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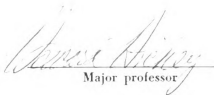
First Year Desegregation
In An Urban High School:
A Study of Conflict and Change

presented by

DENNIS L. PETERSON

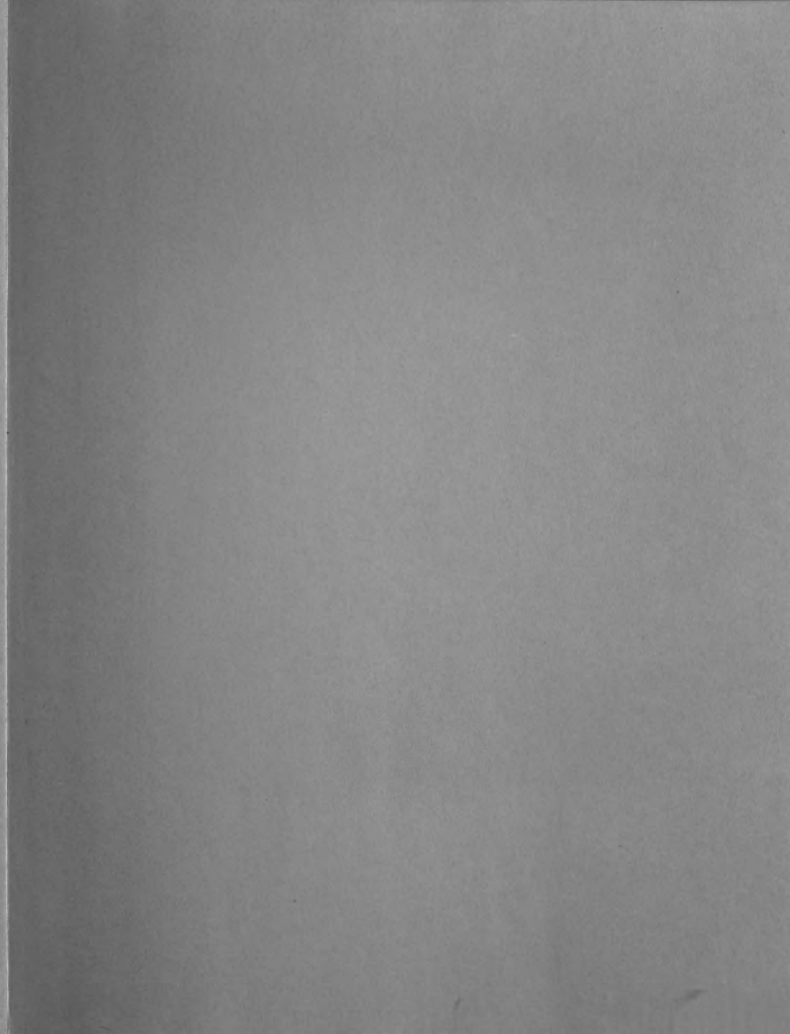
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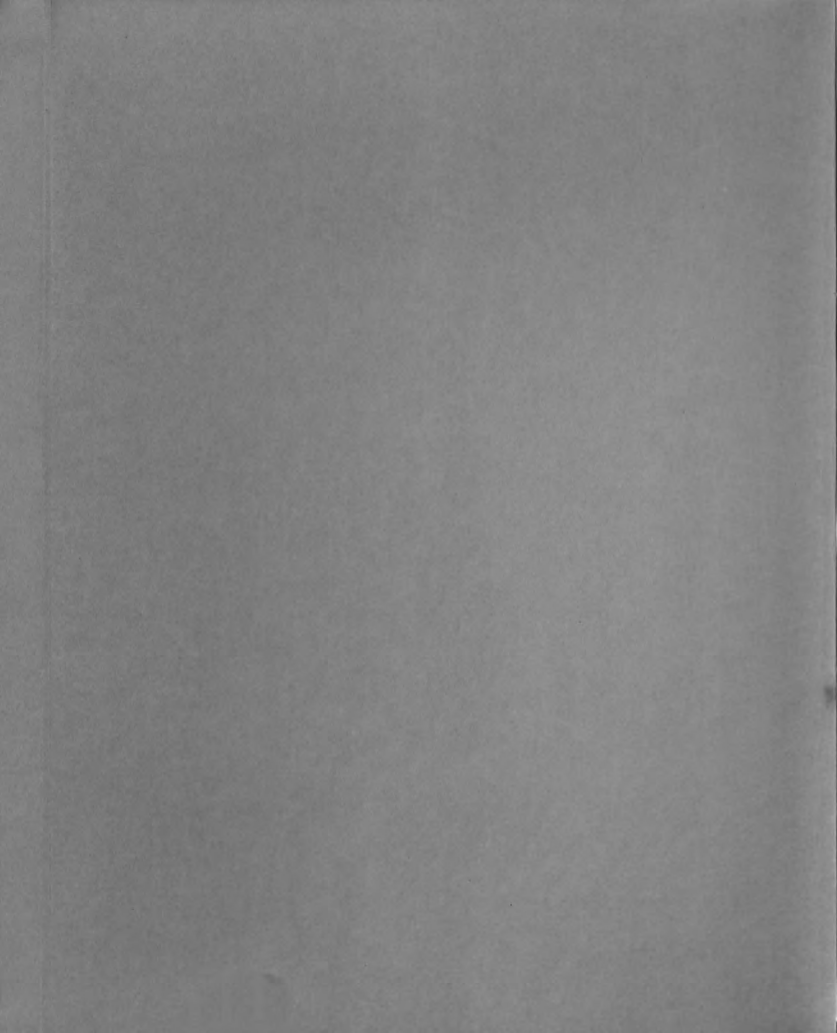
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ABSTRACT

FIRST YEAR DESEGREGATION IN AN URBAN HIGH SCHOOL: A STUDY OF CONFLICT AND CHANGE

By

Dennis L. Peterson

During the 1968-69 school year, a large midwestern high school experienced considerable conflict and violence in its first year of desegregation. This study sought to:

1. Describe the planning and preparations for desegregation as it related to the high school under study.
2. Provide an historical record and an analysis of the major incidents of manifest conflict which occurred in the school.
3. Determine whether changes occurred in the school and community which appeared to be associated with the conflict.
4. Ascertain the perceptions of students, teachers, and administrative staff relative to (1) the extent, if any, to which conflict was believed to be a factor in, or cause of selected changes; and (2) the extent, if any, to which such changes were considered to be useful or constructive in nature.

5. Provide a basis for understanding the role of conflict relative to school desegregation which would be of use to school administrators and others involved in this social process.

The research methodology was descriptive and historical and sought to answer several questions relative to each purpose of the study. Data gathering techniques consisted of interviews, historical evaluation and content analysis of documentary evidence, and a questionnaire which was administered to both Negro and Caucasian students, teachers, and administrators relative to the extent conflict was perceived to be a cause of changes and the extent those changes were believed to be constructive or useful.

Subsequent to the major findings and conclusions, the study presents suggested operational procedures relative to conflict and desegregation which may be useful to administrators contemplating or involved in desegregation. The major findings and conclusions as related to the purposes of the study were as follows:

1. Because of the existing social milieu, the School Board presented the desegregation plan to the public in May of 1968 with implementation to begin in September of that year. Largely because of the dearth of time and the inaccessibility of staff and students over the summer months,

preparation for desegregation was inadequate. Thus school systems should allow for ample preparation time of perhaps one school year whenever possible.

2. Three major incidents of violence occurred at the high school, all of which resulted in early closure of the school. They followed periods of discernible tension and were characterized by (a) the presence of a large number of students in the area prior to conflict; (b) a sudden, violent triggering incident involving a few persons; and (c) a subsequent escalation throughout the building involving greater numbers of students concomitant with the development of rumors. Immediate resolution of the violent outbreaks was accomplished by the use of police support in two of the three incidents. Subsequent analysis of the concerns expressed by students showed that racial problems were primary, though the conflict also served to focus attention on less apparent problems that existed in the school relative to staff, students, and general school operation.
3. Analysis of the data indicated that conflict functioned as a stimulus to change. Thirty-one major changes occurred in the school and/or community during the first year of desegregation or at the outset of the next school year. These

changes occurred in the following areas: (a) Curriculum and Student Activities; (b) Student Conduct; (c) Faculty and Staff; (d) Facilities and Transportation; and (e) Community-School Relations. Twenty-six were initiated through administrative decision, whereas the other five were sociological phenomenon beyond administrative purview.

4. Students, teachers, and administrators perceived all thirty-one changes as having been caused by the conflict to at least a small extent. Overall, teachers and administrators were in close agreement as to the role of conflict and rated it higher as a factor in bringing about the changes than did students. In regard to the usefulness of the changes, administrators evaluated them notably higher than the other three groups. They were followed by teachers, Caucasian students, and Negro students, in that order. This suggested a need for administrators to seek continued feedback as to the ongoing status of changes which have been initiated.

FIRST YEAR DESEGREGATION IN AN
URBAN HIGH SCHOOL:
A STUDY OF CONFLICT AND CHANGE

By

Dennis L. Peterson

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As the decade of the 1960's comes to a close, it is apparent that the need for school desegregation has been well established.¹ Moreover, a legal framework to accomplish it exists primarily because of the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965. However, it appears that the means to achieve it have proved to be far less successful. Many school systems have experienced disruption and various forms and degrees of conflict in the desegregation process.

Yet, school administrators are expected to plan for and implement desegregated schooling. As Wey emphasized, "The

¹ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483; James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Government Printing Office, 1966), 737 pp.; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Two Volumes (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 561 pp.; Meyer Weinberg, Desegregation Research: An Appraisal (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1968), 312 pp.

preparation, adoption, and implementation of a plan for desegregation is the most important task many school administrators will undertake in their professional lives."² To assist the administrator, there are various sources³ which attempt to provide guides to successful desegregation and provide insight into particular problems that might develop. However, these typically decry the development of conflict during the planning and/or implementation process.

Conversely, it is not altogether uncommon for those who have studied or experienced school desegregation to indicate that conflict may sometimes be inevitable, and that it may contribute to constructive, functional change.⁴

²Herbert Wey, Planning and Preparing for Successful School Desegregation (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1965), p. 45.

³Ibid., 47 pp.; Sheldon Stoff, The Two Way Street: Guideposts to Peaceful School Desegregation (Indianapolis, Indiana: David-Stewart Publishing Company, 1967), 184 pp.; Herbert Wey and John Corey, Action Patterns in School Desegregation (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1959), 285 pp.

⁴For example, Dan Dodson, et al., High School Racial Confrontation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1969), pp. 17-21; Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools (Baltimore, Maryland: The Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, July, 1955), p. 25; Lois V. Edinger and Ole Sand, "Schools for the Seventies and Beyond," Today's Education, 58:74, September, 1969.

It is these seemingly paradoxical conceptions of conflict in the desegregation process that led to the development of this study.

Purpose of the Study

Union High School, located in the northern metropolitan city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, was desegregated during the 1968 - 69 school year. It was a year of change, a period characterized by conflict as Negro and Caucasian students, teachers, and administrators, and various individuals and groups in the community sought to adjust to the exigencies of the new situation.

This study is an attempt to contribute to an understanding of an important period in the history of one large, urban high school and its community; the transition period between de facto segregated schooling and the completion of one year of desegregation. More specifically, this study seeks to:

1. Describe the planning and preparations for desegregation as it related to the high school under study.
2. Provide an historical record and an analysis of the major incidents of manifest conflict which occurred in the school.
3. Determine whether changes occurred in the school and community which appeared to be associated with the conflict.

4. Ascertain the perceptions of students, teachers, and administrative staff relative to (1) the extent, if any, to which conflict was believed to be a factor in, or cause of selected changes; and (2) the extent, if any, to which such changes were considered to be useful or constructive in nature.
5. Provide a basis for understanding the role of conflict relative to school desegregation which would be of use to school administrators and others involved in this social process.

Need for the Study

There is little doubt that the American public is concerned about social conflict and its more extreme form, violence. From the popular press to scholarly journals, a great deal has been written in recent years on the need to know more about this phenomenon.⁵ The Presidential Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, commissioned June 10, 1968, and extended for an additional six months on May 23, 1969, is indicative of this interest at

⁵ For example, Amitai Etzioni, "Searching for the Causes of Violence," The Wall Street Journal, June 23, 1969, p. 18; Harry Salsinger, "School Unrest--What Is Solution?" The Detroit News, January 2, 1969, pp. 1-26-A; and Raymond Mack, "The Components of Social Conflict," Social Problems, 22:388-397, Spring, 1965.

the highest governmental levels. There exists, then, a need to know more about conflict as it develops and operates in the different facets of social life.

For the school administrator, it is understandable that avoidance of conflict may be sought in the process of planning and implementing a desegregation plan. He is responsible for maintaining organizational equilibrium, and the general connotation of conflict, per se, stresses its dysfunctional aspects. Therefore, a smooth, peaceful transition is highly coveted. If considerable conflict occurs, the administrator as well as teachers and the community are apt to believe that planning was faulty or his leadership ineffective. In some cases this assessment may be correct. However, in others, it may be logical to assume that no matter how effective the planning and preparation, no matter how effective the leadership, conflict will occur. And further, it is possible that such conflict is not always dysfunctional. Thus, educators need to have knowledge of the phenomenon of social conflict, particularly in relation to school desegregation.

Writing of conflict in general, Dubin makes it very clear that it is a fundamental social process, even though the moralistic position has value proscriptions against it.⁶ Moreover, Coser

⁶Robert Dubin, "Industrial Conflict and Social Welfare," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1:183, June, 1957.

expresses the view of a number of sociologists who stress the functional aspects of conflict:

Far from being only a "negative" factor which "tears apart," social conflict may fulfill a number of determinate functions in groups and other interpersonal relations. . . . Commitment to the view that social conflict is necessarily destructive of the relationship within which it occurs leads . . . to highly deficient interpretations.⁷

Deutsch also discusses both the constructive and destructive effects of conflict and states that if the participants are satisfied with their outcomes and feel they have gained as a result of the conflict, then conflict is productive.⁸ Thus, to Deutsch, the question of constructive versus destructive is settled from the "standpoint of the actor."

Coser, on the other hand, who is concerned primarily with ". . . the consequences of social conflict which make for an increase rather than a decrease in the adaptation of particular social relationships and groups,"⁹ analyzes the functions of conflict from the "standpoint of the observer" as Mack and Snyder differentiate the

⁷ Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 8.

⁸ Morton Deutsch, "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive," Journal of Social Issues, 25:8, January, 1969.

⁹ Coser, op. cit., p. 8.

two perspectives.¹⁰ Thus, in assessing the impact of conflict in desegregation, school administrators need to be aware of these differences in approach in order to function more effectively in conflict situations.

Further need for studies of the origin and effects of overt conflict and violence that occur during desegregation is indicated by Suchman,¹¹ who also describes the importance of case studies of school desegregation in that,

Desegregation presents an unparalleled opportunity for the detailed study of how change is brought about within an existing institution. . . . The process by which school desegregation takes place within the school system should be reported carefully. Various methods and techniques for desegregation should be described, including an account of the actual procedure by which the technique was introduced and carried through.¹²

Fuch's successful case study of the 1965 New York City school boycott underscores the need to develop improved understanding of the disagreements that arise between the community and

¹⁰ Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict--Toward an Overview and Synthesis," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1:218, June, 1957.

¹¹ Edward Suchman, et al., Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958), pp. 127-128.

¹² Ibid., p. 87.

school personnel over integration, as well as the seemingly productive aspects of conflict in these situations.¹³

Finally, Clark angrily castigates social scientists for their reluctance to conduct meaningful studies because the data aren't readily quantifiable.¹⁴ He stresses the importance of studying dynamic situations in that

. . . to be taken seriously, to be viable, and to be relevant social science must dare to study the real problems of men and society, must use the real community, the market place, the arena of politics and power as its laboratories, and must confront and seek to understand the dynamics of social action and social change.¹⁵

In summary, then, this study is predicated upon a strong affinity for the above statement by Clark concomitant with the belief that there is a need for increased understanding of the desegregation process relative to planning and preparation, the nature of conflict, the relationship of conflict to subsequent change, and the possible constructive aspects of such change. If conflict in desegregation functions as a stimulus to change, and if it does contribute to constructive changes and functional adjustments in social

¹³ Estelle Fuchs, Pickets at the Gate (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. vi.

¹⁴ Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), pp. xxi, 76, 80.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. xxi.

relations, then school administrators should conceivably perceive conflict from a different frame of reference and operate more effectively to manage it in positive directions and thereby aid students, teachers, and community to meet the problems posed by desegregation in a more realistic manner. If the converse is true of conflict, then other alternatives would be necessary.

Finally, there is a need to know how those affected by conflict in desegregation view such changes, for differing perceptions would suggest the need for certain administrative efforts relative to such perceptions as they affect organizational goals. This would be particularly true in cases where the change represents a definite decision on the part of administrators to alleviate the problems identified and expressed by the conflicting parties.

Since social conflict is a natural social phenomenon, and since the magnitude of the social changes involved in school desegregation could conceivably result in conflict in any community, it is believed that other school systems and communities could benefit from the findings of an intensive case study of conflict in the first year implementation of desegregation in the Union High School of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Definition of Terms

Segregation refers to a socially-patterned separation of people, with or without explicit sanction.¹⁶

The term desegregation alludes to the abolition of social practices that bar equal access to opportunity. In education, efforts are made to create new patterns of interaction by altering the organizational and administrative structures that contribute to segregation.¹⁷

Integration is defined as the realization of equal opportunity by deliberate cooperation and without regard to racial or other social barriers. Integration implies more than desegregation.¹⁸

Major conflict will be used in this study to mean a level of manifest conflict, violent or nonviolent, which results in the need for police assistance and/or the closing of a school.

Negro and Caucasian are the terms used to designate the two races in this study. Though "black" and "white" are acceptable to some, to others they are not. Thus, the commonly accepted anthropological terms are used.

¹⁶Weinberg, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁸Ibid.

Social conflict has been defined in various ways, depending on the researcher. In the broadest sense it refers to any social situation or process in which two or more social entities are linked by at least one form of antagonistic psychological relation or at least one form of antagonistic interaction.¹⁹ This study will be concerned with the nature and effects of what has been called "manifest" or "interactional" conflict.²⁰

Violence is defined here as behavior designed to inflict physical injuries to people or damage to property.²¹

Assumptions

This study is predicated upon but not limited to the following basic assumptions:

1. Desegregation of educational institutions will continue to be of primary concern to educators in the foreseeable future. Hence, it is a process that requires extensive research of the kind proposed herein.

¹⁹Clayton E. Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 12:456, December, 1968.

²⁰Ibid., p. 435.

²¹Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.), Violence in America (New York: The New American Library, 1969), p. xviii.

2. Educators who are or will be involved in the processes of desegregation-integration can benefit from research documenting how others have functioned in similar situations.
3. Since conflict is a fundamental social process, educators need to have knowledge of its functions relative to the implementation of school desegregation.

Delimitations of the Study

1. This study is limited to an analysis of first year desegregation in one urban high school based on the assumption that an intensive analysis will provide useful data for educators and others concerned with desegregation in education that is not obtainable in other ways.
2. In a case study, great care must be taken to carefully identify and analyze all data pertinent to the purposes of the study. The interview, as a data gathering device, has certain potential limitations. Interviewees may suffer from faulty perception, faulty memory, lack of insight, and inability to articulate. Also, the interviewer may approach the respondent with a prepared set of expectations as to how the latter will answer questions, or he may develop such

expectations on the basis of early or incomplete responses.²²

To mitigate the former, the researcher sought to cross-check interview data with documentary evidence whenever possible. Through awareness of personal bias, the researcher sought to avoid the latter.

3. Good describes several factors which could conceivably affect the quality of the questionnaire as a data gathering device.²³ Pretesting the instrument prior to use in the study was accomplished to minimize shortcomings.
4. In the kind of study attempted here, there is a definite need to guard against the "tendency to overemphasize unusual events or distort them for dramatic effect."²⁴ No researcher can be certain of having avoided this proclivity.
5. Conflict is commonly thought of as something to avoid. Gathering data relative to this kind of phenomenon posed problems for the researcher in that certain lines of questioning were impossible due to personal consideration for certain individuals.

²²Young, op. cit., p. 208.

²³Carter V. Good, Introduction to Educational Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959), pp. 196-198.

²⁴Deobold B. Van Dalen and William J. Meyer, Understanding Educational Research (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1966), p. 220.

Overview of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter II offers a selected review of the literature in regard to (1) some theoretical considerations of conflict and (2) conflict in the desegregated school. Chapter III will describe in detail the methodology, sources of data, and procedures used. The next chapter provides background information for the study, describes and analyzes the planning and preparation for desegregation, and analyzes the conflict which occurred. Chapter V then describes the changes which were associated with conflict and examines the perceptions of students, faculty, and administrators as to the relationship between the changes and the conflict and the extent such changes were thought to be constructive. Finally, the summary, conclusions, and recommendations are presented in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature was directed toward the development of two major topics: "conflict theory" and "conflict in desegregated schools."

First, conflict theory was selectively analyzed in terms of (1) Conceptualization of Conflict; (2) Terminological Considerations; (3) The Effects of Conflict; and (4) Violent Conflict.

Second, the subject of conflict in desegregation was approached from the standpoint of (1) Research Documenting the Experience of School Systems; and (2) The Opinion of Authorities on School Desegregation. The reviewer attempted to focus on the nature of the conflict and its apparent effects on the school and/or community during the implementation process as opposed to the preparation and planning period prior to Negro-Caucasian contact in the desegregated school.

Finally, a brief summary concludes Chapter II of this thesis.

Social Conflict Theory

A review of the literature relative to conflict theory revealed that various disciplines have collected extensive data and developed numerous propositions, hypotheses, and theories relative to conflict phenomena. It was apparent, also, that this in turn has created the problem of integrating this knowledge so it can be of use not only to the theoretician, but also to individuals and groups seeking pragmatic solutions to and an understanding of conflict situations.

Conceptualization of Conflict

One of the basic debates in the study of conflict theory has concerned whether efforts should be directed toward the development of general theory or several special theories. Succinctly stated, the generalist viewpoint has held that specialized concentration leads to neglect of certain basic principles which are necessary to an understanding of any particular kind of conflict, and that special theories need to be imbedded in a more general theory of conflict. Advocates of the special theory approach have stressed that theory for a given kind of conflict (e.g., religious or racial) provides greater understanding of the relevant conflict phenomena than could be provided by a more general theory. This

argument, then, has objected to subsumation under more general principles.¹

In discussing these viewpoints, Fink argued that emphasis on the uniqueness of a special case, if carried to the extreme, became an idiographic approach to knowledge wherein true knowledge was of particulars.² And further, notwithstanding the validity of the idiographic approach for certain purposes, he pointed out that proponents of specialist theories have attempted to generalize about properties shared by all instances of a given type of conflict such as class conflict. By so doing, a nomothetic framework has been implied. Accordingly, Fink asked,

If the uniqueness of the single case poses no inherent obstacle to a special theory which generalized about a limited set of such cases, then why should the uniqueness of a single class of phenomena post any greater obstacle to a more general theory covering such classes?³

In answer, the idiographic and specialist approaches have stressed that movement to higher levels of generality necessitates loss of information and thus less valid knowledge.⁴

¹Clayton F. Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 12:413-430, December, 1968.

²Ibid., p. 414.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

A closely related viewpoint has acknowledged the importance of developing a general theory of social conflict but has stated that present knowledge of social conflict has been sufficient only to permit useful theory construction at the level of special types. This "gradualist" approach to the building of general theory has been emphasized by some well-known sociologists.⁵

Thus, overall, the approach to the development of theories about social conflict has been dependent on the perspective of the individual social scientist. But despite the debate between generalist and specialist, it was found that general theory has influenced special theories just as the opposite has been true. For example, the influence of Coser's general theory, The Functions of Social Conflict,⁶ was apparent in Himes' "The Functions of Racial Conflict."⁷ However, in regard to relationships between special theories, Waskow noted that it was probably unwise to make generalizations, for example,

⁵ For example, Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1967), p. 52; and Ralph Darhendorf, "Toward a Theory of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 2:170-183, June, 1958.

⁶ Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1956), 188 pp.

⁷ Joseph S. Himes, "The Functions of Racial Conflict," Social Forces, 45:1-10, September, 1966.

from the field of interracial conflict and violence to that in international conflict and violence.⁸

Also found to be related to the question of special or general theory was the problem of classifying conflicts. The nature of the parties has been used as one basic approach to determining the particular domains of various special theories. Examples of this type of classification are racial, religious, ethnic, and community conflict.⁹ Though the nature of the parties has been recognized as an important variable, Fink pointed out that other variables were thought to be equally important and had been used in various classification systems. In other words, conflicts have been classified by their socially integrative or disruptive characteristics, by their logical structure, by intensity, by degree of normative regulation, and by the realism-neuroticism involved.¹⁰ Mack and Snyder similarly described the difficulties involved in making a rational choice between alternative choices of a classification system from which to analyze social conflict.¹¹

⁸ Arthur I. Waskow, From Race Riot to Sit-In (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), pp. 293-294.

⁹ Fink, op. cit., p. 417.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 423-424.

¹¹ Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict--Toward an Overview and Synthesis," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1:212, June, 1957.

In summary, then, the need for further development of special theories as well as movement toward a general theory of conflict has been suggested, and constant critical interaction between the two levels of theory construction has seemed to be warranted even though there was little agreement among experts as to how conflicts could best be classified.

Terminological Considerations

One of the greatest handicaps of social conflict theory was found to be the lack of terminological agreement. Several authors such as Coser,¹² Bernard,¹³ and Boulding¹⁴ commented on this problem. Mack and Snyder characterized the situation when they wrote,

. . . "conflict" is for the most part a rubber concept, being stretched and molded for the purposes at hand. In its broadest sense it seems to cover everything from war to choices between ice cream sodas or sundaes. At any rate, the distinctions between conflict and non-conflict are fuzzy at best and at worst are not made at all.¹⁵

¹²Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, op. cit., p. 8.

¹³Jessie Bernard, "Parties and Issues in Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1:111, June, 1957.

¹⁴Kenneth Boulding, "Organization and Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1:122-134, June, 1957.

¹⁵Mack and Snyder, op. cit., p. 212.

In an almost humorous vein, Fink pointed out that conflict as defined by one writer may be synonymous with competition as defined by another, whereas other writers treat conflict and competition as distinct species of struggle. But to still others, competition was regarded as a species of conflict or conflict as a species of competition.¹⁶

Thus, no internally consistent and generally accepted language for discussing social conflict phenomena was found to exist. Basic to the problem was the fact that conflict theorists conceived of conflict differently though they often used the same terminology. Unfortunately,

Such differences are crucial because they affect the comparability of general theories, the classification of conflict phenomena, the logical relations between general and special theories, and the relevance of various bodies of data to the testing and further development of a general theory.¹⁷

One of the basic problems of defining social conflict was found to revolve around the question of a broad or narrow conception. Dahrendorf was representative of those who argued for a broad definition when he wrote,

I am using the term "conflict" in this study for contests, competitions, disputes, and tensions as well as for manifest clashes between social forces. All relations between sets of individuals

¹⁶Fink, op. cit., p. 430.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 431.

that involve an incompatible difference of objective--i. e., in its most general form, a desire on the part of both contestants to obtain what is available to one, or only in part--are, in this sense, relations of social conflict.¹⁸

On the other hand, Mack and Snyder argued for a much narrower conception. After differentiating numerous terms from conflict, a set of five properties was presented which characterized social conflict. In essence, to them, a conflict involved interaction between parties that had mutually exclusive or incompatible values.¹⁹ Similarly, Coser defined conflict as a struggle over scarce values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals.²⁰ These action-centered concepts exempt "motive-centered" conceptions which focus on the underlying psychological patterns that motivate the struggle rather than the struggle itself.

Conversely, Bernard believed that "motive-centered" or underlying conflict was of primary importance:

It is a mistake to limit our thinking about conflict to the overt phase of showdown or crisis. If we do, then the study of conflict in the community becomes merely a study of the technology of overt conflict. . . . It should be much more fundamental than

¹⁸ Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 135.

¹⁹ Mack and Snyder, op. cit., pp. 217-219.

²⁰ Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, op. cit., p. 8.

that. We must accustom ourselves to thinking of latent conflict as going on day in and day out in varying degrees of "intensity" whether the issues are clearly formulated or not.²¹

Deutsch, too, was found to be especially concerned with conflicts which existed psychologically for the parties. In his framework, it was especially important in characterizing any conflict to depict the state of affairs, the state of affairs as perceived by the conflicting parties, and the interdependence between the objective and perceived realities.²² He also believed it was useful to distinguish between "manifest" conflict and what he called "underlying" conflict.²³

But whether or not the term "conflict" was taken to apply only to manifest conflict or to a unified dynamic process involving both "manifest" and "latent" or "underlying" conflict, a clear conceptual distinction between the two was definable. Thus Fink believed that there was no great problem in adopting terminology which recognized both stages of conflict as a dynamic whole. He thus defined social conflict as:

²¹Jessie Bernard, American Community Behavior: An Analysis of Problems Confronting American Communities Today (New York: Dryden Press, 1949), p. 106.

²²Morton Deutsch, "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive," Journal of Social Issues, 25:8-9, January, 1969.

²³Ibid., p. 10.

. . . any social situation or process in which two or more social entities are linked by at least one form of antagonistic psychological relation or at least one form of antagonistic interaction.²⁴

This definition, then, was one which subsumed any form of social antagonism. Fink also carried on an extensive discussion of possible alternative conceptions of conflict, e.g., it could be subsumed under the definition of competition. However, the definitions of competition were found to vary as much as those for conflict. As a result, this reviewer believed continued amplification in such a direction was not particularly germane to this review. Too, it was noted that Fink's summarizing definition of conflict subsumed competition consistent with the belief that the broadest possible working definition of social conflict be adopted.²⁵

The Effects of Conflict

Thus far it has been established that social conflict theory is bereft of any single "correct" theoretical approach, is replete with terminological and conceptual difficulties, and is classifiable on various bases. In regard to classification, it became apparent that a number of writers had commented on the dysfunctions and functions

²⁴Fink, op. cit., p. 456.

²⁵Ibid., p. 455.

of conflict. Since this was particularly germane to the purposes of this study, this topic will be examined in detail.

