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The Impact of Desegregation on the Curricula of the Secondary Schools of Nashville Tennessee

Ada Willoughby
Loyola University Chicago

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THE IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION ON THE
CURRICULA OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

by

Ada Willoughby

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
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May
1985
Ada Willoughby

Loyola University of Chicago

THE IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION ON CURRICULA
IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

The purpose of this dissertation was to determine whether Nashville's secondary schools were achieving the goals of desegregation in the area of curriculum. Strategies of desegregation within the secondary schools, including the restructure of curricular/instructional models were investigated.

The following questions were considered: (1) What types of programs do desegregating school systems adopt that might at least hypothetically improve the overall quality of schools?, (2) Are such programs ongoing and do they remain in effect over a period of time?, (3) What other curricular changes are adopted within the schools which have no necessary relationship to desegregation?

Primary sources of data included interviews with school administrators, school records, court records, board of education minutes, news media accounts and census figures. Hallway and cafeteria observations of student interactions were recorded to measure reactions between black and white students. Yearbooks were examined to determine the campus level of integrated extra curricular activities.
Findings disclosed that in schools where strategies for achieving desegregation goals, such as the adoption of multi-ethnic or comprehensive curricular models, the practice of integrating extra curricular activities, and the reduction of white flight were high, school outcomes such as attendance, achievement, student conduct, and interaction were high.

Conclusions of importance attest that school attendance, achievement, and student conduct are positively related to curricular models which meet the needs and interests of a diverse population. Further, curriculum development has been extensive in the last ten to twelve years in Nashville's secondary schools.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartiest thanks to my major advisor, Dr. Robert C. Cienkus, for his effort and energy in assisting me. My sincere appreciation to Dr. Barney M. Berlin who prevented my failure at this effort by giving me the thrust I needed when personal problems arose. For Dr. Steven Miller who has been helpful with needed suggestions, I am grateful.

My acknowledgements would not be complete without mentioning my mother, Cora; my husband, Leslie; and my sons Rodney, Gerald and Freddie; as well as my family in general. To each one I feel deeply and abidingly thankful for their encouragement and unwavering support.

I shall always remember my friends who were wonderfully helpful with their practical assistance. It is with special thanks to each of you that I dedicate this report.
VITA

Ada Willoughby is a product of the Chicago Public Schools. She earned a B.Ed. degree from Chicago State University in 1958, ranking number 16 in a class of 117. In 1968 she earned a M.Ed. degree from Chicago State University. She was a teacher in the Chicago Public Schools for twenty-two years. During 1969-1971 she was employed for the Chicago City College System.

In 1981 she moved to Nashville, Tennessee where she has taught at Tennessee State University and presently directs the reading laboratory at Fisk University. She is married and has three sons.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the nineteenth century the black population of the United States of America was denied the right to vote and in general was denied the responsibilities and privileges of mainstream society. Segregation by law and custom had extended to schools, hotels, restaurants, churches, libraries, parks, hospitals, prisons, asylums, funeral homes, cemeteries and drinking fountains. In Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), the Supreme Court sustained a Louisiana statute requiring separate but equal accommodations in railway transportation. The decision in this case gave sanction to the principle of "separate but equal" practices in education.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, that the doctrine of "separate but equal" had no place in education and that "separate education facilities are inherently unequal." The decision stated, "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. . . . [S]egregation has a tendency to retard the

educational and mental development. . . . " Only the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 had inaugurated similar joy, and pain, as well as impulsive resistance, within the nation's communities.

In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder reported that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white . . . . " An explanation by Orfield in School Desegregation in Metropolitan Areas: Choices in School Prospects, National Institute of Education, October 1977, makes clear that some progress in the society's attitudes toward desegregation had evolved by that year.

The problem at its core is not a reflection of the bitter opposition of most Americans. It reflects the continuing force of a set of processes established when there was open racism in our urban areas and when all levels of government supported a segregationist consensus among the white public. Now that American society has reached the point where large majorities of both races state a preference for integrated schools...the basic problem is to find methods which create momentum toward these goals.2

Between the years of 1960 and 1976, segregation of minority groups and whites declined fifty percent. Nearly all of this decline was a result of the lessening of segregation between white and black students. The greatest movement toward fulfilling the Brown v. Board of Education mandate has

been in the South, where changes have often been dramatic as well as lasting.  

In 1965, James Coleman, Ernest Campbell and a research team of sociologists, educators and statisticians conducted a mammoth study of approximately five percent of the public schools in the United States. Students studied were American Indians, Mexican-Americans, blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans. Six hundred twenty-five thousand pupils in grades 1, 3, 6, 9 and 12 in 3,000 elementary and 1,170 high schools were tested in verbal and non-verbal skills. This study will hereafter be referred to as EEOS.  

The EEOS produced some illuminating findings. Standard achievement test scores showed marked differences among racial/ethnic groups. Blacks who attended desegregated schools scored higher on achievement tests than did blacks who attended segregated schools.  

It was found that when twelfth-grade black students from the same social class attended schools of comparable social class composition and were compared, the more white classmates a black student had, the higher his test scores.  

---


Also stated was the following:

There was a consistent trend toward higher academic performance the longer black students were in schools with whites. The relationship between achievement and racial composition remained strong regardless of home cultural background of the parents, their education and material possessions. The effects of desegregation were reduced or eliminated if classrooms in an otherwise integrated school remained segregated.6

After discovering these findings through the use of verbal measures and questionnaires, Coleman and his team sought to analyze relationships between students' feelings about themselves, their future educational and occupational aspirations, and their achievement scores. Black and white students showed little differences in their desires to continue education, to spend leisure time reading, and to be the brightest students in the class. Great differences existed, however, between the two groups in their coping strategies, the taking of concrete measures for implementing and attaining these goals. Black students had little understanding of how to seek directions for college orientation, counseling, the awarding of scholarships, and other kinds of helpful information necessary to insure success at the college level; therefore, their aspirations were seldom realized. Puerto Rican students demonstrated low aspirations and even less knowledge of the necessary steps to fulfill the requirements for continued study after completion of high school.7

6Corvin, p. 155.
7Coleman, p. 20-22.
Desegregation involves major adjustments for schools and students. The ratio of peers outside one's racial group increases for both blacks and whites: the unaccustomed materialism of the middle-class environment may incite envy and insecurity for children of the under-class. The most ominous aspect for the minority student is that he must view himself in relation to new standards in attitudes as well as achievement. Coleman's studies point to the fact that those schools which expect to achieve effective, high-quality performance by all groups of students, need to be concerned with the educational and social needs of the students involved.

Chapter II, of the present study, "Background and Review of the Literature," will explore some of the suggestions available in the area of structural and curricular changes designed to meet educational and social needs of students in desegregated classrooms.

Statement of Problem

The problem investigated in this study is the impact of desegregation on curriculum in the public high schools (Grades 9-12) of Nashville, Tennessee. Specifically, the study investigates strategies for attaining the goals of desegregation and their effect on the curricular/instructional programs of the schools. Of concern is a description of the curricular changes within the last ten to twelve years.
Also, of interest is whether these programs are still in operation today.

Purpose of the Study

The majority of research studies on desegregation focus on the first year or two following the school system's compliance with the law. Recent literature (Weinberg, 1983; Hawley, 1981; Crain, 1981) emphasizes the need for research that examines the contributions of curriculum and instruction in the implementation of desegregation plans. This study will consider the following:

1. What types of programs do desegregating school systems adopt that might at least hypothetically improve the overall quality of schools?

2. Are such programs ongoing and do they remain in effect over a period of time?

3. What other curricular changes are adopted within schools which have no necessary relationship to desegregation?

In addition, data were collected from the survey and used to analyze the current academic and experiential background of the administrators in the public high schools (9-12) of Nashville, Tennessee. This data helped to identify the target population.

1. Educational degree(s) held.
2. Type of certificate.
3. Years of experience as principal.
4. Years of experience in education.

Also, administrators were asked to give a student conduct rating within the individual school.
**Importance of the Study**

The results of this study can assist in better understanding the role of curriculum and instruction in the social process of desegregation as well as its consequences. The end product will be useful to persons who design and implement educational policy. There are several categories of persons who can benefit from the findings of this study. They are:

1. School administrators.
2. Classroom teachers.
3. Parents and other citizenry.
5. Federal, state and local legislators.

**Delimitations of the Study**

The following are the delimitations of the study:

1. The study was limited to the public high schools (9-12) of Metropolitan School System, Nashville, Tennessee.
2. The study was limited to current administrative personnel.
3. The representation of the study depended on the completion of the telephone interviews.
4. The study did not measure the effectiveness of any particular administrator, curriculum program, or instructional program.
5. The representativeness and completeness of the interview findings were dependent upon candid and valid responses by the administrators to the items included in the questionnaire.
Research Method

The usual method for investigating the natural history of a social process is to interview those directly involved; one also resorts to documentary records, news media accounts, and census figures. This study relied upon each of these methods in the following manner:

1. Approval was sought and granted by the Nashville Metropolitan Board of Education to conduct interviews with each of the fifteen high school principals by phone.

2. Items for the interview discussion included:
   a. Racial composition of the individual school.
   b. Descriptions of curricular changes within the past ten to twelve years.
   c. Anticipated longevity of these curricular changes.
   d. Conduct of student population in each high school.

3. Consultation of public documents, news media accounts, census records, and school records located the following:
   c. Senior Attendance, 1983-84
   d. School Suspensions, 1983-84
   e. Percentage Passing the Tennessee State Proficiency Test in Grades 9 Through 12

4. Hallway and cafeteria observations of student interactions were recorded to substantiate relations among students outside of the classroom. Yearbooks were examined to determine the campus level of integrated activities.

5. The collected data were weighted and summed to give quantitative profiles of each school. The schools with high ratings were judged as attempting to meet the goals of desegregation.
This study may be classified as ex post facto, exploratory field research. Exploratory field studies seek to report "what is" rather than causal relationships.\textsuperscript{8}

**Definition of Terms**

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<td>Curriculum</td>
<td>a set of subject or content plans including concepts, values, skills: a program of studies, including texts and materials, leading to specified goals; a program of activities, including all that occurs within schooling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desegregation</td>
<td>the physical mixing of racial groups without regard to status.</td>
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<td>High school</td>
<td>a secondary educational institution attended after completion of elementary school, serving grades nine through twelve.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instruction</td>
<td>methods, directions, explanations, demonstrations, and strategies devised to enhance the learning process.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>interaction of two or more racial groups involving acceptance, respect, and cultural assimilation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiethnic</td>
<td>having to do with several races or nationalities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>having to do with the languages, customs, values, attitudes and characteristics of several races or nationalities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>head administrator of the public school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>a comprehensive plan designed for teacher and student performance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>a series of steps or components of curriculum designed to accomplish specified objectives or goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segregation</td>
<td>the separation or isolation of a group to the extent that it becomes customary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target Population</td>
<td>those participants of the study; principals who responded positively to a request for an interview.</td>
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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH

Introduction

The review of the literature and related research provided recommendations for curriculum and instruction development in classrooms of desegregated schools. The survey furnished an understanding of the rationale, teacher methodology, and specific approaches to curriculum design for the multiethnic/multicultural classroom.

Organization of the Chapter

The review of literature and related research was organized to identify and illustrate the following areas:

1. Goals of Desegregation
2. Curricular Designs to Achieve Goals of Desegregation
3. Curricular Model for Desegregation
4. Summary of Review of the Literature and Related Research

Goals of Desegregation

Desegregation of the public schools has several specific goals; however, the primary goal is to end racial isolation. The mixing of white and minority students is a legal, binding
goal set forth by the Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954.¹

Since school is a place where learning is effected, another objective in school desegregation is the continuance or improvement of achievement: "Some of the economic and social deprivation of minority and ethnic groups may be overcome by increasing access to higher quality learning experiences."²

Another goal is improved race relations among students which may lead to greater trust and freedom for both ethnic groups. McConahay states that "amiable race relations are worthy goals for school systems."³

A fourth objective of school desegregation is to ameliorate public response which is negative. In the South, desegregation mandates and attempts to concur often insti-


gated violence; today the South is experiencing increased positive responses.4

The out-migration of white students may begin as soon as desegregation plans are drawn. Parents may transfer to private schools or move from the desegregating district. To reduce this flight is another objective of desegregating schools; to stabilize the community and provide a long-term racial balance can only occur when white flight is curtailed.

Educators are agreed that a well structured, well conceptualized curriculum is necessary to the achievement of the above goals. These goals underlie the philosophical principles and values of the desegregation process; they determine "which materials are selected, content is outlined, instructional procedures are developed and tests and examinations are prepared."5

Curricular Designs to Achieve Goals of Desegregation

Between July and December, 1980, the Center for Education and Human Development Policy at Vanderbilt University conducted an assessment of seventeen desegregated school systems. The following list contains those school sites, chosen from the Taeuber and Wilson United States Office of...


Civil Rights School Desegregation Survey, which took place 1968 to 1976.

Tucson, Arizona
Riverside, California
Stockton, California
Denver, Colorado
New Castle County, Delaware
Tampa, Florida
Atlanta, Georgia
Evanston, Illinois

Louisville, Kentucky
Boston, Massachusetts
Minneapolis, Minnesota
Montclair, New Jersey
Charlotte, North Carolina
Shaker Heights, Ohio
Seattle, Washington
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Racine, Wisconsin

The school systems selected had to meet the following criteria:

1. Prior significant desegregation activity.
2. Occurrence of successful or significant practices or changes in desegregation strategies.
3. Potential for generalizability of lessons learned at individual schools.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether a school system was cognizant of the goals of desegregation and to gather evidence of their efforts to attain these goals. Interviewed were administrators, school board members, journalists, teachers and others.

