draws them to the suburbs or to the cities, they should be able to know that the quality of schooling will be high and that it will be consistent in quality. This standard has been challenged in recent years, by the changing conditions of our Nation's cities, the deterioration of buildings and services, the movement of middle-class whites and blacks out of the cities and their replacement by the poor, the shrinking property values, the removal of businesses and light industry to suburban areas and the presence of more people with heavy problems. There are signs this trend may be reversing itself, but for now at least it is true that, compared with 10 years ago, families living in cities are more likely to be poor and to be minority group members.

This fact is reflected in the public school **enrollments** of urban districts. In 1968 (which was the first year that HEW began to collect school enrollment data by race) the 100 largest districts in the country had a combined enrollment that was 31% black. By the fall of 1972, black students were 34% of the total enrollment of these 100 largest districts. One percentage point of this three-

point increase was the result of a nationwide increase in the proportion of black students from about 14% to about 15% between 1968 and 1972. The other two percentage points of increase in black urban enrollment relative to white enrollment was the result of migration of blacks to cities and of whites to suburbs.

Earle H. West, commenting in the Journal of Negro Education on the gradual emergence of the black cities as among the profound changes occurring in our national life, says:

"The problems of education in the black cities are so many and so pressing, it is difficult to deal with the larger issues in any terms, other than seeking immediate solutions to immediate problems. However, it is important to consider and develop some conceptual model that may serve as a guide in suggesting directions of desirable development."

Dr. West suggests that some persons see as appropriate the so-called demonstration model that places a person in a situation where success is unlikely, thus confirming the original doubts. Furthermore, the locus of power and finance upon which solutions depend lies outside the black cities themselves, thus further undermining the model. Its fatal fallacy, however, rests upon the fact that its success seldom convinces anyone, since those committed to it have usually made up their minds in advance.

"Another demonstration model," Mr. West suggests, "is the one which pushes to high political and other conspicuous, leadership posts, those who could serve as a demonstration of what the race could do. This bolsters a general racial confidence and also builds confidence in the young whose ambitions are still in

the formative stages. However, it is doubtful that individual persons should be forced to carry so large a weight of responsibility as must be borne by those accepting this model. Further, since incompetence and venality are not confined to a single race, there is a temptation for blacks blindly to defend the venal and the incompetent simply because to do otherwise would undermine the model. Our black cities deserve better than this. Merely to color the vices differently does not transform their character.

"In some quarters," Mr. West continues, "there is another model, a sort of 'private-preserve' model. Reacting to white intransigence, this model would look upon the black cities as a black preserve, to be controlled in the interests of racial power and advancement. It may be persuasively argued that such a reverse strategy is necessary in order to build a base of power and respect from which to attack racism. Perhaps so; the historical record is somewhat ambiguous on this point. However, there are serious questions about the long range integrity of promoting a cause whose ultimate justification must rest upon concepts of justice, fairness and common humanity through the use of a model whose principles are the antithesis of these concepts.

"We believe," Mr. West concludes, "that a democratic model, which recognizes that black cities as belonging to and the concern of all Americans, is the only viable model. As such, it is based upon a set of values to which the nation has been verbally committed since the beginning, and therefore will not have to be revised and new values relearned after some particular stage in national or racial development is reached. Further, it means that we need not feel that the fate of the black race, or white either, rests upon the success or failure of a particular black mayor or school superintendent newly arrived in power in a black

city. Also, this model emphasizes the sacrifices necessary to salvage the cities. On this model, no one can relieve himself of responsibility by moving to the suburbs or by claiming to represent only constituents outside the city. Finally, this model implies the need for each person and all groups to contribute cooperatively whatever each may be able to, to the amelioration of our urban problems regardless of ethnic identity. It is within such a framework that we hope for vigorous efforts and tough thinking directed toward revitalizing the black cities."

