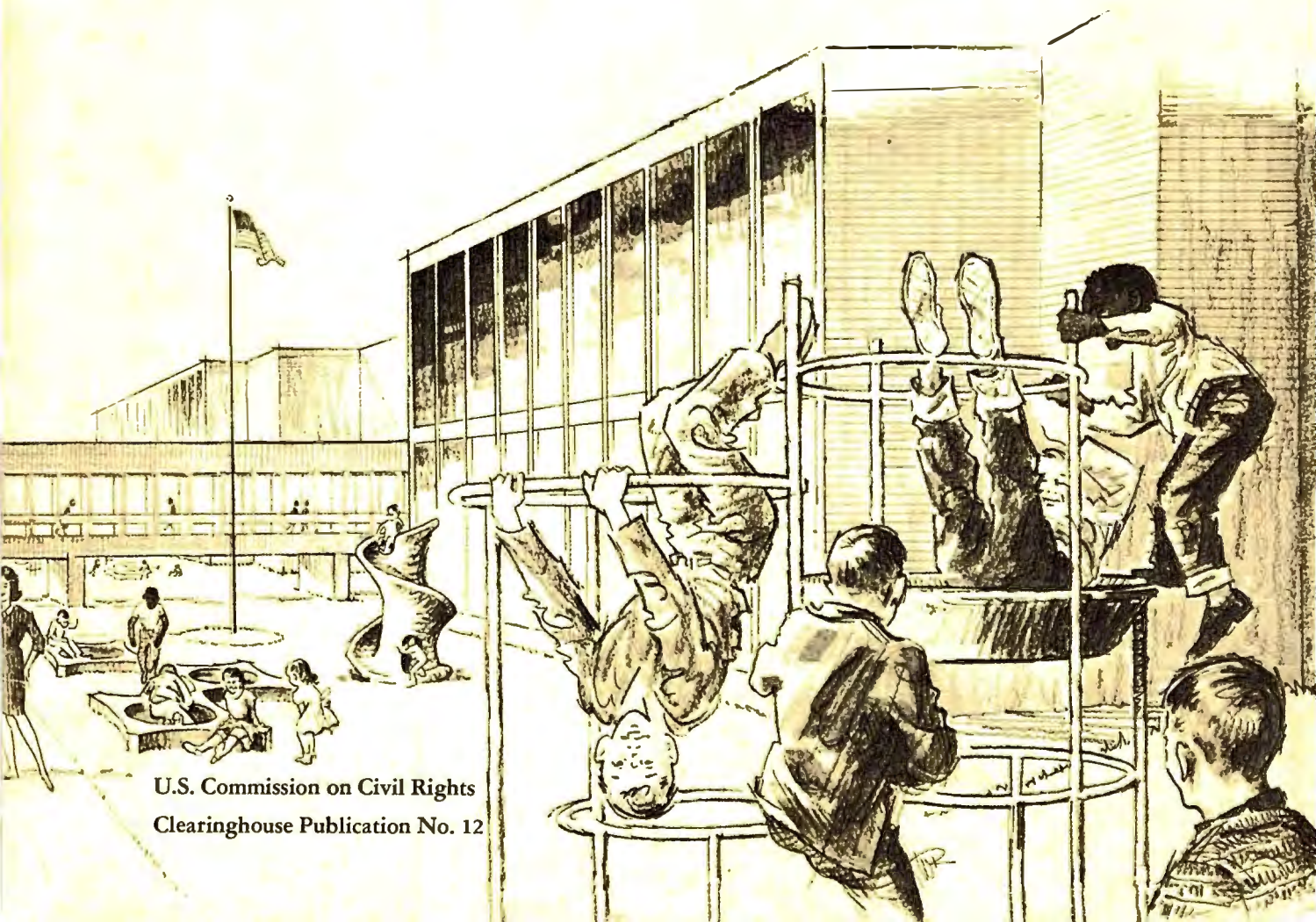
PROCESS OF CHANGE

The Story of School Desegregation in Syracuse, New York



U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Clearinghouse Publication No. 12

Contents

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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The Story of School Desegregation in Syracuse, New York

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June, 1968

Preface

This is a study of a community's efforts to provide quality integrated education in its public schools. At a time when many communities North and South are facing problems of racial segregation of children in their schools and inadequate educational programs to meet the needs of all children, it may be instructive to view the experience of a city which has attempted to cope with these problems. The experience of Syracuse, N.Y., is offered to educators, parents, and teachers, and civic and political leaders in the hope that it will enable them to obtain a perspective on the problems of their own communities. This account is not a prescription for success, but it may provide some useful ideas and information.

This study of Syracuse grows out of an earlier Commission study, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*. In the course of investigating the extent and causes of racial segregation in American public schools, the Commission also investigated the experiences of communities which had taken steps to remedy racial isolation. Syracuse was one of eight such communities included in a survey done for the Commission by Robert Stout and Morton Inger, entitled *School Desegregation: Progress in Eight Cities*. Their findings, with additional materials, form the basis of the present study. In addition, Commission staff visited the schools and interviewed school and community leaders, parents, and children in Syracuse during the spring of 1967. These interviews and visits provided much useful information on what had happened in the schools and in the community since desegregation.

The Commission appreciates the cooperation of David H. Jaquith, president of the Syracuse Board of Education, and of Franklyn S. Barry, the superintendent of schools, and his staff. In addition, the Commission thanks the following persons for their contribution to this report:

David Sine, Director of Research, Syracuse City Schools
Theodore Sturgis, Assistant Director of Research, Syracuse City Schools
Paul Cassavant, Assistant Director of Research, Syracuse City Schools
Miss Elaine Clyburn, Visiting Teacher, Danforth School, Syracuse
Miss Rita Pomeroy, Social Worker, Bishop Foery Foundation, Syracuse

Chapter 1

THE CITY

In many respects Syracuse is a typical American city. According to the 1960 census 216,038 persons lived in the city and 423,028 persons resided in the metropolitan area. In upstate New York midway between Albany and Rochester, Syracuse is an industrial city and a university community. The median family income in 1959 for whites was $3,308 and $2,566 for Negroes. More than one-quarter of the labor force is employed in the electronic and industrial machine industries alone.[1]

Although nearly nine of every 10 city residents are native-born Americans, they retain strong ethnic and racial identities. Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, East European Jews, and Negroes live in clearly defined neighborhoods.[2] Syracuse is a politically conservative city. According to the president of the Syracuse Board of Education, David H. Jaquith, Syracuse is a "relatively conservative city, to the degree that you can equate New York State Republicanism with Conservatism." [3] Mr. Jaquith, himself, was a Conservative Party candidate for Governor of New York in 1961.

The Negro population in Syracuse is residentially segregated. More than four of every five Negroes in 1960 lived in eight of the city's 61 census tracts in the center of the city.[4] The high degree of residential segregation was reflected in the fact that during the 1962–63 school year 58 percent of all Negro elementary school children attended two of the city's 33 elementary schools. In the same year, more than one-third of the Negro junior high school students attended one of the 14 junior highs.

The public school enrollment for the 1967–68 school year is 30,844. The city's parochial schools enroll 14,000 students. Negroes are 19 percent of the public school enrollment, and 2 percent of the parochial school enrollment.[5]

Population movements within the Syracuse metropolitan area in the past decade and a half have contributed to existing racial patterns. For a few decades whites have been settling outside the city in the suburbs, and Negroes, who comprised 5.7 percent of the city's population in 1960, have been moving into a few areas near the center of the city. Between 1950 and 1960 there was a net loss of 11,768 white persons in the central city and an increase of 226,373 in the white suburban population. The 1950 Negro population of 5,000 grew to 12,289 in 1960.[6]

Until recently, Syracuse's approach to the problems of school segregation and educational equality was typical of many American cities. Responding to community conflict over racial imbalance in the early 1960's, the school board denied that school desegregation was its proper concern. During the same period, the Syracuse Board of Education instituted the Madison Area Project, a compensatory education program designed to improve education in two of the city's three predominantly Negro schools.

In 1963, however, the school board began to move toward a different position. It issued a statement recognizing school segregation as a problem and declaring racial balance to be an important educational goal. Not long after that, the Madison Area Project was discontinued. School authorities declared it was not a solution to unequal educational opportunity for Negroes. Two predominantly Negro schools then were closed, and their students reassigned to 12 formerly all-white schools. In 1967, the superintendent estimated that the city was halfway toward the elimination of racial imbalance. The school system is now developing plans for the total elimination of racial imbalance.

Why has Syracuse—in many ways a typical American city—taken such atypical steps? Why did school officials take steps to desegregate the schools? What has been the experience of teachers and children in the desegregated schools? Has desegregation been educationally successful? How has the community regarded desegregation? What are Syracuse's future plans for quality education in fully desegregated schools? It was to answer these questions, at least in part, that this study was undertaken.

Chapter 2

CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

Initial Challenge

Racial imbalance in Syracuse schools first emerged as an issue in 1962 when the Board of Education considered proposals for a boundary change to relieve overcrowding at the Sumner Elementary School.[7] The school was in a relatively stable, racially integrated neighborhood, which was then just beginning to feel pressure from the expanding Negro ghetto. The proposed change would have zoned many white Sumner students to another white school, thus increasing the proportion of Negro pupils at Sumner. Negro and white parents, supported by the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), argued that the school's racially integrated student body should be maintained. They vigorously opposed the proposed boundary change and, as a result, the board rejected it.

But in 1962 the Sumner School was not typical; most schools in Syracuse were racially imbalanced. There were two majority Negro elementary schools (more than 50 percent Negro) and 25 predominantly white (more than 90 percent white) elementary schools. Six schools were racially balanced. The two majority Negro schools enrolled 58 percent of the Negro elementary students. The one predominantly Negro junior high school enrolled more than one-third of the Negro junior high school students. Broader demands for the official recognition of racial imbalance as an educational problem arose from the isolated dispute over the Sumner School boundary. In May 1962, CORE asked the school board to study the problem of school segregation and to recommend solutions. The school board's reaction to this request was summarized by board member David H. Jaquith:

> *I don't accept the premise that racial imbalance creates any kind of missed opportunity. I don't think the school should accept responsibility for solving what is basically a housing problem.*[8]

When the board declined to recognize the problem or to establish a study committee, the civil rights protest broadened again. The Board of Education headquarters was picketed, and Washington Irving, the one predominantly Negro elementary school, was boycotted for a day. The boycott was the first in a series of actions by the Syracuse Negro community designed to pressure school authorities to provide quality, desegregated education for Negro children.

Syracuse school officials have acknowledged that this protest from civil rights groups caused them to give more serious attention to problems of racial imbalance. Superintendent Franklyn S. Barry has said that the civil rights activity:

> *may have been the initial triggering event in the city which started some action toward integration. At any rate, this activity did lead to a more conscious approach to such problems, and to some soul searching on the part of the Board, the Mayor's Office, and some local citizens.*[9]

Two other factors contributed to the final decision to begin desegregation. First, as a result of community protests, Mayor William F. Walsh called in August 1962, for the formation of an Education Study Committee under the aegis of the State Commission for Human Rights. The committee was composed of members of the school board, the school administrative staff, civil rights leaders (including those who had led the school boycott), interested citizens, and staff members of the State Commission. Its regular meetings served as a forum where board members and civil rights activists and others began and continued a dialogue on the issue.