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7Broh and Trent, p. 82.
The findings of the interviews showed that regardless of the techniques used to assign pupils, 97.9 percent reported that their systems had made progress in achieving racially mixed schools. Evanston, Minneapolis, and Charlotte-Mecklenberg stated that parents and citizens were involved in the pre- and post-planning strategies.

Local experts were asked several questions about training for teachers, administrators and non-teaching staff during pre- and post-implementation. Sixty-one percent of the respondents reported that pre-desegregation training for teachers was conducted in their school districts. Sixty-eight percent reported some post-desegregation training. One-third of the respondents identified the content of the training programs as changing attitudes, human relations, sensitivity training, interpersonal skills and multicultural living.8

When asked about curriculum changes, more than two-thirds of the ninety-four respondents reported some alterations. Riverside, Stockton, Denver, Boston, Charlotte-Mecklenberg, Shaker Heights, Seattle, Racine, New Castle County, and Tucson all noted these changes. Three different types of alterations were identified.

1. Remedial instruction, gifted and talented programs, and special magnet programs added.

2. A multicultural approach to curriculum emphasized.

3. Bilingual education added for triracial population.9

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8Broh and Trent, pp. 112-116.
9Broh and Trent, pp. 117-118.
When asked to identify curriculum efforts which had proved to be effective in their school's race relations, 23 percent of the 94 interviewees identified multiethnic/multicultural curriculum; 12.5 percent identified human relations programs; 6.8 percent identified socio-drama programs and home-school programs; others mentioned sports. Less than 40 percent of these local experts provided evaluations of these curriculum efforts; however, home-school programs scored high in the rating as achieving the goal of improving student performance and behavior.

During the last fifteen years curriculum models have stressed the diversity of ethnic groups and their contributions to the nation. Such emphasis has been reported by Hawley to have a weak but positive effect on student race relations. James A. Banks, a prolific writer on the subject of curriculum in the desegregated setting, emphasizes that a major goal of multiethnic education is to assist the student to see himself and his culture through the study of another culture. "A teacher in multiethnic curriculum helps the student understand that he is one of many different groups and his ethnic group is one of the many of which he is a member."

Banks defines multiethnic education as a total school environment encompassing staff, its attitudes, the formal and hidden curricula, the teaching strategies and materials, the testing and counseling program, and the school's norms.

Content related to ethnic diversity should permeate the entire curriculum and should not be limited to the Social Studies, the Humanities or the Language Arts. Ethnic content is just as appropriate for such areas as home economics, physical education, science, mathematics and art.11

Human relations programs are recommended as classroom curriculum and activities, as well as schoolwide special programs. This approach to curriculum reform was reported in the Vanderbilt study as being successful in student interaction. Lesson plans focus on roleplaying, discussions of racial situations, and multiethnic textbooks. Everyday classroom, community, and national situations provide opportunities for developing the curriculum basic to these plans.

Hawley writes:

The special programs aspect of human relations programs would indicate activities such as multi-racial schoolwide student committees, special movies, assembly speakers, and schoolwide recognition of the birthday of minority political and social leaders and of other important events in U.S. race relations. One idea the study team found attractive was to teach students about the desegregation controversy in their own community, especially the

11Banks, p. 29.
reasons why the judge, the state or federal agency, or the school board required desegregation.\textsuperscript{12}

The human relations program should not eliminate science, mathematics, reading and other basic courses; there should instead be a subtle integration of the program.\textsuperscript{13}

Sociodrama, another curriculum strategy, is the acting out or imitating of a real life situation. Learning takes place as the participants and observers experience and critique the performance. Skits or short acts are presented to groups and are spontaneously performed; often role-playing is involved. Subjects or situations such as, "A teenager who stays out after curfew is met by father; John comes to class unprepared for an assignment; or Freshman class is disgruntled by food service in cafeteria," are typical examples. This strategy has high appeal for the adolescent. A positive result of sociodrama as reported by the Vanderbilt study was an increase in interracial understanding.\textsuperscript{14}

The home-school program functions with the assistance of a liaison person who advises parents and students of school regulations, as well as student behavior and special needs.


\textsuperscript{13}Hawley et al, p. 108.

\textsuperscript{14}Broh and Trent, p. 119.
parental cooperation is solicited and channeled into areas such as tutoring, in addition to assisting in field trips, assemblies and extra-curricular activities. Hispanic parents have been invited to serve as resource persons and tutors in cities such as Denver, Chicago, Evanston and Boston. The home-school program has been highly praised.

The literature describes cooperative or team learning as being utilized to improve race interactions, improve the academic performance of low-achieving students, and lessen the problems of teaching a heterogeneous group. Slavin and Madden's studies (1979) support these findings.15 McConahay (1981) after a review of experimental studies on the team-learning curriculum concluded that the practice improved attitudes, behavior, and achievement in some studies. Hispanic students seemed to benefit also, except where lack of language facility impeded communication.

Some studies in these reviews have been conducted in classrooms with Hispanic as well as Anglo and black students. The conclusions drawn from this research are generally similar to those found in the more numerous studies of biracial classrooms.16

Blaney et al. (1977) report in their findings that both white and black students experienced a higher degree of pleasure in the team learning experimental group than those


16Hawley et al, p. 112.
in the control group. Their responses showed that they liked school more than their counterparts. The Mexican-Americans preferred the traditional methods of the control group. In analysis the investigators concluded that language debility inhibited the Hispanics in efforts to instruct their English-speaking teammates.

Jigsaw, one technique for team learning, assigns members to the team representative of the full range of ability, ethnicity, and gender of the class. Each member is given some bit of information which the entire team needs for completion of a problem or project. The dependency relationship brings about mutual consideration and respect.

The material to be learned was divided into as many parts as there were group members. Each student learned only one part of the total material and was in turn, responsible for teaching his part to his groupmates. However, each group member was responsible for learning all the curriculum material for testing.17

Student Teams-Achievement Division (STAD), another team-learning program, awards points for gains in academic improvement; hence those weak in academics are rated according to individual performance. This method acknowledges all contributions to the team in an equitable manner.

Attitudes relating to school learning, subject content, and student relations are positively affected through the interaction and communication process that takes place in the team-learning activities. Shlomo Sharan further concludes that the helping behavior results in students feeling more accepted by one another, as well as the teacher, a fact which creates an environment where fairness is expected.18

Robert Slavin's (1981) study confirmed the findings of Lucker et al. (1976) and Slavin (1977) in which experimental minority students showed significantly more gain than their control group. Whites did not gain significantly more than their control group, but they had been shown to do so in earlier studies.19

Team-learning is simple to implement; one teacher may use the technique part of an hour or part of the day without the necessity of extra equipment or materials. Hawley et al. concludes that team-learning techniques

1. Lead to higher than usual academic achievement gains for low-achieving students who are involved.


2. Almost always improve race relations between majority and minority group children.\textsuperscript{20}

In desegregated schools widely heterogeneous classrooms are common; therefore peer tutoring has been utilized to accommodate diverse achievement levels and to foster healthy race relations. Positive results, for both tutors and students of same-race pairs, were found by Devin-Sheehan, Feldman and Allen (1976). Little empirical evidence is available regarding cross-racial tutoring; one study did show gains for tutors and students in race relations but none in achievement. Cohen et al. (1982) in an analysis of sixty-five evaluations of peer-tutoring programs found that both tutors and students benefited, resulting in the participants having more positive attitudes toward subject matter and higher achievement scores.\textsuperscript{21}

Most high schools in the nation resort to some type of grouping, either by leveling or tracking. The empirical evidence of its impact on race relations is not clear, but the literature is filled with negative responses to its practice. Jeanne Oakes found that students in lower levels spent less time in instruction than students in higher levels, and teachers had low expectations for the group.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{20}Hawley et al., p. 112.
\textsuperscript{21}Hawley et al., p. 116.
\textsuperscript{22}Hawley, et al., p. 122.
Hughes (1980) reminds educators that with desegregation comes an opportunity to examine curricula and design alternative programs.

School systems have used school desegregation plans to implement totally new educational concepts, such as middle school to replace the more traditional junior high schools. The introduction of a middle school allows opportunities for a clinical approach to instruction, continuous progress education and an integration of the basic skills of the elementary grades with the discipline orientation of the second years.23

Magnet schools offer alternative education and have been used by many urban school systems to attract students desiring innovative programs. Magnet schools have been defined by the courts as a "distinctive program of study that will attract volunteers from all segments." The schools must offer special, distinctive curricula different from the regular program. The curricula must be attractive to all races; the admissions policy must not be discriminatory, and the racial mix must be held at specified percentages.

Usually magnet schools emphasize language arts, performing arts, multicultural studies, and other specialty areas. The schools are patterned after the alternative schools of the 1960's with open schools, creative arts schools, experiential learning schools, minicourses, and learning centers.

Basically, little difference can be found between the two schools in curriculum and instruction design.

Traditional curriculum models reflect the past; innovative models should reflect the present and the future. The melting pot concept assumed that all persons should be molded into one identity. Society has moved through eras of different thought, and presently most educators are no longer concerned with assimilating diverse cultures into one culture. "During each era, educators in the United States made vain attempts to establish curriculum patterns that would recognize and deal with the particular need of the time. Presently a concerted effort is being made by curriculum specialists to provide guidance in effective solutions to the problems inherent in reforming curricula for the nation's desegregated schools.

*Education in the 70's*, edited by Banks (1981), collects sixteen contributions relating to the multiethnic teaching and learning perspectives. Banks recommends that society's institutions join the collaboration for curriculum reform. He requests that institutions such as churches and other such agencies, examine their "curriculum" to provide change where needed to deal with a multiethnic public. Banks reminds the

reader that multiethnic education must have an appropriate environment for its implementation. State boards must present legislation to give direction to local boards; local boards must develop policy and guidelines for districts with superintendents and principals administering the implementation. Teachers with such a support system will then more readily bring into reality the goals established at a higher level of authority. The achievement of curriculum changes is dependent on teacher attitudes and behavior.

Geneva Gay has provided a design for developing a culturally pluralistic curriculum to include all ethnic groups, blacks, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, Polish, Irish, Italians, and Jewish Americans. Memorizing factual information about each group is not the approach suggested; rather, included in the school's educational programs should be integrally woven ethnic content. This content includes cultural characteristics, intra-group variations, status in society, conditions of the political, economical and social state, and the contributions made to American society. How best can this objective be accomplished? Gay states that planning should look ahead at least three to five years, time for evaluation of experiences and progress. A total approach should consider training of all personnel, teachers, administrators, bus drivers, secretaries and para-professionals.
"Interactions in Culturally Pluralistic Classrooms," (1983) authored by Geneva Gay, goes beyond the clearly obvious curriculum chores and directly confronts some of the "hidden issues," such as student/teacher interaction in a desegregated classroom. Without a consideration of classroom climate, institutionalization of multiethnic programs may not occur.25

1. Cultural conflict is a critical factor in ethnically, socially, racially and culturally pluralistic classrooms, which can significantly affect both the potential for and actual achievement of success or failure in teaching and learning.

2. Successful interpersonal relations among students and teachers in culturally and ethnically pluralistic school settings are requisite to the effective implementation of multiethnic education.

3. Teachers and other educational leaders should perceive culturally pluralistic classrooms as including different social systems with different sets of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors.

4. Some degree of conflict among these different social systems is inevitable.

5. Many classroom behaviors exhibited by ethnically different students are culturally determined.

6. The best way to understand and improve interpersonal interactions among students and teachers in culturally pluralistic classrooms is through cultural analyses of classroom behaviors.26


Gay attempts to extract the hidden curriculum, the ignored aspects of daily interpersonal and instructional rapport which are evident in a diverse student population. She prepares the school staff to expect conflict; the potential for conflict lies in different goals and values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns attempting to congeal in a limited environment. The role of the teacher is to minimize or ameliorate the incompatibility between the school values and those of ethnic orientation. The complexity of the role encompasses knowing and understanding cultural differences, noting points of conflict, and taking preventive action to avoid, redirect, or facilitate, rather than to allow teaching and learning to be inhibited.

The Coleman Study, (EEOS, 1966) reported little influence of schooling on student achievement in comparison to family backgrounds and social status. Cremin (1976) found that families have an influence from which all other instruction is viewed. Levin and Rane (1975) found that the family and community influence on learning was more effective than the school. "They also found that reassigning pupils, rewriting curricula, and reallocating resources seldom changed the way teachers and students actually treat each other."

Since education is a shared responsibility of parents, teachers, administrators, and community, the participants must learn to cooperate in the effort. Hayes (1981) states:

Knowledge of the historical background of any population is a prerequisite to understanding the contemporary conditions created by the dynamics of social and cultural interactions among people.\textsuperscript{28}

The reinforcement of community pride in its history engenders mutual respect. Hayes recommends that curriculum specialists assist teachers in developing units of subject content related to cultural and ethnic minorities. She further suggests that artists and musicians who know the history and other expressions of the community participate in enriching and expanding traditional curriculum.

School desegregation is an effort to redistribute educational resources, making more equitable opportunities for minorities. It attempts to create a situation which more nearly mirrors the larger society. Those students who lack the advantages of middle-class socioeconomics and have only each other with whom to interact are faced with two handicaps: (1) inadequate experiences for academia, and (2) lack of positive examples for peer emulation.

Spady (1973) states that in all literature "... direct interpersonal contact with middle-class whites not only has its own positive effect on aspiration but makes the higher status black more susceptible to normative group influences." The higher the SES of whites, the greater the benefit to blacks. Further, the higher the SES of the black

\textsuperscript{28}Multicultural Teacher Education, p. 107.
student, the greater is the effect of classroom racial composition upon his achievement.29

The most comprehensive as well as massive study of equality of educational opportunity has been mentioned earlier. The sample of approximately 625,000 included children from six racial or ethnic groups: whites, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and blacks. The dependent variable was a set of achievement scores from standardized tests. The minority students, with the exception of orientals, scored below the whites, with the first graders as much as one standard deviation below the majority. The longer the low achiever remained in school, the wider the academic gap -- twelfth graders tested further below the whites on verbal and nonverbal skills. Puerto Rican performance was lower than that of black.

