DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 098 271   UD 014 621

AUTHOR   Smith, Kathleen, Ed.
TITLE   Desegregation/Integration: Planning for School
               Change. A Training Program for Intergroup
               Educators.
INSTITUTION   National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE   74
NOTE   112p.
AVAILABLE FROM National Education Association Publications Order
               Dept., The Academic Bldg., Saw Mill Road, West Haven,
               Conn. 06516 (Stock 0-8106-1332-8-00; $2.00,
               paper)

EDRS PRICE   MF-$0.75 HC Not Available from EDRS. PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS   Change Strategies; Classroom Integration; *Curriculum
               Development; Educational Administration; Educational
               Change; *Educational Planning; *Educational Programs;
               *Inservice Teacher Education; Integration Effects;
               Integration Methods; Racial Integration; *School
               Integration
IDENTIFIERS   California

ABSTRACT
               Western Regional School Desegregation Projects,
University of California at Riverside, along with Community Resources
Limited, designed and conducted a program to advance our information,
knowledge, and ability to plan school desegregation processes. Its
purpose was to help narrow the time lag between local politically or
court-mandated desegregation--physical mixing of races--and school
integration--positive interracial relations and academic achievement
in racially mixed classrooms. The method chosen was to train people
who were planning school desegregation in California and other parts
of the Southwest to act as school change agents. This meant they
learned to direct workers in local schools and communities so as to
promote school desegregation and integration and to improve
interracial relations. The content of the training program was to
include nine topics: the state of school desegregation, racism in
American schools, the social and political structure of American
schools and of the educational profession, alternative programs to
support integration, theory and practice of making change in schools,
coping with resistence, building support systems for consultants or
change agents, and funding sources and other resources. A variety of
instructional procedures were utilized to provide guidance,
information, and experience in each area. (Author/JM)

Desegregation/ Integration:

Planning for School Change

A Training Program for Intergroup Educators

Developed for the Western Regional School Desegregation Projects
This edition developed by NEA Teacher Rights

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Introduction

The 20 years that have passed since the first Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* have seen a dramatic, virtually revolutionary change in the attitudes and behavior of millions of American citizens. Few could have predicted the extent to which that single event would alter the lives and perceptions of all of us.

And yet not enough has been done. Disparity in income and life opportunities of America's minority citizens is as great as or greater than in 1954. In some ways, the Supreme Court decision has been twisted to produce harmful effects. Patterns of housing segregation are ever more sharply defined, even in the South, where segregated housing patterns were virtually unknown 20 years ago. While many inadequate buildings have been closed, thousands of black teachers have been dismissed or displaced, and there has been a virtual genocide of black high school principals as desegregation has progressed. Desegregation has too often meant the elimination of black symbols and trophies, of black homecoming queens and cheerleaders, of black coaches and band instructors, and of schools which responded, in the most positive meaning of the term, to the educational and social needs of black students and black communities.

Furthermore, although the elimination of racism and segregation in the schools has been set forth as a desirable goal, it has been too often left unachieved. The reason is usually one or more of the following factors:

Misunderstanding of or lack of information about the purposes and techniques necessary to achieve quality education in integrated settings

Failure to commit the staff, time, and resources necessary

Misunderstanding or misinterpretation of changing legal requirements

Lack of administrative or school board support for positive change

Inability or unwillingness to secure competent professional help in bringing about the desired changes

Community opposition

Apathy

Lack of good faith and intent on the part of one or more of the parties involved, including local and state officials, school administrators, school boards, and teachers.

Thoughtful educators have long been aware that assertive, affirmative leadership is necessary if schools are to be altered to the point where every child in them will have an opportunity to share in the "goodies" offered by the system. Every child must share, for example, in educational opportunity, mobility, and the acquisition of experiences leading to positive social values. Thoughtful educators know that comprehensive integration requires more than the mixing of bodies; long hours and dollars will be required if the very real opportunities offered by desegregation are to be achieved. They know that no school is "inferior" because of its social or racial composition, but because of a combination of factors, especially the unequal distribution of educational and financial resources. They know that integrated education in a pluralistic society is achievable, that the "melting pot" never did exist, and that every member of an open society must be guaranteed the right to learn and to achieve if the rights of any of us are to be protected.

Members of the National Education Association have repeatedly expressed, in resolutions adopted each year by the NEA Representative Assembly, their concern for public education, for the provision of educational opportunity for all, and for desegregation and integration of our nation's public schools.

The NEA is pleased to present this handbook on *Preparing for School Desegregation*, which was prepared for the Western Regional School Desegregation Projects by Dr. Mark Chesler and others. We believe that the information presented herein will be of vital importance to any person engaged in studying the issues implicit in school desegregation, in planning change, or in overcoming opposition to or building support for effective provision of educational offerings in integrated settings.

Included in this volume is the text of the *School Desegregation Guidelines for Local and State Education Associations* adopted by the NEA Board of Directors in February 1974. We are confident that these guidelines are of direct use in preparing for effective school integration and in overcoming segregation and discrimination in the public schools.

We are particularly grateful to Dr. Chesler and his associates and to the Western Regional School Desegregation Projects for their permission to republish their material.

The Project

Need

The body of information and experience in the desegregation of American schools is not substantial, but it is growing. Legal and political pressures as well as educational convictions have encouraged a great many school systems to experiment in this direction in the past few years. Essays on the moral and educational imperatives of desegregation as well as studies on its effect have begun to appear in scholarly and public journals. Still, however, few people so far have really anticipated the actual potentials and problems of desegregated education; few educators, students, or parents have laid the groundwork for very effective programs of school desegregation.

Purpose

Western Regional School Desegregation Projects, University of California at Riverside, along with Community Resources Limited, designed and conducted a program to advance our information, knowledge, and ability to plan school desegregation processes. Its purpose was to help narrow the time lag between local politically or court-mandated desegregation — physical mixing of races — and school integration — positive interracial relations and academic achievement in racially mixed classrooms. The method chosen was to train people who were planning school desegregation in California and other parts of the Southwest to act as school change agents. This meant they learned to direct workers in local schools and communities so as to promote school desegregation and integration and to improve interracial relations. The program was thus a new way of approaching the challenge of integration.

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Content

The content of the training program was to include nine topics:

1. The state of school desegregation
    a. Our national and regional experience
    b. Problems involved in moving from desegregation to integration — or high quality interracial education
2. Racism in American schools
3. The social and political structure of American schools and of the education profession
4. Alternative programs to support integration; plann? or interracial high quality educational systems
    a. Classroom procedures
    b. Retraining teachers
    c. Administrative procedures and structures
    d. Curriculums in racism, in change, and in technolog.e vocations
    e. Governance systems involving faculty and students
    f. School-community advocacy and accountability
    g. Free schools
5. Theory and practice of making change in schools, including review of strategies based on interpersonal, organizational, community, legal, and political bases
6. Developing and implementing change programs in schools
    a. Especially in-service programs for teachers, administrators, students, and community
    b. Especially new instructional and governance patterns, including representation and accountability systems
7. Coping with resistance and linking pilot change efforts into total system reform
8. Building support systems for consultants or change agents
9. Funding sources and other resources.

Methods

The program planners believed that a multitude of instructional methods were needed to give full respect to the content and to the

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personal styles of the diverse participants. They wanted also to build a system of social support within which the participants could ask for and give help to one another when they needed it, and to provide a way for people to examine and exchange opinions about one another's styles and roles as change agents.

The program was designed to stretch over a 6-month period. It consisted of three 2½-day workshops alternating with three half-day workshops.

A variety of instructional procedures were utilized to provide guidance, information, and experience in the nine content areas. Some lectures were planned; so were reading and writing assignments. As little time as possible was to be spent in confrontation groups or sensitivity sessions. Role playing and simulated game sessions were included as ways of illuminating complex and subtle issues in school system design and practice. Finally, the program included diagnostic work — both on local schools and on participants' local systems. This meant the use of diagnosis, not as an end in itself, but as a basis for planning.

Introduction
to the Issues

The American concern for racial justice has found one focus in recent efforts to advance school desegregation and integration. Various models of interracial education have been proposed as local alternatives to generations of racial separatism and inequality in schools. Some proposals seem to carry a promise of change toward greater educational quality and equality; others appear to reinforce patterns of racism and low quality education.

In this chapter we review some of the problems and potentials of school desegregation and integration. More specifically, we examine the forces and variables related to integration within the structure and processes of the school and classroom. These are not the only, nor in some circumstances the key, forces in school change. But they are crucial, nevertheless, and they represent a sufficiently broad and powerful spectrum to merit serious attention. Throughout this chapter, our review of scholarly literature and school experience will include various programmatic suggestions for change and innovation that can be — and are being — tried in schools throughout the nation.

The Human and Social Context of School Desegregation

The impetus for desegregation has been uneven in different communities and regions of the nation. The assumption of broad community support for racial and educational change is dangerous, because it is so often in error. Generally desegregation has received top priority attention in only those schools where court orders have required immediate response. Even in such systems, change efforts have focused primarily on planning and reorganizing technical and material resources. Desegregation pioneers have made technically attractive plans for transporting youngsters, rearranging schools and classrooms, and redrawing attendance zones. By and large, schools have failed to reorganize the

human resources necessary to support the people involved in racial and education change.

Part of this failure starts with the lack of political and judicial leadership at national and local levels. Influential community leaders often do not vigorously advance desegregation; thus they represent a key loss of political resources. When they offer passive or active support to opponents of desegregation, they represent a formidable barrier to change. Further, when a court reviews technical plans for moving youngsters without requiring plans reordering other human resources it leaves open the option for failure. We applaud those recent court decisions and judicial mandates that suggest rapid technical rearrangement of the schools; but schools must have complementary plans to reorder the human resources of community leaders, teachers, administrators, parents, and students.

The school's responsibility for reallocating its resources to facilitate desegregation stems from its original organization of those resources. A school system is responsive to community norms and standards, and community segregation and racism partly determine the shape of local schools. Certainly some school segregation is *de facto*, caused by socio-economic factors which determine neighborhood patterns. But local school boards, as legal authorities, compound this with *de jure* segregation in their failure to take responsibility for correcting attendance zones which reinforce neighborhood racial imbalance. Schools thus add their own stamp to local norms and publicly support racism in several ways:

Setting attendance zone boundaries
Deciding to locate and renovate schools in barrios and ghettos
Providing easy transfer for whites
Not encouraging majority-to-minority transfers
Employing few minority teachers and administrators
Setting teacher and administrator standards that favor whites
Assigning educators in ways that support white control of curriculum and services.

Most discussions of desegregation focus on black-white relations, with little attention to the added complexities encountered by brown minorities and by other groups. Spanish-surnamed Americans encounter unique inequities, especially in schools in Northeastern cities, in Florida, and in the Southwest. Such issues are highlighted in the special concerns of a desegregation order recently adjudicated for Corpus Christi, Texas,

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by U.S. District Judge Seals. He noted that "a unitary school district can be achieved here only by substantial integration of the Negroes and Mexican-Americans with the remaining population of the district."

Many local desegregation plans further deny some of the real problems of interracial education by assuming educators' technical competence in instructional and administrative arenas. This is not a safe -assumption. Teaching students and managing schools involve intense and intimate human and cultural relations. We make a great error in assuming that someone can take technical competence with one group of materials, students, or teachers and apply it to a very different and volatile social scene. The problems and possibilities of interracial interaction are new for most teachers and administrators, and they will need special help and preparation to meet this challenge. So will the total community, including business and civic leaders, government agents, parents, and students.

Desegregation and Integration

The focus of much racial change in schools has been primarily on desegregation — the physical mixing of students of different races and ethnic groups. This priority is created by the federal mandate to construct racially heterogeneous or unitary school systems. We have not at the same time attended sufficiently to the definition and realization of integration — high quality interracial education. The concentration on the technical problems of rearranging bodies overlooks the necessity of reform in human values, attitudes, and resources. If schoolmen focused on such human growth, they would need to stress the development and maintenance of stable and positive personal and ethnic identities for students: a black identity for black people, a brown identity for brown people, a white identity for white people, and perhaps something like a new American identity for all. And they would plan for the possibility of positive collaboration across racial and ethnic lines. They also would try more personally liberating and creative forms of teaching and learning in class. These issues in interracial education rarely have been reviewed or dealt with because of the overly technical set of assumptions and procedures used in most school desegregation efforts.

What does it mean to stress human rather than technical issues? In the school itself, students of different races would have to deal with one another in ways that cherish and maintain differences. Educators and

community leaders would have to work in interracial groups that involve blacks, browns, and whites at all levels of policy making. Typically, decisions about desegregation are made by whites alone; blacks and browns are excluded from all but the mechanics and effects of these decisions. Thus, whites decide what's good for blacks and browns and how their needs should be met. Differences cannot be cherished at such a distance, and when judged and planned for by one group alone. Integration must begin with integration of planners and system decision makers. The definition of the issues, problems, and goals as well as the determination of strategies and programs all must be guided by interracial hands.

Working closely with people who are different is a complex human skill that requires a great deal of training and considerable time and energy. This is especially true in a society where few people have even had such heterogeneous experiences. It cannot be done if it is considered of low priority, unworthy of important system resources. Moreover, it cannot be done if educators are unclear about whether and how to exert leadership in this area. If teachers understand their own values and feelings, and if they have appropriate curriculum materials and support, then they can help students move toward integration. If schools are not able to help black and brown and white children learn how to work together, then there is really no point going ahead with desegregation and integration.

The question of goals, and of our ability to attain them, has profound implications for strategies of school change. If we are not able to promise better quality schooling in desegregated schools, why transfer students? If racial tensions and antagonisms increase in mixed schools, why put students of different races together? If black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, First American, or white youngsters are not to gain considerably from desegregation, why should they suffer dislocation, strangeness, and hostility? The social, legal, and moral reasons for desegregation are clear, but schools must become integrated if improved educational opportunity for all children is to occur.

If we are not willing to use great energy to make a racially mixed school a positive success in academic and human terms, why bother at all? If we are not prepared to pay for and attain quality interracial education, we may be better off resegregating our schools; concentrating on black, brown, and white quality separated education; and hoping that inter-

racial living can be learned later. To create segregated high quality systems would not be a retreat; that is not where we come from.

At present our schools are neither interracial nor of sufficiently high quality. If we are not going to move to high quality interracial schooling, why bother fooling around with mere rhetoric? Students and parents are raising these questions in local schools and communities. When they fail to get clear, positive answers from educators and community leaders, they resist fake change and strike out at an educational system that separates them, oppresses them, and finally fails them and their dreams.

The contemporary thrust for local community control of schools reflects these concerns. Affluent white parents and community groups typically have had access to and control over local boards and educational systems. Black and brown communities and poor white groups typically have not had such access. They are now asserting their desires for influence and some control over their youngsters' education. Desegregation which maintains the dominance of affluent whites will be rejected by these minority communities who desire justice and quality more than technical plans and physical rearrangements.

Obstacles to Integration

There are several key areas in which the potential for developing the human social supports necessary for high quality interracial education has been neglected. If we can identify these areas and build new educational systems that can support change, it will make more worthwhile any conversation about desegregation.

It is highly unlikely that a majority of white Americans are committed in any serious way to interracial education. Many Americans who may agree with the idea of desegregation do not appear to want to pay the price of such change. Talk is cheap, and there is a substantial gap between public rhetoric and action.

Even in the face of an executive order and legislative concurrence with national desegregation, there is neither concurrence nor implementation at local levels. There was not a great deal of popular support for desegregation in 1954 or 1960 or 1965. That position has not changed today. Some of the most vigorous white supporters of desegregation are advocating it for others only as they move to exurban areas or move their children to private schools. Of course, in some places there is begrudging tolerance, pockets of hope, or even plans begun for helping

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schools overcome our cultural heritage of racial distance, fear, ignorance, and oppression. But the history of racism makes it very difficult for American educators, parents, and local politicians to support racial and educational change in the energetic way required to overcome the risks and pains involved.

The failure to provide adequate funds for change is another example of public political resistance to a committed drive for racial justice and school improvement. New programs cost money to invent, implement, and maintain. Although funding may not be the key variable, it is an important symbol of institutional commitment or the lack thereof; its absence is depressing and debilitating to those who wish to try.

Another barrier to effective integration is educators' lack of preparation and skills for new patterns of race relations in school. Consistently, plans have been implemented without serious consideration of what it really takes to administer and teach in an interracial school. Many schools have been desegregated without any warning to teachers; it has happened that a busload of black or brown youngsters suddenly appeared at a previously all-white school on the first school day in September. Teachers have been found standing on the school grounds gazing abstractedly at the bus, wondering, "How did this happen?" "Where did they come from?" "Now, what do we do?"

Like most adult, white Americans, schoolteachers are often frightened by the prospects of interracial education. They often do not know what it is about, what it is going to mean to them, and how they best can relate to or help their students. Growing up in a white society, going to a white school and college, and teaching in a white school does not give white teachers the kind of racial consciousness required for effective interracial collaboration. How can we reasonably expect a white teacher to be any smarter, more secure, more filled with self-esteem, more talented in dealing with black and brown students than any other white in this country? If whites are having trouble figuring out how to settle their nerves when they deal with blacks and browns, our teachers are going to have the same problems. Black and brown teachers, too, will have to overcome severe barriers to work with white students and with racially mixed classes.

In addition to failures of commitment, funding, and preparation, we also have failed to invent and develop new ways of teaching and learning in interracial classrooms. The teaching-learning process is a highly

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human activity, and any change must focus at least partly on teachers' values and emotions. It is also partly a technical process requiring a complex repertoire of skills in classroom organization and leadership.

Most teachers in most schools have a small repertoire of alternative teaching methods to use under various circumstances. Faced with the novelty of interracial education, many teachers are without relevant resources. For instance, if one wants to build heterogeneous peer groups that work together across racial lines, one has to know how to form such groups, build group leadership, help groups of students develop a sense of a common task, help students give each other feedback, teach them to divide the labor, and encourage them to report their collective efforts. These are highly complex skills for students and teachers.

Heterogeneous grouping is a good design for interracial classroom work if the teacher has the courage and skill to help students carry it off. There is not much literature available on how to do it; there are not many practical suggestions for teachers. For these and other reasons, most teachers just do not try it and continue to work directly with a mass of 30 students day after day, hour after hour.

Few school systems have attempted to prepare students for the realistic problems and positive potentials of interracial education. After all, when we ask students of different races to work together in the classroom, we are asking them to swim against the tide of the American culture. We are asking them to experience things most adults have not experienced, to do things many adults are nervous about, and to pioneer a break with the past. In that treacherous current, we must give them supportive water wings and a strong motor if we expect any movement.

Educators will have to help students figure out how they can protect themselves from peer or parental efforts to make them resist new forms of racial relations. It is fantasy to believe that when we do exciting things in school that may make a difference, students can go home and not have that difference confronted by opposing traditions. Students must be provided with skills in resisting community pressures for continued segregation and white dominance.

No school, after all, can succeed where a community fails. Without eventual community support for new racial patterns, the school cannot last long as a pioneer for racial justice. But most schools are nowhere near that dilemma; few schools have tackled desegregation in a way that suggests pioneership. How to get to that place, and what that would entail, is the main focus of the program described in the following pages.

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Problem Identification in
Local School Desegregation

Utilizing a systematic approach to solving problems involves a sequence of steps. That sequence frequently starts with the identification of a problem and proceeds through diagnosis to the development of a coherent and feasible plan. In all such efforts, the first step is to identify and specify the major problem or problems of concern. In some cases an effective approach can begin with a clear goal instead of a problem; then the gap between that goal and the current situation is seen as the problem.

After a problem has been identified clearly and specifically, a diagnosis should be performed. This diagnosis should be designed to gather information that highlights the current state of the system and the barriers and resources relevant to work on the problem.

When these two steps have been completed, we can begin to develop alternative courses of action or programs to do something differently. When a range of alternatives are available, careful selection can be made of one course of action to follow. At the end of each program of implementation there should be an evaluation, perhaps in the form of a rediagnosis, that lets us know where we have been and how we have done. The chart below illustrates each of the steps in a problem-solving sequence.

