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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE CASE STUDY METHOD:
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN OKLAHOMA CITY

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH

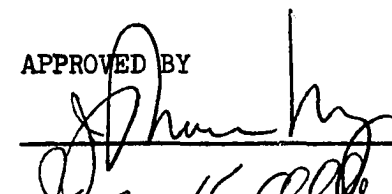
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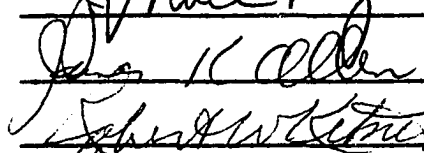
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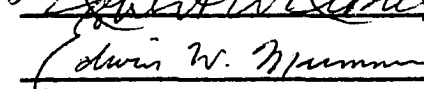
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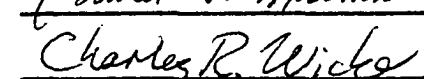
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN OKLAHOMA CITY

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I wish to express my thanks to my Committee Chairman, Dr. J. Thomas May and the other committee members, Dr. James Allen, Dr. Edwin Mumma, Dr. Robert Ketner and Dr. Charles Wicke for their help and encouragement.

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Dr. William R. Hood cannot share this time with me but I miss him very much.

I would like to thank many people in the local community for their time and effort in allowing me to interview them and for providing the material for this dissertation. Finally, I want to express admiration of Judge Luther Bohanon for his stance in the long school desegregation controversy. Perhaps the Finger Plan, which he ordered implemented, is far from perfect. However I fail to see any viable alternatives which have been presented by the Finger Plan's opponents.

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AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE CASE STUDY METHOD:
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN OKLAHOMA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During recent years much has been written and discussed about expanding training and education in the areas of human relations and social problems. Emphasis has been placed in searching for new, dynamic methods of education which would combine theory and practice in a more effective way.

The key to many of these efforts has been the development of techniques which encourage greater student participation and responsibility: methods such as T-groups, field studies, participant and non-participant observation, role-playing and transactional analysis. A common theme of these approaches is the premise that the student accepts active responsibility - that he be involved.

The case study method, used for many years in the academic study of law, medicine, sociology, and business administration has been utilized recently in training programs such as those related to the War on Poverty and other action oriented programs. While this approach has proven effective, a review of its traditional usage suggests it has even greater potential. Cases are often presented

merely to teach a concept or a static phenomenon, such as a point of law or a particular administrative idea, thus precluding the utilization of this method in the broader dimension as a creative tool.

To reach the full potential use of the case study technique ecological concepts must be incorporated within its framework. Developing cases which demand that the student address himself to a variety of factors relating to a social problem for example, will encourage him to expand his awareness of that problem and discourage simplistic solutions. While ecology was born of biology, it has much relevance in the study of human problems. As Bates (1953) has suggested, "the subject man, his origins, his present circumstances, and his destiny -- forms a single pattern that cannot be broken into pieces that are separately understood" (p. 711).

To illustrate a deeper dimension of the case study technique, this investigation focuses on a single case: the Federal Court ordered School Desegregation plan for Oklahoma City called the Finger Plan. The problem is particularly appropriate for the purpose of this study. The court order was not produced in a vacuum; there were a number of historical, economic, attitudinal and other factors interwoven which affected this judicial decision which, in turn, has significant long-term ramifications for education, race relations, housing patterns and an infinite number of other considerations.

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the effects of the judicial order on the Oklahoma City School Attendance Area from an ecological (holistic) point of view. That is, looking at the order from a broad perspective rather than isolating parts, while at

the same time illustrating an educational model emphasizing the dynamics of this social process and combining elements of theory and practice into a conceptual framework.

This dissertation has focused on a controversial problem which remains unresolved. This writer, involved in social action-educational activities in Oklahoma City for several years, has witnessed the reactions of citizens to issues relating to poverty and integration and has talked with those representing both extremes. He does not claim to hold a neutral attitude toward many of the issues raised. Yet this should not prevent the presentation of all sides of the various problems raised. Clark (1965) in fact, questions how a concerned social scientist might remain aloof and objective when he comes face to face with serious social ills.

The local school desegregation plan is presented as a case study utilizing ecological concepts as well as specific ideas borrowed from general systems theory. Thus the Finger Plan is studied not only in present terms but from a historical framework in order that a more complete picture may be seen.

Certain topical areas, referred to as components, are selected and analyzed in detail with the presentation of "mini-cases" included in each of these components. These topical areas include race relations, politics, community economics, the role of the church and housing-real estate, as they interweave with education. The "mini-cases" and discussion section following each component illustrate the interrelationships among and between them.

An ecological approach means more than simply paying lip

service to the fact that a number of variables somehow connect. It means that the investigator embrace a philosophy which demands he keep sight of a central problem, e.g., school desegregation, yet requires that he address the problem from a number of positions integrating material in a bold manner.

This is a descriptive dissertation which includes no statistical design. This fact is important in recognizing that no attempt was made to gain a statistical sample.

Goals of the Study

The goals of this study are to demonstrate:

- 1) that a complex human relations problem can be understood in depth by utilizing an ecological approach;
- 2) that the case study approach is conducive to an ecological (holistic) approach;
- 3) that through the combination of an ecological stance and the case study method an educational model, adaptable in a general way, may be developed.

Method of Data Collection

This investigator used several types of field techniques to gather the data for this study including interviews, participant and non-participant observations and attendance at community and school related meetings. Interviews were conducted wherever necessary. Some were held in homes, bars, schools, YMCA, on the street, in offices, places of business, on the telephone and in automobiles, with respondents representing a wide range of occupational and socio-economic

groups. The study also used written documents when pertinent.

Because of the sensitive nature of the material and because many respondents are in prominent positions relating to local school and political problems, their identities will be protected.

The Need for the Study

Too often studies of this nature become so focused upon one or two variables that the total picture is lost. The Oklahoma school desegregation issue has, for too long, been viewed from a narrow perspective. Persons or agencies involved have tended to address themselves to the problem based only upon their own interests.

The topic of school desegregation in Oklahoma City cannot be squeezed into a narrow study if a more complete understanding of the topic is desired. The Finger Plan, a judicial order, was deemed necessary because of long standing segregation practices in the city sanctioned by the political and economic structure of the community apparently either condoned or ignored by the majority of local religious leaders. Thus, recognition of the significance of history to present issues is essential.

Further, the effects of racism upon factors such as housing patterns, job opportunities, politics and political opportunities, education, and the interrelationships between and among these factors seem important. The identification of the important elements relating to school desegregation in Oklahoma City and how they interrelate are central themes in this investigation. This has not been done elsewhere and the need is obvious. This issue has shaken the local community deeply and must be understood in more depth. It would

appear that through combining an ecological approach with the case study method, a variety of issues might be investigated and tied together resulting in a clearer picture.

Limitations of the Study

Because six topical areas or components will be studied and related to each other and to historical considerations, no single topic will receive all its potential attention. Other important issues may, of necessity, be ignored or at least given minimal attention.

While the actual identity of many of the respondents would perhaps add to the clarity of certain issues, those interviewed, as promised by this writer, will remain anonymous. Many respondents shared too many of their honest feelings for it to be safe for them to be identified.

Definitions

Racial Integration: The coming together of different racial groups resulting in meaningful, long-term interaction.

Racial Desegregation: The bringing together of different racial groups resulting in little more than persons remaining in proximity to one another.

Dejure Segregation: The separation of persons by ethnic groupings by sanction of law, i.e., governmentally enforced separation of persons by racial composition.

Defacto Segregation: The separation of persons by ethnic groupings without the direct involvement of legal forces, i.e.,

separation of races through custom, "gentlemen's agreements," etc.

Busing: Relating to school, the transporting of school children from their homes to school and back each day.

Forced Busing: The transporting of school children from their homes to school and back each day for the purpose of desegregating the schools. Note that contrary to popular belief, such busing is not by court order, but is the result of courts ordering desegregation of schools. In other words, because of segregated housing patterns, students can only reach their newly integrated schools often by traveling several miles, thus necessitating busing.

Neighborhood School Concept: The philosophy that suggests students should attend a school as close to their homes as possible so that they may travel safely and so that parents can become involved in school activities. Due to traditionally segregated housing patterns this has meant traditionally segregated schools.

Ecological Approach: For purposes of this study, this approach emphasizes interrelationships; it borrows from a biological framework pertaining to interaction and interdependency. Additional concepts such as succession, invasion, competition, niche and adaptation, while interwoven in the material, are not emphasized. The concept of holism is, however, a key concept. This relates to the macroscopic or broad approach to the study of a problem.

Systems Approach: For purposes of this investigation, an awareness of interweaving variables is the key.

Ecosystem: From biological ecology defined as any unit (community) in a given area interacting with the physical environment

so that a flow of energy leads to a clearly defined trophic structure. The system in this study is the Oklahoma City School Attendance Area.

Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: The increased prospect that an expectation will occur because of the fact people frequently act in accordance with their expectations.

Adaptation: In biological terms, the development of species for compatibility of systems. Also discussed in terms of the ability of a system to adapt to the stress of change.

Holism: This concept suggests man step back, group parts, simplify concepts and begin to see the big patterns, looking at the macroscopic view of the world rather than the microscopic.

Invasion: A process of group displacement. This concept implies the encroachment of one area of segregation upon another. In the historic sense, it implies the displacement of a higher by a lower cultural group, though this is not the only form.

Succession: In human and plant communities change seems to take place in cyclic fashion. This concept implies a complete change in population type. In a human succession there is an economic continuity which makes the cycles as pronounced and as inevitable as those in the plant succession.

Competition: In the broadest sense this concept refers to the interaction of two or more organisms or species striving for the same thing.

Niche: An expansion of the term habitat which includes not only the physical space occupied by the organism or specie, but also its functional role in the community.

Environmental Webb: The binding together of plants and animals in a vast system of interlinked and interdependent lives. In the present study it refers to the awareness of the fact that a number of variables interact with school desegregation

Literature Review

A description and discussion of the case study method, ecological concepts and selected material from general systems theory will be reviewed in this section. References relating to the broad area of school desegregation and social problems will be included in the component section.

Investigation shows that the use of case studies in the educational process is not new. Sperle (1933) notes the Professor Langdell of Harvard Law School first developed cases for his classes in 1871. This method now has wide use in the fields of medicine, sociology, psychology and education. Jain (1968) discovered this approach being utilized in the training of business administration students, public administrators and social workers.

There is no definitive or established definition or description of this educational tool. McNair (1954), a leading proponent of the case study method at Harvard Business School, states "Indeed, the only discernible common thread running through these varied dissertations on the case method is the emphasis on student participation in the educational process" (iii).

In support of McNair's statement, Jain (1968) adds:

In the field of social research, as in many other fields, we have surveyed there are a host of 'case' expressions in use. These meanings are not standardized... (p. 436).

By way of definition and clarification, the same author says:

Case study method refers to the research methodology of making the case studies. Although many well known case studies have been made through immersion strategy (primarily through direct observations, both participant and non-participant in nature), the use of personal documents and third person reports are not precluded (p. 437).

Those authors who utilize the case study approach appear to agree that it has merit as an educational-training tool; that it pulls together skill and knowledge through student participation. Lawrence and Seiber (1965) state, "Basically, what we have learned is the necessity of teaching administration as a skill (i.e. "art") linked inseparably to knowledge. Knowledge, without the skill to use it, is inert and surplus baggage to the practitioner" (p. 4).

Pigors and Pigors (1961) in introducing their material, say:

The eleven case reports given in various parts of this book are taken from a variety of settings. In this way we hope to illustrate the idea that whenever people do things together, the situation can be analyzed - and could be lived through - as a case in social relations (ii).

Stenzel and Feeney (1970) recognize that the case study method is but one of many educational approaches for working with individuals and organizations, having as its core, elements of realism and problem solving.

In discussing training needs for health service administrators, Penchansky (1968) contends that their training must include knowledge of the disciplines underlying health sciences such as economics, sociology, social psychology and statistics, allowing for the development of problem-solving and decision making skills. He continues:

...The case method technique is particularly suited for the presentation of a number of these areas of education and is most useful, and superior to alternatives in realizing the

objective most difficult to achieve - the development in students of problem-solving and decision making skills, the ability to plan for implementation, the ability to synthesize and apply theory to specific problems, skills to group process and verbal communication, and action orientation (p. 396).

Hamilton (1960) suggests utilization of the case method in yet another area, namely in the training of hospital and medical personnel, observing that this approach can stimulate immediate interest with an accompanying desire to learn. After noting that in sociology, in particular, descriptive studies commonly take the form of a group of case studies applying to either individual persons or groups of persons, McCormick and Francis (1959) clarify this method further by stating:

As a rule, no formal schedule or list of questions is employed here. The investigator simply places himself in a position to observe or question and may participate in a social process in order to understand it better (p. 25).

Crain (1968) who developed case studies during his investigation of eight northern cities undergoing school desegregation, indicates the great advantage of this method is that it makes minimal restrictions on the research. He states that the observer may feel free to pursue a particular hypothesis as far as his imagination and the cooperation of his respondents will permit, allowing a "total analysis" of a particular issue. Selltiz, et al. (1965) feel that a positive feature of the case approach is that the subjects are placed in the role of active informants rather than simply objects of study.

The case study method appears to be of great value when the investigator is attempting to analyze a number of variables in a given situation. Proponents of this approach agree it is an excellent

method for motivating students to take an active interest in the material presented. This educational tool places theory within a practical framework.

On the negative side, observers note that there is still no single, definitive definition of this approach (McNair, 1954; Jain, 1968). Also Crain (1968) points out that it is a very time consuming method which by its nature, allows the investigator to study only a single area at a given time. For certain types of studies, those writers cited appear to feel the positive advantages of this method far outweigh the negative. The present study appears to be conducive to the case method.

It was noted earlier that the case study framework would be incorporated within an ecological or holistic approach, the latter terms relating to the recognition of interrelating variables connected with school desegregation. Because the ecological approach is germane to this dissertation a brief history of the approach and related concepts is presented.

The origin of the term "ecology" lies in the biological sciences with many scientists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contributing to its growth. Ecology's recognition as a distinct field of biology dates from about 1900 (Odum, 1971). The same writer notes that older definitions of ecology reflect the dependence upon the biological sciences, e.g., "The totality or pattern of relations between organisms and their environment" (p. 4). A pioneer in the field of human ecology, Roderick McKenzie (1968), defined ecology as "That phase of biology that considers plants and animals as they exist in

nature, and studies their interdependence and the relation of each kind and individual to its environment" (p. 3-4). Still on the theme of ecology's relationship to biology, Odum (1965) defines ecology as the structure and function of ecosystems, suggesting that by "structure" he means the composition of the biological community with all elements interacting.

An important concept in ecology which emphasizes its origin in the biological sciences is the concept of "ecosystem." Odum (1971) defines this term as follows:

Any unit that includes all of the organisms (i.e. the "community") in a given area interacting with the physical environment so that a flow of energy leads to a clearly defined trophic structure, biotic diversity, and material cycles (i.e. exchange of materials between living and non-living parts) within the system is an ecological system or ecosystem (p. 8).

Evans (1965) explains that the term "ecosystem" was proposed by A. G. Tansley as a name for the interaction system comprising living things together with their non-living habitat. Tansley, according to Odum (1971), coined the term ecosystem in 1935, although the concept was utilized much earlier. Formal statements concerning oneness of man began to appear in the late 1800's from such scientists as Karl Mobius of Germany, S. A. Forbes of the United States and V. V. Dokuchaev of the Soviet Union. The importance of ecological concepts dealing with interrelationships and interdependence were soon to be recognized in the behavioral sciences; thus the development of an area called "human ecology."

Sprout and Sprout (1965) share a descriptive definition of this concept when they write:

Viewing human individuals, groups and organizations in their

associations with one another and with non-human conditions and events sets a frame of reference and a mode of analysis that have come rather to be called "human ecology" (p. 7).

A brief summary of the development of human ecology is provided by Bruhn (1970, B) who writes:

At various times in history men have seemed fit to re-examine the nature of man and his relationship with nature and other men. Ecology, or the science of the interrelationships among organisms, is a concern for the adequacy of the systems of checks and balance of homeostatic controls for operating in a society. With its deepest roots in biology the application of the ecological to human relations first appeared in the works of Charles Galpin in 1915 (p. 4).

Bruhn continues that the term "human ecology" did not appear in sociology until 1921 when R. E. Park and E. Burgess developed a program concerned with social and culture phenomena in "natural areas" of the city, in this case, Chicago. Park (1961) feels that human ecology is fundamentally an attempt to investigate the process by which biotic balance and social equilibrium are maintained once they are achieved. After reviewing the development of human ecology in the fields of geography, anthropology, sociology and psychology, Bruhn (1970, A) concludes that there is a mutual thread of concern running through the historical development of these disciplines - that being a concern for place-space interrelationships, referred to historically as regionalism. Defining human ecology further, Bruhn (1970, C) says:

Human Ecology has been called the astronomy of human constellations. In short, it acknowledges that every thing affects every thing else...as the sum total of numerous ecosystems which interlock and share reciprocal cause-effect pathways (p. 40).

McKenzie (1961) in differentiating other disciplines such as geography from human ecology, insisted that others were concerned with place while human ecology with process. Odum (1971) charges that

human ecology must go beyond general ecology because of man's flexibility of behavior and ability to control his immediate surroundings.

What is important from the above analysis is the recognition of interrelationships existing between man and the world around him. Whether one is referring to the ecosystem in the traditional sense as defined by Odum (1971) or relating the term to a dynamic, human community, the interacting variables of a great significance must not be ignored. In fact, it appears that there is growing interest in addressing social problems from a holistic base.

Stycos (1955) talks about the need for a more ecological stance in the field of health. He gives an example of how public health officials actually aggravated a situation in a baby clinic in Puerto Rico by concentrating on infant mortality alone. These officials failed to recognize and deal with other important interrelated human factors related to local mores, thus jeopardizing the program. In advocating the utilization of ecological concepts in the field of public health, Kartman (1967) says, "The concept of human ecology and public health suggests a consideration of the unity of theory and practice as the main concern of man as a social being" (p. 737).

Still on the topic of public health, Hanlon (1969) writes:

In the study of man, in health and disease, there has been much less interest shown in a better understanding of the total human organism's total response to the total environment than in the separate biochemical activities of its components. This narrow, parochial and fractional approach...has not served to increase greatly our understanding of the interplay between the entire human organism and its environment (p. 6).

As recorded above, the utilization of an ecological philosophy allows one to better understand and analyze interrelationships by

recognizing the various complex factors which relate to any social problem. Similar statements may be made about systems theory as exemplified by Bruhn (1970, B) who states:

The system perspective respects the concern of disciplines to treat their subject matter as an entity in its own right, but understandable only when these separate entities are fitted together to comprise a holistic view of human behavior (p. 6).

Boulding (1968) suggests the building of general theoretical models relevant to general phenomena found in various disciplines and which are extracted from them. Watt (1966) defines the word "system" in the ecological context of a forest; suggesting a system may be described in terms of everything affecting everything else with interlocking cause-effect pathways. Further illustrating the need for a systematic cross-discipline approach to major problems Watt (1971) says, "In general, all human institutions are too discipline-oriented to deal with large-scale decision-making in which the central problems often fall into the cracks between disciplines" (p. 115). Churchman (1968) offers an example of the interrelation of major social problems: a hypothetical attempt by the United States to solve problems of feeding, clothing and provision of shelter for everyone in the world.

Review of the literature suggests that the case study method is an excellent tool for training and education; pulling together theory and practice plus involving students in the educational process. A review of concepts dealing with ecology, human ecology and general systems theory emphasizes the necessity of addressing problems from a holistic framework; recognizing the interrelationships and interdependence involved. By combining theories of ecology with the case

study method a wide range of variables may be discussed, analyzed and interrelated.

For the purposes of this study, the concepts of holism, interdependence, and interrelationships are used throughout. These concepts, however, are envisioned as incorporating other ecological concepts.

A summary of these concepts and their usage is presented in the summary section of this dissertation. For example, a study of housing and economics must utilize the concept of adaptation. Race relations and religion certainly provide an example of the concept of niche. Forced busing calls into play the concept of environmental web because it touches all of the components. Biological ecology stresses the concept of succession and invasion. Housing patterns in the Oklahoma City community become more understandable by grasping the meaning of these concepts. The idea of interactive patterns, which includes competition and other relationship patterns makes more meaningful the process concerning politics, economics and housing.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The events leading up to the court ordered implementation of the Finger Plan are numerous, varied and have historically been relevant. A review of the evolution of pertinent judicial decisions provides a perspective on the actions of the judiciary in the current dilemma.

An ecological approach must have historical depth and the full impact of the present situation cannot be understood unless economic and political history is dealt with. The significant judicial decisions did not occur in a vacuum, but obviously were related to historical events. For example, the back-lash from events subsequent to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, including Reconstruction led to the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy V. Ferguson. The roots of this decision and others can be traced through the history of race relations within this country. However, a history of other factors including the importation of slaves, the economic relevance relating to slavery and to agricultural crops identified with slavery such as cotton and tobacco, and the impact of the transition of this country from an agriculture to a technological society appear beyond the scope of this study. (For further historical data see Teall, 1971; Dollard, 1936; DuBois, 1932).

The Supreme Court case which established the tone for race relations in this country for over 50 years was Plessy V. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1894). Here the court sustained a Louisiana statute requiring separate railroad accommodations for Negroes and whites, referring to the accepted practice of public school segregation as supporting that conclusion. The court rejected the plaintiff's argument that enforced segregation was a badge of inferiority and stated that social prejudices could not be overcome by forced commingling. This decision became the basis for the "separate but equal" doctrine. Of interest is the fact that Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, argued that the arbitrary separation of the races amounted to a badge of servitude in opposition to the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Supreme Court used the "separate but equal" doctrine to interpret subsequent cases. Such a view was consistent with race relations in the first years of this century when prominent leaders such as Booker T. Washington advocated a position of hard work and proving one's self.

The belief of the courts that separate facilities were indeed equal was reaffirmed in Gong Lum V. Rice, 275 U.S. 78 (1927), where the high court ruled that a child of Chinese ancestry could be required to attend only schools for Negroes in Mississippi without violation of the equal protection of law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

In the period after World War I, an unabashed defense of the "separate but equal" doctrine became intolerable and the court began to erode the Plessy decision. A major decision was reached in 1938.

In Missouri ex. rel. Gaines V. Canada, 305 U.S. 337 (1938), the court found that the plaintiff Negro had not been furnished facilities to study law within the state. The offers by the state to provide funds for out of state study was ruled insufficient. The Equal Protection Clause, the majority stated, guaranteed the plaintiff the right to an equal education within the state. In the absence of a law school for blacks within the state, the plaintiff was allowed to enter the major state university.

In the Oklahoma case of Sepuel V. Board of Regents, 332 U.S. 631 (1948), it was found that the plaintiff has been refused admittance to the University of Oklahoma Law School because of race. Shortly thereafter, the State Legislature attempted to establish a Negro Law School at Langston University, the only black university in the State. The Supreme Court held that the new school was not equal to the major institution, thus the Plaintiff was ordered to be admitted to the University of Oklahoma.

The Court reached a similar decision two years later in Sweat V. Painter, 339 U.S. 629 (1950) when it ruled that a make shift separate law school set up by the State of Texas for blacks was not substantially equal to the University of Texas Law School.

Although the Plessy decision had not been challenged explicitly, the Court had selected cases and rendered decisions in the early 1950's which eroded the basic context of "separate but equal," and the efforts to improvise hasty alternatives. Typical of this was McLaurin V. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U.S. 637 (1950), which ruled that the University of Oklahoma had violated the rights of the plaintiff by

dividing a system of segregating him from other students. He was forced to sit in a roped off section in the classroom.

These decisions served the institutional purposes of isolating the Plessy decision and developing a body of precedents in support of equal access to public education. The "separate but equal" doctrine was formally overturned in Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). The Supreme Court reiterated the judgment of a lower court when it noted the effects of separate education.

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of the child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to (retard) the education and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.

These judicial decisions were a reflection of popular beliefs and practices in Oklahoma. During the period immediately preceding Statehood, the tone of race relations was evident in a speech delivered to the Constitutional Convention in 1906 by its President William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray. As Teall (1971) reported, Murray said:

We should adopt a provision prohibiting the mixed marriages of Negroes with other races in this State, and provide for separate schools...We have no desire to do the Negro an injustice. We shall protect him in his real right...We must provide the means for advancement of the Negro race, and accept him as God gave him to us and use him for the good of society. As a rule they are failures as lawyers, doctors...He must be taught in the line of his own sphere, as porters, bootblacks and barbers, ...but it is an entirely false notion that the Negro can rise to the equal of a white man...I appreciate the old-time ex-slave, the old darky - and they are the salt of their race - who comes to me talking softly in that humble spirit which should characterize their actions and dealings with white man... (p. 179).

While it may be argued that the tone of the political stance in Oklahoma in 1906 toward segregation was in line with the doctrine of Plessy V. Ferguson as well as the philosophy expounded by Booker T. Washington (See Du Bois, 1935; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967) concerning race relations, the black leadership continued to attempt to establish their rights. In an effort to overturn those parts of the proposed Constitution which espoused the separation of the races, a delegation of blacks from Oklahoma went to Washington, D.C. in early 1907 to seek an audience with President Theodore Roosevelt. Although this group was successful in gaining an audience with the President, they were not able to convince him to help in nullifying the Constitution. However, this effort suggests Oklahoma Negroes were not willing to passively accept the segregationist stand of the political forces (Teall, 1971).

History shows that fifteen years after Statehood race relations in the State were strained to the breaking point. In 1921 in Tulsa, fighting broke out between blacks and whites. The New York Times, June 2, 1921, reported:

After twenty-four hours of one of the most disastrous race wars ever visited upon an American City, during which time 85 or more persons were killed and the Negro quarter of Tulsa, upward of 30 densely populated blocks, was wiped out by fire... (p. 13).

The Ku Klux Klan was particularly powerful politically during this period, with a number of members holding legislative positions. Their alleged activities further caused deterioration in race relations. The New York Times, July 1, 1923, reported that Oklahoma Governor Walton had received information concerning at least 2500 floggings

of blacks during the year. The New York Times on August 14, 1923, noted that Governor Walton had placed Tulsa under martial law because of continued violence against blacks. In placing Okmulgee under martial law Governor Walton indicated he could no longer rely on the regular civil authorities because of their close alliance with the Klan (The New York Times, September 5, 1923). Partially as a result of Governor Walton's clashes with the Klan, he was impeached, officially being suspended from Office October 23, 1923. During the following year the Klan won sweeping political victories in Oklahoma (Teall, 1971).

Turning to education, it is well documented that all aspects of Oklahoma's school system, including higher education, were segregated with black schools and educators not receiving equal treatment. As an example, it was reported by The Black Dispatch, February 12, 1931, that 11,816 students were attending the two major white college-level institutions, the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A and M College, while only 1,174 blacks were enrolled in college in the state - all at Langston University. The financial appropriations for the two white schools were nearly two million dollars, while \$94,000 was the amount allocated to Langston. Fourteen years later, June 9, 1945, The Black Dispatch reported that Langston University had received but \$186,733 in appropriations, or but one thirty-fourth of the over six million dollars allocated for the eighteen institutions of higher education in the state. Yet another example of separate and unequal.

Up to this time in Oklahoma City, the pay scale for black and white teachers was not equal. In 1943, it was noted that the average white teacher in the city received \$1,640.92 per year while \$1,347.66

was the average salary received by blacks (The Black Dispatch, March 13, 1943). The pay scale was equalized by court order in 1948 as the result of a suit filed by a black teacher, Ema Lee Freeman (The Daily Oklahoman, October 17, 1948).

As previously disclosed, two important Supreme Court decisions were rendered in the late 1940's which dealt with race relations in Oklahoma - the Sepuel and McLaurin cases. Using newspaper editorials and stories as indicators, Celarier (1969) shared insights into the attitudes of Oklahomans with regard to the above two cases. Celarier (1969) found that early in Mrs. Sepuel Fisher's fight to enter law school at the University of Oklahoma, a majority of those who wrote letters to the editor of The Daily Oklahoman on the subject were in favor of Mrs. Sepuel Fisher's admittance. Two major newspapers took different editorial stands, however. While The Daily Oklahoman failed to make any editorial comment during this time, The Tulsa Tribune printed several editorials favoring Mrs. Fisher's admission.

Celarier (1969) reveals that although the students at the University of Oklahoma failed to demonstrate a particularly positive attitude toward the admission of blacks to the school, the student newspaper, The Oklahoma Daily, supported Mrs. Sepuel Fisher's entry. During the height of controversy The Oklahoma Daily printed four editorials in a two day period supporting Mrs. Fisher's cause. On the other hand when the Norman Transcript and The Daily Oklahoman finally made editorial comment on this issue, it was to admonish the State Legislature for not previously setting up separate facilities so that this controversy would not have arisen in the first place.