Hawley, Crain et al. (1983) have examined the results of case studies, national assessment data, and input-output studies with the following conclusion. "The available evidence suggests that school desegregation, overall, improves the academic achievement of minority students and at least does not impede the academic progress of whites.30


30Hawley, et al., p. 10.
Case studies are those which quantify evidence of
achievement in the city school systems undergoing desegrega-
tion. Of seventy-three studies, forty showed desegregation
had a positive effect on black achievement, twenty-one showed
little or no effect, while twelve showed negative effect.
Hawley refers to these studies by Crain and Mahard (1978) as
being evidence that desegregation does not undermine the
quality of education. He further states that in 1981 Crain
and Mahard analyzed ninety-three case studies in which the
positive effects were confirmed for blacks and Hispanics.

This study also indicates that one reason that the
research has provided somewhat ambiguous signals in the
past is that methodologically weak studies appear to
yield more negative results than strong studies. Eighty-
six percent of the studies with the strongest methodology
revealed positive impacts but only thirty-four percent of
the weakest studies showed positive outcomes.31

The achievement scores of 1981 were analyzed by National
Assessment of Educational Progress with the following results
- those blacks in the Southeast, the most highly desegregated
in the country, are narrowing the historical performance
differences of southern students and those of other regions.
The assessment staff sought to determine if migration from
north to south contributed to the change; the conclusion was
that migration was not a factor.

One may consider the reanalysis of the national assess-
ment data by Burton and Jones (1982) which shows that

31Hawley, et al., p. 10.
during the 1970's the difference in average achievement levels between the nation's black and white youth has become smaller. When achievement for white students declined, achievement for blacks declined less; when whites improved, blacks improved more. Declines in black/white achievement differences were found at both age nine and age thirteen in math, science, reading, writing and social studies.32

The third source of achievement analysis is in input-output studies. Coleman et al. (1966) is an example of one in which racial composition of schools was correlated with achievement scores. This study, however, did not consider when or how racial mix was effected.

Hawley refers to the study of Bridge, Judd, and Moock (1979) which carefully assessed major input-output studies of black achievement.33 They found that blacks' academic achievement is higher in predominantly white schools. Crain and Mahard (1978) examined data from the National Longitudinal Study of the high school class of 1972 and found that blacks from the North showed higher achievement in relation to a high ratio of whites in the school. The same results did not appear in high schools in the South -- the investigators concluded, "the majority of the blacks tested had attended segregated schools most of their lives." As recently as 1980 Crain and Mahard found that Hispanics who attended

32Hawley, et al., p. 11.

33Hawley, et al., p. 12.
white schools had higher achievement test scores when social backgrounds were controlled.34

The three types of evidence used to judge educational quality, case studies, national assessment, and input-output studies are in consensus that desegregation strategies enhance academic achievement for minorities. New programs, curricular changes, and teacher training are some of the variables given credit for this enhancement.

Curriculum Model for Desegregated Schools

In 1968 Levine Daniel called for a change in attitudes, perspectives, and planning for the schools in desegregated districts. The need for the call in 1984 continues when minorities have widened to include a larger number of Asians and Hispanics.

The efforts of past and present day educators have included the development of curriculum to bring together these diverse groups. The school was the mechanism for the task.

Each decade after 1840 saw from two to eight million immigrants pour into America. No other people had ever absorbed such large and varied racial stock so rapidly or so successfully. It was the public school which proved itself the most efficacious of all agencies of Americanization -- Americanization not only of the children but, through them, of the parents as well.35


The past efforts of the school led to the recognition of a single dominant cultural orientation. Presently, since (1954) Brown v. Board of Education; (1964) Passage of Civil Rights Act; (1966) Publication of EEOS; (1968) Bilingual Education Act and (1970) U.S. Participation in First International Education year, educators are viewing content courses with designs for change. In 1979 the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education required all institutions seeking accreditation or reaccreditation to show evidence of planning for multiethnic education. Curriculum specialists have been involved with clarifying terms, explicitly stating philosophies and principles, and developing models to guide the changes inherent in moving from a dual to a plural cultural perspective.

Geneva Gay proposes techniques for designing multiethnic curricula around a series of concepts which can be applied to every discipline and every ethnic group. These would include concepts such as identity, power, survival culture, communication, socialization, racism, location, acculturation, enculturation, change, and ethnicity. She suggests additional concepts from disciplines such as cultural geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics, economics, demography, and political science. The value of such topics from complex, multidimensional concepts is not just the facts and information available, but the positive attitudes
and acceptance of the cultural contributions which result.
Gay also gives attention to the "back to basics" approach to
curriculum design. The use of ethnic materials to teach
fundamental skills such as reading, writing, calculating, and
reasoning are recommended.

Ethnic literature is as well endowed with examples of
"quality" and with literary techniques as is literature
written by Anglo Americans. Such literature can be used
to teach plot, climax, metaphor, grammatical structure,
and symbolism as well as anything written by Anglo
Americans. Biology, chemistry, mathematics, and other
sciences can be made more personal, interesting and
comprehensible by including individuals from different
ethnic groups who have contributed to the advancement of
these fields of knowledge.34

Another approach to designing multiethnic curriculum,
explained by Gay, is the thematic approach. Illustrative of
these themes are protest against injustice, the fight against
dehumanization and depersonalization, search for ethnic
identity, struggle for freedom, and the influence of ethnic
groups on the American scene. Dr. Gay also provides steps in
the development of curriculum which give clear directions to
those responsible for implementation.

1. Select key concepts.
2. Identify major and minor generalizations.
3. Delineate objectives.
4. Select curriculum materials.
5. Select learning experiences.
7. Assign responsibilities to various departments.

36Geneva Gay, "Organizing and Designing Culturally
Pluralistic Curriculum," Educational Leadership, 33 (December
8. Maintain cohesiveness between departments in the process of implementation and evaluation.37

James A. Banks in Education in the 80's: Multiethnic Education presents a theoretical and philosophical position very similar to Gay. He, however, selects out the major variables which can be used to "conceptualize, measure and determine the level of ethnic behavior of individuals or groups." The variables also can be used to evaluate cross-culture competency of the student. The variables are (1) languages and dialects, (2) non-verbal communications, (3) cultural elements (such as food, art forms, dances and literature), (4) perspectives and world views, (5) behavioral styles and nuances, (6) ethnic values, (7) methods of reasoning and validating knowledge, (8) ethnic identification. Banks suggests that these variables will assist instructors to see that a student may be highly ethnic linguistically yet highly assimilated in values and perspectives.38

The Institute for Teacher Leadership (1979) issued the following guides to the development of a multiethnic curricular model.39

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37Gay, p. 181.

38Banks, Education in the 80's, pp. 110-111.

The Essential Principles for Multicultural/Multiracial Education are:

1. Multicultural/multiracial recognizes a significant diversity of students; therefore, programs for students should be highly individualized.

2. Estimates of ability should be based on results and instruments that have minimal socioeconomic class and culture bias.

3. The school should recognize and value different learning styles, different vocational goals and different life purposes. It should not insist upon a universal "best model."

4. The processes by which students learn social behaviors should emphasize and value diverse cultural definitions of these behaviors.

5. While insisting upon behavior which is neither anti-social nor hostile to any other group, the school must be tolerant of behavioral differences.

6. The school should not attempt to devalue or expunge the cultural or racial heritage of any student, staff member or member of the community.

7. The teaching methodologies which instruct a student in his own culture may differ from those which instruct him in another culture. The school staff is sensitive to when and where each of these kinds of methods is appropriate.
8. Teaching methods should place high priority upon building a sense of personal worth in each student, both as an individual and as a member of a distinct cultural/racial group.

9. The instructional program should provide a program in which all students learn about and come to appreciate cultural and racial differences.

10. The instructional program should serve the needs and aspirations of each cultural and racial group within the school without violating the integrity of any other group.

11. The school should distribute resources, power and prestige equitably among its cultural and social groups.40

Statement of Objectives

1. Students demonstrate understanding of our democratic, pluralistic society by exhibiting such behaviors as:

   a. Establishing friendships both in and out of school which freely cross racial and cultural lines.
   b. Electing and supporting fellow students in leadership roles.
   c. Seeking cross-cultural experiences in the school curriculum.
   d. Expressing approval of any achievement, individual or group without ethnic bias.

40Institute for Teacher Leadership, pp. 180-182.
2. Students (teachers) carry over to the community their informed understanding of democratic pluralism by seeking to correct conditions within the community that deny equal opportunity to any person.

3. Students (teachers) feel free to discuss openly racial and ethnic differences as well as intergroup difficulties.\footnote{Institute for Teacher Leadership, p. 185.}

Evaluation

1. To what extent does the school's statement of philosophy on multicultural/multiracial education provide a basis for an operative program?

2. To what extent have specific educational objectives been developed to give direction to the multicultural/multiracial efforts in the school?

3. To what extent has the school made specific educational commitments to multicultural/multiracial education that can be developed into an effective program?\footnote{Institute for Teacher Leadership, p. 187.}

The article includes guidelines to prevent resegregation, advising school administrators to be cognizant of preventive measures to lessen the need for suspensions, as well as to avoid tracking, and biased instruments. Also needed will be staff development concerned with minority student
characteristics, new curricula guides, teaching techniques that match learning styles of minorities, and recruitment of more minority personnel.

Summary of the Review of Literature and Research

The review of literature and research on the subject of desegregation and curricula revealed that efforts have been made to revise and restructure curricula to meet the multidimensional needs of a multicultural/multiracial school population. Desegregation goals are explicit, giving guidance for long-term objectives in race mixing, achievement, stabilizing the community and school with improved race relations for all. The Center for Education and Human Relation's study of seventeen school systems and their strategies for reaching those goals revealed a unanimous "yes" when asked if curricular changes had been instituted since desegregation. Three major types of changes were identified: (1) remedial instruction, magnet programs and gifted/talented programs, (2) multicultural curriculum, and (3) bilingual education. When asked to identify specific programs which had proven effective in improving race relations, administrators listed home-school programs, multiethnic curriculum, sociodrama, human-relations programs and sports. Some of these programs, such as remedial instruction and gifted/talented programs, seem to be supplemental; however, schools are often indivi-
dualistic and distinctive. Curriculum that is basic in one school may be enhancement for another.

Desegregated schools are widely heterogeneous, a fact which makes tracking, individualization, and class size important issues to effective desegregation. Team-learning and peer tutoring are strategies which assist the teacher to provide quality and diversity of instruction. These activities develop communication skills, leadership, and self-esteem. The interactions necessary to good relations do not come automatically with desegregation but must be fostered through special activities and programs.

Magnet schools are popular. Some are highly successful in achieving parental involvement, varied curricular offerings, and low drop-out rates. One reason for instituting magnet schools was to lessen hostility to the "force" characteristic of desegregation, as well as to increase educational offerings which reduce white flight. The schools have proven helpful in these two areas. Hawley recommends that magnet schools should be proposed before desegregation orders demand it.

Recent literature is very much concerned with ethnic diversity. Most of the sources discuss subject content and methods of teaching multiethnic and multicultural curriculum. Curriculum experts advise a move from special divisions of Black Studies to the integration of ethnicity within the
total curriculum. James A. Banks proposes that all subjects, mathematics, science, art, physical education, and language, be taught with the contributions of ethnicity central to the subject.

Coleman et al. (1966) concluded that schooling had little effect on blacks' achievement. Recent literature illustrates that desegregation strategies do increase achievement for blacks and Hispanics. The complete restructuring of curriculum may have a positive effect on achievement, for Hawley's studies show that school desegregation has increased blacks' achievement without lowering whites' achievement.

Gay's model for multiethnic curriculum was chosen for its adaptability to any school, any discipline, and any grade level. It is based on the philosophy of The Institute for Teacher Leadership, which is to make instruction more effective, to improve achievement, and to make curriculum more relevant for all students.
CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF DESEGREGATION

Introduction

In 1954 the Supreme Court ordered the nation's school systems no longer to operate dual systems of educational facilities, one for whites and one for blacks. This decree ushered in an era of desegregation, the mixing of the two races, within numerous school systems. The history of desegregation is lengthy and complex; its acceptance and implementation were not universal. Communities, districts, cities, and states reacted to the edict with varying attitudes and strategies.

Organization of the Chapter

The History of Desegregation was organized to describe the following events:

1. Background of Desegregation.
2. Disruptions and Compliance.
3. Desegregation and the Courts.

Background of Desegregation

On May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Warren delivered the unanimous opinion of the Court.

We come to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race,
even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.¹

In 1896 the Supreme Court had dealt with the race issue in Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 16 S. Ct. 1138, 41 L. Ed. 256 (1896). The decision stated:

Laws permitting and even requiring separation of the races in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislature in the exercise of their power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held a valid exercise of the legislative power even by the courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been the longest and most earnestly enforced.

Justice John Marshall Harlan, a southerner from Kentucky, was the only judge to dissent. He pleaded for the dismantling of the caste system. Benjamin Muse writes that the separate-but-equal doctrine was practiced in all institutions and facilities. The emphasis was on separate rather than equal. From 1900 to 1930 the needs of blacks were mainly supplied through philanthropic efforts. By 1930 over five thousand schools had been established by such means. "As late as 1933 more than two hundred southern counties with

Negro populations of 12.5 percent or more had no Negro high schools at all. ²

By 1944 school systems were providing more buildings for blacks and by 1954 school facilities were near the level of whites in many southern states. In other states, such as South Carolina, schools were still inferior in resources and instruction.