One of the main reasons people leave cities has nothing to do with schools; it's the shortage of decent housing. According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the urban housing shortage has stemmed from changes in family structures. Fewer people live in each housing unit and therefore more units are needed to fill the demand. Sociologists explain this phenomenon in terms of the breakup of the extended family unit. Grandparents no longer live in the same house or apartment with their children or grandchildren as frequently as formerly. Kids move out of their parent's homes earlier. Marriages end in divorce twice as frequently as they did ten years ago. This all results in an increasing demand for reasonably-priced housing, which private developers and public housing authorities have not been able to supply. They can't supply it because some banks hesitate to lend money for urban housing. They fear neighborhood and housing deterioration. They fear that middle class residents are abandoning the inner city in their search for better housing in the suburbs. This process leaves poor people in the city, people who often can't afford to maintain their housing adequately and who can't afford the higher rents that are necessary if their landlords are going to maintain their buildings. Thus cycle of urban residential decay is established and is difficult to

eradicate. But there are important Federal aids to housing available through HUD. The \$5.5 billion program to alleviate temporary housing credit problems started in 1973 has been expanded recently to insure that improvements in mortgage markets will continue. The FHA will continue to provide mortgage insurance during 1975 for those families who are qualified but are not adequately served by private mortgage insurers. Loans for homeownership and rental housing in rural areas will be provided through the increasing use of federally guaranteed private mortgage credit. But the fundamental cause of poor housing remains--lack of income. That's why priority is being given to determining whether direct cash assistance for housing is a practical approach. During 1974, projects will be approved under the rent supplement, homeownership, and rental housing assistance programs as necessary to meet bona fide commitments which cannot be met under HUD's revised public leasing housing program. Housing payments under these programs should total \$2.3 billion, an increase of \$375 million over 1974. This level includes \$400 million for public housing operating subsidies. Subsidized rural housing assistance is being continued on an interim basis, while direct cash assistance approaches are being assessed. Emphasis will be placed on making better use of existing housing in rural areas through credit assistance for the purchase of existing standard housing units, as well as the rehabilitation of substandard units.

In addition, fair housing assistance is being strengthened. Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 makes unlawful discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin in the sale, rental or financing of housing. Executive agencies are required to cooperate with HUD and to conduct their programs and activities in a manner that affirmatively furthers fair housing opportunities for all Americans.

Expenditures for the administration of fair housing programs will increase by 15% in the 1975 budget. HUD will have an increase of 23% to reduce the backlog in the reactive complaint system. The Justice Department will spend an increase of 13% in development, litigation and negotiations to enforce Title VIII.

In the year ahead, HUD will continue its efforts to insure the furtherance of the fair housing objectives, including oversight of affirmative marketing and advertising guidelines. The Justice Department has brought 154 suits against 427 defendants in 28 states and the District of Columbia, aimed at securing comprehensive affirmative relief to correct the effects of past housing discrimination and to maximize equal opportunity in the future. In addition, more than 216 voluntary compliance agreements have been negotiated with title insurance companies, real estate boards, private apartment house owners, and realtors nationwide, increasingly involving associations rather than individual entities.

Other important word in this area is coming from the courts. In January, Federal court decisions were made requiring public housing authorities in Chicago and New York City to take immediate affirmative steps to integrate public housing and to place new housing units in communities in such a way as to further the overall integration of the communities. In the Chicago case, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review a lower court order requiring the Chicago Housing Authority to build integrated housing units in white neighborhoods. This action by the Supreme Court has the effect of affirming the lower court ruling. It may not have an immediate effect on Chicago, however, due to the decision there to postpone any further building of public housing units. In New York City, a Federal district court ordered that a desegregation plan be prepared by the school district working with housing, transit, and recreation authorities. This is the first



Federal school desegregation order which explicitly includes changes in housing patterns as a goal of the desegregation process. Taken together, these two court decisions indicate that the courts may begin to take a still larger role in the creation of desegregated environments for urban children to grow up in.

And there is more help coming for urban transportation systems and minority business enterprises. The proposed Unified Transportation Assistance Program would provide Federal funding for construction of non-interstate highways and for mass transit capital investments and transit operating assistance on the basis of State and local priorities. This program is the first which would allow Federal funds to be used for transit operating assistance. Pending enactment of this initiative, obligations for urban mass transit capital grants will be increased by more than 50% to \$1.4 billion in 1975 including at least \$200 million from highway authorizations. Capital assistance for bus systems will be given priority and substantial funding will be provided for construction of commuter and rapid rail systems.