Second, in June 1963, the New York State Commissioner of Education, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr. required all school districts in the State to report on the extent of racial imbalance in their schools and on their policies and plans to eliminate it.[10]

In July 1963, one month after Commissioner Allen's directive, the Education Committee reported to the Board of Education. It found that:

> (1) . . . there does exist a pattern of racial imbalance in our Syracuse public schools;
>
> (2) . . . racial imbalance . . . of any kind is inconsistent with basic principles of education in a free democratic society;
>
> (3) . . . the Board of Education is . . . in a position of responsibility with respect to the racial composition of the Syracuse schools;
>
> (4) . . . it is possible to remedy the problem of racial imbalance in Syracuse through a modification of a number of school boundaries.[11]

The Education Committee recommended that the board adopt a policy with respect to racial imbalance and instruct the administrative staff to formulate proposals for redistricting the schools with racial balance as an important consideration.

From these three sources arose a growing recognition that racial segregation caused educational problems for Negro and white children, and, therefore, was a legitimate concern of the school system. A combination of local and State leadership had identified the problem of imbalance, created an awareness of the board's responsibility for educational change, and stimulated school authorities to begin considering concrete plans.

There did not yet exist a clear and unequivocal commitment, however. Prior to serious consideration of plans for desegregation, school officials established the Madison Area Project. This intensive program of compensatory education was undertaken on the assumption that the educational problems of Negro children in racially isolated schools could be solved by improvements in the instructional program.

During the next 2 years, demands for more school desegregation and the results of the Madison Area Project moved the board toward a stronger commitment toward desegregation.

Steps Toward Desegregation

Initial steps toward desegregation were taken by the Board of Education in 1963, the year in which Syracuse also hired a new school superintendent. Dr. Barry came to the city from the superintendent's post in North Syracuse, a large suburban community. He was familiar with educational problems in the Syracuse area, and brought to his new assignment a concern for the problems of urban schools and the education of poor children.

The first step the board took on racial imbalance was to issue the policy statement called for by the Education Committee. This statement voiced concern over the problem of racial imbalance, and promised to consider corrective measures. But it viewed them within the framework of the neighborhood school policy:

> *. . . racial balance is an additional factor to be considered in boundary revisions, site selections and modifications of school plant facilities; this balance to be promoted in a manner consistent with the goal of providing in the neighborhood schools the best possible education for all pupils. (emphasis added)*[12]

Next, the board took steps to implement this policy in 1963. It adjusted the boundaries at the Sumner School where attempts to relieve overcrowding the previous year had provoked controversy. The school's attendance boundaries were revised so that some Negro students were transferred to two neighboring, predominantly white schools, and racial balance at Sumner was maintained. The change was made quickly, without fanfare, and without organized opposition from the neighborhoods involved. The routine administrative necessity of relieving overcrowding was utilized to achieve desegregation.

In the next school year (1964–65) Syracuse took four further steps toward desegregation. The first was to close the Brighton Elementary School, an old building which had been scheduled for abandonment, and reassign the 141 white and 50 Negro students to three nearby schools. Again desegregation of previously all-white schools was accomplished by taking advantage of a routine administrative opportunity.

The second step was the voluntary busing of 58 Negro students from the overcrowded, predominantly Negro Croton Elementary School to the predominantly white Smith Elementary School. White parents at Smith expressed some opposition, but the plan was not abandoned. An evaluation of the bused children's reading achievement after a year showed no significant difference in achievement between them and similarly situated students who had remained at Croton.[13] Syracuse school officials argue that this was due to the "pressure-cooker" atmosphere of the school, arising from an intensive study of the effects of desegregation.[14] In any event, the study also showed that the achievement of white students at Smith did not decline as a result of desegregation.

The third effort to facilitate desegregation involved another school closing. At that time Syracuse had several schools with both elementary and junior high grades. One of these was the predominantly white Prescott School. Prescott had so few junior high students that it became increasingly difficult to sustain a full program. The superintendent proposed closing it and assigning the students to Madison, the predominantly Negro junior high school.

There was considerable opposition to this plan. White parents in the Prescott district vowed that their children would never go to Madison, even if free transportation were provided. In response to this opposition the school board extended its "open school policy," in existence since 1962, which allowed children to transfer to any school where there was available space. Virtually all of the Prescott junior high students exercised this option and enrolled in predominantly white junior high schools. Many entered the parochial schools. No desegregation resulted from the closing of Prescott.

The fourth step to facilitate desegregation was to have the most significant impact on Syracuse's future plans. Thirty Negro students living in a section of the Madison Junior High School attendance district were reassigned to the neighboring predominantly white Levy Junior High School.

Madison Junior High had been the chief target school of the Madison Area Compensatory Education Project.

Two thousand children each year were involved in the project. Beginning in 1962 approximately $100 more per pupil [15] was added to the normal Syracuse per pupil expenditure in an effort to raise Negro students' achievement and improve their motivation to learn. The project—supported by the State of New York, the Syracuse Board of Education, and the Ford Foundation—provided cultural enrichment programs, special classroom groupings, special instruction in reading and mathematics, and summer school programs. Team teaching and flexible groupings procedures were utilized, and reading clinicians worked with students reading below grade level. Pupil-teacher ratios at Madison averaged 15.

Superintendent Barry described the program at the Commission's 1966 hearing on education in Rochester, N.Y.:

> *It attempted to provide a whole array of extra services. . . . To beef up education in this area . . . we had some very skilled people heading this, [inventing] new ways of developing the ego, the self-concept, and new programs which would make education more attractive and meaningful to children.*[16]

The junior high portion of the project was evaluated by school officials in 1965. The program was found to have had a positive effect on student attendance and community concern for education. But compared with student bodies at other junior high schools, the academic standing of the Madison student body had not improved. It still ranked below all other junior high schools on standardized tests. In fact there was some regression in achievement.[17]

The results of this evaluation of the Madison Area Project were compared with the performance of the Negro students who had been transferred to Levy. Class grades and teacher observations revealed a substantial academic improvement among the transfer students. Mr. Jaquith explained why the Negro students were doing so much better at Levy than they had at Madison. He said that the students had told school officials:

> *At Madison Junior High School, if you cooperated with the teacher and did your homework, you were a "kook". At Levy Junior High School, if you don't cooperate with the teacher and don't do your homework, you were a "kook".*[18]

The Response

The changes in the attitudes and performance of these Negro students had an important effect upon school officials. Mr. Jaquith previously had opposed board action to correct *de facto* segregation. He had opposed busing Negro students to predominantly white schools, and supported compensatory programs in neighborhood schools. The reports on the Negro children at Levy caused him to change his position. Commenting on the Levy transfer he said:

> *This is what persuaded me. . . . And this evidence was good enough so that it was reasonably persuasive to anybody who wanted to be open-minded about it.*[19]

Thus the observed effects of desegregation became a powerful imperative for further desegregation. The board had learned that Negro students would be accepted in predominantly white schools, and that their performance—unassisted by any special compensatory program—improved in desegregated schools.

There were other events in 1965 which prompted further desegregation. The Madison Area Project was nearing termination because the Ford Foundation grant was expiring. Enrollment at Madison had declined to a point where the school district could no longer operate an efficient junior high school program there. Similarly, the enrollment at Washington Irving had declined in 3 years from approximately 1,175 students to little more than 500. Negro residents were moving to other areas of the city because urban renewal in the area of these two schools was demolishing homes to clear land for middle and higher income housing projects, university student housing, and a medical center. Most of the Madison and Irving districts was scheduled for clearance, and urban renewal officials had notified the Board of Education that unless something was done to upgrade the two predominantly Negro schools, white families would not be attracted to the middle income housing.[20]

Making the Decision

All of these influences produced a watershed in school policy. The school staff began developing a comprehensive desegregation plan for the 1965–66 school year. Dr. Barry proposed closing Madison and Washington Irving schools and busing the 900 students to 19 predominantly white schools throughout the city.

School board members favored Dr. Barry's proposals. The plan seemed politically and educationally realistic. It would eliminate the Irving and Madison schools, and solve the problem of having low-achieving schools in the urban renewal area. It would not involve the busing of white children—which the board thought would be protested vigorously by the white community—and it offered promise of remedying the educational deprivation of Negro children.

Support is Gathered

Before the plan was voted upon, the board and the superintendent sought community support for it. Mr.

Jaquith and Dr. Barry spoke to "any audience that would listen." These included the Chamber of Commerce, service clubs, the citywide Parent-Teacher Association as well as the school PTA's and Mothers' Clubs, professional teachers' organizations, civil rights groups, and community organizations and neighborhood associations around the city. In each presentation, the plan for closing Irving and Madison was explained, the reasons outlined, and each group was asked to support it.

Opposition to the proposed plan came chiefly from Negro parents whose children would be bused. Their chief objection was that only Negro children would be bused. Some Negro parents were angered because they felt the decision had been made without consulting them. As one mother remarked:

> *I didn't like it the first time I heard about it, but you couldn't do anything about it.*[21]

Others simply felt that they had not been adequately informed about the proposed plans. Perhaps most difficult, however, were Negro parents' questions: why couldn't the school board provide a good education for their children in neighborhood schools? Dr. Barry acknowledged that it was unfair for Negro children to bear the entire burden of transportation. At the same time he argued that:

> *The one purpose on which we must focus is to do in the shortest time as much as we can to give disadvantaged children improved education. . . . To get these youngsters performing educationally would be the shortest route to racial equality.*[22]

Barry views educational deprivation as a product mainly of the schools and classrooms, not solely the result of the individual student's background. Schools attended mostly by students from less advantaged backgrounds, he believes, do not have an environment conducive to maximum intellectual development.

Some opposition arose among white parents in districts where the Irving children would attend school. At one of the receiving schools parents formed an organization to preserve neighborhood school assignment. This group, the Council for Better Education, argued that busing would downgrade the schools, and that middle income families would move to the suburbs. The solution to Negro students' educational problems, a Council member said, was more compensatory programs. Criticizing the school board for terminating the Madison Area Project,[23] the Council for Better Education called for a public referendum on the question of school desegregation a few days before the board was to vote on the superintendent's plan. Mr. Jaquith announced that the board did not favor such a referendum.[24]

Some parents voiced concern about the effect of desegregation on the receiving schools. In explaining the plan to parent groups throughout Syracuse, school officials stressed that supportive services and facilities would be available in the newly desegregated schools. The promise of such a program was designed to maintain and improve education as well as to allay the fears of these parents.

Instead of waiting for community groups to react to the plan, Dr. Barry and Mr. Jaquith sought their support for desegregation. Mr. Jaquith maintains that it is important for a school board to seek community support for desegregation before making a final decision. In this way, he says, the details of the proposed plan may be modified to meet valid criticisms, and members of the community become involved and committed in the process. He argues that the desegregation plan was accepted because:

> *there was some leadership on the part of the superintendent, there was a rational program with some evidence to justify it, and there was enough time . . . to implement it.*[25]

Where the public schools are administratively and fiscally dependent on the municipal government, as in Syracuse, the support of the city's civic and political leaders is particularly important. In part, the need for this support is related to financial matters. Programs for school desegregation often require money, and although State reimbursement for transportation was available, Syracuse had to finance the cost of transportation for the first year. Approximately $35,997 was to be spent on transportation for desegregation during the 1965–66 school year; since the Syracuse City School District is a department of the city government, the approval of city officials was sought and secured.