Arizona, New Mexico, and Kansas in 1953 permitted segregation but did not demand it. Nebraska had no legislation regarding the issue but desegregation had been the rule. In Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey segregation was prohibited either partially or entirely. "In Colorado, Iowa and Pennsylvania integration had been in effect for many years."³ Ten years before the Brown decision, laws varied throughout the states from a policy of total segregation to one of complete integration, with various combinations of both in use at any one time. In communities that opposed desegregation, administrative strategies were deployed to circumvent the law.

Ohio's history typically illustrates the stages and solutions to the nation's education of blacks.


³Muse, p. 8.
1828-1829 - denied the benefit of free schools to blacks.

1847 - permitted the maintenance of separate schools for blacks.

1848 - allowed taxation of whites for the maintenance of schools for blacks.

1853 - allocated public school funds in proportion to the number of school children regardless of color.

1859 - denied blacks right to attend schools with whites.

1878 - passed law permitting segregated schools.

1887 - required desegregation of schools.

1948 - Civil Rights Law did not refer to schools but a number of cases were based on the ruling.4

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People argued several cases for equalization of school plants and teacher salaries during the Forties. In 1936 Jack Greenberg, a young white attorney, argued and won the entrance of a black to the University of Maryland Law School; in June, 1950 Herman Sweatt won the right to enter the University of Texas Law School. The premise of the two cases was that a student could not be adequately trained for the bar separate and apart from the school of law.

William Hastie, William Nabrit, Charles Houston, and William Coleman, five black lawyers, assisted by psychologists, sociologists, and educators, white and black, laid the groundwork for the case of Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas.

To bring the issue of segregation in public schools before the Supreme Court a suit or suits were needed to be filed in lower courts, seeking the admission of individual Negro children on a non-segregated basis to schools of specific communities where segregation was practiced. These suits would ultimately reach the high tribunal on appeal as "class actions" and a decision by the Supreme Court that denial of such admission was in violation of the Constitution would make segregation unlawful everywhere.5

Lucinda Todd, an NAACP secretary, reflecting upon the course of action taken, stated that she and several members of the association petitioned Reverend Oliver Brown to allow his daughter, Linda Carol Brown, to enter suit. The suit was filed in the federal district court of Clarendon County, South Carolina. Four other related cases were argued on appeal at the same presentation before the Court.

Topeka, Kansas - The Court relied on prior authority to sustain the segregated school system of Topeka, Kansas though at the same time it found that segregation in itself "has a tendency to retard the education and mental development of Negro children."

Clarendon County, South Carolina - Negroes contended for admission to white schools until their schools could be improved.

Prince Edward County, Virginia - A similar finding of present inequality existed plus a promise of improvement.

5Muse, p. 6.
Delaware - The case came up from the state supreme court, which found inequality of schools and ordered the Negro plaintiff to be admitted to the white school until inequality was eliminated.

District of Columbia - Federal enactments requiring separate schools in the District were struck down.  

The case used the name Brown simply because of the alphabetical order among the plaintiffs. Attorney Marshall argued that the 1896 decision placed a badge of inferiority on blacks, denying them equality. The plaintiffs contended that segregated public schools were not equal and could not be made equal; hence blacks were deprived of "equal protection of the laws."

The five cases were argued in 1952 and reargued in 1953. Chief Justice Warren wrote the opinion which was unanimous. Among the associate judges were Harold Burton from Ohio, Stanley Reed from Kentucky, Tom Clark from Texas, and Hugo Black from Alabama. These states required school segregation. The other justices were William O. Douglas of Connecticut, Felix Frankfurter of Massachusetts, Robert H. Jackson of New York, and Sherman Minton of Indiana.

Disruptions and Compliances

When the Brown decision was handed down, the segregation of schools was required by law in seventeen states and the District of Columbia. In Wyoming, Kansas, New Mexico, and

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Arizona desegregation began immediately or within the following year. In Washington, D.C., and Baltimore complete desegregation was implemented promptly with only a few minor street eruptions. At the beginning of September, 1954, Boston was highly segregated in housing and jobs, yet all schools were desegregated simultaneously with no special preparations for students or staff. Some picketing, boycottting, and general disturbances took place, but staff, students, and most parents continued daily routines as usual.7

By November, 1954, 74,447 Washington students were attending 123 desegregated public schools. West Virginia moved to desegregate schools in twelve counties in September, and thirteen counties initiated plans for the following semester. Two school districts in Arkansas, one in Oklahoma, and one in West Texas were desegregated. Wilmington, Delaware, proceeded by desegregating at the elementary level with further plans to include high school at a later time.

During the next five years Southern states, through amendments to their state constitutions, attempted to evade the Supreme Court ruling with inclusions such as "to permit the state to use its police powers to maintain segregated schools" or "to permit the operation of a private school

7Maryland Commission on Human Relations, Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools (1955), pp. 5-8.
system supported by tuition grants from public funds." Mississippi gave the legislature authority to close public schools rather than desegregate.

In the three years following the Brown decision, not one black had been admitted to a segregated school in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Virginia. These states had the highest black population within the country, and they all had a "states' rights" philosophy which had endured the Civil War. Governor John Patterson of Alabama succinctly described the situation: "For some reason, the people in Washington can't seem to get it in their heads why public officials down here don't knuckle down to the Brown decision. If they [public officials] did . . . it would be their last term in office."8

When the Supreme Court declared segregation of public schools unconstitutional, no decrees were mandated regarding time limits. New briefs and arguments were brought before the Court specifying means of implementation. Muse states that:

Briefs were submitted in November, 1954, but oral argument originally scheduled for December was postponed until April, 1955. Justice Robert H. Jackson had died in October . . . . The new justice was John Marshall Harlan, a grandson of the author of the famous dissent in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson.9

8Muse, p. 25.

9Muse, p. 28.
The courts again ruled unanimously that once desegregation had begun the courts should allow the system adequate time for necessary changes. Changes in physical plants, transportation, personnel, and revision of school districts were to proceed "with all deliberate speed."

In September the schools opened with hardly any change in the rule of segregation in this region. In the Western part of Texas, an area with few Negroes, sixty-five school districts did remove racial restrictions in public school enrollment. In Arkansas one more school district, Hoxie . . . integrated twenty-five Negro children in formerly all white schools. In the once highly secret "Atomic Bomb City" of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, eighty-five Negro pupils were integrated among 2,526 white students in federally operated junior and senior high schools. These were the only departures from the system of segregated public schools in former Confederate South. In eight states no Negro child was admitted in 1955 to any public school with white children.10

Milford, Delaware, Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., experienced picketing, boycotts, and some verbal attacks on blacks who attempted to enroll in 1954. The first violent eruptions occurred in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, when Atherine Lucy attended class at the University of Alabama. President Carmichael told the faculty that she had been in danger of "being murdered on the campus."11

While Governor Folsom did not feel it proper to use the Alabama National Guard at Tuscaloosa, the governors of Tennessee and Kentucky called out the Guard to quell

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11Sarrett, p. 155.
large-scale disorders in their states in the fall of 1945.\textsuperscript{12}

Little Rock, Arkansas, and New Orleans, Louisiana, were scenes of demonstrations, violence and mob rule. Police Chief Gene Smith of Little Rock, using fire hoses, dispersed a mob approaching one of the schools. He restored order; however, he became so despised and harasssed by the governor, the Citizens Council, and pro-segregationists, that before the year ended he took his life and that of his wife. In New Orleans, after two weeks of white mothers and children taunting four black girls as they entered the school building each day, order was restored.\textsuperscript{13}

After New Orleans most of the violence and disrespect for the Brown ruling took place at universities. The University of Georgia and the University of Mississippi were desegregated in 1961 and 1962 respectively. Governor Wallace of Alabama stood in defiance in the doorway of the University of Alabama, but later acquiesed when President Kennedy federalized the National Guard.

Desegregation was peaceful in South Carolina at Clemson University and College of Charleston. Memphis, Dallas, and Atlanta, along with thousands of other schools in the South, were desegregated without serious incidents. "In most

\textsuperscript{12}Sarrett, p. 156.

\textsuperscript{13}Sarrett, pp. 150-163.
instances or disorder, persons from outside the community where it occurred struck the spark to pentup feelings.\textsuperscript{14}

Most of the schools in the border states desegregated voluntarily. Delaware, in compliance with court rulings, desegregated all of its schools in 1961. Rural areas were most dilatory, neglecting to comply with the 1955 mandate of "all deliberate speed."

The District of Columbia desegregated its schools in 1954 and assigned pupils to neighborhood schools. In 1954 about one-fourth of the total school enrollment was white. Ten years later fewer than one-seventh of the public school pupils were white \ldots. These circumstances have produced a trend toward resegregation in District schools.\textsuperscript{15}

The deep South at the end of 1964 had only 2,000 of 1,477,000 blacks attending biracial schools. The time since 1954 had been spent in litigation; Louisiana had passed 131 laws in an attempt to evade compliance.

**Desegregation and the Court**

The following are rulings which have followed the Brown decision. Each one has made major contributions in the process of eliminating dual systems.

Green v. County School Board (1968) - rejected the "freedom-of-choice" plan which allowed students to choose their own public school.

\textsuperscript{14}Sarrett, p. 174.

\textsuperscript{15}Sarrett, p. 351.
Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education (1969) — directed Mississippi to end immediately the dual school system based on race.

Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District (1969) — required the merger of faculties and staff in the same ratio as "Negro to white teachers . . . in the entire school system."

Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971) — recognized that large cities often harbor large segments of minorities. Racial isolation in itself was not unconstitutional; the intent of the isolation was the determiner.

Keyes v. School District No. 1 (1973) — ruled de facto segregation unconstitutional. The changing of school boundaries and building new schools in places that assure one race enrollment were ruled to be "de jure" segregation.

Columbus Board of Education v. Penick (1976) — declared that if pre-1954 acts contributed to segregated conditions that existed in 1954 and the school board has not done all it could to relieve those conditions, then system-wide remedy was in order.

Milliken v. Bradley (1974) — absolved the state of busing across school district lines.16

Summary of the History of Desegregation

The Supreme Court of the United States ordered the discontinuance of dual school systems on May 17, 1954. The plaintiffs' argument was that "separate" was not equal and could not be made equal, and therefore the 14th Amendment's provision of equal protection of the law was being denied. The decision overruled the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of

1896, in which the "separate-but-equal" doctrine had become the basis for discriminatory practices in all aspects of social behavior.

When the ruling was granted, seventeen states and the District of Columbia had laws which required the separation of races. Other states had legislated open policy admission, but "de facto" segregation prevailed in practice.

The mandate has been effective in achieving reductions in racial isolation in many school districts, but not without hostility. Disruptions and violence within communities were actuated by opposition to the character of "force." Before 1954 communities were far removed from federal influence; local or state institutions ordered or guided moral and social values. Communities where police action was swift and forceful order was restored quickly.

The West and border states desegregated quickly and with less intervention that the deep South. Arval A. Smith asserts, "Desegregation in the South was divided into three phases, (1) the Muted Response to Brown, 1955-1963; (2) the Search for Standards, 1963-1967; (3) Massive Integration, 1968-1972."

Judicial review of cases related to desegregation has been continuous throughout the nearly thirty years since the Brown decision. Civil Rights lawyers consider Milliken v. 

17Morris, p. 42.
Bradley a return to the "separate" era. The decision limited busing to city districts lessening the possibility of including suburban schools in desegregation and broadening the possibility of two distinct societies.

White resistance in the North and West, as well as in the South, to the Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education has not abated. In some parts of the United States the white resistance has intensified and has assumed more subtle forms. Faced with continuing white resistance to integration, many minority-group parents and leaders have tired. They no longer pursue methods designed to achieve integration in schools. Instead they are trying to identify alternative ways in which minority-group children can actually be afforded equal educational opportunity in quality schools.¹⁸

¹⁸Morris, p. 800.
CHAPTER IV

DESEGREGATION OF NASHVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Selected Historical Background

In 1955, when litigation aimed at desegregating Nashville schools began, racial segregation was constitutionally mandated in Tennessee. Articles 11 and 12 of the state constitution declared, "No school established or aided under this section shall allow white and Negro children to be received as scholars together in the same school." In 1956, the Tennessee Supreme Court struck down the statutes requiring the separation of races, Roy v. Brittain, 297 S. W. 2d 72 (Tenn. 1956).

Nashville was the first major city in Tennessee, as well as one of the first state capitols, to desegregate its school system. In 1957 nineteen black children entered seven previously all-white elementary schools. At that time the city of Nashville and Davidson County operated separate governments. Each maintained its own educational system and provided separate services for black and white populations.

On May 23, 1954, representatives from seventeen South-
ern and border states and the District of Columbia met in Atlanta, Georgia, and adopted the Atlanta Declaration, a policy statement which called for "a program of action to eradicate racial segregation in public education as speedily as possible." The group further insisted that "there should be integration at all levels including the assignment on a non-discriminatory basis."

On May 27, 1954, the Nashville Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent a copy of the Atlanta Declaration to the Nashville Board of Education and requested that the declaration be shared with all persons in the school system. They also suggested that interracial committees be established "to discuss and recommend ways and means of implementing the Supreme Court Decision in the Nashville and Davidson County Schools."  