Then Oklahoma's Governor Turner issued a statement saying that it was clear to him that radicals were responsible for "stirring up the people." The Stillwater News Press, February 5, 1948, agreed with Governor Turner's statement but added, "What Governor Turner didn't say was that it is quite clear communists or those of that learning are making a lot of trouble where none existed before" (Celarier, 1969).

The search into the history of race relations in Oklahoma indicates that the philosophy of the legal and political forces were in line with the doctrine of "separate but equal." Whether one is studying the history of local politics, the Klan, inequality of educational opportunities or attitudes of the media toward race relations, it is apparent that the black man had to struggle to gain any measure of equality in Oklahoma.

CHAPTER III

CASE PRESENTATION - THE FINGER PLAN

The school desegregation issue has been before the courts for a number of years. In fact, United States District Judge Luther Bohanon has retained jurisdiction over the cases concerning the desegregation of the Oklahoma City Public Schools since 1961. At that time, Dr. A. L. Dowell filed suit on behalf of his son, Robert, alleging that the school system used double admission standards and buffer zones to limit the number of Negroes in some city schools. In 1965, Judge Bohanon ruled in Dowell's favor (Dowell V. School Board, 244 F. Supp., 1965). As a result of this case, the judge ordered the pairing of two high school districts. Central High and Classen High were matched with Central becoming a junior high. Similarly, Harding High and Northeast High were paired with Harding becoming a junior high. (See Appendix J for City map). The school board immediately appealed the ruling to the Circuit Court.

The appeal process took until 1968, at which time the Supreme Court refused to hear the matter; the plan calling for the pairing of the aforementioned schools was then put into effect. However, during the years of litigation, the racial distribution, according to school records, in the Northeast school area, shifted from 93

percent white to 93 percent black.

In response to the shift in population, Judge Bohanon appointed a committee, headed by banker Willis Wheat, to study the problem. In April of 1969, a local newspaper reported that this committee had recommended that several elementary schools which "fed" students to the paired schools, be incorporated into the integration plan as a way of combating the migration of white families (The Daily Oklahoman, April 29, 1969). Patrons of two of the elementary schools involved, Belle Isle and Linwood, organized to fight the plan.

Judge Bohanon had set July 23, 1969 as the deadline for the school board to present a city-wide school desegregation plan. On May 30, 1969, the board submitted their plan including a policy of allowing a student of ethnic-racial majority to transfer to any school where he would be in the minority, i.e. "majority to minority transfer." The board agreed to work toward a 70-30 racial ratio (The Daily Oklahoman, May 31, 1969). Since this was to be a volunteer transfer program it was obvious that it needed the positive support of the majority of school patrons, but, in fact, the plan drew a negative response from both blacks and whites (The Oklahoma City Times, June 21, 1969). A complex series of judicial maneuvers ensued which tended to cloud the issues and permitted the opponents of the plan time to organize. (Appendix A documents the extent of the litigation.) The largest local daily newspaper lent its support to the opponents of the plan by publishing several editorials opposing the plan.

On November 1, 1969, the school board submitted a long range integration plan to Judge Bohanon which was to become known as the

"Cluster Plan." Developed by two University of Oklahoma professors, Dr. George Henderson and Dr. Bob Bibbens, this plan involved the grouping of eight Oklahoma City high schools into two groups of four with the recommendation that each student attend his neighborhood school for regular course work, and one of the other schools in the cluster for more specialized courses (The Daily Oklahoman, November 6, 1969).

The Cluster Plan was considered by many to be not only an excellent integration plan, but also an outstanding educational tool. One professional educator who was very familiar with the Cluster Plan, as originally presented, judged it to be "a great plan - a fool proof plan," but added, "I didn't even recognize it after the board and administration got through with it. They turned it into a damn freedom of choice plan. This school system could have made it a model for the whole country but they tore it to pieces" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 19, 1973).

The school board and administration, according to the above respondent and others, appeared to make several key changes in the original plan which resulted in the plan being drastically altered. The actions of the board caused some people to question the purpose of the changes. One respondent, who was privy to the deliberations of the board at that time, charged that in his opinion the board was guilty of more than just bad faith as the court later alleged; that board members should have been charged with contempt of court. He contended that the board never had any intention of implementing the Cluster Plan properly, though they agreed in private to make public statements supporting the plan (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 19, 1973).

Patron organizations continued to oppose any type of desegregation plan and the mood of the city grew increasingly negative toward any such effort. One prominent leader, school board member, and a proponent of school desegregation, Dr. Virgil Hill, publicly doubted that desegregation could be accomplished without force (The Daily Oklahoman, July 24, 1969).

By early 1971 it was brought to the attention of the court by the NAACP and other organizations and individuals that the "Cluster Plan" was not accomplishing its stated purpose which was to desegregate the schools, thus the NAACP brought suit. Statistics indicated that only a small percentage of eligible students were actually participating in the plan. Judge Bohanon, agreeing that the present plan was not working, ordered a new desegregation plan be presented to the court. Three plans were presented. The school board offered the then current plan as one alternative but also hired consultants to develop another plan. The NAACP brought in Dr. John Finger to develop a plan and the latter plan was adopted by the court. (See Dowell V. Board of Education of the Oklahoma City Public Schools, et al., Civ. 9452, February 1, 1972). This plan, in part, called for the grouping of five elementary schools into 15 clusters, changed junior high grades from 7, 8 and 9 to 6, 7 and 8 and altered attendance zones for both junior high and elementary schools. Further it changed attendance zones for the high schools setting up a new elementary school feeder system.

The preceding outline of events surrounding school desegregation in Oklahoma City may shed light on reasons why the Finger Plan was implemented - why Judge Bohanon felt it necessary to take firm, and

what some allege, unreasonable steps to achieve a racial balance. Included in the court order, filed February 1, 1972, is a 19 page introductory memorandum by Judge Bohanon, explaining his perception of what had occurred and justifying his order. As one reads this memo, it becomes clear that the judge had lost confidence, after nearly eleven years, in the school systems ability or desire to work toward meaningful school desegregation, with direct intervention by the court.

Relevant excerpts from Judge Bohanon's introductory memorandum are as follows:

...This case has been before this court in one posture or another for about ten years. Although unnecessary to detail every facet of the complex history of this litigation, every action of this court has been predicated upon the finding that as historically administered, the policies of the Defendant School Board have reflected a system of state imposed and state preserved segregation, and that because it had operated a state compelled dual system, the Defendant School Board was "clearly charged with the affirmative duty to make whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch..."

Referring to the Cluster Plan, Judge Bohanon quoted from previous court descriptions as follows:

The high schools are being operated under what is generally described as the Cluster Plan...

Under the plan, each secondary school will serve in a dual capacity...

...Within each cluster, individual schools will serve as home-base schools for students in their own attendance areas and as specialized schools for students from all schools within that cluster.

Students will spend varying amounts of time each week in each of the Centers, though not less than half the school day at any one center (Emphasis supplied).

As conceived by the court..., the school acting as a specialized center would offer all courses including the required courses in the subject area of specialization. No student could avoid attending the other schools within the cluster.

Although specifically directed by the court to carry out the terms of such plan as approved, the Defendant School Board, without notice to or permission by the Court, proceeded to emasculate the plan.

These unauthorized basic changes in the implementation of the plan destroyed it as a tool for desegregation. The vast majority of students in the senior high schools do not participate in the Cluster Plan. Out of a total of 13,796 students enrolled in eight senior high schools participating in the Cluster Plan in September, 1971, only 1,673 or approximately 12 percent were participating in an interchange.

Stripped of the beautiful adjectives and the meaningless promises used to obscure its true intent and effect, the current Cluster Plan is simply a "freedom of choice" plan. It does not work and will not work to desegregate the schools.

From the foregoing observations and findings, it is manifest that we now have a plan that does not work, a plan that will not work, and a plan that will work. In this situation the court has no real choice. It must select the plan that promises realistically to work now.

The plan does not require, and this court does not require, that any particular degree of racial balance or mixing be achieved or maintained. It is not necessary that every school in the District always reflect the racial composition of the total system.

The Defendant School Board has presented no plan for the further desegregation of the Oklahoma City Public School System and it has in turn rejected a proposal by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Consultants' Plan, and the Plaintiffs' Plan. It has not considered presenting any alternatives to the present plan.

This litigation has been frustratingly interminable, not because of insuperable difficulties of implementation of the commands of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Constitution of the United States, but because of the unpardonable recalcitrance of the Defendant School Board and the Superintendent of Schools to come forward with a constitutional plan for the desegregation of the schools of this District. The courts have consistently stated in case after case that regardless of the method used by a school board, whether it be freedom of choice, geographic zoning, pairing, or any other method, they may not continue the operation of a dual system of schools.

The burden has been upon the School Board to erase the

racial identity of the schools, and this the Board has failed to do. The court, bearing in mind the rationale that a segregated school is inherently unequal and recognizing further that those students who have been and are being subjected to segregated education in the public schools are, regardless of race, having thrust upon them educational infirmities which are constitutionally impermissible, cannot and will not tolerate further delay.

Perhaps Judge Bohanon felt it necessary to voice his frustration in order to justify a ruling, which many feel goes beyond the traditional boundaries of judicial power. He made it clear by 1) ordering implementation of an unpopular plan and 2) appointing a bi-racial committee to, in effect, be a "watch dog" for him, that he had lost confidence in the school board's ability to develop a plan and to even follow through on his orders in good faith.

Further evidence that progress toward racial desegregation of the school has been incredibly slow and further justification for the court's intervention is presented in Appendix B which gives the racial composition of all elementary schools in the system, prior to the Finger Plan. Few schools had a meaningful racial mix.

In the Court Order, Dowell V. Board of Education, Civ. 9452, filed February 1, 1972, Judge Bohanon carefully presented facts and figures supporting his decision. He briefly described the plan under which the schools were operating, noting it is but a "freedom of choice" plan. He then outlined the so-called "Consultants Plan" which basically called for the return to the original concept of the Cluster Plan. However, the Judge correctly pointed out that this plan was without a sponsor because even the school board, which had hired the men responsible for developing the "Consultants Plan," was hostile toward it. Finally he outlined the Plaintiff's Plan

called the Finger Plan.

Then the Judge presented a series of cases upon which he built his decision to further demonstrate the correctness of his ruling.

The Judge stated:

The conclusions of Law reached by the court as enunciated in this memorandum have been based upon the following authorities:

1. Racially restrictive covenants are prohibited and violative of the fourteenth amendment. Shelley V. Kramer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948).
2. It is not improper to consider race in disestablishing segregated schools... Swann V. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).
3. Plaintiffs are entitled to a decree requiring the reasonably immediate conversion of the Oklahoma City Public Schools into a unitary school system. Alexander V. Holmes County Board of Education, 396 U.S. 19 (1969); Northcross V. Board of Education of Memphis, 397 U.S. 232 (1970); Carter V. West Feliciana Parish School Board, 396 U.S. 290 (1970).
4. The Defendant School Board has an affirmative duty to convert to a unitary school system... Green V. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430 (1968).
5. Transportation is a permissible tool for achieving integration. Swann V. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Supra.
6. If school authorities fail in their affirmative obligations..., judicial authority may be invoked... Brown V. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294 (1954); Green V. County School Board, Supra.
7. It is the continuing duty of the district court to retain jurisdiction over the case until it is clear that the constitutional requirements have been achieved. Raney V. County School Board of Education, 391 U.S. 443 (1968).
8. In order for a freedom of choice concept to be a valid remedial measure, it must be effective. Green V. County School Board, Supra.
9. No procedure, plan, or method will legalize state-maintained segregation... Green V. County School Board, Supra. Monroe V. Jackson, 391 U.S. 450 (1968).

10. The cost of desegregating a school system is not a valid argument against the constitutional mandate to desegregate. Griffin V. County School Board of Prince Edward County, 377 U.S. 218 (1964); United States V. Cook County, Ill., 404 F. 2nd 1125 (C A 7 1968).
11. The fact that public opinion may oppose desegregation of public schools is not a valid reason for failure to comply with the constitution. Green V. County School Board, Supra; Monroe V. Jackson, Supra (p. 18-19).

The specific court orders read, in part, as follows:

1. The court's order of January 16, 1970, approving the "COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR COMPLETE DESEGREGATION OF THE SENIOR AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEM AFTER THE 1969-1970 SCHOOL YEAR" and any subsequent order relating are hereby vacated and set aside.
2. The Defendent School Board..., shall implement and place into effect beginning with the school year 1972-1973 A NEW PLAN OF UNIFICATION FOR THE OKLAHOMA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM which embodies the principles and suggestions contained in the Plaintiff's Plan...
3. The Defendent School Board shall not alter or deviate from the NEW PLAN without the prior approval and permission of the court... Any proposed changes by the school authorities should be referred to the Bi-racial Committee constituted by order of this court dated December 3, 1971, for comment and recommendation to the court...
4. Some special phase-in programs must be initiated in the Spring of 1972... This will enable scheduling and enrollment problems to be anticipated and rectified.
5. It is further provided that this order is binding upon the Defendent School Board, its members, agents, servants, employees...
6. Jurisdiction is retained by the court for all further appropriate orders. (p. 20-22).

The Court Order goes into great detail concerning the mechanics of the Finger Plan. However, for the purpose of this study only a general placement outline will be included:

Elementary Schools

1. Elementary Schools are grouped into 15 clusters.

2. Each cluster contains one formerly all Black school, along with two (2) to six (6) formerly all white schools.
3. The formerly Black school in each cluster will be a Kindergarten and fifth grade center.
4. The formerly predominately white school will be K-4 centers in each cluster.
5. There are ten (10) schools that will not be effected. These schools were considered desegregated before the Finger Plan and are therefore to remain as is, K through 5 grade. These students will join with other schools in their cluster for middle school and high school experiences.
6. An Elementary School is considered desegregated if its enrollment is more than 10%, but less than 35% Black student population.
7. All students will attend Kindergarten at their neighborhood school.
8. Most Black students will attend grades 1-4 outside their neighborhood, but the 5th grade in their neighborhood.
9. Most white students will attend grades 1-4 in their neighborhood, but the 5th grade outside their neighborhood.

Junior High Schools

1. Junior High Schools will be changed from grades 7-8-9 to grades 6-7-8, middle school concept.
2. Each school will have a new attendance zone. These zones are described in terms of the elementary school that the child will have attended.
3. Moon will be closed and Kennedy will become a part of a Douglass-Kennedy High complex.
4. There will be no middle school in the Northeast Quadrant of Oklahoma City. All Black students in this quadrant in grades 6-7-8 will be transported to outlying Junior High Schools.
5. Junior High Schools are considered desegregated if they have more than 15% but less than 30% Black.

Senior High Schools

1. The Finger Plan calls for the desegregation of Senior High Schools by establishing new attendance zones for each school.

2. The Plan uses an elementary school feeder system, that is, students will be assigned to a High School based on the elementary school attendance zone in which their home is located.
3. The Senior High School will offer grades 9-12 in all cases except Douglass-Kennedy. In this case 9 and 10 will be offered at Kennedy, 11-12 at Douglass.

Ten Formerly Desegregated Elementary Schools are:

Columbus	North Highland
Edgemere	Riverside
Horace Mann	Ross
Mark Twain	Shidler
Nichols Hills	Stand Watie

The court ruling which ordered the implementation of the Finger Plan originated in the Dowell Case of 1961. Judge Luther Bohanon has retained jurisdiction over this complex matter for nearly 12 years. During this period progress toward school desegregation in the City had been slow. A review of articles from newspapers and interviews has shown that the majority of the community refused to positively consider the school integration issue. In his introductory memorandum to the February 1, 1973, order, Judge Bohanon emphasized the lack of positive effort put forth by the School Board and school officials. His comments reflected a deep frustration and the view that the Board had acted in bad faith, particularly in regard to its handling of the Cluster Plan.

In the February order Judge Bohanon justified his actions by noting the racial imbalance throughout the school system (See Appendix B) and by citing precedents. His explicit guidelines warned the School Board against any attempt to sabotage this plan as they had done to the Cluster Plan. He even selected a special committee, the Bi-racial Committee to oversee the School Board's actions.

CHAPTER IV

COMPONENTS - COMPOSITE CASE STUDIES

The complexity of school desegregation, and particularly the Finger Plan, requires that analysis be based on a wide perspective. On the other hand, the very magnitude of factors involved make such a comprehensive ecologic study impracticable. The nature and scope of this study necessitates certain arbitrary limits; thus six major components were selected for study. They were chosen on two bases: first, each component continually forced its way into a position of significance as the investigation unfolded; second, in the process of unfolding, these factors clearly demonstrated the dynamics of interaction and interrelationships - a theme central to an ecological study.

It is not the intent of this dissertation to do an in-depth investigation of any component from the historical, sociological, psychological and cultural perspective, but rather to study the ecological ramifications of each component as related to the total, an example of the concept of holism. The components are: race relations (effects of racism), housing-real estate, community economics, politics, role of the church, and education. Judge Bohanon's decision interrelates with these issues.

The initial component, race relations, must be viewed from a broad spectrum. This component was selected to be presented first because it is germane to the total picture. Racism runs deep in the history of this state and its lingering effect is seen today in Oklahoma City. It perhaps may be seen as the core of the difficulties leading to the interrelated problems and issues pertaining to this study.

Component two, housing-real estate, is a superb example of a cause-effect situation. Housing patterns, based on race have traditionally prevented a "natural" development of integration, resulting in the necessity for arbitrary measures, such as court ordered school integration being inacted. Such judicial orders often result in the mass exodus of white home owners from particular areas of town in the wake of a growing black entry, resegregation and other behavior associated with desegregation. Housing patterns, then, certainly relate to race relations, politics, economics and a vast array of similar factors.

Community economics is a significant factor and must be considered in light of the other components. The local business community has, in the past, been deeply involved in helping preserve and perpetuate segregation practices; it has demonstrated little initiative in attempting to reverse segregation trends. The city owned and operated transportation company for years practiced the custom of seating blacks in the rear of public carriers. Only after seven years of conducting boycotts and demonstrations of downtown restaurants and businesses, were blacks finally able to break the color barrier. In the end it was economic pressure which ended segregated practices. Thus

economics, viewed in relation to race relations, politics, and other factors, has played a significant role.

Politics transcend all the issues raised within the framework of this study. History reflects that political-legal forces, at the time of statehood, set a tone of separatism. City and State officials, armed with the sanctions granted in Plessy V. Ferguson, controlled where blacks lived, ate, shopped and where and how they were to be educated. The influence of the Ku Klux Klan in Oklahoma during the 1920's indicates the political mood of the state during that period.

The role which the church has played and now plays in the whole area of race relations appears important because of the religious composition of the City and State. Some local ministers were very active in helping maintain calm during the tense days of September, 1972, when the school year began. A few clergymen actively supported anti-busing rallies, allowing use of church facilities for these purposes. The vast majority, however, remained silent. The majority of Oklahoma City churches remain segregated, thus perhaps negating their efforts to bring about a change of attitude toward school desegregation.

The role of the church in relation to school desegregation appears to be understandable only with regard to its relationships to other components such as housing patterns, race relations and economic factors. The role of religious institutions crosses into education because churches here, and across the country, have supported and condoned the development of private schools.

Finally, the massive topical area called education is presented

for study. Until very recently, a number of schools in Oklahoma City were segregated, and material selected for this section lends itself not only to particular issues relating to desegregation but to that material which depicts interrelationships and interaction. History illustrates the extent to which segregation practices affected the educational process locally. The majority of school buildings housing blacks were inferior to the majority of white schools. Until the Freeman case in the late 1940's, black teachers were paid several hundred dollars a year less than white teachers in Oklahoma City; fewer educational materials were found in black schools. As observed earlier, education in Oklahoma City, as a topical area, can only be well understood when integrating it with other components such as politics, housing patterns and economics.

While each of the components is important, each is selected arbitrarily with the awareness that many other factors are of significance. The chosen components are presented as an element in a larger system. Each component features several "mini-cases" - brief composite creations depicting interrelated situations which are drawn together in a concluding discussion. A series of questions are presented at the end of each component, selected to further bring together ideas relating to the educational model.

Component One

Race Relations

Race relations is a rather intangible subject; one cannot see it but one may certainly observe the effects and feel the tensions caused by the dynamics of racism. As used here, "race relations"

refers to the whole spectrum of attitudes and behavior of blacks and whites toward each other, encompassing the term "racism" within this definition. It is at the root of this study, thus it is presented first.

Earlier, it was shown that those in power during the State Constitutional Convention in 1906, sought to separate blacks from the mainstream of Oklahoma life (Teall, 1971). Changes were effected only after lengthy, costly confrontations. The Sepuel and McLaurin cases provide examples. The state's largest newspaper, The Daily Oklahoman, never supported integration efforts in its editorials, in the Sepuel case, (Celarier, 1969), the downtown sit-ins of the late 1950's and early 1960's (Teall, 1971), or the lengthy, local school desegregation issue of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The effects of racism do not die easily. Mrs. Clara Luper and other civil rights activists were forced to confront downtown businesses from late 1957 to mid 1964, with boycotts, sit-ins, and legal maneuvers before racial barriers finally fell (The Daily Oklahoman, July 5, 1964). Racially speaking, Oklahoma City had two separate communities, with most blacks confined to the lower northeast side of the city where they were segregated from the larger community. The years of segregation simply bred fear and distrust which will not be easily overcome.

Case A - I Never Thought I'd Live to See...

The year was 1943; Will Thomas entered the bus, paid his fare, and looked up at the sea of white faces staring through him. Walking toward the rear of the vehicle he realized someone had moved

the sign which read "Colored Section" back about five seats, allowing more room for white riders but forcing blacks to crowd together.

"Keep moving back," the white bus driver snarled to two black women, laden with packages, "behind them signs." Will stood because there were no more seats. There were several vacant seats nearer the front but, of course, none of the blacks dared sit in them.

"Why is this happening?" Will asked himself, "I pay my money, just as much as the whites pay. Why am I standing back here? Will I ever live to see the day I can choose my seat? If separate is equal, why am I crowded back here while white folks are sitting in comfort?"

Today, of course, this type of overt segregation practice is gone, but the effects of such deep-seated prejudice remain. The result is that expectations persist that integration will not work, thus any negative incident reinforces that self-fulfilling prophecy. The following case, again historical in nature, may put similar present day incidents in proper perspective.

Case B - Fight!

The high school football game was close. The game, played in Oklahoma City between two arch rivals, was tied and now the final seconds were ticking off. School officials kept an eye on the crowd; they had seen this crowd tenseness before and knew it could mean trouble, especially with those two teams playing. The home team fumbled with two minutes remaining; the visitors capitalized on the miscue to score six points with 33 seconds left to win. That was all that was needed!

Several hundred youngsters poured into the parking lot, some

armed with sticks, tire irons and whatever else they could swing. The battle didn't last long; no one was seriously injured and the visiting team's rooters were soon aboard busses and in their cars and gone. Parents and other concerned adults shook their heads, wondering just what could be done to prevent such incidents - this had happened before. Some asked the question whether this brawling was worth it. But deep down all knew the two teams would meet again and the fight would soon be forgotten.

Does this sound familiar? Another racial flare up? As a matter of fact this is a composite report of several Capital Hill-Shawnee High School football games in the early 1950's. Trouble was predicted when the two schools met. There were no blacks on either team. In recent years similar incidents have been called "racial." Perhaps another example of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Fear and distrust are natural results of ignorance, caused by racial segregation. Such is the case in Oklahoma City where historically the races were kept apart; where a white or black seen in "the other" part of town was cause for concern.

Case C - We Wonder Why You are in This Part of Town

During the early spring of 1969, a white graduate student, driving to the Health Sciences Center from Norman, took a short cut through the lower northeast part of Oklahoma City. He passed a police car at the intersection of Second and Stiles and headed north on Stiles. The police unit followed the student several blocks before pulling him over. One officer said nothing but began looking in the car. The other said, "we are wondering why you are in this part of

town." "Did I do something wrong?" the student asked. After checking the man's driver's license the officer inquired again why he was in this area. "I am a student on my way to class," was the answer, "but did I do something wrong?" "We were just curious why somebody like you would be driving here at this time. You can go," the officer replied. With that the two policemen returned to their car and drove off.

It was still unusual in the Spring of 1969 to see whites in the lower east side. The student in this case was this writer, who still recalls being somewhat frightened by the incident. Racism causes people to perhaps perceive things illogically and, as the next case illustrates, blame the school desegregation plan for problems for which it is not really responsible.

Case D - The Crain Family

Mr. Arnold Crain, a shy, hard working, mechanic lives in a modest home in the northwest part of Oklahoma City with his wife and four children. They had always been rather quiet people who found it difficult to reach out and make friends. However, several years ago when the two older Crain boys became interested in Little League, Mr. Crain began coaching and met a number of other men through the coaching experience and his family became friends with other families. During the next few years the Crains remained extremely active in their sons' programs and felt good about the friendships they had developed around these programs.

Now the older boys were in high school, having dropped out of non-school sports activities. The family had begun to lose contact with other parents whose youngsters likewise were out of Little League.

Their focus now fell on Chuck, age 11, a quiet youth who had never been particularly interested in sports, nor very good at them, but who had participated because of his parents interest and that of his older brothers.

Because of the new school desegregation plan, Chuck began attending a new school some miles from his home. Being shy, he made few friends. At the same time he announced to his parents that he was no longer interested in playing Little League ball, claiming he was "too tired" by the time he would get home from the bus ride. Without any of his own youngsters involved, Mr. Crain felt uncomfortable about coaching a team; thus for the first time in many years he was not involved with other parents and youngsters. He missed the hours of coaching, and the social activities associated with running a team such as cookouts, camping trips and interaction with other parent coaches.

Chuck appeared, in reality, to do fairly well in his new academic setting. His grades remained at the C minus level, where they had been the previous year. He enjoyed the afternoons, reading, listening to music or working on his rock collection. However, the unhappy parents suddenly became aware of his "low grades" and his tendency to "withdraw." The Crains continually encouraged Chuck to invite friends home from school or to participate in anything which might lead to bringing people to the home, but the boy failed to respond.

Mr. and Mrs. Crain once again were rather lonely and lost. Mrs. Crain talked to neighbor ladies during the day and became convinced

that all the family problems were caused by "all this busing" because of the new school desegregation plan. Though the Crains did not see themselves as bigoted individuals they now began siding with anti-busing forces. They were invited to attend meetings in the neighbors' homes and larger anti-busing rallies. Through these activities they met new friends. They were convinced the Finger Plan was wrong; that if the system returned to "the neighborhood school concept," Chuck would once again participate like his older brothers did.

While one might question the Crains' logic, the fact remains that they were convinced the school desegregation plan greatly interfered with their life. But often logic cannot be used to influence people in an emotional situation. As the following case again shows, deep-seated racism leads people to swift, inaccurate conclusions which may blow an incident completely out of proportion.

Case E - Rape!

Mr. Hollis stood in the high school office, his face flushed with anger. "Mr. Casey will be with you in just a minute," the secretary said, her eyes darting nervously at the principal's door. "He damn well better hurry," was the man's reply.

Mr. Casey came out at that moment ushering the irrate parent into his office. On the desk was a copy of the morning paper, headlines reading, "Alleged White Girl Raped!"

"Sorry to keep you waiting," the principal said, "I've been on the phone - we're trying to get to the bottom of this." "To hell with getting to the bottom of this," Mr. Hollis shouted, tears rolling down his cheeks, "You know what happened as well as I do. Damn,

while you waste your time looking into things, our kids get hurt. My little girl gets molested."

"Again, Mr. Hollis, we are investigating. The police are with your daughter and she and the boy will be here in just a few minutes." Mr. Hollis jumped up and screamed, "That son-of-a-bitch, those God damned niggers. I'll kill the bastard - I knew this kind of thing would happen. Them coloreds come over to our school and raise hell. All they want is to drag off some white girl and... I know what happened because my daughter told me. That's all you need to know."

Susie Hollis arrived, accompanied by Officer Dickson and Detective Campbell. The secretary poked her head in the doorway and whispered to Mr. Casey that one of the school board members was in the building, "trying to find out what was going to be done to the 'colored boy'." "Christ," Mr. Casey mumbled. The secretary also noted that a large group of parents were now at the school to take their youngsters home; rumors were flying. Mr. Hollis, holding his daughter's hand was mumbling about "sending them all back to their side of town."

The secretary rang, saying that Mr. Hollis had a phone call, a Mr. Green. "That's my lawyer, honey," Mr. Hollis said to Susie. "I am going to take the call in the other room. We'll get some action."