The 1975 budget also calls for an increase of 45% from 1973 for strengthening programs of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE). A budget of \$77 million for the coming year should result in the following:

- 1,200 new minority firms being established;
- 4,300 existing minority firms being expanded;
- 5,000 minority business financing packages being obtained; and
- 25,000 clients receiving management assistance.

These efforts are designed to increase minority business opportunities through grants, loan guarantees and the provision of opportunities to minority entrepreneurs to provide goods, labor, and services to either Federal agencies or contractors.

Expenditures for minority business development occur throughout the Federal Government and include:

- outlays of \$4.3 million by the Small Business Administration to award contracts to the minority or disadvantaged to help them become owners of self-sustaining manufacturing, construction and related enterprises ;
- obligations of \$651 million in loans and guarantees for minority business development;
- matching Federal funds of \$25 million for sixty-four minority enterprise small business investment corporations currently in operation with a total private capitalization of \$25 million, thereby producing total capital of more than \$50 million.


In the aggregate, efforts to assist minority business development will have expanded 265% between 1970 and 1975. By June 30, 1973, deposits in the Nation's 50 minority-owned banks increased by \$537 million since a combined Government/private sector effort in this area was started in 1970; an expansion of 110%.

The primary value of these programs has been to increase the earnings of the minority banks and thereby enhance their ability to attract capital.

But the courts, change agents as they have been in some places, cannot do it all. The ultimate responsibility is where it always has been--with us and our teachers, with our school boards, with community leaders, and with the children's parents.

The charge we have is to provide the best education, the most complete education, to all children. And this means an education in which children of all races can

learn about each other and can learn with each other. You and I know that it is

 always easy to get this process of interchange and sharing started.

Does this sound familiar? They are conversation openers heard at many board meetings around the nation.

You know you can't have it both ways.....

Now wait a minute.....

Your argument is a perfect case in point.....

I'm all for it, but.....

I would like to emphasize again that.....

I agree, but.....

I would like to go along with that, but.....

I know you mean well, but.....

Oh! Get off your but(t), and get on with it!

The decision to desegregate a school system in a comprehensive and meaningful way requires a decision, a commitment, by many people. But perhaps most importantly it takes strong support from you. There are plenty of how-to books available to guide you once you've made that commitment--and also, I might add, plenty of Federal and State assistance (and even some Federal dollars) to make the transition a little easier. Let me list briefly for you just exactly what kind of aid is available at the Federal level:

First of all, Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act authorizes the Federal Government to provide assistance to school districts which are planning or implementing a desegregation plan. This assistance is provided through General Assistance Centers located in 27 colleges and universities around the country, through 35 desegregation units located in State departments of education, and through desegregation advisory specialists who can be employed by local school districts.

Second, under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) approximately 1000 grantees are receiving about \$200 million to assist in carrying out desegregation plans and to improve the quality of education for children remaining in schools which are predominantly minority. Right now Federal program officials in all ten HEW regional offices are processing applications for the 1974-75 school year and by June \$234 million will be awarded to school districts and community groups from among eligible applicants.

So Federal assistance is available for desegregation planning and for the implementation of plans. In regard to the total Federal education budget plans you will be interested to know that national education purposes are estimated to account for \$8.5 billion of expenditures in the 1975 Federal budget. Of this total, 56%, or more than \$4.8 billion will be spent at elementary and secondary levels. Higher education will benefit from \$3.1 billion or 36% of the total. The remainder is directed toward adult and continuing education, public libraries, research, and some cultural activities. In 1975, OE will account for \$3.6 billion or 75% of the total level of \$4.8 billion. In 1975, under Administration proposals, \$1.9 billion of OE programs are covered in the Consolidated Education Grants Program.

Since 1965, more than \$800 million will have been distributed, through Title IV of the CRA and the ESAP and ESA programs to desegregating school districts. In 1975, the Administration will continue its commitment to assist school districts in this important process by proposing new legislation. The Federal Government is also taking steps to end the discrimination against Spanish-speaking and other non-English speaking pupils by insuring that bilingual and bicultural programs are provided.