The first petitions to desegregate the public schools came from white parents. On June 7, 1954, Grace and Lee Lorch petitioned the Board of Education "to enroll our daughter, Alice Lorch, in Pearl Elementary School for the school year beginning this fall. . . ." The letter further stated:

Pearl Elementary School, within easy walking distance of our house, is the nearest public school . . . . and is the school to which we wish and intend to enroll her. . . . However, the Principal of Pearl Elementary School, Mr. M. E. Tipton, has informed us that, while he would welcome Alice and be pleased to have her at the school, he is not permitted to accept her because present

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regulations of the Board of Education, binding upon him, require him to enroll colored children exclusively and Alice is white.3

Four days later, in a letter dated June 11, Robert W. Rempfer requested that his two children, a fifth grader and a sixth grader, be allowed to attend Pearl Elementary School. The Board of Education voted that this request, as well as that of the Lorch, be denied, pending final decree of the United States Supreme Court.4

On October 14, 1954, Mr. Lee Lorch and Mr. Rempfer appeared before the Board. They, along with Attorney Z. Alexander Looby, urged the Board to initiate desegregation in the schools and warned that other measures would be taken if their children were not allowed to attend Pearl Elementary School.

In order to prevent "other measures," Superintendent W. A. Bass in the June, 1955, report suggested to the Board:

Sooner or later the Board will find it necessary to commit itself with respect to its intentions on carrying out the Supreme Court's decisions and decree. It occurs to the Superintendent that careful study needs to be done on the various aspects of this problem. In order that this study may be systematically carried forward, the Superintendent suggests that this matter be referred to the appropriate Committee of the Board for immediate study and subsequent report.5

In response, the Board of Education appointed an In-

struction Committee to study racial discrimination in public education and to report its findings to the group. In its first report to the Board the following was stated.

1. Questionnaires had been sent to forty cities in the South to gain insight into the problem.

2. A school census should be taken.

3. A meeting with all principals was recommended to discuss the questions related to desegregating students.

4. Parents and other interested citizens should be invited for open discussions in each school area.

5. More time would be needed in order to guarantee peaceful cooperation.\(^6\)

The third and final report of this committee, entitled "Interim Statement of Compulsory Segregation Policy," was read to the Board on March 21, 1956. It was issued seven days prior to the Kelley v. Board of Education grant of a continuance, in which black parents petitioned for relief from denial of their constitutional rights.

1. The Nashville Board of Education will discharge its duties, including the implementation of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in compliance with the law of the land.

2. The Board has heretofore complied with the Law of the Land as it was judicially declared for generations prior to 1954 and 1955. It cannot be successfully challenged that this Board has heretofore provided in good faith "separate but equal" facilities.

3. The Board recognizes that the practical implementation of the new interpretation of the Federal Consti-

tution brings into action the pressures of deepseated convictions which motivate people, as opposed to abstract theories of sociology, political science and constitutional interpretations, and the Board recognizes that these pressures threaten damage to the public school system of Nashville.

4. The Board views the problem as serious, complex, and fraught with numerous possibilities, and thus worthy of its best judgment, arrived at after unhurried deliberation. The complexity of the problem in Nashville is illustrated by the fact that at the present time 45.6 percent of the students attending the city schools are Negroes, i.e., 17,208 white students and 9,512 colored students. Southern School News for March 1956 gives statistics showing school enrollment, with Negro percentages, for all Southern and border states. These figures established that a higher percentage of Negroes attend school in Nashville than are enrolled in Georgia or Alabama.

5. The Board regrets that the hearing of the lawsuit on March 27th comes at a time prior to the completion of its plan of procedure and before all the essential facts are assembled upon which appropriate planning must be predicated, but the "Board refuses to use the fact of such hearing as justification or excuse for making hasty and ill-considered plans. Any such plan now formulated could not secure unanimous approval of the Board and could not be expected to obtain that substantial public support which is essential to success.

6. The Board is composed of citizens of Nashville who receive no compensation for their services as members and who strive only to do their duty as they see it in an atmosphere of moderation, tolerance and good will. They respectfully submit that their administration of school matters should not be transferred into the arena of injunctions, show cause orders, contempt citations, and other legal processes which seem to be inherent in the relief sought by complainants in the pending case.7

While Nashville was busy responding to requests and petitions, Davidson County was attempting to prepare statements of its rationale on the subject of "separate but equal" facilities. The city of Nashville with nearly half of its school population black, located in Davidson County with a school population of five percent black, encountered similar requests yet chose diverse strategies.

On August, 1955, the County Board adopted the following report:

The Davidson County Board of Education has a definite responsibility to the patrons of the county school system, both white and Negro, as a result of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court directed the various Boards of Education to carefully examine their individual local situations before making any final decision. The decisions of the Supreme Court do not require immediate action, but rather suggest careful study as related to local conditions. Hasty action might well be harmful and the Supreme Court decisions recognize this fact.

The School Board has a responsibility to the entire community and will endeavor to discharge this responsibility fairly and justly to all. Consequently, your School Board does not plan to integrate the Davidson County Schools during the current school year.

The manner and method of integration should be governed by conditions and circumstances existing in Davidson County. A very small percentage of the students in the Davidson County Schools are Negroes, whereas, in the average municipal system a very large percentage of the students are Negroes. Some of our best schools are patronized entirely by Negroes. The students, faculties, and parents are satisfied with conditions, and excellent results are being obtained in our Negro schools. The wrong method of integration would seriously affect discipline and the contentment and happiness of the Negro
student. Therefore, the Davidson County School Board of Education will create a committee consisting of persons well acquainted with problems pertaining to integration and parents of White and Negro children will be represented on the committee. We will request the committee to make a thorough study of the problem and make reports to the Board of Education from time to time. The Board is not suggesting the organization of this committee as a means of arbitrarily delaying integration—but the Board feels very strongly that the efficiency of our school system and the contentment of our teachers and students, both White and Negro, should not be jeopardized by hasty action.

For the last several years your Board of Education has made every effort to provide modern and adequate school facilities for both the Negro and white students. Our Negro teachers receive the same compensation as the white teachers and our Negro schools are providing adequate and excellent training and a full and happy life for the Negro students in Davidson County. It is our desire to carry out a program that will preserve for the Negro students and the white students of our school system all of the benefits now enjoyed by both white students and Negro students.

We earnestly request the cooperation of all citizens of this community. 8

No attempt was made to integrate the public school in the County until September, 1960. At that time some black students requested enrollment in white schools. In refusing the requests, the County Board at its regular meeting on September 8, 1960, unanimously adopted the following "Resolution":

"We have fully considered the request of certain negro citizens. . . .

Heretofore, numerous substantial negro citizens of this community have expressed their desire that their children

attend negro schools; and they also expressed their pride in their own schools and confidence in their teachers.

The negro schools in Davidson County are in excellent condition and most of the schools have been built within the last ten years and the negro schools are equal in every respect to the white schools.

The request has been made by the parents of six children from three negro families. This request was made after the current school year had started and after all plans for transportation, zoning of students, distribution of school books, etc., had been fully completed for the county-wide system.

It is therefore, moved that the Davidson County Board of Education decline the request so made and in making this motion, it is our feeling that we are acting in the best interests of the six negro children mentioned above.

Shortly thereafter, a suit seeking relief was filed in the U.S. District Court.

Court Actions - 1955-1959

On September 23, 1955, a group of black parents filed suit declaring their constitutional rights were being denied according to the Supreme Court Decision of 1954. Their request was to enroll Robert Kelley, a black student, in an all-white school. The original case was heard by a three-judge District Court. Elmer D. Davies served as Chief Judge, John D. Martin as Circuit Judge, and William E. Miller as District Judge. Attorneys Z. Alexander Looby and Avon N. Williams, Jr., represented the plaintiffs, while the defen-

dants were represented by Attorneys Reber Boult and Edwin F. Hunt.

The School Board filed an answer in which it was admitted that segregation laws were unconstitutional. They asked for a continuance of the case on the basis that sufficient time had not been granted to formulate a plan which would meet the Supreme Court's guidelines. On March 28, 1956, a continuance was granted in order to give the Board more time to formalize a plan for desegregation.

Prior to a further hearing in the Kelley case, members of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, a group of white parents, sought to intervene on the grounds that their interests were not being represented. They claimed the Fourteenth Amendment to be unconstitutional. Judge Miller ruled that no justifiable issue was raised with regard to the Fourteenth Amendment and held that all interests had been represented by the Nashville Board of Education.

On October 29, 1956, the Nashville Board of Education adopted by a vote of eight to one a plan submitted by its Instruction Committee to begin the elimination of compulsory racial segregation in the city public schools. This plan, which later received national attention, became known as the "Nashville Plan." The plan contained the following provisions:
1. Compulsory segregation based upon race is abolished in grade one of the elementary schools of the city of Nashville for the scholastic year beginning in September 1957.

2. A plan of school zoning or districting based upon location of school buildings and the latest scholastic census without reference to race will be established for the administration of the first grade and of other grades as hereafter desegregated.

3. Every student entering the first grade will be permitted to attend the school designated for the zone in which he or she resides, subject to regulations that may be necessary in particular instances.

4. Applications for transfer of first grade students from the school of their zone to another school will be given careful consideration and will be granted when made in writing by parents or guardians when good cause therefore is shown and when transfer is practical, consistent with sound school administration.

5. The following will be regarded as some of the valid conditions to support application for transfer:

   (a) When a white student would otherwise be required to attend a school previously serving colored students only.

   (b) When a colored student would otherwise be required to attend a school previously serving white students only.

   (c) When a student would otherwise be required to attend a school where the majority of students of that school or in his or her grade are of different race.

6. The Instruction Committee is directed to continue its study of the problem and to recommend by December 31, 1957, the time of and the number of grades to be included in the next step to be taken in further abolishing compulsory segregation.10

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The "Nashville Plan" was presented to the United States District Court on January 21, 1957; Judge William Miller approved all provisions with the exception of paragraph six. Judge Miller ruled that the plan was a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court, but directed the Board to submit, by December 31, 1957, "a report setting forth a complete plan to abolish segregation in all of the remaining grades of the city school system, including a time schedule thereof." 11

Prior to the 1957-58 school term, the Board was petitioned by thousands of parents and citizens to establish the mandates of the School Preference Act. The parents were requesting three school systems allowing freedom to select either a white, black, or integrated school. The Board petitioned the District Court for a ruling, and the resulting decision stated, "The act is antagonistic to the principles declared by the Supreme Court in the two Brown cases and is, therefore, unconstitutional." 12

On Monday, September 9, 1957, thirteen black children enrolled in previously all white schools. Picket lines formed at several of the schools; white parents were urged to withdraw their children. On September 10, 1957, Hattie


Cotton Elementary School was dynamited, causing severe damage to the building. This action resulted in the city of Nashville and the Board of Education jointly filing a petition for injunction in the U.S. District Court for the purpose of maintaining law and order. The Court issued a temporary restraining order on September 12, 1957, and a temporary injunction on September 16.13

Court Actions - 1960-1964

On September 19, 1960, Henry C. Maxwell, Jr., and Benjamin G. Maxwell were refused admission to white Glencliff Junior High and Antioch High. At the same time a number of other black children sought admission to the "all white" Bordeaux Elementary School and were also refused. The defendants, acting under the laws of Tennessee and Davidson County, were operating under a dual set of attendance zones based solely upon race.

The case was heard in the U.S. District Court by Judge William E. Miller, and at the preliminary hearing on September 26, 1960, he ordered the Board of Education to submit a plan that would accomplish complete desegregation of the public school system of Davidson County.

The plan submitted was a copy of the "Nashville Plan." It provided for the abolition of compulsory segregation in

grade one beginning in 1961, and thereafter for one addi-
tional grade each subsequent year. The plan contained provi-
sion for transfer "when good cause therefore is shown and
when transfer is practicable and consistent with sound
administration.14

The plaintiffs argued against the ruling on the grounds
that it would forever deprive them of their right to a
racially unsegregated public education. The Court, however,
ruled that the plan was not a denial of the plaintiff's
rights, but was "in the interest in the school system itself
and the efficient, harmonious, and workable transition to a
desegregated method of operation.15

On a motion for further relief, heard in January 1961,
four individual plaintiffs, Cleophus Driver, Deborah Clark,
Henry Maxwell and Benjamin Maxwell, sought admission to
"white" schools outside the overall "Nashville Plan." Judge
Miller denied the request, holding that such exceptions would
have the effect of destroying the plan.16

The plaintiffs appealed the ruling by the U.S. Court of
Appeals, where it was argued on March 20 and 21, 1963. In a
decision written by Justice Clark, the Supreme Court on June

14Federal Supplement, 203 (St. Paul: West Publishing
Co., 1962), 126.

15Ibid., p. 131.

16Race Relations Law Reporter 6, No. 1 (February 1961),
115.
3, 1963, reversed the decision of the Court of Appeals and the District Court and ruled that classifications based on race for the purpose of transfers between public schools violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.17

In the same year Nashville and Davidson County merged governments, which resulted in combining the school systems. In 1964 the two became the Metropolitan Nashville Public School System with a board of nine members who were appointed by the mayor and approved by the Metropolitan Council.

**Court Actions - 1965-1971**

In 1968 Kelley, et. al. sought further relief from discriminatory practices of the school system after Cameron High, a "black" school, was suspended from interscholastic athletic competition because of alleged misconduct after a game with Stratford High, a "white" school. Following the game a fight between the teams and the students created a disturbance which necessitated police action.18

The plaintiffs insisted throughout the trial that racial discrimination was the determiner in Cameron High's suspension. The Court ruled that its investigation proved that

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race was not the controlling factor in the action taken by the Board of Education and the Secondary Schools Athletic Association.

The next episode in the Kelley v. Metropolitan Board of Education occurred on November 6, 1969, when the plaintiffs sought the issuance of a temporary restraining order enjoining the Board of Education from proceeding further with any and all new construction pending the submission of a new desegregation plan to achieve a unitary school system immediately. At that time Judge William E. Miller enjoined the defendants from purchasing new school structures or expanding present school facilities. The case was then recessed until January, 1970.