Support for desegregation came from municipal authorities and unofficial civic leadership. The Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights formally endorsed it. The business community, represented by the Metropolitan Development Association, supported desegregation. Both of the city's daily newspapers supported it editorially and provided extensive coverage of official explanations of the plan. The desegregation plan also had the support of the Syracuse Committee for Integrated Education (SCIE) a group representing civil rights groups and liberal church and civic groups. The Syracuse Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) formally supported the plan, but CORE officially opposed the plan because it required the Negro community to bear the burden of desegregation.

After considerable public discussion, the Syracuse Board of Education adopted the superintendent's desegregation plan for the closing of Madison and Irving schools.

Implementing the plan

Once the plan had been adopted, the administrative staff began preparations for the opening of school in September. Many considerations were involved in planning for desegregation. The logistics of busing 900 elementary and junior high students to 21 schools around the city were considerable. The receiving schools had to make preparations, principals and teachers had to be prepared for the changes, and parents and children needed orientation.

Planning for desegregation in the elementary schools first required that the number of places in each grade in the predominantly white elementary schools be determined. Schools more than 1½ miles from the Irving-Madison neighborhood were selected, since the State would reimburse up to 90 percent of the cost of transportation exceeding that distance. These were schools which few or no Negro students had ever attended. The assignment of children to the six elementary grades and kindergarten also presented problems. Some elementary schools had extra space in the primary grades and others only in the upper elementary grades. Consequently, not every class in each of the receiving schools could be desegregated. In some cases, additional space was made available by changing the grade organization of the school. At one receiving school, for instance, the junior high school grades were transferred to another junior high school, providing additional facilities for desegregation at the elementary level.

Decisions on where to assign students to schools were a crucial part of the planning. All students from Irving were screened, and those who belonged in a special education class (those with an IQ below 75) were assigned to existing special education classes. Four hundred and seventy children remained to be assigned to 12 elementary schools. Insofar as possible children in the same family were assigned to the same school. In practice, however, families with two or three school age children frequently had children in different schools. Children were assigned so that no more than 10 percent of a receiving school's enrollment the first year was Negro, and no more than five Negro students were assigned to a single class.

Preparations in each of the 12 schools also were required. The biggest change in school operations occasioned by desegregation involved the establishment of lunch facilities in schools where no cafeteria or lunch room previously had existed. This meant that teachers would have to relinquish a part of their free time to supervise the lunch period. The lunch program was added in the second year of desegregation primarily through the efforts of civil rights groups.

Additional staff was assigned to all elementary schools to provide remedial services. Twenty-five remedial reading teachers worked with children in 31 public and three parochial elementary schools. One mathematics consultant was assigned to work with teachers in all the elementary schools. Even this program did not reach all children who were academically retarded. The remedial reading program, for example, includes only those children who are 1 to 2 years behind grade level in reading. There is no remedial program for serious retardation in reading.[26]

As part of the desegregation plan the elementary social studies curriculum was revised to include treatment of the Negro's contribution to American history. This new curriculum was introduced in all elementary schools for the first time in September 1966.

In addition, each receiving school had a 1-day program for the bused children and their parents; the school district provided transportation. The nature of these orientation programs varied from school to school. At some receiving schools, white mothers participated in planning the orientation and in meeting the new parents and children. In other schools, the principal and teachers planned and executed the orientation with little or no parental involvement. In general, white parents in the 12 elementary receiving schools had little formal orientation, although the desegregation program was presented before school PTA's. However, the orientation program did allow Negro parents and children to become acquainted with the school facilities, program, and staff. Each new student was assigned a host student who showed the new student around the school.

Special preparation for teachers and school staff originally was scheduled for all schools, but instead a 2-week program for 25 teachers was offered on a voluntary basis. Principals of receiving schools met with central office personnel to discuss the logistics of the busing program, lunch arrangements, and other special problems. However, there was no comprehensive preparation of the receiving school's teaching staff.

The Syracuse Committee for Integrated Education called attention to the need for orientation programs and supportive services in the schools. Simply desegregating student bodies by achieving some numerical balance was not thought to be sufficient. Orientation programs were needed, SCIE said, to enable children and adults to meet new social and educational situations when school opened.[27]

* * * * *

With the closing of Madison and Irving schools racial imbalance at the junior high level had been eliminated and one predominantly Negro elementary school had been closed. But Croton, another predominantly Negro school, remained.

Chapter 3

AFTER DESEGREGATION

Syracuse school authorities and the Syracuse Committee for Integrated Education recognized that the achievement of some numerical racial balance in a desegregation plan was not synonymous with quality integrated education. Once the schools had been desegregated, new issues emerged in these schools as a consequence of the changes in the racial composition of the student body.[28] For the first time, most Negro children were attending predominantly white schools, and white students had Negro classmates. Most of the teachers in the receiving schools were white with little experience teaching racially mixed classes. White and Negro parents were concerned about how desegregation would affect their children.

What are the issues of greatest importance for parents and educators after the initial phase of desegregation? How are children affected by desegregation? In examining the experience in Syracuse two issues seem most significant: (1) community accommodation to change, and (2) classroom developments which may foster or impede learning.

Community Acceptance

In Syracuse, three factors were crucial in influencing community acceptance of desegregation: (1) the minimal effects of busing on the school program; (2) the maintenance of educational standards; (3) and the leadership role exerted by several principals and teachers.

Busing.—Syracuse school officials planned in some detail to insure the success of the busing program. Children were picked up at designated corners near their homes. Extra personnel were hired to assist the children during the first few days. They were on duty at the bus stops to make sure that children boarded the correct bus. Others who accompanied students on the buses during the entire school year also worked as teacher aides in the schools.

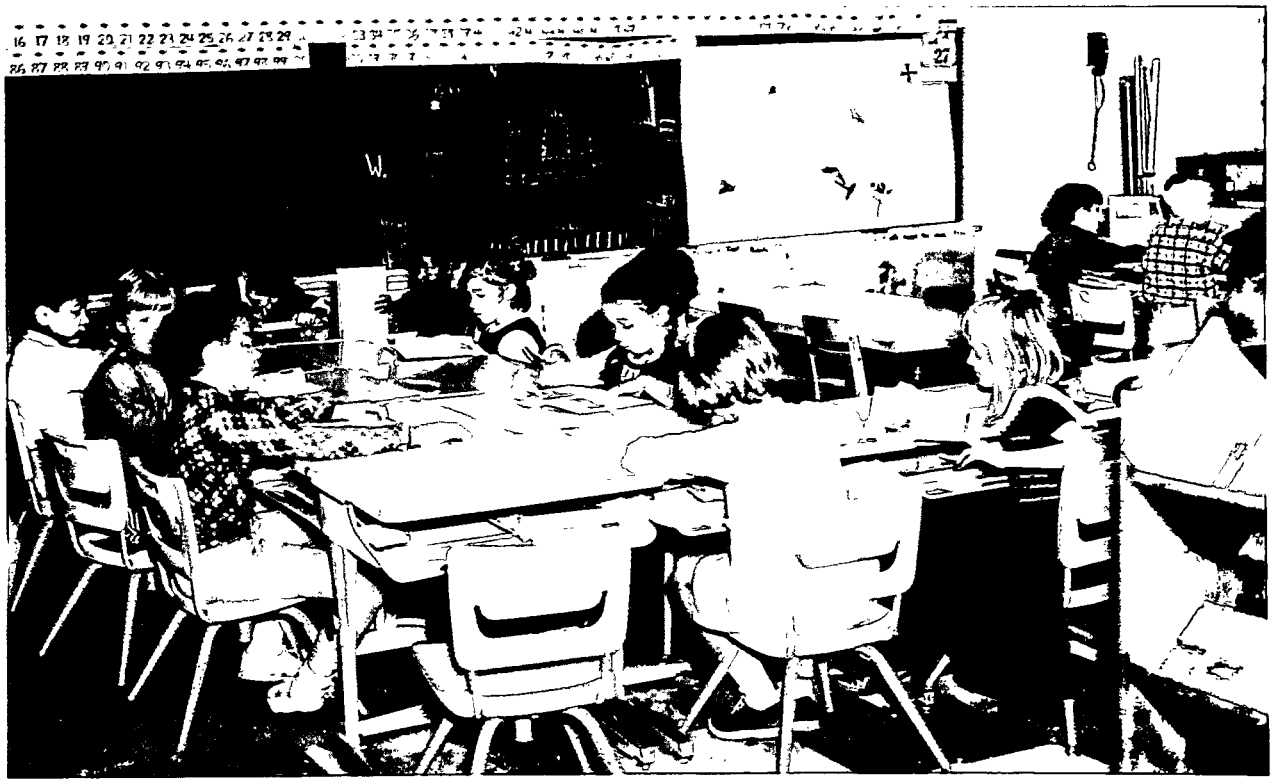
The Syracuse school system chartered city-owned buses to transport the 470 children to their new schools.

Parents and principals reported some confusion the first few days over bus stops and routes. Negro parents were particularly concerned about disciplinary problems on the buses during the first several weeks of the new school year. As time passed, however, the parents reported that their children adapted to the ride and disciplinary problems declined. Dr. Barry thinks that Syracuse has as good a record in transportation as any suburban school district.

Busing caused few problems for students and school authorities after the first few weeks of the program.

Educational Standards.—When the elementary receiving schools were desegregated, the Board of Education supplied compensatory and supportive services to provide remedial work in reading and mathematics to students who needed it. Bused students were assigned to regular classes; children of varying abilities were grouped together. Academically retarded students were given extra tutorial help by the classroom teacher and the special reading teacher. While many of the Negro students from Irving School needed extra help, some teachers noted that not all the Negro children were behind their white classmates. Some were performing at grade level and presented no special educational problems.

Many teachers interviewed remarked that individual Negro students who had entered their classes with serious educational deficiencies had made substantial gains in a



Children of varying abilities were grouped together. Teachers gave extra help to those students who needed it.

year's time. A sixth grade teacher, for example, said about one of her students:

> *His reading level was about [the] fourth grade. His math was . . . in the end of the third grade. He has advanced in his math though. He is completely sixth grade now. I have given him a lot of extra help.*

Some teachers and principals noted that the school and student environment had a pronounced effect on the performance of their Negro students. The principal of one of the receiving elementary schools who had taught at Washington Irving School prior to its closing noticed improvement in the children's academic performance. This principal was asked what had accounted for the change. He replied:

> *At Irving there was constant chaos . . . no learning could take place. Here there is an atmosphere more conducive to learning.*

Another teacher noted the influence of the other children on one of her Negro students:

> *When J. came to my class in September, he was a very withdrawn boy . . . The biggest change I have seen . . . is [his] getting along with his own peer group. He mingles with them much more and he takes part in what they are doing, even though he is one grade level lower . . . He has shown a great improvement in writing and wanting to do things . . . with the class . . . .*

The initial academic performance of Negro students in the desegregated schools was measured in a study done by the Syracuse school system as a part of its evaluation of the desegregation program.[29] A sample of Negro students participating in compensatory programs in the predominantly Negro Croton School was compared with 24 Negro students who were bused to predominantly white schools. Bused students were matched on grade, age, sex, and IQ with Croton students. The results showed that after 1 year the bused students' average achievement rate was twice that of the students in the compensatory program. At the Commission's 1966 Rochester hearing, Dr. Barry reported these findings:

> *The 24 children who were bused . . . achieved . . . a total of 9.2 months progress in reading (in 8 months) while their matched counterparts (in the predominantly Negro school) . . . did but 4 months.*[30]

Syracuse's experience also suggests that there are no detrimental effects on the overall performance of white children in the receiving schools. Teachers reported that their classes were doing the same level of work as they

had prior to desegregation. According to Dr. Barry, formerly all-white schools which were desegregated in 1965 are performing in 1968 at the same or higher levels.

