A CASE STUDY OF STUDENT ACTIVISM IN
TWO PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JAMES STEWART LANTZ
1971

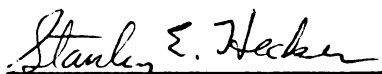This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

A Case Study of Student Activism in
Two Public Secondary Schools

presented by

James Stewart Lantz

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

___Ph. D.___ degree in Administration and
Higher Education

Stanley E. Hecker

Major professor

Date__April 6, 1971__

O-7639

ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY OF STUDENT ACTIVISM IN
TWO PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By

James Stewart Lantz

Purpose of the Study

This study sought to describe the causes of stu-

dent activism, the behavior of the individuals cited

below, the relative role expectations, the sequential

pattern of activism, the effective responses to student

strategies, and the effective approaches to dealing with

demands.

Description of the above areas was from the per-

spectives of individuals filling the following positions:

   a. Board of education members

   b. Superintendent of schools

   c. Central office administrators who witnessed
      the occurrences of activism

   d. Administrators in the buildings where the
      activism occurred

   e. Faculty members in the buildings where the
      activism occurred

   f. Students in the buildings where the activism
      occurred.

Procedure

The district was selected from a list, provided by an office of the Michigan State Department of Education, of thirty public school districts which experienced disturbances at the secondary level during the 1969-70 school year. Districts were selected or eliminated based on the following criteria: (1) geographical proximity to the Detroit Metropolitan Area, (2) involvement of racial issues, (3) percentage of Black students, (4) degree of activism, (5) special considerations, (6) size of pupil enrollment, (7) state equalized valuation (SEV), and (8) geographical dispersion.

The application of the above criteria yielded four districts, and these districts were contacted. Three districts were eliminated due to a minimal degree of activism, or a reluctance to participate in the study.

The interview schedule was developed and refined after (1) a review of the literature, (2) a review by the chairman of the guidance committee, (3) discussion with the Office of Research Consultation, (4) refinement in terms of school district files and records, and (5) field testing of the instrument.

The study focused on two instances of activism which occurred during May, 1970, in both a junior and senior high school of a single district in Michigan.

The interviews were conducted by the author and two graduate students, and involved forty-two individual and two group interviews. Most interviews were tape recorded and conducted during and after school hours from December 8 through 11, 1970.

Major Findings

1. The administrative personnel of the school district noted, in most instances, that they had no professional preparation for dealing with student activism.

2. It was also found that the interviewees moved from rather wide perceptual differences on causes to rather narrow perceptual consensus on effective approaches to dealing with demands and proposals.

3. The interview results indicated that student activism is subject to multiple causation.

4. Examples of individual and institutional racism were suggested on many occasions as fundamental causes. Individual racism appears to be amenable to efforts directed toward attitudinal change, while institutional racism suggests the need for structural change in the formal organization. To separate the two forms of racism would be misleading, since a simultaneous effort directed at both the individual and organization is necessary.

5. Likewise, problems such as housing and parental attitudes were frequently cited as external causes

which abetted the activism. Children raised by parents who themselves grew up in a racially and socio-economically segregated society transmit the values and attitudes of their subculture. Thus a strong "self-fulfilling" cycle is set into motion.

6. Content- and textbook-oriented faculty members were also cited frequently as factors contributing to the activism. This perspective by faculty members helps to crystallize the educational and organizational distance between teacher and student. When education is viewed as a common educational experience involving two learners, formerly teacher and student, the distance begins to lessen. Furthermore, when the teacher and student enter into dialogue on human rights and equality, the distance is eliminated. Now both parties must deal with one another as human beings.

7. Bargaining as a means of resolving conflict was not clearly evident as effective in responding to all student demands. For example, demands which deal with the extent to which students are involved in curriculum development are perhaps negotiable. Demands dealing with questions of human rights cannot be subject to bargaining.

8. It was generally found that no approaches were effective in responding to student strategies when activity escalated to the level of violence. At that

stage, calling in police, closing the schools, and sus-
pending students appeared the only administrative responses
possible.

9.   In-service education involving all segments of
the school organization appeared to have been the most
effective long-run approach to dealing with tensions so
that subsequently student demands and proposals could be
dealt with.

A CASE STUDY OF STUDENT ACTIVISM IN

TWO PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By

James Stewart Lantz

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Administration
and Higher Education

1971

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Stanley E. Hecker who served as chairman of the guidance committee. His assistance and thoughtful probing of the study caused it to be a valuable learning experience.

Dr. Clyde M. Campbell provided valuable counsel over the years not only in relation to my academic work but also in terms of my beginning career as a public school administrator.

Drs. Ernest O. Melby, George R. Myers, and John Useem deserve sincere thanks for their thoughtful and concerned assistance.

The Mott Foundation, particularly its Leadership Program and Institute, deserve special recognition for its contribution to my philosophic growth regarding community education and on two occasions to my financial support during my years as a doctoral candidate.

To the persons in the State Department of Education and in the unidentified school district, I want to express my appreciation for their cooperation which helped make this study possible.

To my parents, Ray and Anna, I owe more than can ever be said for their encouragement and support over the

years. I hope that this dissertation in some small way expresses my appreciation and represents some fulfillment for the educational opportunities which were not open to them.

To Lova Kay, Nathan, Natalie, and Joshua, wife and children, I owe so very much for their understanding, sacrifice, and support. Particularly to Lova Kay and Nathan, I want to express my deep affection and appreciation for the hours that they spent without the presence of a husband and father who was busy being a graduate student and school administrator.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the need for and

the purposes of the study. In addition, the theoretical

perspectives are discussed. The chapter concludes with a

definition of terms and an overview of Chapters II, III,

and IV.

Need for the Study

The need for this study arises from two observa-

tions about the subject of student activism in American

public secondary schools. First, the literature on the

subject is often speculative, fragmentary, and devoid of

a theoretical orientation. A recent major survey reveals

that "there has been, to date, very little treatment of

the matter in the scholarly journals. Much of the best

work appears in the more popular media."[1] Second, an

understanding of activism is fundamental to the develop-

ment of positive changes in public secondary schools, both

those which have and have not experienced student activism.

_____

[1]Stephen K. Bailey, Disruption in Urban Public
Secondary Schools (Washington, D.C.: National Association
of Secondary School Principals, 1970), p. 3.

1

Student activism as a form of social behavior is couched in the larger question of man's relationship to society and its institutions. Furthermore, it raises questions of social change, conflict, and control. Gardner very poignantly states that:

> Unless we attend to the requirements of renewal, aging institutions and organizations will eventually bring civilization to moldering ruin. Unless we cope with the ways in which modern society oppresses the individual, we shall lose the creative spark that renews both societies and men.[2]

Activism, as one facet of social change, is not new to American education. Weston,[3] in a review of several New York City newspapers from 1870 to the present, indicates that strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, demonstrations, and the like have occurred with rather frequent regularity. Interestingly, the issues often parallel those expressed today regarding dress and discipline. But to say that the problems are not new is also to say that they have not been resolved.

---

[2] John W. Gardner, Self-Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. xvi.

[3] Alan F. Weston, "Responding to Rebels with a Cause," The School and the Democratic Environment, The Danforth and Ford Foundations (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 71.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are:

1. To describe the perceived causes of student activism from the perspective of the selected positions listed below:

   a. Board of education members

   b. Superintendent of schools

   c. Central office administrators who witnessed the occurrences of activism under study

   d. Administrators in the buildings where the activism occurred

   e. Faculty members in the buildings where the activism occurred

   f. Students in the buildings where the activism occurred;

2. To describe the behavior of each of the above from the perspective of each other position;

3. To describe the behavior which each of the above believes each of the other positions should exhibit;

4. To determine if student activism and the organizational reactions follow a general sequential pattern of:

   a. Initial student strategies

   b. Organizational response(s) to those strategies

   c. Bargaining, negotiations, or third-party mediation to settle specific demands or proposals

>   d.   Implementation of "legitimate" agreed-
> upon changes;
>
> 5.   To determine what approaches were perceived
> as effective in responding to student
> strategies from the perspective of each
> other position; and
>
> 6.   To determine what approaches were perceived
> as effective in dealing with the demands or
> proposals from the perspective of each other

Theoretical Perspective

The purpose of this section is to outline the theoretical perspective of the study. It is assumed that a school can be viewed as a social system, and more specifically as a formal organization. It follows, therefore, that the formal organization, i.e. the school, has a unique social structure comprised of roles arranged in a hierarchy ranging from the roles played by board of education members to those played by students who "participated" in the activism. It is further assumed that these roles maintain a degree of interrelatedness over time, in addition to representing differential power, status, and authority.

Student activism as a form of conflict places strain on the nonstudent roles in the formal organization through its initial strategies and demands. This is not

to say that certain strains may not have been initially placed on the role, power, and status of the students, thus generating activism. Nevertheless, activist behavior "causes" certain organizational reactions followed perhaps by bargaining and implementation of agreed-upon changes.

The remainder of this section is concerned with specific aspects of: role theory, conflict, and several propositions regarding organization reaction to conflict and the effects of bargaining on an organization.

Role Theory[4]

Gross et al., in their review of the literature on the development and use of role theory, have found that there is no single role theory but rather variations on a common theme. It was found that anthropologists generally define a "role" in terms of normative cultural patterns, while some psychologists mainly rest their definitions on personality factors. Sociologists generally emphasize the importance of "expectations" in defining a "role."

Since the present study focuses on the behavior of persons in a formal organization, i.e. a social system, it is appropriate to select a perspective which provides

---

[4]Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 3-75.

a good "fit" with the empirical reality. Questions of cultural patterns and determinants of personal behavior go beyond the purposes stated earlier.

Therefore this study is based on the findings of Gross et al., that "individuals (1) in social locations (2) behave (3) with reference to expectations."[5] The reader will find a discussion of basic terms later in this chapter under "Definition of Terms."

Conflict

"Conflict," which is a generic social concept, is subject to many definitions and to a range of values. Corwin, in an extensive review of the literature on conflict, points to this range:

> Coser sees conflict as a "disease," Thompson is concerned with prevention of conflict in its organizational context, Weber sees it as integral to social life itself, Simmel indicates that groups require it to function effectively over time; Small, Park, Ross and others view conflict as a central and integrating process; and Dalton among others has suggested that it is inherent in leadership positions and a source of flexibility and creativity within organizations.[6]

In this study, conflict is seen more often as the fact rather than the fiction of organizational life. Although it is not generally a phenomenon which one

---

[5]Ibid., p. 17.

[6]Ronald G. Corwin, The Development of an Instrument for Examining Staff Conflict in the Public Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1963), pp. 14-15.

knowingly or willingly creates within an organization, it may generate positive changes within the organization. Certainly those who live intensely in an organizational context should understand its assets as well as its liabilities.

The following section deals with several propositions regarding organizational reaction to conflict.

Organizational Reaction to Conflict

March and Simon[7] have identified three main classes of conflict phenomena as they relate to formal organizations: (1) individual conflict, (2) organizational conflict, and (3) interorganizational conflict. Student activism is an example of organizational conflict involving intergroup opposition.

The authors suggest that bargaining is used to resolve conflict of this nature and that the bargaining process is characterized by the following:

1. Disagreement over goals is taken as fixed
2. Agreement without persuasion is sought
3. Acknowledged conflict of interests
4. Use of threats
5. Falsification of position
6. Use of gamemanship[8]

---

[7]James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 129-131.

[8]Ibid., p. 130.

Although bargaining may be effective in resolving organizational conflict, it has effects on the organizational structure which can be far-reaching. March and Simon have found that:

> 1. Bargaining almost necessarily places strains on the status and power systems in the organization.
> 2. If those who are formally more powerful prevail, this results in a more forceful perception of status and power differences in the organization.
> 3. If those who are formally more powerful do not prevail, their position is weakened.
> 4. Bargaining acknowledges and legitimizes heterogeneity of goals in the organization, and such legitimation removes a possible technique of control available to the organization hierarchy.[9]

Definition of Terms

Conflict is used in this study to mean the overt opposition between nonstudent and activist student positions in the formal organization ranging from verbal disagreement to violence.

Consensus is used in this study to mean the degree of agreement between the focal position and the other positions in the organizational hierarchy on the causes, behavior, expectations, and effective approaches to conflict resolution as measured by expressed perceptions.

Demands or Proposals is used in this study to mean those specific issues which are overtly and strongly expressed by activist students.

---

[9] Ibid., p. 131.

Expectation is used in this study to mean "an evaluative standard applied to an incumbent of a position."[10]

Expressed perception is used in this study to mean the responses to questions on the interview schedule in terms of the interviewee's beliefs or feelings about the given subject.

General sequential pattern of interaction between nonstudent and activist student positions in the formal school organization is used in this study to mean the range of interactive behavior including initial strategies, bargaining, and implementation of "legitimate" agreed-upon changes.

Initial strategies is used in this study to mean those planned actions and counteractions employed by activist students prior to bargaining, for the purpose of securing the most advantageous bargaining position. Initial strategies frequently include such behavior as petitions, sit-ins, boycotts, strikes, and walkouts.

Issues is used in this study to mean the general areas of concern, for example the "relevancy" of the curricula, from which specific demands often arise.

Legitimate agreed-upon changes is used in this study to mean those changes which are perceived as having

[10]Gross, et al., Role Analysis, p. 67.

worth and appropriateness by nonstudent positions in the formal organization.

Position is used in this study to mean "the location of an actor in a system of social relationships."[11]

Role is used in this study to mean "a set of expectations applied to an incumbent of a particular position."[12]

Scope of the social system is used in this study to mean the selected public school district in the state of Michigan, with focus on two instances of student activism in two secondary schools during May, 1970.

Student activism is used in this study to mean the range of collective behavior employed by students in public secondary schools for the purposes of achieving certain changes in their role, power, and status within the formal school organization, including attempts to change the organizational structure of the school.

Underlying dimensions is used in this study to mean those broad areas of history, social psychology, law, politics, technology, economics, and education under which can be subsumed the "causes" of student activism. These dimensions are expressed more specifically in the issues, and ultimately in the demands (proposals) of the activist students. For example, it has been suggested

---

[11]Ibid.   [12]Ibid.

that one of the underlying dimensions of student activism
is political in nature. Specifically, it is manifested
in demands for draft counseling and withdrawal from
Viet Nam.

Overview of Chapters II, III, and IV

Chapter II contains a review of the major surveys
on student activism, followed by a summary of the basic
causes and related topics.

Chapter III contains a discussion of (1) the cri-
teria used in the selection of the school district, (2)
the means employed in the development of the interview
schedule, and (3) the interview procedures.

Chapter IV contains a description of the community
in which the study took place and the incidents of activ-
ism. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the basic
causes of the conflict, the behavior of the people in
various positions in the organizational hierarchy, role
expectations, the approaches used to resolve the conflict,
and the summary of the chapter.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Although student activism is not new in American
public secondary schools, Education Index first recognized
it as a category of literature in 1964. At that time,
most of the material on student activism was concerned
with college student involvement in civil rights and anti-
university administration protests. As late as September,
1969, Education Index had not provided a separate cate-
gory of literature concerned with public secondary school
student activism. It is interesting that while this
social unrest was increasing in tempo, much of the litera-
ture in educational administration focused on professional
negotiations.

This review will proceed with a discussion of the
following areas:

1. Major Surveys on Student Activism

2. Underlying Dimensions and Causes of Student
    Activism

3. Issues and Demands

4. Violence and Activism

5. Race and Activism

6. Strategies of Activist Students

12

7. Administrative Responses to Activist
    Strategies

8. Bargaining, Negotiation, and Mediation as
    Means for Resolving Demands

9. Approaches to the Basic Problems

10. "Legitimacy" and Implementation of
    Demands

11. Constructive Student Activism

The major surveys on student activism are as

follows:

1. "Survey on Student Unrest in the Nation's
    High Schools," conducted by the House Sub-
    committee on General Education

2. "Student Unrest Survey," conducted by the
    Community Relations Service of the Justice
    Department

3. "Survey of Newspaper Reports on High School
    Disorders," conducted by Alan F. Westin

4. "A National Survey on the Nature and Extent
    of Student Activism," conducted by J. Lloyd
    Trump and Jane Hunt

5. "Disruption in Urban Public Secondary
    Schools," conducted by the Syracuse Uni-
    versity Research Corporation.

Major Surveys on Student Activism

The House Subcommittee Survey was conducted during

the 1968-69 academic year. Questionnaires were sent to

29,000 high school principals throughout the United

States, and 15,086 questionnaires were returned. The

results were reported in three categories: (a) all

schools responding, 15,086; (b) city public schools with

a significant increase in ethnic enrollment in the last five years, 400; and (c) schools reporting riots, 149.

The following summary of the House Subcommittee Survey[1] is concerned with the results obtained for "all schools responding" in each of the twenty-four areas. A detailed analysis is found in Appendix A.

Eighteen per cent of the 15,086 schools, or 2,710, reported some form of activism during the 1968-69 school year. Most of the schools had an enrollment of less than 1,000 pupils, and the family income of the pupils generally ranged from $3,000 to $10,000. The schools were predominately White, with approximately an 8 per cent Black population. Furthermore, the schools had not experienced a significant increase in ethnic enrollment in the past five years. Most incidents of protest occurred only once, but seldom more than twice. In slightly more than half the cases, the protests were preplanned. Usually, less than 5 per cent of the student population participated, and seldom were there injuries. Property damage was usually less than $100. Police were generally not called as a result of the protest.

In slightly fewer than half of the instances reported, a variety of student tactics (strategies) were

---

[1]"Results of the Survey on Student Unrest in the Nation's High Schools" (Congressional Record--Extensions of Remark, Washington, D.C., February 23, 1970), p. E 1178-9.

used, i.e. underground newspapers, sit-ins, strikes, boy-
cott. In 1 per cent of the cases, riots occurred. The
issues in slightly fewer than half the cases involved
miscellaneous concerns. Next most frequently mentioned
were general disciplinary rules, dress codes, school ser-
vices, condition of facilities, curricula, teachers and
principals, student political organizations, and finally
outside speakers. Racial issues (tensions) were involved
in about 30 per cent of the protests. Specific racial
issues usually covered a broad range of concerns--per
cent of teachers and other personnel from minority groups
and ethnic studies were mentioned frequently. Seventy-
eight per cent of the issues were within the scope of
school policy.

In only 31 per cent of the cases were nonstudents
involved in the protests. Of the nonstudents who par-
ticipated, members of community organizations were men-
tioned in addition to high school dropouts, college
students, parents, and others. Teacher participation was
mentioned in 28 per cent of the responses.

Academically, the protest leaders generally
represented a cross section of the student body.

Action which was frequently taken to resolve the
protests included: appointment of a faculty-student
committee, alteration of various school rules, meetings
with parents, and meetings with minority groups. Seldom

were student political organizations or underground news-
papers approved.

Of all the schools responding, 14 per cent antici-
pated more protest in 1969-70. Twenty-eight per cent
declined to respond to this question.

Next, the Student Unrest Survey[2] was conducted
by forty Community Relations Service (CRS) staff members
and consultants of the U.S. Justice Department.

The sample included 101 secondary schools with
at least a 10 per cent minority enrollment. The schools
were located in seventeen states and fifty-two cities.
Data were secured through interviews with administrators,
teachers, and students.

The demographic composition of the sample was
as follows:

No. of High Schools	Geographical Location	Number of Students	Percentage Black
26	Northeast	41,937	67%
12	Midwest	21,423	51%
29	South	32,453	50%
34	West	69,924	44%
			26% (Brown)

Seventy-five per cent of the high schools, with a
total student population of approximately 165,737 students,

---

[2]"Report on Student Unrest Survey, Prepared by
the Community Relations Service" (Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C., September, 1969), pp. 1-7. (Mimeo-
graphed.)

experienced some form of unrest during the 1968-69 school year. "Police were called in to settle disturbances, or as a preventive measure, in over sixty percent of the incidents and in half of them used force."

The staff and consultants of CRS found three issues frequently mentioned: (a) institutional racism, (b) institutional irrelevancy, and (c) "a continuous failure of communication between administrators and student protestors."

The four major demands were as follows:

1. Place more minority personnel in policy-making positions   48%

2. End racism and discrimination   45%

3. More minority awareness studies   43%

4. Equal voice in curriculum planning, formulation of codes of student dress, and hiring and firing of faculty   33%

The fact that the population surveyed contained a high percentage of Black students may suggest the reason that the student demands strongly reflected racial issues.

The Westin Survey,[3] which follows, relies heavily on secondary sources of information but nevertheless may help sketch the overall picture of student activism.

From November 1968 through February 1969, Dr. A. F. Westin of Columbia University monitored 1,800 daily newspapers for reports of high school

_____

[3]"Research Report Says No Arrest to Unrest," Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (July, 1969), 42.

disorders. During the four months, he found reports of 348 high schools in thirty-eight states that had suffered "serious episodes" involving strikes, sit-ins, riots, demonstrations, or other violence.

The 239 instances of serious disturbances account for approximately 66 per cent of all instances.

The Trump and Hunt Survey,[4] which follows, was reported in May, 1969, based on a questionnaire sent to a random sample of 1,982 principals, of whom 1,026 responded. The following is a summary of their findings:

Percentage of Schools Reporting Student Activism

	Large (over 2,000)	Medium (801-2,000)	Small (801 or less)	All
Urban	74	62	60	67
Suburban	81	72	56	67
Rural	67	67	50	53

Percentages of Junior and Senior High
Schools with Student Activism

	Junior High	Senior High
Urban	59	63
Suburban	61	69
Rural	48	53
All	56	59

[4]J. Lloyd Trump and Jane Hunt, "The Nature and Extent of Student Activism," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, LIII (May, 1969), 151.

The following percentages reflect the per cent of those who reported activism and not the total respondents.

	Area of Concern	Per cent
1.	Quality of education (teachers, homework, grades, scheduling, etc.)	45
2.	Dress code	33
3.	Length of hair	25
4.	Racial protests (interracial tension)	10
5.	Viet Nam	3
6.	Draft	2

Eighty-two percent of the schools had protests against school regulations. Of urban senior high schools with more than 2,000 pupils, eighty percent reported protests about the instructional program. Five percent of the schools reported SDS activity of some kind.

Finally, the Syracuse Study[5] is the most recent study reported in the literature. The study was conducted between March 12 and June 30, 1970, in 19 cities and 27 secondary schools. Site-visit interviews, observations, conferences, and questionnaires provided the means by which the data were collected. The sample included administrators, teachers, students, parents, community people, police, and school district officials. The results of the survey questionnaire, which was sent to school districts with high schools of over 750 pupils, showed that "85 percent had experienced some type of disruption in the past three years." A summary of societal and in-school

[5]Stephen K. Bailey, Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1970), pp. 1-52.

causes, in addition to administrative responses and
effective approaches to conflict resolution, can be
found in Appendix B.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the surveys
is the wide range of reported activism: House Subcommittee
on General Education, 18 per cent; Student Unrest Survey
conducted by the Justice Department, 75 per cent; Trump
and Hunt Survey, 59 per cent of the high schools report-
ing and 56 per cent of the junior high schools; Westin
Study, 66 per cent of all disturbances were "serious";
and Syracuse Study, 85 per cent.

It appears that the data confirm the obvious
supposition that issues in schools with a high percentage
of Black students center around racial concerns such as
racism, Black studies programs, and number of Black staff
members.

In the next section, the discussion will focus on
the underlying dimensions and the "causes" of student
activism. As noted earlier the underlying dimensions
refer to the broad general categories under which many
of the "causes" can be subsumed. These dimensions are:
historical, social psychological, legal, political,
technological, economic, and educational.