The Court determined in 1970 that many elementary and secondary school zone lines had not been drawn to maximize integration. The school lines drawn prior to the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 were still in use. On August 19, 1970, the attorney for the Board filed a comprehensive plan for the desegregation of public schools as ordered by the District Court on July 16, 1970. The plan included the areas of school zoning and pupil integration, faculty integration and construction, expansion and site selection. In the spring of 1971, following several weeks of testimony by the plaintiffs and defendants, Judge L. Clure Morton of the U.S. District Court requested the assistance of several of the
Title IV Desegregation Centers under the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. The Court asked that the desegregation plans presented by the Board's lawyer be evaluated. The Court also stipulated that if necessary, HEW should formulate its own plan for the creation of a unitary school system in Metropolitan Nashville. On June 23, 1971, Judge Morton approved the HEW plan for the desegregation of elementary and junior high schools and a revised edition of the school board's plan for the senior high schools.

Court Actions - 1972-1983

The school system initiated the HEW plan, which was based on Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, and tried to implement desegregation through zoning. After the plan had been in operation for one year the Board petitioned for changes, stating that the plan had created hardships for the system. Judge Thomas Wiseman rejected the petition and declared that the Board's implementation of the 1971 plan had prevented effective desegregation. Thereafter the Board submitted proposals for construction, as well as a kindergarten program requiring the use of portable buildings. Both proposals were petitioned by Kelley, the plaintiff. In 1978 the Board petitioned to amend the school attendance zones; as a result, the plaintiffs amended their contempt petition.19

In 1979 the District Court ruled that the Nashville-Davidson County school system had become increasingly segregated in the years since 1971. The HEW plan had never fully extended throughout the county, and whites had been able to flee the mandates by moving to the outer areas, leaving the inner schools to the blacks. The Court concluded, "The resegregation resulting at least in part, from the nonetheless good faith efforts of the School Board in the implementation of the Court's order, amounts to a de jure segregation.20

Judge Wiseman determined that desegregation had not been achieved in Metro-Davidson County and ordered a new desegregation plan "to eliminate from the schools all vestiges of state imposed segregation with the primary objective -- the achievement of a unitary school system."21

The Board's Plan

In "A Progress Report" (1983), the Board issued this statement:

On May 20, 1980, the United States District Court for the Middle District of Tennessee issued a Memorandum Opinion and Order setting forth new standards for a desegregation plan to be developed by the Metro-Davidson Board of Education. The Court found a need for reconsideration of the remedy imposed by the Court in 1971 in view of the

21Primary Legal Documents, p. 238.
experience during the twenty-five year history of Nash­ville desegregation case and in light of the evolution of law. The definition of a "unitary" school system has expanded. . . . from a mere destruction of barriers, to pupil assignment, to remediation and quality education.22

Due to the expanded definition of desegregation the Court reevaluated the 1971 Board of Education Plan and concluded that:

1. The gap between black and white achievement has narrowed slightly. . . (but it) remains substantial. . .

The 'osmosis' effect, or use of white children as a principal learning resource for black children, appears not to have had the desired result, at least in isolation. These data strongly suggest the necessity for educational components both as an essential ingredient to the remedy and also as a reinforcement to parental perception of, and support for, the system.

The plan submitted by the Board disparately onerates young black children with the burden of achieving desegregation.

The remedial benefits of smaller pupil-teacher ratios in the early grades would far exceed any benefits from an 'osmosis' desegregation.

Fuel prices are many times what they were when this plan was implemented in 1971. Some transportation will continue to be necessary. However, rational balancing of cost-benefit demands a consideration of alternative methods of transportation that may be more efficient, and alternatives to transportation as a remedial device.23

The Court set forth guidelines for the 1983 Board of Education Desegregation Plan which included the following:


23A Progress Report, p. 263.
1. Provision of intercultural experiences on a periodic basis to those K-4 children who, because of lack of integrated housing in their zoned neighborhoods, are in largely black or largely white elementary schools.

2. Reduced pupil-teacher ratios in those schools in which the achievement level of the school is below the average for the system.

3. Remediation efforts in those schools or classes within schools made up largely of socioeconomically deprived children who suffer the continuing effects of prior discrimination.

4. Such other areas as the professional staff may recommend and the Board may consider valid.24

The plan of the Board will specifically address [the question of black history and culture] and propose methods of monitoring inclusion of such subject material into the regular curricula, as well as the offering on specific courses on black history and culture in the comprehensive high schools.

Finally, the Court noted the need to seek community support for the new plan:

To insure the success of the plan, the success of public education in Davidson County, and the success and happiness of our community in the future, it will be essential to enlist and utilize the good will and support of the community.

MIDDLE SCHOOLS:

A 5-8 (or variation) middle school tier should be constructed . . . . with the objective in clustering of bringing about a minimum presence of at least 15% of either race in the minority at each middle school. If necessary to meet the objective, non-contiguous zones may be utilized. These should be held to a minimum and where utilized, consideration should be given to assignment of

24A Progress Report, p. 265.
the nearest such black or white children to create such presence... The school chosen for the middle school in each cluster should be as centrally located as possible to the whole of the students assigned thereto.

The 15% minimum objective was chosen at the suggestion of plaintiffs because it seems to represent a reasonable attempt to provide intercultural and interracial contact as a foundation for social harmony. As such it is a goal worthy of the whole-hearted support of parents and the community and for the attainment of which some expense and inconvenience should gladly be endured.

HIGH SCHOOLS:

[The Goodlettsville-Madison-Trinity Hills School] should be built and the Court approves this portion of the Board's plan... However, ... the Board should include in the attendance zone and construct accommodations for the Old Hickory area (northern half of DuPont's zone) in this school. The construction of Pearl-Cohn Comprehensive High School is approved.

Bellevue, Antioch, DuPont and Joelton are] relatively small high schools in the outer fringes of the county... [and they] have posed a problem to the Board both in implementation of its comprehensive high school plan, and in its effort to achieve a desegregated system.

Whites Creek was built to accommodate Joelton students. Hillwood was built to accommodate Bellevue students. Antioch students can be accommodated between Glencliff and Overton. DuPont area students can be accommodated between the new Goodlettsville-Madison-Trinity Hills Comprehensive High School and existing McGavock.

It appears that the utilization of magnet-type traditional high schools, or magnet type programs contained within several such traditional high schools, would be a significantly beneficial component to the plan. If these traditional high schools were open-zoned, centrally located, accessible by public transportation, offering unique educational opportunities, they should attract an integrated student body. Pearl, East, and West End all seem to meet these criteria.25

Presently, the Board's plan is in the first stage of implementation. New high schools have been designed; planning for comprehensive high schools is on the drawing board. Funding has been allotted and debate regarding costs have been finalized. Hume-Fogg has served its first year of transition from a technical high school to a magnet high school. Multi-cultural curriculum has been instituted; a committee has packaged a black history unit for the high schools. The community has settled into acceptance of the Board's plan; however, further monitoring will be necessary to appraise adequately the plan as mandated by the Court to be initiated in the school year 1985.
CHAPTER V

PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

The procedures which were used in this research study are presented in Chapter V. They are divided into the following areas:

1. Restatement of the purpose of the study.
2. Description of the population.
3. Description of the data-gathering instruments.
4. Procedures for administering the data-gathering instruments.
5. Methods of analysis and reporting the findings.

Restatement of the Purpose

The main consideration of this study was a survey of curriculum changes of the last 10-12 years within the secondary schools of Nashville, Tennessee. The consideration of this study came within the purview of three questions. They are:

1. What types of programs or processes have desegregating school systems adopted that might at least hypothetically improve the overall quality of schools?
2. Are such programs ongoing and have they remained in operation over a period of time?
3. What other curricular changes have been adopted which have no necessary relationship to desegregation?

Description of the Population

The metropolitan area of Nashville has seven suburban
communities with a cross socioeconomic population of approximately 477,800 persons with a medium income of $16,408 and a mean income of $20,049, a 22 percent black population and segregated as well as desegregated housing patterns.

Fifteen high schools with a population of 15,831 are located within this area. The investigator was granted interviews with the principals by telephone only, except for three who invited face-to-face interviews. A letter of introduction and explanation of the study was mailed to each principal by the superintendent in charge of research and evaluation within the Metro-Davidson County School System. The procedure provided the opening needed to call the Directors of Curriculum who granted visits to their offices.

The data gathered regarding academic standing, attendance, interactions of black and white students, suspensions, and yearbook status are a description of each school's outcomes.

**Description of the Data-Gathering Instruments**

Instrument A, Professional Data Sheet, was designed to obtain background information on the principals. Its purpose was to elicit (1) length of high school service, (2) length of time assigned as a principal, (3) highest degree held, and (4) principals rating of student conduct within each school. Instrument B, Questionnaire, contains direct questions regarding curriculum changes, effectiveness of the curriculum
changes and the principal's expectations for the changes to be ongoing. Question 1, asks the respondent to tell of curriculum changes made in the last 10 to 12 years. Question 2, asks the principal to tell whether the curriculum changes were peculiar to his school and question 3 asks if the change worked well. Question 4, asks the reason for success or failure and question 5 asks if the curriculum changes are expected to be ongoing.

The nature of the research problem associates this study with content validity. Content validity asks the question, "Is the substance of this instrument representative of the property or content being measured?"¹

Content validation consists essentially in judgment. Alone or with others, one judges the representatives of the items. One may ask, "Does this item measure property M?"²

Cronbach also states that examining each item and judging whether each item covers what the tester wants to measure is examining content validity.³

Instrument C, Interaction of Black and White Students, was designed to record smiling, waving, touching (playfully), greeting, talking or studying together, and debating. Instruments A, B and C were designed by the investigator.

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²Kerlinger, p. 458.
Items were written with the assistance of the administrator in Research and Evaluation, Metro-Davidson School Board. Kerlinger states that interviews are often used for obtaining information. Louis H. Kidder recommends telephone interviews as being time savers as well as economical. The two authorities advise that (1) the schedule or test items should be directly related to the purpose of the study, (2) the questions should be simple, free of ambiguity, and direct. These guidelines were followed in the construction of all items.

Procedures for Administering the Data-Gathering Instruments

In the city of Nashville there are fifteen secondary schools; each school was represented in the study. Instrument A was always administered first. Immediately following, Instrument B was administered. This instrument was designed to list the curricular changes within each secondary school as reported by the principal. Also investigated were the curricular changes peculiar to the school: were they effective and why? Also probed was the future status of the curricula.

Items 1-5 of Questionnaire B were simply stated to elicit direct and simple responses. Several questions were eliminated because the word "desegregation" was included. It

was expected that principals would be more candid and cooperative if there was no mention of the term. Responses to items 1 and 2 were substantiated by curriculum guides and student class schedules. One principal presented a state evaluation report which supported much of his verbal account. Also, the coordinator and superintendent of curriculum gave similar statements of objectives, curriculum designs and curriculum changes.

The above procedure was followed in the three office visits during face-to-face contact. Generally, the interviews required twenty minutes on the telephone. Office visits required forty to sixty minutes simply because respondents deviated from the items.

Responses by principals indicated that Nashville's secondary schools utilize three models of curriculum, Traditional, Comprehensive and Multiethnic. Curriculum changes within the last 10-12 years have been implemented and further changes are anticipated. It was found that each principal has been involved in education at least five years and two have been assigned to the secondary schools for thirty-one years.

Observations of student interactions in the school hallways and cafeterias were made during forty-minute periods. Tallies were recorded as the observer sat in an inconspicuous
corner or an office looking into the hallway. Each interaction was recorded on Instrument C in the appropriate column. A tally only, was made to indicate the particular exchange; the quality of the interaction was not rated.

The Nashville School System will not provide individual reading or mathematics scores to the public. Statutes prohibit the listing of such scores. Since 1978 the Tennessee State Proficiency Tests have been administered to secondary students. Achievement is measured in relation to mastery of classroom instruction. Percentages of those passing or failing are provided the public. These records are housed in the Office of Research and Evaluation. Attendance and suspension data were transcribed from the same source. Enrollment of high schools and total school population figures were taken from Board of Education documents. The Nashville Census Bureau provided population figures for blacks and whites, 1970 and 1980, mean and median incomes, as well as number of suburbs within the metropolis.

Method of Analysis and Reporting the Findings

Whether for purposes of research in education or for systematic keeping of records, statistical methods are indispensable. The number system offers a legitimate means of organizing and categorizing the data and emerging with conclusions derived from the phenomena.
The items on instrument A, 1-3 were reported as recorded. Item 4, student conduct, was rated as shown.

**Scale 1**

**Student Conduct**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Well Behaved</th>
<th>Well Behaved</th>
<th>Not Well Behaved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Items on Instrument B were rated as shown.

**Scale 2**

**Curriculum Models**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiethnic</th>
<th>Comprehensive</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integrated Content</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Honors Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td>Trades</td>
<td>Math</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Remedial Programs</td>
<td>Foreign Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Early College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Admission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 2 1

When responding to items 1 and 2 the principals gave the type of curriculum model in use during the school year 1983-84. In four schools changes were anticipated as a direct compliance with the 1982 court ruling; however, only the
schools' 83-84 model was included on the scale. The scale lists three models or categories - Multiethnics, Comprehensive, and Traditional. **Multiethnics** curriculum was given a rating of 3 since the words of James A. Banks remind us of the goals of schooling in a multiethnic society. He states, "Content related to ethnic diversity should permeate the entire curriculum and should not be limited to the social sciences, the humanities and language arts." A rating of 3 is the highest because it is the most desirable program of studies for a desegregated population.

**Comprehensive** curriculum was given a rating of 2 because it does provide opportunity for all students, those interested in work, and those eager for college preparatory only, and it assumes a rich and varied background in content. A rating of 1 was given to the **Traditional** model because, according to several principals, many blacks fail under the program. Those with limited socioeconomic and academic backgrounds are often eliminated.