One indication of the performance of the desegregated schools is presented in Table A below. Reading achievement scores are shown for a class as it progressed from grade 3 (before desegregation in 1964) to grade 5 (1 year after desegregation in 1966). A comparison of columns A and B shows that in eight of the 11 schools there was either no change in the median score or there was an increase in the median score since desegregation. In three schools, the class showed a slight loss in its median score.[31]

Table A—*Number of Months Ahead of or Behind the National Norm (Standford Reading Achievement) for Grade 3 in 1964 and Grade 5 in 1966, in Desegregated Schools, Syracuse, N.Y.**

Schools	Before Desegregation—Number of Months Ahead of or Behind the National Norm (3.1) Grade 3, 1964	After Desegregation—Number of Months Ahead of or Behind the National Norm (5.1) Grade 5, 1966
	A	B
1	+3	+9
2	−4	−5
3	+7	+10
4	+1	+9
5	+6	+11
6	−2	−2
7	+10	+17
8	+3	+2
9	+7	+5
10	+16	+25
11	+3	+4

*Figures based on grade median scores.

Role of the School Staff.—The leadership of some principals and teachers apparently contributed to the acceptance of desegregation by the Syracuse community. The principal of a school located in a community in which opposition to busing had been most vociferous reported that in the first few weeks after the Negro children arrived, some neighborhood parents watched the school closely. The principal firmly sought to reassure white parents that the school was functioning normally. She informed the PTA that the school's normally high academic performance was being maintained. Two years later this principal reported that parental concern about desegregation had diminished to some degree and that a majority of the community had accepted desegregation.

The principal dealt with opposition to desegregation among the teachers by making it clear that policymaking was the function of the school board and that the teachers' responsibility was to teach in a manner consistent with that policy. She appealed to the teachers' professional pride in working with individual children and indicated that this would be expected of them when the school was desegregated. One teacher interviewed at this school strongly disapproved of desegregation but, despite her feelings, she and other teachers had helped to make desegregation work by devoting extra time to their students. When asked why, despite her views, she worked hard at the school, she replied:

> *The Board of Education set the policy and I work for the Board of Education.*

The school principal reported that no teacher in her school had transferred or resigned because of desegregation.

Another principal dealt with hostile white parents in such a way that their attitudes toward the recently desegregated school became more positive. A white parent had refused to send her children to school because "they had been chased home by a mob of Negro children." The principal and the Negro girl who argued with the white children visited the white family. When the principal explored the problem and found that it was a minor disagreement among the children, the parent sent her children back to school. Since that incident, the principal has noticed that the attitude of the family toward the school has become positive. This principal has also visited the homes of Negro families and dealt with their complaints immediately to convince them that the school was interested in their children. This approach, the principal reported, helped establish better rapport between home and school.

Still another school principal helped Negro and white children to know each other better by suggesting to the school PTA that neighborhood families invite the bused students to lunch on a day when luncheon was not served at the school.

Some teachers made special efforts to help their students overcome individual problems. For example, one teacher took a bused student home whenever he missed the school bus because of a field trip or after-school work. Another teacher visited the home of one of her pupils and helped the child's parent with adult education courses. These teachers reported that such efforts resulted in closer cooperation between home and school and improved their ability to help their students with classroom work.

Among the teachers and principals interviewed in Syracuse, several remarked that invariably Negro parents readily cooperated with the school staff when their chil-

dren were experiencing any learning problems. These parents responded to messages from teachers and frequently came to school to discuss their children's work.

On the other hand, Negro parents were not well represented at PTA meetings despite the fact that the school system provided transportation for them. Mr. Jaquith and other school authorities have acknowledged the need to make much greater efforts to involve parents in school affairs throughout the city.

How Did Negro and White Parents Feel About Desegregation of the Schools?—Several mothers of bused children were interviewed. They reported that although they were initially dissatisfied with the busing arrangements, they were generally pleased with the new schools. Virtually all of the mothers interviewed felt that their children were doing better work. A typical comment was:

> *I think the new schools are better than Washington Irving and my kids are learning more.*

Aside from the academic benefits, some Negro mothers felt that racially mixed schools had other advantages for their children. One woman remarked:

> *I do think children have something to offer one another. When the students went to Grant [a predominantly white junior high that was desegregated when Madison was closed] they felt strange because they had not been around white students [before]. Very shortly these kids are going to be in the adult world. They have to learn to be able to function in the community as a whole at some time or another; I think this is the best time.*

If Negro parents in Syracuse had accommodated to desegregation, how did white parents in the receiving schools react? Parents and school officials interviewed agreed that the initial apprehension among white parents gradually diminished. By 1967 most parents had accepted desegregation. One white mother thought that the extra, supportive services that were introduced into the school when it was desegregated made an impression on parents. She remarked:

> *I think it made the overall situation more acceptable because they knew . . . that rather than lowering the level of education it would enhance it.*

A white teacher thought desegregation would be beneficial for white children:

> *. . . there had never been a Negro child in the school which seems to be . . . an unnatural situation They [the white children] would have to meet this problem and it's much easier when they are little.*

Perhaps the chief indication of acceptance of desegregation in the white community is the statistics which show that there has been no sharp decline in white enrollment in the 12 elementary receiving schools since Negro students began attending the schools. Total white enrollment in Syracuse's elementary schools had risen from 12,805 in 1962 to 14,635 in 1965. In the 11 receiving schools[32] there was a corresponding rise in white enrollment in the same 3-year period. The 11 receiving schools—with a combined white enrollment in 1964 of 5,000—lost 186 white students during the first year of desegregation, but there was a similar decline in white enrollment in all elementary schools that year. In the second year of desegregation white enrollment in the 11 schools and the system generally began to rise. In the 1967–68 school year the number of white students was still increasing.

Mr. Jaquith reports that very few white families have taken their children out of the public schools specifically because of desegregation. On the whole, he feels that school desegregation has been accepted:

> *I think that the staff and the parents in the receiving schools are reasonably adjusted to the situation . . . .*

Inside the Classroom

The second issue posed by school desegregation is what happens in the classroom after desegregation. The experience of Syracuse's elementary schools, based on staff interviews with white and Negro students, teachers, and principals revealed that when Negro and white children attended class together for the first time, race invariably became a new dimension of the classroom. Interracial tension existed among children who were fearful of associating with those of another race. Interviews also revealed that teachers, mostly white, were frequently unprepared, indeed reluctant, to deal with racial problems. Many staff members lacked knowledge about racial problems and consequently were unable to cope with situations in desegregated classrooms. Finally, interviews revealed that some Negro children found the predominantly white environment somewhat hostile and difficult to cope with.

Interracial Tension.—Tension among Negro and white students was most frequently expressed in the uneasiness the children felt toward each other. Students viewed each other as clannish and ready to provoke fights. A white fifth-grade student explained what desegregation meant to her during the first few days of school:

> *It wasn't too hard because most of them were friends and they didn't know anybody, and we*

didn't know any of them. We just did not want to play with any of them because we thought they would want to start fights.

Children of both races said that outside the classroom they preferred to associate with children of their own race. Teachers and principals invariably observed that the Negro students initiated "self-segregation", but the students' comments indicated that both Negro and white students shared this tendency. A Negro boy observed:

When we go outside, the white kids . . . don't want to play with us; they call us all kinds of names. They call us ugly and tell us we came from Africa . . . .

Students reported that they felt uncomfortable when race or color was mentioned in class. Negro students reported that when any reference to Negro was made, white students would stare at them. Teachers, they said, would not correct their white classmates for behavior they considered offensive. One Negro boy commented:

In social studies class the teacher will say something about Negro kids and everybody will look at you . . . When we talk about white students, we don't look at them.

White students confirmed this observation. One student remarked:

When the teacher is giving us a lesson and something comes up about Negroes, everybody looks at the Negro kids.

In some instances, however, students were able to talk freely about Negroes in the school curriculum, on television, and in the news. But even in these cases, Negro and white students did not discuss these topics with each other.

For example:

Fourth girl: *We're studying about American history and the cities. Twice I read in the paper that there were riots in Tampa, Florida, and they were throwing cocktails at the cars and they were burning down buildings and houses.*

Question: *Do you ever talk about these things with the Negro children in your class?*

Third girl: *No.*

Fourth girl: *We talked about it with [student's name] and she would get mad because we called her a Negro once and she didn't like it.*

There also was tension between some white staff members and Negro children. White teachers frequently viewed Negro children as a problem even before desegregation occurred. One teacher explained how she and other teachers felt about teaching a racially mixed class for the first time:

We had heard about this rowdiness. . . . We were wondering would . . . they give us trouble. I think this was the most pressing issue with the faculty, wondering what would come out of the Negro children compared to our white children.

Another teacher acknowledged the tendency to view Negro children as troublemakers:

After a while when you hear about someone who gets into trouble and they are usually Negro children, there is just naturally going to be an association.

Some teachers and principals complained that Negro children used "bad" language, exhibited rough manners, were impudent, and were involved in frequent fights. While acknowledging that white children also caused disciplinary problems, these teachers felt that Negro children created additional disciplinary problems in class, in the lunchroom, and on the playground. They also reported, however, that these problems declined as the year progressed and that Negro and white students alike gradually adapted to the standards of conduct set by the school staff.

Some white teachers who felt Negro children were disciplinary problems mentioned their "belligerency", "defiance", and "lack of respect for authority". One explained how she viewed the problem:

Some of the children I have had . . . have joined the other group without any problem at all. Then there are others with a spirit of belligerency, defiance—I just don't know how to cope with it. It is difficult to discipline the Negro children. They are resentful and defiant of discipline . . .

The behavior of such Negro children, on the other hand, appeared to stem from their hostility toward both white and Negro authority figures and from their feelings of persecution and discrimination in the desegregated school. Some of the Negro children saw injustices in virtually every incident.[33] Their feelings were exhibited in several remarks. One boy, for example, reported that a bus driver called the students "niggers". He said:

If the bus driver has the nerve to . . . push us around, well . . . I'm going to hit him back. I ain't gonna let no white person hit me.

One girl felt that Negro and white students were treated differently:

Some times when the white kids bother us we go tell the teacher and she doesn't do anything

about it. When we hit the white kids, she wants to fuss at us . . . and holler.

Some Negro students viewed their principal—Negro or white—as taking sides against them. One girl commented about her white principal:

The principal at our school will just ignore you. She's on the white people's side. They won't do anything for you. . . .

A boy remarked about the Negro principal of his school:

He should try to be on his own side. If they get a whole bunch of Negroes on the white people's side and we have . . . a war in Syracuse . . . and . . . we're just going be dead. . . .

Teachers and principals frequently failed to understand why Negro students exhibited this hostility. A common feeling was expressed by the statement of one teacher:

She [a Negro student] is sullen. This is very characteristic of these youngsters. . . . And then if you say anything, they will make a face, as much as to say "how dare you." White children don't pout.

Another teacher observed:

The desire of the Negro children to retaliate is what makes it so difficult. The desire to get even with teachers and students. . . . There have been incidents of vandalism after school. I think this is also retaliation.

The comments of students and teachers indicate that what teachers interpreted as poor discipline and belligerent attitudes were, in some measure, the reactions of Negro children toward what they considered a hostile environment. That many teachers failed to perceive this is a measure of the need for much greater sensitivity on the teachers' part.