Steps in a Problem-Solving Sequence
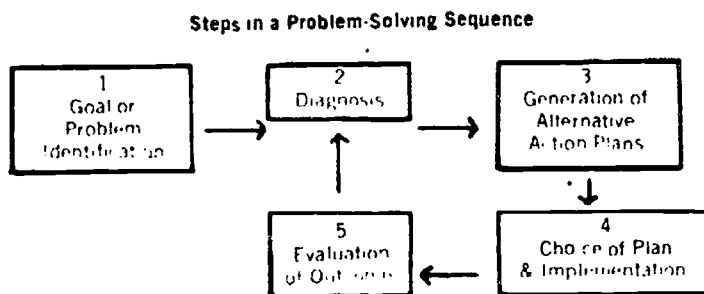
What often happens is that one tries to go from Step 1 to Step 4 without thinking about Steps 2 and 3. It is necessary to take a look at all of the complex dimensions of a problem and its alternative solutions before acting. With greater diagnostic information about one's goals, the system, and possible alternatives, better choices can be made among approaches to change. The first step, of course, is to state and specify the goals of change and/or the problems currently being experienced.

- Each local team attending the Intergroup training program was asked to identify and elaborate two or three major problems related to desegregation in their system. Then each team presented its list of issues to another team, and asked them to act as consultants. The consultants' role was to listen and push for greater clarification and specificity. The outcome of this process was a greater understanding of each system's specific set of goals and problems, both by members of that team and by other workshop participants. For examples of major problems identified by each team, see Appendix C.

The problems identified most often by workshop participants concerned (a) the skills and perspectives of instructional and administrative staffs of schools; (b) the curriculum and instructional resources of the schools; (c) the position of parents and community members; and (d) the support anyone could anticipate from chief administrators and the board.

A number of participants mentioned that teaching and counseling staffs lack the humanity and ability necessary to carry on a pluralistic program. Some said the major problem was teachers' efforts to actually sabotage the desegregation program. In other cases, mere incompetence or unwillingness to change was noted. In addition to the inadequacies of skill and differences in values among educators, a number of participants said the real problem was the low incidence of minority staff members in the schools. People from these systems will have to study a variety of teacher training programs and of affirmative action plans to see which are most likely to improve particular factors in their school system.

The second issue highlighted often by workshop participants was the lack of an adequately pluralistic or relevant curriculum. Students who have to deal with an outmoded or inappropriate curriculum simply will not be able to sustain an interest in school. These issues are multiplied by the other problems of desegregation. People who find that lack of

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curriculum is the major problem they face will need to inspect curriculum innovations and perhaps develop in their own schools some informal or formal courses that speak to their student, and community needs.

The third major problem noted by various workshop members was community resistance to busing and parental resistance to the change in the schools. Members of both minority and majority communities often are unwilling, it seems, to have their students bused to achieve desegregation. Moreover, many parents seem to feel that they can exercise the greatest influence and control over the school their youngsters attend if it is in their local community. It seems clear that these are major problems in school desegregation. To overcome this kind of resistance, people will need to think about ways of attacking the busing problem and also about ways in which parental and community involvement and influence in school can be sustained when the school is not located in the immediate neighborhood.

The fourth major issue raised by a number of participants was the kind of leadership and support for desegregation they can expect from superintendents, chief administrators, and the school board. In many cases, school boards' sensitivity to local political winds clearly inhibits their aggressiveness in desegregating the schools. People who want to change this situation will need to develop new kinds of technical and informational resources that can be made available to a board or to system leadership to help them bring about desegregation. Moreover, they probably need to mobilize new political alignments that can alter the support system that presently forces community decision-makers to maintain the status quo.

The most difficult step in the problem-solving process often is the first — identifying or defining the problem and stating goals. This difficulty most often arises because of a confusion between symptoms and problems and because of the rush to move directly to solutions. Further confusions result from inadequate or premature diagnoses. Unrealistic time lines, inadequate information, and unwillingness to confront differences among the members of a team all lead to inadequate problem identification. Without success at this first step, no effective set of alternative plans is likely to be generated. Once a problem has been delineated, and once a diagnosis has clarified the relevant information about the system, it is time to begin seeking alternative solutions.

Value Clarification:
Educational Assumptions
and Priorities

The process of school change is a value-centered process: It is guided by the goals and the priorities of people who make key educational decisions. Any concrete program of desegregation thus will be guided by the values of those people who design, approve, or implement a desegregation plan.

On the surface, it is clear that advocacy of desegregation is an attempt to counter the embracing racism in American schools; thus values about racism and anti-racism play a large part in the generation of desegregation plans and proposals. Often what is not so clear is that desegregation lays bare many other generic problems in schooling: any plan for desegregation is based on a coherent set of values regarding schooling and learning — the nature of school and schooling, youth and teachers, classrooms and communities.

It seems vital to clarify and confront the values of all people involved in educational change. Only through taking a good hard look at our own values and those of others can we know the framework on which we are relying for the creation of a coherent desegregation plan. The following exercises were developed to provoke serious comments and differences among workshop participants concerning some key educational values about the role of youth and about problems of race in schools. The kinds of views the participants expressed (see the following pages and Appendix C) clearly will play a large part in the kinds of plans and proposals that are actually developed and implemented in schools.

Dynamics of School Conflict: A Simulation

It is likely that heated conflict will attend most local efforts at school desegregation. In order to provide participants with a common experience that resembled such conflict, we decided to undertake a simulation of a school board meeting. We wanted to get the intergroup educators to understand and feel how and why participants in student-initiated school conflict act as they do. In a simulation exercise a general scene is set and participants are given broad roles to play. How they actually play these roles is up to them.

In this case the scene was a school board meeting climaxing a series of events: (a) a high school student newspaper editorial announcing that the main student government goal for the year was gaining greater freedom of speech on the campus, (b) heated discussion on and off campus about the student "demands," and (c) a community newspaper editorial strongly negative towards student goals and recommending that the community appear at the next school board meeting.

The school board meeting included an audience of representatives from the administration, parents, teachers, students, the different local newspapers (representing all political orientations), police, and a number of observers/researchers. All participants were asked to volunteer for a particular role; each was given instructions about how she/he was supposed to behave. Each role group saw only their own instructions.

When the board meeting started, the participants quickly fell into their roles. Although no extreme conflict developed, the participants did become active and agitated at times. For example, the school board president was totally involved and later reported his anxiety about his role. The students really did yell. The community members did get incensed, and so on. In effect the meeting did emulate a heated school board meeting and people acted as if they were in the roles they were portraying.

It is always difficult to assess the effectiveness of a simulation exercise in enabling people to intellectually understand the issues underlying the situation presented. However, this simulation did seem to have considerable impact on many of the participants. The discussion that followed it indicated that the conflict that was generated did make people think more deeply about their own reactions to school desegregation, conflict, and change.

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Case Studies of Educational
Values in Conflict

In addition to the simulation exercise, value issues were highlighted through the presentation and discussion of several case studies of school conflict. The objective of this task was to provide an opportunity for participants to get to know each other while dealing with real problems and to collect data about themselves that could be used later. Each of the two stories was followed with some questions. People answered the questions individually, then discussed the issues in groups defined by their job assignment or by their racial or ethnic identity.

Motivating Change:
Use of the Subpoena

So far, we have considered the identification of issues and goals in the desegregation process. Personal and institutional values and the specific nature of individual systems' problems are primary concerns from which change is planned.

Now we turn to the motivational problems involved in getting local change activities started, and to reviews of strategies for conducting local diagnoses and for selecting local change strategies.

One of the problems faced in all training programs and all change efforts is the development of an appropriate motivation for change on the part of the participants. Clearly, much of the impetus for desegregation in local school systems is the conviction on the part of leading educators that it is an educational necessity and that they must advocate change. At the same time, local community pressure from minority groups and liberal majoritarians can generate demands and the ensuing motivation for parents, students, and teachers to commit themselves to effective desegregation. Finally, and perhaps most potently, judicial pressure from court decisions has strongly influenced many educators and citizens to move towards change in the racial status of our schools.

Throughout the training program, participants looked at the development of motivational forces from all of these sources. To examine the function of judicial processes as a motivator for local system change, the training staff set up a situation in which the conference participants were required to act on a subpoena (for text of subpoena, see Appendix C). This simulated the legal pressures exerted by court action to force system desegregation. To make the exercise more effective, a recent case decided by Judge Stanley Weigel of the Northern District of California was used. The simulation, *Mendez v. Blank School District*, was presented as a training exercise. The participants were "ordered" to

provide a rationale for their district's compliance or failure to comply with the subpoena within 16 hours — in other words, by the next day!

The purpose was to place training group participants under political and time pressures similar to those they might expect to experience in their local school district. Each school system, represented by its team of two or three persons, spent the evening trying to decide whether its schools could comply with the subpoena demands. Any school system that thought it would have difficulty complying with the development of a plan of the sort noted in the subpoena could appeal to a "three-judge panel" composed of the consultants. This panel would consider all needs for arrangements that modified the subpoena. Several systems did present appeals. Some appealed in order to create a simulation more distinctly appropriate to their local school systems and their particular roles. Others asked for a delay.

The fact that this simulation closely approximated reality was borne out by the fact that one system's team subsequently dropped out of the training program, presumably because this subpoena placed it under pressures too great for its members to cope with in their local situation. In addition, several participants took the subpoena back to their local districts and informed administrators and school boards of the kind of court action they could anticipate if they did not act quickly.

The staff felt that the subpoena provided training-group participants with greater motivation to develop plans for desegregation rapidly than would abstract discussions of the need for change.

Desegregation Plans
and Components

Throughout the training program it was clear that participants were gaining needed skills in planning local desegregation programs. Some school systems developed fairly comprehensive plans for the desegregation of their system; others merely had pieces of plans in place. It was the conviction of the training staff that there needed to be substantial sharing of plans and plan components among all the participants in the program. Too often a training program of this sort constitutes an individual learning experience for some members without the adequate sharing of resources that could multiply the sources of expertise and the learning that occurs within the training group.

Each team was asked to consider whether they in fact had developed a "comprehensive" desegregation plan for their system or not. A comprehensive plan would speak to the needs for change in teacher, administrator, student, community, board, and curriculum aspects of the system. Those teams that felt they did have comprehensive plans were asked to post them on large sheets of newsprint.

When these plans were posted, representatives of that team explained the details of the plan to the rest of the participants. The other team members quite naturally asked probing and leading questions to further clarify and in some cases to confront and challenge aspects of plans that had been developed.

After the discussion of comprehensive plans, all participants were asked to identify the most innovative component of their plans with regard to ways of dealing with (a) the school board, (b) the curriculum, (c) administrator roles, (d) student roles, (e) teacher roles and activities, and (f) community involvement. These innovations were listed on newsprint and posted around the room. Members of the training pro-

gram then questioned, challenged, probed, and learned about these innovative portions of general desegregation plans.

It was clear that through this exercise many participants discovered new ideas they could use in their own school systems. At the same time, some teams that felt they had been progressing quite well were given a spotlight opportunity to explain the exciting things they were doing and to gain reactions from peers.

Providing for Change:
Staff Development

Precisely because integration is a new form of schooling, it requires personnel capable of doing new things in new ways. Consequently, adequate preparation should include programs to retrain or supplement the training of teachers and principals.

Recent reports of newly desegregated schools and classrooms indicate that the entrance of minority students has activated many white students' hostility and discomfort with persons whom they perceive to be different from them and who are sources of threat. Many black and brown students have come away from desegregated experiences with pessimistic and/or negative realistic views of the potential for racial harmony. Surely there are instances of positive change as well; but to accomplish positive change requires great skill, energy, and patience on the part of all members of the school and classroom social system.

Teachers' and principals' responsibilities for guiding and promoting positive learnings in an interracial situation are very clear. In a number of ways, the desegregated school is like any other school. Similar problems of instructional competence, diagnostic knowledge of one's students, relations with students, management of peer relations, and effective evaluation must arise. A teacher who is a skilled and fully competent professional has a good start on being successful in a desegregated situation. But the interracial classroom also presents some different challenges to racially segregated America.

·1. Since the cultural heritage of mutual ignorance, distance, antagonism, and fear between the races probably is present in the minds and views of all Americans, teachers must wrestle with their own racism.

2. Student peer relations are likely to be similarly constrained and affected by deeply rooted racist attitudes and behaviors.

3. Since few schools of education offer courses focusing on racial aspects of education, most teachers are not prepared by their preservice

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experiences or training for this instructional challenge. Teachers also will have few colleagues with whom they can openly share fears, hopes, tactics, successes, and failures.

4. Since most schools and communities that have and will have desegregated facilities are new to these patterns, they will experience the new pains without a body of tradition and experience to call upon to help handle problems.

5. Advocates of racially distinctive and/or separate education continually raise doubts, for students and educators, about the viability and stability of desegregated classes and curriculums. White teachers especially will have to cope with questions about their relevance in a minority community; black and brown teachers may face demands to be loyal to new definitions of ethnic pride.

6. The structure and content of American education constitute a white-dominated institution whose racism surrounds and constrains all anti-racist acts individual teachers may try to invent.

The following discussion of educator change delineates change targets and elaborates training methods or strategies for creating change. Targets are persons or relations representing the foci of educator change efforts; they include forces which, when altered, could permit or induce change about educational-racial matters. Strategies represent ways of proceeding to encourage, permit, or create change. (See Appendix C for a chart of some potential targets and strategies.)

Targets of Educator Awareness

Educators unaccustomed to positive racial interaction must first become aware of and deal with their own reactions to people of another race. White, black, or brown persons who teach in public or private school classrooms are all part of the American society. This society has been built and is maintained upon racially separate living, working, and schooling patterns. White teachers can be expected to have the same racist feelings of confusion and fear as do most other white Americans. Certainly we can expect that these views in one way or another affect the kinds of alternatives teachers are able to perceive or make use of in the classroom.

The common expectation that open confrontation of racial feelings is a Pandora's box of destruction and chaos, for instance, inhibits many

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teachers from dealing with students' real feelings in class. The teacher who erroneously expects poor performance from "minority" students often may create it by her/his own fear or lack of enthusiasm. Students sense this judgment and often are not motivated to excel or exert themselves. Since the worst has happened, the teacher's expectations are confirmed.

White teachers often hold low expectations for their black and brown charges, but this is by no means merely a racial phenomenon. Black or brown teachers who are in stable professional roles also often underestimate the ability of lower-class students. The stereotyping of black, brown, white, rich, and poor youngsters happens across the board. Serious examination of oneself may not change one's views, but it may help teachers and principals understand the potential effects of their views and control their expression. Then teachers and principals may be free to experiment with new forms of teaching or working with persons of other races or cultural backgrounds.

Teacher Change

A training program also should attempt to clarify and explain characteristic attitudes and behaviors of youngsters in the classroom. This might be done, in part, by reviewing the cultural styles or biases in the youngsters' or groups of youngsters' families or backgrounds. Other forms of data could include students' values about the school, race relations, and community issues. Of course, overgeneralization and reverse stereotypes have to be avoided in all these efforts. The teacher who understands different groups' perceptions of racism and expectations of school can develop a sounder base for classroom planning.

It is often assumed that knowledge of oneself, one's role, and one's students will lead directly to improved classroom practice, but many teachers and principals fail to act on increased knowledge or new intentions. The failure may be due to lack of motivation, lack of skill, or other barriers which must be considered and modified if training is to be effective.

One substantial deterrent to implementation of new ideas is the anticipated reactions of colleagues. The traditional notion that a teacher is and should be a fully autonomous professional prevents many educators from seeking or receiving help. Asking for help often is interpreted as a sign of weakness or incompetence. Giving help is some-

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times considered "butting in" or "being a know-it-all." Those who help take the risk of appearing arrogant and omniscient rather than supportive.

Teachers would do well to begin with the recognition that they do have significant expertise in how to teach and that their talents can be shared and augmented through training in intergroup relations. These issues may be especially important to an interracial staff. A segregated staff, or an interracial staff fearful and unwilling to confront and counter its racism, establishes a negative model of race relations for students.

New Administrative Policy and Procedures

The organized efforts of teachers to help one another increase in professional competence may require new structures and styles of organizational management. Instead of assuming that each school will have an educational leader (principal) and a staff of teacher-workers, we need to explore — and train educators for — more decentralized and plural forms of peer initiative and responsibility. Thus, the character of the school administration is clearly another target for change activities relevant to reducing classroom and school racism.

Administrators can help set a systemic atmosphere that encourages efforts to try out new things with youngsters and with peers. It is clearly not enough for principals to feel a certain way about these matters. For teachers who are constantly attuned to the nuances of administrator reward or punishment, it is important that supervisors publicly and obviously demonstrate their concern. The tone set by administrators does not influence teachers alone; students also behave in response to certain administrative cues and leads.

The creation and maintenance of an effective desegregated teaching and service staff is obviously an important step in this regard. The white principal in a largely black community faces special problems, just as do white teachers. Community pressure for black and brown professional leadership is a natural outcome of such circumstances, and educators unprepared for impersonal attacks on this basis will be unable to exert any effective leadership in school affairs. The mere existence of a predominantly white-staffed school in a largely black neighborhood is evidence of institutional racism. Whether this can ever be overcome without new staffing patterns is doubtful.

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Community Participation

A final focus for change efforts is the community within which the particular school or school system operates. In understanding and modifying youngsters' classroom behavior, teachers need to consider how youngsters can change apart from related change in their social surroundings. If new peer relations are explored and created in class but not realized outside of class, the resultant discrepancy may be painful for everyone involved.

Teachers who attempt classroom changes may have to deal with resistance and opposition from their own family and social community. White and black or brown pressures for separatism, couched in rationales of fear and defense of standards or of ethnic pride and protection, may be expected to affect classroom situations. Although these forces are different in suburban than in *barrio* and *ghetto* environs, they similarly strengthen student distance, weaken teacher resolve, and threaten massive school disruption.

Many educators try to solve their management problems by keeping the community ignorant about what they are doing in the schools. One result of this posture is that both the community and the school system are systematically deprived of mutual resources and potential help. The school can enter into community affairs by championing positions on economic and legislative matters that support and improve desegregation efforts. The major difficulty seems to be how to enable teachers and the school system to see and use the community's members and agents as collaborators and potential helpers instead of as perennial enemies.

Renewal Strategies for Educators

Although teachers are inundated annually with books presenting every conceivable type of message, very few books center explicitly on what to do in an interracial classroom. Distillations and abstractions of experience only rarely have been provocative or practical, and there is no clear evidence that reading about new ideas can create the set of complex skills required to translate ideas into classroom activities. Such works can, however, stimulate the creation of other strategies or be useful as reference works.

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Films, photographs, and recordings have similar limitations unless they are accompanied by discussions or demonstrations of their implications for the classroom. Raising and discussing questions in a group of peers or through role playing adds further to the range of views any one person may suggest.

Some teachers need to learn how to talk directly with peers. Practice in giving and receiving feedback, in observing one another's classrooms, and in coping with differences in teaching ideologies would help increase their skills. Sharing is more than exchange of information. Although educators often talk together, their conversations too seldom add to the development of professional skill and expertise. Some teachers and principals have developed creative ways of responding to interracial situations. The rest of the profession desperately needs to learn from their experience. Formal opportunities for professional sharing encourage deliberate rather than casual conversation.

Climate of Openness

The principal who wishes to encourage sharing among teachers must develop recognition by the staff of a "need to know" what others are doing and a need to fill the gaps in common ignorance in addition to a climate within the school of interpersonal intimacy and trust among colleagues so that difficulties can be admitted and resources shared without competition and judgment.

The greatest sharing of ideas and number of innovations are likely to occur in schools that offer planned opportunities for professional dialogue and interaction, greater feelings of involvement and influence in school, and support from teachers' peer groups and principals. Principals need training in the procedures by which they can encourage this kind of climate. Their training might encompass exposure to new techniques of educational management and an opportunity to practice these techniques in a simulated or actual situation.