It is with caution that the term "causes" is
applied to the following explanations of student activism.
Nowhere in the literature does there exist evidence of

a strict cause-effect relationship. It is always diffi-
cult, particularly in an area where so little substantive
research has taken place, to discern what are the "causes"
and what are the "symptoms" of a problem.

Underlying Dimensions and Causes
of Student Activism

Historical Dimension

Keniston[6] discusses a theory advanced by Daniel
Bell and Zbigniew Brzozinski in the excellent article on
student activism entitled "You Have to Grow Up in Scars-
dale to Know How Bad Things Really Are." This theory,
referred to as "Historical Irrelevance," maintains that
student rebellion springs from the fact that students feel
they are historically trapped between the industrial and
post-industrial society. Youths feel the future holds
nothing more than intensified technology and the destruc-
tion of what remains of existing humanism and romanticism.
In the face of this argument, Keniston maintains that our
immediate past is not an adequate basis for speculation
about the future. In short, our society does not have to
be committed to increased technology.

---

[6]Kenneth Keniston, "You Have to Grow Up in Scars-
dale to Know How Bad Things Really Are," The New York
Times Magazine, April 27, 1969, pp. 28 and 122.

Social Psychological
Dimension

The next explanation of the cause of student activism and rebellion has been advanced by Lewis S. Feuer and has been termed the "Oedipal Rebellion." Keniston, in a discussion of its central theme, indicates that the source of rebellion is the "blind, unconscious Oedipal hatred of fathers and the older generation."[7] According to Keniston, the theory fails not only because it is "bad psychoanalysis," but because it does not explain why the phenomenon occurs in some generations and not in others. Second, the theory, if universally applicable, does not explain why middle-class, affluent students are more likely to rebel than working class and deprived students.

Alienation has also been proposed as an explanation for rebellion and activism. Hickerson[8] and Thomson[9] suggest that alienation of students is a result of the fact that schools are "mirrors of the society" and reflect the status quo of the social structure. Furthermore, intelligence testing and middle-class values found

---

[7]Ibid., p. 28.

[8]Nathaniel Hickerson, Education for Alienation (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 1-98.

[9]Scott D. Thomson, "Activism: A Game for Unloving Critics," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, LIII (May, 1969), 142-149.

in the schools also serve to further the alienation of minority group students.

For Glaser,[10] youthful rebellion is primarily a function of the failure which students experience in school. Student failure is most critical in the areas of "classroom achievement, making friends, having fun, and winning the respect of others in responsible ways." Students are subjected to rote memorization, and to teachers who have "very little emotional or intellectual involvement with the individual child."

Stinchcombe extends this argument when he reports that:

> . . . students who have internalized the stand-
> ards of success appropriate to a category, but
> do not themselves have the means of success,
> engage in active rejection of the social world
> that places them in this internal conflict.
> Expressive alienation occurs when students
> replace the success orientation expected of
> them with active rejection of the social world
> of the school.[11]

Later the reader will find a discussion of aliena-tion from the perspective of the formal organization.

Haake and Langworthy,[12] officials of the New York State Department of Education, affirm the belief that not

---

[10]"Youth in Rebellion--Why," U.S. News and World Report (April 27, 1970), 42.

[11]Arthur I. Stinchcombe, Rebellion in a High School (Chicago: Quadrangel Books, 1964), p. 9.

[12]"Recommendations on Student Activism in High Schools," School and Society, LXLVII (October, 1969), 343.

only is student activism positive in nature, but it is the

result of "rising expectations on the part of students."

They continue with the observation that "an analysis of

the national character of student unrest would seem to

suggest that the lack of machinery enabling students to be

heard in a democratic fashion is a condition common to

many instances of protest."

Chesler[13] sees the problem, in part, as stemming

from the inability of students and others in the organi-

zation, particularly teachers and administrators, to

communicate because of their age differences. Chesler

maintains that this inability to communicate across age

lines leads to "intergenerational conflict."

Gusfeld, in an extensive study of the effect of

age differences on members of a formal organization, con-

cludes that "when two or more generations appear within

the same organization we may consequently anticipate

factional conflict."[14]

---

[13]Mark A. Chesler, "The Relevance of the Kerner
Commission Report for Secondary Education," A Report to
the Midwest Regional Conference of the National Associa-
tion of State Boards of Education, Lansing, Michigan,
March 28, 1968, prepared by the Center for Research on
Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (Ann Arbor, Michigan:
By the author, n.d.), p. 8. (Mimeographed.)

[14]Joseph R. Gusfeld, "The Problem of Generations
in an Organizational Structure," Social Forces, XXXV (May,
1957), 323.

Stinchcombe, in a study of rebellion in the high school which predates most of the present material, points to the following importance of age.

> The system of symbols on which school
> authority depends are those of age-grading,
> that is, symbols that distinguish adults from
> children and justify school authority by point-
> ing to age differences. When these symbols
> fail to elicit loyalty because the student re-
> jects the picture of himself as an adolescent,
> expressive alienation results.[15]

Bronfenbrenner, commenting to the question of age segregation in society, sounds a clear warning as to its consequences:

> As we read the evidence, both from our own
> research and that of others, we cannot escape
> the conclusion that, if the current trend per-
> sists, if the institutions of our society con-
> tinue to remove parents, other adults, and older
> youth from active participation in the lives of
> children, and if the resulting vacuum is filled
> by the age-segregated peer group, we can antici-
> pate increased alienation, indifference, antagon-
> ism, and violence on the part of the younger
> generation in all segments of our society--
> middle-class children as well as the disadvan-
> taged.[16]

Keniston, however, attempts to dispose of this argument as follows:

> If chronological youth alone was enough to
> insure rebellion, the advanced societies--
> where a greater proportion of the population
> reaches old age than ever before in history--

---

[15]Stinchcombe, Rebellion, p. 9.

[16]Urie Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood: U. S. and U.S.S.R. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), pp. 116-117.

should be the least revolutionary, and primitive societies the most. This is not the case.[17]

Chesler[18] maintains that racial tensions from the broader society permeate the school, causing racial hostilities to develop among students. During a recent survey of violence in the Detroit Public Schools, the investigators reported that "during racial trouble in a school, student militancy and individual violence often feed on each other."[19]

Another explanation centers on the importance of communication and its effect on closing social distance. Trump and Hunt reported that "respondents from every type of community and kind of school felt that there was a growing need for pupils, administrators, parents, and teachers to know each other better and to open new channels of communication."[20]

It seems reasonable to assume that the sociopsychological nature of the students involved makes them susceptible to the social forces operating on them.

_____

[17]Kenniston, "You Have to Grow Up in Scarsdale," p. 122.

[18]Chesler, "Kerner Commission Report," p. 8.

[19]William Grant and Tom Delisle, "Detroit's Schools in a Time of Violence: The Fears, the Victims--and Some Answers," The Detroit Free Press, May 10, 1970, p. 1B.

[20]Trump and Hunt, "Nature and Extent of Student Activism," p. 157.

Menninger, in a recent analysis of student activism, states that:

. . . students, particularly high school students, have some other special characteristics. They have the natural struggle of the adolescent to come to grips with becoming an adult. They manifest a drive for growth and change, and a striving which is quite ambivalent, to be independent, to be in on the action, to "do their thing." What complicates matters is that they still at times very much want direction and security, somebody telling them what to do.[21]

Stinchcombe further proposes that rebellion is caused by the fact that students cannot perceive the relationship between school activity and their own career expectations. In terms of the present parlance on the subject, this condition refers to the "irrelevance" of the school curricula.

The social structure either provides or fails to provide a sensible and appealing career pattern to the student. Whenever present activity fails to make sense by being clearly connected to future increments of status, the student tends to become expressively alienated and rebellious. The student who grasps a clear connection between current activity and future status tends to regard school authority as legitimate, and to obey.[22]

In a recent survey, Chesler[23] found these additional causes mentioned by teachers and students who

---

[21]W. Walter Menninger, "Student Demonstrations and Confrontations," A Paper presented to the Convention of the Kansas Association of School Boards, January 14, 1969, p. 6.

[22]Stinchcombe, Rebellion, p. 9.

[23]Mark A. Chesler, "Participants' Views of Disrupted Secondary Schools: A Preliminary Research

have experienced activism: outside agitators, mass media, permissive upbringing of children, and student disrespect for teachers.

Ashbaugh suggests that the disturbances represent "acts of emulation as the format of activism moves from higher education to the high school level."[24]

The next area is concerned with the legal aspects of the student in today's society. Legislation, action of state boards of education, and case law are dramatically redefining the rights of students.

Legal Dimension

In recent years, and almost month by month, the courts have extended to students the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. In a number of instances, the students have been responsible for raising these legal questions through actions such as wearing armbands and "freedom buttons" in defiance of school rules.

As Benton[25] points out, until very recently the courts have applied the doctrine of in locos parentis

---

Report," prepared by the Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (Ann Arbor, Michigan: By the author, August, 1969), p. 3.

[24]Carl R. Ashbaugh, "High School Student Activism: Nine Tested Approaches for Coping with Conflict Situations," Nation's Schools, LXXXIII (Feb., 1969), 24.

[25]A, Edgar Benton, "Legal Trends Regarding Student Rights," Dissent and Disruption in the Schools: A Handbook for School Administrators (Dayton, Ohio: Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., 1969), p. 5.

and the theory of contract in deciding the rights of
pupils and the responsibility of school personnel. In
applying these doctrines, theories, standards, and tests
in the past, the courts generally decided in favor of the
school personnel. For example, in locos parentis came
about as a protection for school personnel, primarily in
cases of corporal punishment. The theory of contract
deals with the promulgation of reasonable rules and regu-
lations for the management and operation of the school.
But as Benton reports, many of the "rules and regulations
in the public schools have little or no relationship to
valid education objectives and often reflect the particular
point of view, even the prejudice, of administrators and
individual boards of education."[26]

With the wane of the above doctrine and theory,
the standards of reasonableness and due process, along
with the tests of distraction and vagueness, are being
applied with rigor. Grinstead,[27] in a concise discussion
of the above-mentioned standards and tests, cites perti-
nent applications. Standards of reasonableness are
frequently applied to questions of administrative judg-
ment in the form of school rules and regulations.

---

[26]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[27]Kenneth Grinstead, "Some Legal Aspects of Stu-
dent Rights," élan (Ypsilanti, Michigan: Eastern Michi-
gan University, College of Education, Fall, 1969),
pp. 3-9.

Commenting on the distraction test, Grinstead states "that the court is advocating a case-by-case approach to the test of distraction, now requiring actual evidence, rather than a prediction, of a disruption of discipline in each particular instance."[28] Vagueness tests are generally applied to school rules and regulations, while standards of due process generally focus on safeguards and the student's right of appeal in cases involving suspension and expulsion.

In a recent review of the literature on civil liberties of public school students, Schwartz[29] cites numerous areas affected by court rulings. The following is a brief summary of those areas and the related concerns.

Questions of freedom of speech have been concerned with armbands, freedom buttons, dress, and grooming. These forms of expression have been limited if it can be shown that they result in "material and substantial interference" with the school program. However, administrators still exercise fairly broad discretion in this area.

Freedom of the press in school affairs has generally focused on censorship of articles in school

---

[28]Ibid., p. 5.

[29]S. E. Schwartz, "The Civil Liberties of the American Public School Student" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1968), pp. 74-126.

newspapers and the printing and distribution of "under-
ground" papers.[30]

Freedom of assembly has most frequently been
applied to secret high school societies, fraternities,
and sororities. The survey conducted by Schwartz showed
that assemblies to hear various expressions of political
opinion are frequently not allowed.

Although there exists little case law on the
right to petition, a student appears to have this right.

Search and seizure is receiving more attention,
particularly with the increased use of drugs and nar-
cotics. Again the courts seem to be moving on a case-
by-case basis, but principals cannot arbitrarily open a
student's locker without potentially violating the rights
of the student.

The questions of "cruel and unusual punishment"
and "privacy" have not received much attention by the
courts' however, they represent sensitive areas.

Information on students generally contained in
school records has received attention at the college
level, in regard to a student's draft status. At the
secondary level, state statutes regulate the release of

---

[30]For a compilation of excerpts from high school
newspapers see Diane Divoky, ed., How Old Will You Be in
1984? (New York: Avon Books, 1969), pp. 9-350.

psychological test data by requiring parental permission.

An extension of safeguards in the future may include

parental and/or student review of the school's cumulative

records.

Due process, as it relates to suspension and

expulsion of students, is certainly one of the more

significant safeguards of the rights of students. Assum-

ing that a given discipline code meets standards and

tests of reasonableness, equal treatment and protection,

clarity and specificity, the code should also provide

for procedures to guarantee the student an opportunity

for appeal.[31] However even going beyond due process,

the Michigan State Board of Education resolved that "Oak

Park School District shall provide adequate educational

services in a school setting or in some reasonable altern-

ative manner to students recently suspended by the Oak Park

Board of Education following a school disturbance. . . ."[32]

[31]For two excellent publications on the matter
see: The Michigan Civil Rights Commission's "Guidelines
for Insuring Equal Treatment, Equal Protection for Stu-
dents; Guidelines for Preventing, Resolving Inter-group
Tension in Michigan Public Schools" (Lansing: Michigan
Civil Rights Commission, 1969), pp. 1-7. Also "Grievance
Procedures in the Secondary Schools: Policy Statement
by the Metropolitan Detroit Branch of the American Civil
Liberties Union of Michigan" (Detroit: Metropolitan
Detroit Branch, American Civil Liberties Union of Michi-
gan, 1969), pp. 1-10.

[32]"State Board Acts in Oak Park Suspension,"
The Educational Report, 6 (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan
Department of Education, June 15, 1970), p. 77.

Commenting on school rules, Cohodes states that "they may be good rules, but for the wrong generation."[33] After reviewing the literature on the rights of students, Cohodes' statement appears to approach the truth of the matter.

Governor Milliken, in creating the Special Commission on the Age of Majority, states that "I believe society must respond by providing greater rights for young people, but rights coupled with greater responsibility."[34]

It appears that student activism and students' legal rights are inextricably interwoven. It is not always clear, however, in what way and to what extent they are.

Political Dimension

Politics, beyond sheer partisan considerations, influences student activism. Perhaps the political dimension has been more essential to activism at the college and university level and more a part of "White" activism in high schools, but nevertheless, political concerns permeate student activism generally. Basically these

---

[33]Aaron Cohodes, "Colleges Give High Schools a Cram Course in Dissent," Nation's Schools, LXXXIII (May, 1969), 34.

[34]Jeff Sheler, "Rights, Obligations of Young Focus of Commission's Study," Michigan State News, August 20, 1970, p. 1.

concerns have focused on the cessation of the Viet Nam

War, abolition of the military draft, and reduction of

the voting age.

For purposes of this study, the influence of

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) holds the greatest

significance, not because SDS has been particularly

successful, but because the other political "causes"

have been even less so.

The Committee on Internal Security reports that:

> The high schools in the United States are
> clearly targeted by the radical left, and par-
> ticularly SDS, for "activism." High schools are
> recognized as the recruiting grounds for future
> college radical activists. In the examples
> brought to the attention of the committee, it
> was indicated that, in terms of recruiting new
> members among high school age youth, SDS so far
> has been unsuccessful. But in its attempts at
> temporary disruption of classroom and school
> year activity, SDS has been most successful.
> For this reason, educators must be alert to the
> potential of SDS in fomenting trouble.[35]

The Trump and Hunt survey, cited earlier, found

SDS activity in only 5 per cent of the incidents involv-

ing activism.

Technological Dimension

Keniston analyzes succinctly the specific dissatis-

faction which students express about technology:

---

[35]U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Internal
Security, Report, SDS Plans for America's High Schools,
91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969, p. 11.

> Indeed, today's student rebels are rarely
> opposed to technology per se. On the contrary,
> they take the high technology for granted, and
> concern themselves with it very little. What
> they are opposed to is, in essence, the worship
> of Technology, the tendency to treat people as
> "in-puts" or "out-puts" of a technological sys-
> tem, the subordination of human needs to tech-
> nological programs.[36]

Associated with technological concerns, students,

particularly at the college level, have protested in

favor of environmental quality and pollution controls.

Economic Dimension

Some would claim that the "cause" of activism lies

in the student's opposition to (a) the capitalistic sys-

tem, and (b) the resultant unequal distribution of wealth.

Keniston[37] states that the Marxist doctrine may

have some applicability to such objectives as "ending of

economic exploitation, the achievement of social justice,

the abolition of racial discrimination, and the develop-

ment of political participation," but the Marxist doctrine

does not provide a suitable frame of reference for view-

ing the postindustrial period.

Nevertheless, it appears that some students per-

ceive economic factors to be basic to societal ills, and

are willing to be actively involved in the eradication of

those ills.

---

[36]Keniston, "You Have to Grow Up in Scarsdale,"
p. 122.

[37]Ibid., p. 130.

Educational Dimension

The educational "causes" seem to lie in the following areas: (a) "irrelevancy" of the curriculum and the quality of instruction, (b) alienation and paternalism from an organizational perspective, and (c) administrative and organizational inflexibility.

The literature is replete with testimony concerning the "irrelevancy" of the curriculum. As cited earlier, Trump and Hunt found that 45 per cent of the respondents indicated the quality of education and instruction as a "cause" of student activism.

The following discussion is a review of research reported in 1967, which seems to tie together the areas of instruction quality, alienation, and paternalism.

Rhea[38] focused on the above areas of concern through questionnaires and interviews in two "leading" Boston high schools--one public and one Catholic. The students generally conceded that the curriculum was "irrelevant." This fact has led some social psychologists to the conclusion that the "irrelevant" curriculum caused the students to become alienated from the school program. Rhea, however, found that even though the curriculum may be "irrelevant," the student still recognizes

_____

[38]Buford Rhea, "Institutional Paternalism in High School," draft of a paper to be presented at the 1967 meeting of the American Sociological Association (Institute for Community Studies), pp. 1-14.

that he must have the "paper credentials" for either college or employment. Thus, for the student, schooling takes on an instrumental quality--it is a means to an end. Furthermore, the student constructs what Rhea terms the "myth of institutional paternalism" as a way of handling the two conflicting realities, namely, the irrelevant curriculum but the need for "paper credentials." This myth of institutional paternalism relates to the way in which the student views the role of the teacher. The research showed that the students saw the teachers as both "competent and benevolent, hence paternalistic." This view helped mediate the alienation for the student.

Rhea concluded that perhaps alienation is better than acceptance of this instrumental definition of schooling and the paternalism of the institution.

The following questions need to be asked: Would alienation have been found if the study had been conducted in inner-city high schools? What responses might one find today? Would it be alienation followed by activism rather than acquiescence to paternalism?

Since 1967, when the Rhea study was reported, students even from "leading" high schools have begun to re-evaluate the role of the teacher. That re-evaluation has led students to the conclusion that teachers can and should be performing differently.

Finally, some of the "causes" of student activism seem to center on administrative behavior.

It has been suggested that racist attitudes of administrators "cause" student activism. This is generally taken to mean that the administrator is insensitive to the educational needs and aspirations of Black students.

Students have further charged that administrators are unaware that society is rapidly changing. Some principals attend to a proprietary function in the administration of the educational program. Kruger[39] has suggested that "vested interests" are defended by school personnel, thus increasing the organization's resistance to change.

Chesler points out the importance of conflicting interests.

> One of the things that is clear is that youngsters and teachers are in some places caught into intolerable situations where they have mutually conflicting interests and responsibilities at stake. The human waste and tragedy is not just that they're in that bind; the greater tragedy is that their history together has so divided them that they can no longer rationally explain and adapt their positions to one another.[40]

---

[39]Daniel H. Kruger, "The School System and the System of Change," School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University (East Lansing: By the author, n.d.), p. 19. (Mimeographed.)

[40]Chesler, "The Kerner Commission Report," p. 24.

The next section is concerned with the issues and demands which represent the objectives of the activist students.

Issues and Demands

Issues, as defined in this study, mean the general areas of concern from which specific demands often arise. The very nature of an issue implies the presence of at least two points of view. Therefore, in stating the following issues, every attempt will be made to state them in as objective a manner as possible.

Earlier in this section, the author discussed theories of "Historical Irrelevance" and "Oedipal Rebellion" as explanations of student activism. If, in fact, these are causes, there are no apparent ways of translating them into an issue with any assurance of being able to solve them. Therefore, it seems appropriate to move to those "causes" which can be translated into issues. Of course this translation assumes that there is some agreement on the "causes."

Issues

1. Whether school personnel and students can re-structure the school to play an active role in re-shaping society.

2. Whether school personnel and students can create a school setting which reflects the pluralistic values of the society.

3. Whether school personnel and students can modify the deleterious effects of "failure" as a psychological deterrent to learning.

4. Whether school personnel and students can modify the deleterious effects of "success" as an emphasis which causes a focus on the extrinsic values of education. For example, "education to get a diploma or to get into college."

5. Whether school personnel and students can share the fundamental decision-making processes of the school.

6. Whether school personnel and students can restructure the school organization to facilitate "intergenerational" communication.

7. Whether school personnel and students can devise experiences to facilitate cross-racial understanding and acceptance.

8. Whether school personnel and students can devise experiences to facilitate adolescent self-understanding.

9. Whether school personnel and students can develop an understanding of the influence of mass media.

10. Whether school personnel and students can redefine the legal relationship between themselves in terms of freedom of speech, press, and assembly; search and seizure, student records, rules and regulations involving discipline and dress codes; and procedures of due process.

11. Whether school personnel and students can explore and work actively on questions dealing with racial discrimination, the future of capitalism, social injustice, technological development, and other major societal problems.

12. Whether school personnel and students can work effectively on curriculum revision and the quality of instruction.

13. Whether school personnel and students can work effectively to insure personnel and curriculum representation of various ethnic groups.

14. Whether school personnel and students can
    develop an effective student government with
    responsibility and commensurate authority.

Based on a recent Purdue University Survey,[41] it

appears that high school students are indeed eager to

focus their attention on issues such as these.

Demands

No attempt will be made to translate these issues

into specific demands, since any issue is redefined in

many different ways by the circumstances which surround

it.

The next section will deal briefly with the rela-

tionship between violence and activism.

Violence and Activism

While it is clear that violence and activism are

not frequently associated, there appears to be an increase

in violence in the schools.

The result of a preliminary survey of 110 school

districts, conducted by the staff of Senator Dodd's

Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, reports the

following comparative data:

---

[41]Measurement and Research Center, People Prob-
lems: Population, Pollution, Prejudice, Poverty, Peace
(Lafayette, Indiana: Measurement and Research Center,
June, 1970), pp. 2-19.

Crimes and Acts of Violence in Schools[42]	Number of Incidents 1964	1968
Homicide	15	26
Robbery	396	1,508
Weapon Offenses	419	1,089
Narcotic Violations	73	854
Assaults by Students on Teachers	253	1,801
Assaults on Students by Other Students	1,601	4,267

A survey of violence in the Detroit Public Schools and in several Detroit suburban schools suggests that data on violence in the schools need to be viewed with caution. The Detroit Free Press Survey[43] found that data collected by the police and school officials differed widely, and that some school officials failed to report incidents of violence. In the House Subcommittee Survey cited earlier, 149 instances of group violence or riot were reported in the 15,068 responses.

Race and Activism

White Student Activism

The explanations, causes, issues, and strategies all differ to some degree when comparing White and Black student activism. White activism is generally found in the upper-middle-class high schools.