For the 1975-76 school year the President will propose a bill which will provide that new desegregation money be used to assist new desegregation moves. In some cases support for compensatory education required in desegregated districts can be provided through Title I of ESEA which, in the proposed budget, would be funded at a higher level in the 1975-76 school year than it is this year.

Even with special financial assistance the decision to desegregate may be a difficult one to make, unless we all consider the benefits for the children themselves. The important fact is that the children in school today will be the leaders, the workers, the teachers of the twenty-first century. Children starting to school today will have children starting to school in the year 2000. The summoning of the 21st Century has lost its fantasy style; Buck Rogers has disappeared from the funnies. Events affecting education today, the choices we make now, will affect the nature of education in the year 2000. If your school system consists of schools where majority children prepare for lives of unchallenged privilege and one-culture focus you are short changing them. If your district includes schools where minority children are unable to retain the unique parts of their culture and identity as they are becoming acquainted with others, you are short changing them too. Because desegregated education as the best education for tomorrow, must begin today, the thoughtful, hopeful, understanding parent will seek such education for his child.

We have recently received the evaluation report from the National Opinion Research Center on the effects of ESAP--the Emergency School Assistance Program--on students during the 1971-72 school year. It was a good report. Through its design, which included matched control groups, reliable data was collected which showed the direct connection between Federal desegregation aid and a real gain in achievement for a specific group of students. It also suggested something of even greater interest to me. It suggested that school districts which actively addressed the differences of race--or ethnicity--and devised means of exploring and accommodating these differences through administrative procedures as well as curricular revisions showed higher levels of cooperation and understanding among all students. In particular, leadership provided by the school principal appeared to be an important factor in improving a school's racial environment.

This study covered schools in the South, all of which were desegregated under court order and--one may assume--did so reluctantly. In some schools the very events of desegregation became an element in the education of students, teachers and principals. Teachers and principals were seen by their students to be aware, sympathetic, helpful adults who were supportive of desegregation. In other schools where desegregation was treated as an interference with business as usual, the disappointment of students was reflected in their attitudes, as measured in the study.

Resegregation comes when the middle classes have fled the cities for several reasons--to find more space, cleaner air, more attractive neighborhoods, and to find better schools. Yet I insist, not only as a Federal administrator but as a former teacher and school superintendent that integrated education superior education for a child in America today and that it is essential

for the personal well-being of our students. The cities have the resources which can be combined into exciting, challenging education programs. In the cities are the broad cultural bases and the immediate access to--indeed confluence with--the major trends which will shape the America in which our students will live as adults.

To create this kind of environment for our children will require compromise by many parties, but in our society the schools have been one of the most effective forums of creative and progressive compromise. Catherine Drinker Bowen in her reverent historical account of the framing of the Constitution of the United States as set forth in her book, Miracle in Philadelphia defined the word compromise in the way I like to think of it:

"Compromise can be an ugly word, signifying a pact with the devil, a chipping off the best to suit the worst. Yet in the constitutional convention the spirit of compromise reigned in grace and glory. One sees the delegates change their minds, fight against pride, and when the time comes, admit their error."

We can only regret that these same delegates could not settle all their differences and fully implement their vision of a new Nation where all men are created equal. Yet I think we as school people can take some pride in having been given a major portion of the task of finishing what the founding fathers started out to do.

Then, what is the answer and how is it to be done? I have uncovered no clearer reply than that found in the words of Buell Gallagher when he says:

"Desegregation brings the races together; it does not supply the cement for a single society." But integration must come "by every honorable and legal device; by every persuasive example; by every ounce of energy, and intelligence and understanding that can be brought to bear; by every legitimate use of political and economic power; by every resource of the human spirit; by faith that America can be brought to know that pride of race is valuable but that racism is vicious."

When a discussion of desegregation/resegregation comes up on the school board agenda, there are some who say, "We, the battle-weary, would welcome a respite from the struggle." And there are others who respond, "We must reenforce wavering convictions and work for a breakthrough to an open society."

To those who say it more bluntly with the words, "Keep your shirt on," I say, "O.K., but roll up your sleeves."