Instrument C was designed to record the interactions of black and white students in the hallways and cafeterias. The purpose of this observation was to validate (or invalidate) what was learned in the interviews and to gain direct knowledge of school conduct, as well as racial interaction.

---

smiling, waving, hitting (playfully), speaking, holding conversation, studying together, or debating an idea were tallied as interactions.

The school yearbooks for 1983 were provided by all schools with the exception of Hume-Fogg. The investigator classed the school as fully integrated (2) if blacks were participants as class officers, cheerleaders, homecoming queens, team members and club officers. A slightly integrated (1) rating was given when blacks were participants on athletic teams only. A non-integrated (0) rating was given if the yearbook was either black or white only, with one or two pictures of the minority race included in clubs or teams.

The following are scales designed to show the ratings of senior achievements, suspensions and attendance.

**Scale 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Seniors Passing Tennessee State Proficiency Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90-100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scale 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Senior Suspensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each item was weighted and summed to present a quantified profile of each high school. Those schools with high ratings were considered to be moving in the direction of those goals. No causal connections are evident in this study. It was the intent to examine and report the present status of curriculum implementation in the secondary schools of Nashville, Tennessee, and determine a relationship between school curriculum and the goals of desegregation.
Chapter VI presents the findings of this research study.

Restatement of the Purpose

The main consideration of this study was a survey of curriculum changes of the last 10-12 years within the secondary schools of Nashville, Tennessee. The consideration of this study came within the purview of three questions. They are:

1. What types of programs or processes have desegregating school systems adopted that might at least hypothetically improve the overall quality of schools?

2. Are such programs ongoing and have they remained in operation over a period of time?

3. What other curricular changes have been adopted which have no necessary relationship to desegregation?

The effectiveness of desegregation strategies can be measured by several variables. The following variables have been measured and/or quantified wherever practical.


3. Student population and SES.

4. Senior attendance.
5. Student conduct rating by principals.


7. Percentage of students passing proficiency tests.

8. Interactions of black and white students and yearbook integration.

9. Programs of study, 1983-84.

10. Summary of responses to items 2, 3, 4 and 5 on instrument B.

2. Were these changes peculiar to your school?
   
   Yes  No

3. Did the curriculum work well?

4. If so, why?  If not, why?

5. Do you expect any of these curricular changes to be ongoing?
   
   Yes  No
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Others*</th>
<th>Total % Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>68,421</td>
<td>21,575</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>88,996 23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>70,481</td>
<td>22,519</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83,000 24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>58,183</td>
<td>21,697</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>79,880 27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>55,726</td>
<td>21,326</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>77,052 27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>53,471</td>
<td>21,227</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74,698 28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>51,804</td>
<td>21,065</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72,869 28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>49,721</td>
<td>20,816</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70,537 29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>48,001</td>
<td>20,801</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>68,802 30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>45,942</td>
<td>20,634</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66,576 31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>43,888</td>
<td>20,391</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>64,279 31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>45,252</td>
<td>22,725</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>68,837 33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>43,704</td>
<td>22,142</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>66,734 33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>43,170</td>
<td>22,209</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>66,334 33.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the school year 1970 to 1983 the total enrollment declined by 23,662 or 26%. Board of Education administrators attribute this decline to low birth rate, white flight from Davidson County to suburban counties, and the proliferation of private schools.

*No records of other enrollment were kept prior to 1980-81.
From the school year 1970-71 to 1983 enrollment of secondary students declined 770. White enrollment declined 2,810 students and black enrollment increased 2,040 students. There was an increase of white and black students in the school year 1971-72; however, a court order of 1971 precipitated white flight. In the year 1978-79 junior high, 7th, 8th, 9th grades, were included in the high school enrollment. 1980-81 shows 7th and 8th grades being excluded.
The mean years of principal employment at the high school level is 21.6. The mean years of serving as a principal is 16.5. Seven principals hold the PhD and eight have been granted either the MA or MA+.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>SES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont Jr.</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>Working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,528</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1,121</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>1,088</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Pogg</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>72.6%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>1,571</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2,242</td>
<td>Middle Working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>1,014</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>60.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>673</td>
<td>Working Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,784</td>
<td>Rural Working</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 6
SENIOR ATTENDANCE 1983-84

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>93.8%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont, Jr.</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>91.8%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td>94.6%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>95.8%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>93.2%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>92.5%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>89.4%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>91.9%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>89.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>92.2%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hillsboro High, a fully integrated, upper to working class population, showed the highest senior attendance. Goodlettsville, non-integrated middle-class school was next in attendance. East High, a predominantly black, working to lower class, an area serving the Casey Homes and Sam Levy Projects, had the lowest attendance.

*Attendance data not available.
TABLE 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Conduct Rating</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont, Jr.</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>Not Well Behaved</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>Well Behaved</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>Very Well Behaved</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seven of the 15 principals rated their students' conduct as very well behaved. Seven schools received ratings of well behaved. East High, a predominantly black school, was the only one to receive a rating of not well behaved.
The highest percentage of suspensions for the year 1983-84 was held by Whites Creek, a rural, fully integrated school. The lowest was held by Goodlettsville, non-integrated, middle class school. The total school suspensions for the year were 12%. Glencliff, Hillwood, Maplewood and McGavock showed respectively 8.9, 5.6, 6.9 and 6.5 percent of the school suspended some time during the year; conduct ratings by principals did not agree with these findings.

*No available data.
### Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>9th Mathematics</th>
<th>Passing Language Arts</th>
<th>Both Sections</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont, Jr.</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencoe</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg*</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>99.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest percentage passing the proficiency tests were Antioch 99.6% and Dupont, Jr. 99.6%, two schools which are under court order to further desegregate this tail. East High with 96.1% and Maplewood High with 89.1% had the lowest numbers to master classroom instruction.

*Data not available because school opened in 1983.
### Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Interactions of R/W 40 Minute Periods</th>
<th>June 1984 Yearbook</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Slightly Integrated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont, Jr.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Slightly Integrated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Not Integrated</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Slightly Integrated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Not Integrated</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Not Integrated</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Not Integrated</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Not Integrated</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Fully Integrated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations of student interactions were made to determine some degree of social exchange outside the classroom. During the 40 minute period of observation at Goodlettsville no exchange was noted. Two groups of blacks were seen in the cafeteria but they ate at individual tables. This does not imply that there is no interaction between the races. None was observed on this particular day at the hour's recordings. Hume Fogg, the magnet school, with 214 blacks, displayed 40 interactions during the particular 40 minute period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Multiethnic</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational to be added. Industrial Arts</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont, Jr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Programming. A word a day research. Critical Thinking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>Advanced Placement. School curriculum is mainly Vocational, Auto Mechanics, Cosmetology, Accounting, Commercial Art.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>Health, Computer Education, Home Ec., Drug Program, Mastery Learning</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td></td>
<td>Advanced Placement Foreign Languages Comprehensive to be added.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>Black History</td>
<td>Computer Programming, Vocational Tech., Recording Studio, Theater Arts Program, ESL.</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>Black History</td>
<td>Vocational Tech., German, Contemporary Issues, Civics, Electronics, Tailoring, Industry Cooperatives</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg</td>
<td>Magnets School Interdisciplinary (Core Program)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>(Court has ordered a comprehensive high school be structured within 2 years)</td>
<td>9th grade added. Foreign Languages. German, Spanish, French, Latin, Industrial Arts to be added.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>Multicultural Workshop held two years ago.</td>
<td>Faculty Advisory team to advise curriculum changes. Basic skills - more math courses added.</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational training, Special education, Motor, physically handicapped. Advanced placement.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Athletics. Vocational wing is being added tor lower achiever.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>Black History Week.</td>
<td>Nashville History. Peer Counseling. Performing Arts. Statewide - Science and Maths - 2 credits.</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>2. Were these changes peculiar to your school? Yes / No</td>
<td>3. Did the curriculum work well?</td>
<td>4. If so, why? If not, why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>No. Citywide and Court ordered 1981</td>
<td>Yes. Academia will be stressed. Students will be ranked.</td>
<td>a. Curriculum was working. b. Court requires changes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>Yes. 75-85% academics.</td>
<td>Refused to respond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>No. 30% college, 60% industry, 10% military</td>
<td>b. Too little interest in students. Family not disciplined. Broken homes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>Yes. 1983 &amp; '84 valedictorians went to Harvard.</td>
<td>5. 50% of students are from 1-family homes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>Yes. Comprehensive cut across the line.</td>
<td>a. Curriculum meets the interest, ability, expectations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>This is our first year. It has gone well.</td>
<td>a. Student input. More electives will be offered as a result of student demands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>a. We prepare well the high achievers. b. We need tech. courses for the low achievers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>a. Coordinators have taken curriculum guides and revised them. Strict rules. Teachers begin teaching on the hour.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 12 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>2. Were these changes peculiar to your school? Yes  No</th>
<th>3. Did the curriculum work well?</th>
<th>4. If so, why? If not, why?</th>
<th>5. Do you expect any of these curricular changes to be ongoing? Yes  No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>Yes. Advanced Planning.</td>
<td>Yes. 50% go on to college.</td>
<td>We are meeting the needs of our changing students.</td>
<td>Yes. Academics is here and will be around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>Our curriculum is comprehensive. We serve everybody.</td>
<td>Yes. We don't really make curriculum. We just follow orders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>That is unknown, changes are here but they have not been evaluated.</td>
<td>So far we have had little trouble. Remarkably well, little disruption.</td>
<td>Traditional four year basic will survive. Business Dept. will remain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>The enrollment is low in vocational, students are requesting and enrolling in academic courses.</td>
<td>Yes. Traditional programs will continue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>Yes and No.</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>60% go on to higher education, 40% to industry or 2 yr. college.</td>
<td>There is a vocational decline. State is demanding back to basics. Yes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Instrument B was the guide for questioning the superintendent of curriculum. The following are his responses.

1. What are some of the curricular changes in the high schools during the last ten to twelve years?

Response: Compensatory education. Assisting students close the gap between potential and performance. Also, the emphasis on reading, writing and math. Computer science - and the emphasis on more time devoted to instruction. Forty-two nations are now represented in Nashville. The curriculum must take a pluralistic approach. We had a multicultural team of 30-40 teachers design curriculum. It is optional. Many are not required to take these courses. The principal best determines the practice. After 300 years of benign neglect, overt structural effort is needed.

2. Does the curriculum work well?

Response: Isolation of the South has led to inequality of institutions. Trends seem to indicate new objectives and directions led by the state after California and Florida moved. Yes, we show student achievement on the rise - there is more interest in the schools now - listen to the local talk shows. Parents in the community have deep interests in what we are doing.
3. Do you expect any of the curricular changes to be ongoing?
Response: Yes - computer science, streamlining of curriculum software offerings will continue. State governments are regulating requirements for graduation and once they take control they will keep the control.

Instrument B was the basis for interview questions asked the curriculum coordinator, grades 7-12. The following are the responses.
Response: We are now in the midst of making many changes.

Inservice training begins August 22. We are planning new textbook adoptions, maps and audio-visual guides. We are also ordering supplemental guides for instruction. We are designing multicultural curriculum guides for grades 1-6. James Banks is our resource and we could not have done so much in this one year without a resource such as he. Court laws have been studied and we expect to exceed the mandate.

2. Do you expect the curriculum to work well?
Response: Yes. We are going to have workshops with resource guides for teachers. Brotherhood and multicultural dates are going on the calendars. Students will be grouped in grade levels; subject oriented and ethnic oriented will integrate.
3. Do you expect any of these curricular changes to be ongoing?

Response: Yes. The court has spelled out the basic changes. Vocational training, graphic skills, reading, social studies, U.S. history, infusion of civics and economics meet the state demands. So we are designing curriculum to meet the two sets of standards.
The following variables were weighted and summed resulting in individual school profiles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Conduct</th>
<th>Suspensions</th>
<th>Seniors Passing %</th>
<th>Yearbook Integration</th>
<th>Curriculum Model</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencliff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodlettsville</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>15 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillwood</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>12 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume Fogg*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maplewood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGavock</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>12 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-Cohn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites Creek</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>11 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data not available because school opened in 1983.
After assigning digits 0-3 to the variables studied and summing them, quantified data results. The maximum score was 16. Hillsboro High with a total of 15 1/2 points was at one end of the pendulum; East High with 6 points was in the middle range. All schools are striving to attain the maximum; Hillwood and Overton with scores of 12 1/2 have exhibited such efforts. Those figures which show proximity to 15 1/2 represent the goals of desegregation at least theoretically being attained or pursued.
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to attempt to answer three questions relative to curricular changes and desegregation of the secondary schools of Nashville, Tennessee. These questions serve as topics of discussion in part 1 of the chapter. Some findings of the study are presented, as well as some implications for educational administration. Finally, the chapter concludes with some recommended questions for further study.

1. What types of curricula do desegregating school systems adopt which might at least hypothetically lead to the goals of desegregation?

Fifteen secondary school principals were interviewed and questioned regarding curricular changes since the 1971 court mandate to "desegregate and, plan for a unitary school system." The findings indicate that the two basic curricular models in practice within the secondary school of Nashville, Tennessee, are Traditional and Comprehensive. Three schools were classed as Traditional. Within two years, fourteen secondary schools will be classed as Comprehensive, providing college preparation, vocational training and highly technical education.
Previous findings by Broh and Trent identified three major curricular changes in a study of ten desegregated school systems, (1) remedial instruction, gifted and talented programs and special magnet schools, (2) a multicultural approach to curriculum emphasized, and (3) bilingual education added for tri-racial populations.¹

Findings of this study reveal that Nashville's secondary schools practice an evolving comprehensive curriculum; that it is in an embryonic stage is obvious. In spite of this fact, provisions for remediation of low achievers are in operation. Bilingual instruction is available in one high school; four schools offer black history or black studies and one school has independently provided multicultural workshops for the faculty. Hume Fogg, the first magnet school in the city, opened in 1983-84. It offers creative arts, languages, open classrooms and inter-disciplinary curriculum.