Interracial tension in desegregated schools is a product of fear, distrust, lack of understanding, and previous isolation. Many teachers view this situation only in terms of unruly Negro children who need discipline. Some recognize that it is more complex and that teachers need assistance in understanding and dealing with the problem. One teacher admitted that she did not understand why Negro students seemed so hostile. "If I did know why," she remarked, "I might be able to do something about it."

The reduction of interracial friction in a school is important to the ultimate success of desegregation. There is evidence, moreover, to demonstrate that the presence of such friction can adversely affect the academic performance of Negro students.[34]

Racial Identity.—Apparently one of the most frequently misunderstood situations which emerged in desegregated schools was Negro children's problems of racial identity. Teachers reported, for example, that when Negro students were called "a Negro" by other students, they were insulted and sometimes burst into tears. Some teachers recognized that some Negro students had difficulty accepting the color of their skin, yet they were puzzled by these episodes and frequently were unable to help the child with his feelings. Often the teacher's response only tended to reinforce the Negro child's sense of inferiority. One teacher explained how she tried to help students accept differences among people:

I say . . . that there are some things that we can work on and improve and other things you have to accept. . . . If I were born a Negro, I would have to accept it. If I were born a Chinaman, I would have to accept it.

A similar incident involves the use of the word "black" by Negro students as an insult. One teacher reported that she was called "a big black thing" by a Negro student in her class who was angry with her. The teacher could not understand the student's outburst:

. . . Why is the color black so bad to them? Why do they think that? After all, you are supposed to accept yourself. Don't they accept themselves?

Psychologists and psychiatrists have established that Negro children are aware of color differences as early as age three. They also have shown that Negro children growing up in a culture in which white is deemed superior to black may seek to identify with white and reject black.[35] Few Syracuse teachers who were interviewed understood the phenomenon of self-rejection as early racial awareness. One teacher remarked that she had attended a 2-week workshop prior to desegregation, but nothing she had learned there had helped her understand why Negro children felt the word "black" or "Negro" was derogatory.

Teacher Attitudes Toward Race.—More pervasive than the basic lack of knowledge of children's perceptions of race was the frequent fear and reluctance among teachers interviewed to deal in any way in the classroom with issues involving race or color. Teachers portrayed their attitudes and practices in the classroom as color-blind.

A particularly common belief was that young children, particularly in the first through third grades, are without prejudice and totally unconscious of color. As one first grade teacher said:

Color means nothing to children. They don't identify themselves as white or colored.

Yet other first grade teachers pointed out that their students readily discussed the color of their skin. One teacher recalled that white children in her class were quite surprised to discover that the palms of their Negro classmates' hands were not black. And even those teachers who thought children were unconscious of color acknowledged that their students exchanged racial epithets such as "blackie" or "white cracker". But these incidents were interpreted as bad manners or child's play rather than color awareness or prejudice. One teacher thought that racial name calling among young children was meaningless since Negro children used such terms as "nigger" among themselves.

A first grade teacher in a school where enrollment was almost 60 percent Negro was asked whether issues dealing with race or color ever came up in class:

> Answer: *It never comes up in my class.*
>
> Question: *Do you ever bring it up in any connection.*
>
> Answer: *I can think of no occasion.*

Yet this same teacher did say that when her students engaged in racial namecalling, she discussed color differences with them.

Other teachers were even more determined to avoid race. They maintained that talking about race or racial prejudice created rather than resolved problems. Most teachers were reluctant to deal with racial differences because of uncertainty about acting in a biracial situation. One teacher admitted:

> *I was never sure how to handle the Negro situation* [sic] *if it came up in the classroom.*

Although many teachers were reluctant to recognize race, they themselves were color conscious. As one teacher observed:

> *It is rare to hear race mentioned [in school]. Sometimes, however, race is mentioned when it's not pertinent: 'The little colored boy who was cutting-up in the lunchroom'. Other times, when it would be proper to say Negro . . . it isn't said.*

On the other hand, some teachers did discuss race and prejudice in class in a conscious effort to promote understanding. They maintained that one method of helping Negro and white children deal with racial differences was to introduce the topic into the curriculum. The principal of a predominantly white school commented:

> *Children and adults must deal with it and we must educate for this. These are noble ideas we talk about, but unless you address yourself to them, then really you don't have any program. You have to mention race. The curriculum and use of integrated books in Syracuse is a big help toward this end.*

A white teacher commented:

> *Now that we are doing some studying [of] . . . famous Negro men, . . . this helps to have a little more understanding not only here at school, but . . . at home . . . .*

This teacher discussed prejudice and discrimination in her class:

> *I have started . . . trying to give the children an understanding of what is going on today so that they . . . will have some understanding of how to cope with [prejudice] in the future . . . .*

On balance, however, more teachers were hesitant and unsure of how or when to deal with racial issues in the classroom.

Preparation of Staff

That these problems exist in desegregated schools reflects the racial isolation experienced by both white and Negro Americans. Negro and white children bring to newly desegregated schools an ignorance of each other because they have had no previous association. This is a factor of prime concern to school officials after desegregation has occurred.

Teacher preparation for desegregation in Syracuse was minimal. In 1965 there was a 2-week voluntary workshop in the summer for teachers, administrators, and parents.[36] Although each summer since 1965 there have been similar workshops, only 25 teachers from the entire school system have attended these sessions each year. There has been no system-wide preparation for all teachers on the educational and social problems occasioned by desegregated schools. Even those teachers who had attended the workshops reported that the summer program had not necessarily helped them understand children's racial attitudes or aided them in dealing with problems arising in biracial classrooms. Individual teachers indicated that they would appreciate such help:

> *Those problems have never been discussed in teacher meetings, parents meetings, or with the children. Many teachers wish that they were.*

* * * * *

In summary, Syracuse's experience suggests that school officials must prepare to deal effectively with desegregation in the classroom as well as in the community. Teachers and administrators who exert strong leadership help

the community and the students adjust to the change. Integrated textbooks and curriculum also contribute toward an interracial climate of acceptance. In the classroom, however, few teachers understand how children of both races perceive each other in a desegregated setting. Few realize that their own attitudes toward race, conditioned by the racial separation in American society generally, have an impact on the children's adjustment to the new situation and on the ultimate success of the desegregation program. And although the school board and superintendent firmly supported desegregation, for the most part teachers had little guidance in dealing with the concrete, practical problems of interracial association in the classroom. Dr. Barry has said that these problems may be due to a lack of communication:

> *I think we are all so afraid of* [*race*] *that we don't even talk about it. Maybe this is the thing that is missing. . . . Let's get it out on the table.*

Chapter 4

PROPOSALS FOR ELIMINATING RACIAL IMBALANCE

Despite the closing of Irving and Madison schools in 1965, there continues to be substantial racial imbalance in Syracuse schools. When Irving and Madison were closed three other elementary schools[37] had majority Negro enrollments. In 1966 a fourth school became majority Negro.[38] By the 1967–68 school year more than half the Negro elementary school children attended these four schools, and there were five elementary schools where the Negro enrollment was 2 percent or less of the total enrollment.

Although the problem of racial concentration exists now only at the elementary level, Negro enrollment at one junior high school—Roosevelt—is increasing. Already its proportion of Negro students is more than twice (40.5 percent) that of the school system's ratio of Negro students at the junior high level (15.5 percent). Although a new junior high is scheduled to open in 1968 which may help to preserve racial balance, racial imbalance at Roosevelt may increase.

What plans does the Syracuse Board of Education have for eliminating existing racial concentrations in its schools? The long range plan is envisioned in a feasibility study of the campus school plan.[39] This plan envisions four education parks by 1990 serving all elementary school children in the city. But until this proposal becomes a reality, school officials must deal with shifting racial concentrations, increasing racial imbalance, and community demands for quality integrated education on a year-to-year basis. The problems inherent in such a piecemeal approach are well illustrated by the history of efforts to desegregate the Croton School.

Croton

After the 1966 closing of Madison and Irving, Croton Elementary School was the most immediate problem facing school officials. Its enrollment of 1,100 (89 percent Negro) comes chiefly from two public housing projects, and academically it has been a low performing school, rated well below other Syracuse elementary schools on standardized tests.

The success with Madison and Irving in 1965 led the superintendent and school board to develop a similar closing plan for Croton. Dr. Barry recommended that Croton students be bused out of their neighborhood and that the school eventually be closed. For the first year, he proposed that 200 students be bused on a voluntary basis from Croton to predominantly white schools beginning in September 1966. As additional space was made available in other schools, more Croton students would be bused out until the school was empty. It would then be closed or converted to other use.

Immediate opposition to this plan arose from the Croton community. The opposition focused on the fact that the plan called for busing only Negro children and this was considered discriminatory. A coalition of neighborhood and civil rights groups generated such opposition to the superintendent's plan through boycotts and demonstrations that it was finally withdrawn.

There have been other proposals for desegregating Croton. In March 1965, the Education Committee of the Syracuse Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights advanced two proposals for pairing Croton with four predominantly white schools on the city's South Side.[40] One plan envisioned converting Croton into an Early Childhood Center for children in kindergarten and first grade. The other plan proposed making Croton a South Side middle school for grades five to six. Both of these proposals, however, would have necessitated the involuntary busing of white students to Croton. Fearing determined white opposition to such action, the Board of Education did not adopt these pairing proposals.

The superintendent and Board of Education thus were caught between Negro parents who objected to busing their children out of the neighborhood unless Croton was kept "open and integrated" and white parents who would not accept any plan to bus their children into a predominantly Negro school.

The school system's response to these conflicting community pressures was to propose the voluntary integration of Croton. In June 1966, Dr. Barry proposed extending the "open school policy" to give preference to Croton students transferring out of the school. It was thought that this plan would have the same effect as the mandatory busing of 200 students. However, few students applied for transfer.

The next attempt to desegregate Croton School was Dr. Barry's proposal to bus 700 white children to the school on a voluntary basis. These students' places were to be taken by Croton students who would be bused out voluntarily to predominantly white schools. The plan, announced in July 1966, stipulated that unless 700 white children and 700 Croton children signed up by September 1, 1966, no transfers would be permitted. With the help of the city's clergy, and radio and television

appeals, the superintendent launched a communitywide campaign to recruit the volunteers. To make Croton more attractive, Barry promised special instructional programs, hot lunches, and smaller classes. Yet the appeal for white volunteers netted only 68 applications for transfer and Project 700 was canceled. Neither voluntary busing for white students or involuntary busing for Negro students was an acceptable solution for Croton.

The Excel Program.—Failure to solve the problem of Croton did not deter school authorities from making further efforts. In the 1967–68 school year, the board approved a two-part program for Croton.[41] The first, the Unlimited Educational Achievement Program, is a special program for fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students of high ability. Two hundred and ten students—170 whites and 40 Negroes—were enrolled in the program. The Excel Program is self-contained; the children in it have no contact with those regularly enrolled at the school. The program was designed to:

> *emphasize science and math, a sequential course in Spanish, an in-depth instructional program in English, literature, social studies, reading, spelling and writing. Physical education, art and music will be further enriched by a specially designed performing arts program.*[42]

The purpose of the Excel Program, according to Dr. Barry, is "to break the stereotype of the school as all black, troublesome, and low performing." School officials had no difficulty getting white children to volunteer for Croton, because of the special program offered. Four hundred applications were received for 210 openings. As a part of the project, 190 Croton students are bused on a voluntary basis to predominantly white elementary schools. Transfers to predominantly white schools were offered on a voluntary basis to all children in grades 4 to 6. Special efforts were made to inform parents of the possibility of transfer to other elementary schools.