Several years have passed since Coser charged that:

The neglect of the study of social conflict, and more significantly the neglect of the study of its functions as opposed to its dysfunctions, can be accounted for to a large degree by the changing roles of American sociologists in recent decades. With the shift from a reform-minded public to an audience of stability minded administrators and bureaucrats, with the shift of many sociologists from academic and scientific to extra-academic and technical roles, we noted a decreasing concern with the theory of conflict and a tendency to replace analysis of conflict by the study of "tensions," "strains," and psychological malfunctioning.²⁶

He also strongly criticized the tendency of some sociologists to stress stability, harmony, and integration of structure wherein conflict is viewed as a pathological condition which upsets the normal state of community equilibrium.²⁷

In the intervening years others have made the same point.²⁸ Horowitz took especially strong issue with those who stressed consensus theory to the detriment of conflict theory. According to him,

²⁶Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 24-25.

²⁸Donald Henderson, "Minority Response and the Conflict Model," Phylon, 25:18-26, Spring, 1964; Mack and Snyder, op. cit., pp. 212-213; Dubin, "Industrial Conflict and Social Welfare," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1:184, June, 1957; Himes, op. cit., p. 1.

. . . consensus theory, far from acting as a bulwark of democratic social theory . . . is the very reverse. It is a theory not for reaching agreements, but one which states that harmony is intrinsic to the organization of the bureaucratic life: a harmony which exists over and above the actual accords reached by men. And such must consensus theory remain since any serious theory of agreements and decisions must at the same time be a theory of disagreements and the conditions under which decisions cannot be reached. Yet consensus-theorists starting from the metaphysical "need" for consensus as universal, can only talk about absolute and relative consensus, complete or partial integration but never about conflict as a means of expressing genuine social needs and aspirations.²⁹

However, even though various writers have continued to lament the lack of attention given to conflict theory, and the functions of conflict in particular, there has been substantial commentary, even if somewhat paradoxical in nature. For example, Boulding wrote of conflict,

It is indeed an essential and, for the most part, useful element in social life. There is, however, a constant tendency for unmanaged conflict to get out of hand and to become bad for all parties. The objective of conflict management is to see that conflicts remain on the creative and useful side of an invisible but critically important barrier that divides the "good" conflict from the "bad."³⁰

Similarly, Katz stated,

Group conflict has positive social functions just as individual conflict contributes to individual development. What is inherently

²⁹Irving L. Horowitz, "Consensus, Conflict, and Cooperation: A Sociological Inventory," Social Forces, 41:182-183, December, 1965.

³⁰Kenneth Boulding, "Two Principles of Conflict," Power and Conflict, eds. Robert L. Kahn and Elise Boulding (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 76.

evil in conflict is its resolution through violence and destruction, for violence corrupts its users. Without conflict, however, there would be few problems, little stimulation, and little incentive for constructive efforts.³¹

Thus, the above reinforce what Williams alluded to when he wrote:

Even while the positive values of conflict have been asserted . . . conflict often becomes a vortex into which diverse interests and impulses are attracted. In the absence of a super-ordinate source of constraint, conflicts often are subject to escalation in severity or ferocity -- a tendency for increasing drastic means to drive out the less drastic.³²

Thus, a "cost" factor in conflict has become apparent. Yet, from another viewpoint, there was a cost factor when conflict was avoided or suppressed. Even Williams noted in an earlier paper,

Every action of any kind, including failure to act, "costs something." A considerable measure of conflict is often part of the price of an extensive or rapid gain in status on the part of a traditional minority, even under the most favorable circumstances which can be expected in practice.³³

Or again as stated by Pettigrew,

³¹Daniel Katz, "Approaches to Managing Conflict," Power and Conflict, op. cit., p. 113.

³²Robin Williams, "Social Change and Social Conflict: Race Relations in the United States," Sociological Inquiry, 35:23-24, Winter, 1965.

³³Robin Williams, The Reduction of Intergroup Hostility (Social Science Bulletin, 1947), p. 46.

History reveals that white separatists are correct when they contend that racial change creates conflict, that if only the traditions of white supremacy were to go unchallenged racial harmony might be restored. One of the quietest periods in American racial history, 1895-1915, for example, witnessed the construction of the massive system of institutional racism as it is known today. . . . The price of those two decades of relative peace is still being paid by the nation. Even were it possible in the late twentieth century, then, to gain racial calm by inaction, America could not afford the enormous cost.³⁴

It appears, then, that conflict has a "cost" consideration whether it becomes manifest or is suppressed. The basic concern on the one hand appears to be the tendency of conflict to escalate toward more violent forms, while on the other, concern over the suppression of conflict relates to a possible rigidity of social structure in which change can occur only in a violent, apocalyptic manner. For the researcher it has become apparent that:

One of the most difficult problems in conflict analysis is to arrive at a method for determining the dividing line between constructive functions and dysfunctions.³⁵

Deutsch, whose major interest was in psychological or perceived conflict,³⁶ thought that conflict clearly had destructive consequences if the participants were dissatisfied with the outcomes and felt they had lost as a result of the conflict. Conversely,

³⁴Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Racially Separate or Together," Journal of Social Forces, 25:57, January, 1969.

³⁵Mack and Snyder, op. cit., p. 228.

³⁶Deutsch, op. cit., p. 8.

conflict was productive if the participants were satisfied with their outcomes and felt they had gained as a result of the conflict as noted earlier.³⁷

Coser, though admitting that certain forms of conflict were destructive of group unity and led to disintegration of specific social structures, set forth several propositions relative to the title of his book. In summarized form they were:

1. Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups. Conflict with other groups contributes to the establishment and reaffirmation of the identity of the group and maintains its boundaries against the surrounding social world.
2. Conflict is often necessary to maintain a relationship. If ways to vent hostility are not available to groups, they might withdraw from the relationship.
3. A conflict is more passionate and more radical when it arises out of close relationships.
4. Conflict may serve to remove dissociating elements in a relationship and to re-establish unity. However, this is only in regard to conflicts within the framework of consensus and does not include those which are over the basis of

³⁷ Supra, p. 6.

consensus itself. Loosely structured groups, by allowing conflicts, institute safeguards against those which touch core values.

5. Given the fact that there is hostility and tension in a relationship, the occurrence of conflict can be taken as an index of the stability of a relationship. Closeness gives rise to occasions for conflict, but if the participants feel that their relationships are tenuous, they will avoid conflict.
6. Conflict with another group leads to the mobilization of the energies of group members and thus to increased group cohesion.
7. Groups engaged in continued struggle with the outside tend to be intolerant within.
8. Rigidly organized struggle groups may search for enemies with the deliberate purpose or unwitting result of maintaining group cohesion.
9. Conflict acts as a stimulus for establishing new rules, norms, and institutions, thus serving as an agent of socialization for both contending parties. As a stimulus to change, it makes the readjustment of relationships to changed conditions possible.

10. Conflict reaffirms dormant norms and thus intensifies participation in social life.
11. Conflict may initiate other types of interaction between antagonists, even previously unrelated antagonists.
12. If a relative balance of forces exists between two parties, a unified party prefers a unified opponent. In opposing a diffuse crowd of enemies, one rarely arrives at decisive results which fix an enduring relationship. Thus, conflict calls for a common organizational structure to facilitate the acceptance of common rules and conformity with them.
13. Conflict leads to the formation of associations and coalitions and thus helps to reduce social isolation or unite individuals or groups otherwise unrelated or antagonistic to each other.³⁸

It appears that number one, and nine through thirteen, might be of special value in analyzing the effects of conflict in school desegregation since they pertain to group formation and intergroup relations.

Deutsch, too, noted that the pervasiveness of conflict suggests that it has many positive functions. He thought that it demarcated groups from one another, thereby helping to establish group and personal identities, and that it prevented stagnation, stimulated

³⁸Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, op. cit., pp. 33-149.

interest and curiosity, and was the root of personal and social change.³⁹ However, he also categorized destructive conflict as that which was characterized by a tendency to expand and to escalate in such a way that it became independent of its initiating causes.⁴⁰

Himes sought to examine some of the social functions of racial conflict in general. By first defining "realistic conflict" as rationally determined means used to achieve culturally approved ends, and confining his analysis thereto, he excluded all nonrational kinds of conflict. He attempted to show that such conflict was functional because it (1) altered the social structure; (2) extended communication; (3) enhanced social solidarity; and (4) facilitated personal identity.⁴¹

First, in regard to the social structure, Himes argued that racial conflict mobilizes people and organizations as accessible sources of power. A boycott could exemplify this development. Further, he believed that the application of such power tended to reduce the power differential between actors, which in turn modified the status relationship between the parties to where they had equal, or approximately equal, status. This in turn facilitated discussion

³⁹Deutsch, op. cit., p. 19.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 11.

⁴¹Himes, op. cit., pp. 1-10.

of the issues from a position of equals rather than from the vertical arrangement in the usual status structure. These structural consequences could become institutionalized, depending on the goal achievement of Negro efforts.⁴²

Secondly, it was hypothesized that communication within the general social system was extended by racial conflict. Though conflict has tended to reduce customary interracial communication regarding trivial matters within the established communication etiquette, it has worked to extend communication of significant issues with genuine feeling and with noncustomary structures and situations. Too, both the volume of communication and the number of communicators were thought to increase as a result of racial conflict.⁴³

Thirdly, conflict was thought to enhance social solidarity in various ways. First, it has possibly contributed to increased visibility of the core values of the society. As an example, Himes noted that Martin Luther King included such values as justice, freedom, brotherhood, etc., in his nonviolent theoretical conception. Further, participants in conflict were thought to be united by the process of the struggle itself. Too, struggles have tended to enhance the value of and clarify the issues to both parties. Thus,

⁴²Himes, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

⁴³Ibid., p. 6.

new bases of consensus have developed. For example, "passive resistance" has received some degree of legitimation.⁴⁴

Finally, Himes thought that racial conflict enhanced the self-image of Negroes who conceived of themselves as fighting for the core values of the society. Their sense of alienation was therefore diminished and the feeling of membership in the inclusive society enhanced.⁴⁵

It should be noted again, however, that Himes predicated his theory upon the assumption of "realistic" conflict, notwithstanding the fact that the distinction between unrealistic and realistic has been a hazy one, at best.⁴⁶

A concrete, though not extensive, attempt to describe the functions and dysfunctions of conflict was applied to student activism on college campuses by Sampson. He described the functional aspects by indicating that experimental programs of education were being examined and tried out; new ways of introducing students to decision-making were being attempted; students were increasingly being listened to; painful re-examination of teacher training was

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁶N. A. Bailey, "Toward a Praxeological Theory of Conflict," Orbis, Winter, 1968, p. 1096.

being undertaken; and many students had developed a sense of commitment for the first time in their lives.⁴⁷ Overall, he believed that:

Student protestors . . . serve the positive function of rocking the boat, conceivably at a time and in a world in which some boats have slow leaks and require frequent rocking just to bail out enough water to keep them afloat.⁴⁸

On the dysfunctional side, Sampson proposed that increased public attention caused by the disruptions may in some cases have forced public investigations, with resultant stifling of free exploration and expression of all kinds of thought. Too, overparticipation on the part of students may have taken away from regular course time and may thus have limited the future success of some. If students were arrested, further damage may have been done to future careers. Finally, too much argument and protest, particularly by those not competent to speak out, may have served to disrupt and tear down more than to build.⁴⁹

In terms of conflict being functional or dysfunctional, Sampson appeared to stress the degree of conflict in terms of intensity and amount as important variables in terms of its effect.

⁴⁷ Edward E. Sampson, "Student Activism and the Decade of the Protest," Journal of Social Issues, 33:31-32, July, 1967.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

Violent Conflict

To this point, the escalation of conflict toward violence has been generally abhorred by various writers, though violence as a subject has not been examined in any detail until this point in the review.

The study of violence, according to Graham and Gurr, has generally been eschewed by social scientists in favor of concentration on the peaceful and institutional processes of our social and political life.⁵⁰ Further, it was found that those who did study violence were faced by many of the same difficulties of conceptualization and terminology that were associated with the study of social conflict in general. However, as Mack and Snyder pointed out, there has been general agreement among many writers that the chief problem is how to channel conflict resolution into nonviolent modes,⁵¹ though at least one writer specifically addressed himself to the functions of violence.⁵²

One basic problem in studying violence objectively was stated as follows:

⁵⁰ Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.), Violence in America (New York: The New American Library, 1969), p. xv.

⁵¹ Mack and Snyder, op. cit., p. 240.

⁵² Lewis Coser, Some Continuities in Social Conflict (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 73-92.

All of us . . . look at "violence" from perspectives colored by our beliefs and cultural experience. In common usage the term is pejorative. We use it as a label to categorize, and implicitly to condemn, acts of which we disapprove, whether or not all of them are violent or illegal. If we are sympathetic with the motives underlying collective violence we are likely to call it protest. When violence is used by public individuals, such as police and soldiers, we typically refer to it as "legitimate force" and as such praise it.⁵³

Thus, the terms "legality" and "legitimacy" were found to be important to an understanding of the concept of violence. The former was defined as being determined by formal procedures of decision making, whereas the latter referred to acts that members of a community regard as legitimate. But even if carefully defined, "one group's legitimate protest has been another group's illegal violence throughout our history."⁵⁴

Though research on violence has not been especially prolific, the work referred to immediately above was found to be an excellent contribution to an understanding of the broad topic of violence in America through an historical and comparative approach. But as Etzioni evaluated it with reference to the causes of and cures for violence,

Unfortunately, the main lesson of the numerous reports is that there is no one cause and no one effective therapy. The fact

⁵³Ibid., p. xvii.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. xvii-xix.

that man is by his nature quite capable of violence and has been to some extent throughout recorded history . . . suggests that we may not be able to eliminate violence. At best, we may reduce it.⁵⁵

Waskow sought to study past techniques of controlling violence and managing conflict in order to learn how racial violence could be replaced by other means of conflict. He studied the race riots of 1919 and the sit-ins, freedom rides, and rent strikes of the 1960's, and then attempted to generalize about the control of conflict and ways conflict could be carried on so that parties do not resort to violence. The author pointed out that the 1960's were characterized by such a wide range of protest activity that the term "non-violence" or "disorder" came to be used for everything between order and violence. He preferred the term "creative disorder" since, to a significant extent, such activity was not nonviolent in the Gandhian sense.⁵⁶

In regard to preventing violence in favor of other forms of conflict, he believed that political authorities are faced with a paradox. If police action prevents the expression of controlled disorder, the conflict could degenerate into violence. But likewise, if the police ignore controlled disorder, its users may try the more

⁵⁵ Amitai Etzioni, "Searching for the Causes of Violence," The Wall Street Journal, June 23, 1969, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Waskow, op. cit., p. 276.

threatening techniques. Too, there is the danger for controlled disorder to get out of control.⁵⁷ However, Waskow believed that,

. . . if the Congress and local governments fully accept sit-ins, marches, boycotts, and rent strikes as legitimate expressions of public desires . . . then it is rather unlikely that disorder will escalate into efforts at social disruption or rioting.⁵⁸

In addition to the invention and legitimation of new forms of controlled creative disorder that would be applicable to racial conflict, he believed that some form of federal police force must be created to prevent violence from being used by either side in this new concept of racial conflict.⁵⁹

Coser approached the topic of violence from a different, exploratory standpoint. He pointed out that large areas of social life become understandable only when the unanticipated consequences or latent functions of social actions are examined. Thus, in his view, it was necessary to distinguish between moral evaluation and sociological assessment of a phenomenon such as violence. But, he wrote that even when evaluation is free of a crude moralistic perspective in such matters,

There is a tendency to ignore the fact that actions that seem in the short run to lead to dysfunctional consequences might in the

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 283.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 284-285.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 287.

long run still be conducive to the emergence of highly functional adjustments.⁶⁰

Coser's sociological analysis of violence stressed three functions:

(1) violence as an area of achievement wherein it serves specified functions for its practitioners; (2) violence as a danger signal where the community at large derives advantages from violent action; and (3) violence as a catalyst in terms of its impact on publics and audiences.

In the first instance the author hypothesized, for example, that the disproportionately high rate in interpersonal violence among Negro males was an attempt to gain self-regard and self-enhancement since other channels to status have been blocked. In another example, Coser noted that the act of violence may symbolically commit a man to a revolutionary movement. He is reborn through the act of violence.⁶¹ This same point was made by Hoffer in his discussion of the fanatic and his role in mass movements.⁶²

In the second instance, where violence was seen as a danger signal, Coser noted that the plight of the American Negro and the

⁶⁰Coser, Some Continuities in Social Conflict, op. cit., p. 74.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 80-81.

⁶²Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: Perennial Library, Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), pp. 79-83.

urban poor, until recently, had a very low degree of visibility for the bulk of the white population and the decision-makers on the American scene. Even though their plight was physically visible, it was not socially perceived. Thus, it was largely through nonviolent action in the South but increasingly violent demonstrations and riots in the North that the problem was forcibly brought to the attention of white public opinion and the white power structure.⁶³ And,

. . . much as one might deplore the often apparently senseless violence displayed in such racial riots as those in Los Angeles (Watts, 1965), one cannot help feeling that they, too, constituted quite effective signaling devices, perhaps desperate cries for help after other appeals had been unavailing. They indicated a sickness in the body social which demands immediate remedy if it is not to undermine social order altogether.⁶⁴

Finally, in looking at violence as a catalyst, Coser used the matter of extra-legal uses of violence by law enforcement agencies in the South. Such violence existed for years until television and other news media made it counterproductive for those who engaged in it. Thus, the use of violence by law enforcement officers came to be perceived as a unilateral use of violence and thus acted as a catalyst to influence public opinion. However, it was also pointed out that when minority groups resort to violence to reach the public conscience, such violence may effectively serve as a danger signal

⁶³ Coser, Some Continuities in Social Conflict, op. cit., p. 86.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 87.

yet fail to act as a catalyst by virtue of alienating those who were sought as allies.⁶⁵

In summary, then, it appeared that most authorities reviewed recognized the need to manage conflict so as to preclude the development of its more extreme form, violence. However, Coser pleaded for a more objective view of violence and indicated that in some cases it was functional when viewed from the perspective of time.

Conflict in School Desegregation

It has already been pointed out that various authors have sought to offer constructive advice on how educators can function to prevent disruption and conflict in the desegregation process.⁶⁶ Others have shown an inclination to stress the smoothness of their desegregation process rather than focus intensively on the nature

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 88-91.

⁶⁶ For example, Armin Beck, Eliezer Krumbein, and F. D. Erickson, "Strategies for Change: Conditions for School Desegregation," Phi Delta Kappan, 10:280-283, January, 1969; Herbert Wey, Planning and Preparing for Successful School Desegregation (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1965), 47 pp.; Sheldon Stoff, The Two Way Street: Guideposts to Peaceful Desegregation (Indianapolis, Indiana: David-Stewart Publishing Company, 1967), 184 pp.; and Herbert Wey and John Corey, Action Patterns in School Desegregation (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1959), 285 pp.

and effects of the conflict which occurred.⁶⁷ Therefore, the purpose of this review was to examine selected studies and viewpoints in regard to the nature of conflict and changes related thereto which occurred in the desegregation process.

Washington, D.C., and Baltimore

One school system which sought to desegregate immediately following the *Brown v. Board of Education* case was Washington, D.C. In the process, Hansen noted that the period from September, 1954, to December, 1954, was characterized by conflict. There were (1) petitions to the courts to halt the planned desegregation program; (2) protests against pupil and teacher assignments; and (3) encouragement of student strikes in some secondary schools.⁶⁸ Though he stated that "any reasonable observer would have predicted a period of turbulence in community relations during the transition from a segregated to a desegregated system,"⁶⁹ he didn't offer any detail or analysis of the effects of such turbulence.

⁶⁷ For example, Carroll Johnson and J. Booth, "Achieving Racial Balance: The White Plains Story," *School Management*, 12: 45-49, January, 1968; Carl F. Hansen, *Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D.C., Schools* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1957), 65 pp.

⁶⁸ Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Baltimore, Maryland, was another district which was desegregated at about the same time as Washington, D.C.'s. The Commission that assessed the first year of desegregation mentioned that demonstrations, threats, picketing, and intimidation accompanied desegregation in its first month. But of more interest was the statement, even though the reader was not apprised of the events and analysis underlying it, that,

. . . some school officials and observers believe, in retrospect, that the disturbances had a salutary effect. First of all, the most bitter opponents of desegregation had their days of public expression and found themselves a minority, thereby relieving the pressure of unspoken and hence unmeasured hostility toward integration. Secondly, the School Board was put to the test and held fast. . . . And third, public support of integration was crystallized. Organizations that previously had taken no position . . . and were even doubtful about its wisdom suddenly appreciated, when law and order were challenged, which side they were on. . . .⁷⁰

Thus, in this case, the researchers went a step further than suggesting the inevitability of conflict by also referring to the functions of conflict in desegregation.

Berkeley

In 1964, Berkeley, California, instituted its plan for desegregating three of that city's junior high schools (the fourth school

⁷⁰ Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools (Baltimore, Maryland: The Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, July, 1955), p. 25.

had been previously desegregated). This initial effort was not without tension and strain. In the Garfield School, Negro students "tested" Caucasian students for reactions to such means as jostling and tripping, though few fist fights ensued. Many Caucasian youngsters were fearful and many Negroes felt uprooted from their previous school. Thus, disciplinary incidents increased.⁷¹

Rumors were common. For example, it was said that a rape had occurred, and some white parents thought their children were being beaten up. Certain Negro teachers believed they were assigned higher proportions of lower tracks to teach because supposedly they knew how to handle such youngsters.

What changes were associated with this conflict? The researchers noted that by mid-year there were some positive changes. First, a group of students formed a race relations club as the result of an incident in which a Negro boy was harassed by other Negroes for being friendly toward Caucasians. Second, at least one homemaking class frankly discussed racial problems after a Negro pupil had been degraded by a nursery school child with whom the class was working. Third, a core of teachers helped the administration with hall and playground discipline and organized

⁷¹James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 474.

interracial noontime activities. Finally, even though many white students reported they were less "comfortable" than before segregation, a significant number realized that they were being exposed to an important reality. They no longer lived in "white ivory towers."⁷² Presumably, this "reality" was enhanced by the conflict, for the researchers also made the point that at the Willard Junior High, even though it had been bi-racial for over thirty years and almost devoid of racial problems, there was apparently more toleration than integration.⁷³

However, from the outset of the implementation of desegregation in 1964, it was to take five more years of struggle before Berkeley was to become a landmark in school desegregation. Milstein and Hoch included the years of planning as well as actual implementation when they wrote in 1969,

Between 1958 and 1968 the district was shaken by the battle waged between pro- and anti-integration community groups. It has emerged from this conflict as a leader among school districts pursuing integration.⁷⁴

⁷²Ibid., p. 477.

⁷³Ibid., p. 478.

⁷⁴Mike M. Milstein and Dean E. Hoch, "A Landmark in School Racial Integration: Berkeley, California," Phi Delta Kappan, 50:524, May, 1969.

Berkeley is today the only community of over 100,000 with a significant Negro population to achieve total school desegregation wherein all schools approximate the composition of the total school student body.⁷⁵

Unfortunately, the authors did not offer much insight into the nature and changes related to the conflict beyond what was already learned about Berkeley from the "Coleman Report." They chose instead to emphasize the planning and preparations for desegregation. However, they did note that when the Ramsey Plan was initiated in 1964, the opponents of desegregation organized as the Parents Association for Neighborhood Schools (PANS) and demanded removal of the board members who favored the plan. The supporters of the plan formed the Berkeley Friends of Better Schools. The result was a recall election to indicate whether the district would desegregate. One of the largest voter turnouts in any Berkeley School Board election gave the board members who favored the desegregation plan victory by a three to two majority. Therefore, it appeared that a result of conflict was to crystallize the opinions of the community behind the school board, not to mention considerations relative to the formation of new groups.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 524, 528.

Evansville and Oak Park

It was interesting to examine two extensive case studies which dealt with the subject of school desegregation. In the first instance, the Evansville School Corporation, in Evansville, Indiana, desegregated in 1949 and thus was a prototype for many schools that were to desegregate after the Brown v. Board decisions of 1954. Wiley, writing in 1961, stated, in part, that while other towns and cities had experienced considerable conflict and community upheaval over the issue of public school desegregation, the community of Evansville had reached an advanced stage of school desegregation with a negligible amount of "discord or openly expressed ill will on the part of community groups."⁷⁶ Thus, he sought to determine the reasons for such "peace" by studying the influence of the community on the school.

Of special interest to this reviewer was the fact that Wiley emphasized how peaceful the transition was, but he also concluded that "the Evansville plan served to maintain the status quo in the school situation for the first five years of school desegregation."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Alfred D. Wiley, "A Study of Desegregation in the Evansville School Corporation, Evansville, Illinois" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1961), pp. 9-10.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 241.

In other words, he indicated that the "lid" was kept on, but that desegregation was primarily a shifting of bodies rather than a developing process leading to integration. The question arises as to whether "peaceful" desegregation is always superior to desegregation characterized by conflict.

The second study was an attempt to analyze the acculturation among Negro and Caucasian students in the high school program of Oak Park, Michigan,⁷⁸ a district whose secondary schools had become desegregated as a result of a forced attachment of the predominantly Negro Carver School District to it in 1961.⁷⁹

Gordon discovered that even after five years of desegregation, "Most of the social and academic behavior patterns of the Negro students and the white students remained as before the desegregation of the secondary school program."⁸⁰ He also noted that there was an absence of overt conflict during that period, though there was

⁷⁸ Leonard Gordon, "An Acculturation Analysis of Negro and White High School Students: The Effects on Social and Academic Behavior of Initial Interracial Association at the Secondary School Level" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State University, 1966), 250 pp.

⁷⁹ For an extensive case study of the attachment, see Clifford B. May, "The Forced Attachment of Two Culturally Differing School Districts: A Problematic Analysis" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State University, 1963), 285 pp.

⁸⁰ Gordon, op. cit., p. 217.

some tension, particularly between Negro and Caucasian female students. This was because of the greater pressure on girls to conform to certain modes of dress as well as the male Negro's opportunity to gain recognition in sports.⁸¹ Even so, it was interesting to learn yet another school which was characterized as being peacefully desegregated had not moved appreciably toward integration even after the passage of several years. When one contrasts the process of desegregation in Berkeley with that of Evansville and Oak Park, the question again arises as to whether conflict may not in some cases actually be functional relative to the ultimate goal of school integration.

Phi Delta Kappa Survey

Part Four of the Phi Delta Kappa publication, Action Patterns in School Desegregation, sought, in part, to determine changes in the education program that resulted from desegregation. The data were collected from seventy school districts who had desegregated or had desegregation programs in progress. Though most of the analysis dealt with changes that resulted from the planning and preparation process or were changes devoid of insight as to their possible causes, some insight into the nature of conflict

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 122-123.

was provided as a result of the authors' research. They found that an increase in discipline problems resulted from desegregation in several of the schools that were surveyed. The kinds of problems ranged from fist fights to name calling. But, nearly always, the authors reported, these infringements were committed by the same students who were guilty of improper acts before desegregation.

In their words,

A school relatively free of disciplinary problems before desegregation need not be too concerned about additional discipline problems afterward, but the school that is having problems will experience a definite increase after desegregation. In the latter type of school, mixing of the races adds a new dimension to disciplinary problems.⁸²

Moreover, tardiness, absenteeism, and drop-outs prevailed more among the Negroes than whites at the beginning of desegregation,⁸³ but not enough information was given to determine whether this was related to social conflict.

Dances, cafeterias, and overcrowded buses were determined to be places where conflict was likely to develop.⁸⁴ But overall, in regard to student problems, the belief of the authors was that

⁸²Wey and Corey, op. cit., p. 237.

⁸³Ibid., p. 241.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 246-252.

student problems in a desegregated school were essentially the same as in any school; "they are only accentuated by desegregation."⁸⁵

Studies of Nine School Systems

Research initiated under the auspices of the U. S. Office of Education, and undertaken to supplement the statistical survey which was designed and administered by James S. Coleman and Ernest O. Campbell in Equality of Educational Opportunity, consisted of nine recent case studies under the direction of Raymond Mack. Mack indicated, in part, that he hoped his team of researchers would be able to put "flesh on the bones of the survey data by learning something from observation and interviews about definitions of situations and the interactional contexts of the data sought by survey methods."⁸⁶

The result was a collection of case studies of school desegregation in communities of various sizes in all parts of the nation. School districts that were examined were in Riverside, California; River City and Bayou City in Mississippi; Savannah, Georgia;

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 233.

⁸⁶Raymond Mack (ed.), Our Children's Burden (New York: Random House, 1968), p. xi.

Newark, Delaware; Hampstead, New York; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; and East Los Angeles, California. Though extremely interesting, the studies lacked unity because of the various approaches used by the researchers. None sought to describe and analyze the impact of conflict during the implementation of desegregation, though some described the present status of desegregation in a particular community, or emphasized the planning and preparation phase of desegregation. However, in a few cases, the possible relationship of conflict to change was described.

Duster, for example, was unequivocal in emphasizing the positive role of conflict and violence as a catalyst to bring about the desegregation of schools in Riverside, California. "It was primarily because someone set fire to the Lowell Elementary School in the wake of Watts," wrote the author, "and only after a threat of violence hung over the city that the decision to desegregate was finally made."⁸⁷ The same point was made in a different way regarding two Bayou County schools in Mississippi. As the authors stated, "True violence has not occurred thus far, but then neither has large-scale desegregation."⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Troy Duster, "Violence and Civic Responsibility," Our Children's Burden, op. cit., p. 38.

⁸⁸ Michael Aiken and N. J. Demearth, III, "Tokenism in the Delta," Our Children's Burden, op. cit., p. 101.

Central City

One of the most fascinating accounts of conflict in school desegregation was the two-year struggle from 1945 to 1947⁸⁹ in Central City, pseudonym for a midwestern, urban community. Documented were the events which began in 1945 when Caucasian students of Bartow School went on strike with the demand that all Negro students be removed from their school and ended with implementation of a desegregation plan two years later. It was basically a story of community conflict and its impact, rather than a study of the impact of conflict upon the school after the implementation of desegregation had begun. However, the author's conclusions were noteworthy, especially when the turmoil of three student strikes and constant school-community conflict were considered as background.

Tipton believed that removal of segregation in the schools and certain other areas of community life would never have been attempted if it hadn't been for the student strikes, even though their original purpose was to achieve segregation. Reflecting on the entire experience, he stated that,

⁸⁹James H. Tipton, Community in Crisis (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953), 180 pp.

People who believe in the values of good will, democracy, and peaceful human relations often find it difficult to believe that conflict may have constructive effects.

[There is] . . . a dilemma with which every peaceloving person is faced at some time. It is possible to recognize and admit the good resulting from past conflict. It is well-nigh impossible to admit that present or future conflict may bring progress.⁹⁰

Finally, he argued for a new concept of social conflict, one wherein resolving conflict would lead to "something more than 'a feeling that now all our troubles are over,' because we would realize that troubles settled only make room for more troubles which take their place."⁹¹

White Plains

A more detailed study relative to the impact of a major incident on a desegregated school was directed by Dan Dodson under the sponsorship of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

On March 26, 1968, at White Plains High School in White Plains, New York, close to 150 Negroes and a few Caucasians staged a walkout. (The school system had first desegregated its schools in 1964.) Their representative met with and demanded of the administration the following:

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 177-178.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 179.