During the 20 minutes Mr. Hollis was in the other room, the officers talked quietly with Susie. She was crying when her father returned. He said, "I just talked to my attorney and..." "Mr. Hollis," Detective Campbell said quietly, "Susie has something she wants to

say to you." The young girl blurted out, "Daddy I lied...it didn't happen like I said, I wasn't raped."

The girl had in fact lied - the rape story was a hoax. However the community was prepared to accept what they feared would happen. Long after the hoax was publicized, many individuals refused to believe it had not happened.

Discussion

According to some local writers such as Frosty Troy (Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972), Oklahoma has traditionally demonstrated a "southern mentality" regarding race relations (also see Teall, 1971). The initial case presented in this section gives some insight into the expressed feelings of some blacks who were faced with having to yield to laws separating them in all ways from the white community. Several black respondents who lived in Oklahoma City during the 1940's bitterly recall their feelings about having to use segregated facilities. One older man, a long time city resident, who had traveled all across the country as an entertainer during the 1930's and early 1940's stated:

I had lived in New York and California, so had known pseudo-equality and could compare how things were here. We all knew the real meaning of Plessy V. Ferguson. Look, separate but equal would have meant more than just "separate" if blacks and whites had shared the same railroad car, blacks on one side, whites on the other, or blacks on the left and whites on the right side of the bus. Equal doesn't mean standing in a restaurant and not getting served.

Bill, I remember riding the bus one hot day. I was standing way in the back, crowded in with others and wondering if, in my life time, I would see the day I could choose my own seat. Each time I had to go way back, it hurt. It was a big day in my life when the law changed (Personal Communication, Anonymous Oklahoma City, March 15, 1973).

As Justice Harlan noted in his dissenting opinion in Plessy V. Ferguson, the separate but equal doctrine was a badge of inferiority placed upon the Negro. Blacks were kept separated and hopelessly ignorant of mainstream activities. This ignorance was then used to show that blacks were not able to be education - a cause-effect dynamic. A noted black writer clearly showed how blacks were "sentenced" to behave in expected ways in the South while he was growing up. One example was that white employees would leave small change or other items lying about, encouraging black employees to "steal." This confirmed the belief that blacks were irresponsible, childlike creatures and, of course, had a devastating effect on the self image of blacks (Wright, 1945).

Case B points out that problems, such as fights, within the school system did not just begin with the commencement of court ordered desegregation. Capital Hill has had a reputation of being a rough area for years with whites fighting whites. A black school official observed: "The hoods on the south side of town beat up each other, then outsiders, then hippies, now blacks." (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 8, 1973).

A white school administrator remembers well the fights at the Shawnee-Capital Hill games years ago, noting that trouble was expected between the two schools when they met (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 23, 1973). A local, white dentist and a life long resident of Oklahoma City remarked, "If we wanted to find trouble, we knew it could be found in Capital Hill. We wouldn't cross the river alone." (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma

City, April 8, 1973).

In the fall of 1972, several fights broke out at one of the southside high schools. A black and a white girl had allegedly fought and the incident had been termed "racial." Two maintenance men were observed discussing this incident as they ate lunch. One said, "I heard on the news they had another problem at our old school. Seems a black and a white girl got into a tussle; punched each other in the nose. The police were called and everything." The other man grinned and responded, "We had a few of those 25 years ago when I was there - don't recall anyone making a big fuss about it then, though." (Personal Observation, School Administration Building, Oklahoma City, September 13, 1972).

The third case addresses itself to the effects of racism and segregation from a different angle. Few whites were seen on the east side prior to the summer of 1969, thus police and others became suspicious when one appeared. During the late summer and fall of 1969, the sanitation workers, predominantly black, went on strike. A significant number of whites participated in support of the strike, appearing at meetings and rallies and marching to City Hall. Perhaps the strike helped change some attitudes because more interaction appears to be occurring between blacks and whites in social as well as professional situations. Such, at least, is the opinion of a former VISTA volunteer who has worked in Oklahoma City for five years. (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, May 8, 1973).

The Crain family case may have nothing to do with race relations or school desegregation, but the parents are, in fact, blaming

busing for their youngest son's failure to participate in sports.

Perhaps due in part, to political rhetoric voiced at anti-busing rallies and campaigns, parents can find a socially acceptable scape goat for many problems. Not only do parents use the desegregation issue to excuse various kinds of behavior, but youngsters have found they can use this issue for their own benefit. One high school administrator stated that he has seen many cases where students have left school, just to "cut" but have told their parents they left because of being accosted by blacks. Many parents are more than willing to accept such a story, he noted. (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 8, 1973).

The information in Case E was gained through news accounts and personal interviews. The girl in question admitted to police she had accepted a ride with a black youth and later concocted the rape story because she "panicked." That such an incident was reported and so readily believed by the white community came as no surprise to a local black leader who said:

Next to economics, sex has more to do with the perpetuation of racism than anything. I knew it would be just a matter of time until some story cropped up about a black student raping a white girl. When everyone is expecting it to happen you know such a story will occur. Of course it was a hoax. (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973).

Certain political figures and anti-busing leaders made a great deal out of the incident prior to finding out the true facts. The frightening this is that some of these individuals continued to speak as if it were true, long after the story was proven false.

Aspects of race relations are intertwined with a number of

other elements of community life such as history, housing patterns, economic conditions, role of the church education, and politics, all of which will be discussed in the following sections.

Education Guide - Race Relations

1. Discuss feelings you might have if you were denied equal treatment on public transportation, in restaurants or hotels. What might this do to your feelings of pride should this continue over a period of time?

2. The doctrine laid down in Plessy V. Ferguson advocated separate but equal facilities for blacks. Explain why separate may be inherently unequal.

3. Role play a white policeman stopping a black youth to check out the car. How might this incident blow out of proportion? How might each feel?

4. Discuss the dynamics involved in the Crain Family Case.

5. From your own experiences discuss the stories you have heard concerning the sexual activities of blacks, i.e. sexual prowess of black men, morality of black women. How might such stories perpetuate fears in whites?

6. Discuss reasons why Susie Hollis may have thought to concoct a story of rape. Why was it so quickly believed by the majority of the community?

7. Interrelate the topic "race relations" with all other topics relevant to this study. Can they be legitimately separated?

Component TwoHousing - Real Estate

The subject of housing poses intriguing questions regarding the whole spectrum of community integration. Had Oklahoma City adhered to an open housing program during the years since 1954, there would have been little need for Federal Court intervention. As an example, Judge Bohanon noted that there were ten elementary schools which already were integrated due to the fact that they were located in integrated neighborhoods. These ten schools were only slightly affected by the Finger Plan.

Ecologically speaking, this component must be considered as but a part of the economic, political and social structure of the city. Banks, loan companies and insurance firms provide financing for building, business institutions sell building materials, and political forces decide where certain types of construction may occur, often changing restrictive codes when it suits powerful interests. Finally the media is a vehicle by which real estate firms may legally direct ("steer") certain peoples to particular areas of the city to maintain traditional boundaries.

Teall (1971) discusses several cases in which blacks were denied access to certain neighborhoods and, in fact, were arrested for attempting to move into "restricted" areas. The plight of one such family is illustrated in the initial case.

Case A - "You Won't Get a Lawyer to Defend Your Civil Rights"

The Pearsons were excited. After months of searching they had finally located a house, large enough for their growing family,

yet within the price range they could afford. Mr. Sullivan, the real estate agent dampened their enthusiasm a bit by warning them that there was a restrictive covenant against blacks buying in the area but added, "all the neighbors have signed a waiver except Dr. Luppard; he said he would sign, however."

"We've been fighting for our rights all our lives," Mr. Pearson replied, "guess we can fight again for what we want and we want this house." His wife smiled, nodding in agreement. However, no sooner had the Pearsons paid the \$1500 down payment and moved in, then Dr. Luppard filed suit, seeking their ouster. Because of a number of factors the case was delayed four years before it finally came up for a hearing.

Upon being notified of a hearing date, the Pearsons discovered they could not retain an attorney as counsel, although several had initially agreed to help them. Several days before the scheduled hearing, the Pearsons received a phone call from a prominent local attorney and political figure who explained:

I am not sure why I am calling, but I feel compelled to warn you. I know you have not been able to retain counsel and I'll tell you why. Recently the local Bar Association, of which I am a member, agreed to a man not to take your case. I am not proud to have agreed, but I did and shall not go back on my word. What I am saying is I cannot help you fight the case on grounds of violation of your civil rights but will volunteer my services if you agree to settle out of court. That's all I can do for you.

Faced with overwhelming financial costs and little hope, the Pearsons settled out of court for \$1,000, losing \$500 of their down payment plus nearly \$3600 in monthly payments which they had paid over the four year period.

The preceding situation occurred in Oklahoma City between 1943 and 1947. In 1948 Oklahoma County District Judge Morris ruled such racial covenants were unconstitutional (The Daily Oklahoman, October 5, 1948; Teall, 1971). However, as the next case shows, racial discrimination regarding housing continues to the present time; this situation having occurred in January of 1973.

Case B - We Just Rented It

Helen Bradford, a young, black school teacher entered the office of the Golden Arms Apartment Complex in northwest Oklahoma City. The manager looked up from her desk as Miss Bradford said, "Hello, I am Helen Bradford. I called late yesterday regarding your one bedroom apartments."

The manager apologized and explained she had just rented the last apartment. Helen was astounded, replying that the ad was still in the paper and that she had understood there were several units available. The manager explained they had rented several "just today" adding, "if you leave your name and phone number, we will call you when something comes up."

Several hours later, a tired, frustrated Helen Bradford returned home after failing to find an apartment. On an impulse she dialed the Golden Arms Apartments, asking if they had a one bedroom apartment for rent. "We certainly do," came the answer.

It is difficult to imagine such overt practices still occurring yet reporters from a local newspaper found in 1972 that many apartments discriminated on the basis of race. The next two cases illustrate a more subtle form of maintaining segregated housing

patterns through a technique referred to in real estate circles as "steering."

Case C - Steering

Mr. Carl Harris, a young, white corporate executive, had just arrived in Oklahoma City, having been transferred here by his company. He and his wife decided they wanted to purchase a home immediately so that their three children might quickly adjust to the move. They were referred to the Johnson Realty Company by fellow employees.

Bob Fain, a salesman for Johnson Realty sensed that the couple was anxious to purchase a home and he quickly zeroed in on certain questions. "Do you two have knowledge of the City?" he inquired. "Do you have any particular area in mind?"

The Harris' replied that they were not familiar with Oklahoma City but were interested in a nice area where there was room for their children. Fain then began driving Mr. and Mrs. Harris to listed homes, beginning with three located in Bethany and two in Putnam City. Both of these areas are outside the Oklahoma City School attendance area. They were finally shown a home in The Village, an area also in the far northwest quadrant (See Appendix J).

Harris observed that they seemed to be looking at places in generally one area. Fain countered that he assumed these areas were the type they had in mind. In response to a request by the Harris' to describe the housing situation, city wide, Fain said:

I'll give you my impression and try to throw in a little extra. The northwest sector, where we are now, is considered by many to be the most preferable. In the \$35,000 to \$40,000 price range this is where anyone would suggest you look. On top of this there is the school situation. In Putnam City and Bethany you find very fine schools.

Lots of folks are moving to these areas because they want to get away from Oklahoma City Schools which has massive busing to achieve integration.

Southside Oklahoma City has fewer homes in the price range you have suggested. A lot of blue collar workers live there. The northeast side is predominantly black. I just don't know of many homes there. Frankly, the busing situation is one reason I just assumed you might be interested in Putnam City.

"Mr. Fain," Harris said quietly, "we don't know that much about the busing problem here, but we are not opposed to living with black neighbors or having our children attend integrated schools." Mr. Fain seemed bewildered.

That evening Mrs. Harris looked in the "homes for sale" section of The Daily Oklahoman. She noted that the listings were arranged by quadrants, i.e. "northwest," "northeast," etc. She read a few ads under "northwest," to her husband. Some examples were:

Three bedroom, two bath, Putnam City. No hustle, no bustle... Close to Putnam City Schools... Big yard, no busing... Putnam City area... Putnam City Schools... Country living, great for kids; Yukon School District... Walk to Putnam City Schools... Be free of worry; Putnam City Schools.

"You know Dave," Mrs. Harris said, "Even though we are new here, I already know a great deal about the city. Between talking to Mr. Fain and looking at this classified page in the paper, I already can read between the lines. Look, there are only eight listings for homes on the "northeast" side and there must be 150 for the "northwest" sector. I wonder where we would have been taken today if we were black?"

Case D - Steering Again

Leighton Daniels, a young, black executive was just transferred to Oklahoma City by his company. He and his wife immediately set out to find a home in the \$35,000 to \$40,000 price range suitable for their three children.

Real Estate salesman Sam Reed, after confirming that the Daniels' were not familiar with the city gave them a tour through downtown, past the new Myriad Convention Center and through the lower "northeast" sector. They continued to tour the east side, predominantly black, and Reed remarked, with a toothy grin, "This area is kind of run down, but we'll be in a better area in just a few minutes."

"Sho lots of black folks in this city, Mr. Reed," Daniels said, winking at his wife. "Haven't seen but a few white people since we left downtown. Aren't there many white folks in Oklahoma?"

"Oh sure," stammered the agent, "but I am taking you to a real nice area called Wildewood. It is an integrated area, nice mix of people and the homes are in the price range you suggested. I just assumed it would be an area you'd be comfortable in - you know, with other black people around."

The process of "steering," i.e. the directing of blacks to predominantly black areas and whites to white areas, is considered illegal by the federal government and alleged violations may be reported to the regional offices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. However, it is particularly difficult to attempt to prove such a situation is occurring according to a person who has brought alleged violations to the attention of H.U.D. officials

(Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 26, 1973).

As Mr. Harris discovered, housing patterns can quickly be identified, even by new comers who read the classified section of local newspapers. The mere mention of "Putnam City transmits a great amount of information including the fact that the school district does not have "forced busing."

It is not just white realtors who cause continuation of segregation in housing as the next case shows. The Wildewood area, a neighborhood with a racially mixed population, is losing its white residents, partly because of the tactics of black realtors.

Case E - "You Mean You Want to Live With 'Niggers'?"

Edith Greenlease knew who was at the door as soon as she heard the knock. She could expect black realtors almost any Sunday morning, trying to persuade her husband and herself to sell.

"Good morning Mrs. Greenlease," Al Miller, a black agent said, grinning broadly. "Just thought I'd drop by to see how you folk are this fine day."

"Don't give me that crap," snapped Edith Greenlease, "I know why you're here. Every damn Sunday morning at least one of you guys come by. I wish you'd quit bugging us!"

"Gosh lady, I drove four couples by here yesterday. You folks could come out great financially if you'd agree to sell. Lots of black people are interested in living here in Wildewood and they have their eyes on your little abode. Just how much do you want?"

Mrs. Greenlease snapped, "We're not holding out for anything. We like it here; our house, the yard, our neighbors. This is where

we're staying. If you had your way you'd move all us whites out just because you can sell to blacks."

"Sure," Miller replied softly. "That's how I make money - by selling houses. Besides, you mean you really want to live with niggers?"

Discussion

Although census figures do not reflect in which areas certain people live within the city, the majority of blacks still reside in the northeast sector of the city (Urban League, August 20, 1973). Relatively few blacks live very far north, though some reside in the more affluent Wildewood area (See Appendix J).

The first case in this component shows just how cruel the laws and customs were regarding segregation of housing. The case was reported to this writer by the mother of the family involved and her youngest daughter (Personal Communications, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 2 and 15, 1973). This exemplifies the interconnection between and among various components presented in this study. Segregation practices such as those responsible for "stealing" the Pearsons' home were sanctioned by law, which in turn was consistent with the political climate of the city. Further, such practices were condoned by the very group of professionals who should have been concerned about protection of civil rights, the local Bar Association.

Helen Bradford told her story so calmly and matter of factly that the writer was surprised that she did not seem shocked and angry. She answered that it was not the first time this had happened to her and she no longer wanted "to fight it;" she would find a place where

she was accepted (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 2, 1973). Other blacks who were interviewed expressed similar feelings. This example shows that while formal statutes have been changed, informal, hidden mechanisms are still present and effective.

While the days are gone when a home might be taken from a family, such as in the Pearson's case, subtle maneuvering continues. One local black leader related situations which happened to his wife and himself during the late 1960's when they would go with a white couple to look at new homes. He says:

My wife and I would be talking to a salesman in the living room when a white couple - our friends - would enter. Of course the agent didn't know we were together. He would hustle us off to the bedroom to show us the drapes or some damn thing, then excuse himself and hurry to the white couple in the living room. On a couple of occasions a salesman told our friends he was sorry for the delay but he had to get "those niggers" out of the way. We were even quoted a price of five or ten thousand dollars above what he quoted the white couple (Personal Interview, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973).

Cases C and D address themselves to the process and technique of "steering." One respondent who has actively worked to maintain integrated housing in the Wildewood area, claims she has reported several blatant instances of steering to H.U.D. officials in Dallas. She charged, however, that the agency has failed to respond, claiming a lack of manpower and the difficulty of proving such charges (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 26, 1973).

The Daily Oklahoman, the major newspaper in the city, lists homes according to areas, as most large papers do. To anyone even vaguely familiar with the city the mere listing of a general location may give information relating to economic and racial characteristics

of the locale. As an example, "Putnam City School District," tells the reader that the home for sale is located in a predominantly white community, in the far northwest sector, in a school district without forced busing and with few black students in the schools.

In checking daily listings in The Daily Oklahoman, it may be discovered that very few homes are listed in the northeast sector. As an example, The Daily Oklahoman, August 20, 1973, listed 146 homes for sale in the northwest quadrant, 112 in the southwest area, 74 in the southeast section and but 12 in the northeast quadrant which is the black area. One respondent noted that many realtors listed northeast homes only in The Black Dispatch (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 26, 1973).

It may be argued that a realtor's goal is to sell houses, thus he logically will size up a customer and try to fit him in a home as quickly as possible. The agent may perceive difficulty if he tries to show a white couple a home in an integrated neighborhood or shows blacks homes in an all white area.

Case E illustrates the fact that black as well as white realtors are not above exploiting racial factors to make a sale. Mr. and Mrs. Greenlease finally built a home in Bethany and moved from Wildewood. She commented:

You can't imagine the pressure we were under to sell. Those guys knew they could sell our home to a black family anytime. It was no concern to them that neighbors were trying to maintain an integrated area (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 16, 1973).

The discussion of housing transcends many factors. An excellent example of how housing-real estate is interwoven with

politics, economics and the law is the local Urban Renewal program. The general objective of this program is to clear the blighted areas of the city, rebuild and relocate residents to newer, better housing, according to one employee (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, October 7, 1972). However, some who have been relocated to public housing projects such as Kerr Village, often feel their welfare is not considered, that relocating has not been a step upward. Two Kerr Village residents, interviewed in the woefully inadequate community center, feel everything about that housing project such as the remote location, inferior construction, inadequate transportation facilities, and inadequate recreational facilities for the youngsters, suggest little energy is expended at the official level toward helping tenants (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 21, 1973). The entire Urban Renewal's low income housing dilemma reflects the staggering, complex interaction among relevant factors.

Just how interrelated these various elements and agencies are is shown by a black woman who, along with her husband, purchased a new, low income home under a federally subsidized program (FHA 235). She has experienced many problems with the home such as cracking walls, evidence of deviation from approved plans by the builder, and failure of inspectors to properly note such problems. She had had little luck attempting to gain relief. Her monthly payments have recently been raised from \$85.00 to \$148.00 per month but she has not been able to find out why. She said, somewhat bitterly:

You don't realize how tied in everyone is in this town until you try to get help. We found we wasn't going to get no help from local officials because all are "Kissin Cousins." We have gotten us a lawyer and will try the Federal people.

The local housing people, the inspectors, the contractors; they must all be together because they don't want to hear us (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 8, 1973).

Housing patterns traditionally have and continue to reflect the attitudes of the community at large and the power elite. Some argue that the Finger Plan was unnecessary and that open housing would eventually prevail resulting in "natural" desegregation of the schools. History causes one to question such a contention. In answer to the above statement directed to a black school administrator, a product of an Oklahoma City ghetto, the response was simply "Shit!" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 9, 1973).

Training Guide - Housing-Real Estate

1. Why can it be said that there is a cause-effect relationship between housing and court ordered desegregation of the schools?
2. How many other factors such as politics can you inter-relate to this component? List specific factors. Think holistically.
3. How might a neighborhood either force out a black family or prevent them from moving in in 1973? Compare potential tactics with those employed by the Pearsons' neighbors.
4. How might black families protect their interests in 1973?
5. How might a family such as the Pearsons feel? How would you feel? Role play.
6. Certain apartment owners and managers have argued that they would lose their white tenants if they rented to blacks. Discuss.
7. List and discuss the various ways a realtor might use "steering" and still appear to stay within the law.
8. Read "Homes for Sale" in any Sunday Oklahoman. Discuss

the possible meanings of "Putnam City," "Northwest Area," "Midwest City Schools," as it relates to housing patterns and school desegregation.

9. Locate the main public housing projects in Oklahoma City. Why do you think they are located where they are? How many are in more affluent areas?

10. Compare recreational facilities in the various quadrants of the city. Example: compare the facilities at Woodson Park, south May Avenue and 33rd Street with those at Kerr Village. Why the difference? How does it relate to housing patterns?

11. Argue both sides of the following statements:

- a) Arbitrary (court ordered) school desegregation will not work. We must wait for open housing and volunteer neighborhood desegregation.
- b) Since the law forbids housing discrimination, there is no reason blacks can not live anywhere in the city.
- c) Black people live together because they want to.
- d) The Finger Plan has had an effect on housing.

Component Three

Community Economics

Several reliable studies have documented the fact that the elite who dominate the economy of Oklahoma City are inordinately old. Garthoeffner (1972), for example, identified the 12 most influential men in the City, ten of whom were over 70 years old. The oldest and most powerful, perhaps, is E. K. Gaylord, 100 years of

age. One result of this, as noted by a respondent, a local corporate attorney, has been that few younger men have had a chance to influence the thinking of the business community in this city (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 11, 1973).

The downtown business community was very slow to respond to efforts of black leaders to integrate certain business facilities during the late 1950's and early 1960's. It took nearly seven years of boycotts, demonstrations, sit-ins and court fights, before blacks were able to eat in all downtown restaurants (Teall, 1971; Saxe, 1969). While the business community, acting through the Chamber of Commerce, responded to bring the 1969 sanitation strike to an end, it did not become a positive force in attempting to support the local public schools during the tense days of September, 1972. According to one source close to the political scene the city fathers, through the Chamber of Commerce responded in the sanitation strike situation because their pocket books were threatened (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 23, 1973). The first case discusses that strike.

Case A - Sanitation Strike

In the late summer and early fall of 1969, Oklahoma City was hit by a lengthy strike by the sanitation workers. These men, mostly black, called the strike because of low wages, long working hours, poor working conditions and because the City Manager and other City Officials failed to address themselves seriously to the grievances.

The strike leaders were able to enlist the support of most of the prominent black leaders for their cause. Representative

Archibald Hill, Representative A. Visanio Johnson, Mrs. Clara Luper, State Senator E. Melvin Porter and a number of black ministers including Reverend W. K. Jackson became united during the struggle.

There were no real outbreaks of violence though the potential was present during heated meetings and marches. The City Manager and other officials used many techniques to attempt to "break" the strike including planting several stories in the media which conveyed a message that the strike was not effective. However, they were largely unsuccessful. National figures such as Reverend Ralph Abernathy were brought in to help maintain interest and raise funds.

The walkout was settled on November 7, 1969. The last hurdle to settling the strike seemed for a time, to be insurmountable. Eleven sanitation workers had been identified by the city officials as "instigators" in the walkout and the city refused to rehire them. The strike leaders refused to agree to a settlement which did not return all the men to work. At a crucial point in the stalemated negotiations, Stanton Young, Secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce announced a solution. He stated that jobs would be found through private industry for the 11 men in question.

As noted earlier, when the business leaders, through the Chamber of Commerce, decided the image of the city was in jeopardy, that the economy could suffer, that the national press was becoming aware of the local situation, the strike ended within hours. In recounting this and related examples, one business leader emphasized the power which certain key figures in this city possess (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 19, 1973).

The efforts of the Chamber of Commerce during the sanitation strike contrast sharply with their activities during the period of tension in the fall of 1972 when the Finger Plan was first implemented. Not only did the Chamber shy away from involvement in the school issue, but individual businessmen became frightened by threats of a white boycott should they try to help. The next case illustrates one example.

Case B - I have a Business to Look After

Businessman Dale Ray had struggled with his decision for several days. Friends had warned him but he finally made his decision. After all, he was only planning to sponsor a one hour television documentary on busing, produced by a reporter for a local channel. He had three children in the Oklahoma City Schools and he was concerned about all the negative response to busing. He had previewed the documentary the previous week and felt that its showing might dispell fears by many parents. The film showed that busing had worked in two eastern cities, and that schools had been desegregated with a minimum of problems in those cities.

Also it seemed like an excellent business proposition. It was projected that the one hour program would attract a viewing audience of 20 percent above normal. Perhaps a few people would be angry at him for sponsoring the show, but he felt they should not dictate what he did. However, the following day, Ray received a phone call from his attorney and friend Bruce Brice who requested they have lunch. During the meal, Brice said, "Word is out, Dale, that you are going to sponsor that young reporter's documentary. As your

lawyer and friend I feel I have to warn you that it would have repercussions."

"But Bruce," Ray countered, "this program would be very important. People fear busing will ruin the school system and this program gives evidence to the contrary. Besides the audience will be large. It's sound business!" Bruce sat back, frowned and replied:

Let's face it, the station is going to run that program one way or another - if no other way, as a public service. Granted they will have a large viewing audience - thousands of anti-busing clods seeing your name plastered all over the damn screen. I talked to several guys who know what's coming off, Dale, including your banker, Jimm Foxx. They tell me no one else will touch that program and they predict a backlash if you do. Call Jim, he's concerned.

"Damn," whispered Dale Ray, "it's a sad day when a man has to turn his back on his own kids' schools. I'll have to think about it Bruce, and thanks." That evening Dale called the program director at the station and backed out of his commitment.

For whatever reason, no one agreed to sponsor the program. Although the show was widely publicized and viewed by a large audience, the station ran it without any sponsors. The following case studies a similar situation from a slightly different angle.

Case C - Even the Billboard Companies Refuse

"WEKARE," an active, social action organization, sponsored by several church organizations became greatly concerned during the fall of 1972 because of the lack of support the schools were receiving from the business community. WEKARE had hosted several meetings of business and religious leaders to try and solicit support but little had been accomplished. Although the Chamber of Commerce had agreed to send a representative to these meetings, no one from that

organization attended. The Chamber of Commerce made absolutely no comment during the tense days surrounding the commencement of school in 1972. The overwhelming number of statements on television or in the press opposed busing or desegregation, and WEKARE called a meeting to discuss strategy for taking some positive action on behalf of the Oklahoma City School System.

At this meeting, it was decided that the group would raise money to put up two billboards, simply saying "Support Your Public Schools." It was felt this action would not threaten anybody and would, at least, be a positive note. Those attending agreed to seek money from their respective employers, all of which had reputations for supporting social causes.

But at the follow-up meeting shortly thereafter all reported they had not been able to raise any money to rent the billboards.

One man said:

I was really surprised. My organization has prided itself in supporting causes. Yet when I explained our plan to the public relations man in our company he nixed it right away. He said that he was sympathetic but feels that any active support for the schools right now would be interpreted as pro-busing.

Another person who had contacted several billboard companies said:

The problem of raising money may be worthless because I doubt we can find a sign company willing to put up our message. The companies I met with refused our business saying they feared business reprisals.

How can a community continue to prosper and lure new business into the area with the schools in turmoil? Perhaps the next case may shed some light on the point.

Case D - Welcome to Oklahoma City...Well at Least to Midwest City,
Del City, Putnam City, Moore and Norman

During late 1971 and early 1972, Longhurst Manufacturing Company, the largest producers of Chrome Zoomers in the country had been investigating the possibility of locating a plant in Oklahoma City. A team of investigators for the firm had been in the area for at least six months. Finally a meeting was called between representatives of the company and city officials, including members of the Chamber of Commerce. Each group, of course, had conducted informal conversations for some time.

Longhurst representatives suggested that while company executives were impressed with many factors such as the favorable tax structure in the state, they were quite concerned about the public school difficulties. Several top Longhurst officials, the Oklahoma City representatives were told, felt they could not recommend bringing the firm into the city as long as the busing issue was unsettled.

Mr. B. F. Goodnight, a Chamber of Commerce representative, and spokesman for the city who had been in contact with Longhurst officials for some time, responded:

We are aware of the fears of some of Longhurst's top men because, as you know, we have been in communication for some time. However, as I have discussed with you previously, and this is for the benefit of several of you gentlemen who are here for the first time, there are alternatives.