---

[42]"Violence Soars in Nation's Schools," Education U.S.A. (January 19, 1970), 109.

[43]Grant and DeLisle, "Detroit's Schools," p. 1B.

Educators agree the active dissenters con-
stitute only a minority of affluent students,
and these experts say the reasons for the grow-
ing restiveness are complex. Some youngsters,
observers say, are undoubtedly being influenced
by campus and ghetto militancy.[44]

Pinkerton characterizes the issues as generally "community affairs, the war, censorship of school paper, and the quality of their high school education."[45] Of these issues, the school newspaper receives most of the attention. Pinkerton also states that White upper-middle-class protest is generally not violent and frequently receives support of parents and teachers.[46]

Two Shaker Heights students who are active in Cleveland's Movement for a Democratic Society see their role this way: "Students are not oppressed at Shaker--but they must not let themselves get totally involved with simply school.[47]

Black Student Activism

According to Kukla, "Black student revolution-aries can be placed along a continuum from separatists

---

[44]Stewart Pinkerton, "High School Students in Some Rich Towns Begin to Speak Out," Wall Street Journal, Dec. 26, 1969, p. 1.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]"High School Activists Tell What They Want," Nation's Schools, LXXXII (December, 1968), 30.

to Black Power advocates to integrationists."[48] It is

with the Black Power block that Kukla is concerned. He

characterizes the leaders of this brand of Black acti-

vists as middle class, affluent, bright. Their objectives

are those of independence from a White dominated economic,

political, and educational structure. This independence

is strongly supported by a desire for Black pride and

self-respect. Finally, the Black leadership is concerned

with assisting lower socio-economic Blacks who are still

locked into poor housing and "dead end" jobs.

Similarities in White and
Black Student Activism

Despite the dissimilarities in some of the means

and ends of White and Black student activism, Kukla indi-

cates that there are two striking similarities. First,

both groups are seeking personal identity.

> White student rebels often experience dissatis-
> faction by first immersing themselves in the
> established system and eventually finding that
> course of action wanting. Black students often
> experience disillusionment by expecting that
> money and education will gain them respect in
> white society.[49]

Second, both groups are searching for ways to improve

society.

---

[48]David A. Kukla, "Protest in Black and White:
Student Radicals in High Schools," National Association
of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, LIV (January,
1970), 75.

[49]Ibid., p. 78.

The Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at
Brandeis University reports that

> black protest--even black student protest--is
> more advanced that white student protest in that
> the black protest is instrumental, with definite,
> localized goals, whereas white protest has been
> to date mostly expressive. Only recently has
> white protest begun to program targets.[50]

Strategies of Activist Students

Student activism, as noted earlier, is collective
behavior which takes a variety of forms. A review of
the literature suggests that activism can be understood,
in part, separate from the issues and demands involved.
While it may be granted that demands give activism its
distinctive flavor and coloring, the empirical manifesta-
tions of activism, such as strikes, boycotts, and so
forth, all share common elements regardless of the demands.
There is a degree of similarity between a longshoremen's
strike, a teachers' strike, and a students' strike. It
is also true that one does not conduct a strike or boy-
cott as an end in itself; they are means to an end.
Activism is _only sometimes_ racial, sometimes violent, but
always a form of overt conflict.

> While many observers seem to attach little
> importance to the tactics (strategies) of stu-
> dent activists . . . the question of methods

---

[50]Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence,
Confrontation (Walthem, Mass.: Brandeis University,
April, 1970), p. 14.

merits careful consideration, since the ultimate
contribution of student activism in the schools
may depend as much on the means used by the
activists as on the ends which they seek.[51]

The Urban Research Center of Chicago reports that

"almost always, the triggering incident is minor and

innocuous in itself. Disciplinary actions against stu-

dents are also frequently elevated to "causes."[52]

The Student Unrest Survey shows that

. . . students tended to resort to violence
(arson, building takeover, fights, and destruc-
tion of property) after it was determined that
the administration would not or could not be
moved to respond through democratic processes
such as petitions, rallies, general protests,
sit-ins, and selective boycotts.[53]

Consistent with the findings of the Justice De-

partment, Menninger maintains that

thus extreme responses [of students] are often
provoked--either of repression, to put the lid
firmly on any future attempts to demonstrate
and "show 'em we won't put up with nonsense";
or the opposite response of giving in, feeling
guilty about some mistake to the degree that
an excessive permissiveness is the result.[54]

---

[51]"Reflections on Youth Movements," cited in
"Militant Student Activism in the High Schools: Analysis
and Recommendations," by Richard A. Gorton, Phi Delta
Kappan, LI (June, 1970), 545.

[52]"Student Activism Steers Away from SDS and
Toward Educational Reform," Nation's Schools, LXXXIV
(July, 1969), 42.

[53]U.S. Justice Department, "Report on Student
Unrest Survey," p. 3.

[54]Menninger, "Student Demonstrations," p. 11.

Administrative Responses to
Activist Strategies

Administrative responses to student activism cover a wide range, and are to a degree dictated by the strategies employed by the students. The literature contains a collection of proposed and tested plans for responding to activism.

Appendix C contains a tabulation of plans for dealing with potential student disorder. The sample of thirty-two plans came from 500 such plans developed by local school districts in New Jersey.

Ashbaugh reports that the following responses have been used in instances of unrest, presumably with some success:

1. Disseminate factual information on the unrest situation.
2. Establish a rumor control center.
3. Secure a legal injunction against outsiders if other methods for keeping non-students out fail.
4. Inform students of the legal ramafications of their absence from classes in cases of walk-outs and boycotts.
5. Adopt board of education resolution indicating a willingness to discuss demands with students.
6. Secure a third party mediator.
7. Require students to write out demands.
8. Hear all viewpoints.
9. Do not respond too quickly if time is available for delay.[55]

---

[55]Carl R. Ashbaugh, "High School Student Activism: Nine Tested Approaches for Coping with Conflict Situations," Nation's Schools, LXXXIII (February, 1969), 94-96.

Bargaining, Negotiation, and Mediation
as Means for Resolving Demands

Demands have been defined as specific issues which are strongly expressed by student activists. The demands are generally reflections of larger issues.

Chesler[56] suggests that bargaining is an approach to activist conflict even though both parties, the administration and students, are not yet adept at dealing with one another in this context. It is recognized that administrators feel that they are politically in an untenable position if it becomes known that they are bargaining with students.

Anrig argues, however, that:

> Some observers believe student disputes should be mediated on the model of labor-management bargaining. We found little support for this concept by those actually experiencing disorders. Many of the disorders are viewed by the students involved as dealing with "gut" issues such as justice and equity in which there can be no compromise. Many administrators feel that disorders threaten the very existence of their institutions and the laws under which they operate. This creates a "non-negotiable" barrier on both sides, which is further complicated by the formlessness of student protest and lack of continuous spokesmen. In short, mediation requires bargaining, and bargaining assumes there are two identifiable sides that are willing to deal with each other on an equal basis. Very few, if any, student disorders present this kind of situation.[57]

---

[56]Chesler, "The Kerner Commission Report," p. 13.

[57]Gregory R. Anrig, "Trouble in the High Schools," American Education, V (October, 1969), 3.

Anrig, however, points to the value of a new type of organization which can provide advisory assistance in conflict resolution, such as the Center for Dispute Settlement funded by the Ford Foundation. This organization is a branch of the American Arbitration Association.

Dr. Daniel H. Kruger of Michigan State University's Department of Industrial Relations has successfully acted as a third-party mediator in a junior high school dispute involving initial conflict between a student and teacher. Before the conflict was resolved, the dispute had "spilled over" into the community and briefly polarized groups into opposing sides.

Approaches to the Basic Problems

As noted earlier in reference to administrative responses to student demands, some of the following approaches have been undertaken while others are only proposed approaches. The solutions can be categorized as follows: new roles for students, curricular changes, pre- and in-service education for teachers and administrators, and miscellaneous proposals.

New Roles for Students

It has been proposed that the school organization be restructured to "institutionalize student

participation."[58]   An opinion poll conducted by Nation's

Schools,[59] based on a "five per cent proportional sampling

of 14,000 school administrators in fifty states," yielded

the following results:

1. Should students have a greater voice in the decision-making machinery of the school, outside of social and extra-curricular activities?

   51% Yes   49% No

2. If yes, in what way?

   70% as advisors
   24% as voting members of a committee
    6% other

3. Where should students have more say?

   31% general rules and policies
   28% student discipline
   18% curriculum decisions
   14% conduct of classes
    5% selection and evaluation of teachers
    4% determination of grades

4. What is your basic attitude toward student unrest?

   74% generally agree with some complaints and methods
   19% do not agree with complaints or methods
    6% generally agree with complaints, but not methods
    1% generally agree with complaints and methods

---

[58]Ashbaugh, "High School Student Activism," p. 9.

[59]"Schoolmen Split over Student Involvement," Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (September, 1969), 46.

5. Has your attitude toward student protests changed in the past year?

    44% less sympathetic
    39% stayed the same
    17% more sympathetic

Cubberly High School in Palo Alto, California, in response to student demands, is experimenting with student evaluation of teachers.[60]

Paskal, Demak, and McClendon[61] suggest that students can play the following roles: teacher and clerical aides; counselors of students under supervision; supervisors of student study centers and lounges; advisors to the faculty, principal, and board of education; and cross-age tutors.

The Student Unrest Survey[62] concluded with a recommendation that students form a school-community human relations committee to facilitate interracial understanding.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence recommended the development of voluntary nonmilitary service to the community by students.

---

[60]"Student Involvement: Channeling Activism in Accomplishment," Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (September, 1969), 39-50.

[61]Dolores Paskal, Leonard S. Demak, and Edwin J. McClendon, "New Roles and Relationships for Students in School and Community Settings," Wayne County Intermediate School District, Detroit, Michigan (Feb., 1969), pp. 3-13.

[62]U.S. Justice Department, "Report on Student Unrest Survey," p. 6.

Voluntary public service could contribute to reduction of the large backlog of unmet social needs, and thus could be an important step toward a more humane reordering of national priorities. And youth service could signify to the young that our nation is committed to the achievement of social justice, as well as to military security.[63]

Curricular Changes

The survey conducted by Nation's Schools[64] suggested the following types of curricular responses be made to resolve the question of "irrelevancy." The responses include: work-study programs; optional attendance enrichment programs in subjects including the "New Left," jazz appreciation, the draft, legalized abortion, and racism; community tutorial projects; and freedom schools.

Scarsdale has even offered a course in guerrilla warfare.

This is the second year the course in guerrilla warfare has been offered in Scarsdale. Last year the class mapped a strategy for taking over the village of Scarsdale. This year they took to the woods and staged a mock guerrilla war.[65]

---

[63]"To Establish Justice, to Insure Domestic Tranquility: Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence" (New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp., 1969), p. 231.

[64]"Student Involvement," pp. 40-46.

[65]"Scarsdale's Guerrilla Warfare," Phi Delta Kappan, LI (October, 1969), 111.

Black studies programs continue to receive consideration as a curricular change designed to reflect the awareness of the history and contributions of Black people. Whether or not Black studies should or should not be integrated into existing social studies programs is still a moot point.[66]

Hickerson[67] suggests that changes be made in the social sciences to render it "raceless and casteless," to eliminate IQ testing "as a means of determining innate intelligence," and to examine grouping of students by supposed ability.

Paskal, et al.[68] recommend the development of courses for high school students on how educational systems operate, development of self-directed study programs, and the use of simulation techniques and games.

Pre- and In-Service Education for Teachers and Administrators

Hickerson suggests the following action in regard to teachers:

> 1. Deny entry into the teaching profession to all those who are not reasonably free of race-minded, social, or economic caste-inspired intolerance.

---

[66] Ibid., p. 112.

[67] Hickerson, Education for Alienation, pp. 95-96.

[68] Paskal, et al., "New Roles and Relationships for Students," pp. 3-13.

2. Weed out of the teaching profession
those already in it whose attitudes toward
children are warped because of race or class
bias.[69]

Trusty recommends since conflict is an integral
part of the school organization that administrators need
to develop skills in conflict resolution.

Capitulation, cooptation, negotiation, win-
lose are strategies that, when understood in
terms of Lewin's force field theory, can help
an administrator give leadership from within
a conflict situation. To remain unskilled is
indeed to invite extinction.[70]

Miscellaneous Proposals

Nation's Schools[71] reports the use of an "ombuds-
man" as a means by which a third party acceptable to both
administrators and students can intercede on behalf of
the students.

Hickerson[72] stresses the importance of continued
progress in the desegregation of all schools as a solu-
tion to cross-racial understanding.

The Student Unrest Survey recommends:

1. Employment of paraprofessionals from minor-
its groups

---

[69]Hickerson, Education for Alienation, pp. 94-95.

[70]Francis M. Trusty, "Educational Administration
and Social Reform," Paper presented to the Knox County
School Administrators (Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September,
12, 1968), p. 4.

[71]Ashbaugh, "High School Student Activism,"
p. 96.

[72]Hickerson, Education for Alienation, pp. 97-98.

2. Encouragement of decentralization of large
    urban school districts
3. Experimentation with community control of
    schools
4. Encouragement of business to help train
    students.[73]

The Report on the Causes and Prevention of Vio-

lence recommends, in part, (1) reduction of the voting

age to eighteen years, and (2) reform of the draft sys-

tem.[74]

"Legitimacy" and Implementation of Demands

A crucial question is the extent to which boards

of education and administrators view as "legitimate" the

demands of students. The Student Unrest Survey notes

that only "a few [emphasis added] teachers and adminis-

trators felt that most demands made by students were

legitimate . . . [hence the] failure on the part of the

school to respond adequately to students and community

needs."[75]

It is assumed that "legitimacy" must be imputed

to student demands before they are implemented. If, as

reported, only a few teachers and administrators feel

that the demands are legitimate, then it follows that one

---

[73]U.S. Justice Department, "Student Unrest Sur-
vey," p. 7.

[74]National Commission on the Causes and Preven-
tion of Violence, "To Establish Justice," p. 280.

[75]U.S. Justice Department, "Student Unrest Sur-
vey," p. 3.

would expect few to be implemented. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that "only one-fourth of the students' demands are being met. The high school students have as their greatest support the parents; the least help comes from school boards."[76]

Constructive Student Activism

Bernard F. Haake, Assistant Commissioner for Instructional Services for the New York State Department of Education, states that:

> . . . education leaders must take the initiative in convincing their profession and their community that student activism is potentially a constructive force compatible with basic democratic principles.[77]

Perhaps the key word above is "potentially," since many principals have been directly involved in the negative aspects of "direct action or confrontation."

Scott Thomson, Superintendent of the Evanston Township High School District in Illinois, recognizes that some students are thoroughly and irreversible "anti-establishment," but he also maintains that there is a majority who will work within the structure of the school

---

[76]Ibid.

[77]"Recommendation of Student Activism in High Schools," School and Society, LXLVII (October, 1969), 342.

if the principal will "set wide limits, making sure that the administration and the faculty retain power."[78]

Superintendent Thomson, who has dealt directly with activist students, makes the following observation:

> The activists are very good verbally, but when it comes down to continuity and responsibility, they're not much for work.[79]

Joseph Manch, Superintendent of the Buffalo Public Schools, states that one can feel positively about activism once one recognizes that "students will be inventive, responsible members of the school community . . . [if one draws the youngsters] into the mainstream of education."[80]

Harold Taylor, former President of Sarah Lawrence College, suggests that activism in the high schools is "healthy."

> The movement into the high schools of questioning and of political and social activity, a basic concern for issues, is healthy in that we have never been able to generate a serious set of interests in what is happening in the society as a whole.[81]

Summary

The literature only recently has begun to reflect the development of student activism in American secondary

[78]"Unrest: An Opportunity for Change?" Nation's Schools, LXXXIII (March, 1969), 64.

[79]Ibid.   [80]Ibid., p. 65.

[81]"Student Activism Steers Away from SDS and Toward Educational Reform," Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (July, 1969), 40.

schools. Consequently, there is a dearth of substantive research studies on the topic. There are, however, five major surveys on activism, all of which have been reviewed above.

The surveys reflect a wide incidence of activism. Specifically, reported activism ranged from 18 to 85 per cent. The most accurate estimate is probably contained in the Trump and Hunt Survey, where 56 per cent of the junior high schools sampled and 59 per cent of the senior high schools reported some form of activism.

The "causes" of activism fall within the following categories: historical, social psychological, legal, political, technological, economic, and educational. These underlying dimensions and "causes" are reflected in the broad issues of whether or not school personnel and students are or will be able to: (1) assist in the reshaping of society; (2) permit the schools to reflect the pluralistic values of society; (3) reduce the deleterious effects of the school's "failure" motif; (4) modify the over-emphasis on "success" as it relates to the instrumental quality of schools; (5) create avenues for wider participation of students in educational decision-making; (6) provide for intergenerational communication; (7) facilitate cross-racial understanding; (8) provide avenues for greater adolescent self-understanding; (9) provide instruction on the influences

of mass media; (1) redefine the legal relationship between students and the school organization; (11) explore and work actively on the elimination of racial discrimination, social injustice, and other major societal problems; (12) cooperatively revise the curriculum and assist in the improvement of instruction; (13) secure broader representation of minority groups in the school's staff and program; and (14) develop an effective student government.

Violence and student activism are not frequently found together; however, when individual violence occurs activism may develop.

There are both similarities and differences in student activism when viewed from a racial perspective. According to one author, both Black and White students are seeking personal identity. The strategies employed by students and the administrative responses cover a wide range of collective behavior.

Presently, there is disagreement concerning whether or not bargaining between school personnel and students is both an appropriate and effective method of meeting student demands. Third-party mediation has also been suggested as a possible avenue.

Solutions to the "causes" of activism generally fall within the categories of new roles for students, curricular changes, pre- and in-service education for

teachers and administrators, and a host of miscellaneous proposals.

While the negative aspects of activism are frequently publicized, there is feeling on the part of some school personnel that activism is generally a "healthy" sign for American public secondary education.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter deals with selection of the sample,
development of the interview schedule, and interview
procedures.

The study is descriptive and uses the interview
technique as the means for providing a case study of a
school district which has undergone repeated instances
of student activism.

Selection of the Sample

The initial sample for this study consisted of
thirty Michigan public school districts which had dis-
turbances at the secondary level during the 1969-70
school year. A list of the districts can be found in
Appendix D.

The districts were identified at the request of
the author by the State Department of Education's Office
of Equal Educational Opportunity (OEEO). This office is
funded under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and
is concerned with (1) providing advisory assistance to
local school districts attempting to desegregate its

schools racially, and (2) providing advisory assistance in resolving school disturbances.

After securing the list of districts from the OEEO, the following additional information on each district was obtained:

1. The perceived issues as noted by the educational consultants of the OEEO.
2. The geographical location of the districts.
3. The percentage of Black students in the public schools based on the 1968-69 Racial Census.
4. The total number of students in the public schools based on 1968-69 data.
5. The State Equalized Valuation (SEV) per resident membership based on 1968-69 data.

The next step was to establish the criteria to delimit the sample.

District Selection Criteria

Two general categories of criteria, the initial and the secondary, were used in the selection of the sample.

The initial criteria consisted of (1) the location of all districts relative to the Detroit Metropolitan Area, (2) whether or not the perceived issues were primarily racial in nature, (3) the percentage of Black students in the school district, (4) the perceived degree of activism, and (5) any extraneous factors which might tend to bias the sample. As each of the above criteria was applied in succession to each district, the district was either retained for further testing against the

remaining criteria or was eliminated from future con-
sideration. While some districts could have been re-
jected by their failure to meet several criteria, only
their first failure is reported.

The secondary criteria were applied to those
districts as a group which successfully met the require-
ments of the above initial five criteria. The secondary
criteria consisted of (1) total public school pupil popu-
lation (2) SEV per resident membership, and (3) geo-
graphical location.

The following is a discussion of the successive
application of each of the initial criteria.

Initial criterion number one: Geographical
proximity to the Detroit Metropolitan Area.--It was
decided to eliminate all districts in the Detroit Metro-
politan Area. At least two reasons support this action.
First, the Detroit Public Schools are the focus of
intense social, political, and educational problems char-
acterized by (1) decentralization and integration moves
which culminated in the recall of four board of educa-
tion members, (2) financial hardship, (3) movement of
Whites to the suburbs, and (4) student unrest. Second,
the above problems and the sheer size of the district,
approximately 294,000 students, exert a strong "spill
over" effect on the neighboring districts. Therefore,
from a research standpoint, the above problems potentially

"contaminated" the study of student activism both in Detroit and surrounding schools.

The application of this single criterion eliminated the following school districts.

1. Detroit
2. East Detroit
3. Ecorse
4. Ferndale
5. Highland Park
6. Lincoln Park
7. Oak Park
8. River Rouge
9. Roseville
10. Royal Oak

Initial criterion number two: Racial issues and student activism.--The second initial criterion was concerned with racial issues. It was decided to reject those districts where student activism did not involve in part racial issues as perceived by the OEEO. Instances of activism in predominately White districts were few. Second, some of the districts had been previously rejected above. The districts of Southfield, Livonia, Waterford, and Waverly were rejected under this criterion.

Initial criterion number three: Percentage of Black students.--The third initial criterion dealt with the percentage of Black students in the public schools. It was decided to eliminate those districts with a student racial census below the state average of 13.3 per cent, which is approximately that of the United States. The application of the above criterion resulted in the rejection of the districts of Ann Arbor, Bay City, Carrollton, Covert, Lansing, and Monroe.

Initial criterion number four: Degree of activ-
ism.--The fourth initial criterion was concerned with the
degree of activism. It was decided to reject those dis-
tricts which did not represent, in the judgment of the
OEEO, a significant degree of activism. Without a signifi-
cant degree of activism, the issues could not adequately
be measured. The application of this criterion resulted
in the rejection of the Pontiac and Jackson School Dis-
tricts.

Initial criterion number five: Special consider-
ation.--The fifth initial criterion dealt with a special
consideration which might tend to bias the sample. The
investigator was employed by the Albion Public Schools
during the period of unrest. As a result of his involve-
ment, it was decided to eliminate this district.

After the application of the above five criteria
to all districts, the secondary criteria were then
applied.

Secondary Criteria

The secondary criteria were: pupil population,
SEV, and geographical location. What was sought was a
fairly narrow range of pupil population and SEV, but a
geographical dispersion of districts.

The composite of the remaining districts were
as follows, in rank order of size and SEV.

Name	Pupil Pop.	Name	SEV
Buena Vista	3,742	Benton Harbor	$11,101
Battle Creek	11,475	Flint	$18,289
Benton Harbor	12,011	Saginaw	$18,350
Kalamazoo	19,094	Battle Creek	$18,478
Saginaw	23,235	Grand Rapids	$20,191
Grand Rapids	35,632	Kalamazoo	$20,416
Flint	47,053	Buena Vista	$27,112

Using Lansing, Michigan, as the approximate geographical center of the lower one-half of the Lower Peninsula, the above districts were then plotted as follows:

Name	Geographical Location	Name	Geographical Location
Buena Vista	North East	Benton Harbor	South West
Flint	North East	Kalamazoo	South West
Saginaw	North East	Grand Rapids	North West
Battle Creek	South West		

Secondary criterion number one: Relative size.--
It has been established that the behavior of an organization is, in part, determined by its size. Thus, it may be assumed that the behavior of the student population is affected by the size of the school district. Based on these assumptions, therefore, Buena Vista, Grand Rapids, and Flint were rejected when viewed in relation

to the other districts in the universe. Buena Vista was rejected because it was significantly smaller, and Flint and Grand Rapids because they were significantly larger.