1. Black history course at the high school level.
2. Assemblies every other week featuring black speakers, with all students required to attend.
3. Instant implementation of Negro representation on the senior prom committee.
4. More Negro books in the library.
5. Negroes to be employed in the cafeterias. . . .
6. More Negro teachers and guidance counselors.
7. Humanities class should be open to all.
8. White teacher attitudes must change. All teachers should be required to attend summer courses in human relations.
9. The school must teach about blacks in all phases of the curriculum.⁹²

The days which followed were trying ones for the participants.

Meetings ensued between student leaders and administrators as well as between parents and educators. There was also continued turmoil at the high school. On April 2, after an assembly wherein the student demands were discussed, a Caucasian girl was pinned against a wall by Negroes who were yelling and screaming, "kill her." This proved to be the most serious incident of the disruptive period experienced at White Plains High School. Later that same day a group of Caucasians and Negroes confronted one another on the

⁹²Dan Dodson, et al., High School Racial Confrontation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1969), p. 13.

school lawn, but fighting was avoided. However, by the afternoon over 1,000 students were milling around on the lawn. This led to the closing of school for the rest of that day, and subsequently for the next day as well.⁹³

Thus began another round of talks between administrators and leaders of the community, students and administrators, and the administration and faculty. On April 3, student negotiators and the administration reached and signed an agreement in regard to the student grievances. This negotiation process was to be a source of severe criticism of the administration by the Caucasian community, though Dodson believed it to be defensible.⁹⁴

On April 4, students returned to school and were appraised of the agreement in a morning assembly. Several members of the police were on hand in plain clothes in case of disorder. Though there were some problems in getting students to return to classes after the assembly, police intervention was not needed.

Thus, overall, there was virtually no destruction of property. While there were tense moments, there was little violence, and no one was expelled from school.⁹⁵

⁹³Ibid., pp. 13-18.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 55.

⁹⁵Ibid.

Dodson devoted a great deal of his analysis to changes that resulted from the conflict and declared that the school would probably never return to what it was before. For example, in regard to the complaint about the lack of emphasis on Negro history, the following occurred:

1. Lunchtime and evening elective seminars were instituted with the assistance of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.
2. Movies under the auspices of the "History of the Negro People," sponsored by CBS, were used extensively in social studies classes.
3. Field trips were arranged so students could go to see Negro theatre.
4. Assemblies were planned which involved Negro entertainers as well as educators.⁹⁶

There were several other effects of the conflict on the school and school district. Some of the more important ones were as follows:

1. Discussion groups involving both Negroes and Caucasians were organized in the junior high school in order to encourage student opinion of the curriculums and to clarify the issues which developed at the high school.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 59.

2. Impetus was given to curriculum revision in the high school social studies program.
3. Clarification of the discipline policy occurred.
4. A Human Relations and a Joint Communications Committee were organized at the high school composed of both racial groups. (This, however, created a new problem in that the leaders of student government saw it as a threat to their status and prerogatives.)
5. Channels of communication were enhanced between Caucasian and Negro faculty members.
6. White Plains became the sponsoring agency for a five city in-service education program in human relations.
7. The four category rank-in-class weighting system was abolished except for a slight weighting for "Honors" courses. Thus the grading system became more democratic.
8. Mobility between course levels was left to student-parent choice, subject only to the principal's review.
9. In the elementary and junior highs, there were intensified efforts to encourage Negro parents to become involved in the PTA.
10. Efforts were made to identify promising Negro students for the purpose of encouraging the development of leadership skills.

11. A student curriculum advisory group was formed to work with the social studies department chairman.⁹⁷

Thus, Dodson's study, more than any other, illustrated the effects that conflict may have on the school program and community. Though the author made no attempt to subsume the various effects within a conceptual framework, he nevertheless made some attempt to identify how conflict functioned to influence the school and its community even when it was of rather limited duration and intensity.

Generalized Opinion

Certain educators and scholars have written on the subject of conflict in school desegregation, drawing their conclusions from personal experience or the writings of others rather than from their own research. Others appeared to be simply stating their own opinion. It is this kind of commentary that completes the selected review of the literature.

After noting that desegregation was bound to produce tension and conflict, Suchman, Dean, and Williams commented on the nature of conflict as well as its functions in the desegregation process. In the first instance they stated that,

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 55 -63.

1. The threat of violence following desegregation would be followed only on rare occasions by actual violence. Where violence did occur it would resemble mob behavior, coming irrationally and suddenly. Its course would be quick and temporary.
2. A frequent accompaniment to conflict was rumor.
3. Conflict over desegregation would pass through several stages. At first it would be random, vague, and unstructured. There would be an atmosphere of uneasiness. This uneasiness would become focused, take on definite form and follow specific strategy. Finally, it would become part of the larger organized conflict between Negroes and whites.⁹⁸

In the second, they declared that,

. . . tension and conflict about desegregation will serve an important function in preparing the way for change by bringing the issue of desegregation into the open, identifying opposing interests, uniting support and, in general, disrupting the existing order so that a new definition of the situation becomes possible.⁹⁹

⁹⁸Edward A. Suchman, John P. Dean, and Robin M. Williams, Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions (Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958), p. 40.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 39.

Tumin discussed and emphasized the need for true integration in American education. In regard to achieving it, he wrote,

We shall not accomplish anything significant in the field of education . . . without much struggle and conflict. We can hope to minimize the destructive aspects of such conflict. But we cannot hope for smooth, tranquil, easygoing transitions from one system to a sharply contrasting system. It seems to me we must accept the likelihood of a high level of dispute and conflict as a natural correlative of the process of change toward the democratic goals we commonly avow as worthy and worthwhile of achievement.¹⁰⁰

Thus, Tumin suggested the inevitability of conflict as well as the point that it has destructive, and by implication, constructive aspects as well.

One of the more excellent symposiums on the subject of school integration was held at Michigan State University in 1964. The noted participants covered a wide range of approaches to the subject and had some spirited disagreements. Discussing the desegregation process in New Rochelle, New York, Salten emphasized the community conflict which ensued as a result of a court order to desegregate the Lincoln Elementary School. Not only were there Caucasian as well as Negro groups of parents opting for the

¹⁰⁰ Melvin Tumin, "The Process of Integrating the Urban School," Integrating the Urban School, Gordon J. Klopff and Israel Laster, editors (New York: Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, 1963), p. 15.

neighborhood school concept, but there were also groups of each race that wanted integrated schools.¹⁰¹ Overall, he believed that desegregation tends to create new problems of adjustment, especially when it follows in the wake of serious community conflict. But he made it equally clear that,

It isn't essential that we totally avoid conflict in America. It's less important to avoid conflict than it is to establish some morality and justice, and a good deal of conflict in our social order is extremely constructive. It would seem to me that a study of history would indicate that very few positive changes have been made without some conflict.¹⁰²

But he reached a different conclusion than Wey and Corey¹⁰³ about the kinds of problems when he wrote, "Desegregation tends to create new problems of adjustment, especially when it follows in the wake of serious community conflict."¹⁰⁴

Finally, at the same conference another participant gave credence to the view that conflict may be dysfunctional in one sense, yet functional in another, and thereby illustrated the paradox of the phenomenon under consideration. He wrote,

¹⁰¹David G. Salten, "The Organization of Integrated School Districts: The New Rochelle Story," School Integration (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1964), p. 28.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁰³Cf. ante, p. 51.

¹⁰⁴Salten, op. cit., p. 35.

What I am especially concerned about is the lack of encounter of school principals, teachers, and counselors with members of racial and ethnic minorities on the level of equality and as participants in shaping the activities of the school. Such encounters may not produce understanding or good will, but they do have the possibility, much more than do textbooks or administrative rules, of changing attitudes, of forcing the professional to ask again: What am I? What am I doing here? What ought I to do?¹⁰⁵

Summary

The review of the literature has sought to deal with selected aspects of social conflict theory in general as well as with the nature and possible effects of conflict in school desegregation in particular.

In regard to social conflict theory, there is controversy as to the relative value of special theories as opposed to general theories. Basically this appeared to be a manifestation of the traditional arguments of social scientists relative to the idiographic-nomothetic continuum. In any case, the literature indicated there was ample room for continued development of both special and general theories. Too, several alternative bases exist for classifying social conflicts such as the nature of the parties involved or the functional-dysfunctional consequences of conflict.

¹⁰⁵Wilson Record, "The Changing Attitudes of School Personnel," School Integration (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1964), p. 60.

Terminological problems were also found to be intrinsically related to the overall problem of conceptualization. The literature indicated that there was no generally accepted language for discussing social conflict. Even the term conflict, itself, was defined in different ways, depending on the individual's conception of the term. For example, "social conflict" could signify a psychological pattern of tension, or it might exclude all but overt, manifest conflict. Therefore the further study of conflict calls for careful delineation of terms.

As to the possible effects of conflict, numerous writers alluded to its functional consequences, though they also indicated concern over the tendency of conflict to escalate to violent modes of activity. Another viewpoint admitted the possible "cost" of conflict but indicated there was also a cost if conflict were suppressed in favor of tranquility.

In regard to violence, it was found that emotions and terminological problems were important considerations in assessing its nature and impact. Violence perpetrated upon criminals by the police may be both legal and legitimized, yet the actions of a racial group using violence to destroy a building may not be legitimized and thus be condemned. Violence, then, like other forms of conflict, has different connotations for different people. At least one authority

stressed the functions of violence when it was viewed from the perspective of time.

Though the review of the literature on the broad topic of conflict theory seemed to indicate a dearth of specific help for the school administrator seeking to cope with conflict in school desegregation, it did show there were theories which could, at least in part, be applied. Primarily, Coser's general theory on the effects of conflict and/or Hime's partial theory on the functions of racial conflict appeared to be useful. And, even though it was noted that application of general theories to specific conflict situations was a very tenuous matter, and that generalizing between specific theories was found to be perhaps even more tenuous, the literature confirmed that an acquaintance with conflict theory would be of definite value to school administrators in providing a frame of reference from which to view conflict as it functions in the milieu of desegregation.

An examination of the desegregation process in selected school systems and the opinions of certain authorities in the field as to the nature of conflict and subsequent changes that were related to it showed that these topics were alluded to more often than might be thought. But with few exceptions, the reviewer was forced to search carefully for such material, most of which could not be traced to empirical studies. There was a great deal more opinion

than research. Only one study actually dealt with the topic of conflict that occurred during the implementation process to any degree, and then the entire analysis was based on one incident in a school.

It was of special interest to learn that in some instances "peaceful desegregation" had not resulted in appreciable movement toward integration, whereas in others it appeared that desegregation that was characterized by conflict had resulted in progress toward integration. This appeared to suggest that in some cases conflict may be necessary if change is to occur.

Overall, the review of the literature revealed a dearth of empirical data relative to the extent that conflict which occurs in the desegregation process may be a factor in contributing to constructive change.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES, METHODS OF RESEARCH, AND DATA GATHERING TECHNIQUES

The researcher first became interested in this study in December of 1968 when Union High School, of Grand Rapids, was closed because of racial violence. After preliminary investigation into this and other previous conflict at the school, permission was obtained from both central office and building personnel to proceed with the proposed study. Data gathering of an historical nature began immediately; however, the major part of the data were collected between September and December of 1969.

The present study is divided into four major phases, each involving specific methods of research and data gathering techniques. Overall, it may be classified as a case study. Good and Scates defined this type of study as one that,

. . . takes account of all pertinent aspects of one thing or situation, employing as the unit for study an individual, an institution, a community, or any group considered as a unit. The case consists of the data relating to some phase of the life history of the unit or relating to the entire life process.
. . . The complex situations and combination of factors involved

in the given behavior are examined to determine the existing status and to identify the causal factors operating.¹

The same authors further pointed out that in tracing the natural history of a social problem in a community, the case approach appears to be substantially the procedure employed.²

Young stressed the interdependence of the case study and statistical methods of research when she noted that,

A case study seeks to determine social processes; it reveals the complexity of factors and indicates their sequences and relationships.

The statistical method, on the other hand, deals with relatively few factors but it gives depth in understanding the social situations by indicating the extent, frequency, and degree of association.³

However, it was interesting to note that Good and Scates made an unequivocal stand for the use of case studies when they wrote,

. . . many statisticians are likely to think of case studies as only the raw data for a later statistical study. While this is one possibility, it is by no means the chief contribution made by case knowledge. This tendency to seek laws may prove a barren use of the rich pictures produced by case studies; it may be something like analyzing the paintings of great artists to ascertain how many tubes of red paint were used by the various artists. While statistical studies are essential and defensible,

¹ Carter V. Good and Douglas E. Scates, Methods of Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 726.

² Ibid., p. 729.

³ Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 239.

in a social field they must be looked upon as the lesser rather than the major influence.⁴

As to the usefulness of case studies, the Coleman Report included extensive excerpts from case studies because it was believed that such information would "illuminate a particular problem or solution with the school system of the community that is typical of similar situations elsewhere and hence . . . be useful as a guide."⁵ Similarly, Williams and Ryan stated,

In spite of the fact that each community contains its own combination of factors which will work to realize school desegregation or manufacture resistance to it, the similarities to be found in American community patterns is sufficient to enable communities in crisis to profit in whole or in part from the experience of one another.⁶

Finally, the authors of another noteworthy case study noted that,

. . . internal analysis has no great disadvantages with respect to comparative analyses. It may, in fact, have one important advantage: by taking simple comparative correlation out of the reach of the investigator, it focuses his attention upon the underlying processes which operate within the system. In this way

⁴ Good and Scates, op. cit., p. 773.

⁵ James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 461.

⁶ Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan, (eds.), Schools in Transition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Free Press, 1954), p. 239.

the internal analysis may lead to a deeper explanation of the phenomenon and to generalization of a more fundamental kind.⁷

Thus, the present study focused on an analysis of the conflict and change in the first year desegregation of one large, urban high school. Further, it should be noted that the researcher approached the study as a complete "outsider." That excellent cooperation was given by school district authorities in regard to permitting access to primary documents, as well as personnel throughout the system, is especially commendable as in view of the nature of the subject under study.

Design of the Study

The study was organized into four major phases consistent with the purposes of the study. Since the study was largely descriptive and historical in nature, research questions were posed consistent with procedures suggested by Borg.⁸ The purposes of the study and the guiding research questions related to each were as follows:

⁷Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin M. Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 427.

⁸Walter R. Borg, Educational Research: An Introduction (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 36, 190.

1. Describe the planning and preparations for desegregation as it related to the high school under study.
 - a) What were the main characteristics of the desegregation plan?
 - b) In what social milieu did the decision to desegregate occur, and how was the plan presented to the public?
 - c) What was done to prepare students, teachers, and administrators for desegregation?
2. Provide an historical record and an analysis of the major incidents of manifest conflict which occurred in the school.
 - a) How and where did the major incidents of conflict develop and who were the parties involved?
 - b) Were there any patterns discernible in the conflict? What was its extent and how was it immediately resolved?
 - c) Were underlying concerns identified? If so, how and what were they?
3. Determine whether changes occurred in the school and community which appeared to be caused to some extent by conflict.
 - a) Did such changes occur? If so, what were the major ones and in what areas did they occur?

4. Ascertain the perceptions of students, teachers, and administrative staff relative to (1) the extent, if any, to which conflict was believed to be a factor in or cause of selected changes; and (2) the extent, if any, to which such changes were considered to be useful or constructive in nature.
 - a) Did teachers, administrators, and students view the conflict that occurred during the year as being a cause of selected changes which took place in the school and community?
 - b) Did these same groups feel that the changes were constructive or useful?
 - c) Are there differences between the extent conflict was believed to be a cause of changes and the evaluation of the usefulness of such changes?
 - d) What are the implications for administrators suggested by the data?
5. Provide a basis for understanding the role of conflict relative to school desegregation which would be of use to school administrators and others involved in this social process. Here, it was believed that the review of the literature, and the findings and recommendations of this study, would serve to contribute to this objective.

Methods of Research and Sources of Data

First, in order to describe both the social milieu in which the study occurred and the planning and preparations process, there was careful perusal of documentary evidence, as in subsequent phases of the study, to evaluate such evidence by using methods of historical research, including both internal and external criticism. For example, care was taken to assure the authenticity of documents. This was a difficult and time-consuming process in many instances since some of the documentary evidence was unsigned, and/or not dated. The researcher, through interviews, continually sought clarification of such data until the matter of authenticity was clarified.

In regard to internal criticism, rigorous attention was devoted to evaluating the accuracy and worth of the data contained in the documents which were used. As Borg⁹ pointed out, this is much more difficult than internal criticism because it involves evaluating the writer, his biases, and possible motives for distortion.

Moreover, because of the recent nature of the problem under examination, and the excellent cooperation given the investigator, primary sources were used extensively, thus avoiding the drawbacks involved in the excessive use of secondary sources.

⁹Borg, op. cit., p. 194.

Finally, interviews were held with key personnel at the school and district levels, as well as with some teachers and students, relative to the various aspects of the research questions posed and the resultant information carefully evaluated.

Second, in order to analyze the nature of the major overt manifestations of conflict which occurred in the school, school district records, personal records kept by various administrators, and newspaper accounts were important sources of information. Content analysis was a useful technique in this phase of the study. For example, it was used to ascertain the primary concerns or problem areas as seen by those affected by the conflict at Union. In addition, interviews were held with teachers, administrators, students, and supervisory personnel. Data were cross-checked at every opportunity to lessen the possibility of error and subjective interpretation.

Third, an interview schedule was prepared which included a minimal framework of questions organized to focus on the various areas of the school and community to ascertain what changes might have resulted, to some extent, from conflict which had occurred. While interviewing, attempts were made to direct the conversation towards new leads that developed and to record unanticipated insights and information. The instrument is included as Appendix D. Though

it served the purpose of initially focusing attention on areas of possible change, it became modified in the process of gathering data. Hence, it is included in the appendices only as a point of information.

The need for selectivity became apparent as this phase of the study progressed. For example, it was found that the light switches were changed in the girls' lavatories because some Negro girls made a habit of turning them off and then pummeling Caucasian girls in the darkness. Changing the switches to a different type made continuation of this behavior impossible. Conversely, certain Caucasian bus drivers were rude to Negro students who were being transported to Union High, which resulted in a transportation change which was adjudged important enough to be a major change. Hence, this researcher arbitrarily had to make decisions in such situations as to what constituted major change. This was generally done on the basis of the number of people affected and the impact on a major area of the educational system. No attempt was made to assess every change that may have been related to the conflict.

Changes were sought that occurred either during the 1968-69 school year, or at the beginning of the 1969-70 school year. Criteria which were used to ascertain the changes were (1) the proximity of the change to the conflict; (2) an apparent relationship

between the change and an identified concern; (3) the absence of a relationship between the change and the planning and preparations for desegregation; and (4) the opinions of people in a position to offer information on the subject.

In the fourth and final phase of the study, a questionnaire was developed based on the major changes in the school and community which appeared to have been caused to some extent by the conflict at the school as determined in phase three of the study. The instrument was subsequently administered to students, teachers, and administrators who were at Union during the year of conflict.

The Questionnaire

The instrument which was developed consisted of thirty-three items and comprises Appendix C of this study. A group of eight school administrators and graduate students was used to pre-test the questionnaire for clarity. However, high school students were not involved in pre-testing because the nature of the questions was such that it was not possible to do so in the school under study, and to do so in a school unfamiliar with the conflict would have been meaningless. It was of primary importance that there be no previous contamination caused by discussion of the questions among the populations and samples to be surveyed. It must be remembered that

the school was one which had experienced several instances of major conflict. As the data will show, the staff had taken part in several programs as a result of the conflict. Too, students had been greatly concerned about the "name" their school had received as a result of the past year's events. In short, many people wanted to forget the past year. Thus, as contrasted with the interview phases of the research, it was believed that in dealing with larger numbers, the questionnaire data should be gathered in as short a time and with as little prior discussion as possible.

In regard to students, the method of sampling was to obtain a representative sample wherein the group was consciously selected on the basis of being reasonably representative of the total population.¹⁰ This technique has also been referred to as "purposive sampling" which is a form of judgment sampling.¹¹ Since this approach assumes adequate information about the characteristics and numbers in the subgroup, school officials were consulted to minimize possible bias. Efforts were made to obtain the responses of heterogeneous classes of both eleventh and twelfth grade students,

¹⁰Norman K. Henderson, Statistical Research Methods (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1964), p. 70.

¹¹Francis J. Rummel, An Introduction to Research Procedures in Education (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964), p. 80.

since sophomores were not at the school during the 1968-69 school year during which the conflict occurred.

Five classes of juniors and five classes of seniors were administered the questionnaire, representing 110 twelfth graders, of which 102 were usable, and ninety-five eleventh graders, of which eighty-six were usable. Out of a total of 205 questionnaires, 188 were usable. Since the total number of eleventh and twelfth grade students who were at the school, discounting new and transfer students, was estimated by school officials to be about 960, the total sample was twenty per cent of the population.

The total Negro population in grades eleven and twelve was 160. Twenty of the usable questionnaires were completed by Negroes, representing a sample of thirteen per cent of the total Negro population eligible for this study. Since the Negroes comprised 16.6 per cent of the total student body at the time the questionnaire was administered, the fact that a thirteen per cent sample was obtained indicated a very slight bias in the number of Caucasian students included in the study.

The questionnaire was also administered by the researcher, at a faculty meeting, to all teachers and counselors who were at the school the previous year. They were assured complete anonymity, and an attached cover letter served as further security in terms of

anonymity. The total population of this group was forty-nine, of whom forty-eight handed in questionnaires. However, only forty-seven were usable since one respondent failed to complete every item under the "conflict was a factor" variable. Overall, then, a ninety-six per cent return was achieved from the teachers.

Finally, seven questionnaires were given to administrators with self-addressed envelopes enclosed. Administrators at the building level who received them were the present principal, and two assistant principals. At the district level, the former principal (who resigned in mid-year of the 1968-69 year under study and was assigned to a different position), two assistant superintendents, and the director of secondary education, all of whom were very close to the situation at Union, were also given questionnaires. Every questionnaire was received, though one was returned after the data were processed and therefore too late to be used. The return, then, was 85.7 per cent, and, with one exception, represented every administrator who was intimately involved in the events that occurred at Union High.

The methods for analysis of the questionnaire were developed with the cooperation of the Bureau of Research Consultation, College of Education, Michigan State University. First, the changes which the interviews and documentary evidence indicated may have been

related to the conflict which occurred at Union High were organized under five major headings arbitrarily used in organizing the changes into categories in Chapter V.¹² Normative statistics consisting of arithmetic means and simple per cents were then used to analyze the responses of the administrators, teachers, and students who responded to the questionnaire. Per cents were rounded to the nearest whole per cent. Mean scores were determined by multiplying the number of responses in each response category by the number value ranging from a high of four points to a low of one and then dividing by the total number of responses to a question. Hence, the possible mean score range is from 4.0 to 1.0. These scores were rounded to the nearest tenth. The major purposes of this phase of the study were to determine whether such groups considered conflict to be a cause of the changes and to what extent, if any, the changes were considered to be constructive. Consistent with a case study approach, such data were used as a basis upon which to explore relationships between groups and factors which may have been important determinants of the responses.

¹²Cf. post, p. 145.

Summary

The design of the study suggested four major areas of investigation, each requiring specific, though interrelated research methodology. The primary methods of research were historical and descriptive in nature, consistent with the purposes of the study. The data gathering techniques consisted of both historical and descriptive analysis of documentary evidence, interviews, and a questionnaire administered to administrators, teachers, and both Negro and Caucasian students. Analysis of the data depended on the particular phase of the study and the purposes related thereto.

CHAPTER IV

DESEGREGATION AND CONFLICT

This chapter attempts to provide (1) a description of the planning and preparation process for desegregating the school under study, including information necessary to an understanding of the milieu in which events occurred; and (2) an historical record and analysis of the major incidents of conflict which occurred at Union High School.

The primary sources of data were administrative and school district records and documents, personal records maintained by individuals in key positions during the year under study, newspaper accounts, and structured interviews held with assistant superintendents, subject matter coordinators, building administrators, teachers, counselors, and students. Whenever possible, cross-checking of data between documentary and interview data was accomplished in order to lessen subjective analysis and interpretation.

Planning and Preparing for Desegregation

The Setting

The City. Grand Rapids is a large metropolitan community of slightly over 200,000 people. Located in southwestern Michigan, it has been the commercial, financial, and cultural center for an area serving over 600,000 people and been called the urban core of Western Michigan.¹

Except for the areas developed after 1940, Grand Rapids was not a planned city. As a result, it has been confronted with zoning, transportation, and social problems similar to those of other large cities. As older areas have deteriorated, there has been a mushrooming of suburban developments on the fringes of the city which have contributed to the problem of an insufficient tax base to support continued and extended demands for services. Too, there has been a definite outmigration of Caucasians from the central city and a concomitant concentration of Negroes therein.

In regard to ethnic and racial considerations, the Negro population, in 1969, comprised about ten per cent of the total city population, a ratio of Negroes to Caucasians very near the national

¹Donald J. Leu and John J. McNicholas, Jr., Planning for the Future: Grand Rapids Secondary School Needs (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1966), pp. 1-4.

figure of 10.5 per cent.² Thus, the city appeared to provide a useful setting to study school desegregation. Also of interest was the fact that a large population of second generation Polish and Lithuanian people have located on the "west side" of town, an area served by Union High School, who are generally thought to be conservative in their political behavior and amenability to social change.

In recent years the city has attempted to cope with some of its problems. For example, forty acres of buildings and streets in the core of the city have been razed for urban renewal.³ And most important for the present study, the school system enacted the first phase of its master plan for desegregation in the 1968-69 school year.

The School System. The Grand Rapids schools during the 1968-69 school year were educating slightly more than 34,500 students in the K-12 program, of which 7,300, or about twenty-one per cent, were nonwhite.⁴ Since school district authorities estimated that ninety-five per cent of the nonwhite students were Negro, Negroes actually comprised about twenty per cent of the total school

²Grand Rapids Press, January 8, 1969, p. 44.

³Greater Grand Rapids (Chicago, Illinois: Windsor Publications, 1967), p. 10.

⁴These and related figures were obtained from the office of the Director of Research, Grand Rapids Public Schools.

enrollment. The proportion of Negro students to Caucasian students was substantially higher than the overall ratio of Negroes to Caucasians in Grand Rapids, primarily because nonpublic schools in the city enrolled twenty thousand, mainly Caucasian pupils.

Sixty-seven buildings consisting of fifty-four elementary schools, two middle schools, seven junior highs, and four senior highs were needed to carry on the K-12 instructional program in the Grand Rapids' School System in the 1968-69 school year.

Union High. Union High was opened for student use on January 22, 1967. Visitors who attended the first public showing on February 28 of that year saw a new structure located on a fifty-four acre site in a white, middle class neighborhood; the largest school plant and school site in the city. Built at a cost of 3.6 million dollars, it included fifty-two classroom areas located along quarter-mile long corridors; separate offices for each department where teachers could plan; an auditorium with 480 seats designed to handle both school drama and music productions as well as large lecture classes; maximum considerations for independent study with such innovations as mobile language laboratories and study carrels in the carpeted library; and a seventy-five meter pool with sideline seating for 499 persons. However, school officials later found that having eighty-four outside doors, a cafeteria located in the only passage

way that connected wings of the building, and the placement of administrative offices at the extreme end of the building away from the areas of student movement were unfavorable factors.

At the beginning of the 1968-69 school year, Union High School had a staff that consisted of seventy-two teachers, of whom three were Negro; four Caucasian counselors; three administrators; and one Negro administrative intern. The student body was comprised of 1,731 students; 315, or seventeen per cent were Negro, and for the first time in the short history of the new school, it was desegregated.

It was within this setting that conflict was to occur at Union. But first it is necessary to examine the planning and preparation for the desegregation, first, for the district in general, and then for the school under study.

Background to the Master Plan

One of the major purposes of this study was to describe the planning and preparation process for desegregation as it affected Union High. Therefore, except for a basic summary of background developments, this aspect of the study focuses on the planning and preparations for desegregation that occurred immediately prior to the desegregation of Union High in 1968. However, it should be noted

that Bouma and Hoffman⁵ contributed to a detailed understanding of the 1960-67 period relative to the reasons why the Board of Education in Grand Rapids became concerned about the de facto segregation in the city's schools and how community involvement contributed to the completion of an important study of racial imbalance in Grand Rapids' schools, the details of which are, for the most part, excluded from the scope of the present study.

On November 1, 1965, a fifty-two member committee known as The Committee Studying Racial Imbalance in the Grand Rapids Public School System (hereafter known as the Committee of 52) was appointed by the Board of Education of the city of Grand Rapids to study the effect of de facto segregation in the public schools. The final report of the committee, submitted June 13, 1966, was one of two studies upon which a master plan for educational improvement was developed. The other study was a survey of secondary facility needs⁶ which the Board had commissioned in June, 1965, and which was completed in August of 1966. Hence, these two study groups operated almost concurrently. As the year progressed, they cooperated with one another, and their final reports were similar

⁵ Donald H. Bouma and James Hoffman, The Dynamics of School Integration (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968), 158 pp.

⁶ Leu and McNicholas, op. cit., 217 pp.

in regard to stressing the importance of desegregating the city's public schools.⁷

From the summer of 1966 to May of 1968, the administrative staff of the school district and the Board of Education studied the above reports as well as earlier studies of various problem areas in the schools, and attempted to establish a plan of action which would meet the educational needs of the community in future years. In addition to an urgency revealed in the two major studies, the local Congress of Racial Equality and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapters, as well as the state and Federal governments, were exerting pressures on the school district directed at eliminating de facto segregation in its schools.

The result was a final Master Plan submitted to the Board of Education on May 6, 1968, which outlined a series of steps toward extensive desegregation, changes in school building plans, and a re-evaluation of how children should be taught. Overall, the Plan described certain immediate changes and outlined a long range plan consisting of three major phases, the last of which would be completed in 1976. Appendix A describes selected aspects of the Master Plan which illustrate the philosophy of the document as well as the

⁷Comparative Analysis of Two Reports. Grand Rapids Public Schools. Mimeographed, 6 pp.

major proposed changes. Excluded are specific building considerations and boundary changes.