There are almost unlimited land resources within the greater Oklahoma City area, including Putnam City, Moore, Del City, Midwest City and even Norman. All these cities are close to Oklahoma City yet have their own school system, without forced busing.

This case is not presented as unqualified proof that local officials are "steering" industry to other school attendance areas, but the fact is, surrounding areas are getting new industry. In March of 1973, in fact, General Motors announced the purchase of 435 acres west of Tinker Air Force Base, within the boundaries of Del City, for the purpose of building a large plant (For follow up information see The Daily Oklahoman, August 22 and 23, 1973).

Discussion

The initial case in this section recalls events of recent history in Oklahoma City. The sanitation strike brings into focus the ecological complexities of the community. Politics, economics, legal factors, religious factors, racism and many other elements converge in the series of events leading to a major strike. To further emphasize how interwoven these factors are, the subsequent experiences of one of the 11 so called "ring leaders" of the sanitation strike seem pertinent.

This respondent was not a leader but because he could read and write (some other sanitation workers could not) he was thrust into a role of some prominence. He was given a job, as part of the strike settlement, in private industry. Subsequently he went to college and just recently graduated. He then applied for several positions with the city but discovered that he was "blackballed" because of his alleged involvement in the strike four years earlier. He claims that this was related to him by a city official (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, July 23, 1973).

A former Oklahoma City newsman stated that his work led him

to believe that no one in the business sector, including the Chamber of Commerce, actively supported the school system (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 8, 1973).

A woman, active in local social action-religious programs, who has attempted to work in support of the schools, related that all efforts to attempt to involve the Chamber of Commerce failed (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 16, 1973).

In the course of this investigation, over 50 respondents, including school teachers, administrators, parents, businessmen, ministers, newsmen, and attorneys were asked the following question:

If you were to compile a list of names of people in the power structure, business, social, and civic leaders, in Oklahoma City, who openly came forward to support the school system during the time of crisis last fall, who would be on that list?

None of the respondents could cite a single leader who they felt took positive action despite the general acknowledgement that a power elite existed. This apparent void in leadership may have significance and will be considered later.

Cases B and C show that the business community feared repercussions, economically and otherwise, from the white community. A former newsman concluded that, because of the mood of the city, merchants may well have had reason to be fearful (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 8, 1973). It is a known fact that KWTW (Channel 9) received a number of protests by viewers because of the showing of a documentary on busing. At the time of the presentation, a group of whites demonstrated in front of the station and a group of people sought the dismissal of investigative reporter, Andrew

Fisher, who presented the program.

The final case poses two relevant questions: 1) Has the Oklahoma City business sector, through the Chamber of Commerce, given up on the Oklahoma City Public Schools? and 2) Does the greater metropolitan area of this city provide a unique escape valve, not found in other places. Regarding the first question, a civic leader, long active in school affairs and keyed into the business community said:

Leadership in Oklahoma City is bankrupt. The power structure is pitched at oil and money. Everything is aimed at the money people. I went to the Chamber of Commerce for help for the schools and fell flat. I am just as sure as I am sitting here that the business community has written off the local public schools. Watch where new business is being located. Our Chamber is directing industry to out-lying areas. Those affluent persons who still live here, even the cocktail party liberals, are sending their youngsters to private schools, so they don't care (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 19, 1973).

Regarding the second question, perhaps a situation which occurred in another city undergoing similar school problems may put the local problem in perspective. The city fathers in Jackson, Mississippi were not particularly concerned about taking a stand in support of their public schools, which were undergoing a desegregation crisis in 1971. But according to Eleanor Clift, writing in The Petal Papers, December, 1971, they suddenly took a renewed interest when they were told by industry that the school crisis might seriously injure their chances for encouraging new industry.

Business was frightened. In January, 1970, Allis-Chalmers a heavy equipment manufacturer, sent a covey of 50 engineers and executives to meet with Jackson's Chamber of Commerce. That meeting ended with a Chalmers representative nixing the deal; "I just can't, in good conscience, ask these people to move from Wisconsin to Mississippi unless you can prove what they know about the schools isn't so."

At that point, according to Clift, the whole community of Jackson was jarred into action, realizing for the first time that the school system had to be supported. Morris (1971) writing about school desegregation in his home town of Yazoo, Mississippi, noted that the town's largest employer determined it was essential, from an economic point of view, to support the public schools. Yet to this date the public schools in Oklahoma City have received little support from the business sector. Again one must ask if industry is being "steered" to other school districts.

One local news reporter addressed himself to the lack of support given the schools, at the same time criticizing school officials when he wrote:

It is with ruefulness one now hears Superintendent Dr. Bill Lillard and School Board members wondering aloud where the community's leaders are in this hour of crisis.

If there is no great outpouring from the Chamber of Commerce, if old magates and industrial tycoons are mute, can they have learned their lesson less well than the blue collar workers of Capital Hill? (The Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972).

Educational Guide - Community Economics

1. How might a newspaper, such as the powerful Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times influence community thinking?
2. List the names of those in a power position in the Oklahoma City business-political community who you feel came out in support of the schools.
3. Why might the business community and its public relations spokesman, the Chamber of Commerce, feel it was necessary to halt the strike? Discuss the dynamics involved.
4. Why might the Chamber of Commerce hesitate to come forward

in the school desegregation issue? How do the two issues (strike and school desegregation) differ?

5. What kinds of specific problems might city businesses face should they appear to support the school system in time of crisis?

6. What kinds of things might the community do to hurt the television station which produced the busing documentary?

7. Why might the billboard company hesitate?

8. What reasons might the Chamber of Commerce give for locating industry where it does.

9. Through the Oklahoma City Chamber office, obtain a list of where new industry has settled locally, during the past two years. What does it show?

10. If, as one respondent suggested, the business community has "written off" its public school system, what might this mean for the schools?

11. Discuss the ecological factors in this component. Would it be possible to attack this component non-ecologically?

Component Four

Politics

Political change has taken place in Oklahoma City. Recent City Council elections, held in March, 1973, resulted in the defeat of three incumbents. With the defeat of the three prior office holders, the end of the so-called "Bishop Bloc," named for long time councilman and unsuccessful candidate for Mayor two years ago, Bill Bishop, was seen. This so called "bloc," a rather conservative element represented the more traditional elements of local politics and continually

criticized the present Mayor, Patience Latting, usually voting against her proposed ideas.

It is noteworthy, for the purposes of this investigation, that busing was not an overt issue during the City Council elections in March, although some candidates had been active in anti-busing rallies in 1972. One city councilman said he was asked about busing in meetings and campaign programs but that it did not surface as a real issue (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, April 5, 1973). This fact may have significance because it was just three years ago that one councilman, John Smith, purchased an old school bus, parked it in a vacant lot and invited his constituents to beat it with sledge hammers to show their hostility toward busing (See Case A and Appendix C).

During the political campaign of 1972, the busing issue transcended all political levels including the Presidential campaign. Newsweek, on at least two occasions, suggested that candidates were trying to "out anti-bus" one another. Within this State, a senatorial candidate, Dewey Bartlett, had a picture of a big, yellow school bus in the background for one of his political advertisements while promising to introduce anti-busing legislation should he be elected.

Goodall (1972) wrote that as the 1972 elections grew near, President Nixon, "a long time opponent of busing but an infrequent user of social science research" (p. 41) was quite happy to embrace the findings of sociologist David Armor which showed busing to be "a failure." The validity of Armor's study has been seriously questioned by Goodall, Thomas Pettigrew and others.

The interplay between politics and the broad issue of school desegregation is acknowledged and discussed by Crain (1968) and by news reporter Frosty Troy. The latter, writing in his Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972, says, somewhat caustically:

The Lure of the Mob - all those political votes, has attracted the scabs of politics, the exploiters of genuinely concerned parents who deplore inordinate bus rides, not desegregation.

And so we have the most pious hypocrite, Dewey Bartlett, defending his vicious fear-mongering at a busing rally - handbills replete with lies and misquotes about his opponent's stand on "forced busing."

The following cases represent varied situations within the framework of the theme school desegregation and politics, as it relates to the local situation.

Case A - Beat A Bus to Bits

It was February, 1970, and the curious came. Parked in the middle of a vacant lot in the Capital Hill section of the City, was an old school bus, once simply a means of providing necessary transportation for students, but now a hated symbol. The bus had been purchased by Councilman John Smith from a salvage yard for \$300 so that people (voters) could demonstrate their feelings about busing. Smith told newsmen his purpose in setting up this "event" was to allow people in Oklahoma City to show local politicians and school board members how Oklahoma Cityans felt about the present busing plan (at that time the "Cluster Plan").

During the day the crowd swelled to about 100, mostly youngsters. By evening the old vehicle was in shambles. It was towed back to the salvage yard and those involved went their separate ways. Smith obviously felt his bus bashing idea would help him politically, which

simply shows how the school desegregation issue may be employed as a political tool, even at the city council level. Smith used this event to perhaps strengthen his political career. The next case follows the course of a person whose political career grew out of the busing controversy.

Case B - From Out of the Woodwork

Until 1969, few people had heard the name Mrs. Samantha Jay, a housewife and mother of four. She and her husband began to spend time with a small group of people who met to discuss issues, current events, and to complain about intellectuals and hippies. They became increasingly upset at government interference in local affairs and would write letters to the local newspapers in protest.

The Jays discovered that under a new school attendance plan, their daughter was going to have to attend a different junior high school in the fall of 1969. Under the so-called Cluster Plan they found a number of changes were to take place. Mrs. Jay became aware that a relatively large number of parents were quite upset over these changes. Supported by other parents who urged her to fight, Mrs. Jay announced she would take dramatic action and would insist her daughter be allowed to return to her previous school.

Although Mrs. Jay kept her promise she discovered she had to share press coverage with a number of other desegregation opponents during the initial days of school in 1969. One such person, Murray Abbott, a 38 year old business man, led a number of high school students to a high school parking lot, chanting anti-busing, anti-integration slogans and disrupting classes.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Jay took her daughter to her former school, each day demanding that the youngster be enrolled. Despite the principal's repeated explanations that he could not allow her back in that school, Mrs. Jay insisted that the little girl sit in a classroom. Thus, for several months, the Jay girl sat in school uncouneted and receiving no credit. The Jays received national attention and much sympathy from the white community. For a period of several weeks television and newspapers covered the continuing saga of the Jays.

Later the Jay youngster was finally forcibly removed from the school by federal marshalls - again amidst much outpouring of sympathy - and was finally enrolled by her parents in a small, private school. Letters to the editor poured in complaining about federal intervention and the Jays became martyrs. A few people, however, did write that they viewed Mrs. Jay as a "nut" or accused her of exploiting her own child for possible personal gain, such as seeking public office.

Some time later Mrs. Jay did, in fact, run for public office. Her platform was anti-busing and anti-federal intervention. She won rather easily, defeating the incumbant by over one thousand votes. Since she has been in office her stand on the issue of school desegregation has remained the same.

Mrs. Jay was certainly a single issue candidate; some observers contend that this will cause her defeat in the near future. The next case illustrates how the element of politics can creep into an area in which one might not expect it to be found.

Case C - Isolation of a "Radical"

Rock Ford, a successful businessman, had just been named a

member of a special "blue ribbon" committee set up to help coordinate school integration efforts in Oklahoma City. When the committee initially met, Ford was selected to be the first chairman, a position he had actively sought. The committee was charged with the responsibility of over-seeing certain activities as outlined by the courts.

There were those on the committee, although sensitive to the delicate nature of their task, nevertheless felt it imperative that the committee take an aggressive stand. Others saw their role as more passive, with priority given to collection of information. Committee members had varied reasons for agreeing to serve. Ford shared his reasons to committee member Don Freed after several martinis at a cocktail party when he said:

My credentials are pretty good. In my business I have to deal with poor people. By knowing how to handle those people I have made a successful business. Because of my ability and reputation in handling poor folks I think I have a political future. If this committee does its job well - sort of keeps the peace - I think it could help me get a shot at political office.

Freed, a long time activist in the social action area, interpreted Ford's comments as meaning that he did not want the committee to "make waves." The first series of committee meetings confirmed his fears as under Ford's leadership, little was accomplished.

A short time later a crisis arose over the dismissal of an ex officio member of the committee, which Mr. Freed felt that the action struck at the integrity and future success of the program. He called Ford to express his opinion but the chairman countered that they ought not to make an issue of it.

Mr. Freed reacted angrily to Ford's attempt to dismiss the

incident and demanded that the entire committee meet to discuss it. Ford sarcastically suggested that if the matter was so important to him he could take it upon himself to call all the members and see if they wished to meet; this he did. All agreed to attend the special meeting. When Ford discovered members had agreed to meet he then called them back stating he had not authorized Freed to call the meeting; that Freed had over reacted, as usual, and that this was simply another example of his over aggressive behavior. After listening to Ford the members agreed to let the matter drop, "for the good of the committee."

Subsequent regular meetings went essentially in the direction set by Chairman Ford. Maneuvering with great skill, Ford was able to set up situations which provoked angry outbursts by Don Freed. He then calmly sat back and pointed to the behavior as illogical and out of line, resulting in Freed's further isolation from the other members. From then on little serious attention was paid to his suggestions. Another member, an action oriented person like Freed, became disillusioned at the slow pace of the group and began missing meetings; thus it became even easier for Ford to control the meetings.

Attention will now focus on the political picture in the black community. Few blacks have held political office locally. Some of the problems are discussed in the following case.

Case D - Candidates in the Black Community

The campaign for City Council promised to be a bitter one because so many factors were present. First, long time office holder Garrett Powell, had been indicted and convicted of a crime. He had resigned from office and was sent to prison at the peak of his

popularity. There was a great deal of hostility aroused in the black community when the City Council appointed Willie Barrett, a low-key east side school official, to complete Powell's unexpired term. A number of blacks considered challenging Barrett who, to them, appeared to simply follow the wishes of the white council members who appointed him without fighting for additional benefits for the black community. Some of those considered as excellent material for the council were:

Jack Williams, a young, energetic administrator at Tinker Air Field; Mrs. Bonnie Finch, principal of an east side elementary school; Robert Evans, a supervisor for the post office and Cole Jackson, employed with F.A.A. However, none of the aforementioned individuals could run for office because of the provisions of the Hatch Act which prohibit an employee of the government from holding elected office simultaneously. None could afford to give up their jobs.

Reverend Isaac King, often mentioned as a qualified candidate, had been forced to move because of Urban Renewal. Now he lived out of the Ward and was no longer eligible to run. Clyde Bird, who had unsuccessfully sought public office six previous times, and Dr. Clem Dawson, a private practitioner, formally challenged Barrett. Although Barrett had been appointed by the white power structure which saw him as their ally and had never been active in Civil Rights activities, he received much support from a few young, militant blacks, some of whom had even marched and demonstrated with Dawson in the past. Despite an expensive campaign by Barrett, Dawson won by several hundred votes.

Discussion

As noted earlier in this dissertation the subject of politics is greatly intertwined with racial matters historically. In 1973 politics is deeply involved with the whole topic of race relations. Writing in the Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972, Frosty Troy suggested that politicians have recently found fertile ground in the school desegregation issue, exploiting the fears of the people in order to gain votes. Two famous writers, one black and one white, illustrate how white politicians have used the racial issue to their advantage for many years. Du Bois (1932) fused three subjects, racism, economics, and politics when he wrote:

The political success of the doctrine of social separation which overthrew reconstruction by uniting the planter and the poor white was far exceeded by its astonishing economic results. The theory that laboring classes would mass together for higher wages and better working conditions failed... because of a well conceived method of driving a wedge between black and white workers, resulting in hate between the two (p. 700).

Speaking to the same point, Dollard (1936) said:

It is well worth noticing these voters because they are the local contingent of that great group of propertyless southern white people who support leaders like Huey Long. Their socio-economic position is weak; they are at the bottom of the status scale in the white caste, but they have the consolation of at least being white... (p. 218).

Turning to Oklahoma, The Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972, suggested that this state's "approach has always been deep south, despite rhetoric to the contrary." Certainly the attitude of those who developed the State Constitution, as expressed by Bill Murray, the influence of the Ku Klux Klan, the Tulsa Race Riot and numerous restrictive housing covenants (Teall, 1971), lends support

for the 'Observer's' comment.

Pointing to Oklahoma City, it may be argued that the southern mentality toward race relations has been prevalent. Certainly the political picture in this city has not included significant black representation. The first black candidates elected to public office in this area, which was not until 1964, were State Senator E. Melvin Porter and Representatives Archibald Hill and John B. White.

Judge Luther Bohanon has charged that the Oklahoma City School Board, which did not have a black member until F. D. Moon was elected in 1972, has continually failed to work toward meaningful school desegregation. Two members of the school board during the 1967-1969 era which led up to the ill fated Cluster Plan, Bill Yinger and Dr. Virgil Hill tried to work toward compliance of Bohanon's orders relating to integration of the schools, but found themselves under so much pressure from the community that they declined to seek re-election.

The first case discusses John Smith, long time City Councilman representing the traditionally anti-desegregation, anti-busing south-side. He has been involved in anti-busing rallies, being heard at most large meetings during the fall of 1972. Case B reviewed the political career of one who owes her recognition to the whole school desegregation-busing issue. Simply being an outspoken foe of forced busing at the "right time" helped propel her into public office. One may ask whether an office holder may last long if identified as but a single issue candidate. Frosty Troy, in The Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972, voices the danger for politicians when single,

dramatic issues, such as school desegregation, are at stake. When discussing the school board, he says:

Almost any student of human nature could have told school board members that the very white community they represented with such fidelity would one day turn and devour them if they have stumbled toward compliance. Now the throng demands their resignation - and probably only two will survive the next election.

Since Troy wrote the above statement, Joe Coleman, an appointee of the School Board, who sent his own children to private school, lost to Phil Knight in the most recent board election. His seat was the only one up at the time.

The third case accents the fact that politics is interwoven with related community issues. Rock Ford's reason for becoming an important member of the special committee appears to have been because of political aspirations. The cautious tone he tried to set for the group may add strength to that theory. His strategy of isolating his outspoken fellow committee member Don Freed, is certainly not an unknown political ploy. To draw an analogy, it may be recalled that the so-called "Bishop Bloc" of the City Council employed similar tactics against the Mayor until three incumbents were defeated. Members of the "bloc" used every opportunity to try and make Mayor Latting appear foolish or out of touch. In this case the tactic back-fired as the successful candidates used the behavior of the "bloc" members against them.

The final case illustrates three important points. First, Garrett Powell, a highly respected member of the black community, considered a powerful, influential force, was convicted of a felony, thus probably ending his political career. Few black leaders appeared

to rally behind him during his trial; some say because other leaders were jealous of his influence. A black school teacher, active in eastside community, youth, and political activities, said she was not surprised when Powell was found guilty. "Most black people feel he is innocent, but any black who gains power risks facing something like this. It is a chance you take" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 7, 1973).

A second significant point is that few jobs on a professional level are compatible with holding public office. Many of the most qualified, educated blacks are employed by the State or Federal Government and they would have to give up their jobs in order to serve. Percentage wise, few blacks fall into these categories.

The final point relates to a struggle for power. It was generally felt by many that Dr. Dawson was a potentially moving force in the black community; that his election would place him in a position to become a more influential spokesman. On the other hand, few would ever suggest that Willie Barrett would become a powerful force. His background suggested he would be a follower. Thus the young, more militant, ambitious blacks worked against Dawson, the man seen as a potential threat to some people's hopes for power.

An eastside civic leader expressed concern about the political situation in the black community. He stated that those who have, in the past, been leaders, have now lost influence and younger individuals who "display plenty of gall but have no experience," have attempted to exert themselves: He concluded:

Common problems are dying in the black community. The bold, blatant issues of the past are no longer with us. Demonstrating

in front of a restaurant; sitting in on the steps of a hotel; lining up to force your way into the zoo or amusement park; rallying behind the sanitation workers, these were tangible biggies that folks could feel a part of. Issues like busing, school integration, and quality education, while they are damn important to us, still are subtle, demanding a more sophisticated approach. We have trouble getting behind these issues (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973).

Politics, for the purpose of its inclusion in this study, is an extremely complex, all encompassing element. As history shows it transcends race relations. De jure (by law) segregation affected housing patterns which has resulted in continuing segregation long after these laws were ruled unconstitutional. Local political forces sanctioned segregation of public facilities. A few religious leaders, perhaps seeing the need to expand their role, have run for political office, thus fusing politics and religion. Finally, there can be no doubt that politicians are well aware of the connection between politics and education. Some social scientists, for example, have argued that President Nixon has used the highest elected office in the country as a platform for slowing school integration by speaking out against busing (Goodall, 1972; Clark, 1972). After reviewing the efforts of certain city politicians to exploit the school desegregation issue, Frosty Troy wrote in The Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972:

We hope one day to write a political version of Dante's Inferno and the lowest rung in hell will be reserved for the politicians who play on the fears of people.

Training Guide - Politics

1. Is it possible that the recent election of three new councilmen may indicate a change of attitude toward school desegregation?

Discuss both sides.

2. Recall the races for major political offices in November, 1972. How many candidates opposed busing? How many mentioned it? How many came out in favor of it?

3. Why would Councilman Smith purchase a bus to demolish? Discuss, logically, how such action might actually effect real change?

4. List the pros and cons of being identified as a single issue candidate.

5. How might involvement in a "blue ribbon" special committee (Case D) help a prominent member politically? What dangers are there?

6. Discuss the dynamics of tactics such as isolating a political foe from the main body of an organization. How did such tactics fail in the case of the "Bishop Bloc V. Mayor Latting? What counter tactics were utilized by anti "Bishop Bloc" people.

7. Historically, how was racism and segregation been connected with politics in Oklahoma?

8. Why might the white power structure wish a powerful black force such as A. L. Dowell (former City Councilman) out of the way? Few blacks rallied to Dr. Dowell's aid while he was being convicted and sentenced. Why might other community leaders and hopefuls not help?

9. Discuss the reasons why the fact that Federal and State employees are not eligible to serve in elected public offices is of more significance in the black community than in the white. Query: How many black attorneys and physicians are there in Oklahoma City? How many blacks were admitted to medical school at the University of Oklahoma last fall? How does all of the above relate?

10. Discuss all the possible reasons why militant black

leaders might support a candidate who appeared to have little chance to gain significant power.

11. Why might issues such as school desegregation be considered politically more difficult to face for black leaders than overt discrimination, i.e. refusal to be served in restaurants, hotels?

12. What is meant by the statement, "This state's approach has always been deep south?" How does it relate to issues raised in this component?

13. Why must an ecological approach be considered necessary in the investigation of the political component? Attempt to analyze political material presented here non-ecologically. What are the results?

Component Five

Role of the Church

Church remains an influential force in cultural factors, economics, politics, and other elements of community life in Oklahoma City. Therefore, its inclusion appears necessary in the ecological investigation of school desegregation. Locally, certain ministers have long played a role in attempting to move toward peaceful integration at all levels. A few others have been outspoken opponents of integration.

To try and put the local picture in perspective it is necessary to touch upon this topic from a more global stance. The role the church has played (or not played) in attempting to erase prejudice has been the concern of sociological observers. For example, black sociologist Kenneth Clark (1963) notes that it is difficult for churches

to address themselves to this issue since they are predominantly segregated institutions. He further suggests that usually religious programs reflect the racial attitudes of the surrounding community.

The late Whitney Young (1969) alleged that the institution of church is hypocritical and immoral, "presenting a picture of smug complacency as they tolerate or even condone the sin of racism" (p. 132). Writing about the South of 15 years ago, Dabbs (1958) suggested that while "top flight" religious leaders were opposed to segregation and a few actively opposed to it, the vast majority were saying nothing about it.

In the late 1950's, Oklahoma's neighboring state, Arkansas, went through a traumatic racial crisis. Campbell and Pettigrew (1959) studied the role of the church concerning school desegregation in Little Rock. While they reported that the majority of the smaller, fundamentalist sects openly opposed school integration, and that many ministers tried to stay clear of the controversy, they concluded that many religious leaders stood against continued segregation practices. For sure, figures such as Martin Luther King, Ralph Abernathy, Jessie Jackson and a number of white churchmen led the fight for civil rights.

Similar dynamics appear present in the more recent Oklahoma City situation. A few ministers vocally opposed school desegregation, denouncing the Finger Plan from the pulpit and speaking out at anti-busing rallies during September and October of 1972. A few, black and white, openly and actively supported the Federal Court order, some with the support of their congregation and some in the face of hostile

reactions from their people. However, a great number of religious leaders acted as if they and their church were in no way a part of the crisis, prompting one black minister to bitterly conclude, "at times the Church is a ball of hypocrisy" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973).

The following cases attempt to bring into focus some of the complex issues which connect the role of the church to school desegregation in Oklahoma City.

Case A - It Will Split My Congregation

Reverend Ted Monroe spoke:

Thank you for coming today, particularly on such short notice. We who represent various churches and religions have been long overdue in coming together to share our knowledge. Our schools and our city is in crisis and we need to stand up and be counted. We need to help; I trust your presence here today shows you are concerned.

Reverend Monroe was addressing over 40 black and white ministers, concerned parents and community leaders just one week after school begin in the fall of 1972. Several ministers, both black and white, had called the meeting out of concern for the mounting school crisis brought on by reaction to the court ordered school desegregation plan for Oklahoma City. School had opened the previous Monday in the most hostile environment. For months anti-busing leaders had stirred up the fears of the community until violence seemed inevitable.

The self-fulfilling prophecy came true, at least in part. Fights broke out, parents rushed to school to bring youngsters home and the situation promised to get worse. Adults and children marched to the Board of Education in demonstration against the Finger Plan. Young children, actually encouraged by parents, rushed into the

streets urging drivers to "turn on your lights to show you are against busing."

After watching what had occurred on the evening news at the end of the first week of school, it struck Reverend Monroe that the schools were really alone. The whole responsibility for trying to maintain an educational system, in the wake of near hysteria, was falling upon the school administration, principals and teachers. It was Friday and school was to re-open the following Tuesday. Monroe concluded he had a responsibility to do something. He called two fellow ministers who also had watched the news and who agreed they needed to act. The three began telephoning others. While some agreed to help at least six southside clergymen who were contacted refused to do anything.

At the same time, Reverend Mel Washington, a black minister of a small eastside church, began contacting others on the east side. When Monroe and Washington discovered they were both thinking along the same lines they decided to set up a combined meeting the following day. Other persons who represented organizations identified as pro-integration were likewise contacted, along with other community people.

At the meeting Reverend Washington followed Ted Monroe to the speaker's table and spoke about their responsibility to help maintain a cool atmosphere in the face of so much hatred. Mrs. Gladys Whitmore, coordinator of a loosely formed ministerial alliance group, told the assembled how pleased she was that they had come. She indicated a vast number of ministers whom her group had contacted had expressed

a fear of getting involved.

During a break one of those present, Reverend Zeke Carlson, turned to his friend, Reverend Arthur Lane and asked, "What do you think Art? Think we can do something?" Lane looked perplexed, responding:

You know me Zeke. I am all for us getting involved. That is why I am here. I feel, as Christians, we have a basic responsibility. But you know, I am in a box. If some of my congregation even knew I was here they would be extremely upset. It is too hot an issue to even mention from the pulpit. Most of the folks are dead set against busing; they see my role as a minister, not a sociologist. I have got to back off. This think could split by congregation - just tear it apart.

When the meeting reconvened, Reverend Monroe stated he had contacted a school administrator to offer assistance and that the offer of help had been greatly appreciated. After considerable discussion it was decided that a group of those present would show up at several high schools the following Tuesday morning to walk the halls, talk to students and parents, trying to be a calming force.

Not all agreed with the plan. Reverend Pete Talman, a south-side minister indicated that while he was for "peace in the schools, I think it would be out of line for us to interfere in the schools." Several others agreed.

About 20 of those who had been present at the meeting reported to the schools on Tuesday, spending the remainder of the week in their volunteer role. By Friday the worst was over; by the middle of the following week all the clergymen had left the buildings and the informal ministerial organization disbanded.

This case illustrates the fact that some church leaders felt it their duty to actively support the schools. Others either openly

refused or expressed reluctance to get involved because of probable repercussions from their congregation or sincere convictions that social action was not a part of their role. A few, like Reverend Monroe were not afraid of the risks. The next case follows the latter back to his white church to face his members.

Case B - God Loves You and I Love You Too

Ted Monroe knew, when he took over as head of his church two years ago, that he would have some difficult moments. He was never quite sure why this church, traditionally conservative, had requested that he come to serve. It was known that he had been active in civil rights causes. He felt the congregation had accepted him although he continued to express his opinions, many of which conflicted with the members. However, he realized many now felt he was going to far.