Secondary criterion number two: Relative SEV.--With the elimination of the above-named districts because of size, the remaining districts fell within a range of SEV per resident pupil of $11,101 to $20,416. This represented a sufficiently narrow range for comparison purposes.

Secondary criterion number three: Geographical location.--After being tested against each of the criteria, the following districts with their geographical dispersion remained:

Name	Geographical Location
Battle Creek	South West
Benton Harbor	South West
Kalamazoo	South West
Saginaw	North East

Contacts with Districts

The author visited each of the four districts and discussed the study either with the superintendent, his administrative assistant, or both. One district agreed immediately to permit the study to be conducted, two requested time for further consideration, and one was extremely hesitant.

Upon further examination, the district which immediately agreed to the study was found to have experienced activism to such a minimal degree that it did not appear to be appropriate for the study. A second district was "dropped" from the sample because of the reluctance to participate on the part of key central office administrators. One of the two remaining districts, after further study and consultation with the "new" building administrator, expressed reluctance to participate. This district was eliminated.

The remaining district agreed to study the proposal further and provided the author with the district's rather detailed policy and administrative rules and regulations on external research. This material was completed and returned to the district on October 5, 1970. On November 11, 1970, the district informed the author of its approval to conduct the study.

A review of the district's records, reports, and files was conducted on November 18, 20, and 25.

Development of the Interview Schedule

The following steps were taken in the development of the interview schedule:

1. The literature was reviewed.

2. The tentative instrument was reviewed with the Chairman of the Guidance Committee.

3. The Office of Research Consultation at Michigan State University was contacted regarding the instrument.

4. The instrument was refined in light of the school district's files, records, notes, and newspaper clippings regarding the two incidents under study.

5. The instrument was field tested on students in the district to determine their understanding of the questions.

6. Final modifications were made to incorporate changes reflecting the above considerations.

A copy of the interview schedule can be found in Appendix E.

Interview Procedures

Forty-two individual and two group interviews were conducted. The following number of individuals, by position, were interviewed:

1. Four 1969-70 board of education members

2. The superintendent of schools

3. Five central office administrators who witnessed the occurrences of activism under study

4. Four administrators in the buildings where the activism occurred

5. Twenty faculty members in the buildings where the activism occurred

6. Two groups of high school students totaling eight individuals from the high school under study.

7. Nine junior high school students from the junior high school under study.

All interviewees were apprised of the nature of the study, and assured of the anonymity of their responses.

All interviews were: (1) voluntary, (2) face-to-face when possible, (3) tape recorded with the consent of the interviewees, (4) scheduled for one to one and one-half hours in length when possible, and (5) scheduled for the convenience of the interviewees in regard to time and location.

The interviews were conducted by the author and two other doctoral candidates from Michigan State University, all of whom have been practicing public school administrators. One of the interviewers is Black and was employed to interview Black interviewees when possible. The rationale for this decision is supported by research findings contained in the literature.

Most interviews were conducted during and after school hours between December 8 and 11, 1970. Subsequent interviews were held when the above time was not convenient to the interviewees.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe: (1)
the community and its schools; (2) the chronology of events
from October, 1967, through April, 1970; (3) the activism
of May, 1970, at both the senior and junior high schools
under study; (4) the groups interviewed for this study;
and (5) the responses of the interviewees to the questions
contained in the schedule.

Description of the Community
and Its Schools

The National Municipal League and <u>Look</u> magazine
selected the city for honorable mention as an All-American
City in 1956, and as an All-American City in 1970. In
1970, the city contained an estimated 97,100 residents in
29,400 households. The community is located in the south-
west quadrant of Michigan's Lower Peninsula and is part
of a larger metropolitan area of approximately 192,100
persons.

The economic characteristics per household in
1970 were as follows:

Income	Per Cent of Households
$ 0 to $2,999	17.4
$ 3,000 to $4,999	10.5
$ 5,000 to $7,999	23.3
$ 8,000 to $9,999	16.8
$10,000 or over	33.0

Over 14,641 of the households had incomes of $8,000 or more. The economy is strongly supported by manufacturing and agriculture. The unemployment rate was generally below the national average.

The community is served by the following agencies: (1) one local daily newspaper; (2) one local television station and several radio stations; (3) two general hospitals; (4) two major road transportation routes, railway, bus, and airline service; (5) one university, two private colleges, and one community college with a combined enrollment of 25,900 students; and (6) numerous churches representing fifty-five denominations.

An investigation by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission in 1969 concerning race relations in employment, education, housing, and law enforcement yielded these findings:

Employment

1. Decline in the number of lower or unskilled positions.
2. Increased need for skilled and technical labor.
3. Insufficient effort to train minority workers for the higher level jobs.
4. Minority hiring restricted to lower job classifications.
5. Severe underemployment.
6. Discriminatory practices exist on the job.

Education

1. De facto segregated school district, reflect-
   ing the city's segregated housing pattern.
2. Potential for increased student tension be-
   cause of lack of fair disciplinary and school
   closing policies.
3. Severe shortage of minority teachers and
   administrators.
4. Overcrowding and lack of adequate school facil-
   ities on the north side, where most of the
   minority students attend school.

Housing

1. Pattern of racial segregation with minority
   families concentrated in areas of the city
   containing the highest concentration of
   deteriorating and dilapidated housing and
   most overcrowding.
2. Discrimination in rental accommodations.

Law Enforcement

1. Only six Black and no Spanish-surname police-
   men on the force.
2. Reservoir of discriminatory feelings sometimes
   translated into action by some members of the
   department.
3. Belief, on the part of many minority citizens,
   that law enforcement generally is discrimi-
   natory.

Education

School Racial-Ethnic Census: September 26, 1969

	American Indian	Oriental	Spanish Surname	White	Black	Total	% Black
Junior High	0	3	4	746	268	1,021	26.2
Senior High	2	3	21	1,608	402	2,036	19.7
District Total (only regular grades K-12)	23	67	127	15,239	2,702	18,158	14.9

Number and Kinds of School Buildings

Elementary School Buildings	29
Junior High School Buildings	5
Senior High School Buildings	2
Special School Buildings	1

1969 District Financial Factors

1. State equalized valuation (SEV): $412,285,280

2. Of the 527 school districts in the State of
    Michigan during the 1969-70 school year, the
    district under study was ranked according to
    the following factors:

Factor	Rank
(SEV) per resident pupil: $22,139.	69
Number of pupils (includes pro-rated portions of instructional time spent by private school pupils in the pupil school district): 18,954.	15
Local general fund revenues per pupil: $666.81.	30
Total instructional expenses: $696.39.	14
Average teacher's salary: $9,906.	107

3.

Allocated millage	9.0
Extra voted millage	19.0
Debt retirement millage	3.9
Total millage	31.9

Chronology of Events: October,
1967, through April, 1970

The following chronology is presented to provide

the reader with a background of events including student

activism faced by the district prior to May, 1970. A more

detailed account of student activism for the period Septem-

ber, 1967, through December, 1968, will be found in Appendix

F.

Date	Event
October, 1967	Bond issue for construction of a new senior high school building defeated.
November, 1967	School picketed by the Black Action Movement (BAM). Student fight at the high school. Blacks demand Black cheerleaders, Black history, and Black counselor.
December, 1967	100-150 White students walk out in reaction to school board's response to Black demands.
January, 1968	Black history course begins.
February, 1968	Board considers plans for two high schools.
March, 1968	Board revises school discipline policy.
May, 1968	Board requested to re-district the high schools.
June, 1968	Voters approve request for operating millage.
July, 1968	Police counselor program approved by the board of education.
August, 1968	Superintendent reports to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission regarding racial imbalance.
September, 1968	Citizens Committee undertakes a study of "Racial Imbalance." High School closed because of a disturbance centering around high school football coach. Black Action Movement members meet with school officials.
December, 1968	Board approves construction of a new high school building. Superintendent resigns. Recall of board members begins after attempts to balance the schools racially.

Date	Event
January, 1969	Deputy superintendent appointed acting superintendent.
April, 1969	Cancellation of assembly honoring Martin Luther King. Student unrest results in suspension of forty students.
May, 1969	Acting superintendent appointed superintendent.
June, 1969	School operating millage approved by the voters.
August, 1969	Black principal appointed at the high school.
September, 1969	Fact finder brought in to settle the teacher dispute. Board of education adopts resolution setting in motion the racial, social, and economic balance of the district. See Appendix G.
October, 1969	Student unrest (fighting) occurs at the high school.
April, 1970	Eight mill operating millage defeated. Students participate in "Earth Day" activities.

Student Activism: May, 1970

Monday, May 4, 1970

At 8:30 a.m. some Black students were "milling" in the corridors of the high school; they refused to go to class. Some broke windows, and several students were attacked. The superintendent was notified of the situation by the principal, and police were called to the building; they waited across the street.

The principal asked the Black students either to report to class or leave the building. The students seemed to be concerned about the dismissal of a Black teacher-aide. The principal explained to the students that the aide had been transferred, and clarified the reason for the transfer. The students, however, did not believe the explanation. According to the principal:

> When they came in that morning, they asked me if this young man [the teacher-aide] had been barred. I told them no. At the same time they came in to ask me the question, students were being attacked in the halls. I had a feeling that, somewhere, this had been organized over the weekend because the students knew pretty well what to do.

The students refused to leave the building and more windows were broken. Then police were called into the building primarily to "clear" the halls; most police activity was confined to the first floor. Four false fire alarms were turned in and the school received a bomb threat. Throughout the morning, twenty students and one teacher were physically assaulted; two of the assulted students were Black. Three students were taken to the hospital. Ten students were arrested off school property, and twenty-two were suspended. By 1:00 p.m., "calm" was reported at the high school.

At the junior high school under study, some disorder was reported outside the building at approximately 12:00 noon. The school personnel received a false fire alarm and some windows were broken.

Tuesday, May 5, 1970

At the high school, 656 students were reported absent, compared with an average daily absenteeism of 270 pupils. By 8:30 a.m., three students were suspended for distributing publications urging protest for the Kent State killings. Throughout the morning, students reported being harassed and assaulted; these incidents were reported to the police. Subsequent assaults and harassment were reported later in the day.

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

The students continued to be somewhat "up tight" about the Kent State killings and also the United States' invasion of Cambodia. Shortly after noon, 120 Black students walked to the administration building. Their behavior was above reproach. They met with the superintendent for approximately one-half hour, and raised the following concerns with him:

1. The students asked if the students who were suspended on Monday were going to be made an example of. The superintendent stated that the regular disciplinary procedures would be followed.

2. The students requested amnesty for the suspended students. The superintendent stated that the suspensions would be handled in the usual manner.

3. The students expressed the feeling that the newspaper coverage of the incident at the high school on Monday was unfair to Blacks. The superintendent offered to invite the editor of the newspaper to meet with the Black students.

4. The students claimed to have received insulting remarks and beatings from some policemen. The superintendent agreed to invite the police chief to a subsequent discussion of the matter.

5. The students questioned the reassignment of the teacher-aide. The superintendent indicated that the aide had been assigned full-time to another school.

6. The students requested certain curricular changes be made. The superintendent agreed to another meeting to discuss specific curricular changes which the Black students wanted.

Thursday, May 7, 1970

The high school was quiet in the morning. Shortly after noon, approximately 200 Black students arrived at the administration building. It is presumed that some non-students and also junior high school students were involved in this meeting. The students indicated that they wanted only "yes" or "no" answers. The following concerns were raised:

1. The students asked if there would be amnesty for students suspended on Monday. The superintendent said "no."

2. The students asked if there would be a public apology by the police for the "alleged" beatings and insults to the students. The police officer present indicated there would be an apology if the allegations could be proven.

3. The students asked if the newspaper would retract the story about Monday's incident. The editor asked for the names of Black youths who might be contacted to report on the incident as they saw it.

4. The students indicated the superintendent had told them, the day before, that he knew of no suspensions. The superintendent replied that he had general information but no specifics.

It is interesting that apparently no mention was made of the teacher-aide's transfer or any curricular changes at this meeting.

The students then walked out of the administration building. Since the junior high school is located near the administration building and along the path to the high school, some junior high school students joined the group as it moved toward the senior high. The students arrived at the high school between 1:30 and 1:48 in the afternoon. During this time, the police were called by the principal. Some of the senior high school students went to the front of the building, while it appears that some junior high school students entered through the back of the building. Windows were broken and classrooms were entered; some students went to the third and fourth floors and broke windows on the way. At 2:05 p.m. the police cleared the halls and remained at all the doors. Only minor student injuries were reported, including injury to two White students and one Black.

At the junior high, some students refused to go to their classes. They met with the building principal and a counselor. One false fire alarm was turned in, some windows were broken, and some students were assaulted.

Late Thursday afternoon, the school administrators met with the city manager and representatives from the police department. Police protection for the junior and

senior high schools was arranged for the next day. It
was reported that some Black parents met on Thursday
evening and agreed to keep their children home from school
for safety reasons.

Friday, May 8, 1970

The attendance at the senior high school was down
drastically--only 347 of the 1,900 students were present.
At the junior high school, only 40 per cent of the stu-
dents attended school. Rumors were rampant throughout
the community that some Blacks and Whites were arming
themselves for a major confrontation, and that outside
"assistance" was coming in to aid both groups.

Saturday, May 9 through
Sunday, May 10, 1970

At the suggestion of the teacher's association,
the superintendent announced on Saturday that all schools
in the district would be closed from Monday through
Wednesday. During this time, teachers and administrators
would participate in in-service education programs deal-
ing with racial attitudes. He further announced that
students would return to school on Thursday and Friday.
During this time, students and faculty members would use
regularly scheduled class time to discuss problems of
individual and institutional racism, and the means for
developing positive human relations.

Following the announcement by the superintendent,
administrators, teachers, and members of the community
spent the weekend planning the in-service education pro-
gram.

Monday, May 11 through
Friday, May 15, 1970

The week proceeded as described above. On Monday
evening, a "public forum" was held at the high school
during which interested parties were given an opportunity
to express their feelings concerning the student activism,
its causes, and remedies.

Saturday, May 16 through
Monday, May 18, 1970

The weekend and first day of regularly scheduled
classes proceeded without reported incidents.

Tuesday, May 19, 1970

A "Unity March" was held during which time the
superintendent and central office administrators, along
with Black and White students, marched from the high
school to the university campus. Prior to the march, a
thirteen-point proposal was presented to the superinten-
dent listing the changes which the students wanted. The
proposals will be found in Appendix H.

Wednesday, May 20, 1970

There were no reported incidents of student
activism on this date.

Thursday, May 21, 1970

At approximately 8:45 a.m., nearly 125 Black students congregated in the main lobby area of the junior high school. They expressed concern that (1) the Black Culture Club which had been promised was not yet organized, (2) no action had been taken to place a juke box in the cafeteria area as earlier approved, and (3) a teacher regularly on cafeteria duty was allegedly making frequent derogatory comments.

The students were reportly noisy and inattentive. At the request of the school administrators, the students appointed a ten-member student delegation to meet with the principal. The remainder of the students were instructed to go to class. Some students, however, moved through the halls, and some windows were broken. Teachers moved with the group, attempted to keep the students under control, and encouraged them to go to their classes.

The building administrators called parents to the school to help ease the tensions. By 10:00 a.m. nearly all of the students were in their proper classes.

At noon and again at the close of the school day, members of the staff met with the students to begin implementing plans for the Black Culture Club which seemed to be the students' major concern.

Rumors circulated that there would be a "White Power" meeting in the building before school the next morning.

Friday, May 22, 1970

Approximately seventy-five White students at the
junior high school attempted to meet in a classroom at
the beginning of the school day. At the request of the
principal, the meeting was moved to the cafeteria.
Shortly after it began, approximately forty to fifty Black
students came into the cafeteria and encircled the group
of Whites. The principal requested that the students
return to class. At that point, both Black and White stu-
dents dashed from the cafeteria. Approximately 100 White
students went to the administration building, where they
met with school administrators later in the morning.

After the White students left the junior high
school, approximately fifteen to twenty Black students
went to seek admission to the cafeteria. Apparently the
Black students assumed a meeting of White students was in
progress. The cafeteria manager said there was no meet-
ing going on at the time. At that point, the Black stu-
dents reportedly stormed the cafeteria, tipped over the
cash register, broke several windows, tipped over tables
and chairs, and scattered silverware and other cafeteria
supplies. Although there was no mass confrontation be-
tween Blacks and Whites, two assaults were reported.
Approximately 75 to 100 Black students then appeared in
the halls and were milling about; police were called to
clear the halls. The homeroom hour was extended until

10:00 a.m.; finally, an attempt was made to permit the students to move to their first hour classes, but this failed. The school was closed at 10:30 a.m. Buses were sent to the administration building to pick up the White students, but they refused to board the buses. Instead, some returned to the junior high school after it had closed.

A common request seemed to emerge from both the Black and White students, namely, for an opportunity "to sit down together and discuss their grievances."

Subsequent to the 10:30 a.m. closing, it was decided that no school would be held at the junior high school the following Monday through Wednesday.

Saturday and Sunday, May 23
and 24, 1970

Over the weekend, plans were formulated for an in-service education program to be conducted at the junior high school during the three days school would be closed. Approximately fifty parents, twenty students, and some staff members participated in planning this program.

Monday, May 25, 1970

No classes were held at the junior high school, but some parents and students met at the school to discuss the school's problems.

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Ninth grade students reported to the school, as did their parents, who had been requested to report with them. The principal and staff members discussed the students' concerns. The film "Black and White Up Tight" was shown. The grievances centered on such concerns as different standards of discipline, the lack of understanding and communication, and racist behavior by some students and staff members.

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Eighth grade students reported to school with their parents. Certain changes in rules and procedures were announced by the junior high school principal; a listing of these changes can be found in Appendix I.

Thursday, May 28, 1970

Seventh grade students reported to school under the circumstances indicated above.

Groups Interviewed

The following discussion contains a description of the groups interviewed in the study, and their responses to questions which bear directly on their group membership.

Board of Education Members

Four board members were interviewed. They ranged in age from forty-five to fifty-one years. Those

interviewed were an attorney, a management consultant, a print shop owner, and a homemaker. The group consisted of one Black female and three White males. The number of years they had served on the board of education ranged from two to five and one-half. Their length of residence in the community ranged from twenty to thirty-two years. The four board members interviewed had a total of nine children in the public schools.

Only one of the four members of the board was in one of the schools during the period of activism; the board member's presence was as a parent, however. Three of the four board members interviewed indicated they received few or no inquiries from the public regarding the activism. One indicated that first-hand information sometimes came from persons in the community prior to the time it was received from school administrators.

When asked what major concerns had motivated them to seek board membership, one indicated that he had not come to the board because of any particular issue, only his general concern for education. The other three members indicated the following concerns: (1) apprenticeship training, (2) the curriculum, (3) equal educational opportunity for all socio-economic and racial groups, and (4) vocational education.

When asked to what extent they felt the activism of May, 1970, had been planned, one board member indicated

"not too much"; another felt it had been spontaneous. The third member indicated that "it had all been planned."

Superintendent of Schools

The superintendent of schools is forty-eight years old, White, and has an earned doctorate in supervision and curriculum development. Prior to becoming superintendent, he had been a teacher, a curriculum coordinator in two school systems in the East, and an assistant superintendent in the district under study.

The superintendent indicated he had had no particular professional preparation for dealing with activism per se.

He felt the teachers' association had been supportive of efforts to deal with the basic causes of the activism.

His feeling was that approximately 10 per cent of the student population at the high school and approximately 5 per cent of the junior high school population were involved in the activism. His perception was that, in both instances under discussion, the majority of the students who participated in the activism were academically from the lower one-third of the student population.

Regarding the involvement of nonstudents in the activism, his feeling was that some high school dropouts and some suspended students had been involved. He verified the fact that the high school principal had a plan of

action in the event of activism, and that there was a district-wide agreement for the use of police in the event of activism. He further verified that the police were called to assist in both instances—at the junior and senior high schools under discussion—primarily for the purpose of clearing the halls of students. Finally, it was his impression that the activism was not planned in either instance.

Central Office Administrators

The following central office administrators were interviewed: the deputy superintendent of schools; administrative assistant to the superintendent; supervisor of publications and parent group relations; director of instruction, guidance, and pupil personnel; and the director of secondary education.

These persons ranged in age from thirty-nine to fifty years and all were White. Three of the five had earned doctorates. All, at some time, had been public school teachers.

Their professional preparation for dealing with student activism ranged from none to workshops or conferences dealing to some degree with the subject.

Most of the interviewees felt the teachers' association had been supportive of efforts to deal with the basic causes of the activism. Most seemed to agree that 10 per cent or less of the student body at both

schools were involved in the activism, and the majority
of these students were academically in the lower one-
third of the student population. The general feeling was
that the activism was not specifically or deliberately
planned. Some interviewees mentioned the influence or
involvement of some college students. Some mentioned
that students had been in Chicago on the weekend prior
to the high school disturbance and had attended meetings
at Malcolm X University (College). The influence of
a local organization known as "The Topographical Institute
or Center" was also indicated. This organization is
allegedly nonviolent, but militant in its outlook. One
interviewee stated that in the past, in general, tension
had built throughout the week, with Friday's being more
tense than Mondays. In the case of the unrest at the
high school, it appeared that the Monday morning disrup-
tion completely surprised the staff.

Senior High School Principal

The high school principal was the first Black
principal to be appointed in the school district and had
previously served the system as an elementary principal.
He indicated he did not have professional preparation for
dealing with activism. He felt the role of the teachers'
organization had been supportive of efforts to deal with
the basic causes of the activism. Only 1 per cent of the
total school population, he said, directly participated

in the incident at the high school. Academically, a few
of the participating students were from the upper one-
third of the school population, but most of the students
came from the lower one-third. The students who did par-
ticipate were primarily those who had experienced little
success in school, as well as some students who were under
suspension. Students involved in athletics did not par-
ticipate.

The closing of the schools came as somewhat of a
surprise to the principal; he was not directly involved
in the decision. The suggestion that the schools be
closed was recommended to the superintendent by some
officers of the teachers' association. The principal
noted that he was in agreement after he had listened to
the rationale for the closing.

The principal felt that some high school dropouts
were definitely involved in the activism, as were some
college and/or university students. He verified what has
been stated by the superintendent, that the school did
have a prescribed plan in the event of activism.

He confirmed that the police were called primarily
for the purpose of clearing the halls after the students
had been told either to leave the building or go to class.

It is interesting that the principal did feel
that the activism was planned. He noted that one par-
ticular student, who normally came to school nicely

dressed, appeared that day in older clothes. When commenting on this to the student's parent, the parent said, "yes, it was very much planned outside of the school." The principal further stated that in talking with persons in the neighborhood after the disturbance, he ascertained to his satisfaction that the disturbance had been planned.

Senior High School
Faculty Members

Ten members of the high school staff were interviewed. These included four teachers, four counselors, one librarian, and one nurse. They ranged in age from twenty-five to fifty-eight years. Eight of the ten interviewed were male and two female; seven of the staff members were White, three Black. Most teachers were selected on the basis of nomination by the high school principal.

Senior High School
Students

Interviews with high school students were discouraged by the high school principal. It appears that the situation at the high school was and is such that the interviews might tend to lead to additional unrest or activism. However, six Black and two White students were interviewed after school hours.

With the exception of one student, the Black students interviewed were all in the twelfth grade; five were female and one was male.