Further findings reveal that the curriculum coordinator and a team have announced multicultural workshops for the faculty beginning in 1985-86, which will follow the guidelines formulated by James A. Banks (1981).² A new multicult-


tural curriculum guide for grades 1 through 6 was distributed for the school year 1985. Compensatory education was asserted to be "needful to assist students close the gap," by the school system's assistant superintendent. He envisioned the schools moving toward a "pluralistic approach," concerned with the newly arrived "42 nations" now residing within the metropolitan area. The curriculum coordinator related the following:

- a. New textbooks with multicultural orientation have been ordered for the 1985-86 school year.
- b. Supplemental guides, an ethnic almanac and a calendar of multicultural dates have been published.
- c. New resource guides and audio-visuals which integrate cultures, people and their contributions to the environment were requisitioned for the 1985-86 school year.

In spite of the limitations of this study it does make clear that curricular changes have been occurring within the Nashville secondary schools, and those changes have been extensive. The choices of curriculum and types of programming are very similar to those identified by Broh and Trent.

2. Are such curricular programs ongoing and do they remain in effect over a period of time?

Fifteen principals answered "yes" to this question. Their statements were based on the fact that state and court
mandates now pervade the governance of curriculum. The curriculum coordinator, as well as the superintendent of curriculum and instruction, agreed that changes made during the implementation of desegregation would become a part of current curricular models. "New buildings are now being constructed; new wings are being added to traditional structures. New equipment, materials and new texts were introduced in 1985." These responses of principals and other administrators have been validated by board of education minutes and documents. Hughes (1980) found that with desegregation comes an opportunity to design new programs, move away from past performances to concepts such as mastery learning, continuous progress and clinical approaches to instruction.3

3. What other curricula are adopted by school systems which have no necessary relationship to desegregation?

Principals and curriculum specialists gave the following responses:

A Word a Day Research

Advanced Placement in English, History and Math

Compensatory Education

Computer Programming

Some of the above innovations have been added in one or two schools only; others are system-wide additions. All of the programs are available to Nashville's high school principals. It is their option to choose those courses considered complementary to their philosophy or those courses in demand by students and community.

To reduce white flight is a goal of desegregation. Parental income and education are related to the degree of white flight. Parents who withdraw their children usually do so in accord to their fear of a decline in quality education.
Studies agree that a balanced curriculum meeting the needs and interests of all the students, stabilizes the population. According to census figures, in 1970 Nashville's white population was 358,780; in 1980 it was 366,448. During the ten years following the Court's first desegregation ruling the white population increased by 7,668.

The demand for better programs by parents and requests for a change from Traditional to Comprehensive curriculum has transcended desegregation. Students within Nashville's secondary schools in 1985 have a wider range in program offerings and a higher degree of parental involvement in the selection of curriculum.

The results of the school ratings show Hillsboro High (15 1/2) to have the highest outcome profile for the school year 1983-84. East High with a rating of (6) had the lowest.

Included in the ratings of outcomes were:

1. Achievement
2. Attendance
3. Senior suspensions
4. School conduct
5. Interactions of black and white students
6. Yearbook integration
7. Curriculum models

Hillsboro High is located in an upper/middle class neighborhood. The principal is proud of the school's integrated
status. She encourages visitation by the community as well as the news media. East High serves a lower-class to working-class community with a 74% black population. The principal suggests that many of the discipline problems are initiated by broken homes and lack of home discipline. Students from five housing projects are served by East High.

This study was not designed to show causal relationships; however, positive relationships are evident. There is further need for research and analysis as Nashville's schools move into final stages of implementing the racial quotas, integrating schools such as East High with one of the 65-70% white schools and instituting multiethnic curricular models.

**Implications for Educational Administration**

Dudley Flood, Assistant Superintendent in North Carolina's Department of Education, one of many who was interviewed in the Vanderbilt University research project stated,

"We're in a second generation of desegregation now (1980); we've made a lot of progress in meeting legal criteria and in dismantling dual school systems. But desegregation is a long, drawn out process and the other end of the continuum is integrated education. We're nowhere near integrated education yet."\(^4\)

A desegregating school system becomes a catalyst for change. There is a spillover which encourages innovations in all areas. The burden of implementing any major change is

the responsibility of the administration. School desegregation offered administrators the opportunity to provide leadership in curricular changes.

Wilson Riles, California's Superintendent of Instruction, expressed concern about the practice of "scrambling attendance patterns until a "balance has been achieved -- then helped along by a computer and repeated the following year." Desegregation demands much more of the administrator.5

Where desegregation goals are sought the administrator plays a vital role. The principal should give moral support and organizational climate to the faculty and staff. He should organize staff resources to build a team of competent persons who will create new models, support new ideas and promote positive interaction. He should provide feedback from the legislature and community to teachers. He should be a catalyst for new curricular practices, reward innovative classroom efforts and welcome staff participation in leadership decisions. Fairness should be displayed in all situations and the principal should assist in procuring funds for outside expertise in inservice training for faculty and staff.

Ron Edmonds lists guidelines for instructional purposes which have proven successful in educating those who have been denied equal education, high expectations, a quiet orderly

5Hawley, et al., p. 42.
atmosphere, and frequent evaluations. Teachers who seem to be most successful are task oriented and permit a happy environment. He states that desegregation should be viewed as an instrument of instructional reform which provides an excellent opportunity to effect change. He reminds educators of past successes with the majority and suggests that we know how to educate those we wish to educate. The concern of many in this period of history is to adequately educate the minority. Further recommendations by Edmonds stress active leadership by the principal, strongly supporting the teacher as the entire school gives precedence to mastery of basic skills.6

As indicated in earlier chapters, the move from a mono-racial school to a desegregated one brings students and teachers from different cultures into sudden contact. The EEOS referred to in Chapter I deemphasized the importance of school resources and pointed to the role of class peers in shaping achievement. More recent investigations suggest that peers do influence achievement, but only as the teacher relates to a heterogenous group. Students should be helped to develop positive feelings, attitudes and perceptions toward their own and other ethnic groups. They should be instructed in such a way as to conceptualize and aspire toward a more equitable and democratic society.

Teachers should develop sound rationale for multicultural education and acquire knowledge needed for designing and organizing multiethnic curriculum in all content areas. In cognitive learning tasks, in such areas as reading, mathematics and science the mastery learning techniques developed by Benjamin Bloom and associated with models such as Gay's and Bank's, may be achieved to match teaching approaches to learning styles.

Educators should utilize multicultural resources and increase parental involvement in the education of their children. They should understand how parental attitudes and expectations can affect the motivation and performance of students.

From the information gathered in this study indications are:

1. Legislature and state departments of education need to develop and make explicit their policy on multicultural education.

2. Technical assistance in the area of developing multiethnic curriculum should be sought. Such assistance should occur at every level of the educational experience.

3. Identification of model desegregated schools would provide examples of curriculum planning which have proven successful.
4. Models of curriculum must include assessments of student needs and continuous formative/process evaluation.

5. Teacher preparation programs must be developed to train sensitive teachers for a multicultural society.

6. The classroom teacher has to be committed to increasing the level of performance for all students in the areas of academics, social behavior and leadership roles.

7. Black and white student interactions presently dominate school planning. Asian and Hispanic student needs must also be addressed in preparing a multicultural environment.

8. In Nashville desegregation was slowly implemented—however, the school year 1983-84 witnessed major changes in goals, strategies and cooperative effort between the court and the school system.

9. High achievement, attendance, interrelations of students, good conduct and curriculum models are related in a positive manner.

Questions

The investigation of the impact of desegregation on curricula in the secondary schools of Nashville suggested
several areas deserving further consideration. These are identified in this section.

1. Is a national educational system inevitable or advisable because it is the only way to establish varied multiethnic curricula in the schools?

2. When court-ordered desegregation requires the expenditure of additional funds for implementation, yet no provision is made for funding, what criteria should determine which programs to cancel?

3. What special training in the area of curriculum development is necessary to provide administrators with the skills needed to institute multicultural environments?

4. When smaller secondary high schools are abandoned for the larger comprehensive high schools, are we creating more racial and socio-economic problems?

5. Should colleges of education note the curriculum changes necessary to assure proper training and experience in developing and implementing multicultural curriculum?

6. How should we organize to involve community, staff and students in designing multiethnic curriculum?
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Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 16 Sup. Ct. 1138, 41 L. Ed. 256 (1896).


Interviews


Jones, David. Administrative Assistant to Director of Schools, Metropolitan Schools, Nashville, March 30, 1984.

Hooper, Richard. Director, Division of Pupil Accounting, Records and Transfers, Pupil Personnel Services, Metropolitan Schools, Nashville, May 9, 1984.

This questionnaire is designed to obtain background information on the principals.

1. How long have you been employed at the high school level?

2. How long have you been a principal?

3. What is the highest degree that you hold?

4. How would you rate student conduct within your school?
   - VERY WELL BEHAVED
   - WELL BEHAVED
   - NOT WELL BEHAVED
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What are some of the curricula changes made in your high school in the last 10 to 12 years?

2. Were these changes peculiar to your school?
   YES
   NO

3. Did the curriculum work well?

4. If so, why?

   If not, why?

5. Do you expect any of these curricular changes to be ongoing?
   YES
   NO
APPENDIX C

INTERACTION OF BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

Cafeteria and Hallway Observations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hitting</th>
<th>Holding</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Conversation</td>
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<td>Debating</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
April 12, 1984

TO: High School Principals
FROM: Ed Binkley

SUBJECT: Approved Research—Impact of Curricular Changes of the Secondary Schools of Nashville, Tennessee, Ada R. Willoughby, Loyola University, Chicago

The referenced proposal is attached for your consideration. As you see, it calls for a brief telephone interview with you or other(s) in your school.

Ms. Willoughby, who is with Fisk University, will call you in the very near future to solicit your cooperation. She respects your very busy schedule and will work out with you the most convenient time for the interview.

EB: lct

Attachment

c: David Jones
   Ed Tipton
May 30, 1984

Dr. Jean Litterer
Hillsboro High School
3812 Hillsboro Road
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear Dr. Litterer,

Thank you for the invitation to visit with you at your office. I appreciate the time you took from your busy schedule to share with me innovative curricular changes within your school.

It was a pleasure to meet someone of your professional position still eager to lend a helping hand. Thank you for your assistance in the gathering of data for my dissertation.

Sincerely,

Ada Willoughby
Doctoral Candidate
Loyola University of Chicago
Two out of every three freshmen at East High School failed the Tennessee Proficiency Test, a seventh-grade-level reading and mathematics test that high school students must pass in order to graduate.

Hume-Fogg Academic High School, which has a selected body of above-average students, was the only Metropolitan school that boasted a 100 percent passage rate on the proficiency test.

Overall in Metro, 62 percent of the system's ninth-graders passed the test - down from 67 percent in 1983. The countywide results were reported last month by the state Department of Education, but the school-by-school breakdown was obtained only recently from the Metro school board.

Scoring lowest on the test were East, with a passage rate of 33.7 percent; Pearl-Cohn, where 37.9 percent passed; and Whites Creek, where 49 percent of the freshmen student body passed.

The poor performance rates at some schools reflect what Metro School Board chairman Kent Weeks called "a gap between what is learned in the classroom and what is enforced by the environment and the home."

"There are language arts skills that students can learn in the classroom, but if the cognitive process of what's correct is not reinforced, it (the wrong answer) looks right on the test," Weeks said.

"Certain words and concepts may sound right to a student even though he's taught differently - there's a gap there that we have to overcome," Weeks said.

The key to overcoming the gap may be found in proposed "transition classes" that will identify and give special help to children who have fallen behind in the early grades, Weeks said. Another pro-

... Scores

used program would increase the number of language arts teachers in the middle schools.

Both programs would be funded if the Metro Council provides increased funding for the school system, he added.

Officials were quick to point out that 95.6 percent of last year's high school seniors succeeded in passing the test, after having a maximum of five chances to take it.

"That's a cumulative five chances - they may have succeeded on the first or second, third, fourth or fifth time," said Dr. Richard Hooper of the Metro Schools Research and Evaluation Department.

But Weeks expressed hope "the day will come when passage rates in the earlier grades will improve and we will not be working with as many students on the high school level.

Students tend to have more difficulty in reading language arts scores.

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2. DUPONT
3. EAST
4. GLENCLIFF
5. GOODLETTSVILLE
6. HILLSBORO
7. HILLWOOD
8. MADISON
9. MAPLEWOOD
10. McGAVOCK
11. OVERTON
12. PEARL-COHN
13. STRATFORD
14. WHITES CREEK
MEAN FAMILY INCOME: 1979: 1980

School

1. ANTIOCH 22,457
2. DUPONT 26,124
3. EAST 14,162
4. GLENCLIFF 22,543
5. GOODLETTSVILLE 22,267
6. HILLSBORO 48,794
7. HILLWOOD 32,371

School

8. MADISON 22,686
9. MAPLEWOOD 18,434
10. McGAVOCK 26,496
11. OVERTON 44,455
12. PEARL-COHN 13,672
13. STRATFORD 24,007
14. WHITES CREEK 21,429
APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Ada Willoughby has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Barney Berlin  
Associate Professor, Education, Loyola

Dr. Robert Cienkus  
Associate Professor, Education, Loyola

Dr. Steven I. Miller  
Professor and Chairman, Foundations Department, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of ____________________.

Date 4/26/85  
Director's Signature [Signature]

[Signature]