As the previous case indicated, Reverend Monroe had been a moving force behind the gathering of church leaders to plan strategy for supporting the schools. He soon learned, as he had anticipated, that many people in his church were confused and angry because of his activities. It appeared church members were more upset over the publicity he received than his actual involvement. One caller confirmed these feelings when he said, "Ya know, Reverend Monroe, all this stuff in the papers makes it sound like our church is for all this busing. What you do I guess is your business but you represent us and dragged our name into this thing. We don't like it."

Several influential members, including three elders, called an evening meeting to discuss how they might counteract the "image our minister had created for us with other folks." Reverend Monroe

attended, listening quietly as a half dozen persons expressed anger at his actions. In response to a question concerning how he might reverse the "bad publicity" now that he knew how they felt, he replied:

I have done what I felt it necessary to do. I must admit I find it strange that pillars of this church are embarrassed because their minister pursued his Christian beliefs at a time when the schools, which must reach our children, are in grave difficulty. You do what you must, as I have; I urge you to think with your hearts.

Monroe's response only further angered many present. It was decided by the majority that a petition should be written and presented to all members to sign if they so chose. The general draft of that petition read, in part:

We feel that, because of the actions of our minister, others in the city may get the false impression our church favors busing. This is not true. In signing this petition we wish to emphasize we are not against integration; just opposed to forced busing of our school children.

Though many members were upset at Monroe's actions, a surprisingly large number resented the petition. Though it was tacked up on a wall for all to see and sign if they wanted, only a very small percentage actually signed it. Besides receiving calls from distraught parishioners, some suggesting he leave town, he received a number of letters questioning his behavior. Most of the hostile letters were unsigned. One such letter said, in part:

It is such a shame that you want to do things to hurt our church, and to make us look bad to everyone else. Why don't you move your family to their side of town if you want to work with colored people? There is enough without you doing those things. You are a messenger of God's word, not a politician or sociologist!

Another anonymous writer included a copy of a newspaper in

the material he sent to Monroe. This person said:

Having read about your activities involving all this integration stuff I find your actions extreme and against the thoughts of most Americans. Perhaps you have not had a chance to read about what intelligent people are saying about race mixing so I am enclosing a publication called "Thunderbolt" which will enlighten you. Follow along with your Holy Bible to learn the truth...

Reverend Monroe scanned the newspaper, Thunderbolt, published by a White Citizens Council in Marietta, Georgia. Reverend Monroe had seen this kind of paper before but still felt anger. Articles dealt with blacks raping white women, Jewish conspiracies and dangers of race mixing. One article began:

The U. S. Constitution is being used to destroy our people - the white race. Thus historical work of our forefathers was designed to foster and preserve our white heritage, our white nation and our white race. It was never intended to create rights for Negroes who were considered property...

At times Ted Monroe wondered if he could continue to work for folks who appeared to him to be such hypocrites. "It's hard to love some people some times," he confided to a friend. Yet he continued to respond to his people with love and respect. As an example, he received a letter from a grandmother, expressing confusion and fear over his behavior. Monroe, appreciating the fact that the woman identified herself, read her words carefully and responded as follows:

Thank you for your letter... I am sorry you are upset and that evidently misunderstood my statements, either in the newspaper or in our services...

I did say a great deal about the importance of Christians helping unite our community. I see helping frightened parents and children find God's strength so they may see all peoples in a positive way. I am talking about LOVE. May God help you to understand. Thank you for writing.

God loves you and I love you too.

Monroe, through this letter and other actions, reflected his sensitivity and acceptance of those who opposed his position. He has remained at the church, supported by some members and tolerated by others. He continues to express his views openly.

The third case brings into focus additional church related considerations which fit within the framework of school integration; addressing itself to the dynamics involved in a large church's decision to house what has been called by some a "white-flight" school. The reasons are complex and cannot be explained in simplistic terms such as "good, bad, right or wrong."

Case C - We're Not Racist, We're Just Broke

The Fourth Avenue Christ Church had been considered a wealthy institution for many years. Through the charisma and leadership of Dr. L. L. Cornfield the church had expanded tremendously in the early 1960's; attracting wealthy members. The year 1964 saw an ambitious building program begin including the construction of a beautiful chapel complete with a gold colored dome. The expense was great but it was felt such a structure, coupled with Dr. Cornfield's name, would enhance membership.

Dr. Cornfield died suddenly. The assistant pastor filled in while a new man was being sought but he lacked the ability to pull the congregation together. A new pastor was hired, but like the assistant, could not compare in the congregations' eyes to Cornfield. In less than two years after Cornfield's death, what had been the fastest growing religious institution in the city now found itself in serious difficulty. Membership had dropped and the church found itself in

serious financial stress. Factions developed which some members blamed on the new pastor. Others accused the elders of undermining the church by having approved the expensive building program several years earlier. The minister and the elders found that much of their energy was expended in trying to raise enough money to pay off the mortgage.

During this period (1969) as the church struggled to find a solution, the public schools, likewise, were in a crisis in Oklahoma City. The Federal Judge had ordered the implementation of the "Cluster Plan," resulting in a number of parents searching for private schools. Affluent northwest Oklahoma City parents pulled together educational consultants and developed an idea for a private school in that sector. Unlike many similar projects which never got off the drawing board, this proposed school was promised financial support necessary for functioning.

The new school faced the problem of locating a suitable facility which could be quickly adapted to educational purposes. The elders of Fourth Avenue Christ Church were approached by the directors of the proposed new school with an offer to rent space. Christ Church had plenty of room and desperately needed money, thus a business agreement was sealed and Conway Manor was born.

Not all members were pleased with the agreement. From its inception the new school had the reputation of being an escape valve for those wishing to avoid sending their youngsters to desegregated schools. Those members opposed to the church's association with Conway Manor insisted that it would suffer in the long run, because of

being seen as an anti-integration institution. Others, while agreeing that the image of the church might be slightly tarnished, countered that it was just a matter of money - an unfortunate necessity. A third group of parishioners opposed to school desegregation, voiced the opinion that the church was, in fact, helping to provide a necessary service to children and parents.

Nearly four years after its creation, Conway Manor is still partially located at the church and appears to be on solid financial footing. Although the school has demonstrated academic excellence it still carries the controversial image of being a haven for anti-integrationists.

Discussion

Concerning the role of the church in relation to school integration the situation in Oklahoma has been similar to what has transpired in other areas of the country, particularly in the south. Campbell and Pettigrew's (1959) description of the attitudes and behavior of ministers in Little Rock seems to relate to the local situation. Here, as in Arkansas, it was found that some became active supporters of integration causes. The majority of the churches in Oklahoma remain racially segregated. Clark (1963) finds that most religious institutions across the country are segregated. The majority of churches in Oklahoma City assumed a neutral, hands off, stand on school desegregation. Young (1969) complained of this being the case nationwide.

In describing the situation locally, a black pastor stated:

The present day church has taken a forward step only after it

has been sanctioned by the Federal or local government. During anti busing rallies last fall, some of the "anti" leaders were white ministers. In fact, after these rallies began to fizzle - they couldn't get anybody out anymore - one white preacher came to the forefront of efforts to renew interest. He challenged me to a debate, hinting we could all make a little money in the deal. I realized we were dealing with a bunch of nuts and kooks involved in religious covered moral insanity (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973).

From the foregoing cases it is seen that a few religious leaders in the city played a significant role in calming the hostilities and in demonstrating support for the Oklahoma City School System. A group of leaders were willing to call a meeting to discuss a course of action. Yet as Case A illustrates, the actual number who even attended the meeting was small. As of October 1, 1973, there were at least 590 churches in the Greater Oklahoma City Area yet less than 40 pastors, priests and rabbis attended the meeting discussed in the first case. A representative of a church oriented action group reports they contacted over 60 pastors to ask if they might make a brief plea from the pulpit for support of the schools. Eighty seven percent of those contacted rejected the request, most expressing concern over the potential reactions of their congregation (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 16, 1973). Only a few, like Reverend Monroe, Reverend Washington and a few others saw their involvement in the racial issue as an intricate part of their duties as Christian leaders.

It should be noted that no strong alliance of ministers exists in Oklahoma City at this time and a sense of isolation predominates, according to one minister (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 21, 1973). Another minister is of the opinion that it

is nearly impossible to get ministers together for anything. "They just don't communicate with each other," he concluded (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 19, 1973).

A well known religious leader noted for his outspoken stand on other issues, reported he could name few others who worked in support of the schools (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 16, 1973). A white pastor whose congregation is well integrated, felt that few of the black ministers who were active during the 1969 sanitation strike, have spoken in favor of busing or the Finger Plan (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 20, 1973).

The second case relates the experiences of a man who sees commitment to social action as part of his job as a pastor and a Christian. He not only involved himself in supporting the schools and the concept of racial intermingling, but chose to continue to remind his congregation of their responsibilities during his sermons. One white minister as active as Reverend Monroe, shared his feelings of frustration, after receiving hate mail and irrate phone calls when he said: "I can't say these letters don't bother me. Sometimes I wonder if I am the one who is crazy; so many people in my church feel so much different than I do" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 22, 1973).

In line with Monroe's commitment to social problems, it may be noted that at least factions within certain denominations are devoting considerable energy to the broad area of human relations. The Lutheran Human Relations Association, working out of Valparaiso

University, sent this writer dozens of books and newsletters devoted to the alleviation of social problems. These publications urge church leaders to address themselves to today's social ills (cf. Lutze, 1966). This groups' tremendous emphasis upon social issues illustrates the inclusion of new types of curriculum for ministerial study. Locally many ministers are becoming involved in social issues such as education, drug problems and issues related to poverty.

Case C discusses a complex series of factors relating to a church's role in setting up private schools. One cannot simply read Young (1969) or Clark (1963) and then point to the Fourth Avenue Christ Church as a racist institution. The housing of private schools in church buildings is not unique to Oklahoma City (See Morris, 1971, concerning Yazoo, Miss.). A member of a church in Oklahoma City which houses a private school on its premises says:

There were a lot of things leading to the decision to accept a private school in our church. First, there is a huge debt still owed on the buildings; the school meant money. Second, there was considerable space which was not being utilized. Finally, to be honest, there are influential members who are greatly opposed to busing and are pleased our church has the school here.

As is the case with the other components, the role of the church is interconnected with many other elements including racism, economics, politics, and as shown here, education. The church has been and continues to be a significant force in Oklahoma City.

Training Guide - The Role of the Church

1. How does the church appear to condone continued racism?
2. People suggest the role of the minister should be to save souls and "minister" to the congregation. Discuss.

3. Why might a pastor feel he would not have the freedom to express his pro-integration views to his parishioners? Discuss all ramifications, i.e. membership size, economics, etc.

4. It is suggested that the church should be a place where its members might feel comfortable in attending and should have the right to demand their minister stay within the framework of traditional topics for the benefit of the members. What does this mean? Discuss both sides.

5. Argue both sides of the question whether the ministers had a right to volunteer to walk the halls of the troubled schools.

6. Reverend Monroe felt a responsibility to continue to tell his congregation they should do things they did not want to do. What right does he have to do that?

7. What reasons might a person have to send letters to a minister, such as those received by Reverend Monroe? Study the dynamics, i.e. fear, anger, confusion.

8. What might the reasons be for ministers generally not forming an alliance or remaining isolated? What problems might this cause? What benefits might be derived from such an alliance?

9. Why might it be that many black ministers, active during the sanitation strike, have been silent in the school desegregation issue?

Component Six

Education

The topic of education as it relates to school desegregation is part of a complex web of interaction. So broad is this subject

area and so interwoven with community attitudes and tradition that it is extremely difficult to narrow the selection of the material to be presented. Further studies might evolve out of such topics as fear of blacks by white students, parents, teachers, and administrators, and black teachers' inexperience with white students, teachers and parents. Also, the inability of white teachers to understand the life-style of low-income people, black students desire to return to predominantly black schools, and dynamics of the self fulfilling prophecy, are subjects of importance.

Oklahoma City is not the only city to have suffered through school desegregation problems (Morris, 1971; Crain, 1968; The Petal Papers, December, 1971; Documentary on Busing, Channel 9, KWTW, August, 1972). Nationally, as reported in an earlier section, school desegregation has been a potent political issue at all levels. Social scientists, such as David Armor, reported in Goodall (1972) and Glaser (1972) have each built cases against busing without suggesting alternative ways to achieve racial mixing. Glaser (1972) even suggests the courts have restricted the rights of white people by their decisions to integrate schools.

Let me suggest that even though the Civil Rights lawyers may feel that in advocating measures like these they are in the direct line of Brown, something very peculiar has happened when the main import of an argument changes from an effort to expand freedom to an effort to restrict freedom (p. 45).

Glaser further insists that the courts ordering of desegregation will have little lasting effect because people will not respond to being forced. This statement sounds similar to the line of thinking noted in the majority decision in Plessy V. Ferguson (1895).

Such attitudes have been countered by others who see "busing" as only a "smoke screen" covering the real issues of racial prejudice (Sherriff & Clark, 1970).

As the five previous components have illustrated, the Oklahoma City Schools have been in a crisis concerning school desegregation. The cases which follow represent a wide range of situations which have effected the school system. The first case took place on February 2, 1972, the day the Finger Plan was announced in the newspapers.

Case A - Why Are They Doing This to Us?

Assistant Principal Wade Fellows and four white teachers were seated in the teacher's lounge, the morning paper spread out before them. "Well, it looks like we're going to get it now," Fellows mumbled. "How come us? How come we get students from four black schools next year? Jenson Junior High only gets two." "Why?" asked a male teacher.

"At least we aren't getting any from Dardnell Elementary (an all black school in the lowest socio-economic area). Guess we can be thankful for that," Fellows stated. A young male teacher asked Fellows if it were true that assistant principals would be carrying guns next near? Another asked, "Why are we getting all the colored kids?" A young female whispered, almost to herself, "Guess I won't be teaching here next year."

Two white teachers entered, Sheila Cox, a young, first year teacher and Mildred Leigh, a veteran of some 16 years. One of those already seated laughingly asked, "Hey Sheila, you going to buy a

chastity belt or brass knuckles?" Miss Leigh, frowning at the newspaper said to Fellows, "Its a darn shame. Our college prep classes will dwindle next year, you can be sure."

Tommy Watson, a young black teacher entered. "Hi Tommy," one of the whites said. "How's everhthing?" Fellows folded his paper as he got up. The conversation ended.

These teachers were not prepared for the influx of black students. Comments overheard reflected attitudes which would make it difficult to make blacks feel welcome. Such comments were heard at several schools during this period of time. The next case switches to patron concerns about students being bused across the city, a number of miles from home. Not all who were opposed to the plan can be labeled "bigots." Again simplistic answers are inappropriate.

Case B - All Are Not Bigots

In 1970, black attorney Leroy Davis, his wife and three children purchased a home within three blocks of both an elementary school and a high school, the proximity to schools being one of the important factors in the selection. The Davis' had always been active in school affairs and felt it was easier for their youngsters to participate if they were located near the schools.

With school about to begin under the Finger Plan, the Davis' realized none of their children would be attending the schools nearby. The older boy would be going to a far southside high school, a number of miles away. The white community surrounding the high school in which their son would attend had made it clear they did not welcome the Finger Plan. A leading champion of neighborhood schools, a school

board member, continued to predict that the system would be in shambles.

Davis and his wife were worried and stated to a friend:

We do not approve of this plan. It is too radical and places the burden on black kids. We bought our house to be near schools, now find none of our kids will be in these places. It isn't fair but we are going to obey the law. We'll help make it work. I just hope white parents will do the same. We aren't bigots but we have to worry when whites at Capital Hill and those places threaten our kids.

Despite the fears of patrons, black and white, it became increasingly clear that the system would open under the new desegregation plan because the court was not going to back off from its February 1, 1972 order. Tragically, very little was done to prepare teachers, parents, or students for the opening. The school board kept appealing to the Circuit Court in Denver to overturn the order, few human relations workshops were offered, and school opened in September with the system unprepared. Many teachers still had the fears and misconceptions reflected in Case A. Certain patrons and anti busing leaders appeared to try and sabotage any positive efforts to keep calm, but school did open. The next case begins a series of composite examples of incidents and attitudes occurring in the schools.

Case C - We Don't Need More Human Relations Training, Just a Bigger Paddle

At the weekly faculty meeting, principal Mac Winslow passed out a memo he had written to the entire faculty which said:

The Title IV training staff, the Human Relations training arm of the school system is offering a two day workshop for our staff at Texhoma Lodge, the weekend of October 7. The purpose is for us to address ourself to problems brought on by the new school desegregation plan and to search for ways to make it

work. You will receive a small stipend.

I am sincerely interested in all of us attending because I realize we have communication breakdowns in our school and we are all under pressure. Though I can't insist you attend, I strongly urge you to do so.

John Witherman, a young first year teacher was surprised at some of the comments such as:

"Here he goes again, wanting us to run off on our own time and play silly games. If he'd just use his paddle on those colored guys and some whites too, we'd not have trouble."

"I'm tired of not getting support from Winslow; he tells us to try and handle it in class. What's he there for?"

"I'd have this school shaped up in a couple of days. I'd whip those big boys; not tell us to go for a dumb workshop."

"Those goofballs from Title IV are going to try and give us all that crap about listening to one another and to the kids. Then lay that group therapy on us; wave their magic wand over us. They don't even teach but they're going to tell us what we should do."

"I think it's great, I mean we need this kind of thing. But the problem is that the converted always attend - you know, those who kind of dig this idea of sharing. But those who really need it, the up-tight ones, usually don't go."

Winslow walked towards his office at the conclusion of the meeting, saying to his assistant, "I'll bet I can name you five teachers who will be here by tomorrow morning telling me why they can't go to the workshop; a few others will make damn sure something comes up at the last minute." Approximately 50 percent attended.

Anything new is often resented by people, particularly those in more traditional professional roles. Human relations training has been perceived as a threat by many educators because it focuses on the teacher himself, his attitudes and prejudices. Many claim more such training is imperative if teachers are to be prepared to work in desegregated settings. Yet principals have not been given authority

to insist all the faculty attend and it remains voluntary. Real problems, such as in the next case, are present. Only sensitive, positive thinking people will solve them.

Case D - They Hold Us Back

Miss Dotty Carson faced her class of 40 students determined to work with each one. A number of students in this eleventh grade science class had been in this same school the previous year and they had taken the prerequisites. But none of the seven black nor eight new white youngsters had been here before. Only one of the black and two of the new white students had taken a suitable prerequisite. All but two black students failed the first test as did half the eight new whites. The seven blacks told Miss Carson that they were unfamiliar with the subject matter she was presenting. A few of the older teachers in whom she confided told her she should expect "blacks can't do the work, generally. They just can't keep up."

Miss Carson decided to go a bit slower to allow those who had fallen behind to catch up. However, she became aware of complaints by some of the higher achievers who felt they "were being cheated." Mr. Colby, the principal called her into his office to say that several white parents had complained that their youngsters needed that course for college and that they were being penalized because of the "slower students." Two white students who appeared extremely open with blacks earlier in the year now were disillusioned. One said, "my parents and I used to have big arguments about blacks. They would say blacks were not as able and I would say they were. But now the blacks in this class not only make us go more slowly, they talk and

cut up too. I'm beginning to see my parent's side."

The teacher had noticed that several of the lower achievers had begun to talk, generally disrupting class. It was not just the blacks who caused problems; several whites were also disruptive. But she realized she noticed it more when blacks were responsible. One day she reprimanded a white student for talking. After class he came to her desk and asked, "How come you always jump on us whites but seem afraid to keep the black kids quiet?"

A totally frustrated Dotty Carson had to admit to herself that she had not felt comfortable in punishing blacks. An older assistant principal in whom Dotty Carson confided tried to ease her mind. "You aren't the only one having these problems. I frankly have told some of the white parents who have come in complaining that we just can't teach these colored kids at the same speed. I've told them my frustrations; I'm just tired of taking the blame for things I'm not responsible for."

By late November Miss Carson's class had settled down. The black students who were farthest behind no longer caused problems. They simply sat with their heads on their desks during the period or drew pictures. Dotty realized they were not keeping up, nor paying attention but she admitted to a friend, "I am embarrassed to say this but I let them sleep or draw. I can at least work with the other students. It isn't right but I don't know what else to do!"

Teachers feel isolated and confused, caught in a cross-fire between what they know they need to do and the realities of the situation. While parents, expecting the Finger Plan to fail, keep a close

eye on their youngster's progress, many teachers are becoming frustrated. Others, expecting the worst have expressed an "I told you so" attitude. Students are also caught in the cross-fire. The teacher in the following case, like Miss Dotty Carson in the previous case, wanted to succeed, but lack of experience and racial insensitivity interfered.

Case E - Identity Crisis

Mrs. Edith Rawlings, a young, white elementary teacher, perceived herself as liberal, always seeking new alternatives. However, she often felt herself isolated from the majority of the faculty, blaming this feeling on the fact that she was "more progressive and open." She chose to associate more with the black teachers in the building because she "could identify with their problems," yet most black teachers felt uncomfortable around her, seeing her as "a phony."

Wednesday of "Black Heritage Week," during the Spring of 1972, had been set aside for students to wear special clothing if they chose, to depict how they viewed their Heritage. Black principal L. C. Johnson arrived at school after 10:00 a.m. and was greeted by his secretary who asked, "Have you seen Rawlings yet?" Johnson replied he had not. The secretary said, "I can't describe what she's wearing, you've got to see for yourself. I'll tell you, the faculty is upset!"

Johnson entered Mrs. Rawlings' room and as he said later, "I didn't know whether to laugh or cry." Rawlings was dressed in a long cotton dress, reaching below her ankles and had on heavy make-up complete with bright red lipstick, painted on to make her lips look larger. On top of her head sat an oversized "Afro" wig. As Johnson

walked out of the room, a black teacher observed, "Man, if she doesn't look like a cross between BoBo the Clown and a whore..."

Other teachers told Johnson that even the children were laughing at Mrs. Rawlings but that she seemed insensitive to any of the negative responses. Johnson called her in at the end of the day. He had considered sending her home to change earlier, but decided that would make matters even worse. Johnson tried gently to explain the resentment the faculty felt and the probable antagonism which many parents would feel toward her. She simply suggested she was showing the black children she cared for them. "After all I am not too good to join them in their week just because I am white."

Mrs. Rawlings never quite understood and transferred to another school, which is not a solution to this type of a problem either. Mrs. Rawlings would have trouble teaching in any situation; racial differences just magnify the problem. The next case is similar. It shows when deep seated values are challenged, even those who try hardest may fail.

Case F - Perhaps I am Too Direct But...

Mrs. Tara McQueen, a talented, tireless second grade teacher had made great progress with her class, particularly with the black children. Despite being white and outspoken, Mrs. McQueen was respected by most black mothers because of her concern. The principal had often warned Mrs. McQueen to "be cool," but she said, "I believe in saying what I feel." Principal Gordon responded that honesty was fine, "but one of these mothers might be honest right back, with a chair over your head, if you keep pushing them."

One cold morning, Donnie Brown, a black student, entered

shivering; he was wearing torn pants, no coat and had no lunch money. Mrs. McQueen was enraged and immediately phoned Donnie's mother telling her it was urgent that she come to school right away. Mrs. McQueen had another teacher watch her room while she led Mrs. Brown to the vacant faculty cafeteria, and said:

Now Mrs. Brown, I guess I am honest...you know, direct. I am going to lay it out. I like Donnie and I am mad. I know you have five other children and I know you are on welfare, but Mrs. Brown, there is no excuse for sending him to school half naked. If you are concerned about your child you can budget your money better...

As Principal Paul Gordon commented to a friend later, "I think if I had not have walked by the careteria when I did, that mother would have killed McQueen. Here this mother has six kids, no husband, and probably been shafted by men, welfare workers and everyone else. She sure does not need any white teacher telling her she can do better."

Mrs. McQueen's sense of right and wrong interfered with her ability to logically think through a problem. Mrs. Brown, a black mother on welfare, saw a white, middle class woman questioning her worth as a mother and a person. Again this may point out the need for human relations training. The next case addresses itself to the difficult area of "intimidation" - fear.

Case G - Intimidation

Assistant Principal Russell Carr sat down at his desk, alone at last. Now maybe he could figure out what had happened. Mr. Weakland had just left with his son Randy and he was angry. Weakland, had reported a somewhat confusing story of some big black students knocking Randy, a small, white, ninth grader into the wall. Carr

knew some of the blacks who were allegedly involved and doubted the story. After talking to teachers on hall duty, plus several students he filed this report, in part:

As Randy Weakland was walking toward Miss Fern's class yesterday, fourth hour, he walked by five blacks, standing almost in front of the door. These five were laughing and "cutting up." Joslin pushed Rogers on the shoulder lightly just as the Weakland boy went by; Weakland tripped and fell into the wall. Don't think any of the five even saw him as they kept laughing until a teacher, Gary Torly asked them to get into class. The Weakland boy was not hurt but apparently became frightened. He told his father he had been hit and shoved. Evidence shows no overt or purposeful hostility.

When students are conditioned to expect trouble, they are likely to find it. Parents will be convinced there is trouble at the slightest hint. Black students may view an innocent contact as a hostile act and whites may interpret a scowl on a black face as a sign of anger. The next case illustrates problems which have occurred because blacks have been unable to identify with the schools they are now attending and whites have continued to view blacks as outsiders in these schools.

Case H - Our School!

Police were everywhere in the aftermath of a brief but noisy outbreak of hostilities at Southgate High. Representatives of the media were there and parents were swarming through the building trying to locate their youngsters. By early afternoon a large number of students had left school.

The following morning, a large group of white students met in the auditorium with the press present to air their complaints. Some of the grievances were 1) the school is not safe for whites;

2) the administration can not protect the students; 3) teachers and administration are afraid of blacks; 4) administration uses double standards of discipline with blacks "getting away with murder"; 5) blacks stick together and take over areas of the school, excluding whites.

Amid cheers from his peers a student leader exclaimed: "it just isn't right. The blacks come over to our school and try to run things, to run over us. They get away with murder and nothing is done. We're sick of it!"

A black student leader, an athlete, analyzed the situation from his perspective, trying to understand both sides. He said:

Why do we stick together? There are but 300 of us and 1600 or more whites. We have to protect ourselves. We aren't wanted here. When I went out for football the white guys wouldn't block. You know they want their buddies to look good. The coach caught on and things got better.

To be honest, it isn't all the white's fault. I know some black guys who admit they try to cause trouble. Some think if we cause a hassle we can go back to Douglass.

A black administrator at the troubled school explained:

I can't put all the blame on the white kids because blacks have started trouble, but realize this is a hostile environment. Blacks came here from predominantly black schools. These white schools have their rules and traditions. I don't feel this school has tried to bend at all. All the burden is placed on the blacks to change. Realize too that blacks are really visible here, they can't hide. Many white students go all day with just one or two blacks in their class. But a black student is surrounded by whites all day. It's tough.

Case I - I Am Being Discriminated Against

Nate Wilson, a black senior with a history of fighting, disrupting class, threatening teachers and who has vowed to smash any "honky in my way," is finally suspended. Nate and his mother, who

has refused to talk to anyone at the school previously, now are screaming prejudice. "I am going to get a lawyer," Mrs. Wilson vowed.

Discussion

The cases and discussion presented in this component clearly show the variety of concerns affecting education in 1973. As noted at the beginning of this subject area, the fact that school desegregation has caused turmoil in the community is not unique to this city. Fifteen years ago Leffer and Davis (1958) astutely predicted techniques which state and local governments would employ to avoid or delay compliance with court orders concerning school desegregation.

In comparing Oklahoma City's attitudes toward compliance with school desegregation orders with other areas, it appears that Oklahoma City has perhaps responded more slowly (cf. Crain, 1968; The Petal Papers, December 1971; Morris, 1971).

The first case situation was derived from an observation in one of the schools (Personal Observation, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 2, 1972). It illustrates the fear teachers and administrators had at the prospect of facing an influx of blacks, a general feeling of being imposed upon because this school would receive more blacks than some others. Further the case showed a lack of positive leadership by the assistant principal (he has resigned to go to a rural system), a lack of sensitivity and ignorance by some personnel, i.e. still saying "colored," the reference to a chastity belt for a young, white teacher, and the belief by some teachers that blacks

generally are inferior students.

It was obvious to observers close to the situation that the school board and school officials needed to take firm, positive steps in the spring and summer of 1972 in order to prepare for the opening of school, but no such action transpired (The Oklahoma Observer, September 25, 1972). A reporter close to the scene felt the board's continued appeals to a higher court and lack of initiative caused many patrons to feel the Judge's Order would be revoked (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 8, 1973). Thus neither the school system or community at large were mentally or physically prepared to implement the Finger Plan when school opened.