The second group consisted of two White students, one of whom was a twelfth grade male; the other was an eleventh grade female. An additional member of the group was a White, male, ninth grade student.

Junior High School
Administrators

The all White administrative staff of the junior high school consisted of a principal and two assistants, ranging in age from forty-one to forty-eight years. All had at least a Master's degree, and all had been teachers prior to becoming administrators. With one exception, all indicated they had little professional preparation for dealing with activism.

They felt the teachers' organization was generally helpful and supportive.

The administrators estimated that from 10 to 25 per cent of the student population participated in the activism. The higher number generally reflected the stage of activism when both Black and White students were involved. Academically, the students who directly participated in the activism generally came from the lower one-third of the school population. The principal indicated it was his recommendation to the superintendent that the school be closed.

The administrators generally agreed that there was only slight nonstudent involvement in the activism at

the junior high school. Nonstudent involvement included
an unidentified community organization, some parents,
college and/or university students, and some brothers and
sisters of students from the high school.

There seemed to be some question whether or not
there was a plan for dealing with student activism. All
three administrators agreed there was such a plan. The
principal indicated that the student disturbance plan was
distributed to the staff in the fall of 1969.

All administrators verified that the police were
called by the principal primarily for the purpose of stu-
dent safety. One administrator said that when the police
arrived there appeared to be a brief escalation of the
violence, but then it subsided.

The feeling was that the activism was not well
planned. There was rumored information that the students
were influenced by a community organization. One of the
assistant principals received a telephone call from a
Black parent after the disturbance, indicating that she
was aware that the disturbance was going to occur.

Junior High School
Faculty Members

Ten persons holding staff positions were inter-
viewed. This group included eight teachers, one librarian,
and one counselor. They ranged in age from twenty-three
to forty-five. Eight were male and two were female; seven

were White and three were Black. Most faculty members were nominated for the interview by the 1969-70 junior high school principal.

Junior High School
Students

Of the nine junior high school students interviewed, seven were male and two female. Six of the students were White and three Black. Eight of the nine were interviewed individually, and one was interviewed with the two White senior high school students indicated above.

Most of the students interviewed were nominated for the interview by the 1969-70 junior high school principal in order to secure a cross section of the student population.

The following section of this chapter deals with how each of the various groups responded to each of the questions in the interview schedule. The interview schedule is contained in Appendix E.

Responses of the Interviewees

Cause or Causes of
Student Activism

First, the interviewees were asked to respond to the following question: In May, 1970, _____ High School and _____ Junior High School experienced student activism. What do you feel was the basic cause or causes?

Board of education members.--Generally, the board
of education members saw the causes of the activism at the
high school and junior high school as essentially the same.

The causes noted by the board members are as
follows: (1) de facto segregated housing patterns in the
city, (2) lack of action on changes requested earlier by
the students--the students lost faith in talking, (3)
unwillingness of the community to work toward solutions
to the problems, (4) lack of humane qualities in some
teachers, (5) "irrelevant" textbooks, (6) some students'
feelings that some teachers and other students exhibited
racist attitudes and engaged in racist activities, and
(7) lack of discipline and permissiveness.

Superintendent of schools.--The superintendent
cited the following causes of the activism: (1) influ-
ence of the Topographical Center, which engaged in indoc-
trination of some Black students; and (2) White students
"baiting" Black students.

Central office administrators.--The following list
represents a collectivity of causes cited by those central
office administrators who were interviewed: (1) poor
relations between Blacks and Whites in the community; (2)
racial segregation in the community; (3) lack of low in-
come, low cost housing dispersed throughout the city;
(4) strong right-wing political thrust in the community;

(5) Blacks' feeling that little has been done to alleviate their problems; (6) segregated elementary schools; (7) little preparation of students for their first interracial contact at the junior high school level; (8) overcrowded facilities at the high school; (9) extreme rigidity of some staff members; (10) some staff members being extremely "book oriented"; (11) little professional training for working with Black students; (12) not enough action taken quickly enough on racist teachers; (13) high school problems "spilling over" to the junior high; (14) lack of a relevant curriculum in some instances; (15) institutional racism; (16) cumulative effect of undealt-with issues; and (17) teacher attitudes and how they relate to students.

Senior high school principal.--In response to the question dealing with the cause or causes of activism at the high school, the principal noted the following:

> I would say community problems, attitudes of some parents and students with little or no interest in academic work. Actually, I don't say they have no interest but have difficulty achieving academic work. I noticed these students who were suspended, most of these students have poor attendance, problems, probably failing in all subjects or, at least, fifty percent of them and things of this nature. So, I think these things really are our problems here. It can be very well traced to community problems. I think in many cases and for those parents of students involved-- I think (the parents felt) the students could do the job better if they'd protest. They [the parents] are afraid of losing their jobs.

Commenting further on problems which some members of the community related to the principal, he cited the following:

> Oh, I think that, at that time and especially in the Black community, there had been a teacher in a predominately Black school that had just whipped a child, according to the information I got from the community, had whipped him with a board. This teacher was White. I think they more or less demanded that this teacher be fired; the teacher was not fired, he was transferred to another school. They felt that this had been unfair and, again, [an example of the] double standard. Had it happened in a White school, the teacher would have been fired right away. I think at that time, also [the] housing propositions had just been defeated. I think [all of this] had an effect on the students and I think this erupted in the school. I went back and talked with the community. They began to pull these things and they were high on their list as we began to talk with the community during their anger and frustration, etc.

Senior high school faculty members.--The high school teachers indicated the following causes of activism: (1) Black student movement from the local university, (2) transfer of a Black teacher-aide, (3) racism, (4) less hesitancy of people to express themselves, (5) rise of minority peoples, (6) policy and tactical vacillation on the part of school authorities, (7) Black students' disenchantment with society, (8) national influences, (9) Black students looking for a place for themselves in society, (10) teacher racism, (11) student hopelessness, (12) student frustration and lack of success, and (13) inability of minority students to deal with racist institutions.

<u>Senior high school students</u>.--Several Black students cited the following causes of the activism: (1) double standards; (2) attitudes of Whites toward Blacks, particularly racist behavior; (3) counselors telling Black students what they can and cannot do (presumably this in part refers to academic and vocational counseling); and (3) segregated elementary schools.

The White students cited "lack of identification" as the basic cause of the activism. According to them, "the school is broken down into four groups: the Blacks, the scholars, the athletes, and the so-called 'silent majority.'" The interviewees contended that "this 'silent majority' group is the subversive fourth in the school and had a great deal to do with the activism of last May."

<u>Junior high school administrators</u>.--The following list represents a collectivity of causes cited by the junior high school administrators: (1) general community tension following closing of the high school earlier in May; (2) students coming from a wide geographic area and socio-economic range, thus not feeling a sense of community; (3) influence from the visit to Malcolm X University (College); (4) kinds of food offered in the cafeteria; (5) behavior of some cafeteria aides; (6) the quality of bus transportation for Black students; (7) racial insults; (8) general rise in expectations of lower socio-economic groups, thus wanting their share of the

"goodies"; (9) real or imagined personal problems of students; (10) discipline involving suspensions; (11) influence of older brothers and sisters attending the high school; (12) some students participating only as a "lark"; and (13) the "spill over" effect from the problems at the high school.

Junior high school faculty members.--The junior high school teachers noted the following causes: (1) double standards between Blacks and Whites, (2) teacher racism in some classrooms, (3) take over by Black power organizations, (4) demand for a Black Culture Club to effect curricular change, (5) demand for a "rap" room, (6) demand for an Afro-American History class, (7) return of ala carte dishes and ice cream to the cafeteria menu, (8) demand for more passing time in the halls, (9) Black students' desire to be able to gather in the halls without being dispersed simply for assembling, (10) general overtone of the nation, (11) "spill over" from the senior high school, (12) influence of older brothers and sisters, (13) prejudice, (14) lack of communication, (15) preconceived notions about race, (16) strong leadership on both sides, (17) frustration, (18) rumors, (19) reflection of the community attitudes expressed in interracial distrust, (20) housing patterns, (21) activity at the local university, and (22) influence of the Topographical Center.

Junior high school students.--The following re-
sponses were offered by both Black and White students
regarding the causes of the activism: (1) parents who do
not care about their children, (2) name calling or "bait-
ing" by some students, (3) reaction to the meeting of
Black students (mentioned earlier in the events of Thurs-
day, May 21, 1970, p. 83), (4) cumulative effect of Blacks
and Whites fighting over a period of time, (5) lack of
interracial understanding, (6) demand for a Black Culture
Club, (7) "Whites were tired of being 'pushed around' so
they decided to meet in the cafeteria and organize,"
(8) lack of communication, and (9) desire of some stu-
dents simply to get out of school.

One student said that annually, in May, when the
weather is hot, junior high school students look for any
reason to stir up the school, whereby they might be dis-
ruptive and be dismissed. He suggested that we (the
interviewers) not disregard this annual attempt on the
part of the student body as a cause of the activism.

Description of Actual
Behavior

This section records the responses of the inter-
viewees to the following question: To the extent that you
had actual contact with each of the following persons or
groups, what did each do during the instance(s) under
discussion?

1. Board of education members

2. Superintendent of schools

3. Central office administrators

4. Building administrators

5. Faculty members

6. Students who did not participate in the activism

7. Students who did participate in the activism

Board of education members.--One board member indicated that the board had not acted quickly enough on questions involving teacher tenure. The board member felt the board should find a way to dismiss teachers who exhibit racist behavior. A second member stated that the "board could not pat itself on the back as board members for the work that they had done."

In referring to the performance of the superintendent, one board member indicated that he had done an excellent job. Another indicated that the superintendent had acted as a mediator by implementing a program of inservice education.

None of the board members had actual contact with other central office administrators during the instances of activism; therefore they could not respond to this question.

The board members said they felt the high school principal had done an excellent job.

Generally, the members had little contact, if any, with the faculty members at either of the schools. One board member, however, characterized the faculty as existing on a continuum, some of whom accepted change rather readily, while others did not.

Generally, the board members had little, if any, contact with the students, with the exception of those who appeared at board meetings after the incidents. One board member stated that some of the students who did not participate in the activism, in fact, sought to "contain" the activism at a "high cost of social and psychological harassment" by those students who participated.

While board members did not have actual contact with students who participated in the activism, they generally felt that activist behavior included physical attacks on students and staff, destruction of property, and general lawlessness.

Superintendent of schools.--The superintendent of schools felt that, generally speaking, the board members did not witness the actual disruption. However, they were informed by the superintendent of the events that occurred.

The superintendent indicated that the director of information primarily handled communications with the news media at the time of disruption. The deputy superintendent of schools answered telephone calls from the public and, at times, from irate parents. The administrative assistant

to the superintendent was sent to the scene of the disruption to gather facts through observations and to communicate those facts to the central office. Other selected central office administrators were also sent to the scene and performed the function of telephoning their information to the central office.

Contact between the superintendent and the principals was generally by telephone. The superintendent said the principals maintained a "command post" in their offices and used their assistant principals as their "eyes" and "ears" throughout the building. The assistant principals then reported to the principal on the status of events.

The superintendent indicated that faculty members had been given specific assignments and taught classes as best they could. Faculty members, in response to the directive from the principal's office, delayed class passing to reduce the congestion in the halls.

The superintendent felt that the students who did not participate in the activism generally remained in the classrooms. He also confirmed that some students who participated in the activism assaulted some other students.

Central office administrators.--Most central office administrators who witnessed the student activism indicated they had no contact with the board of education members, with the following exception. One central office administrator reported seeing a board member at the school

at the time of one of the incidents. After the incidents,
however, board members became involved in various com-
munity groups in an attempt to communicate with these
groups, and some board members attended the "public forum"
held at the high school following the activism. One admin-
istrator also indicated that the board members tended to
call the central office frequently after the incident.

Central office administrators who had contact with
the superintendent indicated that he did the following
things: (1) answered telephone inquiries, (2) received
information for the building administrators, (3) coordi-
nated personnel, (4) contacted the news media, (5) con-
tacted community persons in leadership positions, (6) met
with principals to recap the day's events, and (7) helped
plan the in-service program after the high school incident.

Central administrators who remained at the office
were seen by other office administrators as having per-
formed the following functions: (1) the deputy superin-
tendent performed a role quite similar to the superinten-
dent's, (2) the director of public relations attempted to
stop rumors when possible, and (3) the above persons were
also involved in the in-service planning sessions.

The central administrators who went to the build-
ing generally moved throughout the students who were
actively participating, attempted to reduce the level of

tension, and encouraged students to return to class or leave the building.

Central administrators who had contact with building administrators reported that they attempted to do the following: (1) tried to encourage students to go back into their classes, (2) informed central administrators and the superintendent of what was occurring in the building, (3) prevented fire alarms from being pulled, (4) prevented attacks on students, (5) worked with police to clear the halls, and (6) called parents of students involved and afterwards sent these students home.

The above-mentioned central administrators who were in the building indicated that the faculty members did the following things: (1) tried to keep their classes under control, and (2) teachers without classes were in the halls working to calm students in an attempt to get them out of the halls.

The degree of involvement of any given faculty member depended in part on his location in the building. It was mentioned that one part of the building could be affected quite drastically, while in another part classes went on as usual. It was further reported that some of the faculty members were "up tight," some retreated to their rooms, some were frightened, and some did not come to school the next day. Some faculty members were ultimately "docked" for using their sick days. Teachers were

asked to identify students who had been actively involved in the incident.

Central administrators who had actual contacts with nonparticipating students reported they exhibited the following kinds of behavior: (1) most students stayed in their assigned classes; (2) some left the building; (3) some were quite anxious, apprehensive, and were crying; and (4) others telephoned their parents.

The above-mentioned central administrators indicated that the students who participated in the activism exhibited the following kinds of behavior: (1) refused orders from staff members to do what they were told, (2) participated in name calling, (3) milled about in the halls, (4) tipped over lockers, (5) attempted to enter classrooms, (6) tried through intimidation to get students to join them in the halls, (7) resisted arrest in some instances, (8) roved in bands throughout the building, (9) ran up and down the corridors, (10) assaulted persons, (11) threw chairs through windows, (12) put lighted matches in wastebaskets, (13) shouted obscenities, and (14) generally screamed and hollered.

Associated with the group of students who were very actively participating, there was also a much larger group of "fellow travelers," who tended to move in and out of participation, depending on the circumstances.

Senior high school principal.--The high school

principal indicated that he had no contact with board mem-

bers during the activism. His contact with the superin-

tendent was that of informing him about what was occurring.

The superintendent, he reported, sent central office admin-

istrators to the high school and, in one instance, came to

the building himself. The major contact with central

administrators after they arrived in the building was

simply having them observe what was happening. The princi-

pal utilized his two assistants as his "eyes" and "ears"

within the building, gathering information and communicat-

ing that information to him so that he could make the

necessary decisions. The principal reported that

> some of the faculty members who had been through
> it for four or five years were getting a little
> tired and, of course, at that time they were
> verbalizing quite vociferously [about] what
> should be done. I think, that under this type
> of situation, the faculty did rather well.

The principal stated that those students who did

not participate in the activism generally did what was

reported above.

The students who participated in the activism

triggered false fire alarms and the principal did receive

a bomb threat. The principal indicated that one of the

most disconcerting aspects with which he had to contend

was screaming girls. Evidently the screaming served

further to charge the situation.

Senior high school faculty members.--Three members
of the high school faculty indicated they had no contact
with board members during the unrest. The remaining group
generally made negative comments regarding board members,
such as "they did not do much during the instances of
activism," "were immobilized by conflicting pressures from
the community regarding how they should respond to the stu-
dents," "were out of touch with what was going on," and
"did not act on the information provided for them over the
last two years."

Generally, faculty members seemed to be divided
as to what the role of the superintendent had been. Some
indicated that they saw him in the building, gathering
information and walking the halls. He maintained close
contact with the building administrators and gave posi-
tive direction in handling the activism. Several faculty
members indicated the superintendent made no real move to
deal with the situation--"he met with students and then
refused to do anything." He gave permission to the build-
ing administrators to call the police and finally did the
best he could but "tried to appease both sides, hence leav-
ing himself in a bad light with both."

Generally speaking, the faculty members saw the
central administrators in the role of walking the halls,
gathering information, keeping in touch with the central
office, trying to calm students, and talking with them.

Others indicated the central administrators were in the building, but the faculty did not know what they were doing. One staff member indicated he felt central administrators were simply "out of touch." The faculty members, without exception, felt the senior high school principal performed very professionally, tried to calm the students, talked with them, tried to keep people from getting injured, and addressed the staff over the public address system during the height of the incident.

Faculty members, commenting on their own colleagues, noted a wide range of behavior. Some simply stood along the "side lines," others patrolled the halls, some did nothing, and others did as much as they possibly could to alleviate the situation. One person noted that Black teachers even had trouble trying to calm Black students. Some teachers were quite "jittery," while others seemed to be quite calm under the circumstances. If the teacher had a class, he attempted to remain with his students. One teacher noted that he saw some other teachers get very "up tight" about the situation.

In general, the faculty members reported that students who did not participate in the activism mainly exhibited behavior as follows: (1) some "went about business as usual," (2) some remained in their classrooms, (3) some were extremely fearful, and (4) some left the

building--this group included both Black and White stu-
dents.

It was noted, however, that students going home
as individuals were exposed to great danger of assault by
roaming groups of students. One teacher noted that most
of those who were not involved were "just not aware of
what was going on."

Faculty members noted that students who partici-
pated in the activism exhibited the following behavior:
(1) threw chairs; (2) confronted teachers verbally--these
were generally male students; (3) pulled over some un-
fastened lockers; (4) carried clubs and pipes, although no
teacher reported seeing them used; (5) assaulted students
for no apparent reason; (6) articulated demands to whom-
ever would listen; and (8) broke windows.

Senior high school students.--The subsequent
statements will primarily be those of the White high school
students interviewed.

The students indicated they did not know what the
board members had done during the period of activism.
This was also their response to the performance of the
superintendent and central office administrators. They
said the principal had tried to maintain order.

The students reported that, in their opinion, some
faculty members exhibited great physical fear, and a few
teachers tried to promote order and maintain discipline.

The students who did not participate in the activism were largely frightened. Some literally jumped out the windows, and some took advantage of the incident to do things they wanted to do which had nothing to do with activism.

The students reported that the activist students spent most of their time running from one floor or room to another.

Junior high school administrators.--The junior high school administrators reported no contact with board of education members. They indicated, however, that on at least one occasion the superintendent was in the building during the incidents of student unrest. The principal maintained the "hot line" between the building and the central office. He conferred with the superintendent and selected central administrators at the end of the day, and planned for the next day. The principal reported that selected central administrators were often in the building, serving essentially in the role described above. The principal reported that the assistants acted as his "eyes" and "ears," and that they directed student movement in the halls. Following the incident, the building administrators spent much time in court, where action was being taken against some students. The principal pointed out that it was very easy to become too involved with individual student problems at the time of activism, while the group

problems tended to multiply. The junior high school
administrators concurred with those from the senior high
school, that faculty members attempted to hold students
in classrooms for indefinite periods of time, while at-
tempts were made to quiet students in the halls. Some
faculty members who did not have classes attempted to get
students into classrooms.

The administrators further reported that those
students who did not participate in activism went about
their classes as usual. This was, by far, the majority
of students. A few students were quite confused and
frightened of physical harm. It was again reported that
some students attempted to leave the building; they were
primarily those who were frightened and/or instructed to
do so by their parents. Those students who participated
most actively beyond the "fellow travelers," generally
roamed through the halls and some participated in assaults
on other students.

Junior high school faculty members.--While it is
evident that some teachers and faculty members did not
see or have actual contact with board of education mem-
bers during the period of activism, some of their responses
indicated their willingness to extrapolate what they felt
occurred. One teacher indicated that the board simply
"harangued among each other," and then gave in to some
pressure groups while not listening to others. One

indicated that the board ordered police into the building.
Another said they simply listened, and even though they
were informed by central administrators about the prob-
lems, the board members took no action. "Board members
were shook" and simply reacted, but were not leaders.
They treated the symptoms, sent central administrators to
the building, and supported the in-service program. Some
noted that board members began to work with rules and
regulations, and took disciplinary action against the
students involved.

Faculty members indicated that the superintendent
exhibited the following range of behavior: (1) showed
vague inactivity, (2) tried to keep the building open and
safe, (3) listened, (4) was pushed into taking a position,
(5) was present in the building, and (7) supported in-
service training for teachers. One staff member indicated
there was simply not too much the superintendent could do.

Faculty members indicated that the central admin-
istrators were in the halls; provided extra manpower, but
not leadership or direction; listened to students and
others involved; lacked realization of the problem;
"scurried around"; patrolled the halls; and gathered and
dispersed information.

Faculty members indicated that the building admin-
istrators could not do much, under the circumstances.
There was allegedly not "good" communication between the

staff and the administration. The administrators identi-
fied activist students, suspended some, tried to present
the facts to the central office administrators, lacked an
organized plan for dealing with the disruption, were con-
cerned with control, were involved with the disciplinary
action, and attended evening meetings regarding the inci-
dents.

Faculty members who made observations regarding
what other faculty members had done indicated that "many
couldn't be found." Counselors and teachers tried to get
students back into the classrooms, supervised students,
and planned for the in-service program. Some were con-
cerned with control and some really wanted to improve the
situation. One noted that the faculty "stuck together,"
and some showed humanistic concern for students.

Faculty members commenting on the behavior of non-
participating students indicated that: (1) some tried to
find a safe place, (2) some tried to "ride the school year
out," (3) some students simply watched the incident, (4)
some sat in the classrooms--some classes discussed the
incident, and (5) some students went home.

Faculty members commenting on the behavior of
activist students noted that they: (1) tried to get non-
participating students involved, (2) roamed the halls,
(3) threw stones, (4) left the building, (5) broke windows,
(6) assaulted teachers and students, (7) threw chairs,

(8) pulled the fire alarm, and (9) collected in large groups.

Contrary to the above comments, one faculty member stated that "they were not hostile or mean; they just wanted something done [about their concerns]."

Junior high school students.--Again, most of the students had no actual contact with board members, but they were not hestiant to project what it was they thought the board had done. They suggested that the board members: (1) tried to think of ways to solve the problem, (2) decided to call the police each time an incident occurred, (3) did nothing, (4) closed the school, and (5) wanted the Black and White students to meet together.

Commenting on the behavior of the superintendent, one student indicated that he "never does nothing" and two others indicated essentially the same response.

Most students did not recognize the central office administrators as having been in the building. One student made the comment that they just "sit in their air-conditioned offices."

The students commenting on the behavior of the building administrators indicated they: (1) tried to do their best, (2) stood in the halls, (3) broke up groups of students, (4) never did anything, (5) suspended many students--mostly White as far as they knew, (6) talked over the public address system and told the students to

go to their classes, and (7) tried to quiet the students, "but it didn't help much."

The students commenting on the role of the faculty members noted the following behavior: (1) "handled it all right," (2) stayed in their rooms, (3) locked the doors and tried to keep students in the rooms, (4) tried to stop the incidents, (5) kept students quiet in the classrooms, (6) kept students out of the halls, and (7) "some simply didn't do much."

Students indicated that nonparticipating students did the following: (1) stayed in the classrooms, (2) went home, (3) stayed out of the activism, and (4) "did a lot of talking but not much else."

Students commenting on the behavior of activist students noted that they: (1) broke windows, (2) "beat up" boys and others as the activists went to the cafeteria, (3) took over the gymnasium, (4) fought, (5) tried to get others involved, and (6) turned over chairs and tables.