Some aspects of the Master Plan are of importance to the present investigation and must be documented if later developments are to be understood. At the secondary level the immediate, 1968-69, changes called for a change from five high schools to four. South High, serving much of the inner city, was to be converted into a middle school, and students who would have been in grades ten-twelve were to be bused or transferred via boundary changes to the four remaining high schools, Union, Creston, Ottawa Hills, and Central. Desegregated high schools would then exist in Grand Rapids for the first time, the first step to correct racial imbalance in all schools by 1976, excepting those in the lower elementary units.

Union High, whose student body was almost entirely Caucasian, was to receive 315 bused tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade Negro students from a geographic section of the inner city area who had previously attended South High School. Ninth grade students in the Union district who were slated to attend the new high school were instead to attend Union Junior High.

Creston High, located in the northern part of the city, was almost entirely Caucasian, as in the case of Union. The plan called for it to receive about 105 formerly South High students who lived

in a geographic area adjoining the section being bused to Union. The result would be a seven per cent nonwhite student population.

Ottawa Hills High, serving the southeast part of the city, was already a multi-racial school and basically unchanged by the desegregation plan.

Central High experienced some boundary changes, but it too had been a multi-racial school before the desegregation plan and was thereby not as affected as were Union and Creston. Table IV -1 shows the actual number and per cent of nonwhite students who attended the city's high schools in the fall of 1968 as a result of the Master Plan.

As was noted earlier, school district administrators presented the Plan to the Board of Education at the May 6, 1968, meeting which was attended by members of the general public, NAACP representatives, Black Power advocates, the Committee of 52, and other interested parties. Following the presentation, the Board tabled the proposal to allow for a two week "study time" prior to making a formal decision on it. In addition to press releases, the Board hoped to publicize the plan and seek suggestions as to possible modifications by way of three subsequent meetings to be held in different schools in the school district. Feedback from this process was to be used to reassess the Plan as previously presented.

TABLE IV -1
NONWHITE STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF GRAND RAPIDS
BY GRADE LEVEL OR CATEGORY
1968 -69

School	Grade Level or Category					Total* Nonwhite	Per Cent Nonwhite	Total All Students
	9	10	11	12	Sp. Ed.			
Central	90	113	119	61	36	419	24	1734
Creston		52	32	21		105	7	1518
Ottawa	105	94	65	72		336	18	1756
Union		173	78	46	18	315	17	1731
Total	195	432	294	200	54	1175	17	1739

*Over 95 per cent of nonwhites were estimated by school district authorities to be Negro.

On the evening of May 6 at Northeast Junior High School, where the Board meeting was held, certain problems developed when administrators set forth the new plan. About one hundred persons had been expected to attend. Instead about 2,300 arrived. This necessitated an improvised move from the special purpose room to the gymnasium, a space so large that those attending had difficulty seeing the various maps and charts being used as visual aids. Also, only one thousand information sheets had been printed. Thus, the assistant superintendents who presented the Plan read to the audience for an extended period of time.

The formal presentation was followed by a question and answer session. Though there were certain pointed questions asked, observers indicated that an audible sigh of relief was apparent when it was announced there would be no cross-bussing. This appeared to be an issue of great concern to many of the Caucasian parents present.

In the weeks that followed, the Board carried out its "study time" policy. On May 13 the city newspaper used the headline, "Temperature Was High, " to describe the first of the attempts of the Board and administration to meet with the public after the initial presentation, May 6. The meeting place was Union High, where an estimated 350 parents attended to hear the superintendent and Board

members field questions on the proposed plan. The crowd was quite antagonistic. In some instances those who were for the proposed busing were shouted down. On one occasion Board members were told they would be put out of office. In sum, there was strong reaction against the proposed busing of Negro students to Union.

Subsequent meetings were held in other sections of the city, as planned, on May 14 through 16, but an additional meeting was held at South High on the 17th due to interest on the part of parents in that area. At the latter meeting, over five hundred parents, predominantly Negro, attended. They expressed concern over what they called the "bigotry" that was apparent at the meeting at Union, and they were angry that the Board had not originally scheduled a meeting at South. There were requests that black history, music, and art be taught, and that more black teachers and administrators be hired. In regard to the busing, two major viewpoints surfaced: one wanted a school built in the inner city which would house an integrated student body; the other wanted a school built in the inner city for Negroes only. These were both in contrast to the official NAACP endorsement given the Master Plan the day before. There were other suggestions and a petition signed by several hundred South students who "wanted to graduate from South High" was presented. Before the meeting adjourned, a well-known militant Negro

leader left with close to two hundred followers. Overall, there was a great deal of friction.

On June 1, two days before the Board was to act on the Master Plan, the Grand Rapids Press arranged and conducted interviews with eleven students who were or would be Union High students. Some were optimistic about the effect of the proposed busing and some were not. Some Negroes saw it as an attempt to make members of their race immobile, since they would be in the minority at Union as opposed to the approximately fifty per cent of the enrollment at South High the past year. One boy was quoted as saying,

If it goes through, I think it will be extremely interesting at Union. Not only are the black kids reacting violently, but I think the white kids and the white parents and the whole white community over by Union are reacting violently against the whole idea. . . . I think there's going to be quite a conflict over at Union.⁸

The Master Plan was adopted by the Board on June 3, 1968, in almost the same form as originally presented a month earlier. At the meeting, a crowd of about 120 were present. Representatives of the Michigan State Department of Education and Michigan Civil Rights Commission gave statements of support, though the latter objected to continued segregation in grades one through eight. The same Negro militant who had previously led his followers from the

⁸Mike Lloyd, "Students Speak Up on Proposed Busing Plan," Grand Rapids Press, June 2, 1968, p. 45.

meeting at South High presented petitions against the plan in favor of Negro inner city schools run by Negroes. He predicted racial chaos of the plan were carried out.

Preparations for the Transition

Since the adoption of the plan occurred on Monday of the final week of the school year, implementation began almost immediately with attempts to meet the following basic needs at the high school level: (1) student orientation and assimilation; (2) student counseling and involvement; (3) parent and community communication and involvement; and (4) faculty and staff in-service and sensitivity assistance and involvement.

On June 4 and 5, counselors at South High held orientation sessions by grade levels with the students who were to be bused the following September. On June 6th, these students attended an orientation session at Union designed to acquaint them with the building and such key personnel as class advisors and coaches. Counselors were also involved in a great deal of program screening, since courses differed between the two schools.

An "Information and Follow-Through Center" was established from July 1 to August 23 near South High in order to provide further assistance in all areas of concern to students and parents. Four

full-time staff were available in addition to several student assistants. Letters inviting students to come to the center to discuss any concerns were sent out to each student who was being transferred from South; many were also contacted by phone.

In the area of student counseling and involvement, in addition to the services provided by the Information Center, a student workshop was held at Union High on August 21. Present were student council presidents, class officers, club presidents, and general nominees from all of the high schools involved. At the meeting, efforts were made to work out possible problem areas such as club memberships and to plan certain activities for the school year which might enhance assimilation in the transfer schools.

Parents were officially notified of the transfers during the week of June 24-28 and were sent information on bus routes and schedules. Too, the presidents of the Parent-Teacher-Student Association (PTSA) met with the superintendent to discuss assimilation plans at the schools. Efforts were made to have integrated PTSA Boards.

Faculty and staff in-service and sensitivity assistance was the final area of basic need. At Union, attempts to meet this need consisted of a talk by an outside consultant on race relations and a meeting run by the school principal during the preschool period,

September 3-4. Interviewees who participated in these sessions were unanimous in stating that these sessions were of little value in preparing them for the impending desegregation.

Table IV-2 summarizes the major developments in the planning and preparation process.

Summary

The larger setting for this study was Grand Rapids, Michigan, a city of 200,000 that has been confronted by problems indigenous to many contemporary urban centers such as urban renewal, adequate finances, and Negro-Caucasian relations. It was learned that Negroes comprised about ten per cent of the total population, very close to the national figure of 10.5 per cent. Therefore the larger setting appeared to be especially useful for the study of Negro-Caucasian relations.

The public school system, in 1968-69, educated about 34,500 students, of which twenty per cent were Negroes. Thus, it was dissimilar to such racially imbalanced school systems as Washington, D.C., yet similar to others where the balance is not so tipped.

In 1965 the Grand Rapids Board of Education initiated two studies which were to influence the development of a Master Plan

TABLE IV -2

A SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
PLANNING AND PREPARATION PROCESS FOR
DESEGREGATION OF GRAND RAPIDS' HIGH SCHOOLS

Date(s)	Development
June, 1965 - August, 1966	Committee of 52 studies racial imbalance and submits report
November, 1965 - June, 1966	Study of secondary school needs conducted and completed by Leu and McNicholas
September, 1966 - May, 1968	District Administrators analyze studies and examine various desegregation proposals in formulating a Master Plan
May 6, 1968	Administration presented Plan to Board
May 14-17, 1968	Plan presented to groups throughout the city
June 3, 1968	Board adopts Master Plan
June 4-7, 1968	Attempts made to orient students to transfer school before close of school, June 7
June 24-28, 1968	Parents notified by mail of students' official assignments and other orientation information
July 1 - August 23, 1968	Information and Follow-Through Center in operation
August 26-30, 1968	Individual counseling available at receiving schools
September 3-4, 1968	Sensitivity sessions for staff members at each high school
September 6, 1968	Negro students attend assigned schools as part of Master Plan

for desegregating the public schools. The first, appointed in June of 1965 and completed in June of 1966, was a survey of secondary school needs accomplished by two well-known consultants from Michigan State University. The second was a study of racial imbalance in the schools by a citizens' committee of fifty-two people begun in November of 1965 and completed the following August. These reports, along with other information completed by the school district, formed the basis for the development of a Master Plan which would bring about desegregated schools in all but the early primary grades by 1976, as well as other organizational, building, and philosophical changes.

From the summer of 1966 through the spring of 1968, school administrators considered various desegregation plans and procedures. The extensive efforts that were made to arrive at an equitable plan during this time would furnish ample data for a separate study and therefore were outside the scope of this study. However, by the winter and spring of 1968, increasing pressures to desegregate were exerted by the Federal government, the State Department of Education, and local units of the NAACP and CORE. The Master Plan was presented to the Board of Education on May 6, and subsequently tabled to allow for presentation to all major sections of the city and additional study time before a formal decision was made.

During that period of time, it became increasingly evident that certain Negro militants opposed desegregation and advocated Negro schools in the inner city area to be administered and taught mainly by Negroes. Too, the Negro community expressed opposition to the fact that there was no cross-busing. They questioned a policy of busing Negro students out to predominantly Caucasian schools without a concomitant exchange from those schools to inner city, predominantly Negro schools. There was also evidence that a vocal element of the Caucasian population on the "west side," the area served by Union High, was opposed to the busing of Negroes for desegregation purposes, and some indication in the Caucasian public at large that cross-busing might be resisted.

Overall, though the school district administrators sought to emphasize that future building needs were a basic rationale for the Master Plan, as was new educational philosophy relative to the direction education should take in subsequent years in Grand Rapids, it was apparent to the researcher that it was the desegregation aspect around which community debate centered.

It was in this milieu that the Board adopted the Master Plan on June 3, 1968, the Monday of the final week of school, a plan that featured a gradual approach that would lead to complete desegregation in all but the early primary grades by 1976. However, the

immediate concern for the forthcoming 1968-69 school year was to implement desegregation in the city's public high schools. Hence, during the remainder of that week and through the summer, school authorities sought to prepare students, teaching staffs, and parents for the desegregation of the various high schools. This posed problems since the teaching staff was not available during the summer, nor were certain building administrators. And though an Information and Follow-Through Center attempted to provide needed services, students were less accessible during the summer months.

Finally, without exception, teachers and building administrators who were interviewed indicated that the preparation process had not been sufficient to prepare either teachers or students for the impending desegregation. However, it should be emphasized that this investigator has not recounted these facts in order to suggest a cause and effect relationship between the planning and preparation process and the resultant conflict which developed at Union High. Rather an attempt has been made to provide a description of the process so that others concerned with school desegregation might learn from the process as it was carried out in Grand Rapids. The Board of Education and key administrators of the Grand Rapids Public Schools, after a long period of study and formulation of a Master Plan for the improvement of education in Grand Rapids,

believed, for various reasons, that desegregation could not be delayed any longer.

Nature of the Conflict

Desegregation of Union High School took place on September 5, 1969, when over 315 Negro students were bused to the school from an inner city area. Within a four month period, the school was forced to close three times because of conflict. On two of the occasions, the closures followed major incidents of conflict characterized by widespread violence. The other closure was ordered to preclude widespread violence from occurring.

The gathering of data and subsequent analysis of this phase of the study were guided by these questions: How and where did the major incidents of conflict develop? Who were the parties involved? Were any patterns discernible in the development of the conflict? What was the extent of the conflict and how was it immediately resolved? Were underlying concerns identified? If so, how and what were they?

The September Conflict

Conflict Occurs. On Monday, September 9, the third day of school, a Caucasian girl took offense to "something" said to her

by a Negro boy. Three days later, about twenty-five Caucasian, non-Union High students, ostensibly friends of the girl's boyfriend, confronted two Negro students in the parking lot after school, one of whom was the boy who had "offended" the girl. The school attendance officer and an assistant principal talked with the group and it dispersed. However, the entire week was marked by tension and rumors of impending trouble.

On Thursday, several school and district administrators attended an evening meeting at which they heard the rumor that three hundred whites were going over to Union High the next day, Friday the 13th, to "take care of the Negroes." Thus, plans were made for additional security before school, during the noon hour, and at the close of school on Friday. Such help was to consist of central office personnel and plain-clothed police.

On Friday, September 13, 1968, the first major conflict occurred at Union. Just prior to 8:00 a.m. a disturbance broke out in the cafeteria, which was serving as the homeroom for all seniors, when a group of Negroes surrounded the same Caucasian girl and her boyfriend. School officials were on hand and immediately intervened and prevented an extensive violent outbreak. However, the atmosphere in the school grew more tense. During first period, groups of Negroes milled around in the halls. Then, during the

passing period between first and second period, fighting broke out, mainly in the area of the auditorium lobby, between Negro and Caucasian students. The police were called, arrived almost immediately, and soon helped the staff restore order. In the meantime, rumors were rampant. It was said that fighting had broken out at the other high schools, too, and stories grew about the extent of fighting at Union.

Finally, the adults succeeded in getting most of the Negro students into the auditorium for a meeting to discuss their concerns. However, while discussion was taking place, someone opened an auditorium door and yelled that a certain Negro militant (the same one alluded to earlier in this study) was being denied entrance to the building. The Negro students then ran out of the auditorium and found that television reporters were on hand to record events.

At this time the principal called for buses to transport the Negroes back to their homes in the "south end." The buses were loaded, but not for long. The news of the trouble had spread throughout the immediate community. Some Caucasian parents congregated on nearby sidewalks; eight Caucasian non-Union students provoked the Negroes in the buses; and a Caucasian man reportedly exposed himself to the Negroes. The buses emptied, fighting broke out, and police were forced to use mace in at least one instance to quell the

disturbance. Six arrests were made by the police. Finally, about noon, the buses departed and the rest of the student body was dismissed early by the principal.

In the fighting that had occurred in the school building, four Caucasian boys had been injured. Two had been carried through the halls to the health room, though the other two were able to walk there. Parents subsequently took three of the youths home, but the fourth had been hit in the back of the neck with a chain and was taken to the hospital by ambulance. Also, one officer was reported to have suffered rib injuries and bitten fingers.

Identification of Problems. During the weekend following the early closure of school, school district personnel and citizens of the community held various meetings. On Saturday the superintendent held a press conference and announced plans for the reopening of school on Monday, September 16. Later that afternoon, an assistant superintendent and the principal met, in an open meeting with what was supposed to be the Advisory Council of the West Side Complex, a Community Action Program. However, over two hundred "west side" parents turned out and expressed concern over the conflict of the past week. They expressed concern for the safety of their children and requested that the Master Plan be reassessed if racial incidents continued.

The Negro community was also holding meetings. At one, held in a church Sunday evening, the Grand Rapids Press reported that four hundred people were in attendance and heard the leading Negro militant in the community, the one present on the day of violence at Union, urge them to boycott the city schools.⁹

The plans to reopen school called for seniors to return on Monday, juniors on Tuesday, and sophomores on Wednesday. The seniors met in both small and large groups to discuss problems all day Monday. Tight security was in effect as police and school officials carefully checked in each student. Tuesday and Wednesday, seniors attended classes except for selected leaders who helped with the discussions Tuesday morning with juniors and Wednesday morning with sophomores. Problems were discussed in these meetings and a list of student concerns compiled. On Thursday, regular classes were held for all students in the morning only, but by Friday a full day of classes was attended by all without incident.

The faculty of Union met each day, during the same week, before and after school to discuss problems and ways to improve the situation. They also submitted a list of concerns and recommended action to be taken on them.

⁹Grand Rapids Press, September 16, 1968, pp. 1-2.

The following Sunday, September 22, a group of mainly west side Caucasian citizens known as the "Concerned Citizens of the First Ward" met in the Union High auditorium to hear a presentation by an assistant superintendent and two high school seniors as to the status of events at Union. This marked the end of nine days of discussion and other attempts to get the school functioning normally again.

As a result of the week of group meetings and discussions, various problems were identified. Student concerns were as follows:

A. Problems of an External Nature

1. Inadequate number of buses and late arriving buses.
2. Lack of transportation following extracurricular activities.
3. All students who live more than two miles from school should be bused.
4. Transportation needed for those students who leave early for work.
5. Nonstudents parking in student parking lot.
6. Inaccurate newspaper reporting: reporters should be excluded from school.
7. Unsatisfactory Caucasian bus drivers.

B. Problems of an Internal Nature

1. Lack of mutual understanding between the races, resulting in name calling, problems in boy-girl relationships, and general culture gap.
2. Inadequate number of clubs and after-school activities.
3. Cafeteria food lacks variety and lunch periods too short.
4. Students should be able to use library during study hall.
5. Transfer students need more representation.
6. Exchange of varsity letter from South to Union, class rings, etc.
7. Students should be permitted to have gripe sessions.
8. Fire drills --need instructions and signs.
9. Need hall monitors --Negro and Caucasian together in teams.
10. Identification cards needed.
11. More Negro teachers and counselors needed.
12. Administration should promulgate and enforce rules.

Faculty concerns were the following:

A. Problems of an External Nature

1. Need two full-time adult supervisors in parking lot with means of communicating with the principal's office.

2. Need car registration for students and staff.
3. Lack of supervision on the grounds during noon hours.
4. Outside doors should be locked during school day.
5. Fence in Driver Education Range to keep pedestrians from crossing it.

B. Problems of an Internal Nature

1. Need more secretarial service for administrators.
2. Need better communications between principal's office and counseling office and staff.
3. A student handbook with rules and penalties is needed.
4. Hall control--need hall monitors, both Caucasian and Negro.
5. Better communication needed between isolated areas of the building and principal's office.
6. Bookstore hours should be modified.
7. Cafeteria needs more adult and student supervision.
8. Additional lunch area needed with music selected by student music committee.
9. Students who live within walking distance should be able to go home for lunch.

Further elaboration of racial problems was given by interviewees. Some Caucasian students felt that teachers were "bending

over backward" for the Negro students. Too, some teachers appeared afraid to take action when Negroes came in late to class, or they tended to ignore "horseplay" on their part. Also, some Negroes were reported to have pinched Caucasian girls and used "vulgar language" in their presence.

On the other hand, it was stated that some Negroes felt that the Caucasian students were "cold" to them. Some Caucasian students who were interviewed indicated that some students mocked the Negroes for their hair, the clothes they wore, and their way of talking.

Overall, it appeared that the meetings had identified problems of importance to both teachers and students. The administration, later, either took action which brought about change, or took no action because of existing Board policy or other reasons, or referred the problem to higher authority.

With reference to the events of the first week of school, the city newspaper editorialized,

If there is anything heartening about the trouble that erupted at Union High last Friday, it is the calm way in which school authorities have gone about repairing the situation and the earnestness with which students, black and white alike, have set about to establish understanding.¹⁰

¹⁰Grand Rapids Press, "Editorial," September 19, 1968, p. 14.

The December Conflict

Conflict Reoccurs. Slightly more than three months after the September disruptions at Union, conflict again became manifest. And, after some student meetings, a threatened walkout, and a preliminary skirmish, it escalated to widespread violence.

On Friday, December 13, a group of Negroes held a meeting in the recreation room to discuss grievances. They asked the Negro administrative intern to inform the principal they wished to present their concerns to him. When he arrived, they proceeded to apprise him of continued grievances about the busing, the cafeteria, the lack of Negro staff and lack of Negro history and literature in the curriculum, and problems regarding the teaching staff and general atmosphere in the school.

The following Monday, December 16, a group of ten Caucasian student council and class leaders met in the morning with the principal and an assistant principal. The result was a four-page "Report" of grievances submitted to the administration by the Caucasian students the following day. It complained that smoking and other forbidden conduct had increased in the school; that the hall guard system instituted after the September violence had not worked out; that there was a lack of unity in the school; and that there was a lack of rule enforcement. Finally, the conclusion stated,

By Wednesday, December 18, we must have recognition by the administration that this meeting was held and that administrators will work toward solving the problems presented. By Wednesday, January 8, we must have some proof that action is being taken or a walk-out will be staged.

In addition to the meeting on Monday, December 16, trouble occurred at noon in the lunchroom. At about 11:30 a.m. the woman manager of the cafeteria attempted to shut a large accordeon type door. A Negro girl who was in the way was asked to step aside. Words were exchanged, the door was closed, but reopened by the girl who then attacked the manager. Other Negroes pulled the girl off, but the manager was later treated for cuts and bruises in a physician's office. Rumors then spread about the incident throughout the school.

In the afternoon, students began to walk out of classes and gather in the halls. The situation appeared volatile so the principal ordered the school closed to avert further trouble.

That evening, Monday, December 16, Negro students attended a meeting in the facilities of one of the local Community Action Programs presided over by a respected Negro leader of the agency. Basic problems were surveyed and a written compilation was to be submitted to school district officials. However, the next day's events precluded any immediate use of their efforts.

School reopened the next day, Tuesday, December 17. About 12:30 p.m., in the cafeteria, a Caucasian girl screamed, reportedly because someone patted her posterior. A chair was then thrown, and wide scale fighting broke out. Though only a small group was involved initially, the students polarized along racial lines and the fighting spread to other parts of the school. Several students of both races tried to stop the fighting, but from twenty-five to thirty police were needed to restore order. Plain clothes police were on duty when the ruckus began, and nearby uniformed police were also called in.

Subsequently, twenty-three persons were arrested and charged with offenses ranging from assault to obstructing police. Three students were taken to a hospital, but none was admitted. The most serious injury among students was a broken nose. Several police received minor injuries, but one officer who had been knocked to the floor and jumped on was ordered off duty for a few days. In addition, the superintendent was later to announce the expulsion of eight Negro students and the placement of sixteen Negro and fifteen Caucasians on strict probation. Of the thirty-nine, five were among the twenty-three that had been arrested by the police. Thus the total number of students against whom action was taken totaled fifty-seven.

Moreover, the school was closed two days prior to the beginning of Christmas vacation, the third forced closure in three months.

Identification of Problems. Once again the school and school district administration sought to involve the community as well as school district employees in a common search for identification of the problems as well as possible solutions. Their subsequent efforts were intensive and widespread. In the two and one-half weeks between December 17, 1968, and January 6, 1969, the following meetings were held:

1. December 17-18: Union High Faculty met to consider areas of concern and discuss problems.
2. December 17: The School Board held a special session to consider the implications of the day's violence.
3. December 26: The "Committee of 52" who had submitted the 1966 report on racial imbalance met with the administrative staff of the school district.
4. December 27: The district administrative staff held a meeting with thirty community leaders representing various clubs and service organizations, followed by another with the Grand Rapids Ministerial Association.

5. December 29: A marathon workshop, open to the public, was held from 2:00 p.m. to 12:00 p.m. which involved several hundred persons, though actual numbers varied throughout the long day. Three general and two workshop sessions were held. One of the latter consisted of fourteen groups of from fifteen to thirty people each. Each group submitted (1) a detailed account of what they believed to be the problems; and (2) possible solutions to the problems.
6. December 30: School district administrators met with over one hundred representatives of business and industry. Also, the Superintendent and Director of Secondary Education talked with representatives of the Michigan-Ohio Regional Lab (MOREL) to see about help in eliminating possible racism in Union High teachers.
7. January 2: Sixty members of the Union High faculty voluntarily ended their Christmas vacation two days early and reported to the school in order to go over opening day procedures as presented in a report prepared by fifteen faculty and administrative representatives. Later that evening, Union High parents attended a meeting in the school gymnasium, having previously been sent invitations and revised school rules and regulations. Discussion on the issues

believed to have been factors in causing the racial violence at the school took place.

As a result of the painstaking process of holding meetings and analyzing the reports of the various groups and individuals representing students, teachers, administrators, and concerned citizens, school officials compiled an extensive summary report¹¹ which described the multifarious problems identified. The entire detailed report of concerns comprises Appendix B, but major areas of concern were as follows:

A. Factors Resident in Students:

1. Lack of understanding and/or tolerance for cultural differences. Contributing are reactions to communications handicaps, interracial dating and jealousy, etc., stemming from alleged preferential treatment.
2. Lack of commitment to the role of "student" on the part of a significant number of students.
3. Alienation towards the school administration, particularly as a result of communications difficulties as seen by the students.

¹¹Plans for Re -Opening and Maintenance of Operation of Union, undated, pp. 1-11.

4. A lack of identity to Union on the part of the former South students, which affects the unity with former Union students.
5. Students from the south part of the district do not satisfactorily (in their estimation) influence student body decisions, hence, voice objections in numerous fashions.
6. General nonacceptance of the Master Plan by either student group. Therefore, some student disruptions are efforts to scuttle the plan.
7. Some students are alienated towards rules and regulations governing behavior and so are frequent violators, thereby contributing to problems of many kinds.

B. Factors Resident in Staff:

1. Lack of preparedness of the staff for receiving the transfer students in the fall.
2. Lack of clear definition of the role of a teacher.
3. Difficulty in dealing with clerical staff in the general and counseling offices.
4. Lack of communication among teachers.
5. Ineffective administrative leadership, particularly with respect to achieving staff unity.

6. Lack of communication between faculty and administration on such matters as teacher evaluation and involvement in decision making policies.
7. Lack of adequate code of conduct for students and enforcement by the administration.
8. Inaccessibility of the administration. Is seen as "invisible to students" and too frequently out of the building.
9. Staff meetings are frequently redundant, lacking necessary purpose.
10. The administration demands that staff follow channels and then fails to act on requests which have been channeled.
11. Some teachers do not have the ability to work with the students at Union.
12. Counselors do not believe they are able to do an adequate counseling job because of too much clerical work, students not meeting appointments, and too many administrative duties.
13. Teachers are expected to do too much clerical work.

C. Factors Resident in the Community:

1. Apprehension of parents for the quality of education and safety of the children in the school.

2. Opposition to the Master Plan, for whatever reason, particularly influences student attitudes.
3. Presence of news media personnel in the building seems to impact student actions.
4. Rumors, misinformation, and misrepresentation by some teachers and parents concerning the school in the community have bearing on the attitudes of all personnel.

D. Factors Resident in School Operations:

1. Lack of stable, consistent atmosphere within which students and teachers cooperate caused by excessive absenteeism, tardiness, and abuse of pass privileges by teachers.
2. Scheduling and procedures of classes and events and activities has contributed to instability because of lack of control over location of students, problems with the noon hour and book store schedules, and problems associated with movement to assemblies, etc.
3. Referral and discipline procedures lack coordination, are not firm or consistent.
4. External issues such as smoking in halls, parking lot programs, crowding on buses, and complaints about bus drivers.

5. Facility and equipment shortcomings, such as cafeteria layout, narrow halls, lack of a safety valve area.
6. Curriculum has no Black History courses or inclusion of Black literature in English courses; supplemental materials used in eleventh grade U.S. History inadequate as seen by students.

Analytical Summary

The analysis of the data is organized under the following categories: "Number and Location of Major Incidents"; "Development of Conflict," which includes the parties to conflict, the extent, type, and the immediate resolution of conflict; and the "Identification of Concerns."

Number and Location of Major Incidents. Three major outbreaks of conflict occurred that resulted in closure of the school three times in the first three months of desegregation during the 1968-69 school year at Union High School in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The term major conflict is arbitrarily defined in this study as a level of manifest conflict, violent or nonviolent, which results in the need for police assistance and/or the closing of a school.

It was found that each of the three precipitating incidents occurred in places where large groups of students congregated. In

the disturbances of September 13, conflict first occurred in the cafeteria where all seniors (about four hundred and fifty students) were having "homeroom" period, and subsequently spread to hallways during passing period. The second incident on December 16 occurred in the cafeteria during lunch period and later spread to the halls. The same was true of the third incident on December 17.

Development of the Conflict. All three incidents of major conflict resulted from Negro-Caucasian conflict: in the first and third incidents, student antagonists were involved; in the second, the initiating incident involved a Negro girl and a Caucasian adult. As the conflict escalated after the precipitating incidents, students tended to polarize along racial lines and the numbers involved in the conflicts increased. All three precipitating incidents were violent in nature. In regard to the first and third incidents, the extent of the violence increased as fighting spread to other students. This was averted in the case of the second conflict when school was closed by the administration as students began to leave classes and congregate in the halls.

Interestingly, numerous students of both races tried to intervene to halt fights, often being struck themselves in the process. Moreover, eyewitness observers and participants in these

major conflicts emphatically pointed out that it was always a very small minority of students who initiated the conflict. "Outsiders" were not a factor in triggering incidents of conflict at Union High; however, they did contribute to extending the duration of the conflict on September 13, 1968, when they provoked the Negroes who were about to be bused home after the first outbreak of violence at Union.

It was interesting to note that the first major conflict of September 13 was confined to fewer students than the third occurrence on December 17. In the latter case, the student involvement was much greater, as indicated partly by the fact that over fifty-seven students were either arrested or received other disciplinary action. A kind of "automatic" polarization along racial lines occurred which was not nearly as evident or extensive in the earlier conflict.

Suchman, Dean, and Williams had indicated that violence in desegregation would come irrationally and suddenly.¹² While it is true that the violence, itself, occurred in that manner, there was a definite period of uneasiness and discernible tension prior to the outbreaks of major conflict at Union. During this period, there was time to identify problems. Thus, a basic question relative to preventing the escalation of conflict may hinge upon how administrators can function most effectively to utilize such periods of warning.

¹²Cf. ante, p. 61.

The conflict in the first and third instances was immediately resolved by the use of police, who were forced to use mace and clubs to some extent in both instances, and school district staff. Both plain-clothed and uniformed police were used, the latter being called in when violence broke out, the former being on duty in the school when the first and third incidents occurred. The second instance of major conflict was resolved by dismissing school before widespread violence could occur after the violent altercation between the female Caucasian lunchroom manager and a Negro girl.