Croton-on-Campus.—The second phase of the program, Croton-on-Campus, is a cooperative project between the Syracuse City School District and Syracuse University. Since September 1967, 300 Croton students in grade 4 to 6 have spent half of every school day in special classes on the campus of Syracuse University, where they have the use of special facilities and instructions. The other half of the day the Croton students return to classes at Croton with a select group of highly motivated Croton teachers. Class size in Croton has been established at 25. It is much too early to determine what impact this program has had on Croton students.

The Croton-on-Campus Program was planned by school officials in close consultation with several parents in the Croton community. Some parents, however, have objected to the program. They have petitioned New York State Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., to enjoin the school board from implementing the program until an investigatiton has been made and their views fully presented. The parents charged that the establishment of six classrooms on the university campus attended by Croton children, almost all of whom are Negro, perpetuates racial segregation. They contend that the program is not a step toward eliminating racial imbalance in the school system.[43] School officials plan to extend both the Croton-on-Campus Program and the Excel Program in the next few years. In particular, they hope to include many more white children in the Croton-on-Campus Program and they intend to expand the Excel Program beyond the present enrollment of 210.

School officials have concluded that racial imbalance could not best be eliminated simply by continuing to close down predominantly Negro schools and bus their students to other elementary schools. They argue that it would not be administratively feasible to continue to deal with racial concentrations in schools on a piecemeal basis. The location and movement of people within the city school district posed major problems for school planning. In addition, obsolete school plants needed to be replaced. Another major problem facing Syracuse school authorities was how best to improve the quality of education offered in all schools.

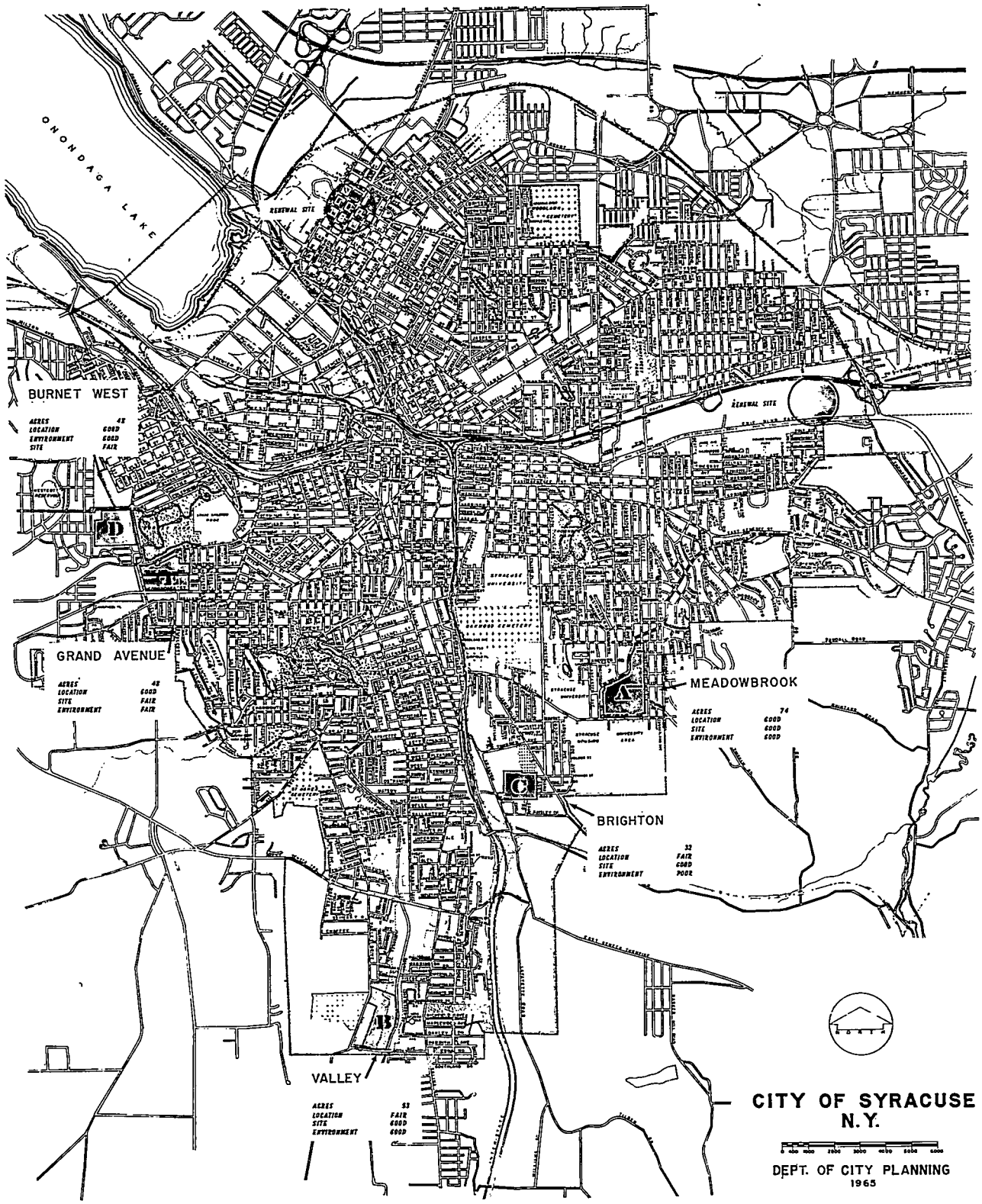
Campus Schools

The Campus Plan was devised in response to these problems.[44] David F. Sine, Project Director of the Syracuse Campus Site Planning Center and director of the Syracuse schools' research department, has written:

> *It [the Campus Plan] was born of a belief that continuing to replace schools in each attendance area, as needs arise, is an inadequate approach to urban education. It is inadequate within the limits of a reasonable economy. It is inadequate if we are to realize our goal of maximum educational opportunity for all children of the community.*[45]

The Campus Plan envisions clusters of elementary school buildings on four sites, one in each quadrant of the city. The new sites would replace all existing neighborhood elementary schools, and could be developed at the city's outer edge where land can be acquired at a reasonable cost. Approximately 4,200 elementary school children would attend each campus.

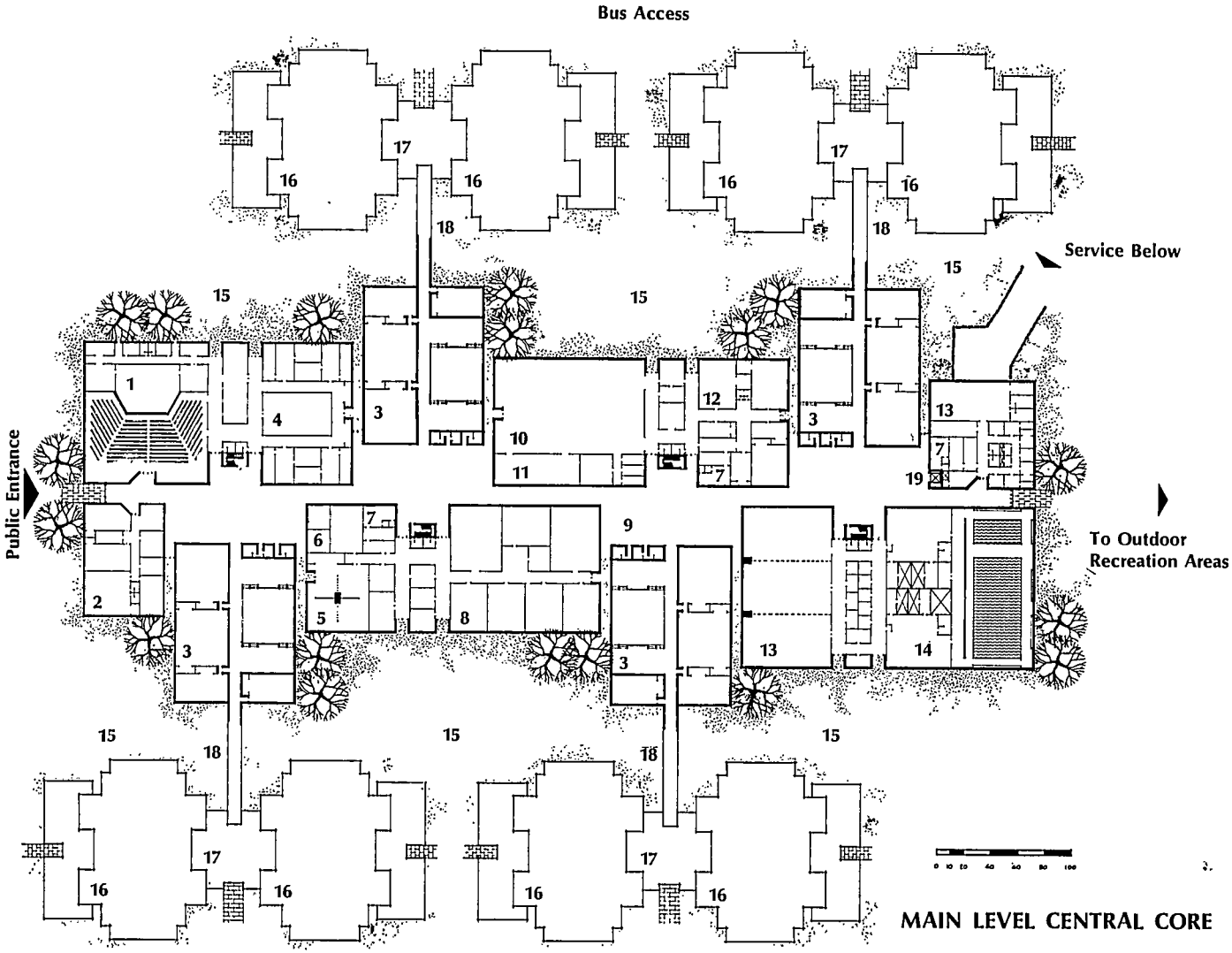
As presently conceived, the first site would contain eight separate satellite schools and a central core. The central building would house special facilities to be shared by all



There are seven tentative sites for the Four Campus schools. Each campus would be located on the city's outer edge where the city already owns land or where acquisition costs are less than in the downtown area.

KEY

1 Auditorium
2 Administration
3 Inter-Satellite Core Facility
Special Education
Dining
Music
Physical Education
4 Music
5 Science
6 Dental
7 Health
8 Art
9 Main Street
10 Library
11 ETV
12 Special Education
13 Physical Education
14 Aquatic Center
15 Outdoor Recreation
Primary Level
16 Satellite School
17 Inter-Satellite
18 Bridge
19 Elevator



MAIN LEVEL CENTRAL CORE

In this architectural conception of a Campus School, the central core facilities are surrounded by eight satellite schools which would enroll 4,200 elementary students.

4,200 children in the eight units. These would include an auditorium, gymnasiums, kitchen, library, school health, educational television facilities, and other special-purpose rooms. In addition, the eight surrounding schools would be paired into four groups, and each pair would share a cafeteria, library, and space for staff offices. Physical education and recreation areas also would be developed on the 40-acre site.

Size and Educational Quality.—One of the most frequent questions about large schools is whether, because of their size, they would diminish the attention given to individual children and whether the educational program in these schools would be substantially different from that currently offered in neighborhood schools.