Training programs to improve principals' skills should include a period of time for learning to share ideas. Principals, like teachers, need to discover and reinforce creative expressions of one another's talents. Such exchange requires both an analysis of the barriers to open exchange and practice in reducing them cooperatively.

Research from industry and government stresses the value of professional decision-making groups in creating feelings of social cohesive-

ness, a sense of adequacy of performance, and satisfaction with one's work. Training can assist teachers to work in planning teams to help identify classroom problems, diagnose school needs, and establish support for change. The skills required for these group tasks can be taught. Teachers and administrators may be influenced to use the new expertise to revise school organization; however, new structures are not likely to be very effective without the necessary social and organizational skills.

Group Process Designs

Renewal or retraining also may utilize a "confrontation-search" design. In this approach, a dilemma or serious problem is presented as realistically as possible in order to compel participants to respond in unfamiliar ways. For example, a white teacher may be presented with black students' distrust or disapproval, with class failure, or with the alienation of black colleagues. A black teacher may be shown a black child brutalized by a black janitor, or the reverse. Principals may hear a tape recording of black and white youngsters or teachers describing the first days of desegregated schooling. Participants then are offered a range of resource materials potentially applicable to elaborating, investigating, and/or resolving the confrontation. Search or resource materials for educators faced with these confrontations might include colleagues who have had such experiences, compendia of potentially useful classroom practices, social science reports, names of parents and community leaders, and youngsters.

Laboratory training devices, particularly training groups, also are used to develop skills of teachers and principals. Group process training may focus on anything from intrapersonal or interpersonal dynamics to skills in classroom management, organizational development, and problem solving. However, all training groups try to help members to give and receive feedback and to consider making changes in their own styles through an analysis of what they feel and observe in their small groups. Sufficient interpersonal trust may enable people to be more honest and open about their personal or controversial views on racial matters. Such openness is probably a precondition for testing one's views, getting feedback and clarification, and trying out new behavior.

Training in human relations has been used to increase racial insight among black and white adults, between adults and students, and between

teachers and principals. Most advocates of laboratory training no longer think the sensitivity training group should be the principal device for re-education. Role playing, simulations of school and classroom dynamics, and skill practice exercises also are used in comprehensive efforts to help educators learn new skills. Giving and receiving feedback, providing helpful consultation to colleagues, clarifying values, resolving conflict, and listening are some of the skills in human relations which can improve teaching.

These techniques have been used to prepare teachers to serve on interracial faculties. Principals who learn them along with interracial groups of teachers may be better able to follow them in their own schools. •

Diagnostic Procedures

One strategy for educational change involves the collection of data about attitudes or interactions in a school or community and the feedback of those data, with interpretations, into the school. Teachers or principals who can see the results of their own behavior may desire to change to ways that will be more fulfilling and satisfying for them.

Within the classroom, information may be collected about the patterns of conversation among students and between students and teachers. When these data are shared, the teacher is urged to consider whether the pattern is consistent with her or his ideas about a "good" classroom. Without access to this picture of the classroom, many teachers would not be motivated to make changes. Many others would not know what changes were needed. Similarly, data collected from teachers can help principals understand their schools' problems. It would be useful for training programs to train teachers and principals to collect and use this kind of information on their own.

Data about classrooms may be woven into a long-range program involving the use of personal or organizational systems of problem solving. A coherent and useful preparation for the problem-solving process would include training in (a) identifying classroom problems; (b) diagnosing classroom problems; (c) developing plans; (d) taking action; and (e) getting feedback and evaluations. This approach stresses step-by-step analysis of the current situation before action is taken. Teachers who have usually operated purely by intuition or

tradition can very probably improve their classroom performance dramatically through training in this process. Similar models of rational problem solving can be used by principals alone or with members of a school staff. After skills of this sort have been learned, however, they are useful only as teachers or administrators continue to apply them in new situations.

Using Research Information

Scientists concerned with finding ways to utilize the behavioral sciences to improve education have followed the procedure of presenting to teachers one or more research findings relevant to the management of an interracial class or school. Teachers have then derived implications from these results for their own classrooms. For instance, one research finding is that persons from different racial or ethnic groups may be able to collaborate if a situation encourages them to commit themselves to goals that are of a higher priority than personal or subgroup goals or fears. Deriving classroom practices from this finding involves specifying what the terms mean for the classroom and devising instructional programs that create superordinate goals. For example, what are some natural goals of diverse groups in the classroom? What could be a superordinate goal? Students and teachers all may be able to overcome antagonism and separation in their attempt to attain a common goal. As they do so, they may collaborate in ways that affect other elements of classroom life.

The reverse of the above process also can be useful. A teacher may identify a problem and articulate some needs for research relevant to its resolution. When the scientist presents knowledge gained in these areas, the derivation process can begin again. Teachers or principals who undergo training in research derivation will need to know how to get access to scientific knowledge. This is not the same as becoming knowledgeable; it is important because information in the field of education is always becoming obsolete. A special skill is required to obtain new knowledge and to translate it into new educational methods or organizations.

An external consultant may be employed to help deal with many of the problems related to racial change in the schools. Unfortunately, many leaders of school systems request temporary and external agents to

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solve their problems for them. Most of the time the impossibility of this task is obvious even to the most casual observer. Sometimes, however, teachers' needs to be helped and consultants' desires to help exceed common sense. If consultants are committed to a person's or a system's continuing ability to grow and develop, the consultation process must teach teachers and principals ways of solving their own problems.

Selecting Appropriate Strategies

Retraining strategies are not mutually exclusive; in fact, the most effective designs may include a mix of several strategies. For example, a teacher's knowledge about youngsters from minority groups can be improved by reading, reviewing survey data presented by ethnic and socioeconomic groupings, engaging in action research activities, and talking with other teachers who work with similar students. A teacher's own views on racial matters may be best dealt with through laboratory training or feedback from surveys, since the normal resistance to honest discussions of touchy issues may create barriers against the use of books, other teachers, or consultants.

Principals' desires to learn new management skills can be met by conferences on research findings or opportunities to share ideas with colleagues. Learning to work differently with students of different races, however, probably requires a more personal and intensive type of training. Included would be real and simulated encounters with youngsters and adults of different races.

Any particular course of action will be a unique blend of strategies designed with each system's special characteristics and goals in mind. The selection and combination of particular elements of the design is a task which requires considerable skill and experience. It might be well for a school system to begin by experimenting with several small programs, each with a different combination of elements.

Affirmative Action Plans and Educator Change

In a number of schools, staff retraining is not enough; they need to employ greater numbers of minority staff members. Typical professional standards and financial constraints usually make this difficult enough.

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But the issues are cast into bold relief when financial strains require overall staff cutbacks and recently hired or promoted minority staff are first in line for removal.

The concepts involved, affirmative action and "deselection," have been tested in a few larger cities throughout the nation. Consider one example. In San Francisco, affirmative action policies had been partially implemented. Then a problem arose concerning the retention of minority administrators in the face of fiscal cutbacks.

A priority on minority retention can be justified given the racial composition of school administrations in cities like San Francisco. Fewer than 10 percent of administrators there are of minority status. The School Board showed, by a 4-to-3 vote, that they felt the rights of the minorities would not be guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment and they would not be given their right of "due process" if they were deselected from administrative to teaching ranks through normal seniority procedures. Therefore the Board adopted the policy that any minority administrator — black, Spanish-speaking, Filipino, or Asian — would be retained in her/his position because historically these groups had been denied due process and equal opportunity by being virtually excluded from administrative rank.

This decision brought mixed reactions from members of administrative organizations, the most verbal being the elementary and secondary administrators. Their contention was that this was reverse discrimination, and that in reference to budget and fiscal cutbacks, the system must apply the same procedures to everyone rather than exclude minorities because they had been discriminated against previously.

Overlapping Legal Issues

The School Board was thus faced with the complex problem of (a) trying to comply with the May 25th memorandum from HEW which required school systems to attempt to provide functional communications systems, which meant having more Spanish-speaking, Cantonese, and Filipino administrators; (b) acting on a court order to integrate the schools and staff, which meant that the minority administrators would have to be retained; (c) trying to respond to traditional norms and staff pressures.

The Board went through four months of hearings in which the superintendent and his staff were asked to define in court, through the state hearing officer, the accusations in *Moscowitz* v. *San Francisco Unified School District*. The hearing officer felt that the Board was violating the Constitution because Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Maltese, Polish, Irish, Italians, and others who "possess their own cultural and other unique characteristics" and who "likewise have suffered similar persecution, discrimination, oppression and deprivation in countries of their origin and the United States, including the State of California" also constituted a minority. Thus deselection was not upheld in the State of California.

The Board tried a strategic retreat by making all minority administrators' appointments "probationary" rather than "acting." At this writing, the Teamsters Union is suing to halt this aspect of the Board's affirmative action policy.

This issue will have major repercussions throughout California and the nation insofar as (a) a school board that is facing fiscal cutbacks elected voluntarily to retain the few minority administrators it presently has; (b) the State Hearing Court did not uphold this practice; and (c) given the lack of evaluation and definition of competencies in the urban areas, the Board decided to create probationary appointments for minority administrators This is yet to be tested in the state or federal court.

These events exemplify some of the variables that must be assessed as one weighs and measures both long-range and short-range goals and policies regarding affirmative action. Unfortunately, there have not been enough test cases in the federal courts and the constitutional question has yet to be tested. Both the research and the lawsuits now awaiting court decision are important to human relations change agents. The legal brief of *Moscowitz* v. *San Francisco Unified School District* should be of educational value to anyone reviewing the record and policy of the San Francisco Board of Education as interpreted by the state hearing officer and also by the respondents of the litigation. Similar cases may be tried throughout our educational systems as school districts try to impose a policy of affirmative action.

Planning Change:
Use of the
Force Field Analysis

We have stressed the primary importance of adequate diagnosis and careful planning in the problem-solving sequence and in the creation of local system change. One simple tool that can be used to facilitate diagnosis of the various resources and barriers to change present in any local situation is the force field analysis.[1] This assessment can help specify the strategies in the process of planning and taking action for change.

The force field technique usually attempts to differentiate the forces pushing for stability and for change in any local situation. It provides a diagrammatic illustration of the potential for and the resistance to change. At any single point in time, an organization is assumed to be relatively stable. The forces for change and against change are in balance, and thus a status quo is maintained. The changemaker must upset this balance by overweighting the system in the direction of change forces, or by reducing the weight against change forces.

The diagram on the next page illustrates the use of a force field analysis. The goal for change is listed at the top of the page. The forces pushing for change are listed in the left-hand column. The forces pushing against change are listed in the right-hand column. Some of those forces may be in the organization itself, some within a subgroup or team within the organization. Other forces may be within certain individuals, or located in the society at large. In the case of desegregation, for instance, the legacy of American racism is a societal force pushing against change. The structure of a local school in which teachers, students, and

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[1] A more complete discussion of this can be found in Hall, C., and Lindzey, G. *Theories of Personality*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967. pp. 224-33. The original concept was developed by Kurt Lewin, who described it as "vector psychology" in his "dynamic theory of personality."

Diagram 1

Force Field Analysis

Change Goal: _____

Forces pushing for change   Forces pushing against change

Societal

Organizational

Group

Individual
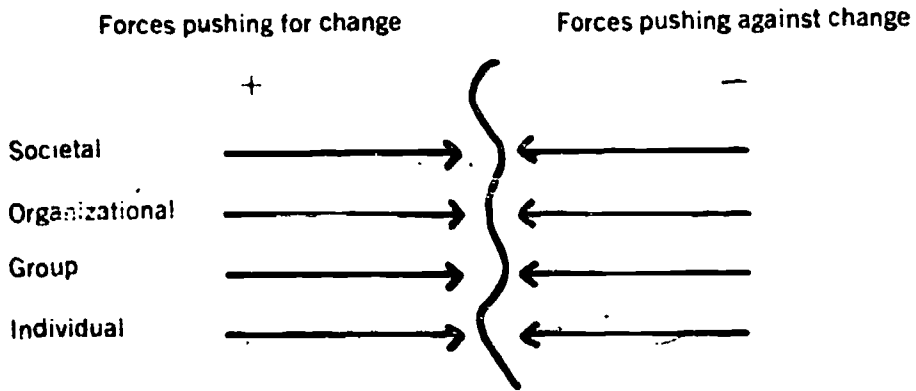
Ways of altering the force field
- a. increase +
- b. decrease —
- c. engage uncommitted forces

the community have little to say about local plans is an example of an organizational force against change. Community movement to press for desegregation may be an example of an organizational force for change. Small groups of teachers or students organized in either direction are examples of group forces. Finally, the personality of the principal, the superintendent, and the human relations officer are examples of individual forces that may be arrayed on either side of the midline.

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There are various ways of altering the current balance in any force field. One way is to strengthen the positive forces pushing for change. A second way is to decrease the negative forces pushing against change. A third may be to add new positive forces that have not yet appeared.

Most people plan strategies by immediately attempting to increase the strength of positive forces without considering the negative forces at all. It is most likely, however, that increased pressure on the positive side will also increase pressure on the negative side unless specific attempts are made to prevent this from happening. Clear planning should augment the positive side while at the same time seeking to reduce or hold constant the negative side.

The use of the force field with respect to a particular school desegregation problem is illustrated in Diagram 2. The first step is to clearly state the goal and list the existing forces for and against it. In Situation A, the stated goal was compliance with desegregation. In the left-hand column are the forces working for compliance. The right-hand column includes those forces working against compliance, or for noncompliance.

The second step is to go through all of those forces and estimate the probable strength of each. In this way, one can begin to conduct the diagnosis, not only of the forces present in the situation, but of their relative importance. In Situation A, for instance, the teacher and administrative associations are among the most entrenched forces. Attempts to change these may swing the balance of power to the left-hand side of the chart regardless of all the other forces.

Once the forces are listed and their strengths evaluated, one can begin to plan ways of altering any of the individual forces in the field. This strategy of planning for change can be plotted by listing in two columns the resources for and barriers against reaching each objective. Finally, this entire analysis can be further refined by listing immediate, short-range, and long-range action steps in three columns.

By using these steps, we use the force field to move from statements of the problem and the goal to an action plan for achieving the goal. The force field is an excellent diagnostic tool for assessing a situation. It is also an excellent planning tool for setting out ways of influencing the current situation to bring forth new alternatives.

Diagram 2

Force Field Analysis for Situation A

Change Goal: Compliance with desegregation

Forces pushing for compliance (change)

Forces pushing against compliance (change)

Forces pushing for compliance (change):
- Personal belief
- Threat of court order
- Community group support (broad and local)
- Financial and personal resources are present

Forces pushing against compliance (change):
- Time
- Compensatory education (minority want to maintain control)
- How can special programs be implemented in a desegregated setting?
- Not my primary job: possibly lose my present program and my job
- Concern with "resegregation" if curriculum reform does not follow desegregation
- Support base is shifting:
  A. Current reorganization of the whole district and this is the current focus of attention
  B. New Board election
- Teachers association has to be dealt with
- Senate Bill 517 put teeth in "local school control"
- Respond only in crisis

The Politics of
Educational Change

Before a school district moves towards any form of desegregation, those within the ranks of public education must be acutely aware of three major political arenas. The first arena, which can change a city's reaction toward the concept of desegregation, is the ma   media. The second arena is the public face of key institutions, the way potent forces in the urban society act and are seen by outsiders. The third arena is the internal and often invisible working of the educational system.

The Media

The mass media include the daily newspapers, TV, and radio, all of which have access to diverse types of information. These media frequently seek to increase sales by emphasizing dramatic and controversial issues such as busing, black-white racial confrontation, or teacher assault. The school district may have its own public information office to disseminate information to the press and other media, but the news items that get used will probably be those that help sell the most papers or attract the greatest audience.

There is no effective way local advocates of desegregation can control a free press; therefore, there is no way they can guarantee positive coverage and interpretation of their efforts to abate educational inequality. The media report as they see fit, often in ways that hurt, rather than help, school change. Of course, desegregation planners who have thought through their relations with the local media and have established good working relations with key members of the city desk or the educational beat, probably will find more sympathetic reporting. Often reporters, like many other citizens, are simply uninformed about the real issues. Specially designed public information programs geared to inform local press and media staff may prove very useful.

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Public Institutional Images

Local political and economic concerns influence acceptance of and resistance to any philosophy of integration or effort to implement an integration plan. With this in mind, one should take a hard look at the powerful and decisive forces that flow through an urban network.

One of the key forces within the network of public institutions are local community organizations. These may range from Mothers for Neighborhood Schools, the Taxpayer Revolt Group, the Taxpayers Against Busing, to the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), the NAACP, and the Student Law Center. These major groups have a significant effect by expressing their positions on desegregation.

In San Francisco, for example, voluntary organizations helped to organize black and Chinese parents' boycotts and instigated the filing of court suits. Members of the Chinese community attempted to get an injunction to halt implementation of a federal court order. Litigation was brought before the state supreme court regarding the threatened breakdown of the Chinese family and the need for supporting the particular concept of neighborhood education of the organizations' leadership.

The NAACP and MALDEF also took action to ensure the continuation of their bilingual bicultural curriculum for children whose native language is other than English and to increase the numbers of bilingual bicultural teachers.

Public institutions beyond the local community also became involved in the San Francisco situation. The governor of the state commented that desegregation was certainly not a response to meeting the educational needs of all children and that children would suffer because of busing. Of course, numerous politicians continually made reference to positions taken by the President of the United States.

The Educational Institution

The third arena we must be aware of as we try to define and implement a program of desegregation is the private institutional working of the educational system itself. The board of education, which normally has from five to seven members, can attempt to define and direct a superintendent and staff to implement policy. As we start to cut through

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the layers of institutional bureaucracies, however, we may encounter continual resistance from the middle management layer. Resistance may be encountered both within the superintendent's cabinet and from field administrators called upon to implement policy.

A common way to hinder the implementation of policy is to withhold information from faculty or parents so that a crisis is created. In San Francisco, for example, parents were told that buses would not be delivered on schedule because the board had decided to cut funds from the transportation office. This was not true, but it caused confusion and some apprehension. Sometimes the problem is not that wrong information is given but that information is not given at all. Both these situations can create a crisis cycle, forcing the board and superintendent to react to public outrage rather than permitting them to act positively. Such a situation can be improved if the mass media take the initiative to acquire objective information and if the internal handling of information is adequately programmed by the superintendent's office.

In the San Francisco case, the teachers' associations reacted positively to the concept of integration at first. It was not until staffing guidelines came from HEW that the teachers' group showed any sign of major concern. A key requirement of the Federal Office of Civil Rights was that all secondary staffs were to be integrated. Teachers then wanted to know whether policies regarding voluntary staff transfers would be violated, and whether agreements made during the strike the year before were being transgressed. Their question was whether the board would show good faith in trying to meet its past commitments to teacher organizations.

The administrative organizations, primarily the secondary and elementary school principals, took no affirmative stand toward the policy and program of integration. There was no actual assessment of whether individual field administrators tried to encourage or discourage the implementation of the stated policy. Very little communication was undertaken to evaluate or involve the supportive services of the field administrators themselves.

Implementing Change

The public and private workings of an institution must be understood as connected to formal and informal networks in which the definition and implementation of policy is established. Change agents must be

acutely aware of the range of positive and negative forces for change within the school system itself. The central staff, teacher organizations, legal counsel, regional HEW office, Office of Civil Rights, state departments of education, superintendent, and field administrators all are involved in an interactive system. All components influence decisions that affect what happens to the most important consumers in the whole process — the students.

The school system is supported by nonteaching personnel who play a very important role in the life of a child attending school. Provisions must be made in desegregation planning for these people to gain new insight into the changing social structure. They should be provided with in-service training directed towards how children should be treated in a cafeteria line, a bus monitor line, the lost and found, with the school nurse, with the counselor, or any other place.