Identification of Concerns. The procedure in identifying concerns was primarily initiated by school and school district administrators who attempted to organize meetings involving students, teachers, administrators, and representatives of various groups and organizations in the community, and in one case the entire public. Participants in these meetings were encouraged to express concerns and to offer solutions. A comparison of the number of meetings following the third and final major conflict as compared to the first occurrence in September was both an indication of an escalation of concern in the school and community, as well as testament to an almost unbelievable effort on the part of the school system to get at the reasons for the conflict at Union and to inform the community of its concern. The meetings and subsequent

interaction ranged from business, religious, and club leaders to teachers and the general citizenry in a two and one-half week period including the holidays and weekends of the Christmas vacation of the 1968-69 school year.

A second way in which concerns were made known was through the voluntary efforts of students. It is noteworthy that the two days prior to the final and most serious conflict of December 17 were characterized by both Negro and Caucasian student meetings -- occasions where the students met and "invited" the administrators to attend. These meetings were well organized, and in the case of the Caucasian student meeting on December 16, resulted in a list of written concerns, in addition to the demand that action be taken or there would be a student walkout.

In regard to identifying concerns, this investigator found that the matter was complicated and raised two questions. First, because of the fine cooperation of school district personnel, the original documents of concerns and problem areas, as indicated by students as well as the numerous groups, were made available. These were carefully perused. However, a compilation of all listed concerns would have been useless without some collation. Since school district officials had collated them into what appears as Appendix B herein, a comparison of the original data was made with

the collated report to determine whether a separate analysis would appear in this study. The collation proved to be an excellent, detailed summary of concerns except for the failure to include the lack of Negro staff members as a major problem area as perceived by Negro students.

However, a second and closely related problem involved the question of priority among concerns, or ascertaining those which were most important. When the problems were examined either as reported after the first major conflict, or after the second and third in the form of the district's collated report, the great majority of concerns were found to be nonracial in nature. Analysis showed they could be classified into three major categories: (1) racial problems, such as name calling; (2) problems of an everyday nature relative to the operation of any high school, such as smoking in the building; and (3) problems associated with the opening of new buildings, such as learning how to cope with the fact that the cafeteria was located in an already congested area of the building. Examination of Appendix B, as well as the concerns identified after the first major conflict and subsequent information from students and other sources, showed that the latter two categories were more extensive than the former. This would appear to lend further credence to Wey and Corey's findings that student problems in a desegregated school

were essentially the same as in any school; they were only accentuated by desegregation.¹³

However, the present findings appear to offer greater support for Salten¹⁴ in that desegregation tends to create new and very real problems of adjustment. And while it is of interest that the majority of concerns were of a nonracial nature, it cannot be stated that the racial problems were of less importance. In fact, it must be remembered that the violence was begun by students; and the concerns they expressed immediately prior to and immediately following the second and third major conflicts were largely racial in nature. Therefore, through careful analysis of the data, an attempt was made to identify the problems that students, themselves, actually expressed. Content analysis of several documents as well as interview data showed that Negro students had several primary concerns. A survey of such concerns, included below in rank order of importance, taken at the December 16 meeting in a local CAP agency attended by over eighty Negro students, epitomized these. It should be remembered that the meeting occurred the night before the most violent outbreak that occurred at Union. They were as follows:

¹³Cf. ante, p. 51.

¹⁴Cf. ante, p. 63.

1. More "black" curriculum needed.
2. "White" teachers were prejudiced.
3. More "black" teachers needed.
4. Crowded conditions on buses and poor drivers.
5. "White" students prejudiced.
6. Weak principal--unseen, unknown
7. No communication between students (races).
8. No representation in class activities.
9. Librarians prejudiced.

Hence, it is apparent that eight of the nine concerns were related to problems of racial adjustment.

For Caucasian students, the "report" by White Union High School Students (actually written by ten elected student leaders of the school), also on December 16, the day prior to the most extensive outbreak of violence, noted the following:

1. The lack of enforcement of rules, mainly because of teachers' and administrators' fear of enforcing them in regard to Negroes.
2. The lack of unity in the school because of Negro students' failure to cheer at games, etc.
3. The failure of Negroes to accept proffered friendships on the part of Caucasians.

4. Overbearing Negro hall guards.
5. Improper personal conduct, such as smoking in lavatories and using improper language.

No rank order was assigned the above, but, again, racial considerations were important. Thus, while the reports compiled by school district personnel were extremely honest and complete collations of all factors believed to have been important in the development of conflict, analysis of student reports and interviews with students indicated that problems of racial adjustment were primary to them.

In summary, careful analysis of the data indicated that racial concerns were a primary factor in the outbreaks of violence at Union High and that they in turn focused concern and brought to light many other less apparent problem areas that existed relative to the staff, the students, and the overall operation of the school.

CHAPTER V

MAJOR CHANGES AND ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This phase of the study sought to determine if changes occurred in the school and community that appeared to have been related to the conflict which occurred at Union High School, and then to determine whether those familiar with the conflict, administrators, teachers, and students, perceived such changes as (1) being caused to some extent by the conflict, and (2) constructive to some degree.

In regard to determining what changes had occurred that appeared to be related to the conflict, interview data and documentary evidence were gathered. Careful attention was given to verification that the changes had, in fact, occurred by cross-checking interview and historical evidence. Criteria which contributed to the selection of a change were (1) the proximity of the change to the conflict; (2) an apparent relationship between the change and an identified concern; (3) the absence of a relationship between the change and the planning

and preparations for desegregation; and (4) the opinions of people in a position to offer information on the subject.

The final part of the study involved structuring a questionnaire, comprised of succinct statements of the changes, and administering it to administrators, teachers, and both Caucasian and Negro students who were at or associated with Union High during the period from September of 1968 through October of 1969. The perceptions of the five groups were sought to determine whether the changes were caused to some extent by the conflict and whether such changes were considered to be constructive to some degree.

Changes Related to Conflict

A structured interview schedule was used to gather data as to possible changes that occurred which may have been related to the conflict at Union. In addition, content analysis techniques were used to examine documentary evidence. The major changes which were found to have occurred were divided arbitrarily into categories for analytical purposes. Within each category the changes are described in chronological order as closely as possible.

Curriculum and Student Activities

Several changes were apparent in the curriculum of the school. First, a relatively short-lived change occurred during the

week following the September violence when students returned to school in stages and held discussions on Negro-Caucasian relation problems as noted earlier in this study.¹

Second, and somewhat related, students and teachers were encouraged both semesters to allow for discussion of Negro-Caucasian problems during class time when students expressed the need to do so.

Third, even though plans to include minority group contributions were begun in earnest after the June 3, 1968, acceptance of the Master Plan, efforts to include such material intensified, particularly after the first semester. The eleventh grade U. S. History classes used Logan and Cohan's The Negro in American Life to supplement the regular text, whereas all eleventh grade literature teachers received copies of (1) Three Negro Classics (Avon Books), which includes Washington's Up From Slavery, Dubois' The Souls of Black Folk, and Johnson's The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man; (2) The Negro Novel in America by Bone; and (3) Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America, edited by Gross. English teachers were encouraged to include units of Negro literature in their course of study and to be receptive to students doing research projects on Negroes as well as book reviews of Negro authors.

¹Supra, p. 106.

Fourth, a course in "Black History" was offered beginning second semester. A Negro teacher was recruited to teach the five sections of students who elected to take it, about twenty-five per cent of whom were Caucasian. Sources used consisted of various paperbacks on the Negro in contemporary American life as well as those on historical background. Also used were books and African artifacts loaned by the Michigan-Ohio Regional Laboratory. At the beginning of the 1969-70 school year, the course was still offered on an elective basis but was moved to the educational park, where the course was available to all of the city's high school students.

Fifth, orientation procedures for incoming sophomore students were changed beginning with the 1969-70 school year. All sophomores were asked to report to school one day early in order to become better acquainted with the school and its policies prior to the return of upperclassmen.

Finally, at least two developments relating to student activities were discernible. First, the selection of queens and courts, long a tradition at the old Union High continued at the new school, was changed from a rather closed system to one where every girl in the particular grade level had a chance to be selected. A list with the name of every girl in the grade was given to all students, who were asked to vote for four. Then, the top seven vote getters

were voted on. Girls who were interviewed particularly indicated this was a major change to them.

Second, the Senior Center Board was created. This group of students, selected by peers, began to plan activities such as ping-pong tournaments, billiards, scuba diving, and other activities. These two developments came about during the second semester of the 1968-69 school year, and were simply an indication of a more extensive student activity program that began to materialize in the fall of the 1969-70 school year.

Student Conduct

Considering the two major outbreaks of violence and the fact that Union High was closed three times in the first three months of the 1968-69 school year, it was not surprising that changes occurred relative to student conduct. After the conflict of September 13, a plan was devised whereby parent teams, consisting in some cases of both a Caucasian and Negro, would assist in keeping order in the halls and certain areas of the building where students congregated. These teams were on duty for the entire year.

Closely associated was a plan whereby teams of hall monitors would also assist in keeping order. The original idea was that the team would consist of a Caucasian and a Negro, but as the

semester progressed, most of the teams became entirely Negro. This particular innovation was terminated after the outbreak of violence on December 17.

Prior to the resumption of school after the Christmas holidays, students received a written copy of "Union High School, 1968 -69, Student Rules and Regulations," which was a composite of revised and new rules formulated during the September -December period by Union High staff. It was the first time students had received a copy of the school rules that school year.

Another major development influencing student conduct was the hiring of two full-time civilian, nonuniformed control officers to patrol the parking lots and school building areas. As has been pointed out, Union High is a building characterized by long corridors and isolated wings. These individuals were equipped with walkie-talkies which maintained contact with the main office. At the outset of the following school year, 1969 -70, the control officers were still on duty.

Finally, there was a general "tightening up" of rules and regulations as the school year progressed. For example, hall passes were required of all traveling students. Students who loitered in the halls were questioned about their presence. In the course of the second semester, for the first time teachers and other staff were

assigned supervisory duty in the gym during assemblies held there. Overall, supervision and control became highly important, especially after the December violence.

Faculty and Staff

Some of the most important changes involved staffing. On January 2, the principal of Union High requested a change in assignment. His letter of request noted that, "The position of high school principal has become increasingly arduous in recent years, and I believe my experience and my service to the purposes of public school education can now be better utilized in another assignment." The superintendent granted the request and assigned one of the system's junior high principals to the position. This also involved moving one of Union's assistant principals to the new principal's previous position. As a result, the Negro administrative intern at Union was appointed acting assistant principal in charge of discipline to fill the departing assistant principal's position. Hence, a new administrative team took over at Union prior to the end of the first semester.

In addition to the elevation of the Negro administrative intern, two other Negroes were added to the professional staff beginning the second semester. One was a counselor, and the other a teacher.

In regard to nonprofessional staff, at the beginning of second semester, additional help was hired in the cafeteria, both adult and student. Several of the students were Negroes. Also, several Negro paraprofessionals were hired. One, for example, served as an aide to the new Senior Center Board. When the school year began in September, there were no paraprofessionals in the school; by the end of the 1968-69 school year there were three Negro and one Caucasian paraprofessionals. Thus, several Negro staff members were added.

In regard to other areas where additional personnel were hired, the cafeteria was notable, primarily since it had been an area of considerable concern as revealed in the meetings held following the major incidents of conflict. Both adult and student help was increased during the second semester. Special effort was made to recruit Negro students.

Two somewhat unique programs were instituted during the second semester of the year. The first was a program carried out by the Michigan-Ohio Regional Laboratory (MOREL), a federally funded organization, which lasted from the end of January to mid-April. Twenty-two of forty volunteers from the Union staff were selected to participate in a program designed to help teachers and administrators establish a background which would enable them to

develop and/or carry out school programs which overcome racism. In this pilot project, participants met from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. every Thursday and also took part in a weekend retreat at a hotel in nearby Lansing. Efforts were made to help participants recognize racist attitudes so that attitudes might be restructured. The major sources used were, "The Rightness of Whiteness," by Citron, published by MOREL; Cleaver's "The White Race and Its Heroes," from Soul on Ice; and Institutional Racism in American Society: A Primer, published by the Mid-Peninsula Christian Ministry, of Palo Alto, California. Primarily it was an information-discussion program, though techniques used in sensitivity training were used in the weekend retreat.

A second program for teachers and administrators was a course offered under the auspices of Michigan State University and conducted by a consultant from "Project Student Values," another federally funded program which specialized in the study of values. The basic text was Values and Teaching by Raths, Harmin, and Simon, though attitudes involved in racism were given emphasis. Participants met for three hours, one night per week. In addition, the consultant aided the staff and students on an ad hoc basis during the same period of time.

Finally, a major change in the teaching staff became apparent when the next school year began. Twenty-three teachers,

representing thirty-two per cent of the teaching staff, did not return for the 1969-70 school year.

Not all changes in staff occurred at the building level, however. In May of 1969, a human relations director, a twenty-eight-year-old Negro, was appointed to serve at the central office level with primary responsibility for improving race relations in city schools. Particularly he was to work for better staff liaison between staff and community, students, and teachers and students in schools that had been desegregated. Regarding long term planning, he was to develop a human relations program consistent with the progressive desegregation as outlined in the Master Plan.

Facilities and Transportation

The most extensive change in facility was the creation of a "Senior Center" out of what was previously called a recreation room. The center, located in the basement of the building, comprising about five thousand square feet, was transformed from a bare room to a center for senior activities, complete with a portable steam table and other accoutrements which made it possible to serve hot dogs, hamburgers, and milk. Also installed were vending machines that dispensed other food. Moreover, the center was made replete with a juke box, pool tables, and ping pong equipment.

Supervision was handled by both Negro and Caucasian student monitors and an adult supervisor.

Another area that was changed to provide better service was the cafeteria. Service counters and electrical connections were moved and aisle markers established in order to eliminate lines of students into the halls and possible friction among students.

Outside the building, certain changes were made in the parking areas in the second semester. Staff and visitor parking signs were erected and speed limit signs established.

In regard to transportation, two changes were made. First, because of complaints by Negro students about bus drivers, the school district, which had originally used buses chartered from the city to bus students from the "south end," instead assigned its own buses to this function and reassigned the city charters on other runs. Second, a special activities bus was assigned, in late September of the first semester, to leave the school at 4:30 p.m. in order to provide transportation after extracurricular activities.

Community-School Relations

Various changes were apparent in school-community relations during and immediately following the year of conflict at Union High. The numerous meetings that occurred between school district

personnel and several groups in the community in order to solicit major concerns and solutions have been previously described.² In reiteration, extensive dialogue over desegregation problems took place during the two and one-half week period following the forced closing of school on December 17, 1968, and its reopening, January 6, 1969, which involved: (1) a group representing thirty community organizations and clubs; (2) the Grand Rapids Ministerial Association; (3) a group of over one hundred business leaders; (4) several hundred citizens who attended an open, marathon workshop; and (5) staff at Union High.

Another development influencing school-community relations was the Board of Education election, wherein four positions were to open on July 1, 1969. In the final election of April 12, three of the winning candidates were from the "west side," and their campaign had stressed opposition to the Master Plan primarily because of the busing of Negro students from the "south end." Of interest was the fact that the same three persons were members of an organization called the Union High Parents' Association (UHPA) which had branched off from the regular Union High Parent, Teacher, Student Association (UHPTSA) in the two months following the final incident of violence on December 17, 1968, at Union.

²Supra, pp. 114-116.

As an organization, the UHPA held political rallies in behalf of its candidates and canvassed the city, prior to the election, handing out pamphlets showing dollar bills emanating from the tail pipes of buses to stress their opposition to the busing of Negroes as a method of desegregating schools. At one of their rallies, held March 11, 1969, in the cafeteria at Union (for which they were charged on the basis of being a political group), members questioned the MOREL staff as to whether they were brainwashing teachers to grade Negro students separately and expressed concern that only the Negro case was being presented in the MOREL program. Overall, the group was greatly concerned about continued implementation of the Master Plan.

When the results of the election were known, the three new "west side" candidates announced that the reason they won was because of their foremost plank, "Junk the integrating Master Plan and busing."³ They were especially pleased they had swept the incumbent Board president and another strong supporter of the Master Plan out of office. Though the same three members were later to demand that the "lame duck" Board members resign so the "mandate" of the people could be carried out that much sooner, the majority of the Board decided to thoughtfully re-evaluate the Plan during the

³Grand Rapids Press, April 8, 1969, p. 1-B.

months to follow. Too, a Grand Rapids Press editorial questioned that any "mandate" had in fact been given the three since, among other things, only about half the voters turned out in the final election that had voted in the primary.⁴ Overall, only 21.5 per cent of those eligible had voted. When the next school year began, 1969-70, the busing and Master Plan were still in force.

The Grand Rapids Press gave very extensive coverage of events at Union. This investigator examined every article pertaining to the development of the Master Plan, and subsequent events related to desegregation which appeared from January of 1968 to November of 1969. It was interesting to find that after the first violence occurred at Union on September 13, there was a noticeable lack of attention given to other city high schools that also had desegregated. This raised a question of balance, as well as possible bias.

Because of concern over rumors and inaccurate information about education in the community, the school district, in early February of 1969, instituted a "rumor control center" in order to provide quick and accurate answers to the questions of concerned citizens. The primary responsibility for the center was assigned to the school system's public relations director.

⁴"Less Than a Mandate," Grand Rapids Press, April 9, 1969, p. 12.

Another change affecting school-community relations was begun in the fall of the 1969-70 school year. The Union High principal assigned one member of the counseling staff to spend one day a week in the community, on a continuing basis, for the purpose of improving school-community relations. The counselor subsequently used the facilities of local Community Action Projects (CAPs) and met with parents who had questions about the school and/or their children.

Finally, in the fall of 1969, the Union High PTSA was the only public high school in the school system to receive an award for having at least a ten per cent increase in membership.

Summary

Numerous changes in the school and/or community were discernible during the 1968-69 school year in which Union High was beset with conflict. Certain changes also occurred in the fall of 1969, the beginning of the 1969-70 school year. Of the changes that occurred, all but five were instituted as the result of an administrative decision based, to some extent, on the advice of either parents, students, or teachers. The five exceptions that obviously occurred as a result of forces outside the purview of school district administrators were those involving (1) the formation of the UHPA;

(2) the election of three "west side" candidates to the school board; (3) the coverage given the school by the Grand Rapids Press; (4) the numerical growth of the PTSA; and (5) the fact that twenty-three teachers, or thirty-two per cent of the staff, did not return to Union the following year.

Overall, then, it was found that changes occurred in the school and community which appeared to have been caused to some extent by the conflict that characterized Union High School during the 1968-69 school year.

That all of the changes described above occurred was verified by cross-checking interview data with documentary evidence. The relationship of the conflict which occurred at Union to the changes appeared to be causative to at least some extent because of (1) the proximity of the change to the conflict; (2) an apparent relationship between the change and an identified concern; (3) the absence of a relationship between the change and the planning and preparations for desegregation; and (4) the opinions of people in a position to offer information on the subject.

The changes were arbitrarily classified into five major categories: (1) Curriculum and Student Activities; (2) Student Conduct; (3) Faculty and Staff; (4) Facilities and Transportation; and (5) Community-School Relations. The thirty-one major changes

which occurred, and which were subsequently included in a questionnaire to students, administrators, and teachers, are stated below in the succinct form used in the questionnaire:

Curriculum and Student Activities

1. After the closing of school on September 13, 1968, the next week was devoted to meetings, first among seniors, then juniors and sophomores, in order to identify problems and clarify issues.
2. Classroom discussions on black -white relationships and problems took place during both first and second semesters to identify common problems and clarify just what the issues were.
3. Efforts were made to include minority group contributions in the English and social studies curriculums during the 1968 -69 school year.
4. A one semester black history course was offered second semester at Union.
5. At the beginning of first semester this year, 1969 -70, all tenth grade students were asked to report to school one day earlier than other grade levels so orientation would be improved over that of last year.

6. Second semester the voting procedure for student courts and queens of various events was revised to make it fairer and more democratic.
7. Various new activities for seniors were begun through the "Senior Center" such as pool, ping pong, juke box music at lunch time, and scuba diving.

Student Conduct

1. Student monitor teams were formed to assist in the supervision of the halls.
2. Parent teams helped in the halls to keep outsiders from causing trouble and to assist with potential problems.
3. Two full-time control officers were hired at Union to assist in preventing vandalism and other kinds of problems from developing in the halls and parking lot.
4. School rules and regulations were revised in mid-year and distributed so all students would be aware of procedures and policies.
5. In general, last year there was a "tightening up" of rules and regulations, e.g., closer surveillance of hall passes, etc.

Faculty and Staff

1. A new administrative team took over the leadership at Union shortly after the Christmas holidays.

2. Additional black staff members were added to the Union staff after the school year, 1968-69, had begun.
3. Second semester, additional staff were hired in the cafeteria to provide better service to students and staff.
4. The Michigan-Ohio Regional Lab (MOREL) conducted an experimental information program for teachers during the second semester.
5. A consultant from "Project Student Values" worked with staff and students during the second semester of 1969.
6. In May, 1969, the school district hired a new Human Relations Director to assist in improving race relations in city schools.
7. Close to twenty teachers who taught at Union in 1968-69 are not now on the staff.

ilities and Transportation

1. A "Senior Center" was created out of the recreation room second semester.
2. During the second semester, several changes were made in the cafeteria, such as more service counters, more chairs, and better aisle markers.
3. Second semester, the parking lot areas were improved in that new signs were installed and parking procedures clarified.

4. Students from the south end were originally transported to Union on chartered city buses, but later came to be transported on school district buses instead.
5. Beginning September 23, 1968, an activities bus to leave the school at 4:30 p.m. was begun in order to provide transportation after extracurricular activities.

Community-School Relations

1. Over the Christmas holidays, the school board and administrators met with numerous organizations such as the Grand Rapids Council of Ministers, Chamber of Commerce, etc., in order to develop increased community awareness of school desegregation problems.
2. Three new members from the west side were elected to the Board of Education in the spring of 1969.
3. The Union High Parents Association (UHPA) formed in the community out of interest in the Union High busing.
4. The Grand Rapids Press gave more extensive coverage to the first year desegregation at Union as compared to the city's other high schools.
5. A rumor control center was established at the school district's central office in February of 1969 to provide

accurate answers to questions and concerns about education in Grand Rapids.

6. As of this fall, 1969, counseling duties have been reorganized to where one counselor will spend time in the community each week, for example at the Sheldon and west side complexes, in order to meet with parents who have questions about student courses and school-community problems.
7. The Union High PTSA at the present time has more actual members than was true during the fall of 1968.

Analysis of the Questionnaire: Conflict as a Cause of Change

Though thirty-three items were included in the questionnaire, the data on two were not tabulated nor included in the analysis. Item 3, concerning the inclusion of a unit in adolescent development, was excluded because respondents, when marking the questionnaire, pointed out that the "family living" course was taught by a social studies teacher and considered to be in that department, not home economics. Thus, the researcher erred in describing the department. Item number 27 was excluded before tabulating the data because a final reassessment of all changes revealed that it was the only one of the items which could not be empirically determined to be a change. The term "generally became more active" was so

vague as to be meaningless, and this study sought to avoid any question as to whether the change, in fact, occurred.

Data were obtained from four major groups: (1) Negro students, (2) Caucasian students, (3) Teachers, and (4) Administrators. In regard to students, only juniors and seniors were eligible for the study since sophomores were not attending the school during the year of conflict. The total usable sample consisted of 20 per cent, or 188 of the total population of 960 students eligible for the study, and consisted of twenty Negroes, or 13 per cent of the total sample, and 166 Caucasian students. Negroes eligible for the study in the total school population actually comprised about 16.6 per cent, or 160 of the total student population. Thus, the fact that a 13 per cent sample was obtained indicates a very slight bias in the number of Caucasian students included in the study.

The instrument was administered to the total populations of administrators and teachers who were eligible for the study. Of the forty-nine teachers, returns were obtained from forty-seven, or 96 per cent. Six of the seven administrators responded, for an 86 per cent return.

Analysis of the data will occur as follows: First, the extent to which conflict was perceived to be a factor in, or cause of the changes in the school will be examined using the arbitrary categories developed earlier in

this chapter. Then the extent that the changes were thought to be useful or constructive will be examined in the same manner. However, special attention will be given to analyzing the possible reasons why the groups varied in their responses to certain items or groupings relative to the extent conflict was thought to be a cause, or the constructiveness of the changes, consistent with the purposes of the study.

Both mean scores and per cents will be used to analyze the data. The scale respondents were asked to mark consisted of four categories numbered and described as follows:

4 = to a very great extent

3 = to a moderate extent

2 = to a very small extent

1 = not at all

When per cents are used to describe an item, the four-point scale will generally be collapsed into two parts and responses described in regard to (1) a "moderate" or "very great extent," or (2) a "very small extent" or "not at all."

Curriculum and Student Activities

The totals in Table V-1 show that each of the four groups perceived conflict to be a definite cause of changes in this category

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS AS TO THE EXTENT OF CHANGES IN COMMUNICATIONS
PERCENTS AS TO THE EXTENT OF CHANGES IN COMMUNICATIONS
STUDENT ACTIVITIES

153

Changes Category 1	Students										Teachers N = 47					Administrators N = 6				
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1
1. Meetings identifying problems	2.9	45	15	25	15	3.3	64	13	13	10	3.9	96	2	2	0	4.0	100	0	0	0
2. Black-white problems discussed	2.5	30	20	25	25	3.3	61	19	12	8	3.7	81	15	2	2	3.5	50	50	0	0
3. Minority group contributions	1.9	5	10	55	30	2.6	22	35	27	16	3.0	26	46	26	2	2.3	17	33	17	33
4. Black history course begun	2.9	55	5	20	20	3.0	43	29	16	12	3.6	68	23	9	0	4.0	100	0	0	0
5. Student orientation changed	2.5	25	35	5	35	2.5	28	24	22	26	3.3	55	26	8	11	3.3	33	67	0	0
6. Queen elections modified	2.8	42	16	21	21	2.8	35	24	22	19	3.4	52	35	13	0	3.5	50	50	0	0
7. New activities; Senior Center	2.7	35	25	20	20	2.4	18	30	29	23	3.1	43	32	19	6	3.3	33	67	0	0
Totals	2.6	34	18	24	29	2.9	39	25	20	16	3.4	60	26	11	3	3.4	55	38	2	5

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

as seen in the mean scores of 2.6 for Negro students, 2.9 for Caucasian students, and 3.4 for both teachers and administrators, though the evaluations of the latter two groups were markedly higher than for the students.

Looking at individual items, a majority of Negro students perceived only item 3 as having been caused by conflict to a "very small extent" or "not at all," while Caucasian students evaluated item 7 in that manner. Teachers and administrators failed to evaluate conflict that lowly for any of the changes.

Item 3 is of special interest. The Negro student mean was 1.9, comparing somewhat to the low mean of 2.3 for administrators, while the 2.6 of Caucasian students and 3.0 of teachers were markedly higher. Why? It must be noted that efforts to revise the social studies curriculum had been under way in the district for over a year prior to the outbreak of conflict at Union. Further, an ad hoc committee was created on June 3, 1968, the day the Master Plan was approved, to further revise the curriculum to improve the balance between minority groups and Caucasian contributions. Administrators were perhaps more aware of this because of their leadership positions and Negro students because it was a primary concern of theirs prior to coming to the school. However, the researcher was also aware of this, and the intent of the question was to elicit whether

in fact conflict gave further impetus to the efforts and/or was responsible for greater diligence in application of such material. Therefore, teachers, who were in the key position to evaluate whether conflict was a cause of efforts to include minority group contributions in the English and social studies curriculums, rated it more highly than the other groups. Too, it is of interest that Caucasian students gave conflict a comparatively high rating, thereby offering further support for the plausible reasons for the divergence among the groups, since they would likely have been less aware of the prior planning on this particular matter yet have been sensitive to increased efforts to include such material after conflict occurred.

Student Conduct

For changes in this category, Table V-2 shows consistently strong mean scores ranging from 3.0 to 3.2 for Negro and Caucasian students to an identical high of 3.6 for teachers and administrators.

Of the individual items, only number 1 was not believed to be caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and even only by a majority of the Negro students. Moreover, the fact that this item was given the lowest mean ratings by all groups of the items in the overall category suggests that the fact the teams

TABLE V -2

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE EXTENT CONFLICT WAS A CAUSE OF CHANGES IN THE AREA OF STUDENT CONDUCT

Changes Category 2	Students										Teachers N = 47					Administrators N = 6				
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1
	1. Student monitor teams assist	2.3	25	10	35	30	2.9	35	32	21	12	2.7	33	26	24	17	3.0	34	33	33
2. Parent teams assist	3.3	55	30	10	5	3.2	57	18	14	11	3.9	96	2	2	0	3.7	83	0	17	0
3. Two control officers hired	3.5	75	10	5	10	3.2	52	23	15	10	3.8	81	17	2	0	3.8	83	17	0	0
4. Rules and regu- lations revised	3.0	50	10	30	10	3.5	69	16	7	8	3.9	94	6	0	0	3.7	83	0	17	0
5. General tight- ening of rules apparent	2.9	35	25	30	10	3.3	57	26	9	8	3.8	83	13	4	0	4.0	100	0	0	0
Totals	3.0	48	17	22	13	3.2	54	23	13	10	3.6	77	13	6	4	3.6	77	10	13	0

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

were abandoned after the December 17, 1968, violence may have resulted in lessening of the intensity of feeling about this change caused by the time lapse of almost a year before perceptions were surveyed for this study. The change was in operation only from mid-September to December 17, and the violence of the latter date was of greater magnitude. The changes related thereto, or those of greater duration, were perhaps more apt to be remembered by all groups.

Faculty and Staff

In Table V-3, the mean scores of 2.7 for Negro students, 2.9 for Caucasian students, and 3.5 for both teachers and administrators indicate that all groups evaluated conflict as being a cause of overall changes in this category. Again, the mean scores of teachers and administrators were markedly higher than for students.

Examining individual items, changes 4 and 5 were not believed to have been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent" by a majority of the Negro students, but that was the only group to evaluate conflict that lowly as a factor in any of the changes.