Role Expectations

The following analysis deals with responses to the question: "To the extent that you had <u>actual contact</u> with the following persons or groups, you earlier described what they <u>did</u> during the student activism:

1. Board of education members

2. Superintendent of schools

3. Central office administrators

4. Building administrators

5. Faculty members

6. Students who did not participate in the activism

7. Students who did participate in the activism

If a similar situation of student activism occurred, what should each of them do?

Board of education members.--Board members commenting on what should be done in the future stated they should: (1) evaluate the effectiveness of some building administrators, (2) halt the practice of retaining some administrators based on favoritism, (3) eliminate divisions on the board and find some common meeting ground, and (4) come better prepared for the task of being a board member. One board member indicated that discipline should be enforced more strictly in the future.

Board members commenting on the role the superintendent should play indicated he should: (1) conduct a study of role and function of central office administrators--"every organization has some dead wood," and (2) stop making concessions to students.

One board member indicated that central office administrators should be more responsive to change. Another board member indicated he had no contact with central office administrators.

Commenting on the building administrators, one member said they should: (1) exercise good judgment and (2) express humane qualities. Another indicated that the building principal should have absolute authority and hinted that there may have been a countermanding of the principal's orders at the high school.

Concerning faculty members and participating and nonparticipating students, the board members did not state any specific changes in their roles. Presumably, however, they felt activist students should halt the violent aspects of their behavior.

Superintendent of schools.--When asked what change in behavior might be exhibited by the board members, the superintendent indicated that he thought perhaps the board members should be at the scene of a disturbance to get a feeling for what is occurring.

Relative to his own role, he indicated that he felt a definite need to remain in his office as he had done in the past, with few exceptions. However, this appears to be in conflict with what some staff members expect; namely, they feel he should be in the building at the time of a disturbance.

The superintendent felt the central office administrators should perform essentially the same role as they had in the past.

The building administrators should perhaps increase their "preventative" efforts.

The superintendent felt most of the faculty members did "a fine job," but noted that some were "scared and some over-reacted and dared students to move a muscle."

The superintendent noted no particular change in role for the nonparticipating students. He noted that some Black students are beginning to realize they are not resolving their problems through disruptions. Perhaps students are coming to the realization that they can work through the prescribed channels. The students are trying to keep the situation "cool."

Central office administrators.--One central office administrator indicated he felt the board should continue to remain in a policy-making role, and work more with city and township authorities, particularly on problems relating to jurisdictional authority in the use of police. It was also expressed that board members should not speculate on what occurred in instances of activism. They should rely on information provided by the central office administrators. Finally, it was suggested that some board members should stop predicating their board decisions on what a few teachers had told them about the disturbances.

Most central office administrators said the role of the superintendent should remain essentially what it had been in the past. One central office administrator

indicated that the superintendent should insist that agreed-upon procedures for handling a disturbance be followed at the building level.

Central administrators felt the role of other central administrators should remain essentially what it had been in the past, but perhaps more preventative work needs to be done. One expressed the need for more financial resources to carry out this work. It was also expressed that all central administrators who are asked to help in times of disruption should be informed about the content of the "hot line" information which the superintendent receives.

One central administrator suggested the building administrators should give students wider decision-making powers.

In the main, most central administrators felt the faculty and nonparticipating students should continue essentially in the roles they had performed in the past. One administrator noted that teachers need to become more involved in avenues leading to deeper human relations. Also, nonparticipating students should enter into the discussions dealing with race relations.

Of course, participating students should stop the destructive and disruptive roles they have played in the past. The participating students should "work through prescribed channels."

Senior high school principal.--The principal

essentially limited his responses to the change in roles

for the superintendent, himself, and the faculty members.

The principal felt the superintendent and he

should not attempt to deal with student demands while the

students are emotionally excited and are still in the

large group. Commenting on dealing with student frustra-

tions in the large group, the principal noted that:

> [One] can have it all come down upon you at
> that time, and I think all of us who lived
> through it do not find it something we want. It
> affects your whole life; it affects your family,
> your children, your wife, and your telephone
> rings incessantly. You get some very nasty tele-
> phone calls, and you have people who will tell
> all kinds of tales.

Commenting on the faculty, the principal observed

that:

> They can do a lot of good or do us a lot of
> damage. We've got to have teachers, Black and
> White, who will look at the problems on an over-
> all basis. We had a large number of teachers who
> decided to stay home, about twenty-five of them.
> Then, I think they began wondering if it was going
> to affect their pocketbooks. Students see it.

Teachers should be prepared to deal with students

concerning racial considerations in an open, honest manner.

To this end the principal observed that:

> I do feel that closing the schools for those
> three days was very helpful, especially the two
> days we talked with students. I think we should
> do more of this but we haven't done it this year.
> The students say "we never get a chance to talk."
> They are locked into first hour, second hour,
> fifth hour, sixth hour, on the bus, goodbye.
> [During the abovementioned two days] a student
> could go to the teacher and sit there and talk,

express his feelings. It is interesting to note,
we found some students that this type of thing was
foreign to him. [sic] They couldn't adjust to it.
We had some teachers who couldn't adjust to it. I
think they felt it was a waste of time. They
wanted to get along with the thing at hand; for
instance, they were too far behind in math. I
remember one youngster came in, he didn't want any
"talk session," he wanted to get his math so he
could get into college.

Senior high school faculty members.--It was gener-
ally agreed upon by teachers at the high school that the
board of education does, in fact, have a role to play.
It was suggested by several teachers that the board
should be at the school when the incidents occur. They
should endorse in-service education approaches, be avail-
able to all groups in the community, and provide money
for "crisis counselors" and intergroup specialists. They
should fund a meaningful, on-going human relations work-
shop with trained personnel. The board should get all
the facts and get in "close touch" with students. Fur-
ther, they should establish guidelines for handling activ-
ist situations fairly and justly.

Faculty members generally felt the superintendent
should implement the above board decisions, be more
"aggressive" with persons under his control, and develop
a plan for removing racist teachers. Further, he should
be more decisive in whatever course of action he takes.
The superintendent should implement the above-suggested
human relations workshop. One teacher indicated she did

not think the superintendent should come to the school
during an incident because of the negative feeling toward
him.

Teachers said the central administrators should
make themselves available to the building staff to assist
in whatever way possible and implement the in-service pro-
grams for teachers. Faculty members felt central admin-
istrators should help implement whatever guidelines are
established for handling disturbances. They further indi-
cated the prospective teachers should be carefully screened
before they are permitted to teach in the school. Finally,
central administrators should continue to bring in police
during periods of violence and disruption, and be "where
the action is" during disturbances.

As faculty members looked at themselves as a
group, some suggested they should attempt to remain calm
and protect students to whatever degree possible. Some
faculty members said all faculty members should be "forced"
to attend the in-service programs. Some also said that
some of their number should "find out what is going on out-
side school."

The faculty members felt the nonparticipating stu-
dents should leave the building or remain in their class-
rooms during a disturbance. It was suggested that those
students who did not participate should "find out what is
going on outside the school." They should continue to do

what they did, but both Black and White students should calm down and become involved in sessions of interracial discussions.

Faculty members generally felt that students who actively participated in the incidents should participate in efforts to resolve them. They noted that some activists did not participate in the attempts to bring various groups together. It was reported that activist students need to find positive ways of getting their views expressed to administrators. Other faculty members felt penalties should be meted out to those who participated, as a way of curtailing their activism. Finally, one teacher indicated that activist students should not use peer pressure to involve other students.

Senior high school students.--The students said that board members should become aware of the real concerns of students. They contended that board members spend their time in meetings which have little or no value relative to the day-to-day kinds of experiences occurring in these particular schools.

They said the superintendent should continue to be as alert to the problem as he has been in the past. The students contended that they really do not understand what role the central administrators perform.

The students said that the building principal should continue to stimulate new experiences, whereby students can discuss questions involving race.

The role of the faculty should be similar to that of the principal, but in addition they should "zero in" on racist members of their group.

The students who did not participate should participate, not in the activism, but in the student government and other activities which bring students closer together.

The students did not suggest what activist students should do, but they did say there should be a grievance procedure for them to follow--"If the school continues to ignore their concerns and feelings, they have no choice but to take it into the streets."

Junior high school administrators.--The junior high school administrators suggested the board members should not be directly involved, as observers, in the instances of activism, but should be more supportive of the administrative action taken. It was further suggested that they should not be "splintered" in their support of a board position. It was also suggested that the junior high school should increase its personnel, as an aid in helping students with their problems. It was indicated that this request had been made but not fulfilled.

It was generally agreed that the roles of the superintendent, central office administrators, and building administrators should remain essentially what they had been in the past. The central office administrators should continue their reporting function. Generally speaking, the building administrators see the roles of the teachers and nonactivist and activist students remaining essentially what they had been in the past. Nonactivist students should become more involved and support what they believe in, in a responsible way. Further, they should become participants in the governance of their school. Activist students should dissent through accepted channels and become involved in the decision-making avenues of the school.

Junior high school faculty members.--Faculty members at the junior high school felt the board members should become aware of changes relative to students, set policy based on first-hand observations, and come to the school to talk with teachers immediately after an occurrence. One felt that the problems had been well defined, and that now is the time for the board to take action, bring in outside human relations consultants, and allocate the necessary funds to deal with the causes of the problems.

The junior high school faculty members stated there is not too much the superintendent can do. Others

said he should recommend to the board new ways of dealing with the students. The superintendent should go to the building in question, and not have the students come to the administration building. Another faculty member indicated the superintendent should be on hand as an observer, and one indicated that "he must . . . make a decision regarding overtly racist teachers."

Faculty members indicated that the central administrators should "follow through" on board and superintendent decisions. One indicated there is not much that they can do while the unrest is in progress. Another indicated that the central administrators should aid the superintendent, and yet another faculty member said they should meet with the students to obtain an understanding of the different life styles of the students.

In reference to building administrators, one faculty member indicated they should make recommendations to the superintendent on what needs to be done, and another indicated there is not much they can do under the circumstances, except remain sensitive to the problem, respond immediately, not use police if possible, and be consistent with their discipline.

Faculty members commenting on themselves as a group indicated they must become aware of student needs; be consistent in their treatment of students; perform as they have in the past; and get together with students.

Those who are not involved should begin to develop human-
istic concerns for students.

Teachers felt that those students who did not
participate should simply try to find a safe place to
stay. Others said that the students should become in-
volved. Students need to know how to structure their
demands, find out what the problems are, and get involved
in discussions before things happen.

Faculty members felt that those students who did
participate should become aware of other means for resolv-
ing their problems, and realize that the disturbance they
are creating is a symptom of the problem and will be
treated as such. Faculty members went on to say that
activist students should not cause physical damage.

Junior high school students.--Junior high school
students commenting on what the board of education mem-
bers should do indicated that they should do nothing other
than what they have been doing. One indicated that the
board should not let the Black students have meetings, but
the board should: (1) come to the building, (2) suspend
students, (3) take them to court, (4) have meetings and
discussions regarding the problem, (5) understand that
police are not needed, (6) involve more concerned parents,
and (7) suspend students if they have racist meetings.

Commenting on the role of the superintendent, the
students suggested he should refrain from putting police

in the building. They admitted he has a "pretty hard job," but he should "come to the school and find out what the problems really are," get more parents in the schools, and bring police into the schools when necessary.

Students did not know or did not have any feelings about what the central office administrators should do.

Students felt the building administrators should involve themselves in student meetings to see what they are about, establish their own meetings, try to find out what the problems are, spend some time listening to students, call the police when necessary, do the same things that they have done in the past, "should be able to hit kids," and dismiss school when necessary.

Students felt the teachers should keep students in the classroom during activism. One noted that teachers are afraid to try to stop the problem; those who are concerned should become more so. One student noted that teachers are afraid to do anything, but should be fair in their treatment of both Blacks and Whites.

The students felt the nonparticipating students should try to explain "the folly of their actions to those students who did participate," stay out of the activism, sit back, or go to the office and call their parents. Several indicated there is not much they can do.

Commenting on what the activist students should do, the students indicated the following: "If they think

what they are doing is right, they should continue to do
what they are doing, "fight back during the 'riot'"
(activism), present reasonable demands.

Sequential Pattern

The next question to which the interviewees were
asked to respond was: "Do you feel that the activism at
the high school, junior high, or both schools followed
an order similar to the following?"

1. Initial student strategies

2. Administrative responses to those strategies

3. Bargaining, negotiation, or third-party
    mediation to settle specific demands or
    proposals

4. Implementation of "legitimate" agreed-upon
    changes.

Board of education members.--The board of educa-
tion members were evenly divided on the above question.
Two members stated emphatically that that sequential
pattern was followed while the other two said that it was
not followed.

Superintendent of schools.--The superintendent
indicated that the activism did not follow the sequential
pattern; the incidents were simply a "blow up."

Central office administrators.--Of the five
central administrators interviewed, four indicated that
the activism did not follow the pattern outlined. One

indicated that the initial student strategies and administrative responses were followed; however, bargaining, negotiations, or third-party mediation occurred only to a slight degree.

High school principal.--The high school principal indicated that the sequential pattern was not followed precisely as outlined.

Senior high school faculty members.--Only one high school faculty member said that the activism followed the sequential pattern. Five indicated that they were not certain. Two members said that the activism followed the pattern outlined but only to a limited extent. The final two faculty members essentially labeled the activism as an act of "spontaneous desperation."

Senior high school students.--The students seemed to concur that the first two steps of the pattern occurred as outlined. They stated that the Black students and school officials met, and the officials sincerely felt they were conforming to the students' grievances and concerns. There was no indication however that bargaining, negotiation, or third-party mediation occurred. The interviewees maintained that the school officials were "naive and made some mistakes by not really trying to implement the demands of the students."

Junior high school administrators.--Again, there was a difference of opinion as to whether the activism followed the pattern. One administrator said it did, but only partially. Another indicated "yes, somewhat" in response to the question. The final administrator was fairly emphatic that the activism did not follow the pattern.

Junior high school faculty members.--Generally speaking, the junior high school faculty members were divided on this question. While several indicated they did not feel the activism followed the pattern, others said it was really not as structured as outlined above. There did not seem to be evidence of an identifiable degree of bargaining, negotiation, or third-party mediation.

Junior high school students.--Again, the students were almost divided as to whether or not the activism followed the four points outlined above. Two students answered "yes" in response to the question; three were uncertain; and three said "no."

Those interviewees who felt that the activism did not follow the sequential pattern generally cited the absence of the third step, namely, bargaining, negotiations, or third-party mediation.

Responses to Student
Strategies

The interviewees were asked to respond to the ques-
tion: "What approaches, in the short run (at or near the
time of the disturbance), do you feel were effective in
responding to student strategies?"

Board of education members.--One board member said
that closing the schools was effective, but not a positive
solution. The use of police may have been effective, but
not positive. Another member noted that the use of police,
prior to closing, was not a particularly effective approach.
"Airing" views in the "public forum" did serve a very posi-
tive end. Finally, one member said the enforcement of
discipline was an effective response to the strategies.

Superintendent of schools.--The superintendent did
not feel any of the immediate responses were effective.
The days of discussion and in-service education had some
"therapeutic" value.

Central office administrators.--Central office
administrators were generally divided on the question of
effective short-run approaches to the disturbances.
One expressed the importance of meeting some student de-
mands immediately to show good faith. "If you can give
on small things, you can hold on the big things" until
one has an opportunity to study them with the students.

Small group work with students at the time of the incidents also proved effective.

Senior high school principal.--The senior high school principal noted the following responses to student strategies:

> I think one of the things that the students
> want to realize is that you are listening and when
> you listen you do something about it. They asked
> for a "rap room"; they got it. They asked that
> the detention hall be eliminated; we eliminated it.
> They asked that hall passes be eliminated; we elim-
> inated them.

Senior high school faculty members.--The approaches which appeared effective to the faculty in the short run included: (1) closing the school, (2) establishing an immediate dialogue between teachers and students, and (3) being prepared. They suggested every faculty member must feel the responsibility to work together and bring in persons who can relate to the students.

Senior high school students.--The students did not note any effective approaches in the short run; however, they said that the school's use of two psychologists helped to improve interracial understanding. The psychologists however were used during December, 1970.

Junior high school administrators.--Junior high school administrators felt no approaches were particularly effective in the short run. Meeting with large groups of

students only tended to aggravate the situation. The use of police only had a temporary effect. They indicated one should always be sensitive to the problems and attempt to solve them as soon as possible.

Junior high school faculty members.--Many of the suggestions by this group agreed with those cited above. It was also noted that bringing in parents immediately proved to be effective. Again, the teachers noted the importance of instituting some of the students' proposals immediately. To a limited extent, the use of police and closing the school were also effective.

Junior high school students.--The students were almost totally in agreement on what kinds of things they thought were effective. They cited: (1) closing the school, (2) calling the police, (3) calling in parents, and (4) sending instigators home.

Effective Approaches in Dealing with Demands

The interviewees finally were asked to respond to the question: "What approaches, in the long run, do you feel were or are effective in dealing with the demands or proposals?" Some of the following approaches have been put into effect and others are under discussion.

Board of education members.--Board of education members cited the following kinds of effective approaches: (1) remove racist curriculum material, (2) inform White students of Black contributions to history, (3) hold a hearing under the state teachers tenure law on racist teacher behavior or try such a case in court, (4) enforce discipline, and (5) change curricular offerings.

Some board members observed that a student should have the right to choose his own teachers, have a course outline before registration, and have the right to change a course if it is not the course he wants. One board member said that "nothing makes a Black kid more militant than to have a lousy teacher." Finally, one member noted that board members need training on the subject of student activism.

Superintendent of schools.--The single most effective long-run approach to responding to student demands, according to the superintendent, is centered in "open communications" between and among persons and groups.

Central office administrators.--The central office administrators noted the following effective approaches: (1) require Black History for both Black and White students, (2) develop performance criteria for all courses, and (3) provide students with some control over the curriculum. A student advisory committee is presently

operating in this area. One psychology course has already
been developed. A course in leadership is presently being
developed at the ninth grade level; its purpose is to pro-
vide students with strategies for identifying problems,
developing interviewing techniques, and analyzing data.

One central office administrator noted that the
tendency of the community to overreact to student unrest
presents a major problem in resolving the conflict. This
overreaction can lead to polarization of the involved
groups.

Finally, one administrator observed that racial
and socio-economic integration is still a viable answer
to improving racial attitudes.

Senior high school principal.--The principal
stated that the most effective approach lies in being
honest with the students.

> I think, most of all, they [the students] want
> you to be truthful. I think if one can be truth-
> ful with the staff, student body, and parents, that
> this is what they want.

Senior high school faculty members.--The senior
high school faculty noted the effectiveness of involving
parents, particularly when the school is disrupted.
Furthermore, avenues need to be found to involve activist
students in the discussion groups and in-service education
endeavors. One staff member noted the need for additional
minority professional personnel and paraprofessionals.

One Black teacher observed that the Black students have been told the problem is "racism." In fact, there seems to be a general consensus that it is a major factor. What he seemed to be alluding to is the fact that the students do not understand why racism is the problem, nor do they understand the dynamics involved.

Senior high school students.--With the exception of outside-trained human relations experts, the high school students did not note any effective long-run approaches.

Junior high school administrators.--Basically, the junior high school administrators saw further involvement of students in the decision-making processes of the school as the most effective long-run approach to solving student activist conflict.

Junior high school faculty members.--The junior high school faculty noted the need for follow-through on the type of student-teacher communication which was initiated when the school was closed in May. Again, the use of psychologists, who dealt with interracial groups during December, 1970, was mentioned as a very positive and effective approach. Unfortunately, the psychologists were utilized for a very brief time and only at the junior high school.

One teacher suggested the wisdom of differentiated pay for teachers employed at the junior high, to stem the high teacher turnover.

Junior high school students.--The students emphasized the importance of establishing some sort of dialogue between Black and White students. At least one student still felt that taking some students to court was an effective approach. Without specifying any particular approaches, students mentioned the importance of working with parental attitudes.

Summary

The one junior and one senior high school in this study are part of a district which is ranked fifteenth in pupil enrollment in comparison with Michigan's 527 school districts. The major portion of the district is comprised of a city of 97,100 residents, and is part of a larger metropolitan area with a total of 192,100 residents in 1970. The city was voted an All-American City in 1970 by the National Municipal League and Look magazine.

The income statistics for the city and metropolitan area compare quite closely. Over 14,641 of the households in the city had incomes of $8,000 or more per year in 1970. The economy is strongly supported by manufacturing and agriculture. The unemployment rate is generally below the national average.

One university, two private colleges, and one community college, having a combined enrollment of 25,900 students, are located in the community.

An investigation of the community by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission in 1969 focused on employment, education, housing, and law enforcement. Concerning education, the Commission noted that: (1) the school district was de facto segregated, (2) the district lacked a fair disciplinary and school closing policy, (3) there was severe shortage of minority teachers and administrators, and (4) the district had overcrowded, inadequate school facilities where most minority students attended school.

The junior high school under study had an enrollment of 1,021 students, of whom 26.2 per cent were Black; the senior high school had an enrollment of 2,036 students, of whom 19.7 per cent were Black.

The district ranked fourteenth in the state in total instructional expenses of $696.36 per pupil, and sixty-ninth in state equalized valuation per pupil of $22,139.

From October, 1967, to April, 1970, the district experienced intermittent Black student activism, defeat of a bond issue for construction of a new high school, an attempt to recall board members following board action to re-district the schools racially and socio-economically, and labor disputes with the teachers' association.

The activism at the senior high school began on Monday, May 4, 1970, and concluded on Friday, May 8. May 9 and 10 were spent in preparation for the in-service program to be held May 11 through 13. On Tuesday, May 19, 1970, a thirteen-point proposal was presented to the superintendent by some high school students. The content of the proposal is found in Appendix H.

The activism at the junior high school began on Thursday, May 21, 1970, and continued the next day. Again, the following weekend was used in preparation for the discussions and in-service program which began on Monday, May 25, and continued through Thursday, May 28, 1970.

The activism at the high school initially centered on transfer of a Black teacher-aide, suspension of students involved in the incidents, alleged unfair newspaper coverage of the role played by some Black students, alleged insults and beatings received by some Black students, and requests for some curricular modifications.

The activism at the junior high school centered primarily on a demand for a Black Culture Club. The following day some White students organized to discuss their concerns about the situation at the school. Finally, a common request seemed to emerge from both Black and White students, namely, for an opportunity "to sit down together and discuss their grievances."

In both incidents, at the high school and junior high, a wide range of behavior was exhibited, including assaults and destruction of property. Following the incident at the high school, all schools in the system were closed for three days. After the junior high school incident, only the junior high was closed, with students being "phased back in" on Tuesday through Thursday.

The following individuals and groups were interviewed for the present study: board of education members, superintendent of schools, selected central office administrators, the senior high school principal, selected high school faculty members, selected senior high school students, the junior high school administrators, selected junior high school faculty members, and selected junior high school students.

The above individuals and groups were asked to state what they felt to be the basic cause or causes of the student activism which occurred at the junior and senior high schools during May, 1970. The two most frequently mentioned causes centered around (1) community problems, particularly as they relate to de facto segregated housing patterns; and (2) institutional and individual racism on the part of some teachers and students. The second most frequently mentioned cause involved the influence of some local university students, the Topographical Center, and the Malcolm X University (College)

in Chicago. Also mentioned with some frequency were (1)
the lack of action by the school system on past demands,
(2) the negative influence from students attending segre-
gated elementary school, and (3) the lack of success and
frustration with the school program experienced by some
students.