Students, teachers, and parents often are required to react to policy that has never been defined or communicated to them. Many find out about things such as busing pick-ups, staffing of schools, teacher assignments, and other critical concerns by reading about them in the local newspaper. There must be communication with students and parents in language they can understand. When the system sends out little information and the press precedes the board in publishing news items, parents and communities have no alternative but to react to poorly informed and sometimes prejudicial sources of information regarding educational matters.

Change agents and human relations personnel must be involved in effectively transmitting accurate, objective information. Communication is a major vehicle determining which programs and policies will be accepted or rejected. Continual awareness of and accessibility to the public power structure, the key private institutional sectors, and the mass media is essential. It necessitates continual communication within local school sites, with field administrators, and with neighborhood groups. It requires a certain expertise in working within the educational system itself, and in developing strategies that utilize change and the conflict generated by it as positive forces for students.

There is no way that politics can be factored out of public education. All too often professionals see change as a technical process, devoid of its political context. Anytime you have litigation, however, or federal court orders guaranteeing opportunities for minorities or for those

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people who have not previously had access to influence and power, conflicts will occur. Governing bodies, institutions, and independent taxpayers are all involved in making decisions and in carrying them out. This is a circumstance that all of us in education should be aware of. What we do as individuals and as concerned educators, in essence, becomes political simply by our interaction with the community.

Types of Influence

A clear articulation of the politics of education should help us function more precisely in our efforts to create different educational structures. There are at least three different arenas of influence in educational matters. The first of these is at the level of policy itself. High up the political ladder, policy decisions usually are made by the board, the superintendent, and sometimes his immediate staff. In the case of school desegregation, national and regional policy has been made by the President of the United States, the Secretary of HEW, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, local mayors, city councils, and especially by the judiciary. In fact, the judiciary has been led into an affirmative position because other policy makers often have failed to act in accordance with the federal Constitution.

A second arena of influence relates to program development — the arrangements, strategies, and plans made to implement policy. This arena is typically left to the superintendent and his central office and to school administrative staffs. Additional technical expertise is available from federal, regional, and sometimes state education offices. Since many local desegregation programs clearly violate the intent of desegregation policy, the judiciary recently has become an active force in this arena. In addition, the Office of Civil Rights, HEW, and other federal agencies have designed program outlines to "clarify" local policy.

A third arena of influence, one most open to teachers, parents, and students, pertains to the monitoring of program and policy. Involvement in watching and monitoring the desegregation process can enable us to have a continuing effect on its outcome.

There are also several different forms of influence that any person or organization may attempt to exert. One form is communication, the offering of information and opinion to decision makers. More potent than mere communication, however, is communication that is listened

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to or that is heard. Differences that exist in communication potency may be a function of the style of communication itself or its relevance to the issues. Communication is likely to be most effective when it is tied to the credibility or power of the person or group communicating. Sometimes the accessibility to and interest of the target of communication is the decisive measure of its strength.

Another kind of influence is advice. Advice may be listened to but may or may not be followed. In that respect it is very close to communication.

Mutual decision making represents a third form of influence, one through which various parties interact in ways that strengthen their relationship with one another and share their vulnerability to each other.

Finally, and perhaps in some ways the converse of some earlier examples, control of the decision-making process is the ultimate form of influence.

Strategies of Influence

The kinds of influence possible may fluctuate with the various arenas in which influence is exerted. A key variable in this entire process is the strategy utilized for gaining or exerting influence of any kind in any arena. Two broad classes of strategies exist: (1) those oriented to cooperation and collaboration by one or another form of voluntary consensus; and (2) those oriented to conflict through various forms of involuntary agreement or coercion.

In the first instance attempts are made to gain dialogue and engender communication and clarification sessions between those who wish to have influence and those who hold power. Beyond dialogue or information sharing, various parties may engage in mutual problem solving. Appeals for redress of grievances in the name of common values also fall within this category. Generally, these strategies are most successful when there is some pre-existing agreement upon goals or broad policies. Then powerful forms of collaboration on programs can be established. Monitoring is often accomplished best by just such mutual diagnostic or problem-solving activities.

In the latter case people involved will make various attempts to create policy agreement among those who differ considerably. Access to political power and expertise may net great influence. The withholding of

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information or leakage of information previously held privately may be one important strategy in breaking the hold of groups currently in power. Information about "what's really going on in the schools?" "in the board room?" "in the finance office?" may develop new constituencies. These concerns may also force public articulation of privately held differences. Old constituencies may be retained or strengthened by the transmission of newly available or even distorted and inaccurate information or threats.

Organizing new or old constituencies to exert pressure on current wielders of power is another part of this strategy. People desiring influence may coerce those with influence to see new political patterns and change their policies or programs. Disruption or sabotage are additional tactics those with little power may use to multiply their leverage upon a system. These strategies are not based upon assumptions of agreement by power holders desiring change. Rather they are based upon the assumption that power wielders have a self-interest in maintaining their power and are likely to come to agreement as they witness the development of new political forces and pressures. Those with power can be overcome and replaced by these pressures if voluntary change through collaboration, dialogue, and problem solving does not occur.

All of these strategies have their most effective time and place for usage; all occupy a prominent and cherished role in our social history; all must be considered for their appropriateness by the change agent seeking to influence the politics of education.

Resistance to Desegregation

We can think about two characteristics of resistance to desegregation. One characteristic is where the resistance comes from; the other is what kind of resistance it is.

Most of the resistance we have discussed comes from the schools themselves. About school resistance specifically, we discussed the often negative impact of desegregation on teachers' skills and attitudes, organized teachers' unions, middle management administrators, top administrators, the school board, the state department of education, and regional offices of HEW. Certainly the standard curriculum is in itself a further barrier to positive desegregation efforts. Resistance to desegregation also occurs within groups of educators otherwise committed to change, even among persons in local desegregation teams.

Among the multitude of community institutions which may be loci of resistance are governmental, economic, religious, military, and voluntary systems. It also is possible to find resistance stemming from small groupings of persons which are not major social institutions, such as a family, several families, or a neighborhood council. In charting a strategy to overcome resistance, it is necessary to determine whether resistance is centered within a person, within a small group of people, within a major community institution, or within the school itself.

Identifying Characteristics of Resistance

Besides locating the source of resistance, it makes sense to identify the nature of the resistance to desegregation. Some of the kinds of resistance are principally moral and intellectual. Antidesegregation speeches, books, and materials, for example, are frequently rhetorical or stem from firmly held values and convictions.

Another kind of resistance is strictly political. We have cited examples of candidates developing political platforms on the basis of their anti-

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busing or antidesegregation stands. Local political support can be consolidated around calls for referenda against desegregation or against those board members who are advocating such a plan of action.

Economic resistance is used as a tool for political pressure and can be found within the top levels of the educational institution itself, for example, when the school's financial officer withholds funds for the hiring of school bus monitors. We can also find economic resistance in a board's refusal to allocate money for teacher training programs or for the purchase or rental of buses. And we see the same kind of pressure in a major company's desire to please its workers by moving to the white suburbs or by threatening to do so.

Arenas of Educational Politics

Public Faces	Private Faces
MASS MEDIA	BOARD OF EDUCATION
GOVERNMENT	SUPERINTENDENT
ECONOMIC	CENTRAL OFFICE
MILITARY	EDUCATOR ORGANIZATIONS
RELIGION	FEDERAL AGENCIES
COMMUNITY	
COURTS	STATE
	SCHOOL SITE

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Another type of resistance takes the form of withholding talent and manpower. Some teachers refuse to teach in certain schools. Others will "teach" but do not really exert a full measure of effort in the desegregated classroom. Teachers' unions may insist that the staff will not be available after school hours. Key resources also are curtailed when firemen refuse to go into certain areas and when policemen fail to ensure the safety of buses. A subtle form of this kind of resistance can be found among powerful political leaders who neglect to exercise their political power in pursuit of desegregation. This is a kind of political opposition that involves the restriction of talents, resources, and leadership.

Resistance can be expressed through the use of scare tactics, propaganda, threats, or of promises to support or not support safety in busing. In several parts of the country, this approach has led to physical violence. In Pontiac, Michigan, for instance, a parking lot full of school buses used to transport youngsters was firebombed. This exemplifies a form of physical resistance to a desegregation order and plan. The fire marshal's decision that a school is not safe for Anglo students, when it has been considered perfectly safe as a habitat for minority students, borders on both political and physical restrictions.

Another very subtle kind of resistance is inertia. In the complicated mechanism of the local educational bureaucracy, it is difficult to identify the people who can appropriately be held accountable for specific actions. It may be impossible to determine why certain matters were not acted upon. The maintenance of the status quo and the inability of vast, complex institutions to be flexible in the face of any kind of change is normal in large systems. Since social change requires a great deal of creative and flexible behavior, bureaucratic inertia clearly qualifies as another kind of resistance.

Plans to create school change should include blueprints for overcoming these forms of resistance to change. Such designs can be done best with clear understandings about who is resisting and what kinds of resistance are being applied. If we understand the kinds of resistance used, we can build strategies to overcome them. There is little sense in trying to combat physical resistance by employing more talent in training teachers. It is useless to engage in debates about ideology if we are encountering economic resistance. One must think about what responses are appropriate: resources to neutralize economic resistance, political organization to defuse political resistance, new talent to surmount manpower shortages.

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Organizing
Community Support

There are many diverse elements in any community, and school administrators are often overwhelmed in dealing with the different and sometimes warring parts of this complex system. To gain community support for desegregation, numerous factors in each local community must be considered. Vested interest groups have to be identified, and their views and power evaluated. Such groups include local business firms, the media, ethnic identity groups, and government officials.

Let's assume you have a desegregation plan and you want to gain community support for its implementation. First, efforts to work with the community may be doomed if you wait until after you have made major decisions. The effort to build community support should begin early and energetically, even before a plan is designed. The following activities seem most important.

Create a Team

Initially, begin to recognize those individuals who will work on the project and begin the process of developing a team. Some people identified may become involved specifically for desegregation programming. One should develop other allies, too, inside and outside the school system. Then one can begin the job of creating a team. It is one thing to find people with common goals and common interests; it is another to spend enough time clarifying interpersonal relations and building ways of working together so they can act as a unit.

Obviously the job facing us is too big to do alone. It requires the integrated use of many diverse talents. One desegregation official recently said, "They keep us so busy putting out fires we don't have an opportunity to develop long-range strategies." Another way of

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stating it is that individuals become so busy they have no opportunity to meet together. Yet they need to meet so they can find out what has been going on, share successes, give solace to those who have had defeats, and develop interdependence. The notion of a team is a critical one, and it implies shared values, goals, and strategies. No team functions well unless it provides sufficient time for its own maintenance, performs as a unit, and continually builds connections beyond its team. .

Go with Your Strengths

The second major principle in organizing support is to identify and cultivate strengths. Select your friends and work with them; then have them work with their friends.

The notion of a monolithic white community is as erroneous a notion as that of a monolithic minority community. There are really multiple communities within every community; units form on the basis of religion, of neighborhood, of economics, of ideology, of race and ethnicity. A team should be composed of people who represent and can relate to a variety of such subgroups.

At some level it may be possible to convince all people of the ultimate value of desegregation. Initially, however, that is likely to be a waste of time. Know who will be opposing you and try to know what their strategies are, but do not spend time trying to convert overt and public racists to advocacy of a multicultural society. It is tiring and discouraging, and it will be unsuccessful. Local resistance must be dealt with and eventually neutralized or made ineffective. It does not need to be eliminated.

The bulk of team energies should be spent in two places: first with friends, and second with the uncommitted. On social problems, the majority is always on the side of the status quo. If they weren't, the problem would not exist. Wherever you begin, realize that most people will be apathetic or against you. Friends must be kept, enemies must be watched; the balance of effort should go towards cultivating those people who are uncommitted — concerned, worried, uncertain, unsure, but wavering.

Among your friends are a variety of people who will support the team activities for a variety of reasons. You cannot assume that they're

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in it merely because they think the cause is right. Your concern is to be sure that they will advocate quality desegregation.

Unit Organization

What is a natural unit for organizing a community for change? Usually work in small groups is most effective at first. You are not likely to get the church to advocate desegregation: depending on the size of the community, the church includes people with a range of different attitudes. You may get support, perhaps, from a clergyman or a parish or a congregation. In the same vein, you probably will not get a neighborhood to advocate desegregation. You may be able to get a block, or a club. Perhaps you cannot get the school system very active, but you may be able to energize the faculty of an elementary school, the principals' association, or perhaps the counselors' group. A support system of large organizations is needed, but in terms of commitments to teamwork and action you will have to work with smaller, natural working and living units. A large gathering is efficient for giving out information, but it's an unlikely place to generate ideas leading to action. A small breakfast or party would be better.

Organizing a meeting requires careful planning. Never assume a "wait and see what happens" attitude. Sometimes that goes well, but more often time is wasted, people become bored, or the meeting diverges from its purpose. It is crucial, in dealing either with subgroups or with a whole group to have a meeting design. The design may have various elements — for example, getting to meet or know others, sharing information to reduce resistance, working in small groups, and planning desegregation details.

If you want to work in small groups at a large meeting, determine how and when you are going to do it, and be explicit about what is going to be done. A simple way to form small groups is to give people numbered name tags when they arrive. Later they can break into groups according to their tag designation. The move into small groups is thus preplanned, and the resistance to breaking out of the large group setting is diminished.

It is important, too, to plan to focus the discussion by raising appropriate questions. The response to: "Shall we move toward integration?" may stifle discussion and produce negative results. A much

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more positive approach would be to ask, "What are the things we must do if we are to create an integrated school?" This encourages more task centered and positively oriented responses. Meetings can also be regulated by carefully selecting the participants and providing an agenda.

Ideal meetings end with a provision for further action. "Where do we go from here?" "What are the next steps?" "When do we meet again?" With some plan for the future, even if it is limited to providing another session to review progress, sustained action may be possible. In general, people are reluctant to meet, then reluctant to separate for any period, and then reluctant to get back together. If the meeting design has a follow-up built in, it has a good chance of creating a group that will continue to deal with the issues presented.


Changing the School

Organizations as large and complex as a school generally are run as hierarchical systems — from the top down. At the top level of the organization we have policy-making bodies — school board members, the superintendent and his close advisers. Toward the bottom are the people who are either carrying out policy or receiving services — the community of teachers, parents, and students. The sketch that follows demonstrates this.

It is a very difficult task to change an organization, and particularly to try to create change from the bottom up. People frequently believe that by activating the community or the students and the teachers they will create enough power to force change. Sometimes this works; often it does not. On the other hand, working only from the top down, having only the superintendent and school board advocate change, also is insufficient. There are too many subtle ways to resist or subvert the plans of leaders.

The most effective strategies usually move in both directions at once. It is critical to get top leadership to publicly endorse an integration plan. Some people will be swayed by this. Others simply will choose not to fight "city hall." Pressure from below can be generated to influence those administrators who implement policy. The effect of pressures from both directions can be enormously effective with middle management, principals, and teachers.

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A human relations or desegregation team can build up support at the local community level through the school, ethnic group, church, and neighborhood. The team also can utilize its access to the board and superintendent by dealing with them directly. At this point, vulnerability is a problem. Could the team be sacked for its activities?

Board Superintendent

Middle Mgmt.

Building Admin.

Teacher

community and students

H. R. Team
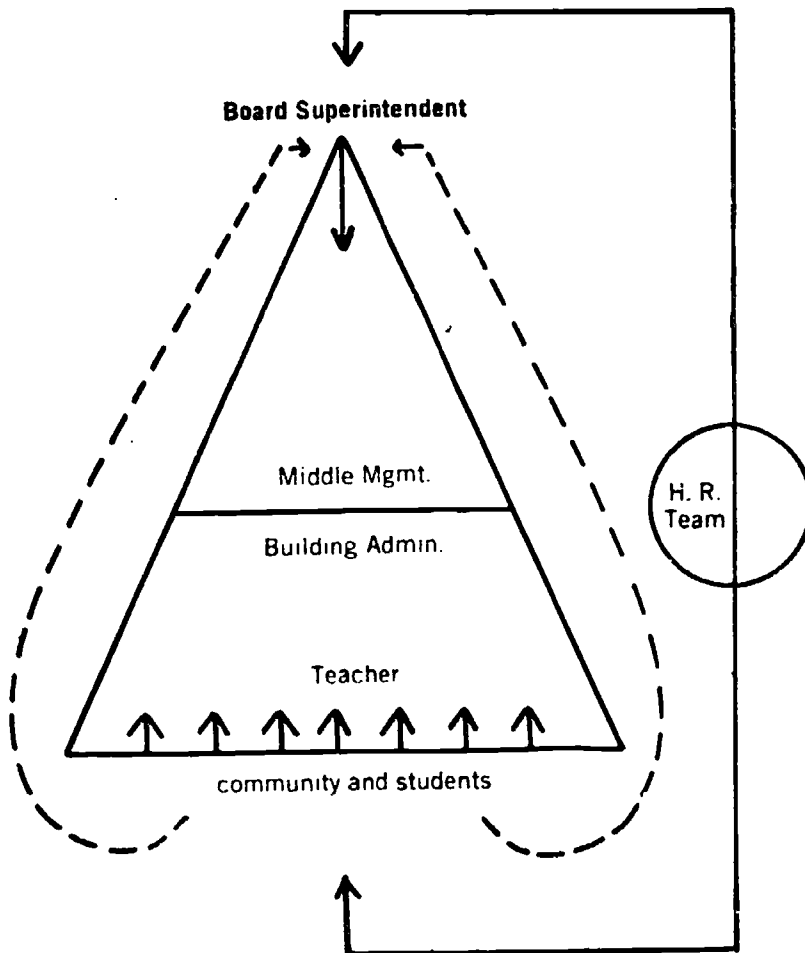
As a system begins to prepare for desegregation, one powerful combination of approaches is formation of an administration-faculty-community team from each school. A training program for such a group, including students, would encourage discussion and sharing both within and across peer lines. Teachers or students do not necessarily have to confront their own principal directly; peers in the same roles can work closely together. Principals can commiserate about common difficulties and establish a common support base. As we begin to change schools so that education will be a more pluralistic, meaningful, and humane kind of experience, we must work directly with all those persons who deal most immediately with the issues. Only when change comes about on multiple levels will it endure.

In summary, when you begin dealing with the issues of community support: (a) start as early as possible; (b) recognize that it is a complicated, difficult job and that you need teamwork and help; and (c) see that involvement is a continuing process. You never achieve a static position of community support. What you have is a constant process of getting community support. As programs change, and as the community changes, so will the dynamics of support.

Principles of Desegregation:
A Summary

An overview of the desegregation planning process should provide a review of the kinds of things we have discussed so far. Our discussions of desegregation planning have been incidental and somewhat fragmented. Here we will try to line out some of the general principles underlying the issues involved.

Goals and Models

Central to any discussion of school desegregation planning should be a clear understanding of the kinds of things we are shooting for. It is insufficient to take as our goal the physical movement of bodies and the rearrangement of boundary lines so that students can be brought together in ways that provide different racial distributions in different settings. The mere physical movement of youngsters does little to provide or guarantee any changes in the quality of education; in the character of racism in American schools; in school achievement patterns; in the interpersonal relations existing among black, brown, and white youngsters; or in the variety of patterns of ethnic plurality. No plan can settle for the mere physical mixing or desegregation of people. Provision must be made for an educational environment encouraging academic and human growth for all students according to their particular talents and needs.

As we start to talk about cultural pluralism and positive forms of social interaction, we will require models of school integration far and away different from anything that is happening in most communities across the country. We can realize quite quickly, when we look to where progress is being made, for example, that in very few communities is there any substantial degree of systemwide integration. There is no

American history of high quality integrated education. It is even questionable whether there is much convincing history of high quality education at all. As we discuss integration, we are not only looking at issues in race relations; we are also faced with all the problems of improving the quality of American education.