Case B demonstrates the fact that stereotyping and simplistic answers are inappropriate, by noting that many families purchased homes to be near schools, not to avoid integration. Not everyone who dislikes having their youngsters bused are bigots. Publicity and political rhetoric during the spring and summer of 1972 caused panic among parents, resulting in additional problems. Blacks as well as whites were concerned about the results of the Finger Plan.

A local newsman pointed out that many people feel to live near schools is an indication that they are concerned parents. It doesn't always mean they are against integration. He continued, "It's just as dangerous to go around calling everyone bigots as it is for the bigots to voice the rhetoric" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 23, 1973).

Some people are surprised when they hear blacks opposing mass busing. "But blacks feel their children are having to carry much of the burden," reported a black leader (Personal Communication,

Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973). A black mother stated: "Some whites wonder why we are so concerned. Well we love our kids as much as they love theirs. We hear what whites are saying and we are concerned for our babies' safety" (Personal Communication, Anonymous, October 4, 1972).

The difficulty in attempting to find viable solutions to the changing of attitudes was expressed in Case C. This situation shows that principals do not have the power, as of this date, to force their faculty to attend workshops and, in fact, a few principals themselves refuse to attend. Many teachers find these human relations experiences irrelevant, some seeing such seminars as a poor alternative to simply beating and/or suspending students. Teachers often feel the administrators are too lenient in disciplinary matters, making it tougher to teach. Many who subscribe to more discipline resent Title IV (the human relations branch) because the trainers are not now teaching, thus may not know the "real problems."

Principals have felt frustrated at not having the power to pull their faculties together for workshops. A high school administrator indicated that he knew which faculty members would not attend, although they were most in need of the workshops (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 16, 1973). A black principal reported that he felt it essential to get his faculty together and confront serious issues if real learning was to take place (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 19, 1973).

Some observers close to the school situation have insisted that the school administration should take a firm stand in training teachers. A black community spokesman, while stating that better

training is essential, doubted it would happen without community pressure because:

For the school system to implement a massive human relations training program at this time, for all personnel, would be an admission that this school system is not prepared for teaching in 1973. I doubt the school board would want to face that (Personal Communication, Anonymous Oklahoma City, February 28, 1973).

Another person close to the school system agreed with the worth of such training, but viewed statements such as the above as unfair. He pointed out the difficulty in finding time to hold training; that teachers are tired at the end of their work day and have family obligations on week-ends (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 3, 1973). Nonetheless, these issues must be faced.

Case D provided insight into the multitude of problems faced by classroom teachers. This example emphasized that teachers with large classes (35 to 40) must try and individualize instruction. Students coming from certain schools appear academically deficient and some teachers, through ignorance, believe blacks cannot compete academically with whites. Students realizing they are being slowed down because of being in class with lower achievers feel cheated. Also this case showed that some white teachers tend to ignore disruptive behavior of blacks either because of fear or lack of concern. White students thus perceive a system of discipline which espouses a double standard.

While it is a mammoth task for a teacher to attempt to work with a large class where students' ability and/or academic experience fall along a wide spectrum, this points out a weakness in the

traditional approach to teaching - the failure to individualize learning experiences. A former principal in Oklahoma City said:

If the schools insisted teachers do what they should be doing, namely individualizing instruction, problems would be partially eliminated. But we still go back to our single lesson plans and self contained classroom concept. Unless this school administration becomes serious about training teachers to work with kids individually, just a whole lot of these youngsters will be lost, as they are now (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 27, 1973).

As some black students fall further behind, their frustrations increase and soon they become discipline problems. While the same thing can be said about whites, the blacks are the visible ones as they are "on trial" in schools that were previously all white. Their disruptive behavior antagonizes white teachers and white students alike. Whites and blacks in many cases have increased racial prejudice because of everyday contact. A white high school teacher admits he has seen increased tensions between the races as his human relations class has progressed during the year (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 29, 1973) but added "such contact is eventually going to pay off."

The subject of the quality of education received in some predominantly black schools is an extremely sensitive subject, but it must be discussed. Two male teachers who taught last year at an all black school agreed it was not a good learning environment. One stated:

I am not one who likes using the paddle. But with no support from the principal and assistant, I literally beat 60 percent to teach 40 percent. I would go home and cry. The school fed "into the street mentality" to the kids. I am so happy to be at my new school. Many of those who were failing badly last year at the other school are doing alright now.

It may sound prejudiced, but the black school I was in was detrimental to students (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 22, 1973).

This writer observed that in some black schools the emphasis was placed on keeping some semblance of order rather than maintaining an environment for learning. Parents who are potentially great resources, particularly in low income schools, were discouraged from coming to school. A black assistant principal reflected his attitude toward parents and students when he addressed a large P.T.A. gathering:

Most parents don't realize what happens here; what we have to tolerate. You should come up just to see our problems then maybe some of you wouldn't jump on us so quickly when we paddle your kid. Come up, hang around a few minutes, you'll see (Personal Observation, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 6, 1972).

The case concerning Edith Rawlings' over identification with her black students simply illustrates some of the bizzare situations which have arisen in the schools. Briefly, this case also discusses how teachers, supposedly committed to integration, still lack necessary sensitivity. A white trying to act black does no good and actions such as those by Ms. Rawlings may well manifest covert prejudices or at least ignorance, perhaps prompting blacks to ask if she sees them as ridiculous looking people.

The principal in this case felt he never was able to make the teacher understand why her attempt at getting close to her black students failed. He noted that this particular teacher transferred to another school but her behavior remained the same (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 19, 1973).

The same principal who was involved in the above case also dealt with Case F. He said he felt this example was relevant because

it pointed out that some whites cannot accept the fact that black parents are as concerned as whites about their children. Also he suggested that the color factor is always present. Mrs. Brown saw a white authority figure criticizing her and could not tolerate that.

The fact that blacks and whites intimidate each other should not be surprising. As earlier cases showed, "race" is an explosive ingredient which may blow even the smallest incident out of proportion. A black accidentally bumping into a white has ignited hostilities. Parents perhaps reflecting their own attitudes, have viewed many incidents as racial. The self fulfilling prophecy again assumes importance. A situation very similar to that depicted in Case G was observed and followed by a former newsman (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 8, 1973).

The eighth case talks about a number of factors including the real fear of physical harm at the hands of blacks, the identification by whites of Southgate High being "our school" and the reality that some teachers and administrators let blacks "slide by," i.e. a double standard. White's concern over blacks "sticking together" along with the valid reasons blacks do, the fact that a few blacks wish to start trouble and the tremendous adjustment black students must make to succeed in predominantly white schools with histories of black hatred, also have been dealt with.

Incidents such as those described have occurred in several schools (See Appendix D). It is to the School Administration's credit that it has sought to face these incidents quickly. In the student meeting described in The Daily Oklahoman, February 28, 1973,

Superintendent Dr. Bill Lillard spoke to the group and helped alleviate fears. Teachers admit they fear blacks. One white teacher confessed she would feel comfortable in telling a group of whites to disperse but not a gathering of blacks (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, February 23, 1973).

A veteran black educator warned that not all the difficulties should be blamed on the white students or teachers. He said that many black students "are more concerned with acting tough than with learning (Personal Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, March 3, 1973).

Teachers are concerned because without proper training they have been thrown into a situation which is volatile. Their comments demonstrate the wide range of problems which they face (See Appendix E).

The final case brings into focus how the racial issue may cloud the real problems. Blacks may cry "discrimination" when confronted with their negative behavior and white students when disciplined by black teachers may do the same thing. It is a problem which defies simplistic solutions.

The Finger Plan has provided the opportunity for integration. The mere presence of blacks and whites in the same vicinity does not insure racial integration. Teachers have not always provided the leadership essential for making strides toward racial mixing. Appendix F is a sociogram of the seating arrangement generally seen in the faculty lunch room and in faculty meetings at one local high school. It shows the lack of interaction between various factions and was provided by a teacher at the school (Personal

Communication, Anonymous, Oklahoma City, January 29, 1973). Teachers must be role models for the students. Too often they are negative models.

What has been established here is the tremendous influence other components have on this component. Deep seated racism is at the core of the problems faced today by the school system. Segregated housing conditions in the past have resulted in segregated schools. For the most part schools would remain segregated locally, were it not for the school desegregation plan.

Economics has great meaning for education. The influential, wealthy members of the business community could have been a positive force in local education, yet most have ignored the school system during the desegregation crisis. Economic reprisals were feared by businessmen which might have been a potential white "back lash."

Politics transcends all elements of community life. The school system, already staggering, was not helped by the rhetoric of some politicians, including certain school board members. At a time when the schools desperately needed positive support, the crisis was exploited by those seeking political gain.

A small number of ministers, some facing condemnation by their own congregation, rallied to the aid of the Oklahoma City School System during the fall of 1972. A few continued their support, while others actively engage in anti-busing and anti-desegregation demonstrations. Several churches either sponsored private schools or at least provided space for schools set up to provide an alternative to the desegregated public schools.

Educational Guide - Education

1. Discuss Glaser's statements suggesting that efforts are changing from an effort to expand freedom to an effort to restrict freedom.
2. Had Tommy Watson, the black teacher, entered the cafeteria a few minutes earlier, how might he have felt?
3. Discuss the statement, "All parents who purchase a home near a school so that their youngsters may attend that school are not bigots."
4. Why might a teacher become discouraged at having to attend human relations workshops? How might those who run the workshop counteract the criticism?
5. Discuss all factors relating to the statement by white students: "The blacks in our class hold us back!"
6. Why might a black student be more noticable to a white teacher when that student misbehaves?
7. How might teacher Tara McQueen have better handled the situation with Donnie Brown's mother? (Case F). What feelings might Mrs. Brown have had?
8. Discuss various ways black and white students might consciously or unconsciously intimidate each other.
9. Discuss all ramifications of the statement "Our School."
10. Bring into ecological perspective those previous components with the component "education."
11. Discuss alternatives to the Finger Plan.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, a number of variables (components) have been integrated in a systematic way, through utilization of the case study method. The ecosystem, any unit that includes all of the organisms (i.e., "community") interacting with the physical environment, for the purposes of this investigation, is the Oklahoma City School Attendance Area. This concept is the central theme in ecology and the school attendance area is central to this study. The concept ecosystem is a broad one which emphasizes obligatory relationships and interdependence.

To view the Oklahoma City School Attendance Area as an ecological system is to allow it to be seen as a whole rather than as but a series of independent parts. The various components related to this system make little sense when separated. However, seen as a whole the various parts of the system bind together to present a clear picture.

The present school situation and related judicial decisions are better understood having been viewed from a broad perspective, that is, having looked at the macroscopic view rather than one or two isolated variables. As an example, the subject "Forced Busing" has often been isolated as an issue and treated as an independent problem. However, "busing," as considered in the present investigation,

has been seen as but one of many factors which has interacted with other variables.

Although the ecological concepts of holism, interdependence and interrelationships have been stressed, additional principles have presented themselves in the analysis of the ecological system. A review of the history of race relations in the State and in the City has shown how, traditionally, white law makers developed laws which controlled the social, political, economic and educational lives of black people. By his actions, the white man has mandated the narrow niche within which the black man has been allowed to function. Such actions may also point out the concept of territoriality, i.e., any active mechanism that spaces individuals or groups apart from one another.

Another example of the concept "niche" appeared in the component "role of the church." Here it was discovered that various ministers were having to struggle with the scope of their roles. Some chose to define their role narrowly while others saw their function as encompassing social action.

The components "community economics" and "housing-real estate" provided examples of the ecological principle called adaptation as these systems struggled with the stress of change. Competition, yet another ecological principle referring to the interaction of two or more species striving for the same thing, was demonstrated historically by blacks and whites competing for the same jobs and the same educational opportunities. Particularly in the South, political figures have utilized this principle in order to maintain white votes. Locally,

white politicians have used the issues of school desegregation to widen the breach between white and black in order to gain votes.

Housing patterns have been explained through the concepts of succession and invasion. Succession means the cyclic change in a human population and invasion refers to the process of group displacement. As blacks have moved into certain areas of Oklahoma City, particularly older areas in which deterioration of buildings have taken place, whites have left these areas. These areas have been described in preceding components. Some whites have left because these areas were deteriorating while others left because blacks had begun to appear. Residents of certain neighborhoods have attempted to negate this "invasion" through the use of restrictive covenants.

The "education" component, with its many dimensions including busing, race relations, teacher readiness, equal educational opportunities and discipline, has demonstrated the complex series of issues faced by the local schools. The full impact of the problems encountered by the school system can only be understood when it has been seen in the broad perspective. The problems facing the schools are so inter-related with other community factors that it would have been impossible to study those problems in isolation, thus the concept of the environmental web seems appropriate.

Traditionally, man has used the microscopic view in dealing with human problems looking at parts of the problem separately. In this study however, the attempt has been made to incorporate the ecological concept of holism. This concept suggests man step back, group parts, simplify concepts and begin to see the big pattern, i.e.,

the macroscopic view. In studying the Oklahoma City School Attendance Area as a system, the holistic approach has been the one attempted.

From this study certain generalized conclusions concerning process and content may be drawn.

- 1) An ecologic framework does provide a systematic, useful frame of reference.
- 2) An adequate study of school desegregation cannot be viewed from fragmented knowledge or partial understanding of the problems.
- 3) To apply the ecosystem approach to a social problem is a time consuming process which demands partialization or compartmentalization.
- 4) Problem solving may become effective and managable when compartmentalization is viewed in the context of the whole.

It is possible, as shown in Appendix I to pull the issues together in a training package without 1) so limiting information that it becomes sterile or 2) losing students in a maze of information. It is also possible to ask meaningful questions which help to provide direction such as those presented at the end of each component and to make recommendations to other school districts which may yet face a desegregation order. These recommendations include:

- 1) The school board and school administration must take positive measures toward implementing a desegregation plan. To hold back or predict doom only frightens parents and gives false hope to those wishing to prevent desegregation.
- 2) All teachers and school administrators should participate in human relations seminars during the summer to prepare for the new desegregation plan. Only mandatory participation will ensure that

those who may need it most will attend. Ongoing follow-up workshops are a must.

3) Parent workshops might help parents get over their fear of the unknown. Setting up parent participation in all schools will help alleviate fear.

4) Requesting that parents volunteer to ride the school buses will help alleviate parent fear and lessen the potential for difficulties on the buses.

5) Parents who have demonstrated interest in working with the schools may be hired as consultants. In this way those parents who do not normally have the money to pay for baby sitters, etc., may participate, thus insuring participation of all economic groups.

6) A parent advisory council should be set up for each school. These parents may spend time in the schools, meet with principals and teachers and help plan programs. This group would help develop workshops based on needs discovered by their involvement in the schools and could work toward getting other parents involved.

7) A community-wide effort is essential for the maintenance of a solid educational system. Teachers, students and school administrators cannot be expected to shoulder all the responsibility of solving complex problems relating to education and human relations.

The school year 1972-1973 has ended. Generally it is felt that the community was fortunate in avoiding real violence over the issue of school desegregation. Credit should be given to teachers and the administration. The tragedy is that in 1972-1973, this community had to come face to face with a situation to which it had failed to respond for over 12 years. Dr. Bill Lillard, Oklahoma City

Superintendent of Schools, in explaining why he chose to remain in this city rather than accept a similar position in Jacksonville, Florida stated that he felt this school system now needed "stability," which he could provide (Channel 5 News, 10:00 p.m. edition, May 6, 1973).

It seems strange that the school board and school system have failed to provide stability in 12 years, despite the urging of Judge Bohanon. The whole issue of education and school desegregation is so complex that officials appear to fall back on simplistic solutions rather than force themselves to continue to question and discover alternatives. Nothing short of a massive ecologic, community effort can hope to solve school problems. (An analysis of the 1972-1973 school year is presented in Appendix G.)

This study lends itself to many educational methods. In addition to the educational guides noted at the end of each component, simulation exercises seem appropriate and feasible. While the development of simulation models or games is beyond the scope of the present study, brief suggestions for utilizing such a model is included in Appendix K.

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APPENDIX A

The following article appeared in the Sunday Oklahoman, November 9, 1969.

DESEGREGATION FIGHT NEAR END?

Is the end finally in sight for Oklahoma City's marathon school desegregation?

School officials hope so, but they've got their fingers crossed.

Although they have filed their final long-range school integration plan with the federal court, in compliance with U.S. District Judge Luther Bohanon's order a number of things can happen to prolong the case.

For instance, Judge Bohanon could turn the plan down and call in representatives of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to devise another one. He has suggested that alternative.

And, if he does approve the desegregation plan, it is still subject to appeal in the higher courts by its opponents.

Also, there are still several loose ends to be resolved in the controversial case. One is the case of the Belle Isle intervenors now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Belle Isle group is opposing the school board's July 30 amended plan which changed school boundaries to send students from Belle Isle, Burbank, Monroe and parts of Nichols Hills and West Nichols Hills to Harding and Northeast.

Also still up in the air is an integration plan for the city's elementary schools. Judge Bohanon has given the school board until March 31, 1970, to prepare such a plan.

So, eight years after the original lawsuit was filed against the school board, there are still legal complications on the horizon. The long, drawn out case began in 1961.

In September of that year, Dr. A. L. Dowell, a Negro optometrist and now Ward 7 city councilman, requested that his son, Robert, be enrolled at Northeast High School, which has been integrated in 1960. The school board eventually approved the transfer on condition that young Dowell enroll in an electronics course not available at Douglass High School where he had been originally assigned.

Then, on October 10, 1961, Dowell filed a suit in federal court against the school board in behalf of his son. He charged the board with using a quota, double admittance standards and buffer zones to limit the number of Negroes in some city high schools.

For those who may have lost track of what's happened and where things stand now, here's a sequence of events in the racial

fuss:

October, 1961 - Suit filed in U.S. District Court, Dowell vs. School Board, charging quota and double admittance standards.

July, 1963 - Case eventually came to Judge Luther Bohanon, and he ruled in July, 1963, that only token integration had taken place and ordered full integration of pupils and teachers by the fall term.

January, 1964 - Oklahoma City School Board outlined a long-range desegregation policy.

February 28, 1964 - Judge Bohanon declined to approve or disapprove the policy. He asked the board to hire an expert non-biased outside person to study the policy and determine if it complied with the U.S. Supreme Court decision.

May, 1964 - The school board having declined to appoint an outside group. The court then appointed a three member team, nominated by the Dowell attorney, U. Simpson Tate, to make the study.

January 15, 1965 - Study by the three-man team filed in U.S. District Court.

September 7, 1965 - Judge Bohanon ordered desegregation of schools, teachers, administrators by 1966.

September 20, 1965 - School Board appealed Judge Bohanon's order to Tenth Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals.

January 23, 1967 - Appellate court in 2 to 1 decision affirmed Judge Bohanon's ruling.

February 9, 1967 - School Board petitioned U.S. Court of Appeals for re-hearing.

March 15, 1967 - Appellate Court denied re-hearing.

April 14, 1967 - School Board petitioned U.S. Supreme Court for writ of certiorari asking the tribunal to review Appellate Court's decision.

May 29, 1967 - U.S. Supreme Court denied writ.

June 29, 1967 - Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Bill Lillard, presented plan to Board of Education in compliance with court's order.

July 6, 1967 - Judge Bohanon set July 27 as date for hearing on school board implementation plan.

July 12, 1967 - Citizen-sponsored "free choice" enrollment plan filed in federal court by five parents requesting intervention.

July 19, 1967 - Judge Bohanon conducted a hearing on the proposed plan.

July 27, 1967 Judge Bohanon conducted a hearing on the proposed plan.

August 16, 1967 - A hearing was held on the plan by the court. Judge Bohanon issued a seven point order, Plan for Desegregation and Integration of the Oklahoma City Public Schools.

February 22, 1968 - The board filed a report of defendants on developments since approval of plan.

March 4, 1968 - E. Melvin Porter, attorney, filed response of plaintiffs to report of defendants on developments since approval on plan of February 23.

April 8, 1968 - The board of education authorized the appointment of a Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity in the Oklahoma City Public Schools.

April 3, 1969 - The committee presented an interim report to the school board containing first phase recommendations for further desegregation and integration.

May 30, 1969 - The board of education adopted as a policy "A Plan for desegregation and integration of Oklahoma City Public Schools - 1969-70."

June 12, 1969 - The board filed in court the report of defendants of plan for further desegregation and integration and asked to be heard on their plan.

June 16, 1969 - Judge Bohanon granted plaintiffs 20 days from June 12 to answer the board's plan.

June 24, 1969 - Calvin W. Hendrickson filed a motion to intervene on behalf of Stephen S. Sanger, Jr., as plaintiff on behalf of himself and all others similarly situated.

June 25, 1969 - Hendrickson filed in court a complaint for Plaintiff Sanger, on behalf of himself and all others similarly situated.

June 27, 1969 - William G. Smith filed a motion to intervene on behalf of intervening petitioners Renee Hendrickson, Bradford Hendrickson, Cindy Hendrickson and Teresa Hendrickson, minors and Donna P. Hendrickson, and all others similarly situated.

June 27, 1969 - George F. Short filed a motion to intervene on behalf of Jenny Mott McWilliams, a minor, and David Johnson McWilliams, a minor, who sue by William Robert McWilliams, their father and next friend, on behalf of themselves and all others similarly situated.

June 30, 1969 - A motion was filed by Archibald B. Hill, Jr. for extension of time within which to file answer to the Board's Plan of May 30, 1969.

July 2, 1969 - Judge Bohanon notified attorneys to meet for a pre-trial conference on July 7, 1969.

July 7, 1969 - Judge Bohanon denied the extension of time within which to file answer, requested on June 30, 1969.

July 7, 1969 - Judge Bohanon conducted a supplemental pre-trial conference to consider the written pre-trial order.

July 11, 1969 - Judge Bohanon instructed George F. Short that he would not be listed as an intervening defendant.

July 11, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued a pre-trial order and set the hearing on July 23.

July 16, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an order making County Superintendent of Schools and additional party defendant on a motion by J. Harry Johnson.

July 16, 1969 - Judge A. P. Murray issued an order-re-answer to a petition for a writ of the July 11 order.

July 22, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an amended pre-trial order to permit McWilliams to intervene.

July 25, 1969 - Judge Bohanon, after completing three-day hearing directed attorneys to prepare finding of facts and conclusion of Law and submit them with a brief to him by July 28.

July 25, 1969 - Judge Bohanon set July 29 to hear the arguments of counsel on the hearing of filed documents.

July 28, 1969 - W. R. Yinger and Virgil T. Hill filed a statement and recommendations in lieu of the brief proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law which had been filed by the attorney for the board of education.

July 29, 1969 - Telegram notice of intended appeal by attorney's Short and Buysi for intervenor Williams, Et. Al.

August 1, 1969 - Harry Johnson, attorney for the board, filed a supplement to the plan for further desegregation and integration. Judge Bohanon issued an order and decree in regard to the plan.

August 4, 1969 - Johnson received notice of intervenors from Belle Isle school attendance area represented by Guysi, Short and Thweatt, applying for a "stay" in Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals.

August 5, 1969 - Circuit court issued order to vacate the August 1 "order and decree" of Judge Bohanon and offered to Judge Bohanon the opportunity to consider sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and fashion his order accordingly.

August 8, 1969 - Attorney George S. Guysi served copy of August 5 appeal "motion for supplemental" in Court of Appeals.

August 8, 1969 - Attorney George L. Verity filed a brief in support of motion to intervene (McWilliams, Hendrickson, and Verity) in western district court of Oklahoma.

August 8, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an "order and decree," a clarification regarding the Appeals Courts reference to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Judge Bohanon also included a new "order and decree" for desegregating the public school system of Oklahoma City.

August 11, 1969 - Attorneys Short, Norman Reynolds and Guysi filed in the Court of Appeals a motion for reconsideration pending issuance of mandate or for other relief.

August 12, 1969 - Court of Appeals issued an order directing that a mandate is issued forthwith.

August 13, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an order and decree in response to the appeals court Order of August 12.

August 14, 1969 - Verity filed a motion to intervene on behalf of Taejemo Danzie.

August 14, 1969 - Guysi et. al. filed an application asking for a stay in the order and decree of Judge Bohanon dated August 13.

August 14, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an order denying the application for a stay.

August 14, 1969 - Attorneys Short, Reynolds and Guysi filed a motion in the Court of Appeals for a stay pending appeal.

August 14, 1969 - Verity filed a notice and consolidated motions of intervenors for stay pending appeal, also a mention of appeal in The Court of Appeals.

August 22, 1969 - Hearing was held on motion to stay.

August 27, 1969 - Court of Appeals issued a memorandum and order on motion to stay (Verity and Short, Reynolds and Guysi application for Stay).

August 29, 1969 - Supreme Court of United States (Justice William Brennan) ordered that a motion be granted which vacated an order of Court of Appeals, re-Guysi et. al. motion to stay of August 27, 1969.

September 2, 1969 - Supreme Court suspended the August 27 order of the Court of Appeals and reinstated the order of Judge Bohanon of August 13.

September 3, 1969 - Certiorari record was requested and mailed from Tenth Circuit to James Nahret (NAACP).

September 8, 1969 - Attorney Johnson filed in Bohanon Court a motion for extension of time in which to prepare comprehensive plan for desegregation.

September 8, 1969 - Superintendent Lillard responded to a request made to Dr. Virgil Hill by Judge Bohanon and wrote a letter to Judge Bohanon.

September 11, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an order in response to a motion for extension of time which was filed by Johnson on September 8.

September 12, 1969 - Board of Education acted to appeal and stay in Court of Appeals the district court order of August 13 and September 11.

September 17, 1969 - Attorneys Jack Greenberg III, John W. Walker, Archibald Hill and Calvin Hendrickson filed petition for a writ of certiorari in the United States Supreme Court.

September 23, 1969 - Attorneys Greenberg, Walker, Hill and Hendrickson filed in Court of Appeals a petition for rehearing with suggestion for rehearing.

September 30, 1969 - Johnson filed in the court of appeals an appeal to the August 13 order and decree of Judge Bohanon.

September 30, 1969 - Johnson filed in the court of appeal an appeal to the September 11 order of Judge Bohanon.

September 30, 1969 - Johnson filed in Bohanon court a motion to stay the August 13 order and decree, pending appeal.

September 30, 1969 - Johnson filed in U.S. district court a motion to stay the September 11 order, pending appeal.

October 1, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an order in response to board's motions to stay of the August 13 and the September 11 orders.

October 6, 1969 - Johnson filed in court of appeals a motion to stay the order and decree of August 13 by Judge Bohanon.

October 7, 1969 - Johnson filed in the circuit court a motion to stay pending appeal, requesting to stay the order entered on September 11.

October 6, 1969 - Board of education approved the appointment of attorney Leslie L. Conner, Sr. to assist in the court case.

October 9, 1969 - Johnson and Conner filed in the court of appeals a motion to stay the district court order of August 13.

October 9, 1969 - Johnson and Conner filed in the court of appeals a motion to stay the district court order of September 11.

October 13, 1969 - Attorneys Hendrickson, Hill, Walker, Greenberg, et al. filed a motion to vacate setting in court of appeals.

October 22, 1969 - The court of appeals responded to the boards motion to stay the August 13 and September 11 orders of the court.

October 24, 1969 - Johnson and Conner filed in the Supreme Court a motion for stay or to modify order of Justice Brennan of September 3.

October 24, 1969 - Johnson and Conners filed in supreme court a petition for writ for certiorari, regarding the motion for stay.

October 25, 1969 - Attorneys Greenberg, James Nabrit, Norman Chachkin, Walker, Hill and Hendrickson filed in supreme court a memorandum in oppositonn to motion for stay or to modify order of Justice Brennan dated September 3.

October 25, 1969 - E. P. Cullinan, chief deputy clerk of the Supreme Court, responded to board's motion of October 24, advised that Justice Brennan had denied the application.

October 29, 1969 - Johnson filed in U.S. district court a motion for extension of time in which to file Comprehensive Plan for Desegregation of Secondary Schools.

October 29, 1969 - Judge Bohanon issued an order, approving and granting an extension of time until November 7.

November 6, 1969 - Attorney Johnson filed in United States District Court the Oklahoma City Board of Education's Comprehensive Plan for Desegregation of Secondary Schools.

APPENDIX B

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF FEEDER SCHOOLS YEAR PRIOR TO FINGER PLAN:

USED AS GUIDE FOR YEAR 1972-1973^a

CAPITOL HILL HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 2,139

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
McKinley	0	285
Lafayette	0	263
Lee	5	489
Heronville	0	446
Rancho	8	282
Columbus	61	455
Van Buren	0	324
Garfield	2	296
Arthur	0	661
Garden Oaks	558	0
Creston Hills	383	0

U.S. GRANT HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 2,139

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Fillmore	0	634

^aFrom Court Order, Dowell V. Board, February 1, 1972.

U.S. Grant High School (cont.)