The following causes were also suggested, but with
somewhat less frequency: (1) national influences, coupled
with the rising expectations of minority peoples; (2) the
application of "double standards" in dealing with Black
and White students, particularly in the area of discipline;
and (3) a lack of communication between and among all
segments of the school organization.

When specifically commenting about the disruption
at the junior high school, the following factors were
frequently mentioned: (1) the influence of older brothers
and sisters from the high school, (2) the "spill over
effect" from the earlier high school disruption, and (3)
White students "baiting" Black students. A wide range of
miscellaneous causes for the activism in both schools were
also mentioned.

Next, the interviewees were asked to describe the
behavior of those individuals and groups with whom they
had actual contact.

The board members were seen as having done or not
done the following things: (1) did not take action against

racist teachers, (2) did not visit the school during the activism, (3) became involved in public meetings after the activism, (4) called the central office for information, (5) "were immobilized by conflicting pressures from the community regarding how they should respond to the students," and (6) "gave in" to some pressure groups while not listening to others.

The superintendent was seen as having performed the following role: (1) implemented an in-service program dealing with the activism, (2) only occasionally visited the school during the activism, (3) communicated via the telephone with selected central office administrators in the building and with the principal, (4) coordinated the use of personnel, (5) contacted community persons in leadership positions, (6) transmitted information on the activism to board members, and (7) "tried to appease both sides, hence leaving himself in a bad light with both." With some frequency, teachers and students indicated that there was not much the superintendent could do. Almost without exception, the board and central office administrators responded favorably to the performance of the superintendent. Most negative comments about the role of the superintendent came from teachers and students.

According to the interviewees, the central office administrators had done the following things:

(1) transmitted information on the activism to other central office personnel, (2) answered public inquiries, (3) communicated with the news media, and (4) those in the building worked with students to reduce the level of tension. Some faculty members and students were quite critical of the role played by central administrators, and indicated they lacked a realization of the problem. Students, particularly, were unable to identify them as central administrators.

Interviewees commenting on the high school principal noted that he: (1) had done an excellent job, (2) maintained a "command post" in his office, (3) used the assistant principals as his "eyes" and "ears" throughout the building, (4) tried to encourage students to go back into their classes, (5) prevented attacks on students, (6) worked with police to clear the halls, (7) called parents of students involved, and (8) addressed the staff over the public address system. Without exception, faculty members felt the senior high school principal had performed very professionally.

Commenting on the role of the junior high school administrators, the interviewees noted the following: (1) the principal used the assistant principals as his "eyes" and "ears" throughout the building, (2) they tried to clear the halls, (3) they stopped attacks on students, and (4) they pressed charges against some activist

students. There appears to be some question whether or not the building administrators communicated to the faculty their plan for dealing with student activism.

The following responses relate to the role of the senior high school faculty members. They: (1) performed specific student control assignments, (2) continued teaching their classes as best they could, (3) identified students involved in the activism, and (4) attempted to stop assaults on students. Some central office administrators, faculty members, and students noted that some faculty members retreated from the situation and exhibited fear and were "up tight" about what was occurring.

Commenting on the role of junior high school faculty members, some faculty members: (1) attempted to encourage students in the halls to return to classes, (2) delayed the passing of their classes to minimize congestion in the halls, and (3) tried to stop incidents of assault. While there was no mention of fear on the part of faculty members, it was mentioned that at the time of the disturbances some faculty members "couldn't be found."

There did not appear to be any major differences between nonparticipating senior high school or junior high school students. The nonparticipants ranged from those who attended class as if nothing particularly abnormal were occurring, to those who showed signs of fear, cried openly, and left the building.

Concerning the behavior of activist students, there did not appear to be any major differences between activist senior high school and junior high school students. The activist students were perhaps aptly defined as an "amorphous mass of disgruntled students." They: (1) attacked fellow students and teachers, (2) refused orders from staff members, (3) attempted to enter classrooms, (4) intimidated students, (5) generally screamed and hollered, (6) broke windows, and (7) ran through the halls. In addition to the students who were actually exhibiting the above behavior at any given time, there was generally a group of students who followed the activist students. Some "fellow travelers" from time to time entered into the activity.

The following part of this summary deals with the responses of interviewees to the question of role expectations and what the various individuals and groups should do under similar circumstances of student activism. The suggested changes in role behavior represent a composite from all positions interviewed.

According to the interviewees, the board of education members should: (1) come better prepared for the task of board membership, (2) visit the scene of activism while it is occurring, (3) remain in their policy-making role, (4) financially and philosophically support the use of trained human relations personnel, (5) get in "close

touch" with the students, and (6) find ways of involving more parents in the schools.

The superintendent should: (1) develop a plan to remove racist teachers from the staff, (2) implement an on-going human relations workshop, (3) involve more parents in the schools, (4) visit the scene of activism while it is occurring, and (5) not deal with demands while students are in a large group.

The central office administrators should: (1) be more responsive to needed changes, (2) screen prospective teachers carefully, (3) continue the reporting function, and (4) meet frequently with students.

The building administrators should: (1) give students wider decision-making powers in the operation of the school, (2) create and encourage new interracial experiences for students, and (3) become more involved with students before the activism occurs.

The faculty members should: (1) de-emphasize their textbook- and content-orientation to learning; (2) learn how to deal with students first of all as people; (3) become more involved with avenues leading to deeper human understanding; (4) eliminate "double standards" in dealing with students, particularly in discipline; and (5) not overreact to student activism.

The nonparticipating students should: (1) enter into racial discussions before the activism occurs, and (2) become involved in the governance of the school.

Generally speaking, most interviewees saw student activism as "healthy." However, the use of violence was deplored.

The activist students should: (1) participate in racial discussions, (2) participate in the governance of the school and existing efforts leading toward curriculum revision, and (3) stop the use of peer pressure to coerce other students.

The interviewees next were asked to respond to the question: "Did the activism follow a sequential pattern of initial student strategies; administrative responses to those strategies; bargaining, negotiation, or third-party mediation to settle specific demands or proposals; and implementation of 'legitimate,' agreed-upon changes?"

The respondents were almost equally divided as to whether or not the activism followed the sequential pattern. There was little disagreement that initial student strategies and administrative responses were present. Most disagreement centered on the question of whether or not bargaining, negotiation, or third-party mediation occurred. It appears doubtful that these processes of resolving conflict occurred in any formal manner. Certainly not all demands were agreed upon and hence implemented, i.e. amnesty for suspended students.

Next, the interviewees were asked to cite what approaches they felt were effective in responding to student strategies at or near the time of the disturbance. Although it is not clear that violence was a part of student strategies, assuming the activism was somewhat planned, most were in agreement that the only response to violence is to call in the police and close the school(s). Also cited as effective in responding to activism were the following: (1) airing views in the "public forum," (2) in-service education immediately following the disruption, (3) meeting some demands immediately, (4) listening to students in small groups, (5) bringing in parents, and (6) suspending students who participated in violent acts.

Finally, the interviewees were asked to cite the approaches which were effective in responding to student demands or proposals in the long run. The following actions were seen as effective: (1) eliminating racist curriculum material, (2) eliminating "petty" rules and regulations such as hall passes, (3) instituting an in-service education program, and (4) opening lines of communication between and among all segments of the school organization.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS

    In every institution there are vested inter-
ests. The term "vested interests" is usually
associated with people of wealth and power. But
in every human organization vested interests
exist at every level. The teachers have vested
interests, the principal, the business office,
the athletic department, all have vested inter-
ests. Every change, therefore, threatens some-
one's privileges, someone's authority and
someone's status. Vested interests impede organ-
izational renewal. Every group is concerned
about its own interests.[1]

    One of the things that is clear is that
youngsters and administrators and teachers are
in some places caught into [sic] intolerable
situations where they have mutually conflicting
interests and responsibilities at stake. The
human waste and tragedy is not just that they're
caught in that bind; the greater tragedy is that
their history together has so divided them that
they can no longer rationally explain and adapt
their positions to one another.[2]

---

    [1]Daniel H. Kruger, "The School System and the Sys-
tem of Change," School of Labor and Industrial Relations,
Michigan State University (East Lansing, Michigan: By
the author, n.d.), p. 19. (Mimeographed.)

    [2]Mark A. Chesler, "The Relevance of the Kerner
Commission Report for Secondary Education," A Report
to the Midwest Regional Conference of the National Associ-
ation of State Boards of Education, Lansing, Michigan,
March 28, 1968, prepared by the Center for Research on
Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (Ann Arbor, Michigan:
By the author, n.d.), p. 24. (Mimeographed.)

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the study, report the findings of the case study, and present conclusions and suggest areas for future research.

Summary

This study began with the observation that the literature on student activism in public secondary schools is often fragmentary, speculative, and devoid of theoretical orientation. It was assumed that an understanding of activism is fundamental to the development of positive changes in public secondary schools.

The district in this study was selected from a list, provided by an office of the Michigan State Department of Education, of thirty public school districts which experienced disturbances at the secondary level during the 1969-70 school year. Districts were selected or eliminated based on the following criteria: (1) geographical proximity to the Detroit Metropolitan Area, (2) involvement of racial issues, (3) percentage of Black students, (4) degree of activism, (5) special considerations, (6) size of pupil enrollment, (7) state equalized valuation (SEV), and (8) geographical dispersion.

The application of the above criteria yielded four districts, and these districts were contacted. Three districts were eliminated due to a minimal degree of activism, or a reluctance to participate in the study.

The interview schedule was developed and refined after (1) a review of the literature, (2) a review by the chairman of the guidance committee, (3) discussion with the Office of Research Consultation, (4) refinement in terms of school district files and records, and (5) field testing of the instrument.

The study focused on two instances of activism which occurred during May, 1970, in both a junior and senior high school of a single district in Michigan.

The interviews were conducted by the author and two graduate students, and involved forty-two individual and two group interviews. Most interviews were tape recorded and conducted during and after school hours from December 8 through 11, 1970.

The study sought to describe the: causes of activism, behavior of the individuals cited below, relative role expectations, sequential pattern of activism, effective responses to student strategies, and effective approaches to dealing with demands.

The description of the above areas was from the perspectives of individuals filling the following positions:

a. Board of education members

b. Superintendent of schools

c. Central office administrators who witnessed the occurrences of activism

       d.   Administrators in the buildings where the
            activism occurred

       e.   Faculty members in the buildings where the
            activism occurred

       f.   Students in the buildings where the activism
            occurred.

The theoretical perspective of the study utilized theories focusing on role and organizational reaction to conflict.

A review of the literature showed that the "causes" of activism fall within the following categories: historical, social psychological, legal, political, technological, economic, and educational.

The strategies employed by students and the administrative responses cover a wide range of collective behavior. Presently there is disagreement concerning whether or not bargaining between school personnel and students is both an appropriate and effective method of meeting student demands.

Solutions to the "causes" of activism generally fall within the categories of new roles for students, curricular changes, and in-service education for teachers and administrators.

Apart from the violent nature of some activism, there is feeling on the part of some school personnel that activism is generally a "healthy" sign for American public secondary education.

This section deals with the findings of the study.

1. The administrative personnel of the school district noted, in most instances, that they had no professional preparation for dealing with student activism.

2. It was also found that the interviewees moved from rather wide perceptual differences on causes to rather narrow perceptual consensus on effective approaches to dealing with demands and proposals.

3. The interview results indicated that student activism is subject to multiple causation.

4. Examples of individual and institutional racism were suggested on many occasions as fundamental causes. Individual racism appears to be amenable to efforts directed toward attitudinal change, while institutional racism suggests the need for structural change in the formal organization. To separate the two forms of racism would be misleading, since a simultaneous effort directed at both the individual and organization is necessary.

5. Likewise, problems such as housing and parental attitudes were frequently cited as external causes which abetted the activism. Children raised by parents who themselves grew up in a racially and socio-economically segregated society transmit the values and attitudes of their

subculture. Thus a strong "self-fulfilling" cycle is
set into motion.

6. Content- and textbook-oriented faculty mem-
bers were also cited frequently as factors contributing
to the activism. This perspective by faculty members
helps to crystallize the educational and organizational
distance between teacher and student. When education is
viewed as a common educational experience involving two
learners, formerly teacher and student, the distance
begins to lessen. Furthermore, when the teacher and stu-
dent enter into dialogue on human rights and equality,
the distance is eliminated. Now both parties must deal
with one another as human beings.

7. Bargaining as a means of resolving conflict
was not clearly evident in responding to all student
demands. For example, demands which deal with the ex-
tent to which students are involved in curriculum develop-
ment are perhaps negotiable. Demands dealing with ques-
tions of human rights cannot be subject to bargaining.

8. It was generally found that no approaches
were effective in responding to student strategies when
activity escalated to the level of violence. At that
stage, calling in police, closing the schools, and sus-
pending students appears the only administrative response
possible.

158

9. In-service education involving all segments
of the school organization appeared to have been the
most effective long-run approach to dealing with tensions
so that subsequently student demands and proposals could
be dealt with.

Conclusions and Suggested Areas
for Future Research

1. It is an ancient adage that "an ounce of pre-
vention is worth a pound of cure," but the question is
how educators can deal effectively with activism when
they have control over few of the major variables (those
woven into the fabric of society) and have had little or
no professional preparation for understanding and handl-
ing the phenomenon.

Thus it seems reasonable that institutions which
deal in the preparation of teachers and administrators
need to initiate instruction on the dynamics of activism.

2. Although it seems that "integration" is pre-
sently out of vogue in educational circles, it is pro-
posed here as a step in bringing together the hetero-
geneous populations of some urban areas. If not feasible
for the major matropolitan areas of the country, at least
integration is possible for cities the size of the one
in this study. Racial attitudes are too well established
by the junior and senior high school years; those

attitudes need to be dealt with at the elementary school level.

3. Board members must see first hand the implications of their policies. One or two meetings per month for three or four hours cannot apprise board members of the realities which students face in the schools today. Therefore, board members can find insight through actual contact with the reality of the school.

4. Learning experiences, not necessarily defined as courses, which bring together students and teachers, experts and laymen, young and old, can assist in reducing social conflict such as student activism. Genuine problems such as racism, environmental quality, and the effects of technology on the "human condition" provide a common arena in which human understanding can be forged.

5. Students need to be in major part responsible for the direction of their education. They can no longer and are no longer willing to be the passive ones in the educational dyad. It is proposed that students and teachers cooperatively develop performance criteria, against which educational change or growth can be measured. No longer can we afford to play a "guessing game" regarding the educational expectations of both teachers and learners.

6. New methods of differentiating staff functions and relations must be found, to capitalize on the

assets of the individual staff member. Furthermore, indigenous community persons can be brought into the schools in numerous helping roles, and in addition can provide meaningful liaison relations with the community.

7. New organizational structures, which are much more flexible and less hierarchical, need to be found to accommodate the above changes. There will probably always be tension and conflict between the hierarchy of an organization and the press for democratic participation in decision making. New methods of organization, however, could reduce this conflict.

8. Boards of education and superintendents must identify teachers and other school personnel who exhibit racist behavior. After identification, boards and superintendents must find ways of changing their behavior or develop a procedure for their dismissal. Of course, the dismissal procedure should include due process safeguards.

9. Administrators in cooperation with the faculty must develop plans beforehand for dealing with student activism. These plans should delineate the role and function of school personnel and be clearly understood by all parties concerned.

10. Finally, community education operating throughout all strata of society can provide a "common meeting ground" for the diverse needs of all peoples in the

community. Furthermore, that same community can be used as a "living laboratory" for the educational development of students who are now "school bound."

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

162

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bailey, Stephen K. Disruption in Urban Public Secondary
      Schools. Washington, D.C.: National Association
      of Secondary School Principals, 1970.

Benton, Edgar A. "Legal Trends Regarding Student Rights."
      Dissent and Disruption in the Schools: A Handbook
      for School Administrators. Edited by the staff.
      Dayton, Ohio: Institute for Development of Edu-
      cational Activities, Inc., 1969.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and
      U.S.S.R. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970.

Corwin, Ronald G. The Development of an Instrument for
      Examining Staff Conflict in the Public Schools.
      Columbus, Ohio: Department of Sociology and
      Anthropology, 1963.

Divoky, Diane, ed. How Old Will You Be in 1984? New
      York: Avon Books, 1969.

Gardner, John W. Self-Renewal: The Individual and the
      Innovative Society. New York: Harper and Row,
      Publishers, 1963.

Gross, Neal; Mason, Ward S.; and McEachern, Alexander W.
      Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the
      School Superintendency Role. New York: John
      Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958.

Hickerson, Nathaniel. Education for Alienation. Engle-
      wood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

March, James G., and Simon, Herbert A. Organizations.
      New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958.

Stinchcombe, Arthur I. Rebellion in a High School.
      Chicago: Quadrangel Books, 1964.

Weston, Alan P. "Responding to Rebels with a Cause." The
      School and the Democratic Environment. Edited by
      the staff. New York: Columbia University Press,
      1970.

163

Reports--Published

Measurement and Research Center. People Problems: Population, Pollution, Prejudice, Poverty, Peace. Lafayette, Indiana: Measurement and Research Center, 1970.

National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Final report of the Commission. To Establish Justice, to Insure Domestic Tranquility. New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corp., 1969.

Periodicals

Anrig, Gregory R. "Trouble in the High Schools." American Education, V (October, 1969), 3.

Ashbaugh, Carl R. "High School Student Activism: Nine Tested Approaches for Coping with Conflict Situations." Nation's Schools, LXXXIII (February, 1969), 94, 94-96.

Cohodes, Aaron. "Colleges Give High Schools a Cram Course in Dissent." Nation's Schools, LXXXIII (May, 1969), 34.

Gorton, Richard A. "Reflections on Youth Movements." Phi Delta Kappan, LI (June, 1970), 545.

Grinstead, Kenneth. "Some Legal Aspects of Student Rights." élan, III (Fall, 1969), 3-9.

Gusfeld, Joseph R. "The Problem of Generations in an Organizational Structure." Social Forces, XXXV (May, 1957), 323.

Keniston, Kenneth. "You Have to Grow Up in Scarsdale to Know How Bad Things Really Are." The New York Times Magazine (April 27, 1969), 28, 122.

Kukla, David A. "Protest in Black and White: Student Radicals in High Schools." National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, LIV (January, 1970), 75.

Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence. "On Student Activity--and Faculty Too?" Confrontation (April, 1970), 14.

Staff Reporter. "Channeling Activism in Accomplishment."
       Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (September, 1969),
       39-50.

_____. "High School Activists Tell What They Want."
Nation's Schools, LXXXII (December, 1968), 30.

_____. "Recommendations on Student Activism in High
Schools." School and Society, LXLVII (October,
1969), 342.

_____. "Research Report Says No Arrest to Unrest."
Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (July, 1969), 42.

_____. "Scarsdale's Guerrilla Warfare." Phi Delta
Kappan, LI (October, 1969), 111.

_____. "Schoolmen Split over Student Involvement."
Nation's Schools, LXXXIV (September, 1969), 46.

_____. "Student Activism Steers Away from SDS and
Toward Educational Reform." Nation's Schools,
LXXXIV (July, 1969), 40, 42.

_____. "Unrest: An Opportunity to Change?" Nation's
Schools, LXXXIII (March, 1969), 64.

_____. "Violence Soars in Nation's Schools." Educa-
tion U.S.A. (January 19, 1970), 109.

_____. "Youth in Rebellion--Why." U.S. News and World
Report (April 27, 1970), 42.

Thomson, Scott D. "Activism: A Game for Unloving
       Critics." National Association of Secondary
       School Principals Bulletin, LIII (May, 1969),
       142-149.

Trump, J. Lloyd, and Hunt, Jane. "The Nature and Extent
       of Student Activism." National Association of
       Secondary School Principals Bulletin, LIII (May,
       1969), 151.

                    Newspaper Articles

Grant, William, and Delisle, Tom. "Detroit's Schools in
       a Time of Violence: The Fears, the Victims--and
       Some Answers." The Detroit Free Press, May 10,
       1970, 1B.

Pinkerton, Stewart. "High School Students in Some Rich
    Towns Begin to Speak Out." Wall Street Journal,
    December 26, 1969, p. 1.

Sheler, Jeff. "Rights, Obligations of Young Focus of
    Commission's Study." Michigan State News,
    August 20, 1970, p. 1.

Unpublished Materials

Chesler, Mark A. "Participants' Views of Disrupted Second-
    ary Schools: A Preliminary Research Report."
    Prepared by the Center for Research on Utiliza-
    tion of Scientific Knowledge. Ann Arbor, Michi-
    gan: By the author, August, 1969.

_____. "The Relevance of the Kerner Commission Report
    for Secondary Education. A Report to the Midwest
    Regional Conference of the National Association
    of State Boards of Education, Lansing, Michigan,
    March 28, 1968, prepared by the Center for Re-
    search on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
    Ann Arbor, Michigan: By the author, n.d.
    (Mimeographed.)

"Grievance Procedures in the Secondary Schools: Policy
    Statement by the Metropolitan Detroit Branch of
    the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan."
    Detroit: Metropolitan Detroit Branch, American
    Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, 1969.

Kruger, Daniel H. "The School System and the System of
    Change." School of Labor and Industrial Rela-
    tions, Michigan State University. East Lansing,
    Michigan: By the author, n.d. (Mimeographed.)

Menninger, W. Walter. "Student Demonstrations and Con-
    frontations." A Paper presented to the Conven-
    tion of the Kansas Association of School Boards,
    January 14, 1969.

Paskal, Dolores; Demak, Leonard S.; and McClendon, Edwin
    J. "New Roles and Relationships for Students in
    School and Community Settings." Wayne County
    Intermediate School District, Detroit, Michigan,
    February, 1969.

"Results of the Survey on Student Unrest in the Nation's
    High Schools." Congressional Record--Extension
    of Remarks, Washington, D.C., February 23, 1970.

"Report on Student Unrest Survey, Prepared by the Community Relations Service." Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., September, 1969.

Rhea, Buford. "Institutional Paternalism in High School." Draft of a paper to be presented at the 1967 meeting of the American Sociological Association (Institute for Community Studies).

Schwartz, S. E. "The Civil Liberties of the American Public School Student." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1968.

"State Board Acts in Oak Park Suspension." The Educational Report, VI (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Department of Education, June 15, 1970), 77.

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission. "Guidelines for Insuring Equal Treatment, Equal Protection for Students; Guidelines for Preventing, Resolving Inter-group Tension in Michigan Public Schools." Lansing: Michigan Civil Rights Commission, 1969.

Trusty, Francis M. "Educational Administration and Social Reform." Paper presented to the Knox County School Administrators, Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September 12, 1968.