Planning and the Political Process

There have been few voluntary efforts by school systems to achieve massive desegregation. The press for such efforts has come about only in the past few years as an outgrowth of political movements in various communities and through the exercise of legal and judicial authority. Recent court actions have accelerated the pace of school desegregation in the North and in the West as they did previously in the South. Without political pressures and court orders, most desegregation probably would not have occurred. It has been the threat or the actual issuance of court orders that has spurred many communities to lay aside local traditions and to mobilize resources for educational changes.

As a plan for school desegregation is considered, a complex process of political change develops in local communities. Effective planning requires the resources and experiences of a variety of people. It also draws on research that documents school and political change as it occurs. Serious planning for school desegregation will bare many issues in the structure and process of schools. Many aspects of local community politics will be affected. The nature of the school board; what kind of community groups organize around what kind of elementary school PTA's; who runs the industrial sector in town; who gets access to the power to effect local bonding and funding proposals; where the community stands on accepting or not accepting federal aid — all these contingencies and more will play a part in the final outcome. There is no point in being naive about encapsulating the desegregation process, considering technical plans for school desegregation without being honest with ourselves and our constituencies: we are also in the business of initiating and sustaining a very complex job of educational and political change in the community.

Part of the importance of this stress on politics is that it lets us know we can never depend entirely on technical resources for change. Granted, technical resources may either block or facilitate change when

things get tight. But we must realize what we are dealing with. Serious talk about integration will very possibly lay bare a series of educational inequities, a great deal of malpractice, and a lot of rhetoric whereby educators tell local communities what a good job they are doing in educating students. People, regardless of ethnic origin, 'will begin to be aware that the schools are not providing successful learning opportunities for all students. This is part of the definition of change, part of its background; we must understand from the beginning that we are moving into a political-educational change process.

Once a school-community system can agree on goals, it needs a plan. Courts require a plan. The staff needs a plan. The superintendent wants to know, "Where am I headed?" "What do I have to know?" "How much is it going to cost?" Probably we need more than a single plan. We need a structure to develop a desegregation plan. In other words, what actions should be taken to get to the point of having a workable, salable local plan for desegregation?

Each community should have a second kind of plan, specifically for the first day of desegregated schooling. What is going to happen when that which everyone feared and no one thought would come about finally occurs? What will be the reaction when buses come over the hill and youngsters who look very different from one another suddenly begin to deal with one another? What preparations will be made for this?

There is also need for a third kind of plan, one to cover the programs required for that entire first year. What kinds of changes will be required up and down the school system?

Finally, there should be a plan for nurturing these changes over time. How can provision be made for continuing growth, flexibility, and adaptation in the local community?

It may be desirable to consider all these questions in a single plan, but all of them must be considered. A coherent plan will indicate what resources should be obtained, what kind of people have to be identified, and what kind of forces need to be mobilized to provide the impetus for change. It will also cover the six key components of a successful desegregation-integration effort: the administrative staff, the faculty, the student body, the community, the school board, and the nature of the curriculum.

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Administrative and Faculty Leadership

Research on desegregation and school change indicates that a vital factor is clear, coherent, consistent leadership for change from the top school administrators. If they unequivocally support school integration there will be a chance for success. Any pulling back, any ambiguity on the part of top administrators will give subtle or direct support to the forces in the community that wish to resist change. No superintendent, regardless of his knowledge of the complexity of the issues, can afford to be anything but forthright in his attitudes towards school desegregation from the very beginning. Moreover, a superintendent has to be supported just as unequivocally by the rest of the senior administration in the system.

The senior administrative staff can best advocate desegregation if it includes individuals from a variety of ethnic groupings. An all-white administrative staff simply cannot expect any degree of public credibility, let alone sound planning ability, in putting together an effective plan. The evidence also seems clear that many decisions about desegregation probably must be more broadly participatory than most school administrators are used to.

Faculties and administrative staffs of the schools involved must be desegregated, so sufficient numbers of competent teachers in various groups are needed. School staffs should be heterogeneous, and the minority on the staff should be a large one. Minority representation on faculties is necessary to both quality education and the successful management of desegregation. One way to ensure such representation is to deliberately adopt strategies of preferential selection and retention. Several recent court orders, including the deselection cases in San Francisco, appear to lay effective groundwork for the preferential retention of minority group educators.

It seems clear that one cannot take a faculty accustomed to segregated forms of instruction and expect it to be successful in desegregated settings without a great deal of retraining. We cannot expect people who grew up with, went to school in, got their early experience with, and are now teaching in segregated school systems to know how to teach in a desegregated milieu. Any desegregation plan must have a heavy component for teacher retraining, and preferably for administrator training as well.

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It is also appropriate to elaborate different kinds of criteria for instructional performance. We have seen some plans in which community members and students are assigned as faculty members and teachers perform new instructional tasks that broaden a school's resources and styles.

Student Organization

New forms of student organization and involvement are an important part of any systematic desegregation plan. Students need help to deal with one another across ethnic and cultural groupings with more clarity, directness, mutual understanding, and mutual task engagement than before. The problems and potentials of interaction among students require designs for extracurricular activities, new curricular components, and revisions in the very organization of the school.

Students will also need help coping with parents and community members who resist desegregation. If the school is to pioneer new forms of racial interaction, it must expect that such pioneering will meet considerable resistance from some portions of the community. Students will need some armor to use when they go back into the community, because these new forms are not going to be readily accepted in the home, on the block, in the neighborhood, and in the community.

Curriculum Reform

Teachers and administrators have to be prepared for a more active student body, one that is going to understand new forms of cultural and racial interaction and is going to demand reflections of those forms in the rest of the curriculum. That means quite clearly that the curriculum must be overhauled. Aside from a general change in the approach to learning in basic studies, specific curriculum attention should be given to the problems of desegregation. Formal and informal courses, in school or community, taught by professional educators or knowledgeable community members should help students interact with one another and practice desegregation successfully beyond the walls of the school as well as within them. A variety of ethnic studies programs speak directly to black students and brown students by focusing on their cultural and

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political needs...White students, too, should learn about their heritage and how that may be different from the grand and inclusive Western or American tradition. If these kinds of courses are exciting, students will attend. One of the ways we keep students intellectually passive is by feeding them a curriculum of pap, with little for them to sink their teeth into and nothing to get excited about. Once the curriculum begins to come alive, we will discover a much more active and excited student body than ever before. One cannot alter the curriculum without also altering the rest of the organizational structure of the school. It is not likely that one can teach students about new forms of cultural understanding, new forms of activism, and new forms of self-governance without their subsequently demanding pluralism, activism, and self-governance right in the schools.

Community Engagement

Community involvement and the generation of community ideas for desegregation are important. Planning activities should be shared with the community. By getting input and involvement from various people in the community, we keep parents aware of what is going on and of how diligently teachers and administrators are pursuing their goals. When the senior administrative leadership will not take the lead and actively support school desegregation, the community is the next best hope for commitment and energy. All schools need active community constituencies for the new forms of education being generated. Only through involvement can committed portions of the community work to break down resistance and increase support for desegregation. Community leadership must then watchdog the whole process to make sure that whatever is planned does not become diluted and sabotaged as it slips from hand to hand within the existing hierarchy.

The School Board

The superintendent need not be the sole link to the school board. People who are designing plans should do so in cooperation with school boards. Thus they can share educationally relevant experiences and understandings of what desegregation is all about. Ultimately, all train-

ing designs, involvement programs, and innovative forms of schooling have to be tested with and supported by these public representatives. The school board can decide to protect itself or deal with the desegregation agenda. It can run or stand still. Whatever it does, and however fearfully or courageously it is done, will determine the shape of local desegregation.

Ultimate integration through pluralistic redesign of our entire social structure involves everyone in every community. The responsiveness of the general population and the quality of leadership that surfaces will have an astounding impact on the shape of the cultural patterns that evolve.

The degree of change that is required to successfully accomplish the goals of an integrated society is just beginning to become apparent. Never before has education been given such a challenge. Never before has it received such an opportunity.

Appendix A
References and
Resource Materials

On School Desegregation and Integration

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Appendix B
Schedule of Events for Workshops

Theory and Practice in Implementing Change
To Achieve Integration of School Systems

Agenda for Workshop
April 29-May 1, 1971
San Francisco Hilton

THURSDAY   5:00 p.m.:   Welcome!

Evening: Meeting in various sub-groups to get acquainted and to understand where persons and groups are on key issues.

(Break for dinner around 6:30 p.m. — back by 7:30 p.m.)

FRIDAY   9:00 a.m.:   Simulation of high school conflict and change.

(Total group meet as a whole)

Afternoon: Work on case studies of desegregation problems.

(Meet in teams or groups of teams)

Diagnosing school conditions.

Evening: Presentation of subpoena

SATURDAY   9:00 a.m.:   Strategies of change
Appeals from subpoena

Afternoon: Planning for local school and community change.

Agenda for Workshop
June 24-26, 1971
Los Angeles Airport Sheraton

THURSDAY   5:00 p.m.:   Listing innovative aspects of desegregation plans

Fishbowl discussions of innovative plans for
  student
  community
  curriculum
  board
  teacher
  administrator

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FRIDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Continuation of plans discussions; explorations of objectives and assumptions underlying plans
	1:00 p.m.:	Discussion of affirmative action programs for faculty and administrative hiring, de-selection and firing
	5:00 p.m.:	Free
SATURDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Listing comprehensive plans Fishbowl discussions of comprehensive plans
	1:00 p.m.:	Small groups meet to discuss majority and minority responses to desegregation planning

Agenda for Workshop
September 30-October 2
San Francisco Airport Marina Hotel

THURSDAY	7:00 p.m.:	Review and summary of desegregation planning
	7:30 p.m.:	Teacher retraining programs
FRIDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Influencing the administration and school board
	11:00 a.m.:	Organizing community support
	1:00 p.m.:	Lunch
	2:30 p.m.:	Resistance to desegregation
	Evening:	Free for social gathering and exchange out here or in town
SATURDAY	9:00 a.m.:	Implementing these programs in local districts
	12:00 p.m.:	Lunch
	1:30 p.m.:	Further planning for implementation efforts, help in proposal writing, etc.
	3:30 p.m.:	Close

Appendix C
Workshop Materials and Products

Problem Identification by School Districts*

A. Unified School District (K-12)

1. Residential patterns
   a. Areas that are predominantly black or white
   b. Prejudicial real estate practices
   c. Economically not feasible for many lower socio-economic groups (mostly minority) to buy property south of the freeway
   d. Minority student population reflects racial composition of neighborhood
   e. Flight of whites and merchants from town.

2. Student resegregation
   a. Students "grouping" along racial and ethnic lines (Black students sit together in tight situations; Chicano students group together (some) in classroom seating and at athletic events; liberal whites and some minority groups; white group in cafeteria)
   b. Sexual and social competition
   c. Administrators and teachers need to make extra efforts for intergroup education-integration
   d. Resentment carried over from previous fights.

3. Underlying, unresolved feelings about desegregation (by minority and majority groups). Fears of —
   a. Black power (political, physical, economic reprisals)
   b. Mixed marriage

4. Ignorance — lack of social contact with others — administration needs to learn how to gain support

5. Need for minority school staff.

B. Unified School District (K-12)

One elementary school is racially imbalanced by state standards. Parents do not want this school changed.

C. Unified School District (K-12)

1. How to bring about integration of schools (court and federal legislation) in view of community views to retain neighborhood school?

2. How to get students to "buy" the concept of integration?

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* See pp. 17-19.

3. How to get a plan of integration adopted when the balance of power in the community is conservative middle class and the board members are subject to being voted out?

D. High School District (9-12)

1. How to communicate to black communities that equal educational opportunities *are* being provided their children in the newly desegregated schools?
2. How to overcome the tendency of students to resegregate themselves in a newly desegregated school?
3. How to develop a curriculum that will meet the needs of all students in a desegregated school society?
4. How to prepare staff inexperienced in teaching minority youth to adjust to, or deal with, what they perceive as problems stemming from violence and foul language on the part of minority students?

E. City Unified (K-12)

1. Negative community attitude
2. Housing patterns
3. Finance.

F. Unified School District (Totally Desegregated) (K-12)

1. Forty percent of pupils (mostly black and Chicano) underachieving in basic skills
2. Institutional racism — low expectancy of minority pupils by school-community
3. Individual racism — covert, subtle subordination of minority children.

G. Unified School District (K-12)

1. Develop programs to support desegregation and integration
   a. Inservice of total school community
   b. Curriculum reform and relevance
   c. Humanizing teachers.
2. We have community resistance to mandatory busing
3. A low priority to financing integration problems.

H. High School District (9-12)

1. We need additional minority representation in decision-making roles.
2. We need to develop a desegregation program which takes into account the special problems of our district related to a small minority housed in schools which are dispersed over a wide geographical area.
3. We need money to finance inservice training programs which effectively change teacher-student interaction patterns.
4. We need to devise specific methods of measuring the effectiveness of intergroup programs.

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I. Unified High School District (9-12)

1. Getting the Board of Education to adopt a policy statement affirming the district's responsibility to integrate *all* of its schools

2. Pending acceptance of #1 above, there is a series of problems, among which are —
   a. The district has no buses and cannot afford them under present state regulations.
   b. Difficulty in getting the 13 elementary districts feeding into the H.S. District's schools together.

J. Unified School District (K-14)

1. How do you integrate a district that includes a majority of ethnic minorities and a minority of whites?

2. Develop a process for planning the desegregation procedure for approximately 100 elementary schools within a six-week period which would possess enough total community involvement to make the final plan reasonably receptive to the community.

K. Unified School District (K-12)

1. Develop inservice education programs that deal with philosophical change

2. Develop and implement a pluralistic curriculum

3. Affirmative action hiring practices for district personnel

4. Parents want substantial involvement.

L. County School District

1. Developing procedures and approaches for community acceptance of the integration plan

2. Human relations training for teachers and administrators in implementing the integration plan

3. Implementation of the multiethnic curriculum guides that have been developed

4. Countering large shift toward private schools.

M. Unified School District (K-12)

1. To increase commitment to *integration* on the part of school personnel

2. To reduce feelings of alienation to the school setting of —
   a. Chicano students
   b. Children from poverty backgrounds.

3. To devise strategies of furthering *desegregation* (i.e., mixing of students of different ethnic backgrounds)

4. To counter commitment to community schools.

N. Unified School District (K-12)

1. To establish communication in the various communities

2. School board not ready to move

3. To improve district planning and teacher competency to make desegregation work.

O. County and City Elementary School District (K-8)

1. Student body election held prior to transfer students arrival

2. School board elections, 4-1, with a desegregation program going into effect Sept. 1971 and a new board majority against forced busing to achieve racial balance. How can the program be successfully implemented?

3. Different districts have different approaches to the issues. Some districts extend an invitation to our (County) office while others prefer we stay away.

4. Some teachers are sabotaging our efforts.

5. Moving youngsters and adults into a pluralistic society. We have moved the bodies, now we must find ways to let us revel in ourselves.

P. Unified School District (K-12)

1. Administrative, counseling and teaching personnel are not sensitive to the changing nature of the community (population of community, over a 10-year period, has moved from 30% Mexican American to 65% Mexican American).

2. A large number of Mexican American students are failing and do not graduate from senior high school. The number of failures is of a higher ratio than the representative population.

3. How to increase minority staff.

Q. Union Elementary School District (K-8)

1. Implementation of multiethnic programs:
   a. Staffing (minority)
   b. Staff and community "training"
   c. Program planning and development.

2. Commitment to genuine community participation — move from lip service to practice.

R. Unified School District (K-12)

1. New school board (conservative)

2. Apathy -- staff, students, parents

3. Anglo-Chicano relations — staff, students, parents
   a. Resistance from subgroup of teachers and administration
   b. Establishment of practices for the assignment of teachers and administrators which will effectively promote equalization of competence in teaching and administration at all schools.

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S. Elementary and High Schools (K-12)

1. To bring about an awareness of the purposes of desegregation within the City Schools and the communities which we serve in these schools

2. To employ greater numbers of minority people so that the percentage of the various minority groups would be more compatible with current student population.

Simulation: Dynamics of School Conflict*

High School

A Role Playing Simulation
Student Free Speech and School Authority

by Todd Clark**

The Issue:

In the first issue of the school newspaper of Thomas Hobbes High School, published September 26, 1970, the following article appeared in a front page box.

STUDENT COUNCIL GOAL: MORE FREE SPEECH ON CAMPUS!

During the summer, the student council has met many times without their faculty sponsor. They have just released a statement of goals for the year.

We have concluded that our major concern during our year in office should be the expansion of students' right to free speech on this campus. To discuss ways of achieving this goal, we are requesting a meeting with Mr. Hunt, our principal.

We believe that students cannot learn to live in a free society by attending schools that are not free. If, as they say, "practice makes perfect," the school should give us a chance to learn and perfect our understanding of this democratic system under the guidance, not the rule, of adults. If our society wants us to develop faith in the goals of democracy, we must be given a chance to practice some of its freedoms.

If the changes we are seeking are not implement we predict that student discontent on this campus will lead to serious student unrest.

For the foregoing reasons, we, the members of the Student Council of Hobbes High School, do hereby unanimously ask the administration and faculty to implement the following requests as soon as possible:

1. Establish a campus Free Speech area where students can gather to express their opinions on controversial issues concerning our school and society.

2. Provide regular space in the school newspaper for the expression of student and faculty views on important issues.

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3. Abolish school regulations concerning dress and length of hair.

4. Abolish school regulations which forbid the wearing of buttons on campus.

5. Abolish school regulations concerning the distribution of printed matter and the circulation of petitions on campus.

6. Establish an evaluation committee composed of six students (including the Student Body President), two teachers, two parents, and two administrators. This committee's purpose will be to evaluate the effects of the first five recommendations on the educational environment of the school and to make proposals for other needed changes. The chairman of the committee shall be the President of the Student Body.

The Reaction:

The publication of the article in the school paper was followed by heated discussion on and off campus, and several days later by an editorial in a local newspaper which strongly objected to what it termed student "demands." The editorial also strongly recommended that the faculty sponsor of the student newspaper be re-assigned for allowing the article to appear, and that the members of the student council be severely reprimanded for their action. The editorial concluded by suggesting that citizens of the community write and call the members of the school board to let them know how they felt about "turning our schools over to the students."

Role Descriptions:

The Community

Since the community served by Hobbes High School is part of a moderate-sized, independent school district, consideration of these student requests will involve members of the school board as well as students, faculty, administrators, and parents.

*It must also *
 assumed that there will be conflicting points of view represented within each group.

School Board Members

As a school board member, you are primarily concerned with running the best possible educational system for the least money. It is difficult to tell which priority you consider most important. You favor order and smoothly running schools with a minimum amount of parental dissatisfaction. You were elected by a small minority of the registered voters during a time of apathy over educational matters in the community. You want to continue to represent your community and respond to pressure from your constituents.

In planning your strategies you may want to *consider the implications of the following:* your job security; concern for your school's and the community's reputation.

Administrators

You are primarily concerned with running a smoothly functioning educational institution with a minimum number of problems from students, teachers, or parents. One of the administrators is an Intergroup Education Officer.

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In planning your strategies you may want to *consider the implications of the following:* your job security; your rapport with the teachers and the students; concern for your school's and the community's reputation.

Teachers

Your primary interest is educating your people in an orderly school with a minimum of discipline problems and disruptive students. You have a strong commitment to a "democratic society," but a variety of opinions about what constitutes "democratic."

In planning your strategies you may want to *consider the implications of the following:* your job security; your rapport with the students.

Observers/Researchers

You are observers/researchers who have the responsibility for studying what is going on in the entire simulation. Focus should be on how people are behaving; why they are making the decisions they do; how different groups are reacting to each other and so on. You should divide yourselves such that each group will be observed. You should not participate in any of the discussions or events. You should attempt to act as if you were not present. The function of the observer is as diagnostician of the school system.

You have the responsibility of reporting the events you have studied to the total when the simulation is completed.