In the case of item 4, the Michigan-Ohio Regional Laboratory (MOREL) program for teachers was not seen by Negroes as

TABLE V -3

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE EXTENT CONFLICT WAS A CAUSE OF CHANGES IN THE AREA OF FACULTY AND STAFF

Changes Category 3	Students										Teachers N = 47					Administrators N = 6				
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1
1. New adminis- trative team	3.3	65	10	10	15	3.4	66	15	9	10	3.9	92	8	0	0	4.0	100	0	0	0
2. Black staff added	2.7	40	15	20	25	3.3	56	23	13	8	3.6	72	19	7	2	3.7	67	33	0	0
3. Cafeteria staff added	2.8	42	21	11	26	2.7	24	33	26	17	3.7	70	28	2	0	3.2	17	83	0	0
4. MOREL Program for teachers	2.1	5	32	32	31	2.5	22	30	24	24	3.7	85	9	2	4	4.0	100	0	0	0
5. "Project Student Values" consultant	2.6	34	11	33	22	2.7	24	37	21	18	3.6	72	19	2	7	4.0	100	0	0	0
6. New human rela- tions director	2.9	32	42	10	16	2.9	37	29	20	14	3.5	60	30	6	4	2.7	0	67	33	0
7. Twenty teachers did not return	2.6	35	20	15	30	2.7	31	27	25	17	2.8	28	30	35	7	3.2	33	50	17	0
Totals	2.7	36	21	19	24	2.9	37	28	20	15	3.5	70	20	8	2	3.5	60	33	7	0

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

having been caused by conflict to any great degree. In fact, almost two-thirds, 63 per cent, believed the change was related to conflict to a "very small extent" or "not at all." The Negro student mean on this item was only 2.1 as compared with administrators' 4.0 and teachers' 3.7, thus indicating the Negro students' failure to perceive the impact of the conflict on the decision to initiate the program. This is interesting since the Negro community demanded that a program, specifically MOREL's, be instituted at Union, and this was well publicized by the press.

In change number 5, almost the same situation held for the Project Student Values consultant. The mean scores for administrators and teachers were 4.0 and 3.6 respectively, while it was 2.6 for Negro students and 2.7 for Caucasian students. It is interesting that 34 per cent of the Negro students marked response category 4, yet 55 per cent marked categories 1 and 2. Thus, it appears that 34 per cent of the Negroes had direct contact with the consultant, or some other basis for the high rating, and those who had not were not aware of his role and were at the other end of the scale.

Facilities and Transportation

Mean scores for this category of changes, as shown in Table V-4, ranged from lows of 2.2 for Caucasian students and 2.4

TABLE V -4

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE EXTENT CONFLICT WAS A CAUSE OF CHANGES IN FACILITIES AND TRANSPORTATION

Changes Category 4	Students						Teachers N = 47	Administrators N = 6	
	Negro N = 20			Caucasian N = 168					
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3 2 1	$\bar{X}$	4	3 2 1			
1. Senior Center created	2.4	28 33	0 39	2.4	19 28 26 27	3.1	45 32 17 6	3.7	67 33 0 0
2. Cafeteria facili- ties modified	2.2	15 20	35 30	2.3	16 26 34 24	3.4	51 38 11 0	3.7	67 33 0 0
3. Parking lots improved	2.4	26 16	32 26	1.8	5 19 31 45	2.3	13 32 32 23	3.3	50 33 17 0
4. Change in buses to transport Negroes	2.3	25 15	20 40	2.5	27 20 25 28	3.0	40 31 18 11	3.5	83 0 0 17
5. Activities bus began	2.5	25 30	20 25	2.3	21 23 25 31	3.0	43 28 19 10	2.8	33 33 17 17
Totals	2.4	23 23	22 32	2.2	17 23 29 31	3.0	38 32 19 11	3.4	60 26 7 7

***4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all**

for Negro students to highs of 3.0 for teachers and 3.4 for administrators. Again, it appears that the three groups did not perceive conflict as being as great a factor in bringing about change as did the administrators who actually made the decisions that resulted in the changes.

Several of the individual changes were not believed to have been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent." A majority of the Negroes evaluated items 2, 3, and 4 in that manner, while Caucasian students saw all five changes in the category in that manner. Teachers evaluated one item that lowly, but administrators evaluated none that negatively in regard to conflict being a factor. It is especially interesting that 60 per cent of the Negro students in item 4 believed so strongly that conflict was "not a factor" or of very little importance in the decision to change busing arrangements for the Negro students. Administrators, who made the decision, definitely thought it was an important factor as seen by their mean score of 3.5.

Why so many of the changes were perceived as having so little relationship to conflict is not clear, particularly in the case of Caucasian students. This and the overall low mean scores, which were by far the lowest of any category for all groups excepting administrators, may be explained on the assumption that changes

n facility and transportation may have appeared to be peripheral matters, matters not easily related to the conflict which had occurred. However, as Appendix B and documentary evidence reported in Chapter IV show, each of the changes was related to a previously identified concern that was expressed either before or after conflict occurred.

Community-School Relations

It has been previously noted that of the thirty-one changes that appeared on the questionnaire, only five were sociological phenomenon beyond the purview of administrative decision. Four of those changes are found in the present category. Only items 1, 5, and 6 were the result of administrative decision-making.

The mean scores for all groups, as shown in Table V -5, were 2.8 and 2.9 for Negro and Caucasian students, while teachers and administrators had identically higher scores of 3.5. Again, all four groups perceived conflict to have been a definite cause of changes in the overall category.

As for individual items, a majority of Negro students saw items 5 and 7 as being caused by conflict to "a very small extent" or "not at all." Caucasian students perceived item 7 in the same way.

Changes Category 5	Students										Teachers N = 47				Administrators N = 6					
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1
1. Meetings with community organizations	3.1	45	30	10	15	3.1	49	23	20	8	3.9	87	13	0	0	3.8	83	17	0	0
2. "West Side" Board members elected**	2.5	25	25	30	20	2.7	32	28	19	21	3.7	79	17	4	0	3.5	50	50	0	0
3. Formation of UHPA**	2.9	45	20	10	25	3.1	45	28	17	10	3.7	83	11	4	2	3.7	67	33	0	0
4. <u>Grand Rapids</u> <u>Press coverage**</u>	3.6	80	5	10	5	3.6	71	17	8	4	3.9	87	13	0	0	4.0	100	0	0	0
5. Rumor Control Center begun	2.6	35	10	35	20	3.1	52	20	14	14	3.7	77	17	6	0	3.3	50	33	17	0
6. Counselor in community	2.7	35	20	25	20	2.5	19	34	27	20	2.9	36	26	30	8	3.2	50	33	0	17
7. UHPTSA mem - bers increase**	2.1	16	16	26	42	2.3	15	29	29	27	2.6	21	34	26	19	3.0	34	33	33	0
Totals	2.8	40	18	21	21	2.9	41	25	19	15	3.5	67	19	10	4	3.5	62	29	7	2

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

**not the result of an administrative decision

A partial explanation as to the low mean scores on item 7 for both student groups, as compared to teachers and administrators, may be the low visibility the change had for them, in addition to the number of other plausible variables that could have been involved. The comparatively low mean score of teachers on this item lends further credibility to the fact that only administrators knew of it.

Summary

Table V -6 summarizes the data in the five categories of change with reference to the extent conflict was considered to be the cause of changes in the different categories. The totaled mean scores for all items and categories were 2.7 and 2.8 for Negro and Caucasian students, respectively, and the markedly higher scores of 3.4 and 3.5 for teachers and administrators. Based on a four-point scale, the data indicated a belief on the part of all four groups that conflict was a definite stimulus to the changes that occurred at Union High when all changes were considered together.

In regard to the thirty-one individual changes, Table V -7 shows the number of changes believed to have been caused by conflict to only a "very small extent" or "not at all" by a majority of the respondents in each group by category of change. In discussing the specific items in each category, the data was as follows:

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND
PERCENTS AS TO THE EXTENT CONFLICT WAS A CAUSE OF CHANGES BY ALL CATEGORIES
OF CHANGE

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Categories of Change (31 items)	Students					Teachers N = 47					Administrators N = 6									
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1
1. Curriculum and Student Activities	2.6	34	18	24	24	2.9	39	25	20	16	3.4	60	26	11	3	3.4	55	38	2	5
2. Student Conduct	3.0	48	17	22	13	3.2	54	23	13	10	3.6	77	13	6	4	3.6	77	10	13	0
3. Faculty and Staff	2.7	36	21	19	24	2.9	37	28	20	15	3.5	70	20	8	2	3.5	60	33	7	0
4. Facilities and Transportation	2.4	23	23	22	32	2.2	17	23	29	31	3.0	38	32	19	11	3.4	60	26	7	7
5. Community - School Relations	2.8	40	18	21	21	2.9	41	25	19	15	3.5	67	19	10	4	3.5	62	29	7	2
Totals	2.7	37	19	21	23	2.8	38	25	20	17	3.4	63	22	11	4	3.5	62	28	7	3

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

TABLE V -7

NUMBER OF CHANGES CAUSED BY CONFLICT TO A
 "VERY SMALL EXTENT" OR "NOT AT ALL" AS PERCEIVED
 BY A MAJORITY IN EACH GROUP OF RESPONDENTS

Categories of Change	Negro Students	Caucasian Students	Teachers	Adminis- trators	Totals
Category 1: (Seven Changes) Curriculum and Student Activities	1	1	0	0	2
Category 2: (Five Changes) Student Conduct	1	0	0	0	1
Category 3: (Seven Changes) Faculty and Staff	2	0	0	0	2
Category 4: (Five Changes) Facilities and Trans- portation	3	5	1	0	9
Category 5: (Seven Changes) Community- School Relations	2	1	0	0	3
Totals	9	7	1	0	17

1. In category 1, Negro students rated the inclusion of minority group contributions in the curriculum in that manner, as did Caucasian students regarding the new activities of the Senior Center.
2. In category 2, the formation of student monitor teams was assessed by Negro students in that manner.
3. Two changes in the area of Faculty and Staff, the MOREL and Project Student Values programs, were thought by Negro students to have been relatively less related to conflict. This was interesting since it was the Negro community who first asked and demanded that MOREL be brought in to work with teachers at Union.
4. In category 4, Facilities and Transportation, every change was rated as having a comparatively low relationship to conflict by Caucasian students, whereas three of the five were rated in that manner by Negroes. Apparently these changes were considered to be peripheral to students, as compared to teachers and administrators, and not easily related to the conflict. However, analysis of documentary evidence in Chapter IV and Appendix B showed that all these changes were related to concerns expressed immediately prior to or after major conflict occurred. Teachers rated

one item, parking lot improvements, as not having been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great" extent.

5. In the final category, Negro students rated the rumor control center and increase in the Union High Parent, Teacher, Student Association (UHPTSA) comparatively low, while Caucasian students concurred in regard to the UHPTSA change.

Thus, overall, in addition to lower mean scores, both

Negro and Caucasian students perceived conflict as being less a factor in bringing about change than did teachers and administrators in terms of the number of changes.

On the other hand, every change was thought to have been caused by conflict to at least a "very small extent" by a majority of each group. Overall, conflict as a cause of change was evaluated by each group as follows:

1. Negro students -- a majority perceived twenty, or 64 per cent of the changes as being caused to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and nine, or 29 per cent to a "very small extent" or "not at all." They were equally divided on two changes, or 7 per cent.
2. Caucasian students -- a majority perceived twenty-four, or 77 per cent of the changes as being caused to a "moderate"

or "very great extent," and seven, or 23 per cent in the two lesser categories.

3. Teachers -- a majority believed thirty, or 97 per cent as being caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and one, or 3 per cent to a "very small extent" or "not at all."
4. Administrators -- a majority believed thirty, or 97 per cent were caused to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and one, or 3 per cent was evenly divided.

But most important, administrators were responsible for the decisions that brought about the changes, and thus it is especially significant that they perceived conflict as being a cause of every change to either a "moderate" or "very great extent" with the exception of one change on which opinion was equally divided.

Further indication of the intensity of feeling about the role of conflict is possible if the data are analyzed in another way. If Tables 1 through 5 are perused, it can be seen that there was not one change in which a majority of the members of any of the four groups perceived that conflict was "not at all" the cause of a change. On the other hand, considering there were thirty-one changes, a majority did mark the response category "to a very great extent" as follows:

1. Negro students --five changes, or 16 per cent
2. Caucasian students --ten changes, or 32 per cent
3. Teachers --twenty-one changes, or 68 per cent
4. Administrators --fifteen changes, or 49 per cent

Actually, because of the small population of six administrators, even numbers were apt to result. In seven additional changes, fully 50 per cent of this group marked the category "to a very great extent."

Thus, again, the data showed a much stronger feeling on the part of teachers and administrators than for students as to the role conflict performed as a stimulus to change, though the data showed that all groups perceived it to be a cause of changes at Union High.

Analysis of the Questionnaire: Constructiveness of the Changes

Curriculum and Student Activities

Table V-8 shows that the mean scores of Negro students, Caucasian students, and teachers were 2.6, 2.6, and 2.7, whereas administrators' 3.1 was noticeably higher. Thus administrators believed the changes which they initiated to be more constructive than any of the other groups did.

TABLE V -8

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVENESS OF CHANGES IN CURRICULUM AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Changes Category 1	Students										Teachers N = 47					Administrators N = 6				
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1
1. Meetings to identify problems	2.7	30	25	35	10	2.4	15	29	36	20	2.7	21	34	38	7	3.3	33	67	0	0
2. Black-white problems discussed	2.4	20	30	20	30	2.4	14	30	33	23	2.6	13	43	40	4	3.2	17	83	0	0
3. Minority group contributions	2.4	25	10	45	20	2.3	6	37	33	24	2.8	15	46	39	0	2.7	17	33	50	0
4. Black history course begun	3.1	35	40	15	10	2.2	7	32	40	21	2.5	11	30	55	4	2.7	17	33	50	0
5. Student orientation changed	2.7	25	35	30	10	3.1	38	38	18	6	3.2	36	45	19	0	3.5	50	50	0	0
6. Queen elections modified	2.4	26	21	21	32	2.4	23	21	32	24	2.8	22	38	38	2	3.0	16	67	16	0
7. New activities; Senior Center	2.7	45	15	10	35	3.2	51	25	17	7	2.4	17	26	40	17	3.2	33	50	17	0
Totals	2.6	30	25	24	21	2.6	22	30	30	18	2.7	19	37	39	5	3.1	26	55	19	0

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

Looking at individual items, a majority of the Negro students perceived items 3 and 6 as being constructive to a "very small extent" or "not at all," while Caucasian students perceived items 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 in that way, and teachers evaluated items 4 and 7 in that manner.

It is interesting that item 7, the activities of the Senior Center, was accorded a mean score of 2.4, lowest of all teachers' evaluation in this category. Yet the Caucasian student mean score was 3.1, the highest student evaluation for the entire category. Teachers were obviously not particularly pleased with this departure from the typical activity program of most schools.

Negro students rated item 4, the addition of a black history course, the highest, 3.1, of their evaluations in the entire category. This is noteworthy in that this same item had the lowest or next to lowest mean score for Caucasian students, teachers, and administrators.

Finally, the fact that administrators perceived meetings that were held to identify problems and class discussions on Negro-Caucasian relations to be much more constructive or useful than either students or teachers is apparent. Too, it is interesting that Negro students perceived the meetings to identify problems as being noticeably more constructive than Caucasian students.

Student Conduct

The totals in this category, as shown in Table V-9, illustrated the mean score of 2.2 for Negroes as compared to the 2.6 for Caucasian students and teachers, and indicates that Negroes tended to see the changes in this area as not being as constructive as the other groups did. Once again, administrators, with a mean score of 2.9, evaluated the changes the highest of all groups.

In regard to the individual items, a majority of Negro students evaluated four of the five items, excepting only item 5, tightening of rules and regulations, as being constructive to a "very small extent" or "not at all," while Caucasian students, teachers, and administrators evaluated only items 1 and 2 in that manner. Therefore, all groups were highly critical of the student monitor teams. This approach to student involvement in student control was to consist of Caucasian-Negro pairs who would be on duty between and during periods to check hall passes and generally help to maintain order. But the teams gradually became Negro students, and the posts became "hang-outs" for groups of students. As such, they became areas of conflict.

The other change which all groups agreed was of little use was the involvement of parent teams to assist with maintaining order

TABLE V -9

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVENESS OF CHANGES IN THE AREA OF STUDENT CONDUCT

Changes Category 2	Students										Teachers N = 47			Administrators N = 6						
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1					
	1. Student monitor teams assist	1.9	10	15	30	45	1.9	8	22	26	44	1.5	0	11	28	61	1.8	0	33	17
2. Parent teams assist	2.1	20	10	35	35	2.1	12	19	37	32	2.1	9	23	34	34	2.2	0	33	50	17
3. Two control officers hired	2.0	20	10	20	50	2.9	27	42	23	8	2.8	17	55	21	7	3.7	67	33	0	0
4. Rules and regu- lations revised	2.7	20	40	25	15	3.1	47	28	14	11	3.3	47	34	19	0	3.7	67	33	0	0
5. General tight- ening of rules apparent	2.5	25	15	40	20	3.0	42	24	23	11	3.2	41	38	19	2	3.3	50	33	17	0
Totals	2.2	19	18	30	33	2.6	27	27	25	21	2.6	23	32	24	21	2.9	37	33	17	13

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

throughout the building. Some interviewees indicated the parents were not effective in working with the students.

Among the other three items in the category there was close agreement as to the constructiveness of the tightening up of rules and other efforts directed at student control, though in all cases Caucasian students' mean scores were markedly higher than Negro students. One prominent example was the attitude of Negro students toward the control officers. However, overall the data in this category seemed to indicate that students welcomed the efforts of administrators to clarify rules and to enforce them. This would appear to be consistent with the data on the topic of concerns as shown in Chapter IV and/or Appendix B.

Faculty and Staff

Table V -10 shows that the mean scores of students and teachers were an identical 2.5 and close to the Negro students' mean of 2.4 in the other. The administrators' mean was 3.0, markedly higher. It is noteworthy that teachers evaluated the changes in almost the same manner as students rather than administrators.

Examining individual changes, a majority of the Negro students evaluated five of the seven changes, excepting only items 4 and 7, as being constructive to a "very small extent" or "not at all,"

while Caucasian students saw items 4, 5, and 7 as not being particularly useful. Though administrators failed to rate any that lowly, teachers evaluated items 4 through 7 in that manner.

Several of the changes were of particular interest. Item 1 indicates a very marked difference in the way Negroes perceived the new administrative team that took over in mid-year. The Negro student mean of 2.3 indicates much less appreciation for the change than the 3.1 of Caucasian students and the 3.5 and 3.8 of teachers and administrators, respectively. This would indicate the need for increased efforts on the part of the administration to establish better rapport with the Negro students. Item 2 shows that the Negroes were probably not content with the extent that Negro staff members were hired. Yet Caucasian students considered this to be comparatively more constructive than Negro students.

Item 4 relating to the Michigan-Ohio Regional Laboratory (MOREL) indicates a markedly low evaluation among all groups. Negro students' mean score was the highest of all groups at 2.4. Teachers, the ones who were supposed to have benefited most from the change, rated it the lowest at 1.8. Interviewees consisting of administrators and teachers who contributed data to earlier phases of the study indicated a variety of problems with the MOREL staff. While Negro leaders might be apt to interpret the low mean scores

as an indication that MOREL jolted a lot of people, as was their purpose, several interviewees indicated they overstepped the purview of their responsibilities during their period of service in the school. Regardless, it is significant that there was such close agreement among every group as to the lack of constructiveness of this change.

Closely related was the consultant from Project "Student Values." Only administrators accorded his activities a high positive evaluation of 3.3 as compared with Negro students' 2.4, Caucasian students' 2.3, and teachers' 2.2.

Finally, item 7 is of interest. The fact that twenty-three teachers did not return was given a relatively low "constructive" evaluation of 2.1 and 2.2 by Caucasian students and teachers, while Negro students rated it a much higher 2.6, and administrators accorded it a 3.2. Thus, a difference of opinion existed that probably reflects the difference in roles between administrators and teachers; the latter identifying more with those who did not return; administrators believing that they were rid of at least some teachers who they felt were unable to function in the multi-racial atmosphere. Technically, this item was considered to be one of the five changes on the questionnaire which did not represent administrative decisions, as such. (The other four appear in the "Community-School Relations"

category.) However, administrators did in fact encourage certain teachers to seek employment elsewhere. The Negro students apparently perceived that some of the "prejudiced" teachers did not return, though neither their per cents nor mean scores indicate an unusually strong feeling in that regard.

Facilities and Transportation

Mean scores for this category as shown in Table V -11 were similar for students and teachers, but administrators again were markedly higher in their evaluation of the changes as seen in their 3.1 mean score as compared to 2.7 for Caucasian students and teachers, and 2.8 for Negro students.

Looking at individual changes, only one item, number 3, was rated as being constructive to a "very small extent" or "not at all" by a majority of the Negro students. Caucasian students also evaluated only one item, number 4, to that extent, while teachers saw items 1 and 3 as not being constructive to at least a moderate degree. Administrators did not rate any items that lowly.

Of special interest, item 1 reinforces an earlier evaluation of the Senior Center wherein teachers were much less pleased with the activities of the center. Here, their 2.5 as compared to the 3.2 and 3.3 of Negro and Caucasian students, and the 3.7 of administrators

TABLE V-11

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVENESS OF CHANGES IN FACILITIES AND TRANSPORTATION

Changes Category 4	Students						Teachers N = 47			Administrators N = 6										
	Negro N = 20			Caucasian N = 168																
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1					
1. Senior Center created	3.2	50	28	16	6	3.3	56	26	10	8	2.5	17	28	40	15	3.7	67	33	0	0
2. Cafeteria facili- ties modified	2.5	20	30	35	15	2.6	19	32	35	14	2.9	19	49	30	2	2.8	17	50	33	0
3. Parking lots improved	2.6	26	21	37	16	2.5	22	28	33	17	2.4	15	34	30	21	2.7	17	50	17	16
4. Change in buses to transport Negroes	2.5	30	20	20	30	2.0	10	19	31	40	2.5	13	39	31	17	3.0	50	17	17	16
5. Activities bus began	3.3	55	30	5	10	2.9	34	34	22	10	3.0	38	32	21	9	3.2	33	50	17	0
Totals	2.8	36	26	23	15	2.7	28	28	26	18	2.7	21	36	30	13	3.1	37	40	17	6

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

referred to the creation of the center as a facility. This suggests the need for administrative efforts to work with teachers on the matter.

Item 4 is of interest primarily because of the low mean score of 2.0 for Caucasian students. Interview data indicated that some of these students thought the complaints of Negroes about rude bus drivers, etc., were "ridiculous."

Finally, in regard to item 5, it is apparent that Negroes particularly appreciated the "activities bus" as seen by their notably high 3.3 mean score as compared with 2.9 for Caucasian students, and the 3.0 for teachers.

Community-School Relations

It should be noted at the outset in discussing this category that items 2, 3, 4, and 7 comprise four of the five changes, out of the total of thirty-one items appearing on the questionnaire, which were not considered to be the result of administrative decisions. These were sociological phenomena that occurred outside the purview of administrators.

Table V -12 shows that the mean scores were similarly and extremely low among all groups: 2.2 for Negro students, 2.5 for Caucasian students, and 2.4 for both teachers and administrators.

TABLE V -12

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND
PER CENTS AS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVENESS OF CHANGES AFFECTING
COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS

Changes Category 5	Students										Teachers N = 47			Administrators N = 6						
	Negro N = 20					Caucasian N = 168														
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1	$\bar{X}$	4	3	2	1					
1. Meetings with community organizations	2.0	5	25	35	35	2.6	11	46	33	10	2.7	17	45	32	6	3.0	34	33	33	0
2. "West Side" Board members elected**	1.9	10	10	40	40	2.9	32	31	27	10	2.1	9	26	35	30	1.8	0	0	83	17
3. Formation of UHPA**	2.5	30	15	25	30	2.5	19	30	32	19	1.8	2	18	41	39	1.3	0	0	33	67
4. <u>Grand Rapids</u> <u>Press coverage</u> **	1.8	15	15	5	65	1.6	5	11	23	61	1.8	4	17	32	47	1.5	0	17	16	67
5. Rumor Control Center begun	2.3	15	25	35	25	2.6	26	29	26	19	2.8	21	41	34	4	3.2	33	50	17	0
6. Counselor in community	2.5	25	35	10	30	2.6	18	35	35	12	2.9	33	33	26	8	3.2	33	50	17	0
7. UHPTSA mem - bers increase**	2.4	21	21	32	26	2.5	16	38	32	14	2.5	17	34	30	19	3.0	34	33	33	0
Totals	2.2	17	21	26	36	2.5	18	31	30	21	2.4	15	30	33	22	2.4	19	26	33	22

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

**not the result of an administrative decision

However, it is interesting to note that if the four mean scores representing the changes that were not the result of administrative decision are not considered, the scores would be 3.1 for administrators instead of 2.4, and 2.8 for teachers instead of 2.4, more consistent with evaluations of previous categories, whereas the same procedures would only nominally raise the mean score of Negro students to 2.3 and Caucasian students to 2.6.

Examining individual items, Negro students evaluated six of the seven changes, excepting only item 7, as being constructive to a "very small extent" or "not at all"; Caucasian students saw only items 3 and 4 in that way; while both teachers and administrators evaluated items 2, 3, and 4 in that manner.

Several items in this category are of special interest. The mean scores of item 1 show that Negro students were quite negative as compared to the other groups in evaluating the efforts the school administration took to involve the community in identifying problems and suggesting solutions to problems at Union High.

In item 2, the Caucasian students were markedly higher, with a mean score of 2.9, in evaluating the election of three "west side" members to the Board of Education, as compared to the 1.9 for Negro students, 2.1 for teachers, and 1.8 for administrators. The three members advocated "junking the Master Plan" in regard

to the busing of Negro students. However, it is possible the identification with "west side" was responsible for the high score rather than the platform the candidates used. Item 3 seems to give further credence to this view, in view of the not especially strong mean score of 2.5 for Caucasian students relative to the Union High Parents Association (UHPA), a splinter group of the Union High Parent, Teacher, Student Association (UHPTSA), which was concerned about the busing. Thus, no clear explanation is possible here, but the low scores of the other groups, particularly of administrators and teachers, are of interest. However, both the low scores on items 2 and 3 seem to indicate a lack of sympathy with what Negroes termed racist attitudes in those in the Caucasian community who spoke out against the desegregation plan.

Item 3 is particularly of interest for the per cent scores of Negro students. It appears they reflected a kind of polarization found in the Negro community: about half were against the busing and therefore supported the Caucasian parent group (UHPA) that also was against it, though for different reasons; the other half were opposed to the parent group and thereby appeared to support the "integrationist" view in the Negro community.

Item 4, the coverage the Grand Rapids Press gave Union High's conflict during the year, was given the lowest total mean

score for all groups combined for any one change. Appendix E has some extremely candid statements by students relative to this item. That administrators keenly felt their reporting was biased and sensationalized was seen in their decision to ban the Press from the building during the second semester of the year. However, this researcher noted in his perusal of the countless articles in the Press that the editorials were consistently positive. The feature articles, on the other hand, were open to controversy.

In items 1, 5, and 7, which were all administrative decisions, administrators' mean scores were again consistently higher than for all other groups.

Summary

Table V -13 illustrates and totals the mean scores and per cents for the five categories which were analyzed. It shows that there was very close agreement among Negro students, Caucasian students, and teachers for the total of all categories, as seen by the mean scores of 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6 respectively. Administrators, however, were notably higher at 2.9. On the scale marked by respondents, a low of 1 signified "not at all," and a high of 4 signified to a "very great extent."

If the mean scores of the four changes in category 5 which were not the result of administrative decision are excluded in the

PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS BY MEAN SCORES AND PERCENTS AS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVENESS OF CHANGES BY ALL CATEGORIES OF CHANGE

Categories of Change (31 items)	Students						Teachers N = 47			Administrators N = 6		
	Negro N = 20			Caucasian N = 168								
	$\bar{X}$	4*	3 2 1	$\bar{X}$	4	3 2 1						
1. Curriculum and Student Activities	2.6	30	25 24 21	2.6	22	30 30 18	2.7	19	37 39 5	3.1	26	55 19 0
2. Student Conduct	2.2	19	18 30 33	2.6	27	27 25 21	2.6	23	32 24 21	2.9	37	33 17 13
3. Faculty and Staff	2.4	24	19 28 29	2.5	19	31 29 21	2.5	20	33 29 18	3.0	36	48 7 9
4. Facilities and Transportation	2.8	36	26 23 15	2.7	28	28 26 18	2.7	21	36 30 13	3.1	37	40 17 6
5. Community - School Relations	2.2	17	21 26 36	2.5	18	31 30 21	2.4	15	30 33 22	2.4	19	26 33 22
Totals	2.4	25	22 26 27	2.5	22	30 28 20	2.6	19	34 31 16	2.9	30	41 19 10

*4 = to a very great extent; 3 = to a moderate extent; 2 = to a very small extent; 1 = not at all

totals, the scores would be 2.8 and 3.1 instead of 2.4 and 2.9 for teachers and administrators, and thus much more consistent with their scores in the other categories. Too, the totals in all categories of change would then become 2.7 and 3.0 for these two groups. Even so, teachers evaluated the changes only slightly higher than students, while the administrators evaluated the changes resulting from their decisions notably higher than students.

In regard to the individual changes, Table V-14 shows the number of changes believed to be useful to only a "very small extent" or "not at all" by a majority of each group of respondents by categories of change. In discussion of these, because of the relatively high number of changes involved, reference is generally made to the entire category as evaluated by a group rather than to specific items. The data illustrated that:

1. Negro students evaluated the majority of changes in the areas of "Student Conduct" and "Faculty and Staff" and "Community-School Relations" negatively, whereas Caucasian students rated the majority of changes in only "Curriculum and Student Activities" negatively. Negro students thus appeared to dislike the attempts to enforce discipline, or perceived them as being enforced inequitably as compared to Caucasian students. On the other hand, as

TABLE V -14

NUMBER OF CHANGES CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE TO A "VERY SMALL EXTENT" OR "NOT AT ALL" BY A MAJORITY IN EACH GROUP OF RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY OF CHANGE

Categories of Change	Negro Students	Caucasian Students	Teachers	Adminis - trators	Totals
Category 1: (Seven Changes) Curriculum and Student Activities	2	5	2	0	9
Category 2: (Five Changes) Student Conduct	4	2	2	2	10
Category 3: (Seven Changes) Faculty and Staff	5	3 (1)*	4 (1)	0	12 (2)
Category 4: (Five Changes) Facilities and Trans - portation	1	1	2	0	4
Category 5: (Seven Changes) Community - School Relations	6 (4)	2 (2)	3 (3)	3 (3)	14 (12)
Totals	18 (4)	13 (3)	13 (4)	5 (3)	49 (14)

*The parentheses distinguish the number of changes evaluated negatively which were not the result of administrative decisions.

contrasted with Negro students, Caucasian students were negative about the curriculum changes, most of which involved increasing Negro contributions or discussing black-white relations.