U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Internal Security, Report. SDS Plans for America's High Schools. 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE SURVEY

Areas Surveyed	Per cent
1. Location of School	
city	25
suburb	20
rural town	54
2. Enrollment	
less than 1,000	68
1,000 to 2,000	23
3. Family mean income	
$3,000 to $10,000	79
4. Predominant ethnic enrollment	
White American	84
Black American	8
Mexican American	3
5. Description of the school	
public	86
6. Significant ethnic enrollment increase in the past five years	
no	78
7. Protest activity in 1968-69	
yes	18
no	78
8. Number of protests	
1	68
2	20
9. Protest planned in advance	
yes	52
10. Percentage of students participating	
less than 5 per cent	59
5-10 percent	19
10-25 percent	10
11. Number of injuries in protest	
none	91
12. Property damage resulting from protest	
less than $100.	91
13. Police called as a result of the protest	
no	76

Areas Surveyed	Per cent
14. Tactics of student protest	
misc.	46
underground newspaper	27
sit-ins	22
strike	17
boycott	15
riot	1
15. Issues involved in the protest	
misc.	41
general disciplinary rules	34
dress codes	33
school services and facilities	24
curriculum	18
teachers and principals	18
student political organizations	15
outside speakers	9
16. Racial issues involved in protest	
yes	30
17. Specific racial issues	
percentage of teachers etc. from minority groups	25
ethnic studies programs	34
other issues	99
18. Issues outside school policy	
no	78
19. Nonstudents involved in protest	
no	69
20. If nonstudents, they were	
members of community organizations	56
high school dropouts	49
college students	43
parents	32
others	30
teachers	28
21. Protest leaders ranked academically in the	
top 1/3 of class	21
middle 1/3 of class	17
lower 1/3 of class	25
cross section of above	37
22. Action taken to resolve protest	
appointed faculty-student committees	44
altered various school rules	40
meetings with parents	27
other action taken	27
meetings with minority groups	15
approved student political organization or underground newspapers	5

Areas Surveyed	Per cent
23. Protest activity anticipated in 1969–1970 school year[a]	
yes	43
no	51
declined to respond	6
24. Protest activity anticipated in 1969–1970 school year[b]	
yes	14
no	53
declined to respond	28

---

[a] Percentages based on number of schools responding "yes" to question 7.

[b] Percentages based on total number of high schools responding.

APPENDIX B

THE SYRACUSE STUDY

The Study cited the following societal causes as factors in the unrest:

1. Violence in America
2. Success of the Civil Rights protests in the 1960's
3. Visibility and apparent success of college protests
4. Expression of ethnic and racial pride
5. Participatory democracy as exemplified by the Office of Economic Opportunity community involvement programs
6. Slum life styles
7. Black revenge
8. Black and White racism
9. The television generation
10. Situation ethics and the new permissiveness

The Study cited the following "in-school" causes as factors in the unrest:

1. Student involvement in policy formation relating to social codes, athletics, and curriculum
2. School facilities
3. Restrictions on behavior
4. Cross-cultural clashes
5. Classification of students and career counseling
6. Increasing politicalization of schools

The Study further summarized a range of responses to student activism, among which were the following:

1. Development of special schools
2. Development of emergency tactical procedures
3. Understanding and honoring cultural differences
4. Engagement of a school's natural community
5. Nonacademic outreach personnel
6. Paid, neighborhood-based security aides at the school

7. Employment of paraprofessionals
8. Community ombudsman or advocate
9. Decentralization

The major findings of the Syracuse Study are as follows:

1. The size of the student body is a more important variable than the size of the city in which a school is located. Larger schools have more problems.

2. Disruption is positively related to integration. Schools which are almost all White or all Black are less likely to be disrupted.

3. Integrated schools with higher percentages of Black students are less likely to be disrupted if such schools also have high percentages of Black staffs.

4. Disruption and average daily attendance are directly related. Where average daily attendance is lower, disruption is higher and vice versa.

5. Principals with the least experience in their office:

   a. Report greater Black enrollments
   b. Endorse a more active response to disruption (in contrast to riding it out)
   c. Report a greater concern for positive preventive training programs
   d. Are more hesitant to project the blame for disruption onto external, nonschool factors.

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL PLANS FOR COPING WITH

STUDENT DISORDER[1]

"In determining whether there has been a disorder, school officials tend to use two criteria: (1) Was a student gathering authorized? (2) Did it disrupt the school program?"

"No district offered a distinction between the terms 'disorder' and 'demonstration.'"

1. All districts . . . had notification plans for actual disorders. These plans called for immediate notification of the building principal and superintendent.

2. All but one plan involved the police. No plan instructed the police on how to handle disorderly students.

3. 65.6% planned to use punitive action.

4. 43.8% planned to involve police as a lever to disband students.

5. 40.6% planned to request simply that students disband.

6. 40.6% planned to request parents of dissidents to come and remove their children.

7. 37.5% planned to set some time limit for disbanding students "or else."

---

[1]"School Plans for Coping with Student Disorder," Phi Delta Kappan, LI (February, 1970), 334.

8.   37.5% planned to request representative spokesmen from the ranks of disorderly students to come forward to discuss the concerns.

9.   34.4% planned to seek out the causes of the disorder by meeting with the disaffected students.

10.   31.3% planned to inform officially (via loudspeaker, written statement, etc.) disorderly students that they are in violation of school policy or regulation and must comply.

11.   31.2% planned to use immediate suspension against students who did not comply.

12.   28.1% planned to retain nonparticipating students in their classes.

13.   28.1% planned to direct teachers to take an attendance check for identification of missing students.

14.   25% planned to provide plans for coping with disorder as soon as early signs of potential dis-order appeared.

15.   25% planned to exclude unauthorized persons from school grounds.

16.   25% planned to use threats of suspension and public prosecution.

17.   21.9% planned to ask nonparticipating persons to leave the disorder area.

18.   21.9% planned to request staff members (other than administrators) to assist in containing the disorder.

19.   21.9% planned to expect staff members to identify disorderly students.

20.   20% planned to notify teachers and board president of the disturbance.

21.   18.7% planned to prosecute disorderly students in civil court.

22.   15.6% expected to dismiss school at the superintendent's discretion.

23. 15.6% planned to insist that students disband before any issues are discussed.

24. 15.6% planned to call for student organization leaders to be "on hand" to speak with the dissidents.

25. 15.6% planned to secure buildings, filing cabinets, unused facilities, etc., as well as possible.

26. 12.5% planned to ban outside telephone calls by unauthorized personnel.

27. A few districts showed signs of meeting disorder with swift, harsh action (e.g. "Any person who consciously ignores or acts contrary to any school . . . ruling shall be deemed an incorrigible person and shall be dealt with accordingly.").

28. Two plans freely stated that they will allow a demonstration to continue if it does not interfere with the operation of the school.

29. In general, the most complete plans attempt to employ a phase-by-phase process for coping with disorder.

APPENDIX D

MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS REPORTED

AS HAVING STUDENT DISTURBANCES

The sample will consist of those school districts which were known to the Michigan State Department of Education to have had disturbances during the 1969-70 school year. They are as follows:

1. Albion School District
2. Ann Arbor School District
3. Battle Creek School District
4. Bay City School District
5. Benton Harbor School District
6. Buena Vista School District
7. Carrollton School District
8. Covert School District
9. Detroit School District
10. East Detroit School District
11. Ecorse School District
12. Ferndale School District
13. Flint School District
14. Grand Rapids School District
15. Highland Park School District
16. Jackson School District
17. Kalamazoo School District
18. Lansing School District
19. Lincoln Park School District
20. Livonia School District (Slight)
21. Monroe School District
22. Oak Park School District
23. Pontiac School District
24. River Rouge School District
25. Roseville School District
26. Royal Oak School District
27. Saginaw School District
28. Southfield School District
29. Waterford School District (Slight)
30. Waverly School District

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Instructions to the Interviewer

1. Identify yourself as a graduate student from Michigan State University.

2. Please inform the interviewee that his assistance is being sought in conjunction with research on student activism and specifically with that which occurred in May, 1970, at _____ High School and/or _____ Junior High School.

3. Inform the interviewee that he will not be identified by name in the final document, thus insuring his anonymity.

4. Ask the interviewee for his permission to record the interview.

5. Be sure to keep the two incidents separate (_____ High School and _____ Junior High School) when asking for responses.

6. Provide the interviewee with the following definition of student activism: The range of collective behavior employed by students in public secondary schools for the purpose of achieving certain changes in their role, power, or status within the formal school organization, including attempts to change the organizational structure of the school.

178

A. In May, 1970, _____ High School experienced student
    activism. What do you feel was the <u>basic</u> cause or
    causes?

B. In May, 1970, _____ Junior High School experienced
    student activism. What do you feel was the <u>basic</u>
    cause or causes?

C. How did these basic causes lead to the activism of
    May, 1970, at _____ High School?

D. How did these basic causes lead to the activism of
    May, 1970, at _____ Junior High School?

E. To the extent that you had <u>actual contact</u> with each of
    the following person(s) or group(s), <u>what did each do</u>
    during the instance(s) under discussion?

    1. Board of education member(s)
    2. Superintendent of schools
    3. Central office administrators
    4. Building administrators
    5. Faculty members
    6. Students who did not participate in the
        activism
    7. Students who did partipate in the activism

F. What did <u>you</u> <u>do</u> during the instance(s) of activism?

G. What would you do differently in a similar situation(s)
    of student activism?

H. To the extent that you had <u>actual contact</u> with the
    following persons or groups, you earlier described
    what they <u>did</u> during the student activism:

    1. Board of education members
    2. Superintendent of schools
    3. Central office administrators
    4. Building administrators
    5. Faculty members

6. Students who did not participate in the activism
7. Students who did participate in the activism

If a similar situation of student activism occurred, what <u>should</u> each of them do?

I. Do you feel that the activism at _____, _____, or at both schools followed an order similar to the following:

1. Initial student strategies
2. Administrative response(s) to those strategies
3. Bargaining, negotiations, or third-party mediation to settle specific demands or proposals
4. Implementation of "legitimate" agreed upon changes

J. Do you view bargaining, negotiations, or third party mediation as an appropriate way of dealing with the demands or proposals?

K. What approaches in the short run do you feel were effective in responding to student strategies?

M. What approaches in the long run do you feel were or are effective in dealing with the demands or proposals?*

---

*The actual questions discussed in the study will be drawn from the above, and will emphasize the causes of student activism, the behavior of the individuals, the relative role expectations, the sequential pattern of activism, the effective responses to student strategies, and the effective approaches to dealing with demands.

APPENDIX F

MONTHS OF UNREST, ACTIONS, AND REACTIONS

IN _____ PUBLIC SCHOOLS

September, 1967--December, 1968

When school opened in September, 1967:

The Nation's eye was on the causes of racial unrest
and a summer of rioting in various cities. _____
Public Schools reviewed procedures and activities
aimed at easing tensions and maintaining a good edu-
cational program for all pupils in the schools.

1. The personnel department's employment practices
   called for active recruiting of qualified Black
   staff members. These practices were being carried
   out.
2. The social studies teachers were including new
   materials in regular courses to reflect contribu-
   tions of minority groups in American history and
   were developing a course in Black history.
3. Similar materials were being assembled for use in
   other subject areas.
4. In-service projects and classes were scheduled to
   improve backgrounds of teachers, with emphasis on
   ways to work effectively with poverty area stu-
   dents and with members of minority groups.
5. Among the experimental programs approved was the
   shift to modular scheduling in two junior highs
   in an attempt to improve school traffic patterns
   and student discipline.
6. Recognizing that serious overcrowding in the high
   schools encouraged behavior problems, the Board
   had studied school building needs, as had a citi-
   zens committee, and called a special election for
   October 23 seeking approval of a bond issue to
   finance adequate high school facilities and other
   construction in the district.

September 5, 1967 to November 20, 1967:

Problems: At _____ High School, during the first six weeks of school, a series of incidents occurred. Students misbehaved in the shopping areas near the school; gathered in parking lots nearby, exhibiting misconduct; reported harrassment of girls by other girls in the _____ High School rest rooms. There were approximately 12 reported unprovoked assaults in or near the school occurring on three different days in a three-week period; two gatherings of Whites, in one instance armed, outside the school; gatherings near and enterings of the school by nonstudents causing disruptions; picketing by Black Action members on two occasions after school; demands made by Black Action to the coach, to the principal, and finally to the Board indicating that areas needing attention at _____ High School included: counseling, Black history offerings, and Blacks on the cheerleader squad.

Actions:

1. Frequent conferences were held between school and police officials to outline procedures for dealing with illegal behavior. Conferences included an early one at which the police chief, principal, and superintendent met. Police patrolled area around _____ High School, dispersed gatherings in parking lots and near school, enforced loitering ordinance in connection with nonstudents, and stationed men within the building. Police investigated reported assaults and they and the school officials urged witnesses to identify assailants and to file charges.

2. A biracial committee of administrators, teachers, and counselors and a representative from the police department plus two board of education members began regular meetings to ascertain the source of problems at _____ High School and ways to deal with them.

3. The Black Action letter was referred to the administration.

4. Teachers began monitoring the girls' rest rooms.

5. At least five organized community groups and numerous individuals petitioned the board to take various types of actions.

6. In late November, school administrators and police officials met with the prosecuting attorney to review procedures for dealing with persons committing acts of violence.

November 20, 1967

The board of education reaffirmed its stand that "law and order shall prevail" in the schools of the district by taking action on recommendations to:

1. Reaffirm its intention to continue to utilize its legal right to suspend or expel those students who disturb the orderly progress of learning or who endanger the physical welfare of another person.

2. Continue to work cooperatively with all law enforcement agencies to protect person and property.

3. Encourage students to prosecute whenever prosecution is appropriate.

4. Develop guidelines for the suspension and expulsion of students and for working with those students who need to prosecute.

In keeping with State Department of Education recommendations and the local curriculum department's direction, the board:

5. Approved a course in Black Cultural History to be offered in the high schools during second semester.

6. Urged the Social Studies Department subcommittee to speed up its activities in locating materials on contributions of minority groups and introducing them into required courses.

7. Asked that the book examination committee select a United States History text which accurately presents the Black in American history for review and adoption for use in the next school year.

8. Asked that pictures of people of all nationalities, races, and both sexes be gathered and made available for display in the schools.

The board also:

9. Authorized additional staff members at _____
High School to include another counselor, a
second assistant principal, and up to two addi-
tional staff members as needed. Asked that' the
counseling function continue under study.

10. Approved the appointment of a committee to review
the cheerleading situation and to recommend pro-
cedures for making application for tryouts,
selection criteria and procedures, and training
provisions, and indicated that two Black girls
should be added to the _____ High School squad
at that time.

All except the first four actions were in keeping with a
list of ten urgent problems listed by students during
their sessions and reported by the staff committee the
previous week.

By the opening of school, September, 1968, the board of
education approved a series of recommendations resulting
in the following:

1. A committee of teachers and administrators
appointed by the superintendent of schools and
the _____ City Education Association reviewed
district policies and procedures pertaining to
student discipline. The guidelines were reviewed
by all administrators before school opened and
schools were instructed to add their own school
building regulations and to implement the pro-
cedures.

2. Following a series of meetings in the spring and
summer with a supplier, a contract was signed in
August calling for student identification cards
at the high school.

3. The board of education approved the employment of
twenty-one additional personnel, both teachers
and paraprofessionals, to join the _____ High
School and four junior high staffs in an effort
to maintain improved discipline in the schools
and to better meet the problems of students.

4. The superintendent called a moratorium on all
staff meetings scheduled for September to provide
time for implementing behavior guidelines in the
buildings and for working on problems of human
relations.

5. A micro-lab was conducted for school administrators and a week-long workshop in human relations open to all instructional personnel before school started.

6. The board of education suspension-expulsion policy was revised and nongraded rooms approved for students unable to adjust in the regular school situation.

7. Board of education members met with city commissioners to discuss mutual concerns.

8. Meetings involving parents and school personnel were initiated in various parts of the school community to improve communication.

9. A continuing close relationship between the schools, police, and courts was approved as a means of dealing with young people more effectively.

September to December, 1968

Following incidents at _____ High School in September, 1968, the board of education pledged its support of the school administration and faculty and, upon receiving recommendations from the _____ High School faculty, approved a series of actions to:

1. Maintain a closed campus at _____ High School, excluding all but authorized personnel and students from the premises and adding teachers to permit door guards and hall patrols on all floors while school is in session.

2. Develop, under faculty guidance,
   a. an improved communications system among teachers, administrators, parents, and students at _____ High School,
   b. behavior codes governing conduct of students and of staff and the implementation of the codes.

3. Provide in-service activities for teachers to improve their understanding of and their skills in working with all students.

The board, once again, urged that firm disciplinary action and/or legal proceedings be employed to deal with students exhibiting disruptive behavior.

APPENDIX G

REPORT FROM THE RACIAL BALANCE COMMITTEE

An Integration Program for the
_____ Public Schools

Phase One: September, 1969
to September, 1970

        Significant progress must be made during this

period in the following steps to prepare the school system

for integration:

1. Through recruitment and upgrading, twenty per cent
    of administrators and supervisors will be Black.

2. Twenty per cent of teachers and counselors will be
    Black.

3. Teachers, counselors, administrators and supervisors
    found guilty of overt acts that are racist in nature
    should not be transferred to another situation within
    the public schools, but instead should be dismissed,
    because it is harmful to all students when school
    personnel cultivate racism.

4. In-service training programs should be designed and
    carried out in all schools to give school personnel a
    better understanding of the minority group students,
    so they may better relate to those students and be
    more sensitive toward them.

5. A more effective recruiting method should be designed
    to attract Black personnel.

6. The present method of selecting members to a screen-
    ing committee for the purpose of screening applicants
    for administrative positions basically excludes
    Blacks. We, therefore, strongly recommend that two
    more individuals be added to the screening committee,
    in addition to those selected under existing personnel
    policy. These two individuals should be voting age
    residents of the school district. One member should
    be White and the other member Black. The Black

community will select its own representative to these
committees. Their selection will be done through the
_____ Association for Educational Advancement.

7. A special committee should be established, consisting
    of twenty-four people and headed by the director of
    curriculum. Two-thirds of this committee should be
    selected from the community at large with adequate
    Black representation. Black members will be chosen
    by the Black community through the _AEA. The remain-
    ing third of this committee should consist of school
    personnel. The task of this committee will be to:

    a. Review the present curricula at the elementary
        and secondary levels.

    b. Review the materials being used to teach students.

    c. Make specific recommendations to the school admin-
        istration concerning curricula and materials.

8. Plans should be made and carried out to communicate
    to students, teachers, parents, and the whole com-
    munity on the meaning of segregation and on the
    reasons for the schools' integration program. These
    communications should take every possible form--
    printed informational materials, news media presen-
    tations, large and small meetings.

9. This committee should be reconvened in November to
    review the progress of the foregoing recommendations
    and report back to the School Board.

Phase Two: September, 1969
to September, 1971

1. There shall be continuing review of progress on the
    preparatory steps of Phase One.

2. Exchange visits by children and teachers in predomi-
    nantly Black and predominately White schools will be
    arranged for and carried out by the school adminis-
    tration.

3. Joint meetings of predominately Black and predomi-
    nately White PTA's will be encouraged.

4. Imaginative suggestions to ease tensions and to pre-
    pare the community for Phase Three will be sought out
    and implemented.

Phase Three: September, 1971

1. A full integration program will begin in all elementary
   schools and individual classrooms. This will achieve
   racial and economic balance in each of five enlarged
   elementary school districts, based on revised junior
   high attendance areas. Thus the neighborhood school
   concept will be maintained, but the neighborhoods
   will encompass larger areas. Certain elementary
   schools would house grades K-1-2-3, and others would
   house grades K-4-5-6.

2. Integrated classes will begin at the seventh grade
   level in each of the five junior high schools, based
   on the same junior high attendance areas described
   above. The eighth and ninth grades will begin inte-
   gration in successive years.

3. Integrated classes will begin at the tenth grade level
   in the two high schools. The eleventh and twelfth
   grades will integrate in successive years.

4. To prepare for this phase, a model of school attend-
   ance patterns should be set up by use of an already
   available computer program, such as the free program
   developed by the _____ Institute of Technology.

_____ PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Office of the Superintendent

RESOLUTION PASSED BY BOARD OF EDUCATION
ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1969

WHEREAS The Board of Education of the School District of
the City of _____ appointed a committee to make recom-
mendations regarding racial, social and economic balance
in the schools of the School District; and

WHEREAS the committee met weekly from November, 1968 to
July, 1969; and

WHEREAS THE committee of 16 members unanimously endorsed
the report of the committee;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Board of Educa-
tion commends the members of the committee for their
remarkable dedication and for their excellent service to
the community in stating so well the goals and policies of
this school system and of this Board of Education.

Be it further RESOLVED that the secretary write to each
member of the committee expressing the appreciation of
this Board and including a copy of this Resolution.

Be it further RESOLVED that this Board adopt phases 1 and
2 of the report and directs the Administration to report
back to this Board on October 6, 1969 of steps taken and
to be taken to implement the same, subject to the follow-
ing:

1. In paragraphs 1 and 2 of the report, 20% shall be
   used as a guideline;

2. The school attorney shall state to the Board its legal
   powers and limitations with regard to enforcing para-
   graph 3 regarding the elimination of racism and the
   Administration shall develop guidelines through defi-
   nitions and illustrations, as an aid to the staff and
   to the community in this area;

3. With regard to paragraphs 5 and 6, the Administration
   shall develop and report to this Board procedures for
   positive employment practices to bring minority people
   into teaching and administrative positions.

4. With regard to paragraph 7, the Administration shall
   develop procedures for bringing members of the

community and especially members of minority groups
into an effective advisory body in order to utilize
to the maximum community resources in curriculum
planning.

5. The administration shall establish a timetable for
    reporting to the Board on progress in the implementa-
    tion of phases 1 and 2.

Finally, BE IT RESOLVED that the Administration report to
the School Board at its convenience, but not later than
the first regular meeting in May, 1970, as to possible
methods of attaining the goals set forth in phase 3 of
the report and shall present an analysis of the implica-
tions, including budget and curriculum.

APPENDIX H

LIST OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' PROPOSALS

May 19, 1970

1. Required Black history, because when text books were printed initially, facts concerning Blacks were not included.

2. Written works of Black authors included in English courses.

3. Music classes should study the contributions of Black musicians and composers.

4. Hiring of two more counselors at _____, and that they be young.

5. Black students be allowed to set up their own student government.

6. A workable grievance procedure be implemented.

7. Detentions be abolished unless they serve an intended purpose.

8. A student-teacher-administration disciplinary board be established.

9. Elimination of compulsory examinations and instead, exams at the teacher's discretion.

10. Establishment of a pass-fail system.

11. A "Rap Room" be set up for students to discuss problems.

12. One afternoon a week be set aside for seminars similar to those held during the three days when school was closed.

13. The final proposal dealt with the apology of police department officials for the behavior of the force during the disturbance on May 4.

APPENDIX I

CHANGES IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

RULES AND PROCEDURES

May 27, 1970

1. Improved supervision of boys' physical education pro-
   gram by rescheduling of staff.

2. Students can leave school only with permission of
   both school authorities and parents and only after
   direct contact between the school and a parent.

3. Students are to remain in class unless properly ex-
   cused or given hall passes.

4. Personally owned phonographs and radios will not be
   allowed in school.

5. The possibility of piping music into the cafeteria
   will be investigated, with music selection to be made
   by a representative group of students.

6. Two additional regular telephone lines, plus one un-
   listed number for administrative use, are being sought.

7. Student meetings can be held in the building only
   (1) after school hours, (2) under faculty supervi-
   sion, (3) if scheduled at least one day in advance
   and (4) results of the meeting are reported on paper
   to the staff and, if appropriate, to other students.

8. Students tardy for school must report to the east
   front door where they will be escorted to the office
   to report before going to class.

9. The possibility of installing public address system
   speakers in the hallways is being checked.

10. A student grievance procedure is to be completed and
    announced Monday. A suggestion box has already been
    placed in the main office.

11. Students will work on student council reform.

12. In-service training of staff will continue.

13. As part of a systemwide study, the junior high is
    continuing a look at possible curricular changes.