Newspaper Reporters

A group of five newspaper reporters will have responsibility for reporting on the events during the simulation. They should feel free to act as newspaper reporters do: interviewing individuals or groups wherever or whenever they can, meeting as a group of reporters, writing up what they've found. They will report, in a 20-minute presentation — four minutes per reporter — to the entire group after the simulation is concluded. These reports should be newspaper-type pieces. Each reporter represents one of the following newspapers, all newspapers should have a reporter: *Daily Herald, Conservative Weekly, The Black Chronicle, Chicano Weekly,* and an underground high school newspaper.

Parents

Your educational philosophy and that of the community is shared by most teachers, administrators, and school board members, and is best expressed by this statement:

The primary goal of the schools in this community is to prepare young people to take their place as productive members of American society.

Practical skills are needed for success as well as the ability to follow the will of the majority on most matters pertaining to individual habits and modes of behavior.

It is also the responsibility of the schools to help students develop a respect for the history and institutions of the United States.

In planning your strategies you may want to *consider the implications of the*

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following: school taxes; protection of property; concern for your school's and the community's reputation.

Students

You have a strong desire to participate in matters that seem important concerning your school and society. In particular, you want more free speech on campus. You believe the democratic ideals of American life should be practiced and do not see the difference between yourselves in the school community and adults in the community at large. Some members of your group are also interested in fighting for the interests of their own ethnic group.

In planning your strategies you may want to *consider the implications of the following:* staying in school; promotion to the next grade; your rapport with your parents.

Police Officers

Police Officers are to respond to requests for help from citizens.

In order to provide a flavor of action involved in this simulation, we include the reports made by the newspapers which were built into the exercise.

Press Reports of the Simulated Crisis:

As Reported by the Black Chronicle

Headline: School Board Guarantees Continued Discrimination and Injustice for Minority Students

At an emotion-packed meeting of the board held at the high school, the board, as expected, flatly refused to even "consider" recommendations from community and student groups.

The gross intolerance and racism often displayed by the board in the past was obvious as time and time again Black and Brown press representatives were forcibly ejected from the heated meeting by the paid "Goon Squad" — all white plus a few "Uncle Toms."

The school board was evasive and refused to give specific reasons for their automatic turn-down or failure to consider student demands. At one point, the students walked out of the meeting, but were urged by the *Black Chronicle* reporter, (who had been unjustly ejected), to return and stand up for their rights. "Stand up and fight!"

Teachers' groups also pointed out that the board is, in fact, racist, with two "Tacos" and "Uncle Toms" representing minority groups. They further charge that the board is power hungry.

Parents groups also made an appearance out were obviously split on issues — an "Uncle Tom" endorsed present board policy and was roundly booed by students and other parents. Near violence erupted several times during the stormy session.

Policemen present at the meeting admitted that a "Tactical Alert Squad" stood ready to put down any rebellion from student or parent groups.

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The *Chronicle* is considering civil suits against the school board for its mal-treatment of a press representative who sought to obtain and print the truth.

As Reported by the Chicano Weekly

No Headline

Once again. the "Gabacho" school establishment wielded its repressive power to control and regiment the students of the high school.

In a school board meeting. packed with reactionary parents who supported the flag-waving puritans on the school board, the superintendent was instructed to "study" the rights of the students and consult with the county counsel. students, teachers, parents, etc.

The student body president presented a petition to the school board president showing that teachers, parents and students supported The Free Speech Movement.

In typical establishment fashion the board president chose to ignore the petition. In addition, the school board chose to ignore the pleading voices of teachers and students who asked that the school officials make the necessary changes to make the policies of the school more relevant to the needs of students.

A coalition of parents, handpicked by the administration, and a group calling itself "Peace Officers for Justice" imposed their collective will and reinforced the repressive desires of the antiquated school board.

As Reported by the Conservative Weekly

Headline: Law and Order Was Seriously Threatened at the School Board Meeting
Wednesday Night

A small dissident group of high school students presented an unreasonable list of demands to the board. Their very behavior demanding "free speech" indicated that they were incapable of handling the situation were the actions approved.

Several board members took positive action in defeating the recommendations of the superintendent and seriously questioned his ability to handle both students and staff.

A teacher at the high school, who was unable to speak at the meeting. stated that the situation should be handled at the high school level but admitted that control of the dissident-groups was not possible at this school.

One upstanding principal indicated real problems with about 2% of the teaching staff. That principal needs support from the central office.

Fires in the lavoratories and riot situations on high school campuses are clear evidence that many student demands are unreasonable. Outside agitation helped by some "liberal" teachers is apparent in this situation. Capable, intelligent, clear-thinking students were not allowed to speak.

The final action to have an evaluation committee reveals much greater involvement is necessary by law enforcement officers.

This matter and the way our schools are being run demands much greater attention from a concerned community to see that law and order are upheld —

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that our American democracy shall prevail in this town and that responsible citizenship shall be recognized.

As Reported by Underground High School Newspaper

Headline: School Board Wants No Student Involvement — "Delay Tactics Employed" Say Students — Reporters Ousted

The school board last night at an explosive, uncontrolled meeting employed its usual tactic of sidestepping an issue that is basic to the role of students participating in the decision-making process of our local school district.

The superintendent presented a plan to form a committee composed of parents, students, teachers and administrators to consider the items on a paper prepared by the student council. The student goal was "More Free Speech on Campus." Man! The usual cop-out!

The Board President, by his action of ousting two newspaper reporters trying to "tell it like it is" obviously does not subscribe to the "freedom of speech" and "freedom of press" concepts that are guaranteed us by the Bill of Rights.

Community leadership by board members who stated, "This is all nonsense and they are rabble rousers!" and people who agreed with the students as long as they "don't go too far" do not indicate a true understanding of the democratic process.

Parents in their report took the usual stand of "We are for you kids as long as you are good." Teachers maintain that their remaining silent and not speaking to the issue represented "support." The chairman for the teachers' committee said, "Our task is to establish the leadership role — let them (the students) speak." Students, wake up! Don't let the teachers use you!

Let's get with it students! Take whatever action is called for! Even if it means . . .

As Reported by the Daily Herald

(Editor's note: It is to be assumed that a previous Daily Herald article reported to its readers about the original student council statement. The following is a report of the subsequent school board meeting dealing with the matter.)

The School Board voted last night to establish an evaluation committee to consider a list of six requests made by the Student Council of the high school last week. The evaluation committee, an outgrowth of Item No. 6 in the list of student requests, will be composed of six students, two teachers, two parents and two administrators.

Student council leaders were saying today that the board had changed the intent of the student-initiated evaluation committee in order to suit its own ends, and that it had not in any way dealt satisfactorily with the student proposals.

The meeting last night began with a statement by the Chairman of the Board of Education who announced that the board wished to hear from representatives of the various groups — administration, parents, teachers, then students — regarding the Student Council statement of September 2', 1970. He stated that each group would be limited to a three-minute presentation.

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Students immediately objected to the three-minute limitation and to being placed last in the order of presentations. The board voted to allow each group to speak rather for five minutes with Trustee Corona voting in opposition.

The Superintendent stated that he felt the student requests were not unreasonable. and proposed that a study committee be established composed of the Student Body President who would appoint eight or nine students, the Faculty Club President who would appoint teachers and .. o counselors. and the principal who would select ten parents.

A question was brought up by a reporter from the *Chicano Weekly* regarding the number of parents as opposed to the number of students on the committee, the reporter feeling the number should be equal. In sympathy, a reporter from the *Black Chronicle* stated his agreement and was later ejected from the meeting by the sergeant-at-arms when he continued speaking and would not comply with the Chairman's ruling that he speak only when recognized.

At this point the students. in sympathy, walked out of the meeting. However, they returned moments later and asked for a caucus which the Board Chairman granted for ten minutes.

During the break one Trustee termed the matter revolutionary, against the principles of Americanism, and expressed a desire to fire liberal teachers.

Upon reconvening the meeting a representative of a parents' group made a plea to the *Black Chronicle* to remain at the meeting to listen and to help effect a reasonable solution. He admonished the students, told them the parents would protect them, but wanted them to be "good boys and girls," and threatened to tell one student's "mama" about that student's behavior. He said that the parents were "for our children" who "must be entrusted to the teachers and administration" by the parents. He expressed support for the Superintendent.

In reacting to the list of student proposals, he stated that he was opposed to a liberal dress code and that he was particularly opposed to "long hair" and "hot pants." He was not opposed to the wearing of buttons as long as they were "good buttons." He stated that the parents wanted no underground press, and added that students should make "requests" and not "demands."

Another interested parent declared that his family had come to this country on the Mayflower and asked the Board what it was oing to do about the fire that had been set at the high school that morning. A representative of the teachers' group stated that teachers wanted to give the students the opportunity to learn about and to take part in our democratic system. He stated that the teachers supported the students in their proposals. Several other teachers in the audience protested his statements which they claimed were not representative of all teachers.

A representative of the students called the parent spokesman an "Uncle Tom." The spo... .nan protested that he was not an "Uncle Tom" but that he neither was a militant. He charged that the students were heading down the road to communism. The student told the board that the students did not appreciate the Superintendent's delay tactics, and that the students would not settle for anything less than compliance with their requests. He added that if forced to use other

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tactics the students would do so and that they wanted a positive position by the board "tonight." He also voiced his belief that adults were listened to when they spoke but that the students lacked a voice which was heard.

One Trustee admonished the Superintendent for his position and moved that the Superintendent instead draw up a student behavior policy. Opposition to his proposal was voiced by a reporter from the underground high school newspaper who was then ejected from the meeting as he had not been recognized and would not comply with the Chairman's request that he cease speaking.

The motion to have the Superintendent draw up a student behavior code was defeated by a majority of the board. The Superintendent again stated that he was not in disagreement with the students' requests, but that he however questioned the process.

Defeated was a motion to comply with the Superintendent's recommendation that a study committee be established that had been amended to include the county council in the committee. The board then passed its decision to accept the students' original request for an evaluation committee, but made no decision at this time regarding implementation of the other requests.

Case Studies: Educational Values in Conflict*

Problem Situation No. 1

On Thursday, February 5, the Superintendent of Schools officially issued a directive to all school-site administrators and staff, requiring that each school "devise ways for promptly (1) involving the community and students in the screening and hiring of teachers and (2) giving students and the community more control in the development of curriculum."

This directive came as a surprise to school officials for a number of reasons. The first and very important element was that the system was located in a predominantly middle and upper middle class community where these policies appeared to have very little support. Discussions of the issues had begun shortly after school started in September between the school board and what was thought to be, or what appeared to be, a well-organized, small, pressure group. At that time the community reaction seemed to be overwhelmingly negative. To prevent the development of large-scale community conflict, it was decided in late November by members of the school board and the superintendent, in conjunction with other city officials, that negotiations over these issues would not be publicized so openly. The result of that decision was that virtually no information about the negotiations was made available to the public or to school officials in general until the mandate was issued.

Each person was asked to write an answer to these questions individually.

1. How much influence should students and community have in screening and hiring teachers?
2. How much influence should students and community have in curriculum development?

The second part of this task required participants to break into peer-level work groups. Principals, teachers, superintendents, assistant superintendents, board members, community workers, directors of intergroup relations and human relations officials, all were grouped homogeneously by job assignment. Each group was asked to find a spot in the room and to devise an institutional response to the directive from the superintendent.

The following summaries given by spokesmen for each group were transcribed from the tape recordings made of the session.

Directors of Intergroup and Human Relations Specialists. We had some very interesting things develop before we finally got our heads together. We found out that as intergroup and human relations specialists, we did not all have our heads together at first. Personally, I felt that I was dealing with a couple of right-wing superintendents back there for a while, since many people felt that there should be very little community and student involvement in the final decision. Now this kind of blows my mind, because my personal feeling is that most of us have some type of staff generally made up of people who are in the community. We generally rel, on the youth to keep our jobs because when the heat gets going

in the school we have to find those cats who really know what's going on and ask them how to put the fire out. So I found it very interesting that many of the people in our group felt that the youth and the community should not be involved in a viable position in terms of deciding who teaches them. To me that means that they feel the young people and the community are not ready to get involved in the final selection. Now there were some people, however, who were on the total opposite end, who felt that we should be dealing in terms of quite a bit of participation as far as the youth or community are involved.

Assistant Superintendents. We spent a great deal of time trying to determine
• whether or not we ought to dispute the directive or comply with it. And we finally determined that it was a directive from the superintendent and that we'd better get with it and comply. We felt that a screening committee composed of an equitable distribution of representation could be developed for the consideration of teacher employment. There seemed to be no disagreement with regard to this. We did, however, consider that it was imperative that the superintendent and the board retain the responsibility of final employment. And then again, a second possibility that we were discussing when called to order was that the community and stu dents and teachers might run various candidates through this screening process and try to gain a consensus before employment could take place.

Principals. We finally agreed that students and parents should be involved, to a large extent, in setting up the criteria for teacher selection. That means, of course, we felt pretty strongly that when it comes to the actual selection of teachers, certificated persons, parents and students should not be directly involved in making the decision on who's hired on the staff. Setting up the selection criteria, going through the selection process, right up to the actual selection, total involvement is fine! But then there's the breaking point. We also felt students should be totally involved in all aspects because of the learning involved. You can't beat that, because when people are involved in setting up the course content and the selection of courses and all, we all know it's good. If they're the ones to be affected by it, to a large extent, it's good learning process to involve them. I guess that's about the size of it.

Miscellaneous. It's kind of difficult to get a consensus out of a board member, a superintendent, and a personnel man. As you might expect, when we sat down and compared our scores initially, they ran probably from one end of the spectrum to the other. I think the difficulty was that we spent most of our time trying to define "influence." What influence? What do you mean by influence? Is this direct involvement in the screening process? I see a few smiles on some other faces, so apparently a few other people played the semantics game, too. But I think our group feels that there should be involvement. And that perhaps we're changing a bit in our attitudes about these things. If we had taken a similar poll, say three years ago, I am quite sure that it would have been different. Where we're talking about involvement in curriculum, really it's the only way we can go and I think all too long we have rejected opinions and feelings of people that we are really trying to satisfy.

Community. We're not very militant, I'm afraid. We want involvement and we want it to represent the community, so we're going to have a mass meeting of

all facets of the community and they might elect, then, the representatives to sit on an advisory council to the superintendent, in order to meet the Directive No. 1. All groups would be represented by vote. The people from the community as well as those that are the militant element, all would be represented on the advisory committee that met with the superintendent. We would give moderate support to the directive, I believe. As members of the community we want a common curriculum, but we want that curriculum to be adapted to the needs of individuals and to individual groups. We want history, mathematics, language arts taught in all schools, but if we have a black school, we would like the curriculum geared to our black students, not necessarily the same history, for example, that you have in white schools.

Consultants. In our group of about twelve people, we have twelve different ideas of how to proceed and we couldn't agree on anything. We could not even agree on what the situation was that we were facing. Then we couldn't agree that if faced, say, with a school situation we could overcome the resistance of a community that was basically against this way of proceeding. Everyone didn't agree because we had different backgrounds and different experiences with community participation. These ranged from situations where community people are participating in changing curriculum to situations where principals are being selected by committees made up of principals, students and teachers. So I can't make a recommendation at this point. I hope that we have an opportunity to pursue this further.

Teachers. We felt very strongly that the community and the students should be involved in teacher hiring and screening. However, we were unable to decide exactly how this should proceed and where the actual point of hiring should take place. There is a conflict between the administration and teachers' views of the candidates and those of the community—which group would give. We haven't resolved that. We feel it took the superintendent six months to create the mandate. We would like to take a little more time to put together our response. There also was unanimity of agreement that it's essential that the community and the students be involved in curriculum. We think teachers feel very strongly about this now. It is a growing awareness of teachers that our curriculum and our methodology are holding back certain things that should take place in schools. We do want involvement, but we did not have time to talk about it.

Problem Situation No. 2

After a basketball game in the Hometown High School gymnasium on Wednesday, January 10, around 3:30 p.m. the following incident unfolded. Walt Johnson, a senior basketball player and an outstanding player for the Hometown High School team, fouled out of a basketball game that they were playing. At the time that he was taken from the game, the score was 64-53 with Hometown High School leading. Walt was a black student who had transferred to Hometown High that September along with a friend, Pasqual Martinez. They both had come to Hometown High reluctantly. They were leaving a community they were born and raised in where they had attended both elementary and junior high school, and they were coming into an upper-middle-class community that was notoriously

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conservative and had a principal who had been labeled publicly "a racist." Both Walt and Pasqual had played on an undefeated basketball team the year before and they both were All-State basketball players.

At the time Walt was kicked out of the game, the team they were playing was from a community very similar to Hometown High School, and all of the opposing players were white. When Walt was kicked out of the game, he cursed the referee who called the last foul on him, and that created something of a "ruckus." The white members of the audience were clearly provoked by the display of temper, and black and brown students clearly supported him. The final score was 86-85. Hometown High lost by one point and it was a hard loss.

In the dressing room after the game everyone was very down. The principal, Mr. Robinson, came in to try to lift their spirits. He talked for about ten or fifteen minutes with the other students while Pasqual and Walt were in the shower. When Pasqual and Walt came out, he tried to talk with them and they ignored him. They walked past him to their lockers. They were side by side. The principal started talking to Walt and said, "If you had exercised a bit more self-control you could have made the difference in that ball game." Walt visibly tried to avoid him. He turned his head and mumbled something that couldn't be heard. Mr. Robinson tried to get him to repeat it, and when Walt turned his back to him Mr. Robinson took his arm and tried to turn him around. When Walt turned around he said, "I said, 'Fuck you!' and take your hands off me!" Then Mr. Robinson slapped him! A scuffle started between them and the other players and coach in the locker room rushed to the scene. For about two or three minutes people were pushing each other around. They stopped and Pasqual and Walt took their clothes and walked out.

Each person was again asked to write her/his reactions to these questions as an individual.
1. Should Walt and Pasqual be disciplined? If so, how?
2. Should Mr. Robinson be disciplined? If so, how?
3. Should means be developed in the school to provide support for the minority students? If so, what?

Then participants separated into three racial or ethnic groups, Black, Chicano, and Anglo. Three rooms were available for the groups to work in. After the group discussions, the following reports were made.

Report from Black Group

"Should Walt and Pasqual be disciplined?" First, Walt should be counseled and talked with by the coach about his language. Both students need supportive help. Some felt that his language is not necessarily negative, taken in the context that blacks suffer under a high level of stress and in many cases their health suffers as a result of not being able to express anger. This is a consideration.

"Should the principal be disciplined?" The principal should definitely be disciplined. It's possible to enter a legal suit. He should be given training. Quite a few people think he should be fired.

"Should minority groups get support?" Schools in the district should provide in-service training and new personnel for that particular school. A close look

should be taken at the personnel and transfers and necessary changes should be made.

There was consensus that there ought to be some kind of discipline of Walt, maybe not by the principal, but some kind of discipline by the coach!

Report from Anglo Group

We just eliminated Walt from any discipline because he didn't, as far as we know, do anything very bad. Any action because of Walt's behavior on the floor is up to the coach. If there's any action taken, it would be taken according to ground rules the team and coach have developed for "losing one's cool." For what went on in the locker room, no disciplinary action but some sort of counseling to lead Walt to understand his own feelings and perhaps the principal's point of view, when heads are cool. As far as the principal is concerned, some action needs to be taken. He needs to understand that he "goofed." He needs to be led into some sort of sensitivity training. If it doesn't take and if he is what he is suspected of being, a racist, probably he would be replaced. That was the consensus of our group. There was some talk about responses to so-called "bad language," and I don't think we really made too much of that.

There needs to be support for minority students in the whole area of intergroup relations. Efforts must be made to insure or encourage status positions for minorities in and around the campus to help develop some identity. Also it is necessary to integrate the staff and the curriculum.

Report from Chicano Group

We completely eliminated the part of the area where Walt was playing basketball and they threw him out. We felt that he needed no disciplinary measures in that area. When he came down to the locker room and had that scene with the principal, we also felt that no discipline was needed. However, there was a very much needed program of counseling, understanding and a redirection of behavior with the ultimate goal of student responsibility for positive behavior.