By designing the Campus School for 4,200 students, Syracuse plans to capitalize on the large student body to organize more effectively children and teachers into smaller units, geared more closely to the individual needs of children. The 4,200 children attending each campus will be assigned among eight satellite schools. Each satellite will thus have 525 students, about the same number as present neighborhood schools. Each school would be served by 19 teachers providing an approximate pupil-teacher ratio of 28 : 1. Four "teaching stations" in each satellite would surround a shared activity space, containing rooms for teachers and alcoves for small groups of students. This arrangement of space, school officials say, would make it easier to group and regroup children with flexibility. Demountable walls, movable partitions, and small alcoves would permit flexible grouping of students for large or small group instruction, permitting seminar-like classes for intensive work, and large lectures and demonstrations. Teachers thus would be freed to spend more time with individuals or small groups. Team teaching, reading and math specialists, closed circuit television, reading and science laboratories also would contribute to more individualized instruction. Programmed instruction with the aid of a computer located in the core facility, and the use of teaching laboratories, are seen by school officials as another way to individualize instruction by allowing students to move at their own pace. Each satellite school would be staffed by a principal and other professional personnel to assist in providing instructional, health, and food services for the students. Most of a child's daily activities would center around the satellite school.

It is said that the larger size of the Campus School will make possible more comprehensive and intensive services for students than now are possible in neighborhood schools. At present, for example, none of the library facilities in any Syracuse elementary school meet the standards for elementary schools set by the American Library Association, and there is no trained librarian assigned to an elementary school. It is conceivable that the Syracuse School Board could provide adequate library facilities in each elementary school, but it would be costly and repetitive to create a library at each school. At the Campus School, several different kinds of libraries could be established, and since a large number of children would use these facilities, there would be a maximum use of books and other materials.

In addition school officials point out that neighborhood schools now offer no formal program in foreign languages, and the elementary science program depends upon the ability and interest of nonspecialized classroom teachers. In the Campus School, however, a regular curriculum in both languages and science could be offered. These comparisons are summarized in Tables 4a and 4b.

Syracuse school officials have concluded that new teaching facilities and techniques, a broader elementary school curriculum, better use of personnel and more flexible

Table 4a—*Educational Services: Neighborhood Schools* v. *Campus School*

	Library	Health	Food	Educational TV and Computer
31 existing neighborhood elementary schools	No school has library meeting ALA standards; no librarians in any school; 92,735 volumes in 31 schools	18 nurses serve 31 schools; only one school has a full-time nurse	Hot lunches served in every school; kitchens located in 7 schools; lunches transported by trucks	TV limited to UHF channel; statewide network; programing not done by school system. No computer
Campus School.....	1 central library; minimum of 25,000 volumes to start, with space for expansion to 42,800; maximum of 4 professional librarians	3 full-time nurses; travel time between schools eliminated; central, modern facilities	1 central kitchen; food transported to satellite schools by portable serving carts	Space for audiovisual materials development center; an educational TV studio, and a computer all in the core area

Source: Campus Site Planning Center, *Report to the Syracuse Board of Education and Proposal,* 1967, *The Campus Plan for Future Elementary School Construction* pp. 116–132.

Table 4b—*Instructional Program: Neighborhood Schools* v. *Campus School*

	Art	Music	Foreign Languages	Math	Reading and Language Art	Science
31 existing neighborhood elementary schools	36 percent of classes have no program, mostly drawing and painting, no special rooms	25 elementary music teachers; 6 schools have full-time teachers; all others have part-time; no special rooms	No formal program in any elementary school	Standard program of instruction by classroom teacher; 1 math specialist serving 18,000 elementary students	Standard program of instruction by classroom teacher; 24 remedial reading specialists full- or part-time in every school	Science curriculum offered is dependent on teacher's ability; no elementary level science specialists employed; no laboratories
Campus School.....	Instruction in ceramics sculpture, metal work, paintmaking, weaving, rugmaking, photography; 1 lecture room, 1 preparation room, and storage areas	Acoustically designed rooms in core area for band rehearsal, instrument practice, and teaching, a large auditorium, 7 full-time teachers, closed circuit TV instruction	Instruction in at least two languages in grades 4, 5, and 6; at least 3 specialists assigned to grades 4–6	Closed circuit TV instruction; math learning lab with 3-dimensional models, desk calculators, and other learning devices; 3 math specialists serving 4,200 children	Reading lab; 8 reading specialists full time, 3 speech specialists	Basic lab in each school; mobile cart demonstrations; closed circuit TV; central specialists in core area; outdoor nature study areas; 6 science specialists

Source: Campus Site Planning Center, *Report to the Syracuse Board of Education and Proposal,* 1967, *The Campus Plan for Future Elementary School Construction* pp. 116–132.

Table 4c—*Comparative Transportation Costs to Achieve Racial Balance*

Transportation Program	Number of Students Bused	Total Net Cost	Total Cost After State Reimbursement
Transportation to relieve racial imbalance, 1966–67 school year	930	$31, 500	$3, 150
Total transportation program for entire school district, 1966–67 (excluding field trips)	4, 000	314, 966	31, 496
Transportation to first campus site	4, 200	180, 000	18, 000
Transportation to four campus sites	12, 000	400, 000	40, 000
Probable transportation to achieve racial balance in addition to current busing		307, 285	30, 728

grouping would enable the Campus Schools to offer substantially better education and greater attention to students' individual needs.

Transportation.—If the Campus Plan were put into operation, many more children would ride buses to school than now are doing so. Approximately 4,000 of the 4,200 children in attendance would be bused to the first Campus School. School officials have examined the time and safety factors in some depth. Hypothetical bus routes for the first campus site were established so that no child would have to cross a major street or walk more than one and a half blocks to a bus stop. Within these constraints it was estimated that children would spend an average of 36 minutes on a bus each day, and would spend 4–6 minutes walking to and from a bus stop. It is estimated that the average walking time for pupils to get to and from their neighborhood school is about 22 minutes. The Campus Plan feasibility study asserts that the slight time disadvantage of riding buses would be offset by the fact that children would be less exposed to traffic and weather conditions than if they walked to school.

Estimated transportation costs for Syracuse would increase under the Campus Plan, but school authorities say that even without Campus Schools, transportation costs would increase with additional efforts to achieve racial balance.[46]

Construction Costs: Neighborhood Schools *v.* the Campus Plan.—In considering elementary school construction needs for the city's schoolchildren, Syracuse school officials assessed the cost of the Campus Plan against the replacement of neighborhood schools. If the Campus Plan is rejected, the district will have to replace eight neighborhood schools over the next 20-year period. Tables 4d and 4e compare the costs of replacing the eight schools with five new neighborhood schools—for a total of 3,132 students—with the cost of the first Campus School, which would enroll 4,144 students. The neighborhood school replacement plan, for 1,000 fewer students, would cost the school district approximately $1.2 million more than the Campus School. Similar savings on education park construction were estimated in a feasibility study for Philadelphia.[47]

Table 4d—*Comparative Total Cost Estimates and State Contributions, and Approximate Cost Per Pupil: Neighborhood Schools* v. *Campus Plan*

Cost	Neighborhood Schools	First Campus
Estimated project cost	$10, 997, 300	$10, 525, 000
Contribution from State aid	$2, 551, 014	$3, 375, 288
Total cost to Syracuse	$8, 446, 286	$7, 149, 712
Number of pupils accommodated	3, 132	4, 144
Average cost per pupil	$3, 511	$2, 539

Source: Letter from David Sine to Phyllis McClure, staff member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Nov. 3, 1967.

Table 4e—*Comparative Building Cost Estimates: Neighborhood Schools* v. *Campus Plan*

Cost	Neighborhood Schools	Campus Plan
Site acquisition	$1, 403, 000	$470, 000
Demolition of existing buildings	156, 000	.....
Building [1]	7, 018, 000	7, 617, 000
Site improvement	538, 700	400, 000
Furniture and equipment	631, 000	718, 000
Architect-engineer	501, 200	490, 000
Contingency	748, 800	830, 000
Total	10, 997, 300	10, 525, 000

[1] Building costs are based on 1967 construction costs at $18 per square foot and scaled 3 percent annually to the hypothetical date of construction of respective schools. Source: Syracuse City School District, *The Campus Plan* (a digest), Tables 5 and 6 at 33, 34.

How Costs Would Be Met.—An important factor for school officials, city officials, and taxpayers in considering the Campus Plan will be how the city can afford such a program, given its already heavy fiscal burden. The Campus Plan feasibility study addressed itself to this question. A major financial consideration was the amount of the necessary annual debt payments. Under the Campus Plan the school district would save an estimated $350,000 on debt service over a 20-year period. The City School District would receive 45 percent of the total cost of either the Campus School or the neighborhood schools from State aid. Other financial aid for construction of Campus Schools might come from foundation funds. In addition, the city might receive urban renewal grant-in-aid credit for school construction and related costs. And the retirement of the eight neighborhood schools and the return of land to the city's tax rolls could increase the city's assessed valuation by as much as $1.9 million. Mr. Jaquith, the school board president, feels that the city has the financial resources for much of the campus school program. As for other sources, Jaquith says:

> *I think that we can get and are entitled to some kind of special outside assistance for the special facilities involved.*[48]

He also believes that the city would be providing superior facilities:

> *We can have the best kind of facilities, the kind—we could never conceivably afford in 34 separate elementary schools.*[49]

The Campus School and the Community.—The distance of the Campus School from many students' homes is of concern to those educators and parents who feel the school and home should work in cooperation. Mr. Jaquith recognizes that this is a major problem of the Campus School, but points out that "in half the schools we haven't got this relationship now." One suggested way to bring the school and home closer together would be to make the Campus School a center of community activities. The school's facilities could be used in the manner envisioned by the education park plan for Pittsburgh:

> *The schools themselves will be designed as community and cultural centers. Citizens and organizations will be encouraged to use their libraries, exhibition halls, gymnasiums, and other facilities. And the schools will offer a greatly expanded program of adult education.*[50]

But definite plans for this aspect of the Syracuse Campus School Plan have yet to be developed.

Student Assignment.—Two remaining questions about the Campus School are: (1) who will attend the first Campus School and (2) how will existing racial patterns in elementary schools be affected?

As presently planned students assigned to the first campus would be a cross section of the district's elementary school population. Children of different socioeconomic backgrounds and achievement levels would be represented, and the racial composition would reflect the racial makeup of the city's elementary school population in the year the campus opens. Students from throughout the city would be selected so that small groups of children from the same blocks would be assigned to the same school in the Campus School.

To achieve this diversity, children from 15 existing elementary schools would be assigned to the first campus. The 15 schools were selected on the basis of: (1) overcrowding, (2) obsolescence, (3) racial imbalance, and (4) operating efficiency. Eight schools more than 50 years old were selected for retirement when the first Campus School is built. The entire enrollment of 3,150 students in those schools would be assigned to the new Campus; partial enrollments from seven other schools (990 students) also would be assigned to the first Campus School.

This assignment pattern would permit the abandonment of obsolete school buildings and would help relieve overcrowded classrooms in other schools. This pattern also would increase somewhat the number of Negro children attending desegregated schools but would not substantially reduce existing racial imbalance. The racial compositions of the eight schools to be retired under the proposal range from 0 percent to 29 percent Negro and four of eight are more than 90 percent white. None of the four schools which now are more than 50-percent Negro enrolled will be closed under the plan; approximately one-fifth of the total enrollment of these four schools would be enrolled in the first Campus. Thus these four schools will probably remain majority Negro schools.