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Prairie Queen	0	997
Hillcrest	0	907
Coolidge	0	939
Stand Watie	119	454
Culbertson	403	0
Lincoln (Part)	214	0

DOUGLAS-KENNEDY HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 2,500

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Pierce	0	375
Tyler	8	100
Rockwood	50	708
Westwood	17	444
Wheeler	31	542
Dunbar	286	5
Oak Ridge	1	441
Valley Brook	0	202
Bodine	9	720
Edwards	306	1
Truman	426	0
Ross	59	211
Shidler	141	231

NORTHEAST HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 1,550

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Edgemere	62	376
W. Nichols Hills	1	406
Dewey (Part)	416	5
Polk	569	13
Burbank	8	364
Belle Isle	33	266
Horace Mann	70	341
Lone Star	0	109

CLASSEN HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 1,550

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Lincoln (Part)	350	0
Emerson	15	153
Willard	22	408
Eugene Fields	1	392
Gatewood	9	240
Riverside	43	124
Adams	0	842

Classen High School (cont.)

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Harmony (Part)	200	0
Orchard Park	48	85
Wilson	21	295
Dewey (Part)	175	0

MARSHALL HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 2,232

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Western Village	1	543
Stone Gate	0	673
Sunset	37	263
Quail Creek	2	401
Johnson	42	416
Harrison	0	357
Britton	2	408
Longfellow (Part)	200	
North Highlands	222	344
Nichols Hills	119	372

NORTHWEST CLASSEN HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 2,914

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Longfellow (Part)	378	0
Edison	325	0
Harmony (Part)	500	2
Mark Twain	104	339
Hawthorne	0	455
Mayfair	34	366
Sequoyah	38	339
Putnam Heights	58	385
Monroe	2	407
Cleveland	19	241
Buchanan	2	510
Kaiser	2	417
Madison	4	399
Linwood	0	292

SOUTHEAST HIGH SCHOOL

CAPACITY - 1,674

Enrollment in Elementary Feeder Schools

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Southern Hills	1	652
Shields Heights	0	562

Southeast High School (cont.)

<u>Feeder School</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Parmalee	0	551
Hayes	4	707
Henry	0	146
Davis	0	361
Woodson	252	0
Page	243	0
Culbertson (Part)	150	0

APPENDLY C

The following Article appeared in The Oklahoma Journal, February 15, 1970

BUSH BASHERS WARNED TO BANG, NOT BURN

Ward 5 Councilman John Smith said Saturday those joining a Saturday, February 21, "Bus bash" will have to be content with just pounding out their frustrations with sledge hammers.

The bus will not be burned after the bashing, as had been planned, the councilman said, because a city fire marshall cautioned against it.

"The fire marshal said it would be unlawful to burn the bus and we certainly don't want to violate any laws, or encourage anyone else to, Smith said."

"So there will be no fire inside the bus. But everyone can still have a lot of fun bashing his head off against this big old bus."

The 40 passenger bus has been christened the "cluster bus," and will be "bashed" Saturday afternoon at the S.W. 74 and Shields intersection.

The following article appeared in The Oklahoma Journal, February 22, 1970

BUS YIELDS LITTLE TO BASHERS' BLOWS

A "bus bash," sponsored by oponents of forced busing to achieve school integration, was a bit of a bust Saturday morning as anticipated crowds failed to materialize.

Participatns in the sledge-hammer and ax-swining melee at S.W. 74 and Shields did prove something that parents and school bus drivers have long suspected, however - the old yellow school but can take a lot of punishment.

Less than 30 persons, many of them newspaper, radio and television reporters were on hand at 10 a.m. when Ward 5 Councilman John Smith gave the signal to begin the bash.

A dozen elementary and high school students began beating on the bus, a 40 passenger vehicle purchased for \$300 from a local salvage yard and painted to identify it as "Bo's Cluster School Bus" and "Federal District-1002, Oklahoma City,"

The Oklahoma Journal, February 22, 1970 (continued)

Smith attributed the light turnout to a change in schedule. "We originally announced it for 2 p.m. and then changed it because of the Shrine Circus - but I believe there'll be more show up later," he said.

He also reported the group would not go through with original plan to burn the bus.

Traffic on the adjoining Southwest Expressway showed to a crawl as motorists paused to see the action on the vacant lot and by 10:30 a.m. the crowd had grown to about 70.

A number of adults took sledge hammers and axes from youngsters for a turn at the fun, and the old bus began to show the strain of more than its accustomed school day abuse.

"I think that gives a pretty good idea of what the people of Oklahoma City think of forced busing," said Smith.

The following article appeared in The Sunday Oklahoman, February 22, 1970

BUSSING FOES SMASH POINT ACROSS

Foes of involuntary bussing of Oklahoma City school children showed their displeasure with court-approved school plans Saturday by demolishing a school bus.

Swinging hammers, sledgehammers and axes, adults and children pounded away at the bus which had been purchased for \$300 by City Councilman John Smith, Ward 5.

Smith drove the bus to the "bus bash" site at S.E. 74 and Shields and took children for rides in it before the hammers started swinging at 10 a.m.

About 40 persons were present when the first blow was struck and the crowd grew to more than 100 during the next hour. "Let 'em know what you think about this bussing," Smith called, as windows were smashed and holes were chopped in the roof. Smith said the idea for the free "bus bash" had been his "to show the people of this nation, our politicians in Washington and the school board, what we think of forced bussing and our utter contempt for it."

The councilman took a few swings at a side of the bus but quickly relinquished his sledghammer to another man. "This is the people's show," he said, as he gave up the hammer. The bus' regular

markings had been supplemented with signs announcing it was "Bo's Cluster School Bus" of "Federal District 1002," references to Chief U.S. District Judge Luther Bohanon who has presided in Oklahoma City's school integration case since 1961, and to the cluster plan for high school students beginning this autumn, approved by Bohanon.

Leroy Robinson, whose address is Moore but whose four children attend the Oklahoma City schools, said he was proud to have been the painter of the extra markings.

Robinson said he had "fought for the rights" of his family as a Marine in World War II on Guam and Iwo Jima. "My kids have the right of freedom, to go to school in the neighborhood, at least," he said. "I think everybody, the colored people and all of us, has the same rights," the veteran said.

Tom Costello, 3109 Robin Ridge, a leader of opposition to the court-approved integration plan which became effective last September, hit the bus a few times "just for old time's sake," he said. As he walked away, Costello, who was an unsuccessful candidate in the last school board election, observed, "That bus is just about as hard-headed as that school board."

Janie McKinney, 936 SW 28, was one of a few women who joined the men and children in attacking the bus. Wielding a 14 pound sledgehammer, she pounded at a side of the bus, then quit to catch her breath. "I'm very opposed to bussing our school children," she said. She said her grandchildren are in the public schools and that she is "very opposed to anything that is detrimental to the rights of either child, black or white."

While many of the youngsters pounded indiscriminately at the bus body, Albert Kuehne, 1601 SW 67, chose his blows carefully. Kuehne, an electronic engineer, said he thought the idea of bussing was "as stupid as going clear across town to do your shopping because you can't shop near your home. Or saying whatever church you go to, you can't go there. You have to go to another one across town." Kuehne who has three children in the city schools, said he felt "a little better" after hitting the bus for 30 minutes. The bus was to remain on its lot all day Saturday.

Smith said he planned to drive it back to Ward Brothers Truck Salvage, where he bought it, and sell it for the salvage.

Whether he would be able to drive it there Monday seemed doubtful. Some of the early blows punctured the radiator and despite Smith's protestations that bashers "hit anything you want but the motor," the hood was a shambles by noon.

"We got tow-trucks. We can always tow it back," Smith noted.

The following article appeared in the Oklahoma City Times Forum, February, 27, 1970.

SYMBOLIC SCHOOL BUS BASHING PROTESTED

TO THE EDITOR:

When I saw the pictures of the school children taking sledge hammers to the school bus, it made me sick at my stomach. At their ages, that is the time we are teaching children what they should learn.

I wonder if Councilman John Smith's conscience will let him sleep when he thinks about teaching children to take sledge hammers and destroy school buses. I don't think anyone believes children should be forced to bus back and forth across town to schools out of their own neighborhoods.

But I believe there are very few people who approve of having our young school children take sledge hammers to school buses. Teach them that, and they might enjoy it and follow through with taking hammers to helpless victims' cars.

For Councilman John Smith taught them that by furnishing the school bus; It could be his own family car next.

C.P., City

* * * * *

TO THE EDITOR:

The attack on a school bus by a select group of southside school patrons reconfirms one's belief in the atavistic nature of man. If only adults had been involved in this exposition, such a display would have been more palatable. But the active fostering of blind prejudice and physical hate among children is extremely frightening to this reader. A picture of a girl breaking a bus windshield with a hammer should be alarming to every rational parent.

David Reynolds, City

* * * * *

TO THE EDITOR:

The picture last weekend of Oklahoma City Councilman John Smith leading a bus smashing exercise certainly deserves a few comments. Mr. Smith has every right to oppose busing. It's his privilege.

However, in this episode, the symbolism is unfortunate, because this is what happened in Denver, Colorado.

Myron W. Woods, Norman

The following article appeared in the Oklahoma City Times, February 28, 1970.

BUS BASH

Out in California last week a group of college students and a few professors gathered to protest air pollution caused by the automobile industry. To "prove" their point, they raised \$2,500, purchased a new automobile and, after an appropriate funeral parade, buried the thing.

Here in Oklahoma, a group of adults and at least one elected official held a "bus bash" to signify their feelings about a court-ordered school busing program. A used bus, still bearing a new "Welcome to Oklahoma" sticker, was pounded with sledge hammers and rocks until all of the glass windows were broken and the body ripped and torn apart.

Both of these instances brought memories of when, as a youngster, it was commonplace to chunk a rock through the window of an old vacated house. Back then there was the excuse of childish immaturity, correctable at the hands of parents.

It's hard to figure an excuse for those sponsoring today's automobile burials and bus-bashings.

APPENDIX D

Capitol Hill Whites Given Safety Pledge

By Bill May and
Henry Hawkins

An administrator responsible for imposing all-out "law and order" will be hired immediately for dissention-torn Capitol Hill High School, Supt. Bill Lillard promised more than 200 white protestors today.

Amid applause from the complaining delegation, Dr. Lillard pledged that the man will be a "hard-nosed, firm but fair individual." It was indicated he will try to fill the new post by Monday.

The announcement came after a walkout of some white and Indian students on the fourth day of racial unrest at the school, where 10 pupils were injured and 27 suspended in

a series of fights Tuesday.

The crowd descended on board of education headquarters and met in the auditorium, after spending about an hour in confrontation with Capitol Hill Principal Al Marshall outside the school.

Both sessions were orderly, and in both meetings spokesmen or the white group voiced their complaints:

- Students feel they are not safe at the school.

- Blacks are given preference in disciplinary decisions, and some discipline is imposed on hearsay evidence.

- Students don't know what is going on.

- Whites were excluded from Black Heritage Week assemblies and other activities, and viewed the observance as "a put-down for whites."

- Marshall remains in his office and has not controlled outbreaks, and should be replaced.

Dr. Lillard, Dr. Jesse Lindley, assistant superintendent for instruction, and Dr. James Johnson, director of secondary education, spent about half an hour in the formal meeting with the students.

Then the youthful group met privately before rejoining Lillard for a question and answer interchange.

In announcing the new administrative post, Lillard said, "This is what you asked for — now you must abide by it."

He said in the past, "Everyone says they are for law and order, but when a person breaks the rules and gets caught, he claims

"But now, there is going to be law and order. If you break the rules, you will get caught, and if you get caught, you are doing to be punished. Don't ask for special consideration."

Dr. Lillard conceded, "Every student has the right to walk down the halls with an absence of fear for your safety." But he reminded, "If you go somewhere looking for trouble, you are going to find it."

Johnson, who said every effort will be made to find the added disciplinary administrator by Monday, also warned:

"You are going to get caught in the squeeze. You have got to follow the rules down the line. Students set the tone, the attitude, the climate of the school."

Dr. Lillard told students during the session that improved communication is essential, and suggested that students both black and white are reflecting parental attitudes in the cases of friction.

He said he believes all principals should issue daily bulletins giving accounts of what is happening, and indicated Marshall will be asked to do so.

"If you accept this challenge — listen to facts, not to rumor, and act like ladies and gentlemen as you are doing today," the superintendent said.

Dr. Lindley said it will be important in the new approach with the disciplinary administrator to have meetings of all factions and elements within the school, including blacks, because they "have ideas and they feel things are wrong, too."

Johnson went directly from the meeting to Capitol Hill High School, to confer with Marshall.

At Lillard's request, students left the meeting individually rather than as a group. Some went home, some headed back to school and others said they intended to "cruise around town."

About 25 to 30 parents arrived by mid-morning to check out their children and take them home. Attendance was sharply down in some classes, but no count was immediately available.

The school has 1,913 students on the rolls, including more than 400 blacks. Questions asked of Lillard indicated some white students believe the black ratio to be much higher.

Security efforts before the first bell rang this morning apparently were a factor in the white group's revolt.

A throng of white students was observed at one end of the first floor, with a crowd of blacks at the other and officers and administrators in the middle.

The result was a traffic jam through which some students could not penetrate into the halls. A white girl among the protestors said the halls were "bogged up," and whites were made to wait outdoors while blacks were admitted "inside where it's warm."

The white and Indian protestors gathered on the grassy, Grand Blvd. median, sitting down at Marshall's request, while they voiced complaints in chorused shouts.

The exodus to the board of education began after one girl reminded the crowd that they were on school property and thus subject to arrest if they refused to disperse.

A ring of administrators and uniformed police surrounded the group during the confrontation—and one police sergeant vainly tried to persuade the students to go to class.

Two adult women stood on the fringe. One of them, who identified herself only as "a parent," said the students "are here trying to get equality."

She said the protestors are "not anti-anything" and are concerned with school safety and quality education rather than racial issues.

Capitol Hill Students Win Assemb

By Bill May and Henry Hawkins

About 500 black and white students set out today to put racially-framed Capitol Hill High School back together again — and it appeared they just might swing it.

At their own insistence, student leaders organized and conducted a do-it-yourself assembly, mapped a plan for new harmony and won administration approval to try it.

After brief talks from 14 leaders and a round of questions and comments from the generally orderly audience, the students agreed to form a student advisory committee with a direct pipeline to the principal's office.

Caucusing on stage after the assembly, more than 30 youths assembled a list of 25 nominees for the committee, to be mimeographed and distributed for a school-wide election Friday.

A delegation headed by Janette Wallis, student council president, and assembly chairman Terry Sink, a white student, presented the proposal to Principal Al Marshall, who signed a memorandum agreeing to these conditions:

— The advisory body will have direct association with the administration.

— It will hear any problem offered by a group or organization and take it to Marshall.

— The principal will set aside at least one hour each week to hear the committee's reports.

— Marshall in turn will report back to students through the committee on any information or deci-

sions resulting from the complaints.

The 70-minute assembly apparently was hard won in negotiations between Marshall, some parent intermediaries and a group led by Sink.

Told at one point, "There will be no assembly," Sink told the parent arbiter hotly that unless one could be held, black students would feel white leaders had lied to them and "all hell could break loose."

Permission came about 9:15 a.m., and a trickle of attendance swelled to about 500 within a few minutes.

As opening speaker, Sink said, "The purpose of the assembly is to 'get it together. It is not to fight each other, but to join together and fight for our rights."

"Sometimes I can drive down the street and look over at the grade school and see the kids running and playing," he said. "They are not fighting; why should we fight?"

Miss Wallis, also a white student, told the crowd,

"You have got a mind of your own. You can decide if you want to go to school like this. This is our problem and we must solve it."

She reminded the youths that unrest building since last Friday is disrupting all activities, from school athletics to preparation for graduation events.

The 14 boys and girls giving mini-speeches included seven whites and seven blacks selected by the principal.

One of the black leaders, James Thomas, said, "We're here today to try to better everything and make it a good year. There has been bad on each side."

A black girl, Kay Mayes, agreed that problems arise because "some people on one side have big mouths, and then somebody on the other side will say the same old crud, and before long, somebody gets hurt."

Comments and complaints from black students stressed a feeling that blacks do not receive equal treatment and are more likely than whites to be thrown out of school.

One white youth, Randy Hayes, senior class president, voiced a complaint about school safety.

"Before the blacks came over here, we didn't have any problems. Now, I couldn't walk down the hall with my letter jacket on without 30 blacks jumping on me.

"If you want to fight, go to the gym," he said. "We need to stop this mess for everybody."

As was the case after many remarks, cheers and boos responding were divided along color lines.

One long, unanimous round of cheers, whistles and applause came when a white student rose from the audience to criticize Marshall and complain, "We don't know what is going on."

"We hear rumors," the youth said. "The public doesn't know what is going on. We know that most of what we hear are second and third hand rumors."

To give a full airing of opinions, the leaders sent paper and pencils through the audience for written comments and questions,

and then collected the notes to be read and answered from the stage.

Some students shouted a suggestion that Marshall's presence should be demanded and "Let's have him out with Marshall now."

But leaders stuck to their original plan and insisted that the assembly was a place for students' brains to devise solutions.

Capitol Hill Hires Disciplinary Chief

By Kay Dyer

Ray Thompson, an assistant principal at Northwest High School, will assume duties Monday as a disciplinary administrator at racially troubled Capitol Hill High School which he once attended.

Thompson, with the title of assistant principal, will have full charge of all matters dealing with discipline and security at the southside school, Supt. Bill Lillard said today.

The new position was

agreed to Wednesday by Lillard after several days of disturbances which resulted in 11 students receiving minor injuries and some 35 suspensions or expulsions.

In a press conference this morning, Thompson said he sees his role as "preventive" rather than a police action.

He said he has not yet met with administrators at Capitol Hill and has "no preconceived ideas as to what the problems might

be or where to assess blame.

"That's not my intention," Thompson said. "I need to evaluate some of the things that have been happening and try to determine what the problems are."

Meanwhile, Capitol Hill Principal Al Marshall welcomed the assignment of Thompson to his staff, saying: "I'm all for it — we asked for just that very thing a long time ago."

Lillard conceded that in discussions with Marshall over the past several weeks, the principal had suggested an additional administrator at the school, where racial fights broke out this week.

Classes opened peacefully today and some 500 students voluntarily attended an assembly. Seven white students and seven blacks spoke briefly at the meeting and suggestions were made for an inter-racial grievance committee,

Students speak out, Page 18.

which would deal directly with the administration. Marshall agreed to this.

A group of 100 to 150 white students gathered outside the gymnasium as school opened and some argued for a boycott. As the group dispersed, some went into classes and others drove away.

Uniformed police officers were still on the scene, but in fewer numbers than patrolled the school Tuesday and Wednesday. A number of parents were in the halls today.

The Oklahoma City Times,
March 2, 1973

Capitol Hill Intruder Slugged

By Bill May

A young intruder was arrested in Capitol Hill High School this morning after he was slapped and subdued by the school's new discipline and security administrator.

The incident marred an otherwise notably peaceful scene at the school, where black and white students strolled to class chatting together in contrast to the

previous five days of racial tension.

Ray Thompson, the new law-and-order assistant principal appointed Thursday, was starting his first day on the job when he encountered John O. Miller, 20, of 216½ SW 35.

Miller wound up in jail, booked on charges of trespassing, disorderly conduct and assault and battery. He was nursing fa-

cial cuts and a bruised shoulder.

Students who saw the incident appeared to view it with approval and good humor.

Principal A. J. Marshall said Miller, who is white and has long hair, was seen in the hallway as school administrators patrolled just after morning classes began.

Challenged for his student identification card, Miller said he didn't have one. When asked to leave, "he got real abusive with Thompson," Marshall said.

Marshall said Miller, who was carrying a motorcycle helmet, "started reaching for what looked like a wrench in his belt."

Marshall and a school security guard followed as Thompson escorted Miller downstairs toward the office. Marshall said Miller was protesting loudly and twice tried to break free from Thompson's grasp.

Thompson then hit Miller on the right shoulder, saying, "I said shut up." Several students saw the blow and one laughed, "I guess now he'll shut up."

Uniformed city police of-

ficers, still standing by at the school, made the actual arrest. Miller was bleeding from two places on the face when taken from the office, but a newsman in the hall saw only the blow to Miller's shoulder.

APPENDIX E

The following is taken directly from the Newspaper of the Oklahoma City Classroom Teachers Association, December, 1972 -January, 1973.

A new survey of more than 700 classroom teachers in the Oklahoma City Public Schools shows discipline to be their No. 1 problem.

Parents and school administrators are blamed for either the lack of discipline or the uneven and sporadic enforcement of it which the teachers say, "makes our job tougher."

Many teachers trace the discipline problems to learning disabilities which cannot be effectively dealt with in a large classroom setting.

There was a repeated call for more teacher aides and paraprofessionals to permit the teacher to spend more time with her students, individually.

Related directly to the discipline problem were class size and range of achievement.

Most teachers polled thought they work with too many students each day and the range of achievement of their students is too great for a good learning situation.

Non-instructional duties are still occupying too much of their time, the teachers said.

Also, the teachers complained that too many of their students were "indifferent" towards school.

Disruptive students were labeled a "continuing frustration."

A generation gap exists between teacher and child, the survey shows.

A number of teachers said the values and attitudes of the current

generation make it difficult to teach.

Some teachers believe the diversity of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds of their students is too great, and that the psychological climate in their school is not conducive to learning.

The survey was part of a state-wide sample of teacher opinion being conducted by the Oklahoma Education Association.

Here are some of the comments by teachers on their discipline problems:

"Being a policeman interferes with teaching. Hall duties drive me crazy. I'd like to go to the bathroom between classes and not feel guilty."

"Students are not motivated by parents. Administrators are too afraid of parents, and are therefore too lax in the matter of student conduct."

"Discipline very poor from administration."

"Students need to know what is expected of them, and those who distract or disrupt class routine should be identified and punished for their actions. School policy is needed to bring both these requirements."

"Counseling for placement is limited. Students are taking the easy way out and enrolling in courses beneath their ability; therefore they are bored; therefore they either disrupt the class..."

"My problem is discipline restrictions on classroom teachers."

"Need support of discipline from superintendent's office."

"Special education children are in a regular classroom situation for half of the day. They disrupt the classroom situation."

"Problem children should not be put into another teacher's room and disrupt her group and routine."

"Even when pupil's problems are diagnosed, we are too often told, 'There is no place for him. He's yours. You teach him at his level.' So he remains frustrated and discouraged and a constant source of disturbance in the classroom."

"The noise level where my classroom is situated becomes my most crucial problem!"

"My problem is behavior-discipline, need for aides, parental backing."

"After children are tested and test out for special help - there is no place for them and they remain in the regular classrooms. Also, it takes too long to get a child tested - sometimes the whole year."

"Lack of discipline techniques that are acceptable."

"Students lack of respect for everyone."

"Lack of discipline - lack of parental control of students carries over to school."

"Could receive more backing from the office concerning discipline problems."

"My biggest classroom problem is the one that is caused by seventh grade boys - sometimes girls - whose parents have no control over them; they're rude, and their constant disturbances to classroom learning are exceedingly frustrating. Compulsory attendance should be limited to those who want to learn, and those who have enough respect for themselves so they have consideration for others."

"Parents seem to be turning over their responsibilities to the schools."

"Students who continually disrupt classes should be taken out of school or change their attitudes and behavior patterns."

"Pressure is from constant agitation among students to the point you feel you are sitting on a powder keg."

"Too many students...usually ones that counseling, etc. deposit in my art room because they are too lazy, retarded, uncooperative and disinterested in other classes, and other teachers won't take them. I know of many students who requested art classes and not none."

"I think for our country and its society - especially the future leadership - the individual school has an obligation to instill an awareness of responsibility in students - to much irresponsibility and much of it lies with the parents, foster parents, guardians, or whatever."

"My frustrations and pressures are a result of the wide range of disciplinary problems - so much of my time has to be spent in this area, " feel that I am neglecting my top students."

"Disciplinary procedures are lacking as far as teacher's authority is concerned. We have nothing (very little) to do or say about discipline."

"We have disruptive students that have been diagnosed as being hyperactive that do not belong in a normal classroom."

APPENDIX F

SEATING IN TEACHERS CAFETERIA

Table I

Older Teachers and Secretaries

Table II

Younger Teachers Mostly White

Table III

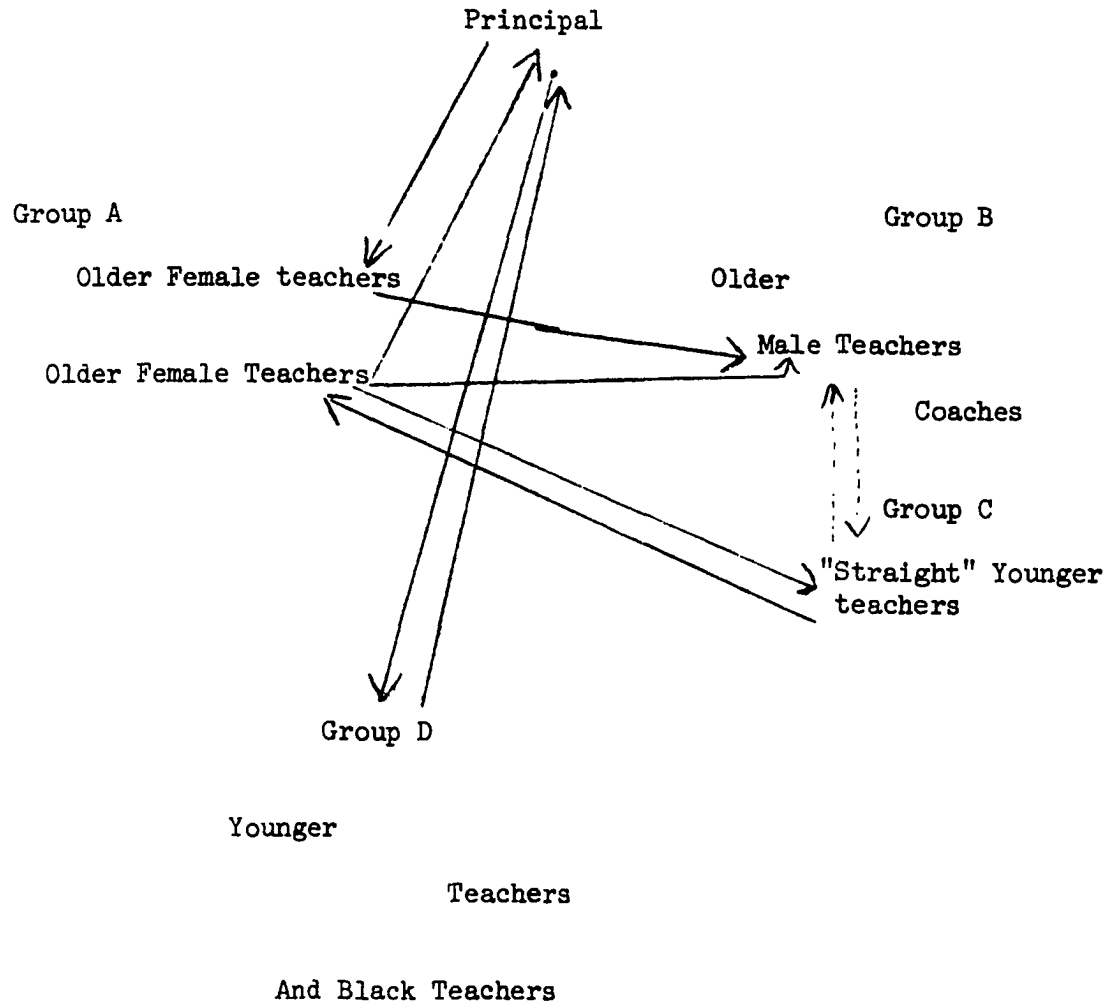
Coaches and Older Male Teachers

Table IV

All Black Teachers and Younger Whites
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The younger teachers sit with the last table if an opening. Much interaction between Table II and IV. None between Table I and II or I and IV or Table III and II or III and IV.

FACULTY MEETING - SEATING ARRANGEMENT



Communication from principal to each group and back. Some discussion between A and B. Note minimal communication - perhaps merely recognition between C and Groups A and B. Group D appears isolated - perhaps somewhat of their own choosing.

APPENDIX G

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The Oklahoma City Times,
May 29, 1973

Bright Spots Emerged in

Editor's Note: Times reporter Kay Dyer in this four-part series examines the successes, failures, and difficulties during the Oklahoma City school system's first year under court-ordered busing.

By Kay Dyer

The first year of the Finger Plan for Integration has drawn to a close for some 57,600 Oklahoma City school pupils — ending a period of turmoil and frustration, but progress, too, for those involved.

In retrospect, Supt. Bill Lillard called it "one of the

most difficult, one of the most trying, but one of the most rewarding years I've ever experienced."