2. Teachers evaluated the majority of items negatively in only one category, "Faculty and Staff," which was interesting because several of the changes affected them directly.
3. Administrators evaluated the majority of items in all categories positively. Excepting the three changes which they marked negatively in category 5 over which they had no control, they evaluated only two of the changes which their decisions brought about as being of less than "moderate" constructiveness or usefulness. The two exceptions were in category 2, "Student Conduct," where administrators frankly evaluated the use of student monitor teams and parent teams as having been of "very little" or "no usefulness."

Overall, the constructiveness of the changes was evaluated by each group as follows:

1. Negro students--a majority perceived nine, or 29 per cent of the changes as being useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and eighteen, or 58 per cent as being useful

to a "very small extent" or "not at all." They were equally divided on four changes.

2. Caucasian students --a majority perceived sixteen, or 51 per cent as being useful to a "moderate" or "very small extent" or "not at all." They were evenly divided on two changes.
3. Teachers --a majority believed eighteen, or 58 per cent useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and thirteen, or 42 per cent to a "very small extent" or "not at all."
4. Administrators --a majority perceived twenty-three, or 75 per cent as being useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and five, or 16 per cent to a "very small extent" or "not at all." They were evenly divided on three changes.

If the five changes that were not the result of administrative decisions are excluded, the per cent of changes thought to have been useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent" increases as follows: Negro students --from 29 per cent to 35 per cent; Caucasian students --from 51 per cent to 54 per cent; teachers --from 58 per cent to 65 per cent; and administrators --from 75 per cent to 85 per cent.

Considering all thirty-one items, which changes did the various groups feel most intently about at the extreme ends of the to a "very great extent" or "not at all" constructive continuum?

TABLE V -15

CHANGES EVALUATED AS BEING CONSTRUCTIVE TO A "VERY GREAT EXTENT" BY A
MAJORITY OF THE RESPONDENTS IN EACH GROUP BY CATEGORY OF CHANGE

Categories of Change	Negro Students		Caucasian Students		Teachers		Administrators	
	Item	Change	Item	Change	Item	Change	Item	Change
Category 1: Curriculum and Student Activities		-	7	New activities Senior Center		-		-
Category 2: Student Conduct		-		-		-	3	Two control officers hired
Category 3: Faculty and Staff		-	1	New adminis- trative team	1	New adminis- trative team	4	Rules and regu- lations revised
Category 4: Facilities and Trans- portation	5	Activities bus began	1	Senior Center created		-	1	New adminis- trative team Black staff members added
Category 5: Community - School Relations		-		-		-	1	Senior Center created

Table V -15 shows that a majority of Negro students evaluated one change, the fact that an after-school activity bus was begun, as constructive to a "very great extent," while Caucasian students evaluated (1) the activities of the Senior Center, (2) the new administrative team, and (3) the creation of the Senior Center to the same strong degree. Only the advent of a new administrative team was evaluated as constructive to a "very great extent" by teachers, while administrators rated five of the changes that highly, as shown in Table V -15.

At the other end of the continuum, Table V -16 shows that a majority of Negro and Caucasian students saw only the coverage of the Grand Rapids Press as "not at all" useful. In addition, a majority of teachers felt the same way about both the Michigan-Ohio Regional Lab Program (MOREL), which was directed at them, and the use of student monitor teams. Administrators evaluated the coverage of the Grand Rapids Press and the formation of the Union High Parents Association (UHPA) as being "not at all" useful.

In summary, an analysis of the data has shown that administrators believed the changes to have been notably more useful than any of the other groups. In terms of total mean scores and the number of changes evaluated as useful to a "moderate" or "very

TABLE V -16

CHANGES EVALUATED AS BEING "NOT AT ALL" CONSTRUCTIVE BY A MAJORITY OF THE
RESPONDENTS IN EACH GROUP BY CATEGORY OF CHANGE

Categories of Change	Negro Students		Caucasian Students		Teachers		Administrators	
	Item	Change	Item	Change	Item	Change	Item	Change
Category 1: Curriculum and Student Activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Category 2: Student Conduct	-	-	-	-	1 Student monitor teams assist	-	-	-
Category 3: Faculty and Staff	-	-	-	-	4 MOREL program for teachers	-	-	-
Category 4: Facilities and Trans- portation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Category 5: Community - School Relations	4	<u>Grand Rapids</u> <u>Press</u> coverage	4	<u>Grand Rapids</u> <u>Press</u> coverage	-	-	3 Formation of UHPA	4 <u>Grand Rapids</u> <u>Press</u> coverage

great extent," teachers, Caucasian students, and Negroes followed in that order.

Relationship Between Conflict as a Cause of Change and Constructiveness of the Change

Table V -17 shows the mean scores by categories of change for both conflict and constructiveness as evaluated by the four groups of respondents. In general, it shows that for the total of all categories, each group tended to evaluate conflict as a factor in bringing about the changes more highly than they evaluated the usefulness or constructiveness of the changes. For individual categories, this held true in every case with the exception of category 4, Facilities and Transportation, where both Negro and Caucasian students evaluated the category in which the changes were seen as being least caused by conflict as more constructive. In fact, the constructive score for that category was the highest of any category for both Negro and Caucasian students. Since only one category was evaluated in that manner, it is probable that the explanation is twofold: (1) They were unaware of the motivation of administrators who initiated the changes (who rated conflict a factor at 3.4 in the category) and had not been so informed; and (2) the changes were more overt than many in the other categories and were of a kind that students were particularly able to appreciate.

TABLE V -17

MEAN SCORES OF ALL GROUPS RELATIVE TO CONFLICT AS A CAUSE OF CHANGES AND
THE CONSTRUCTIVENESS OF THE CHANGES BY CATEGORY OF CHANGE

Categories of Change	Negro Students		Caucasian Students		Teachers		Administrators	
	Conflict	Construc- tiveness	Conflict	Construc- tiveness	Conflict	Construc- tiveness	Conflict	Construc- tiveness
Category 1: Curriculum and Student Activities	2.6	2.6	2.9	2.6	3.4	2.7	3.4	3.1
Category 2: Student Conduct	3.0	2.2	3.2	2.6	3.6	2.6	3.6	2.9
Category 3: Faculty and Staff	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.5	3.5	2.5	3.5	3.0
Category 4: Facilities and Trans- portation	2.4	2.8	2.2	2.7	3.0	2.7	3.4	3.1
Category 5: Community - School Relations	2.8	2.2	2.9	2.5	3.5	2.4	3.5	2.4
Totals	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.5	3.4	2.6	3.5	2.9

Perhaps the most interesting comparison revealed by the table is the marked difference between the mean scores of teachers on the two factors of conflict and constructiveness. They were almost identical with administrators in their perception of the role conflict played in bringing about change on an overall basis as seen by the respective mean scores of 3.4 and 3.5, yet teachers saw the changes as notably less useful than did administrators. This finding would appear to have implications for improved teacher-administrator communication.

Another indication of the higher evaluation of conflict as a factor as compared to the constructiveness of the change can be gleaned from previously discussed findings as follows:

1. Whereas a majority of the Negro students evaluated twenty of the changes as having been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," they perceived only nine of the changes as being useful to that extent.
2. Whereas a majority of the Caucasian students evaluated twenty-four of the changes as being caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," they perceived only sixteen as being particularly useful to that extent.
3. Whereas a majority of the teachers perceived thirty changes as having been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very

great extent," only eighteen were considered to have been useful to that extent.

4. Whereas a majority of the administrators perceived all but one of the changes as having been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," they perceived only twenty-three changes as being constructive to that extent.

Thus, both the number of changes meeting the "moderate" or "great extent" criterion as well as the mean scores across all changes provided data that indicated a higher evaluation of conflict as a stimulus to changes than an accompanying evaluation of the constructiveness or usefulness of the changes.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study sought to examine the transition period between de facto segregated schooling and the completion of one year of desegregation in a large, urban high school which had experienced considerable violence in the desegregation process. More specifically, this study attempted to:

1. Describe the planning and preparations for desegregation as it related to the high school under study.
2. Provide an historical record and an analysis of the major incidents of manifest conflict which occurred in the school.
3. Determine whether changes occurred in the school and community which appeared to be associated with the conflict.
4. Ascertain the perceptions of students, teachers, and administrative staff relative to (1) the extent, if any, to which conflict was believed to be a factor in, or cause of selected

changes; and (2) the extent, if any, to which such changes were considered to be useful or constructive in nature.

5. Provide a basis for understanding the role of conflict relative to school desegregation which would be of use to school administrators and other involved in this social process.

The review of the literature indicated that social conflict is an integral part of social life and that while there is a "cost" factor involved, there may also be functional consequences of conflict. Too, it was learned that very little was known about the nature and role of conflict in school desegregation though there were implications that such knowledge would be of great value to school administrators and others who seek to deal with the phenomenon of conflict in this important area of social change.

The research methodology was descriptive and historical and sought to answer several questions relative to each purpose of the study. Data gathering techniques consisted of interviews, a questionnaire, historical evaluation and content analysis of documentary evidence. Data that were gathered were cross-checked whenever possible in order to minimize error and to lessen subjective interpretation.

In considering the desirability of Union High School in the Grand Rapids School System as the focus of the study, the following were considered:

1. Negroes in the city comprised 10 per cent of the total population of 200,000 --very close to the national average of 10.5 per cent.
2. The school system was comprised of 20 per cent Negroes, thus affording an opportunity for meaningful desegregation, yet not being so racially imbalanced as to pose seemingly insoluble desegregation problems.
3. There was extensive conflict and violence in the desegregation process at Union High during the 1968-69 school year.

The summary of findings and conclusions are presented as specific answers to the questions posed in regard to the purposes of the study.

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

The Planning and Preparation for Desegregation

1. "What were the main characteristics of the desegregation plan?

The Board of Education of Grand Rapids approved a Master Plan which included organizational, building, and philosophical

changes as well as desegregation plans on June 3, 1968. Its main characteristics regarding desegregation were:

- a. A gradual, phased plan which would result in desegregated schools in all but the early primary grades by 1976.
 - b. An initial step to take effect at the outset of the 1968-69 school year which would lessen the number of high schools from five to four and provide a minimum Negro enrollment of 7 per cent in each school.
 - c. One-way busing of Negro students from the inner city to outlying schools, as well as some boundary changes, in order to accomplish greater racial balance. This included busing of 315 Negro students from a geographical section of the inner city to Union High, which was located in an almost exclusively Caucasian area.
2. "In what social milieu did the decision to desegregate occur, and how was the plan presented to the public?"

The social milieu prior to and immediately following the May 6, 1968, presentation of the Master Plan to the public was one of pressures and tension. Studies undertaken between 1965 and the spring of 1968 emphasized the need for desegregation of the city's schools. In the spring of 1968, increasing pressure was exerted by

the federal government, the State Department of Education, and local units of the NAACP and CORE to come up with an acceptable plan. Thus, after administrators worked for over a year to develop one, a Master Plan was finalized in the late spring of 1968.

After formal presentation to the public at an open Board meeting on May 6, it was tabled for one month to allow for additional clarification through meetings to be held in all parts of the city between Board, administrative personnel, and citizens. During this period additional tension was generated when it became apparent there was definite resistance to the busing plan among some Union High parents and resentment by some members of the Negro community relative to the Caucasian parents' attitude. Also, some Negroes wanted new schools in the inner city administered and taught mainly by Negroes, and they objected to the demeaning aspects of one-way busing as compared to cross-busing.

One of the most influential Negro militants predicted violence if the plans for busing to Union were carried out. Too, students of both races were apprehensive about the forthcoming change. However, school district officials, under a variety of pressures, believed that desegregation could not be delayed any longer. The evidence did not lead this investigator to conclude that delaying the

institution of the Master Plan would have resulted in a more favorable social milieu for its introduction.

3. "What was done to prepare students, teachers, and administrators for desegregation?"

Since the Master Plan was adopted on June 3, 1968, and called for desegregation of high schools to be implemented three months later, immediate steps were taken to prepare for the transition. These primarily included a visit to the receiving school for all pupils who would be bused; meetings between student leaders; two in-service meetings in September for the staffs in the receiving schools; the creation of an ad hoc curriculum committee to deal with the need to place greater emphasis on minority group contributions; meetings between P. T. A. leaders; an Information and Follow - Through Center for parents and students located in the inner city area to answer questions and handle schedule difficulties.

Almost without exception, adult and student interviewees at Union High indicated there was not adequate time to prepare for the change and that they were apprehensive about it. Thus, it is highly probable that the preparatory period could have been much more useful if it had not been relegated to the summer months, a time when students and teachers were generally not available.

Analysis of the Major
Incidents of Conflict

1. "How and where did the major incidents of conflict develop, and who were the parties involved?"

Three major incidents of conflict occurred at Union High which resulted in closure of the school three times in the first three months of desegregation. All three began in the cafeteria where large groups of people were congregated and then spread to other areas of the building and grounds.

All three outbreaks resulted from Negro-Caucasian conflict. In the first and third instances, student antagonists were involved in the precipitating incidents; in the second, the initiating incident involved a Caucasian adult and Negro student. In each case, the precipitating incident involved either not liking what another person said, or a seemingly unimportant physical contact. "Outsiders" were not a factor in triggering the outbreaks of violence.

2. "Were there any patterns discernible in the conflict? What was its extent and how was it immediately resolved?"

All three precipitating incidents were violent but limited to two or three persons. However, with the exception of the second, conflict then escalated to widespread violence involving serious fighting among numerous students. Particularly in the third major

incident, polarization along racial lines was extensive and apparent. It appeared that the previous two major incidents and continued tension between the races served to create an atmosphere that was highly charged and emotional. In the final major conflict of December 17, police arrested twenty-three students who were charged with offenses ranging from assault to obstructing police. In addition, school authorities took disciplinary action toward thirty-four additional students, thus making a total of fifty-seven against whom official action was taken.

Overall, analysis of events at Union High revealed that the pattern of major conflict development was characterized by: (a) the presence of a large number of students in the area where conflict was to occur; (b) a sudden, violent triggering incident involving two or three people of different race; and (c) a subsequent escalation which spread rapidly among other students in other parts of the building concomitant with the development of rumors. However, there were definite periods of discernible tension and overt conflict prior to each of the major incidents of conflict. In that sense, the outbreaks of violence were not particularly surprising, though they were sudden from a physical standpoint.

The immediate resolution of conflict in the September 13 and December 17 outbreaks of violence was accomplished by the use

of both plain-clothed and uniformed police, the former being covertly on duty in the school because of expected trouble, the latter being on standby status. In the major conflict of December 16, school administrators prevented its escalation by closing the school early after the violent triggering incident involving the adult, Caucasian lunch-room manager, and a Negro girl.

3. "Were underlying concerns identified? If so, how and what were they?"

The manifestation of conflict and violence at Union High resulted in a search for "reasons why." The concerns were identified either through the voluntary contributions of students or through administrative efforts involving numerous meetings with students, teachers, and representatives of various groups and organizations in the community. In regard to students, the concerns which were expressed were primarily racial in nature.

In regard to the concerns which evolved from the meetings with teachers, community leaders, and citizens in general, the range of concerns was much wider. But it must be remembered that it was Caucasian and Negro students who experienced and carried out the manifest conflict; to them, racial concerns were primary. Overall, then, the evidence indicated that concern over racial problems was

a primary factor in the outbreak of violence at Union High and served to focus attention on other less apparent problems that existed relative to the staff, students, and the general operation of the school.

Changes Which Appeared to Be
Caused to Some Extent
by Conflict

1. "Did such changes occur? If so, what were the major ones and in what areas did they occur?"

Thirty-one major changes appeared to have been caused to at least some extent by conflict. These changes were described in detail and then arbitrarily classified into five categories: (1) Curriculum and Student Activities; (2) Student Conduct; (3) Faculty and Staff; (4) Facilities and Transportation; and (5) Community-School Relations. The kinds of changes were varied, and the areas of impact represented one way of classifying them. Also, in a more general sense, the data showed that conflict contributed to the formation of both formal and informal groups in the community, as well as the school, and to increased participation of students, teachers, and community in evaluating school policies.

Twenty-six of the thirty-one changes were found to be the result of administrative decisions. Five changes were sociological

phenomena beyond their purview, four of which were classified in category 5, Community-School Relations, and one of which was in category 3, Faculty and Staff.

Analysis of the Changes as
Perceived by Administrators,
Teachers, and Students

The analysis of the data in this phase of the study involved the use of mean scores and per cents. No tests of statistical significance were inferred. Generally, the four response categories were collapsed and responses described as being to a (1) "moderate" or "very great extent, " or (2) a "very small extent" or "not at all. "

1. "Did administrators, teachers, and students view the conflict as being a cause of changes?"

A majority of administrators perceived that thirty, or 97 per cent of the changes were caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent." In fact, fifteen, or 49 per cent of the changes were believed to have been caused by conflict to a "very great extent" by a majority of the administrators, and another seven changes were perceived in this manner by a full 50 per cent of administrators. Their total mean score for all changes was a strong 3.5 based on a 4.0 scale.

Teachers closely concurred with administrators and saw thirty, or 97 per cent of the changes as having been caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and twenty-one, or 68 per cent as being caused by the conflict to a "very great extent." Their overall mean score was 3.4.

In regard to students, a majority of Negroes perceived twenty, or 64 per cent of the changes as being caused by conflict to a "moderate" or "very great extent," while Caucasians saw twenty-four, or 77 per cent in the same way. Mean scores for the total of all changes were 2.7 and 2.8, respectively.

In each group every change was evaluated by a majority of the respondents as having been caused by conflict to at least a "very small extent."

Hence the data indicated that conflict was a definite stimulus to change at Union High as perceived by all four groups that were surveyed. There was very close agreement, as to the overall impact of the conflict, between administrators and teachers. Caucasian and Negro students were in close agreement though notably lower than the two adult groups. Of all groups, Negro students evaluated conflict the lowest as a factor in bringing about change.

It is particularly significant that administrators evaluated conflict as so important a factor in causing the changes. For they

were responsible for making the decisions which brought about twenty-six of the thirty-one changes. No one could know the motivation underlying those decisions better than they. That teachers closely concurred may be explained by their close proximity to administrators and the advisory function they served in regard to decision-making.

Students evidently lacked the maturity and/or knowledge to perceive the role that conflict played in causing the changes. Too, they were evidently not as aware of many of the changes as were the other groups. Thus, there was perhaps a tendency to respond in the middle response categories since no other alternative was afforded them. Appendix E offers additional evidence that they were unaware of some of the changes.

2. "Did administrators, teachers, and students view the changes that occurred as being constructive or useful?"

A majority of administrators evaluated only twenty-three, or 75 per cent of the changes as having been useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent." However, only two changes were evaluated as "not at all" useful, neither of which was the result of an administrative decision. On the four-point scale, the overall constructive mean was 2.9 for the administrative group.

In contrast, teachers and students evaluated the changes notably lower. In regard to being useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent," a majority of teachers saw only eighteen, or 58 per cent of the changes that way, though only two changes were rated as "not at all" useful, both of which were the result of administrative decision. Teachers' overall mean score was 2.6.

The majority of Caucasian students saw sixteen, or 51 per cent of the changes as being useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent" and only one, which was not an administrative decision, as being "not at all" useful. Even more negatively, Negro students perceived only nine, or 29 per cent of the changes as being useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent" though only one change, not an administrative decision, was seen as "not at all" useful. The mean scores for the students were 2.5 and 2.4, respectively.

When the evaluations were limited to the twenty-six changes over which administrators had control, the per cent of changes thought to be constructive to a "moderate" or "very great extent" increased as follows: administrators from 75 to 85 per cent; teachers from 58 to 65 per cent; Caucasian students from 51 to 54 per cent; and Negro students from 29 to 35 per cent.

The only changes which were evaluated as useful to a "very great extent" by a majority in any group were as follows:

Negro students:

- a) The institution of an after school activities bus

Caucasian students:

- a) The new activities of the Senior Center
- b) The new administrative team
- c) The creation of the Senior Center

Teachers:

- a) The new administrative team

Administrators:

- a) The hiring of two full-time control officers
- b) The revision of rules and regulations
- c) The new administrative team
- d) The hiring of additional "Black" staff
- e) The creation of the Senior Center

The only changes evaluated by a majority in any group as not being constructive "at all" were the following:

Negro students:

- a) The coverage of the Grand Rapids Press

Caucasian students:

- a) The coverage of the Grand Rapids Press

Teachers:

- a) The student monitor teams
- b) The Michigan-Ohio Regional Laboratory program for teachers

Administrators:

- a) The coverage of the Grand Rapids Press
- b) The formation of the Union High Parents Association

From the data it is concluded that the changes as a whole were thought to be moderately constructive by administrators, but the other three groups affected by the changes evaluated them somewhat less positively. Negro students were the only group to not view a majority of the changes as being useful to a "moderate" or "very great extent," and their low mean score of 2.4 was further evidence of their feelings.

Relationship Between the
Conflict and Constructive
Evaluation by Groups

1. "Are there differences between the extent conflict was believed to be a cause of changes and the evaluation of the usefulness of such changes?"

Each group tended to evaluate conflict as a cause of change more highly than they evaluated the usefulness of the changes. The

relationship of the conflict mean score to the usefulness mean score for each group was as follows: administration--3.5 to 2.9; teachers--3.4 to 2.6; Caucasian students--2.8 to 2.5; and Negro students--2.7 to 2.4. The fact that teachers agreed with administration so closely on the conflict mean, yet agreed with the students more closely on the usefulness of the changes, would indicate a need for administrators to work more closely with the other groups on a continuing basis relative to the changes, since all are involved in the process of achieving organizational goals.

Implications and Recommendations

It is impossible to draw a definite cause and effect relationship between certain factors and the development of tension and conflict at Union High, just as it is impossible to indicate how the violence could have been prevented. However, comments relative to the situation at Union High and the general subject of conflict in school desegregation may be of some value to those concerned with school desegregation. Too, the lack of agreement between administrators and the other three groups as to the usefulness of the changes has some implications for administrators.

The value of hindsight indicates some factors which may have contributed to the serious conflict which developed at Union.

First, one might have expected conflict to develop consistent with the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy. The Grand Rapids Press featured several articles in which some adults and students predicted violence if the busing plan were carried out. Second, of the four high schools, two were already multi-racial. Of the two which were de facto segregated, only Union High was to receive enough Negroes to constitute 16 per cent of the student body, as compared to 7 per cent in the other. Thus, Negro students were more visible at Union and were able to exert more power. Third, there were, of course, many "concerns" that were brought into focus as a result of the conflict--any one or combination of which could have been important in the development of conflict. Fourth, there was evidence of resistance in both the Negro and Caucasian communities to the proposed busing. Fifth, there were numerous indications of tension in the school prior to the outbreak of major conflict. Sixth, there was very little time for preparing the staff or students for desegregation. Seventh, there were almost no Negro staff members at the receiving school, nor was there a curriculum designed to meet the needs of minority students. And finally, there is a question about busing as a means to desegregate. There appears to be a general, but very real resistance to the concept of busing youngsters, whether Caucasian or Negro, several miles to another school far from the

neighborhood in which they live. At the time of this writing, the President of the United States has been quoted as saying he does not agree with the concept of busing as a means to end desegregation. Thus, this is an unresolved issue in American society. In any case, the concept of one-way busing has become very difficult to justify to minority groups, who see it as demeaning.

The conflict which occurred at Union was extremely costly in many ways. The emotional impact of seeing disabled students carried down the halls to the health room, the actions of police who were forced to use clubs and mace to subdue students, the continuing tension resulting from polarization among Negro and Caucasian students, the general tension in the community, and the constant headlines given the situation by the Grand Rapids Press made deep impressions on the students and community. Students wept openly in the halls in the aftermath of the violence. Other evidence such as appears in Appendix E documents their disillusionment. Moreover, time was lost from classes, and when classes were resumed, the regular curriculums were punctuated with discussions of Negro-Caucasian problems, which some would say detracted from them.

On the other hand, there is little doubt that conflict served as a stimulus to change at Union High School. Consensus theory, in one form or another, is generally accepted by American society.

However, the review of the literature indicated that conflict is a part of the same coin. The very existence of consensus implies its opposite. Thus conflict is a natural social phenomenon and there is at least an implication in the literature that, in some cases, change may not come about without conflict. In any event, since social conflict is a natural social phenomenon, school administrators and others concerned with school desegregation need to learn to function more realistically when it occurs.

The following are suggested as potentially useful operational procedures for administrators contemplating or involved in desegregation:

1. They must first realize that conflict cannot, and perhaps should not, always be prevented. Thus, perhaps more kinds of nonviolent means of focusing attention on what may be needless inflexibility might be allowed.
2. They need to be sensitive to tensions as they develop in the school. The present study found that there was a definite period of time, prior to each outbreak, when tensions increased. The fact that plain-clothes police were on duty in the school prior to the two most violent outbreaks is testimony to this fact. Therefore, it is important not that administrators "clamp down" or "stamp out" such conflict,

but rather that they attempt to institutionalize it and then effect change if it is possible to do so. For example, if Negro students are a minority in a school and majority rule has precluded them from winning queen contests or from being represented adequately on other matters, and they complain about it, school officials must take action to meet that need. If students know that change can come about through the student government, or through a grievance committee, then the proclivity for conflict to escalate to violent conflict could conceivably be mitigated. In other words, a flexible organization is amenable to change and able to bend; the rigid system is more subject to cataclysmic change. One might pose the question, "What kind of an organization is the typical high school in American society today, and what implications does that have for school desegregation?"

3. Given the fact that human beings are at times irrational, violent conflict may occur no matter how sensitive administrators and teachers have been to the needs of students. If violence does occur, administrators have an obligation to protect both students and property from physical harm. In this regard, when violence appears highly likely, it is

questionable that plain-clothes police should be kept out of sight until the lid "blows. " If they are in the building, perhaps they should be helping to maintain control overtly in areas such as cafeterias where trouble is likely to begin until the crisis is passed. Hopefully, effective action by administrators and teachers can preclude further need for such "outside" help. In any case, if violence occurs, it can be followed by discussions about conflict in general with members of the community, staff, and students in an honest way, whether it means taking a look at organizational flexibility or irrationality, or both. This could include emphasis on the democratic process and the destructive, damaging aspects of violence. Through this process, new understanding can result and a new basis for positive action and cooperation can be established.

4. Administrators must attempt to establish a working relationship with the representatives of the local media that meets the needs of all parties. They need to be aware of and sensitive to the media's essential function in American society. On the other hand, administrators need to endeavor in every way possible to "sensitize" representatives of the media to the kinds of problems that may result in

desegregation and the need for balanced, unsensationalized reporting. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized. The school principal and assistant principals, as well as the superintendent, should be involved in establishing this rapport, and it should be done on a logical, personal basis.

The present study indicated that the type of coverage given by the local press was among the most detested changes that occurred relative to the conflict at Union High. However, if the proper rapport had been established with the media, perhaps more restraint would have been exercised relative to carrying stories predicting violence and then describing the violence when it did occur. If such trust does not exist, administrators become fearful of informing the press as to what really happened; the press in turn, sensing this, strives to dig for the "truth," which may result in distortion and misstatement. At Union High, the distrust reached such proportions that the press was openly disputing the administration on several counts, and the press and other media were summarily excluded from the school the second semester of the year.

5. If at all possible, administrators should probably begin programs designed to prepare students and staffs for impending desegregation early in the school year. The summer months pose definite handicaps to developing any meaningful process. What forms these programs might take would vary, but the evidence in the present study showed a very low evaluation by teachers of the efforts of an outside group to "sensitize" them to their prejudices. Perhaps part of the answer lies in increased contact between the transfer students and students and teachers in the receiving school during the school year prior to the desegregation. A series of informal dinner meetings or breakfasts where students and staff could interact might be of value as opposed to just busing students to the school to look around and/or be introduced to key personnel. Staff members from the two schools might also gain from holding meetings to discuss problems and learn from one another. Perhaps at the end of such a year, teachers who felt they could not adjust to the new situation should be allowed to transfer to another district without fear of censure. Too, ample time would allow for needed curriculum modification, if any, which would better meet the needs of all students.

6. It is imperative that Negro staff members be present in the receiving school in meaningful numbers. This means teachers, primarily, but at least one Negro counselor appears to be a necessity, and a Negro administrator also helps Negro students to feel it is "their school" too.

What of the obvious tendency on the part of administrators to view the changes their decisions brought about more favorably than other groups affected by the changes? Not only the overall mean scores, but the analysis of the changes by category also indicated wide ranges between the groups on individual items, even though a complete item analysis was not part of the methodology in this study. To the researcher, this suggested that administrators need to obtain continued feedback as to how the changes are working out. They should conceivably work closely with students and teachers and make it known that the changes have come about as attempts to meet the needs as expressed by those parties, and that feedback is needed if the changes are to be truly effective and useful. If administrators do so, their actions become testimony to the fact that violence is not necessary, that the spoken word, and lesser forms of conflict, and preferably institutionalized conflict, are effective in focusing attention on needed changes.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study was essentially an effort to examine the phenomenon of conflict as it occurred at a large urban high school during the process of racial desegregation, to determine the nature of that conflict, to ascertain whether it acted as a stimulus to change, and to gain some insight as to how those affected by the changes evaluated them. As an exploratory type of study, it sought to examine interrelationships and to provide a general basis for a better understanding of conflict as it functions in school desegregation. As such, it was not intended to be a study in which tests of statistical significance were used. As a result of this investigation, a number of additional research questions or problems have been raised:

1. Is desegregation that is effected by busing more apt to result in manifest conflict than that which is accomplished by boundary revision or other means?
2. The data in this study showed that the primary concerns of students relative to the tension and manifest conflict at Union were primarily racial in nature. This is contrary to the findings of a 1958 survey¹ yet consistent with the

¹Supra, p. 51.

remarks of a superintendent who had experienced desegregation conflict.² If further research substantiates the present study's findings, then there would be stronger support for increased programs to work with students, staff, and parents prior to desegregation implementation.

3. What kinds of programs have proven to be effective in preparing administrators, teachers, and students for desegregation?
4. The present study found that changes did occur as a result of conflict as perceived by those who made the decisions leading to the changes, as well as by those affected by them. Is this true in other schools? If so, are the kinds of changes similar?
5. Do major changes occur in schools without experiencing major conflict? After the passage of three or four years, are schools which have experienced manifest conflict better "integrated" than those which have not? This study has shown that conflict did lead to clarification of concerns on the part of both races and others affected by the desegregation. Do tensions tend to exist and does separateness of the races tend to develop more in schools that have not experienced conflict?