We said definitely a report should be made to the superintendent and perhaps the board of education. In turn, we would consider the possibility of suspension of the principal, mainly because he should know the emotional state of a student after he had been ejected from a game. He should just stay out of there, period! In other words, if he wants to take over the role of the coach then he should get out of the principalship and go into coaching. Otherwise leave it up to the coach and stay out of the locker room. We indicated that the principal's record should be considered and investigated. Has he been brought before the superintendent for reprimanding before? All these should be considered and if he has a record already, then by all means, get him out of there.

Yes, the students should be supported. An intergroup specialist or someone in that line of work should be available to counsel and support minority group students' activities. He should also devise ways of helping them to communicate their feelings to those in the system in a way that does not get them in trouble. This person should support the students by devising intensive in-service training for all teachers and administrators in this particular school.

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Consultant's Comments

In each case we've indicated that unless this principal changed his behavior, we would probably fire him. And the more we think about what he said and what we've said, we're not talking reality because we probably wouldn't fire the guy. Being as he's already been labeled a racist, we should have already fired him. We move people around and we promote or demote or whatever may be convenient, but we don't do it because of racist behavior and somewhere in the conference I think we'd better get down to reality on that.

Subpoena*

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE _____ DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

No. X = 31 1211

Luis Mendez, Jr., et al., Plaintiffs.

vs.

_____ School District, et al., Defendants.

_____ are hereby ordered to appear before said U.S. District Court to show in a confidential memo your district's rationale for compliance or failure of such with request for delay regarding the following Memorandum and Order within 16 hours.

(For Educational Purposes Only)

**Memorandum and Order Requiring the Parties
To File Plans for School Desegregation**

Within the past two weeks, the Supreme Court of the United States decided six cases then pending before it. Last week, the six decisions were handed down.[1] Each decision was unanimous.

While the six decisions did relate to Southern states in which there had at one time been "racially separate public schools established and maintained by state action" [Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 39 U.S.L.W. 4437, 4438 (U.S. April 20, 1971)], neither the logic nor the force of the ruling is limited by any North-South boundary line.

For the past seventeen years, every Supreme Court decision on the subject has consistently struck down racial se;regation in public schools resulting from laws which either directly or indirectly required or contributed to such segregation.[2] Last week's decisions fortify—do not water down—the prior holdings. And the Supreme Court has never condoned any double standard of constitutional compliance based upon geography.

Today, based on the above, it is clear that to correct unlawful racial segregation in public schools:

1. Busing can be required and state law may not prohibit it.
2. Racial balance or quotas may be judicially imposed.
3. Some students may be permitted to attend schools near their homes; others may be required to attend distant schools.
4. Any student may be required to attend a particular school because of his race.
5. United States District Courts have exceptionally broad equity powers to shape decrees to meet the complex problems of protecting the constitutional right to equality of educational opportunity.

It is now clear, too, under last week's Supreme Court decisions, that the Defendants Board of Education possess powers broad enough to correct the unlawful segregation which still persists in the District's elementary and secondary schools.[3] And, of course, to repeat for emphasis, it is now clear that the Court has both the power and the duty to do so if the school authorities fail or refuse.

Defendants should prepare themselves to be ready promptly to meet whatever requirements may be delineated by the Supreme Court of the United States. Once the Supreme Court has laid down the law, no person or agency bound by that law, nor any court, can be permitted delay in conforming to the legal requirements.

It would appear, therefore, that defendants would do well promptly to develop plans calculated to meet the different contingencies which can reasonably be forecast. If, for example, the Board of Education or its representatives work out details for maximum changes based upon the assumption that the Supreme Court will require them, the Board will then be able to act effectively, in case of need, without causing confusion and with a minimum of unnecessary dislocation. Should the decisions of the S eme Court not require such substantial changes, the

Board and those connected with it will at least have made what ought to be productive studies of various means for promoting equality of educational opportunity.

In the light of all of the foregoing, the Court hereby orders defendants to file, on or before June 26, 1971, a comprehensive plan for the desegregation of all public schools within the defendants' jurisdiction to go into effect at the start of the school term in the fall of this year. The Court hereby also orders the plaintiffs to file such a plan on or before that date for the assistance of the Court in the event the Court should find defendants' plan inadequate or otherwise deficient.[4]

For the general guidance of both the plaintiffs and the defendants, the Court directs the parties to perfect their plans not only in the light of all relevant decisions of the United States Supreme Court but particularly in the light of the remedies approved in *Swann, supra,* and its companion cases. The Court also deems it appropriate to suggest that each plan should be carefully prepared in detail to insure accomplishment of at least the following objectives by the start of the 1971 fall school term.

1. Full integration of all public elementary and secondary schools so that the ratio of Mexican American and Black children to White children will then be and thereafter continue to be substantially the same in each school.

   To accomplish this objective, the plans may include provision for:

   a. Use of nondiscriminatory busing if, as appears now to be clear, at least some busing will be necessary for compliance with the law.

   b. Changing attendance zones whenever and wherever necessary to eliminate or head off racial segregation.

2. Assurance that school construction programs will not promote racial segregation whether by enlargement of existing facilities or location of new ones or otherwise. (The California Field Act.)

3. Establishment of practices for the hiring of teachers and administrators which will effectively promote racial balance in the respective staffs.

4. Establishment of practices for the assignment of teachers and administrators which will effectively promote racial balance of the respective staffs in each school.

5. Establishment of practices for the assignment of teachers and administrators which will effectively promote equalization of competence in teaching and administration at all schools.

6. Avoidance of use of tracking systems or other educational techniques or innovations without provision for safeguards against racial segregation as a consequence.

The foregoing delineation is not intended to limit the scope of the plans to be filed nor to hamper creativity by those who prepare them nor to specify details better spelled out by qualified experts in education. The intent, rather, is to indicate requirements which, in the light of the facts before the Court, are necessary for compliance with the law.

That is the thrust of all of this—the law must be obeyed. The Court fully understands that public opinion is divided on many questions relating to desegregation of our schools. But disagreement with the law is no justification for viola-

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tion. And where, as here, segregation in our schools has been fostered by action and inaction over a long period of years, the law requires corrective measures.

The Court fully understands, too, the many complicated, difficult and serious problems which must be solved. They run the gamut from those of finance and geography and personnel on through to the emotional. But the difficulties are far from insurmountable. A genuine will to meet and overcome them is the first requisite.[5]

The stakes are surely high enough to generate that will. Respect for law in the education of the school children of the city of today can do much to reduce crime on the streets of the city of tomorrow.

In any case, the Court, as heretofore, retains jurisdiction to take such further action at any time as it may deem necessary to provide for compliance with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Dated: April 30, 1971.

MARK CHESLER
Judge

Footnotes

[1]Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ., 39 U.S.L.W. 4437 (U.S. April 20, 1971); Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ. v. Swann. 39 U.S.L.W. 4437 (U.S. April 20, 1971); Davis v. Board of School Commissioners, 39 U.S.L.W. 4447 (U.S. April 20, 1971); North Carolina State Bd. of Educ. v. Swann, 39 U.S.L.W. 4449 (U.S. April 20, 1971); McDaniel v. Barresi, 39 U.S.L.W. 4450 (U.S. April 20, 1971); Moore v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ., 39 U.S.L.W. 4451 (U.S. April 20, 1971).

[2]*See, e.g.,* Green v. County School Board, 391 U.S. 430 (1968) and Raney v. Board of Education, 391 U.S. 443 (1968) (holding "freedom of choice" plans unconstitutional); Griffin v. County School Board, 377 U.S. 218 (1964) (holding unconstitutional the closing of all the schools in one county); Goss v. Board of Education, 373 U.S. 683 (1963) (holding unconstitutional a free transfer provision by which students were allowed to transfer, solely on a racial basis, from the school to which they had been assigned by virtue of redistricting if they were in a racial minority in their new school).

[3]FINDINGS OF FACT AND CONCLUSIONS OF LAW. The Court, having considered the voluminous evidence presented by the parties, hereby finds:
1. That public schools in the defendants' School District are racially segregated.
2. That acts and omissions of the defendants' Board of Education are proximate causes of the racial segregation.
3. That such acts include:
   a. Construction of new schools and additions to old schools in a manner which perpetuated and exacerbated existing racial imbalance.

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b. Drawing attendance zones so that racial mixture has been minimized; modification and adjustment of attendance zones so that racial separation is maintained.

c. Allocating a highly disproportionate number of inexperienced and less qualified teachers to schools with student bodies composed predominantly of Mexican American and Black children.

4. That such omissions include:

a. Failure to accept suggestions offered by school officials regarding the placement of new schools so as to minimize segregation.

b. Failure to adopt a policy of consulting with the Director of Human Relations of the School District as to the predictable racial composition of new schools.

c. Prolonged failure to pursue a policy of hiring teachers and administrators of minority races.

d. Failure to take steps to bring the racial balances in all schools within the guidelines set by the State Board of Education.

e. Failure to adopt sufficient measures to improve the education of children in predominantly Mexican American and Black schools despite the Board's knowledge that education in these schools was inferior to that provided in predominantly White schools.

Having found these facts, the Court concludes that segregation which exists in defendants' public schools results from state action and is unconstitutional under Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), as well as under later decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Because time is of the essence in vindicating the right of all school children in said district to equal educational opportunity, the Court now enters only preliminary findings and conclusions in support of the order made today. The citations to the record by no means exhaust the substantiating evidence before the Court. More extensive findings of fact and conclusions of law will be filed as occasion may arise.

4 The Court itself will not hesitate to appoint one or more consultants to assist it should that later become necessary or advisable. Regarding the Court's power to do so, *see* Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ., 431 F.2d 138 (4th Cir. 1970) at 148.

5 ". . . The problem of changing a people's mores, particularly those with an emotional overlay, is not to be taken lightly. It is a problem which will require the utmost patience, understanding, generosity, and forbearance from all of us, of whatever race. But the magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, freeborn Americans, with a right to make our way, unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God." J. Skelly Wright speaking in Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 138 F. Supp. 337 (E.D. La. 1956) at 342.

Examples of Comprehensive Desegregation Plans*

School System I

1. Full desegregation:
   a. Walking and satellite area for each elementary (K-5)
   b. Establishment of 2 middle schools (6-8)
   c. City divided into zones containing about 600 pupils for future necessary revision
2. Busing pupils of all racial groups
3. Zones are changed when school is out of balance (2 changes '70-'71) (Range 18-32)
4. No construction envisioned — all schools conform to Field Act
5. Hope for board policy towards minority hiring practice July 1 — has support of teacher's association and district advisory committee in recommendations to board
6. Current minority staff equally distributed in schools
7. Beginning discussion in teacher competency with a look at district test results — *every child*
8. Building sequential progress programs — accountability for any tracking.

School System II

1. Teacher training:
   a. In-service training
   b. Definition of teacher competency (in multicultural environment)
   c. Cross-fertilization
   d. Positions of *authority* for minority individuals
2. Curriculum:
   a. Multicultural curriculum added to graduation requirements
   b. Faculty released time for multicultural training
3. Community involvement:
   a. District advisory committee on human relations
   b. Paraprofessional aides
   c. District-community-student ombudsman
4. School board:
   a. In-service training
   b. Desegregation commitment policy
   c. Monitoring and evaluation timetable
5. Student involvement:
   a. Student human relations clubs
   b. County human relations conference
   c. Community multicultural involvement programs
   d. Presentations to school board

* See pp. 25-26.

6. Administrator change:
   a. In-service training
   b. Hiring minority personnel
   c. Cross-fertilization
   d. Desegregation commitment.

School System III

1. Desegregation:
   a. Students—minority percentage not above 25%
   b. After 1 year students could return to home school
   c. Transportation code 1½ miles

2. Assignment plan:
   a. Voluntary transfers—Encouraged and recruited
   b. Students' r. team

3. Random selection—to round out racial balance and ease crowding

4. Activities:
   a. Orientation days
   b. Visitations—campus, classes, rap sessions, programs, picnics
   c. Registration, human relations groups
   d. Brochures; newsletters; press releases; 1800 needed, got 1471 volunteered

5. Teachers:
   a. Policy made by teachers to transfer staff
   b. Volunteers—certificated—classified
   c. Staff making priority choices
   d. Draft by principal (new school first choice)
   e. HEW grant, advisory specialist, multicultural education

6. Parents:
   a. School community council
   b. Instructional volunteers
   c. Parents block groups
   d. P.T.A.

7. Curriculum:
   a. Workshops $100,000—3 years
      Social studies
      English
      Science
      Home economics
      P.E.
      Counselor—special services
   b. Reading workshops in each subject area
   c. Teachers must learn to teach reading
   d. Two prep periods—1 period used for small-group instruction in reading

8. Administrative:
   a. Check out records of incoming students—needed—students
   b. Special programs—teachers

c. Mini courses—departments
d. Requirement for graduation changed
e. Mid-year graduation for seniors
f. College coordinator—counselor
g. Community liaison workers—campus aides
h. Inservice workshop—report concerns to superintendent's council
i. New aides work 2 weeks beside experienced aides before reporting to their own campuses.

School System IV

1. Desegregation:
   a. Change of school boundaries
   b. Closing of at least two schools (fewer and larger schools)
   c. Open enrollment
   d. Limited, designated busing
   e. Annual evaluation and necessary revision

2. Personnel:
   a. Active recruiting of minorities
   b. Mandated in-service education
   c. Involvement in initiation, evaluation, and revision of curriculum

3. Educational program:
   a. Evaluation and revision of goals and objectives
   b. Change in graduation requirements as per SB1
   c. Expanded curriculum offerings
      Ethnic and multicultural studies
   d. Elimination of grouping and tracking; freedom of course and teacher selection
   e. Intercultural classroom and school exchange program

4. School board:
   a. Policy statement re: equal opportunity
   b. Adoption of master plan

5. Student involvement:
   a. Student board of education
   b. Initiation and evaluation of curricular offerings

6. Community:
   Extensive participation in master planning—all phases.

School System V

1. Teacher involvement:
   a. Summer workshop for ethnic studies (18 teachers for 2-week period) K-6
   b. Task force inservice (each school represented)
   c. Two (2) secondary teachers writing U.S. packet to strengthen ethnic studies program
   d. Minimum days (5) for secondary curriculum development (also elementary)

e. Four minimum days for human relations workshop (certified and classified)

f. North Campus (high school) organize a teacher-parent-student committee

2. Curriculum involvement:
   a. Citizens advisory committee to school
   b. Superintendent-parent advisory council
   c. Model cities education committee developed:
      Comprehensive preschool
      Model elementary school
      Bilingual program
   d. Paraprofessional aides.

School System VI

1. Teacher involvement:
   a. Inservice
   b. Task force
   c. Affirmative action—hiring
   d. Intern program

2. Curriculum:
   a. Mini courses—ethnic studies
   b. Black/Chicano teacher input in curriculum council

3. School board:
   a. Adoption of integration policy

4. Administrator change:
   a. Affirmative action hiring, upgrading
   b. In-service
   c. Task force on integration

5. Student involvement:
   a. Task force on integration
   b. Community seminars

6. Community involvement:
   a. Task force on integration
   b. Community seminars.

School System VII

1. Desegregation plan concepts:
   a. Fund new school plants (40% present buildings unsafe—Field Act)
   b. Locate new plants strategically for racial balance
   c. Redraw attendance zones
   d. Curriculum change
      HOLA and S3C2
      "Humanities Oriented Language Arts"
      "Human Dignity Through Social Studies"
   e. Affirmative action in hiring minority teachers

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  f. Intergroup relations committee
   Subcommittee at each independent school
  g. Short-range problem-solving committee
  h. Student members on school board (nonvoting)
  i. Paraprofessional school-committee liaison people
  j. Weighted reading improvement program (elementary).

School System VIII

1. City divided into 7 zones

2. Each zone racially and ethnically balanced by state guidelines:
  a. Spanish: 2.5%-27.4%
  b. Other White: 19%-46.4%
  c. Black: 14.4%-35.5%
  d. Asian: 3.8%-30.2%

3. Building utilization: 72.6%-141.6%

4. Pupil population by zones: 4,507-9,862

5. Advantages:
  a. Zones are compact
  b. Desegregated schools are only slightly affected.

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Innovative Components of Desegregation Plans*

School Board

Newly constituted board becoming study committee on progress of desegregation —meeting with special interest groups towards the formulation of additional necessary policy

A periodic retreat involving all board members, principals, counselors, and teachers

Comprehensive "Master Plan" provision for annual review

Funds budgeted for a design team to study needed change in education; approval of decentralized decision making—teacher equivalents

Inservice training; hearings on firing of Title IV coordinator.

Curriculum

Large number of experimental schools. An example that is exceedingly different is the *Equal One* School

Faculty Curriculum Council has parents, students, business/industry as advisers Broadening of depth and scope of ethnic studies—bilingual education and ESL

Expanding "Team Teaching—Continuous Progress Instruction" to 4-6 grade level —teacher training under Mr. Hunter, UCLA Elementary School

Teacher preparation of individual learning units in ethnic studies under direction of Intergroup Department now in progress

Seventh- and eighth-grade curriculum workshop developing multi-ethnic curriculum for seventh- and eighth-grade social studies classes

Slide programs for various ethnic groups

(Elementary) Open School Study, CTA Consortium

(Secondary) Alternative Education—school-within-a-school

Prestige School (integrated)—low teacher-pupil ratio (17-1)

Eighteen teachers for 2-week workshop on ethnic studies development

Two teachers using masters degree project to develop secondary project.

Administrator Change Roles

Encouraging behavior changes in personnel which will improve interracial understandings

Restructure school organizations of K-4, 5-8, 9-12

Redesigning job descriptions of principals (5-8)

Decentralization of the district into three regions

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* See pp. 25-26.

Each region is administered by an associate superintendent with supportive staff

Decentralized decision making—teacher equivalents

Board set aside funds for design team

Dual principalship for high school

Establishment of an Intergroup Educational Department; appointment of a black director

Decentralization; sensitivity training for administrators

Deselection of administrators

Affirmative action—personnel and contracts.

Student Involvement (Training, Program, etc.)

Student board of education; desegregation workshop

Sister-school student involvement in curriculum areas—social science, music, etc.

Division of student body into smaller units (houses); houses serve as human relations units; weekend and overnight retreats to help facilitate human relations efforts

Student seated on board of education

Student board of education and a representative on senior board with power to request reports and discuss and make recommendations on all senior board agenda items

Eight students on advisory board; three student representatives on school board; four secondary schools with I.G. Congress

Six schools desegregating in September—each has had orientation meetings and plan for more in fall as well as a picnic for parents, teachers, and students

Student representative on board of education

Master plan citizens' committee

School-community advisory boards

Leadership training program

Screening committee for community-school director

Human relations clubs in eight high schools; communication emphasis plus program sponsorship.

Teacher Involvement (Training, Planning, New Roles, etc.)

Participation of teachers on desegregation/integration planning and in-service committees

Role playing, simulation (also involved administrators, parents, board, counselors, professional organizations)

Teachers assigned to house units, each being responsible for two students to aid in the individualization of instruction

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Multicultural education in-service training cadre formed, trained, and given responsibility for training school staffs (with extra pay)

Secondary schools—personnel established for teachers in each school to coordinate ideas and programs

Two teachers on school integration planning committee

District-wide teacher in-service training program

Administrators and teachers task force in Title IV program

Teacher committee to develop ethnic studies materials and curriculum, grades K-6

Title IV in-service funds, in part, given to individual schools where teacher committee can plan in-service on problems incident to desegregation

Weekend conferences on ethnic groups

Human relations minimum-day program (5)

Master Plan Citizens Committee

School site advisory boards

Affirmative action-hiring.

Community Involvement (Planning, Teaching, etc.)

Principal's advisory committee (parents)

Task force on integration

School-community advisory groups at each school

Community participation in selection of principals

Master plan citizens' committee

Polyethnic advisory committee

High school community board

Parent advisory groups (E.S.E.A.)