Former school board member Robert Warr has said that the first Campus School will not solve the existing problem of racial imbalance:

> *it will take all four of the sites to eliminate the problem of racial imbalance. The first [Campus School] will only eliminate it in some areas.*[51]

School officials estimate that if the Board of Education and the Common Council approve the Campus Plan in 1968, the first Campus School could be opened in September 1972. The fourth Campus School would be completed by September 1990. If this schedule is maintained, the full resolution of Syracuse's problems of racial imbalance and quality education is more than 20 years in the future.

School officials advance two reasons for their decision to delay the construction of all four Campus Schools. First, the establishment of one Campus School will permit the

staff and community to become familiar with the new facilities and program. School officials expect that the community will readily support the construction of the other three Campus Schools once the educational program is in operation at one.

The second reason for delay is financial. School officials estimate that four Campus Schools would cost approximately $50 million. There is at present no Federal aid for school construction costs. Even with substantial State aid, Syracuse could not afford to build the four Campus Schools at the same time. In order to meet the costs of the Campus Schools with its present resources, Syracuse has to spread the issuance and debt service of bonds over a 20-year period. Thus, severe fiscal restraints make a more immediate total solution for quality integrated education in Syracuse unfeasible.

CONCLUSION

The record of school desegregation efforts in Syracuse is a mixed one. Desegregation is a clearly avowed aim of the school board and superintendent, and steps have been taken to remedy patterns of racial segregation in the schools. Despite this firm commitment, however, much remains to be done.

Factors which appear to have accounted for the progress made thus far are two—the active role of civil rights groups and the leadership exercised by public school officials. The demands of civil rights groups and their protests have had an acknowledged influence on educational policy. Commitment to quality integrated education, first advocated in 1962, now is the official policy of the Syracuse Board of Education. But if civil rights leaders were responsible for stimulating official awareness and action on racially imbalanced schools, it has been the school officials who have led the community to accept the changes. The leadership role of the superintendent and board members has been crucial in Syracuse. The fact that they have not always been successful does not diminish the importance of their commitment and leadership. Although it is frequently said that "my community is different," Syracuse is not dissimilar to many communities in which there has been no progress toward school desegregation. Its experience suggests that if community groups in other cities sought the goal in a determined manner and if school officials exercised leadership, progress could be made.

What are the chief obstacles to achieving full racial balance and improved educational quality? First, there are serious educational and social problems within desegregated schools for which teachers and administrators need intensive guidance and training. Second, even if the Board of Education adopted plans for completely modernizing the entire educational system, implementation of those plans would be hampered by lack of adequate financing. Without substantial outside financial aid, school officials say that it will be impossible to build four Campus Schools in less than 20 years. Syracuse cannot resolve its problems by itself. State and Federal assistance is needed but at present there is little prospect that this aid will be forthcoming in the near future.

In summary, the lessons to be drawn from Syracuse's experience are that:

- A school system can successfully and voluntarily accomplish desegregation if the community and school leadership are committed to this goal.
- Desegregation must be accompanied by improvements in the quality of education.
- The scholastic performance of most Negro and white children in desegregated schools has been maintained or improved.
- The classroom climate and the sensitivity of teachers are important ingredients of successful desegregation. The process of integration is not complete until teachers and administrators are adequately trained to cope with problems of interracial tension so that children of both races can accept and respect each other as equals.
- White students do not necessarily leave the public schools in large numbers. White enrollment may drop initially, but in Syracuse white enrollment continues to increase.
- School districts must have assistance from Government at all levels—municipal, State, and Federal—in order to accomplish complete desegregation and improve educational programs.

Footnotes

Chapter 1

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960.* Final Report PHC (1)–154, Table D–1, at 15; University College of Syracuse University, *The Negro in Syracuse* (1964) at 10; information on the Syracuse labor force obtained from the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce.

[2] Willie and Wagenfeld, *Socio-Economic and Ethnic Areas Syracuse and Onondaga County, N.Y. 1960* at 30.

[3] David H. Jaquith, President, Board of Education, speech before the Chicago Desegregation Institute, June 6, 1967.

[4] *U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960 op. cit. supra note 1.*

[5] All public school enrollment figures obtained from the Research Department, Syracuse City School District; Catholic school enrollment figures obtained from Diocesan School System, Syracuse.

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1950,* P–D54, Table 1; *U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960,* PHC (1)–154, Table P–1.

Chapter 2

[7] Information on the history of school desegregation efforts in Syracuse was obtained from two primary sources, except where otherwise noted: (a) Stout and Inger, *School Desegregation: Progress in*

Eight Cities, a study done for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; (b) Staff interviews with David H. Jaquith, President, Board of Education; Franklyn S. Barry, Superintendent of Schools; Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Superintendent of Schools; and David Sine, Department of Research.

[8] Education Committee of the State Commission for Human Rights, *Minutes,* Mar. 13, 1963, at 3.

[9] Franklyn S. Barry, Speech before the Ohio Conference on Race and Education, Akron, Ohio, June 10, 1967.

[10] New York Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., *Special Message to All Chief Local School Administrators and Presidents of Boards of Education,* June 14, 1963.

[11] *Report of the Committee on Education of the Syracuse Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights,* 3–4. (July 12, 1963).

[12] Syracuse City School District, *Board of Education Policy Statement Concerning Racial Imbalance in Syracuse Public Schools* (July 16, 1963).

[13] Research Department, Syracuse City School District, *Research Report # 22–66, Study of the Effect of Integration—Croton and Edward Smith Elementary School Pupils in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Rochester, N.Y., Sept. 6–17, 1966,* at 327–8 (hereinafter cited as Rochester Hearing).

[14] The intensive study of the effects of desegregation was done by the Syracuse University Youth Development Center supported by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Mental Health: Jerome Beker, *A Study of Integration in Racially Imbalanced Urban Public Schools—a Demonstration and Evaluation,* May 1967. Beker's study confirmed the school system's own research study on the academic results of the transfer, *Id.* at 325. Beker also noted the highly unusual atmosphere of the receiving school. His study notes "That the youngsters did as well as they did, keeping up with if not exceeding the performance of their peers at their former school, suggests that even greater progress may lie ahead for them. A one-year followup, however, hardly permits more than tentative conclusions to be drawn." *Id.* at 383.

In addition, the Beker study concluded from an inspection of student achievement data that there was "little to support the claims of those who express the fear that disadvantaged Negro elementary school children will be 'hurt' more if they are forced to compete with high achieving middle class whites than they might be by attending more homogeneous, inner city schools." *Id.* at 354.

[15] Although $100 per pupil was the average for the Madison Area Project program in both the junior high and elementary schools, the actual per pupil expenditure in the junior high was higher than $100. Approximately 75 percent of the compensatory funds were spent in Madison Junior High. (Interview with David Sine, director of research, Syracuse City School District.)

[16] *Rochester Hearing* at 219.

[17] *Id.* at 220.

[18] *Id.* at 234.

[19] Staff Interview with David H. Jaquith, President, Board of Education.

[20] "Ungrading of Two Schools in Renewal Areas Sought," Syracuse *Herald-Journal,* Feb. 11, 1965.

[21] Staff interviews with mothers of children formerly attending Washington Irving School.

[22] "Negro Pupil's Reception Emphasized," Syracuse Herald-Journal, Apr. 29, 1965.

[23] Council for Better Education, *Positive Building: A Proposal Submitted to the City of Syracuse Board of Education* (January 1966).

[24] "Referendum Isn't Expected on School Integration Plan," Syracuse *Herald-Journal,* May 6, 1965.

[25] Staff interview with David H. Jaquith, June 1, 1967.

[26] Staff telephone interview with Sidney Cohen, coordinator of the reading program, Syracuse Public Schools (Mar. 4, 1968). $104,000 in Title I (ESEA) funds supports the remedial reading program in 19 of the 31 elementary schools. The number of all elementary school students who are more than 2 years behind grade level in reading is not known.

[27] Syracuse Committee for Integrated Education, *"Education and Integration"* in *Rochester Hearing,* 331–2.

Chapter 3

[28] This chapter is based on the desegregation experience in the elementary schools only. Commission staff visited eight schools, interviewed principals, teachers, parents, and students of both races. These interviews form the basis of this chapter's assessment of the problems encountered after desegregation.

[29] Syracuse City School District, "Research Report No. 23–66, Study of the Effect of Integration—Washington Irving and Host Pupils" in *Rochester Hearing* at 323.

[30] *Rochester Hearing* at 222. The initial gain in achievement of bused students has apparently been maintained. Based on a small sample of students, the evidence, limited as it is, indicates that the "reading achievement of fifth grade pupils from the Washington Irving Area . . . was significantly higher in May, 1967, than was the average reading achievement of a matched group of fifth grade students at Croton Elementary School." Research Department, Syracuse City School District, *A Study of the Effects of Two Years of Integration—Students Bused From the Washington Irving Area* (Feb. 19, 1968).

[31] Median achievement scores for elementary schools supplied by the Department of Research, Syracuse City School District.

[32] One of the 12 receiving schools was a new school which drew children from several other schools. Thus, it had no previous enrollment to compare with postdesegregation enrollment.

[33] It was impossible to determine from the interviews how much discrimination and persecution by white authority figures against Negro children actually existed in the schools. The significant point was, however, that Negro children believed that a great deal existed.

[34] See e.g., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* 157–8 (1967).

[35] See e.g., Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (1952); Clark and Clark, *Skin Color as a Factor in Racial Identification of Negro Pre-school Children,* 11 Journal of Social Psychology 159–169 (1940); see also Coles, *Children of Crisis* (1967).

[36] This training program was supported by the U.S. Office of Education with funds available under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Chapter 4

[37] These schools were Croton, Danforth, and Merrick.

[38] This was Sumner School.

[39] Campus Site Planning Center, *Report to the Syracuse Board of Education on a Proposal—The Campus Plan for Future Elementary School Construction (1967)*. This feasibility study was financed by the U.S. Office of Education under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, by the Educational Facilities Laboratory, and by the Rosamond A. Gifford Charitable Corporation.

[40] Education Committee of the Syracuse Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights, *Alternate Proposals for Elementary School Integration (March, 1965)*.

[41] Board of Education, City School District of Syracuse, *Minutes of Regular Meetings* Mar. 21, 1967 and July 18, 1967.

[42] Syracuse City School District, *Unlimited Educational Achievement Program* at 1 (1967).

[43] Brief for Petitioners, *Baker* v. *Board of Education* at 2, 7 (on appeal before New York State Commissioner of Education).

[44] Information on the Campus Plan comes from the *Campus Plan Feasibility Study op. cit. supra* note 33, and staff interviews.

[45] Sine, "The Syracuse Campus Site Plan: A New Concept", 7 *Event: A Journal of Public Affairs* 17 (Spring 1967).

[46] The difference between the estimated costs of $18,000 of transporting 4,000 children to the first Campus School and the current transportation costs of $31,000 for approximately the same number is accounted for by the fact that were the Campus School in operation, the students transported to the Campus School would live in concentrated groups in the city and because opening times would be staggered, bus runs could be doubled up.

[47] The Goode Cooperation, *The Education Park: Report to the School District of Philadelphia* at 19 (1967).

[48] Staff interview with David H. Jaquith.

[49] *Id.*

[50] "Pittsburgh Goes Back to School" in *The Architectural Forum* June 1967, at 40.

[51] Staff interview with Robert Warr, former member, Board of Education.

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