²Supra, p. 63.

6. What is the role of administrative leadership in the school which is newly desegregated? Are some administrative styles more effective than others?
7. Are historically multi-racial schools characterized by less manifest conflict than those desegregated as a result of other than the natural process of residential composition?

Continued research on the important subject of conflict in school desegregation is needed if educators, students, and entire communities are to understand the nature of the problems as well as the promise of desegregated schooling. The present study has attempted to make some contribution toward that goal.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SELECTED ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE GRAND RAPIDS PUBLIC SCHOOLS MASTER PLAN

General Overview

The Grand Rapids public schools should work toward an organization of early elementary centers (prekindergarten through third grade), later elementary centers (grades three to five or possibly kindergarten through five), middle schools (grades six through eight), high schools (nine through twelve), and Junior College.

In addition, special programs should be continued and expanded, including special education, with an expansion of the secondary program for the mentally handicapped, inauguration of a secondary level program for the functionally handicapped, vocational education as part of the total county program, and the educational park for enrichment, vocational education, and technical education.

Early Elementary Centers

Psychological and physiological research has shown that the child in his first nine years relates to and is dependent upon adults --his parents, his teachers, and others. Beginning at eight or nine, children tend to turn toward their peers for motivation and influence. In youngsters primarily are affected by their adult relationships during this period, it is incumbent upon the educational system to work strenuously with the parents in the educational involvement of their children. For this reason, early elementary centers should be neighborhood units, not only to make them easily accessible to the children, but easily accessible and inviting to parents.

These centers should be developed so they provide outdoor recreational opportunities for older children after school and in the summer. It would be a sociological tragedy to eliminate all neighborhood school facilities within the inner city. This, in essence, would be a physical abandonment of the inner city. This concept is particularly significant in Grand Rapids because we have been authorized an Open Space Land grant for the expansion of sixteen elementary school sites, thirteen of them in the inner city.

General Elementary Centers

These centers can be larger elementary units of either kindergarten to fifth or third to fifth grades which can provide opportunities for developing innovative and diversified programs. They can provide for integration across racial, ethnic, and economic lines. Peer group influence begins to replace adult influence at about age eight and continues to have increasing effects on the child's behavior as he becomes older. Placement of Negro adults on the outer city school staffs is essential, whether they be principals, teachers, secretaries, or custodians.

Middle Schools -- Grades Six through Eight

One of the primary objectives of the Grand Rapids plan is that the middle school, grades six through eight, accommodates youngsters of a homogeneous age grouping. Throughout the nation we have adhered to standard achievement levels for grade promotion. This has resulted in grade retention and failure, especially among children of the inner city. We have extended the first six years to eight and the first eight years to ten. We have piled up failures in the middle school grades so that our age distribution in grades six through eight in some cases reaches the extreme of eleven and seventeen years of age.

This age range during the preadolescent period, a period when great variation in maturity exists within an age group, creates a very difficult social and psychological school environment. The schools have limited influence on the psychological and social growth of individuals. We can control the educational program. It is the contention of the staff that the school system hold age as a relative constant and adapt the educational program to youngsters as they move through the first eight years of their school life.

High Schools

We are proposing a reduction in high schools from five to three and a central education park. The three high schools would be located west, north, and south. South High School will be eliminated as a high school and be used as an interim middle school. Central High School will be phased out as a high school and become part of the Educational Park -Junior College Complex. Attendance areas for the high schools will include parts of the inner city and will be defined to achieve integration in all three schools.

New high school buildings will be designed in the "school within a school" concept. This means that the school is subdivided into units of administration, counseling, and student organization. The present suborganization by grades is a less formal approach to

providing opportunities for student leadership and service. The "school within a school" concept actually creates subschools for student relationships within the context of a larger academic organization.

The educational park will provide enrichment opportunities in science, social science, the arts, and vocational training.

Special Schools

In spite of the emphasis for success-oriented education, we will have socially maladjusted, school-alienated children in our community. They do not adjust to the school environment; they do not deserve institutionalization. Are these children the responsibility of social agencies or the schools? We do not wish to debate this issue, but rather indicate they are the responsibility of both. It is time that cooperative programs be implemented to salvage these children.

There also will be youngsters in the urban center who are functionally handicapped. By this we mean they are chronic sub-standard achievers but not mentally handicapped. These children could be youngsters who have grown up in a destructive environment within the city or who have migrated to the city from areas of sub-standard educational opportunity. These youngsters need a special

program where they can receive individual attention with special attention to the basic skills necessary for their adjustment to society.

Summary

We must re-emphasize that school planning is a continuous process. The details of this plan undoubtedly will be modified as demographic data demands and educational programs suggest. The city is not static, and neither is education. The goals for better education, however, are a constant and we will have to continually effect new methods, new techniques, and new programs to achieve our goals.

APPENDIX B

IDENTIFICATION OF CONCERNS AS REPORTED BY AN

AD HOC COMMITTEE PRIOR TO REOPENING

UNION HIGH, JANUARY 6, 1969

Introduction

Union High School has one purpose, to provide a quality educational opportunity for each student enrolled. These opportunities occur in the scheduled classroom instruction program, the extra-curricular program, and in the unstructured experience of the students. They essentially consist of inter-personal activities and relationships between students and students, students and staff, and staff and staff.

The program of the school is mandated, influenced, and controlled by a number of factors. Among these are factors resident in: students, staff, community, curriculum, physical plant, internal regulations, external regulations, natural phenomena, and news media influence. The evidence which served as the basis for problem identification consisted of: statements of concern by students,

teachers, administrators, and public; observations and records of student behavior; and other sources of lesser data. This data was assembled and analyzed. It led to the cataloging of problems under four headings: factors resident in students, factors resident in staff, factors resident in the school operation, and factors resident in the community.

Factors Resident in Students

In general, there is a significant degree of "polarization" between races and alienation with respect to the school authority.

Specifically, the following are important:

1. Lack of understanding and/or tolerance for cultural differences. Contributing are reactions to communications handicaps, interracial dating and jealousy, etc., stemming from alleged preferential treatment.
2. Lack of commitment to the role of "student" on the part of a significant number of students.
3. Alienation towards the school administration, particularly as a result of communication difficulties as seen by the students.
4. A lack of identity to Union on the part of the former South students which affects the unity with former Union students.
5. Students from the south east part of the district do not satisfactorily (in their estimation) influence student body decisions, hence, voice objections in numerous fashions.
6. General non-acceptance of the Master Plan by either student group. Therefore, some student disruptions are efforts to scuttle the plan.

7. Some students are alienated towards rules and regulations governing behavior and so are frequent violators, thereby contributing to problems of many kinds.

Factors Resident in Staff

The general level of staff morale and unity is low. The following are identified as causes of staff reactions adversely affecting the school operation:

1. Lack of preparedness of the staff for receiving the transfer students in the fall.
2. Lack of clear definition of the role of a teacher.
3. Difficulty in dealing with clerical staff in the general and counseling offices.
4. Lack of communication among teachers.
5. Ineffective administrative leadership, particularly with respect to achieving staff unity.
6. Lack of communication between faculty and administration on such matters as teacher evaluation and involvement in decision making and policies.
7. Lack of adequate code of conduct for students and enforcement by the administration.
8. Inaccessibility of the administration. Is seen as "invisible to students" and too frequently out of the building.
9. Staff meetings are frequently redundant, lacking necessary purpose.
10. The administration demands that staff follow channels and then fails to act on requests which have been channeled.
11. Some teachers do not have the ability to work with the students at Union.

12. Counselors do not believe they are able to do an adequate counseling job because of too much clerical work, students not meeting appointments, and too many administrative duties.
13. Teachers are expected to do too much clerical work.

Factors Resident in School Operations

The operation of the school does not achieve an atmosphere to enable the student body to be emotionally secure. It must be objective, consistent, have boundaries, and be acceptable to a majority of the students. It is recognized that many students lack desire or ability to relate positively, or even neutrally, with each other. The following factors are seen as contributing to the atmosphere:

1. Lack of stable, consistent atmosphere within which students and teachers cooperate.
 - a. Excessive absenteeism and tardiness without automatic and consistent measures being taken to prevent it. The result has been class disturbances, groups of students loitering in the halls, problems of congestion in the physical education area (especially during the lunch period when the situation is most critical), loitering in the parking lot, or in general a lowering of teacher morale, and instability of the student body.
2. Scheduling and procedures of classes and events and activities has contributed to instability.
 - a. Too many student schedule changes have led to student instability and a lack of administrative control over location of students.

- b. The homeroom period at this time seems to be an ineffective measure for checking attendance, for the dispensing of information, or for the individual student to relate to an adult. In fact, the homeroom has caused more problems for staff and student body than its value would seem to warrant. Inattention on the part of students to announcements made on the PA system has rendered it ineffective.
- c. Counselors are asked in teachers' absence to take charge of homerooms until arrival of substitute teacher. This situation frequently causes difficulty in time planning and causes students to wait to see a counselor.
- d. Book Store open during the critical periods of the day--especially the noon hour--contributes to congestion in the hall near the cafeteria and encourages absenteeism and tardiness to classes.
- e. The close proximity, in time, of the three noon hour periods contributes to confusion and congestion in the halls and to absenteeism and tardiness during the fourth and fifth hours. The freedom, or lack of control, appears to be too much for many students to handle maturely.
- f. Sale of athletic tickets during the noon hour results frequently in congestion in the halls and absenteeism and tardiness.
- g. All school assemblies or pep rallies seem to contribute to a general unstable or insecure student body during the day in which it is scheduled. Assemblies seem to be the cause or focal point of many rumors. Movement to assembly alone is a problem.
- h. Study halls and presence in them seems to be a source of problems and instability for many students. Many students have difficulty going to them and administratively it is frequently difficult to control.

- i. Library procedures and/or librarians are a source of much concern and frustration on the part of many students.

3. Referral and discipline procedure

- a. Lack of coordination between administration, counselors, and other pupil personnel services regarding referrals, and who has seen or is working with them. Counselor does not know who is being seen by administrators and vice versa. Teachers and students are also confused concerning discipline and counseling referrals and procedures.
- b. Lack of communication between control officer and office regarding students being worked with or dealt with in terms of discipline. Also lack of radio communication with the office limits the effectiveness of the control officer and the areas of the building which can be covered by him. Should he need help, he would have to leave "emergency" area in order to get it.
- c. The enforcement of school policy in regards to attendance and discipline does not seem to be firm or consistent enough to prevent further discipline problems with the same or other pupils. There seems to be a lack of awareness of results for known disregard or disobedience of school rules or policy.
- d. The hall guard system seems to be ineffective in preventing absenteeism, tardiness, or congestion in the halls. In fact, it causes interpersonal problems between many students by placing them in confrontation in a negative way.

4. External issues

- a. Possible crowding of buses and complaints about bus drivers.
- b. Smoking in halls and adjacent to building.

- c. Parking lot problems are loitering, eating in cars, speeding and reckless driving, nonresident students allowed to park and congregate, and the lot is not kept clean.
- d. Control officer has no guidelines regarding enforcement or his authority to deal with the above measures. He also does not know under what conditions police should be called.

5. Facility and equipment

- a. Fire alarm system has now become ineffective because of false alarms. Such a condition is dangerous. No exit plan is known to the teachers or pupils should the alarm be real.
- b. Many defects in the layout of the school facility:
 - (1) Cafeteria located in an already congested area of the building. No acoustical design to serving area. Cafeteria too large or not broken up enough. Leads to rowdiness and congestion.
 - (2) Hallways too narrow and continuous. Leads to peer crowd control. Can't break up groups in times of emergency. All students must be in only two halls -- primarily first floor hall -- during the class breaks and at lunch.
 - (3) No area exists as safety valve for congestion -- such as recreation area.
 - (4) Counseling reception area too small. With the lack of hall control, the hall outside of counseling office frequently becomes a hang-out making it difficult for a student with an appointment to wait in security for a counselor.
 - (5) Nurse's area too large for volume of services offered. It has become an additional place for congestion and gathering of problems students, which is too much for the nurse to handle.

- c. Equipment is often difficult to obtain or is in poor repair.

6. Curriculum

- a. No Black History courses or inclusion of Black literature in English courses.
- b. No sociology or psychology courses offered. Courses such as Family Living or Modern Problems do not seem to have a course outline or curriculum planning. Sociology or psychology courses would serve as a formal way for students to deal with current problems and to relate themselves and their sub-groups to the current problems.
- c. Supplemental materials used in eleventh grade U. S. History courses seem inadequate by students.
- d. Resource materials in the library seem inaccessible by students due to attitudes of librarians.

Factors Resident in the Community

The concern here rests upon the effect of community factors as they impact the school operation and the attitudes of students and staff. The following are identified as sources of influence on the school.

- 1. Apprehension of parents for the quality of education and safety of the children in the school.
- 2. Opposition to the Master Plan, for whatever reason, particularly influences student attitudes.
- 3. Presence of news media personnel in the building seems to impact student actions.

4. Rumors, misinformation, and misrepresentation by some teachers and parents concerning the school in the community have bearing on the attitudes of all personnel.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE ON CONFLICT AND CHANGE

Instructions:

Below, at the left, are statements which describe a development or change which may have been a result of conflict that occurred during the 1968-69 school year at Union High School.

At the right are two columns:

1. In the first, please circle the number that best describes the extent to which you feel that conflict was a factor or cause in bringing about the change or development that is described in the statement at left.
2. In the second column, please circle the number that best described the extent to which you feel the change or development was constructive or useful. In other words, did it help to resolve a problem area and/or did it contribute to better understanding in the school or community.

The numbers mean the following:

- 4 = to a very great extent
- 3 = to a moderate extent
- 2 = to a very small extent
- 1 = not at all

It is very important that you answer each question, even if you are not absolutely certain about it. At the end of the questionnaire, please describe any other changes that you feel may have occurred as a result of the conflict and offer your assessment of them. Also, if you wish to comment on any of the changes listed below, please do so by referring to the appropriate number.

Change or Development		Conflict a Factor				Constructive or Useful			
1.	A one semester Black History course was offered second semester at Union	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
2.	Efforts were made to include minority group contributions in the English and Social Studies curricu- lums during the 1968-69 school year.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
3.	A unit on "adolescent development" was included in Home Economics classes second semester.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
4.	School rules and regulations were revised in mid-year and distrib- uted so all students would be aware of procedures and policies	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
5.	Two full time control officers were hired at Union to assist in prevent- ing vandalism and other kinds of problems from developing in the halls and parking lot.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
6.	Parent teams helped in the halls to keep outsiders from causing trouble and to assist with potential prob- lems.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
7.	Second semester, additional staff were hired in the cafeteria to provide better service to students and staff.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
8.	In general, last year there was a "tightening up" of rules and regu- lations, e.g., closer surveillance of hall passes, etc.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1

Change or Development	Conflict a Factor				Constructive or Useful			
9. Student monitor teams were formed to assist in the supervision of the halls.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
10. Second semester, the parking lot areas were improved in that new signs were installed and parking procedures clarified.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
11. Students from the south end were originally transported to Union on chartered city buses, but later came to be transported on school district buses instead.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
12. Beginning September 23, 1968, an activities bus to leave the school at 4:30 p.m. was begun in order to provide transportation after extracurricular activities.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
13. At the beginning of first semester this year, 1969-70, all tenth grade students were asked to report to school one day earlier than other grade levels so orientation would be improved over that of last year.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
14. Classroom discussions on black-white relationships and problems took place during both first and second semesters to identify common problems and clarify just what the issues were.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
15. After the closing of school on September 13, 1968, the next week was devoted to meetings, first among seniors, then juniors and sophomores, in order to identify problems and clarify issues.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1

Change or Development	Conflict a Factor				Constructive or Useful			
16. During the second semester, several changes were made in the cafeteria such as more service counters, more chairs, and better aisle markers.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
17. A "Senior Center" was created out of the recreation room second semester.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
18. A rumor control center was established at the school district's central office in February of 1969 to provide accurate answers to questions and concerns about education in Grand Rapids.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
19. In May, 1969, the school district hired a new Human Relations Director to assist in improving race relations in city schools.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
20. Additional black staff members were added to the Union staff after the school year, 1968-69, had begun.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
21. A consultant from "Project Student Values" worked with staff and students during the second semester of 1969.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
22. The Michigan-Ohio Regional Lab (MOREL) conducted an experimental information program for teachers during the second semester.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
23. The Union High Parents Association (UHPA) formed in the community out of interest in the Union High busing.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1

Change or Development	Conflict a Factor				Constructive or Useful			
24. Three new members from the west side were elected to the Board of Education in the spring of 1969.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
25. The <u>Grand Rapids Press</u> gave more extensive coverage to the first year desegregation at Union as compared to the city's other high schools.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
26. Over the Christmas holidays, the school board and administrators met with numerous organizations such as the Grand Rapids Council of Ministers, Chamber of Commerce, etc., in order to develop increased community awareness of school desegregation problems.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
27. The Union High Community Council sponsored a musical and generally became more active than it had been in the past.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
28. The Union High PTSA at the present time has more actual members than was true during the fall of 1968.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
29. As of this fall, 1969, counseling duties have been reorganized to where one counselor will spend time in the community each week, for example at the Sheldon and West Side complexes, in order to meet with parents who have questions about student courses and school-community problems.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1

Change or Development	Conflict Factor				Constructive or Useful			
30. Close to twenty teachers who taught at Union in 1968-69 are not now on the staff.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
31. Second semester the voting procedure for student courts and queens of various events was revised to make it fairer and more democratic.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
32. Various new activities for seniors were begun through the "Senior Center" such as pool, ping pong, jukebox music at lunch time, and scuba diving.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
33. A new administrative team took over the leadership at Union shortly after the Christmas holidays.	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1

PLEASE CHECK TO SEE THAT YOU ANSWERED EACH QUESTION.

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ON CHANGES THAT MAY HAVE RESULTED TO SOME EXTENT FROM MAJOR CONFLICT AT UNION HIGH

I. Curriculum

1. Any course additions?
2. Any course revisions?
3. Special remedial classes?
4. Additional staff hired in conjunction with changes?
Black, white?
5. Any other curricular change?
6. Were outside resource people and/or reference
materials obtained?

II. Student Activity Program (including in and after school)

1. Were new clubs or organizations formed? Their
purposes?
2. Did student government change in any way?
3. Was transportation service modified?

4. Were additional field trips, assemblies, etc., initiated?
5. Were additional provisions for social mixing made?
6. Were snack breaks initiated or the routine of the school day modified in any other way for students?

III. Students --General

1. Were new rules and regulations developed in student conduct? Explain.
2. Were new procedures instituted in such areas as busing, cafeteria, library?
3. Were additional personnel, be they student and/or adult, hired or used for control purposes? If so, was this temporary?
4. Has there been an increase in communication between students? Between students and teachers? Between students and administrators? Were new lines of communication established, or old one modified? Everything considered, did increased discussion appear to clarify the issues that were involved in problem areas?

IV. Facilities

1. Were facilities modified in any way? Cafeteria?
Recreation areas? Classrooms?

V. Union High Faculty and Central Office Administration

1. Were there any workshops or training programs initiated to enable teachers and administrators to operate more effectively in a desegregated school? Explain.
2. Were any other new programs or services provided by the central office such as additional transportation service or human resource consultation? If so, were new personnel hired?
3. Were there changes in the administrative structure at Union? Personnel change involved?
4. Did teacher turnover differ from previous years or the district high school average?
5. Were counseling services changed or improved?

VI. Community Developments

1. Did new groups interested in school policy form in the community? What were their purposes?
2. Did communication increase between the school and community via meetings between various organizations and school or district representatives?
3. Did the attendance at UHPTSA increase?

4. Did black parents become more involved in the school
second semester than first?

VII. Are there any other areas of school life wherein changes
occurred?

APPENDIX E

COMMENTS BY STUDENTS ON THE
QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

General Comments*

I don't like the system at all. The white should stay with white and black with themselves. (C, 12)

I feel that this year school has gone extremely well and only had a few days so far of slight trouble (like fights). I think the ones who are causing this trouble are the 10th graders cause they think schools junky. (C, 12)

I do not feel that peoples feelings have changed much from last year. If anything the conflicts have increased prejudice. The only difference between this year and last year is that the administration expects fights and now stops them sooner than they were stopped before. (C, 11)

Just leave us alone! (C, 12)

I wish you would quit picking at the problem of the past. (C, 12)

Black is Beautiful...White tramps...Hunkies suck...Your welcome Punk! (N, 12)

I don't understand why you have to know why a person is Black or white. Or dose it have something to do with score. (N, 11)

*The parentheses indicate race and grade level of student making the comment. All comments appear exactly as written by the students.

Desegregation is not possible when people don't want it. Black people are not cattle they don't need to be transported anywhere. Separation is the only solution. (N, 11)

I feel that alot of these questions asked were not put into effect. Not only by the students, but by the teachers and faculty also! I also don't think that people should raise a fuss about everything little thing like the Press did! (C, 12)

Some of the changes named, I have never heard about. For example, I din't know that the counselors spent time in the communities. I think we as students should have been notified of these changes. (C, 12)

As I have indicated, I feel that last year's conflict was a big factor in bringing about major changes in school policy--most of which resulted in changes for the better. This does not mean however, that I believe rioting is the best or only way to bring about constructive change. (C, 12)

I am not prejudice; I think that all, no matter of color, should be treated the same. BUT no certain race should have special "privelidges." If busing was never put into effect, there would be no "Senior Center at Union High; along with many more; a) see #7 cafeteria b) parent teams c) control officers, ect. (C, 12)

Comments on Specific Questions

#1. A one semester Black History course was offered second semester at Union.

- a) I think that they started the class because of the black students coming over but not because of the conflict. (C, 12)

#2. Efforts were made to include minority group contributions in the English and Social Studies curriculums during the 1968-69 school year.

- a) The talks in English didn't help to much because in a class that size you're alone. Kids don't talk to you. The teacher hardly every call on you. What can you do? (N, 12)

#4. School rules and regulations were revised in mid-year and distributed so all students would be aware of procedures and policies.

- a) I believe the one useless thing the administration was discuss rules and regulations with us. The black students claimed they didn't know what they were, this was ridiculous because they were the same at South. Tightening up of rules and regulations is just a little foolish. If you are late for a first hour class it is almost impossible to get into school. (C, 12)
- b) I don't think the distributing of new regulations and rules were in effect. To me a lot of people do not care. I also do not agree that monitors were in effect, because they specified that students could not be in the halls! (C, 12)

#5. Two full time control officers were hired at Union to assist in preventing vandalism and other kinds of problems from developing in the halls and parking lot.

- a) Not enforced (C, 12)

#6. Parent teams helped in the halls to keep outsiders from causing trouble and to assist with potential problems.

- a) I don't think the parents supervision was any help at all because it made the kids feel as if they were being too closely watched. It got so school didn't seem like school anymore but more like a prison. (C, 12)
- b) The parents in the halls did not do anything constructive as far as I can see. They are present, but they never take any steps to check passes or confront students who are in the halls for some reason or other. (C, 12)
- c) the parents in the halls idea, I think was a ridiculous farce. (C, 12)
- d) the parents were of no value! (C, 12)
- e) I also didn't think that parents were needed in the halls. (C, 12)
- f) I don't think the parents helped much in patrolling the halls. (C, 12)

#8. In general, last year there was a "tightening up" of rules and regulations, e.g., closer surveillance of hall passes, etc.

- a) End of year yes (C, 12)

#9. Student monitor teams were formed to assist in the supervision of the halls.

- a) This was discontinued after trouble broke out--for awhile we had one black and one white patrolling the halls together they were from varsity club (C, 12)
- b) student monitors were of no use most of these monitors were black and would have their freinds who were skipping sitting with them and causing trouble. (C, 12)

#14. Classroom discussions on black-white relationships and problems took place during both first and second semesters to identify common problems and clarify just what the issues were.

- a) After trouble started all talk was on the black problems (C, 12)
- b) I don't think it helped much because students were affraid to say what they really thought. (C, 12)
- c) What classroom discussions? (C, 12)

#15. After the closing of school on September 13, 1968, the next week was devoted to meetings, first among seniors, then juniors and sophomores, in order to identify problems and clarify issues.

- a) that was a lot of Bull too! (C, 12)

#18. A rumor control center was established at the school district's central office in February of 1969 to provide accurate answers to questions and concerns about education in Grand Rapids.

- a) I don't think they were accurate at all. (C, 12)
- b) I called in to the rumor control center several times, and got absolutely NO RESULT! (C, 12)

#19. In May, 1969, the school district hired a new Human Relations Director to assist in improving race relations in city schools.

a) Don't know what he's done (C, 12)

#20. Additional black staff members were added to the Union staff after the school year, 1968-69, had begun.

a) The hiring of black teachers were unnecessary for the school. It was a halfass rule of the black----- (C, 12)

#21. A consultant from "Project Student Values" worked with staff and students during the second semester of 1969.

a) Never hear of him so I don't know what he did. (C, 12)

#22. The Michigan-Ohio Regional Lab (MOREL) conducted an experimental information program for teachers during the second semester.

a) (for certain teachers this helped greatly) (C, 12)

b) Can't say (C, 12)

#25. The Grand Rapids Press gave more extensive coverage to the first year desegregation at Union as compared to the city's other high schools.

a) The Press did Union more harm than good by using us as the guinea pigs. When the new administration came the Press could not come in as freely as during the first semester. We weren't expected to cause anymore trouble, was my feelings. The Press therefore "took it out" on Union, and did not like to print good events which happen to it. For example, on July 7, 1969, the Varsity Cheerleaders from Union received a 1st place trophy from the United States National Cheerleading Association. The Press, even when urged by the Principal, would not print it. Ottawa recieved a 3rd place, the wk. before, at the same place, and got a place in the Press. Various other schools

winning awards got articles and pictures in. We received no reason why, but I feel, that the Press was mad because Mr. Cleveland would not let the reporters in when we had trouble, the second semester. (C, 12)

- b) the GR Press writes what it feels like writing not what it true. (C, 12)
- c) The G.R. Press brought about a great deal of conflict over the racial situation. Not only was reporting on incidents here overrated but it was also one sided. Our Press is bigoted. The white reporters made the conflict here sound like "jungle warfare." The whites at this school are just as much to blame as, if not more than the blacks. The minority of both races brought about this conflict and I believe neither race should be condemned, as the Press condemned them, for the incidents caused by the ignorant minority. (C, 12)
- d) I don't think that the newspapers treated what went on here last year fairly. The Press made a mountain out of a molehill. (C, 12)

#29. As of this fall, 1969, counseling duties have been reorganized to where one counselor will spend time in the community each week, for example, at the Sheldon and West Side complexes, in order to meet with parents who have questions about student courses and school-community problems.

- a) didn't know of this (C, 12)
- b) That's a laugh (C, 11)

#30. Close to twenty teachers who taught at Union in 1968-69 are not now on the staff.

- a) The firing of white teachers were because they didn't kiss ass for the black students. The teachers were for a democracy in the school but the Negroe wanted to be in power. (C, 12)

#31. Second semester the voting procedure for student courts and queens of various events was revised to make it fairer and more democratic.

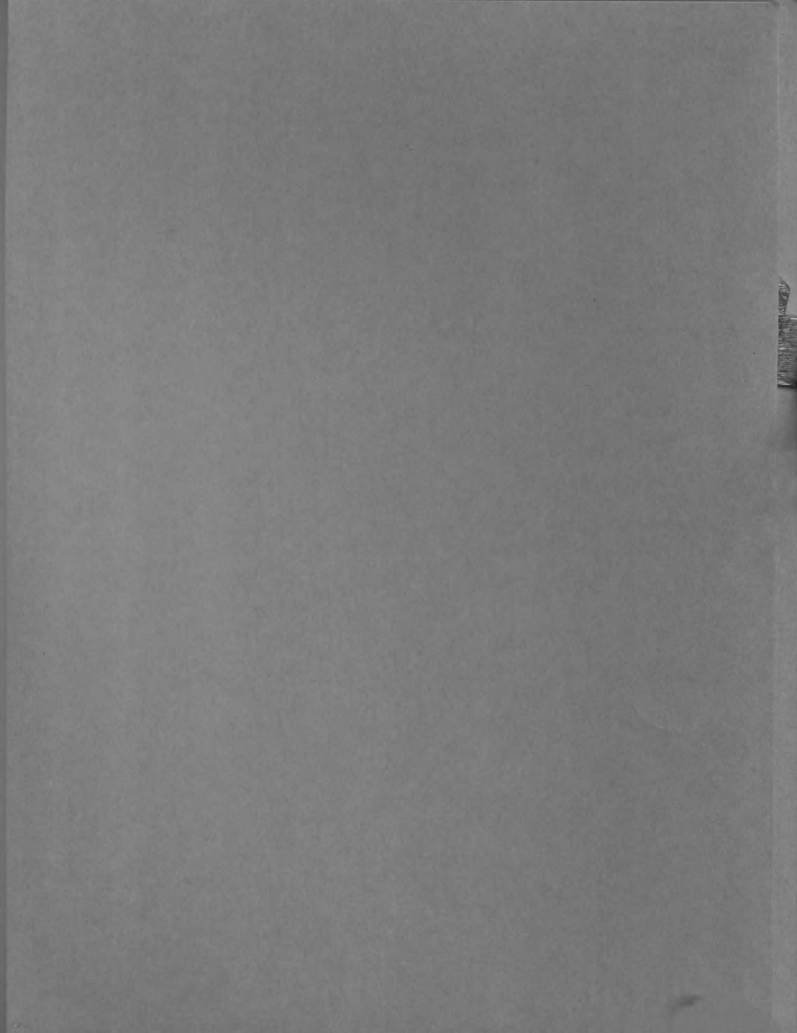
- a) Stupid! (C, 12)
- b) Don't know how they were revised or what they were before. (C, 12)
- c) Black people at Union know they have not got a change of winning anything because we are way out number. As you can see we hav'nt won anything. (N, 12)

#32. Various new activities for seniors were begun through the "Senior Center" such as pool, ping pong, jukebox music at lunch-time, and scuba diving.

- a) we don't have scuba diving (C, 12)
- b) (I wish it was offered!!!) (C, 12)
- c) We don't have scuba diving! But wouldn't be a bad idea (C, 12)
- d) I think that the Senior Center is a good opportunity for Black and White students to get to know each other better. No "Scuba Diving" program was ever offered. (C, 12)

#33. A new administrative team took over the leadership at Union shortly after the Christmas holidays.

- a) I think it was a good thing that they got rid of our former principal because he wasn't involved enough in the student affairs and he was never around when we needed him. (C, 11)
- b) Mr. Cleveland has done an excellent job in bringing order back to this school. He lays down the law and that's what this school needs. I find in him an excellent administrator. (C, 12)



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