Involvement of citizens' committees—development of master plan

Bilingual parent-teacher involvement training

Program (Title IV)

Conferences developed by Chicano and Asian communities involving school personnel and community people

Community organizations submitted integration plans or elements of a plan to the Integration Steering Committee

Twenty-five adults (lay people) strong part of advisory board

To court July 6 as a result of community pressure

A couple of parents doing volunteer service (teaching art)

Organization of superintendent's parent advisory council.

Targets and Strategies for Teacher Change in Interracial Situations*

TARGETS / STRATEGIES	Books	Audiovisual	Laboratory training	Survey feedback	Peer sharing sessions	Team formation	Confrontation search	Problem-solving exercises	Behavioral science research	External consultations
Knowledge of students										
Teachers' own feelings										
Teaching practices										
Peer relations										
Administration relations										
Community relations										

* See pp. 29-30.

Appendix D
School Desegregation Guidelines
for Local and State Education Associations

Introduction

School desegregation — certainly not a new topic of concern for educators — is still perhaps the single most important phenomenon affecting school system reform and reorganization across the nation. In our society education is moving further away from segregation and is attempting to provide maximum educational opportunities for all children in truly desegregated settings. Individual members as well as state and local affiliates of the National Education Association have a great deal at stake in this process.

Unfortunately, strains and tensions occur whenever fundamental social change takes place; these have been especially apparent in a few of the past efforts to desegregate the schools. Civil rights organizations have in the past led in coordinating legal actions; teachers and their representative organizations have often played a vital role in helping school communities make the necessary adjustments and in making integrated education work.

In cases where teacher groups have ignored or actively opposed progress toward desegregation, the results have too often been increased divisiveness in the school and community, discipline problems, suspensions, expulsions, reduced teacher and student morale, and general decline of educational quality in the school systems. In those cases where teacher associations have acted aggressively and affirmatively, their leadership role as a fundamental force for progress has been enhanced.

Responses by local and state associations have been different in different situations, but three primary considerations have been kept in mind as they decided what actions to take:

1. Discrimination and segregation are illegal. Educators have an obli-, both as citizens and as public employees, to uphold the law. In hi   ical perspective a whole new body of law is yet evolving as the former radi-tionally separate and segregated educational institutions gave way to integra-tion. Developments as a result of litigation have substantially clarified the appropriate posture for educators and their organizations.
   In *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) the Supreme Court invalidated state statutes which required or authorized "separate-but-equal" schools. Desegregation, the court ruled, must be pursued "with all deliberate speed." After judicial invalidation of "massive resistance," pupil placement laws, and tuition grant schemes, school systems in the South developed "freedom of choice" policies. In *Green* v. *County School Board*, 391 U.S. 430, 438, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional freedom of choice rules

which did not "work" to produce desegregation. The Constitution, said the court, requires not white schools, not black schools, but "just schools."
Subsequently, in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19 (1969), the Supreme Court sounded the death knell for "all deliberate speed," requiring immediate dismantling of dual school systems. This decision was followed by *Swann v. Charlotte-Mechlenberg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971), which upheld an order requiring integration of the Charlotte-Mechlenberg schools through various devices including cross-district busing and non-contiguous zoning. In a companion case, *Davis v. Mobile Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 33 (1971), the Court laid down a rule requiring the "greatest possible degree of school desegregation" once a constitutional violation is found. In *Swann*, the Court held that racial ratios could be used as a "starting point" in fashioning equitable relief, and ruled that transportation of students was an appropriate tool to use in desegregating the schools, unless the time or distance of travel was so great as to either risk the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process.

The next major desegregation case decided by the   involved the constitutional standards by which the legality of school segregation in school systems in the North and West was to be judged. In *Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1*, 93 S. Ct. 2686 (1973), the Court ruled that proof of intentional segregation in a transitional area raises a presumption of discrimination in the core ghetto area. The Court held that if the presumption goes unrebutted, or if the discrimination is sufficiently substantial to make the entire system a dual school system, district-wide desegregation is required, unless the school district can prove that the transitional area is a separate, identifiable and unrelated section which should be treated as isolated from the rest of the district.

In the same term, the Court, splitting 4-4 in the Richmond case, rendered no opinion on the power or duty of a district court to grant relief across school district boundaries. Such a question, in a non-Southern context, is now pending before the Supreme Court in the Detroit desegregation case.

2. The ultimate goal of desegregation efforts is to provide the best educational experiences possible for all children in the community. It must be clearly understood that those educational experiences of necessity incorporate concerns for inter-racial interaction and appreciation for cultural differences. Desegregation alone may be inadequate in providing the impetus for educational reform. Experience has proven that even where desegregation, technically, has become an accomplished fact, too often the end product has increased the prospect for racial isolation and institutionally oriented pluralization. Educators have a professional responsibility to seek truly integrated education systems, where individual rights of all are respected and where cultural values and contributions of all segments of the community are truly acknowledged and appreciated.

3. Communities often respond to voluntary plans for desegregation differently from the way they respond to involuntary plans. An education association,

for a variety of reasons, will find it advantageous to initiate voluntary action even in the absence of a court or government directive mandating the reorganization of the school system.

In many cases, minority communities have become disenchanted with desegregation, often because of past experience with teacher and student displacement, elimination of cultural identification in the schools, and continuing powerlessness to affect educational decisions made by existing power structures. If teacher associations seek common goals with students, parents, and community organizations, this disenchantment can be minimized and each group can be strengthened.

In other cases, school systems that desegregated technically but failed to integrate directly and meaningfully later found themselves in the uncomfortable position of being resegregated or facing charges of failure to keep up with changing expectations of the community and new legal requirements. For some systems, the first attempts may simply not have worked — they may have been only token efforts, power balances may have changed, or apathy may have permitted regression. In such situations, education associations should continually examine carefully educational conditions to determine whether each of three questions can be answered affirmatively:

1. Has every vestige of discrimination, segregation, or unfair treatment actually been eliminated throughout the entire school program?
2. Are the schools and learning experiences throughout the system organized so that the consequence of any school practice, policy, or procedure will not be and is not in practice unfair treatment or denial of opportunity for any child because of his or her economic status or racial, cultural, or religious identification?
3. Are the schools and learning experiences organized in such a way that true integration — respect for individual differences and values within an integrated, multicultural, pluralistic setting — is an expected outcome?

Perhaps the most obvious reason for affirmative intervention by teacher associations has had to do with the self-interest of teachers themselves. As changes have taken place, school authorities have often ignored rights of teachers and other employees. Unfair employment practices and contract violations easily occurred when association leaders were faltering and uncertain, and when teachers were unaware of their basic rights. Additional inequities resulted where chief school district officials disregarded the recommendations of local teacher associations. Thousands of black teachers and principals were displaced, demoted, and dismissed during the process of school desegregation in the Southern states. In other regions of the country black teachers and administrators were not employed in significant numbers in the first place. Where they were employed their numbers were woefully inadequate. The plight of black educators has shown the need to advocate teacher rights throughout the search for positive change. If teacher associations are involved from the beginning, they can have a stronger hand in bringing about constructive conclusions — and their members can be viewed with greater respect and handled with greater care.

When rights have been violated in school desegregation, assistance has been available from several sources, including:

- The National Education Association of the United States
- The Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
- NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice
- The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
- Various local and state governmental agencies
- State and federal courts
- Former black education associations
- National Urban League.

Minimum Guidelines: A Blueprint for Action.

Teacher associations have unique responsibilities to represent the interests of their members and at the same time seek to improve the educational climate in the schools when desegregation is being planned and accomplished.

Successful efforts to bring about school desegregation and integration are greatly facilitated by corollary efforts to provide appropriate involvement of association members. One means is provision for workshops and programs to strengthen their understanding of the role of teachers and the association in combating the effects of discrimination, racism, and inequality of opportunity.

Local, state, and national associations should always coordinate legal actions. State associations in particular should be prepared to assist local associations in training local leaders to deal with the problems of school desegregation and in protecting student and teacher rights. When the local cannot handle a problem, the state association should act directly, consistent with national guidelines and policy.

When considering appropriate actions or responses, associations should consider the following guidelines:

1. Associations should act at once wherever violations of teacher rights have occurred or are about to occur. The appropriate response may include personal appeals, community pressure, litigation, letter of complaint, grievance administration, political action, or some other organizational activity.

2. Where a desegregation suit has been filed against the school board, the association should consider moving to intervene — with the concomitant rights to present evidence and to appeal any adverse decision — in order to protect members' rights in transfer, reassignment, dismissal, demotion, and exercise of contract rights and to prevent disruption of the educational environment beyond that necessary to accomplish full desegregation.

3. When the association cannot enter as a party, it should consider filing a friend of the court brief to assure protection of its members' rights described in number 2 above.

4. Where there is no written contract in force or when the existing contract is inadequate to deal directly with the situation, associations should make every effort to obtain — through negotiation, legal action, and/or coalitions with parents, students, and community organizations — written board policies or contracts with the following provisions: carefully delineated pro-

visions on curriculum; protection of teacher rights; grievance procedures; faculty transfer; affirmative action plans; and in-service education for all personnel, including teachers, librarians, counselors, building administrators, custodians, secretaries, central administrative staff, and other personnel groups as well as school board members.

5. Associations should establish committees to oversee and review implementation of plans affecting curriculum, teacher rights, community involvement, and other factors.

The next several sections delineate a number of general principles which would be appropriate for education associations to urge upon all school districts facing desegregation. Specific principles are suggested regarding school governance, assignment of education personnel, student rights, and the instructional program. An additional section will discuss principles applicable to desegregation of metropolitan or multiple school districts and upon the courts.

General Principles

1. The plan for restructuring the school systems must overcome the effects of past discrimination and prevent the emergence of new patterns of racial and ethnic isolation.

2. The burden of dismantling dual system and eliminating discrimination must not fall on the victims of discrimination. Adjustments necessary to accomplish school integration must be borne by the entire community, regardless of prior social privilege or economic status. Reciprocity in all activities effecting desegregation should be standard practice. If an undue burden is placed on one segment of the community, as it is by one-way busing or closing of schools attended by minority children, the plan should be revised.

3. In districts where there is a significant number of minority students, any necessary reassignment of faculty should be designed to bring about an even minority allocation. In all cases minimum timetables should be established for affirmative action programs under which all schools will achieve and maintain a proportion of minority teachers and administrators which more or less reflects the proportion of minority students in the school district population.

4. The teaching faculty should include members of all minority groups in order to increase levels of understanding and acceptance of others among dominant groups in school populations and to ensure educational diversity in every school. Minority and nonminority students alike need to see minority educators in positions of authority and responsibility. Desegregation should never result in dismissal of staff for any reason, even if there is loss of revenue through reduction of A.D.A. or school millage.

5. While each school district should carry on recruitment programs to employ minority faculty, no teacher presently employed should be dismissed or laid off in order to implement the program. School systems should take advantage of any increase in staff-student ratios to create smaller classes, increase instructional services, and provide supplementary services to students.

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6. Associations must oppose any reduction in salary because of desegregation or its effects. Where consolidation of school programs necessitates reassignment of any teacher or administrator, the local association and the entire united teaching profession is morally and professionally compelled to exert every effort to prevent or reverse reductions in his status, authority, or responsibility.

7. Minority educators should be employed, with appropriate status and responsibility, at all levels of authority both in individual schools and in school district offices. Where minority educators hold such positions, they should be retained; minority educators should be recruited for positions at levels where they are not already represented.

8. Every effort should be made to eliminate the element of surprise. Early involvement of those affected is vital. Teachers, students, parents, community representatives, and others should have continuing and accurate information whenever changes are contemplated.

9. When faculty reassignment results from desegregation efforts no teacher should be moved into a situation likely to result in the isolation of that teacher.

School Governance

1. Teachers must have the right through their recognized organizations to select their own representatives in the development and implementation of plans; in participation in ESEA Title I, ESAA, and other advisory councils at building and district levels; and in review and evaluation of curriculum programs, in-service education activities, and achievement of objectives for school desegregation and integration. Parents and students also have and must retain the right to select their own representatives to advisory bodies, instead of being forced to accept those appointed by the board of education or the school administration.

2. The minority community should be represented with parity on advisory bodies in individual school and school district governing structures.

3. School board members, school administrators, and other officials who continue to discriminate or otherwise break the law should be aware that they may be subject to one or more of a wide range of penalties, including suspension, recall, removal from office, personal financial penalties, contempt procedures, and criminal prosecution.

Assignment of Education Personnel

1. Teacher organizations must be given the opportunity to take an effective part preferably through collective bargaining in making all decisions affecting recruitment processes, assignment of school staff, evaluations procedures, and/or voluntary and involuntary transfers.

2. Cooperative efforts between community and parent representatives and teachers should be pursued in developing and implementing policies affecting teacher recruitment, assignment, promotion, demotion, transfer, and dismissal.

3. Unfair and arbitrary tests such as the National Teacher Examination should not be utilized as standards for certification, recruitment, employment, assignment, promotion, transfer, or dismissal.
4. Voluntary transfers including transfer within the schools should be permitted and encouraged to the extent possible in order that involuntary actions will be reduced to their absolute minimum.
5. Involuntary transfers of teachers should be based as much as possible on seniority — that is, those with the least seniority should be the first available for transfer or reassignment except that to ensure educational continuity in each school affected by necessary transfers, a nucleus of the strongest staff members of all racial groups — particularly those with the best relationships with students, parents, and communities — should be retained.
6. Objective standards must be cooperatively established for protection of minority rights, equitable faculty distribution in all schools and administrative staffs, and fairness of transfer actions affecting individuals and groups of educators.
7. Teachers who are reassigned should be encouraged by the local association to accept the reassignment. Any teacher refusing reassignment should be permitted to resign without prejudice to future employment elsewhere.
8. Teachers should be transferred with partners or teams from one school to another to assist in orderly transition and to prevent feelings of isolation and alienation among those transferred.
9. Certificated teachers in so-called federal programs which will terminate upon termination of the federal funding must have contractual and employment rights equal to those in regular programs.
10. Roles and responsibilities of educators — both minority and non-minority — at all levels should be clearly defined in written policies.
11. Special in-service education opportunities should be provided to ensure sensitivity and communications among specific school faculties whose composition is changed by transfer. Districts should employ specialists and consultants to conduct such in-service education instead of leaving decisions about such training to the discretion of individual building administrators.
12. In each building, staff should be integrated shortly before or at the same time as students.
13. In large school districts relocation costs and/or mileage allowances should be provided to insure against undue financial loss.

Student Rights

1. Teacher associations should establish committees to review and oversee implementation of policies affecting rights of students. These committees should include student representatives selected by the students.
2. Students should be permitted and encouraged to select their own representatives to advisory committees and councils.
3. Assignment of students to special education and compensatory programs should be carefully evaluated and regulated to prevent unfair or disproportionate consequences for minority students. Tracking programs and any

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other device which institutionally creates, promotes, or perpetuates separa-
tism or polarization should be abolished.

4. Individual tests of intelligence and group standardized tests should not be used in school districts that are undergoing desegregation. Because there is a tendency to resegregate through ability grouping on the basis of stand-ardized test performance, a moratorium on all such tests* should be in effect during the desegregation process and for at least a year thereafter.

5. Specific attention should be given to the needs of bilingual/bicultural students. In schools without such children, students should be provided oppor-tunities for learning experiences with representatives of bilingual and bi-cultural groups through such activities as visitations between school districts, extracurricular activities, and student exchange programs.

6. Due process rights of students in serious discipline situations must be pro-tected in all instances, and effective grievance procedures for students should be instituted immediately. Such procedures should include the right of students to receive fair and adequate notice, to confront and cross-examine witnesses, and to have the right to appeal as high as the state board of education. Such procedures should be at least equal to those sought for teachers.

7. Both minority and nonminority students should be equitably represented on individual school and school district governance structures. Specific pro-cedures should be established to ensure equitable representation of minority students, with minimum guarantees, in the extracurricular program (student government, homecoming courts, and clubs, as appropriate).

The Instructional Program

1. Every school district should be required to establish multiethnic and multi-cultural approaches to curriculum development.
2. All instructional materials used in the school should —
   a. Be evaluated relative to treatment of minorities
   b. Reflect the cultural pluralism and multiethnic makeup of our nation and the world
   c. Provide abundant, fair, and well-balanced recognition of ethnic minori-ties (male and female, child and adult) in a variety of activities, roles, and occupations

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*NEA Resolution 73-36 "strongly encourages the elimination of group standardized intelligence, aptitude, and achievement tests to assess student potential or achieve-ment until completion of a critical appraisal, review, and revision of current testing programs." The NEA Task Force on Testing states that tests "must not be used in any way that will lead to labeling and classifying of students, for tracking into homogeneous groups as the major determinants to educational programs, to perpetuate an elitism, or to maintain some groups and individuals 'in their place' near the bottom of the socioeconomic ladders. In short, tests must not be used in ways that will deny any student full access to equal educational opportunity."

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d. Make apparent in content and illustrations the component racial and ethnic groups of the United States — including Asian Americans, blacks, Chicanos, native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and whites — rather than avoid identification by such means as smudging color over white facial features

e. Analyze intergroup tension and conflict fairly, frankly, and objectively, emphasizing the resolution of social problems in ways that carry out democratic values and goals

f. Clarify and present factually the historical and contemporary forces and conditions which have operated and which continue to operate to the disadvantage of minority groups

g. Portray racial and ethnic groups, with their similarities and differences, in such a way as to build positive images.

3. In-service education programs relating to desegregation or integration in whatever its forms should be mandatory for all staff who come into contact with children, including teachers, administrators, counselors, custodians, and school secretaries.

Desegregation of Multiple School Districts

Wherever consolidation of two or more districts as a means for achieving school desegregation and integration is under consideration:

1. Local associations should —
    a. Take immediate steps to establish close working relationships and continuing communications with association leaders in all districts involved and request the assistance and involvement of the state association in such efforts

    b. Develop consistent programs for interchange and development of relationships between teachers, students, and parents in the various communities. Some recommended means are voluntary student-teacher visitations and exchanges; joint programs, meetings and workshops; and other face-to-face activities

    c. Reassure members and others that the association will continue to work for the best interests of all through continuing involvement, negotiations, and legal action as necessary at each step of the process

    d. Maintain a continuing informational program to reduce misunderstandings and rumors, to enhance communications among all parties, and to ensure early and accurate dissemination of information

    e. Take steps to participate in the desegregation suit involving the local school system at the earliest possible stage of such litigation

    f. Notify authorities in all school districts involved that contract requirements in effect must be observed, and that any modifications of existing practices or other actions affecting school personnel, unless required by final court order, must be negotiated by the association.

2. State associations should —
    a. Be prepared to assist local associations in legal action and protection of member rights, provide necessary consultations, organize training

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activities for local leaders, and provide any other assistance which will help local associations and members prepare for and adjust to any changes

    b. Evaluate conditions in areas which may in the future become involved in metropolitan desegregation, reorganization, or consolidation and develop with local association leaders constructive plans and programs for the anticipated changes.

3. Rights of teachers should be protected in any plan for metropolitan desegregation and should include —

    a. Provisions to resolve any problems of retirement, teacher tenure, and teacher contracts within existing laws

    b. Guarantees that no teacher will be laid off or dismissed during any period of adjustment, reassignment, or reorganization

    c. Guarantees that no new teacher will be hired who is not fully certificated

    d. Protection against uncertain or "at-large" assignments

    e. Protection against the use of arbitrary evaluation procedures

    f. Retention of pay and economic fringe benefits, including pension rights, as well as other contract rights

    g. Clearly defined grievance and appeal procedures, to be in effect before and after any reassignment of staff

    h. Continuity and consistency of work load and assignments throughout the affected districts

    i. Maintenance of local collective bargaining and union security clauses, including agency shop provisions, and a moratorium on intra-union representation elections during the period of reorganization to ensure teacher collective rights and representation

    j. Provision for in-service education and human relations and multiethnic training at school district expense

    k. Protection of all other rights indicated or implied elsewhere in this document.