The year began with difficulties last Aug. 28, when schools opened less than a week after a court ruling dashed hopes the integration plan could be postponed.

The expanded transportation system, which nearly doubled the number of pupils bused to classes, took more than a week of shakedown before settling into a workable routine.

Racial violence erupted the second day at Southeast

Schools Despite Tensions

High School and spread later to Capitol Hill High School.

As the school term drew to a close last week, there were still racial tensions apparent at a number of city schools.

The student population itself, 57,179 at the end of the third quarter May 15, was a mark of the hostility toward the integration plan felt by many.

The third quarter figures were some 10,000 below the school population a year earlier and 8,821 below projec-

tions made by school official prior to the opening of classes.

Boycott threats obviously worked to a degree as many parents, mainly white, moved to other school districts or put children in private schools to escape the busing.

But many others who stuck with it and vowed to "make it work" now see some benefits, if not complete satisfaction, with the Finger Plan.

There has been racial strife, particularly in schools newly integrated under the plan.

But inter-racial friendships have been made, too, — friendships some high school students say they wish they could have experienced at an earlier age.

There have been complaints about the quality of education. On the other hand, there have been educational innovations which might not have developed so soon, if at all, had the integration plan not been ordered.

While some parent groups at the schools had problems developing interest, others have discovered that the changes have sparked an interest among those who before had not been active.

School Year Marked By Triumphs, Trials

By Tom Boone

Last August, two cultures, one white and one black, came together for the first time in substantial numbers inside Oklahoma City school buildings.

In some places they meshed, and in others they didn't. Now school is out for the summer, and, having heaved their sighs of relief, school officials are doing some evaluating of the past nine months.

Their conclusion: All things considered, it was a pretty good year.

It is not surprising that the people charged with the responsibility for making it a good year should reach such a conclusion. Obviously, a student who was expelled or the parents of a child who was beaten up at school are not likely to agree with school administrators' assessments.

But overall, school officials say, harmony outweighed discord, good days far outnumbered bad days and there were many more responsible students than irresponsible ones.

Jim Johnson, director of secondary education, has been reviewing old newspaper stories and watching

able than we did."

The potential for trouble was there all year, and violence did break out on a number of occasions in some of the high schools and middle schools. There were no major racial disturbances in the elementary schools.

As expected, it was the 84 elementary schools that made the smoothest transition this year. Of these, the 16 5th year centers fared the best.

When the Finger Plan, the court-ordered desegregation plan, was implemented in the fall, the 5th year centers were touted as being among the most promising innovative changes that were being made.

"I've heard from a number of principals and teachers that this has been the best year ever, particularly in the 5th year centers," said Dr. John Brothers, director of elementary education.

In fact, he said, response from parents about the centers has been so good that a number of them have asked if there isn't some way their children could be in 6th year centers next year.

The 5th year centers are located at schools that were either all black or majority black last year. They are all in black neighborhoods, and they are the only schools to which white elementary school students were bused in large numbers.

many white students who were expected to attend the 5th year centers wound up instead in private schools or were enrolled in other school districts where their families had moved to escape busing.

But signs are pointing to better participation in the centers next year. Dr. Brothers said, for example, that a recent orientation program for 4th graders who will attend 5th year centers next year was far better attended than was a similar orientation a year ago.

There were racial fights in the elementary schools, but there were fewer in the schools that were desegregated last year than there were in the newly desegregated schools.

Conversion of most of the elementary schools to house kindergarten through 4th grade students helped to reduce problems. Fifth and 6th graders, who generally cause more trouble than younger students, weren't around.

"Some of the kids might have learned some new words," Dr. Brothers said, "but they just may have told a few of their own."

Discipline problems were seen to grow in frequency and complexity in proportion to the age of the students involved, with the more serious incidents occurring in the high schools. Two of them, Southeast and Capitol Hill, had the most trouble.

School officials tend to agree, though not unanimously, that the school

year has been more traumatic for black students than for white students, generally speaking.

A black student entering what had been an all-white school was on unfamiliar ground in a neighborhood surrounded by white people. He felt, and sometimes justifiably felt, that he was not welcome.

He found himself in a minority, perhaps for the first time in school. He expected, and consequently looked for, demonstrations of racial superiority by white students. When they came, he didn't shrug them off as he might have done had he been in a better mood. They merely confirmed his suspicions, and he fought back with his fists.

That is perhaps an oversimplification, but the picture is one that some school administrators have used to help explain how racial fights start.

From a white student's viewpoint, he was suddenly confronted with a lot of strangers who spoke an unusual brand of English, and at that it was a louder brand than he was used to.

The black students liked a different kind of music and often had a different set of celebrities with whom they identified and about whom they talked while white students looked on blankly, uncomprehending.

To a great extent, white students were intimidated by blacks, who, once they found an easy mark, kept pushing. There was an untold number of complaints, many from parents, about black kids extorting money from white kids.

NEWS ANALYSIS

old television film strips on incidents in the schools.

After seeing the hatred expressed in them by both whites and blacks, he said, "I am amazed that we didn't have any more trou-

The Sunday Oklahoman,
May 27, 1973 (cont.)

"Gimme your lunch money" is a phrase that has been heard many times in every school in the school district, but this year there were more complaints about it than ever before.

Some teachers have said they would blame part of the difficulties of the past year on the fact that numbers of black students became frustrated in the realization that they were behind white students, generally, in achievement levels.

School administrators are quick to say, though, that this year there was growing emphasis placed on individual instruction and in trying to fit the lesson to the individual student rather than in trying to make the student conform to the lesson.

Consequently, they say, each student was able to move ahead at his own pace. No students were held back to allow others to catch up.

Two of the areas in which conflict was greatest concerned discipline

and Black Heritage Week. Almost as many whites as blacks complained of unequal disciplinary measures taken by school administrators.

A black student would complain that white administrators treated black students unfairly, and a white student would say the same about black, and sometimes even white, administrators.

On one side of the Black Heritage Week issue were black students who were threatened with losing a tradition they seemingly always had had, a week that emphasized the positive aspects of being black.

On the other side were many white students and parents who saw Black Heritage Week as strictly a black, segregated activity that was not only foreign to them but also was living proof that black students could get away with segregated activities while white students couldn't.

Many parents worked, with the schools during the year to help improve race relations, school administrators said. But they said just as many hindered progress as much as they could.

At the same time, they said, some strong student leaders emerged because of the difficulties the schools were undergoing, and it was the students themselves who were largely responsible for keeping order and for working out ideas for improving race relations.

Johnson said some middle school and high school teachers and principals under his jurisdiction had told him that their attitudes had changed for the better during the year.

He said some white principals were surprised to find that black parents were wanting to cooperate with them. And some black principals expressed surprise about the similar reaction they got from white parents.

Next year, Johnson pointed out, this year's seniors will be gone. "They are the only groups that weren't integrated this year," he said. They were also the biggest source of trouble.

There will be more time for teachers to participate in human relations workshops. Students will know one another better by next fall. Administrators are optimistic about the 1973-74 school year.

Apparently, Johnson said, a school must go through a sort of trial by fire for one year the first time it is desegregated. Every newly desegregated school in the city has had greater problems the first year than in succeeding years.

School officials remain concerned about the strong possibility that white flight will continue and that school enrollment next year will drop again. But apparently no one is dwelling too long on that point just yet.

Said one school official: "If I had been drawing up a desegregation plan, I think I would have drawn it up somewhat differently. But maybe this is what it takes. You know, I'm not nearly as worried about someone setting the city on fire as I was three or four years ago."

APPENDIX H

By Tom Boone

A couple of months ago, an Oklahoma City newsman posed a question to a colleague: "What's black and white and almost invisible?"

"I don't know," came the response.

"The biracial committee," the newsman said.

He was referring to the 12-member committee appointed by U.S. district court to oversee implementation of the Finger school desegregation plan in Oklahoma City.

And, as far as the public is concerned, the joke may not be far from the truth. If it is not actually invisible, the committee maintains such a low public profile that, except for about twice a year, many people tend to forget it is around.

This might be regarded as a surprising development considering the cry of protest that was raised throughout the Oklahoma City school district when the committee was formed 15 months ago.

The fact is, though, that the committee has done little to excite, or in interest, large numbers of school patrons.

That is not to say the committee has done nothing. It has steadily continued to monitor racial desegregation in the schools, as it was designed to do. And, to some extent, it has exerted its influence on the school system's administration.

Theories Advanced

But, in the public's eye, it has not become the ogre that many patrons feared it would become. Only about once every six months, when it makes formal reports to the federal court, do patrons seem to pay it much attention. Even then, attention is not guaranteed.

For instance, in its latest report, filed with the court May 1, the committee recommended, among other things, "that the Finger Plan for integration be extended to include all school districts in the metropolitan Oklahoma City area."

Frightening though such a prospect is to most residents in the city area, the proposal was greeted by aural silence.

A number of patrons and school system employees have advanced several theories to explain the apparent lack of public interest in the committee. Among them are:

1. The committee won't respond to public opinion, so there's no reason to react to it.

2. A lot of people think if they ignore the committee it will go away.

3. Few people understand what the committee is and what it does and does not do, so most school patrons don't know how to relate to it.

The latter theory is perhaps the most accurate. As one school official said recently, "If some guy goes around yelling, 'The sky is falling!' you have to find out whether he's Chicken Little or an astronomer before you decide whether to pay any attention to him."

Aid Requested

The committee is an arm of the federal court, a sort of watchdog, whose only job is to determine if the Finger desegregation plan is being carried out as it was ordered to be carried out by the court. A part of this job is to make recommendations to the court.

The committee was formed in February, 1972, by U.S. Dist. Judge Luther Bohanon shortly after he ordered the Oklahoma City Board of Education to implement the Finger Plan.

The eight men and four women on the committee serve without pay or other compensation. All but one of them have been on the committee since it was organized. Six of the

members are white and six are black.

Judge Bohanon requested that the Board of Education and the Oklahoma City branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People each nominate six whites and six blacks for positions on the committee.

From the list of names, he chose two whites and four blacks from among the school board nominees and four whites and two blacks from among the NAACP nominees.

The original members were:

Dr. Tom English, black, director of the Oklahoma City Community Action Program; The Rev. Louis J. Mays, black, retired; Joe D. Simmons, black, project coordinator for the Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority; Roosevelt Turner, black, director of the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning Services; Helen Parker, white, a substitute teacher,

and Joe J. McCain, white, retired director of the Oklahoma City Social Security Administration office, all from the list of school board nominees.

Also, Wayne C. Chandler Sr., black, Community Action Program personnel director; Dr. Frank B. Cox, black, a dentist; Kathy Clark, white, a social worker for the state welfare department; Jack Hudson, white, a general contractor; Fran Morris, white, community coordinator for the University of Oklahoma Youth Counseling and Child Development Center, and Dr. Marshall Schechter, white, director of the OU Youth Counseling and Child Development Center, all from the list of NAACP nominees.

In February, Judge Bohanon appointed Vivian Reno to the committee to replace Dr. Schechter, who asked the judge that he not be reappointed for another term. Mrs. Reno is a former executive secretary of the Oklahoma City Council of Churches.

All the members are now appointed for two-year terms that are staggered in such a way that terms of six members will expire every February.

The committee meets regularly once a month. Sometimes these meetings are open to the public, and sometimes they're not. Because it is not a public, regulating board, the committee is not governed by state open meeting laws.

A major part of the committee's job is to investigate complaints of racial discrimination. Complaints are brought to the committee either at public hearings, which the committee conducts periodically, or to individual members informally.

For the most part, the investigative work is handled through the committee's three subcommittees, on transportation and student assignment; on faculty, staff and facilities, and on student activities, discipline and transfers.

For example, recently a black patron complained to the committee that several school buses carrying black children were constantly overcrowded. She said she believed the school administration was acting in a discriminatory manner by allowing such overcrowding.

The complaint was assigned to the appropriate subcommittee, which investigated and determined that some buses were, in fact, overcrowded.

The committee then recommended to school administrators that additional buses be assigned to the routes where overcrowding was occurring. Eventually the problem was resolved.

The committee is an arm of the court but does not have the authority of the court. It cannot order the school board or school administrators to do anything, but it can, and frequently does, make recommendations.

"Obviously, any recommendation they make, we evaluate it, and if it has any merit we implement it," Dr. Bill Lillard, superintendent, said.

The school board has been instructed by the court to cooperate with the biracial committee, which means administrators also must cooperate, within reason.

On request, administrators often provide the committee with detailed information, most of it statistical in nature, on such subjects as bus routes, the racial composition of classrooms, the scheduling of extra-curricular activities and the number of students, by race and school, who have been expelled or suspended from school.

Earlier this year, the committee asked for some statistical data that the school system was unable to come up with because it did not have the manpower to spend in gathering the information. The committee withdrew its request, at least for the time being.

Dr. Lillard said the committee's recommendations and requests do not put an undue burden on school system administrators or interfere with the school system's operations in any way.

Three members of the school district's central administrative staff act as liaison between the committee and the school board. They attend all open committee meetings and make reports to the school board on what the committee is doing. In addition they convey requests and recommendations to the superintendent.

No Influence Seen

Committee members have said the committee is not designed to intimidate, by its mere presence, the superintendent, his staff or the school board. And apparently it hasn't.

Dr. Lillard said his staff is "definitely aware" that the biracial committee is watching, but he added, "I can't think of anything that I, as an administrator, would do differently if the biracial committee weren't in existence."

C. B. McCray, president of the school board, agreed, saying he knew of no instances in which board decisions had been influenced by the biracial committee.

He said, in effect, that a court order was influence enough.

The relationship between the committee and the school board and administration is noticeably less strained now than it was in the beginning.

When the committee was formed 15 months ago, all but one of the seven school board members spoke against the need for any kind of watchdog committee. Some board members, as well as a number of white school patrons, expressed fears that the committee would become a sort of super school board that would dictate how the schools would be run.

In turn, a number of the committee members appeared to be highly suspicious of the school board's pledge to implement the court-ordered desegregation plan in good faith.

There were a couple of skirmishes.

Secretary Fired

First, last July, the school board fired the biracial committee's secretary because, the board said, he made too much money—\$400 a month. By court order, the board was required to furnish the committee with a secretary. The board, however, elected to set the salary guidelines under which a secretary would be hired.

Following those guidelines, the committee hired another secretary at the rate of \$2.25 an hour, or about \$1 an hour less than the first secretary made.

Then, in October, the committee filed its first report to the court, a report ringing with criticism of the school board and superintendent.

The report said the board and Dr. Lillard had not done all they could to eliminate racial discrimination in the schools, that certain phase-in programs leading up to implementation of the Finger Plan had not been carried out, that there had been too little human relations work done with teachers and students and that not all students were given an ample opportunity to participate in extra-curricular activities.

The word "satisfactory" cropped up occasionally in the committee's evaluation, but that was about the only friendly word to be found.

Today, a certain amount of distrust remains on both sides, but each

appears to have become a bit more comfortable with the other.

Comments Favorable

In the committee's May 1 report to the court, for instance, criticism was tempered for the first time with some favorable comments.

The committee "looks with favor upon the many positive developments that have occurred," the report stated.

"The incidents of conflict in the schools and the resultant increase of tension in both the schools and the total community have been regrettable.

"However, both student and community leaders seized the opportunity to develop some innovative methods of dealing with the problem, as illustrated by the human relations effort at John Marshall High School and student leadership and initiative at Capitol Hill High School. . .

"There is increased participation on a desegregated basis on the playgrounds, and the general atmosphere in classrooms is good. There were several comments from principals that most teachers and children seem to have forgotten about color differences.

"There was a minimum of problems mentioned in connection with busing elementary students. Most felt it was going well, especially when the bus driver had been the same all year. . .

"While we are aware that evaluation of the educational process, per se, is not within our area of responsibility, several favorable comments were made regarding team teaching and work being done at the fifth grade centers.

"A number of teachers noted that there has been a marked progress of black students during the year."

Program Praised

The committee also had praise for the Opening Doors in Education program that is continuing this year in the fifth year centers.

And the committee commended school administrators for producing the student pamphlet, "Student Affairs, Rights, Responsibilities and Regulations," although the committee noted deficiencies in it.

"In addition to being inadequate and punitive (with heavy emphasis on regulations and no mention of several rights)," the committee wrote, "the document outlines a possibly unconstitutional procedure.

"Because such irregularities permit the possibility of discrimination in matters of discipline, we call the court's attention to the matter of due

June 3, 1973 (cont.)

Committee members also noted that the percentage of black student suspended or expelled from secondary schools is greater than the percentage of white students.

Partly because of this, the committee wrote, it recommends "a thorough top-level investigation of discrimination in discipline and of approaches to the problem of equitable discipline."

Deficiencies Noted

In its report, the committee also found deficiencies in the areas of extracurricular activities, investigation of transfers and in faculty and staff desegregation.

Concerning extracurricular activities, the committee wrote:

"The general trend away from the traditional kinds of extracurricular activities toward the more socially aware and community and environmentally oriented activities is expected and is to be commended."

But the committee added: "As noted in our November, 1972, report, the absence of before-school activity buses for scheduled before-school activities is felt to be discriminatory."

"The committee continues to feel that if early buses cannot be provided, those activities should be rescheduled at a time when they are available to all. Most schools appear to be making sincere efforts to desegregate activities."

On the subject of transfers, the committee acknowledged that white flight is a major problem that has accompanied the implementation of the Finger Plan.

"A continued outgo of students spells the doom of the various extended services (such as special education) which the school system presently offers," the committee wrote.

Members recommended "a thorough, top-level investigation of both interdistrict and intradistrict transfers."

As a means of overcoming the flight of white patrons to escape the Finger Plan, the committee recommended that the court watch closely the U.S. Supreme Court cases involving Richmond, Va., and Detroit, Mich.

Court Divided

"If such plans are upheld by the Supreme Court," the committee wrote, "then it is recommended that the Finger Plan for integration be extended to include all school districts in the metropolitan area."

The main issue of the two cases is whether it is constitutional to bus students across school district lines for the purpose of desegregating

On May 21 the Supreme Court was equally divided in its decision on the Richmond case, so a lower court ruling forbidding interdistrict busing will stand.

In the area of faculty and staff desegregation, the committee found that faculties have been pretty well desegregated. But it said there are no black principals and only four assistant principals in the 56 schools that house kindergarten through fourth grade.

"This appears to be a level of staffing that has not received the proper attention of the central administration office," the committee wrote in its report. "The committee recommends that appropriate action be taken to correct this situation for the 1973-74 school year."

Remedy Urged

The committee pointed out that there have been no desegregation requirements governing those staff members who are not educators, notably office and clerical employees.

This has resulted in some predominantly black schools having no blacks on the office staff," the committee wrote. It recommended that desegregation efforts in this area be pushed, and school administrators have agreed to do so.

The committee, in its report to the court, also took a stand in favor of Black Heritage Week in schools, which the committee refers to as Black History Week.

"The committee does not find that black history week is a segregated activity, but that non-blacks probably benefit more than blacks because they have more to learn on the subject," the committee wrote.

"To suggest that Brotherhood Week (which has been observed for at least 30 years in Oklahoma City schools) be substituted for Black History Week (which has been observed by blacks for nearly 60 years) is an insult to the intelligence and sensitivities of all students, blacks and whites."

Salaries Cut

Just as the school administration is responding to the committee recommendation to desegregate office staffs, so it also has rectified other actions deemed by the committee to be discriminatory.

For instance, the committee found that five clerical workers transferred from Dunjee Junior-Senior High when it closed this year were given salary cuts with their new assignments.

"Upon receiving letters from the biracial committee calling this error to their attention, the administration promptly corrected the situation,"

the committee wrote.

In conducting its evaluation of the Finger Plan implementation, the committee recruited a number of volunteers who visited 40 schools during the school year.

In one school, Rogers Middle School, volunteers found that, in one classroom, students were being segregated by race. Once this information was passed to the superintendent's office, segregation in that room stopped.

Other complaints from the committee have resulted in the addition of more activity buses that stay after school to allow bused students to participate in after-school activities.

Admittedly, discrepancies uncovered by the committee have been relatively minor, Kathy Clark, the committee's current chairman, said. But they are still important, she said.

She sees the committee continuing "indefinitely" in its present role, and she said she hopes it and school system representatives will continue to work more and more as allies instead of as adversaries.

School administrators, she believes, are trying hard to follow the intent of the desegregation order.

Board Criticized

Last year committee members were highly critical of school board members, Dr. Lillard and other administrators for their outspoken opposition to the Finger Plan. The official school position was: The Finger Plan is not a good plan, we don't like it, but we'll implement it anyway.

The biracial committee felt this attitude filtered down to teachers in the schools and threatened to destroy effective implementation of the plan.

But such statements from school officials are not heard as much anymore, and Mrs. Clark said, "I think they finally realized that they were just hurting themselves."

And as for the biracial committee's somewhat softened attitude toward school officials, Board President McCray has an opinion.

"A number of the members of the committee visited the schools and saw a lot of things they didn't know existed," he said. "They saw some things complimentary to the administration."

Discipline Eyed

The committee has indicated it will continue to focus its attention primarily on the areas of student discipline, transfers and extracurricular activities.

There may even be some more effort made to foster public understanding of what the committee is and what it is doing, although members point out that this is not one of its functions or primary responsibilities.

Nevertheless, they are aware that a lack of understanding has hurt their efforts to gather information from school patrons.

Several times the committee has invited patrons to come before the committee to voice complaints about discrimination, but only a handful of people has showed up each time.

At one such public forum, of about six people who spoke, two complained about the drug problem in schools, one asked how much committee members were paid, and another wasn't even a resident of the Oklahoma City school district.

Until recently, committee bylaws prohibited all members except the chairman from discussing committee business with news reporters. The bylaws have now been changed to remove these formal restrictions, but the committee still operates under an honor code of silence.

In discussing the proposed lifting of the restrictions, one committee member, at an open meeting, asked about reporters' reactions to such a change.

Fran Morris, a committee member, answered by saying, "I think the message we've gotten is that nobody really cares what we do."

APPENDIX I

TRAINING LESSON - AN ILLUSTRATION

Field Tested August 17, 1973

This presentation was given to a group of 31 teacher trainees who will be in the Oklahoma City Public Schools this year, 1973. It was given in response to a question this writer asked of them which read as follows:

Relate in outline form, the history of segregation in Oklahoma City to areas of politics, economics, housing and education. How are these factors interconnected?

The group had read Kay Teall's book, Black History in Oklahoma, and had heard speakers representing fields of education, sociology, and politics, thus knew a number of facts. However, prior to this presentation, few were able to interrelate the material. A review of their written attempts to answer this question indicated they were confused when trying to do more than give facts. Only two or three were able to expand the definitions of each topic so that they might begin to show a connection among them. As an example, under "politics" many simply listed local office holders. "Economics" meant only tax dollars with some reference to inequality of salaries between blacks and whites. "Housing" was seen as a factor in keeping ethnic groups separated, but only one person understood how this topic related to politics and other issues. Finally, "education" was generally understood as having been affected by segregation laws but, again, trainees could not interrelate this topic with the others in a meaningful way.

Some of the cases and other materials presented in this thesis were presented during this session. To avoid redundancy, this material

Trainee:

That was the case that advocated separate but equal. In other words, the court said blacks could be separated if they were given equal facilities.

Wollitz:

Right. That case gave license to remove blacks from the main stream under the guise of providing equal facilities and opportunities. To quickly update our material, Bohanon was facing 75 years of deep seated segregation practices, in part set by Plessy V. Ferguson and happily maintained by "Alfalfa Bill" and others, when he ordered school desegregation.

Before we go any further let us talk about a topic which, while not directly related to the issue raised in this question, nevertheless touches on economics, politics and history as well as attitudes. It has been said that blacks in the state and this city have been passive - have not fought for their rights as has been the case elsewhere. Yet look at some facts:

- 1) A delegation of blacks went to Washington in 1906 to protest the racist tone of the proposed constitution of the state. This group actually gained an audience with President Theodore Roosevelt. Although Roosevelt would not help, the fact that the delegation was able to meet with him showed they had some political clout plus were able to raise funds for the trip.
- 2) If blacks were to passive and had "kept in their place," why did the Tulsa Race Riot occur?

Trainee:

Being from out of state I got interested in this and did some reading. Maybe we can tie in economics to the Tulsa riot. It seems that before the riot the black community was economically pretty sound. Maybe part of the reason for the riot was that whites were threatened by the economic strides made by the black community.

Wollitz:

That's a real possibility. For sure the black community in Tulsa has never regained what it lost.

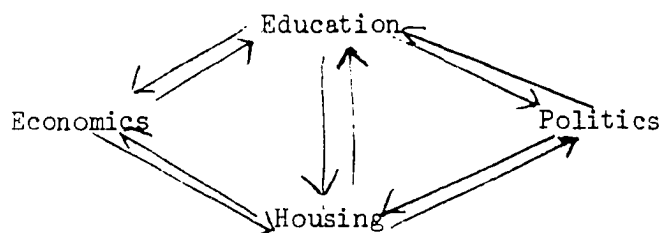
- 3) Had not whites been fearful of gains made by blacks why would the Ku Klux Klan have become so powerful? Recall in Teall's book how politically influential the Klan became in the early 20's even causing Governor Walton to be impeached.

will simply be alluded to here. The setting was informal for this session; trainees seated in a circle. Several of those present had been personally involved in incidents which were discussed. Therefore their input was solicited as it made the discussion more real. Several teachers and community residents were also present and contributed information.

Wollitz:

As we begin I ask you to try and do two things: 1) expand your definition of these topics beyond what you have done in your papers; and 2) attempt at all times to relate these things to what is happening today. None of the facts are important unless they can be related to what you will be experiencing in the schools. This is an important thing to remember when you teach your students, that is relate your material to what is happening to them.

We are all coming from the bag of education. That is what our main concern is. Thus education is central to the theme of this discussion as illustrated on the board, though the others certainly interrelate.



We will begin with politics because, like it or not, politics transcends all other concerns. Kay Teall (Black History in Oklahoma) quotes part of Bill Murray's inaugural address to the Constitutional Convention (Note: Part of address quoted earlier in thesis). Murray showed where politicians of his day stood on the racial issue. This man was a powerful figure, eventually becoming Governor.

Before we condemn Murray and others for their stance however, we need to understand what the law of the land was relating to race relations. What do you know about the Supreme Court Case, Plessy V. Fergusson?

With the above evidence plus recalling the number of black run newspapers in the State it appears black people made every effort to counter the racist tone set in the state.

Switching to higher education, it is a historical fact that blacks could attend but one institution of higher education in Oklahoma - Langston. F. D. Moon, a veteran school official in Oklahoma City, first black school board member and a Langston alumnus noted that not only did all blacks have to go to Langston if they wished to go to college in state but all who went to Langston had to take a non-academic program such as agriculture, carpentry, machine shop, printing, etc. Along with their regular courses. Moon suggested this was because of the stereotype of Negroes by Whites, that is, that blacks should learn to work with their hands because they normally won't make it in professional circles. Recall Murray's statements which we discussed earlier that included his opinion that blacks were failures at professional endeavors.

In her chapter on education, Kay Teall gave evidence that Langston received but a minimal share of the allocations given by the legislature to state colleges. The Black Dispatch documented this fact. Thus we see a tangible example of the interconnection between economics, politics and education.

Before we go any further I want you to take a brief historical trip to set the stage for the racial climate in this city. Beginning in 1906 we note "Alfalfa Bill's" speech. Roosevelt was President. Statehood came in 1907; Taft followed as President; then came World War I; the League of Nations, Wilson then Harding as President; the Tea Pot Dome Scandal followed; Harding died and Coolidge became President; the Roaring 20's; Hoover and the stock market crash followed by Franklin Roosevelt; the build-up of Nazi Germany and World War II. Truman, Eisenhower, the McCarthy Era, Korea came and went, then came Kennedy, the Civil Rights Movement, Johnson, Vietnam, Nixon and now Watergate.

During all this time, transcending all the preceding events one man has been publisher of the most widely read, influential newspaper in the entire state. E. K. Gaylord, 100 years old, is still a power; wealthy and outspoken. He has wielded influence over politics, economics, education and so many other areas of community life.

Participating Teacher:

For many years he would not run pictures of black people in his paper. Only recently has he allowed pictures of black brides in his society page.

Wollitz:

If age is a factor in conservatism then it may be interesting to note something about other powerful business-civic figures in Oklahoma City. In a term paper for a graduate class, William Garthoeffner (Note: see footnote in economics component of this thesis) surveyed a number of men in the city to discover who they felt the power people were. His study found that all but one of the twelve most influential men including Gaylord, were over 70 years old. We'll come back to the importance of this again.

Housing, of course, has contributed to the maintenance of segregation. Because blacks were mainly confined to the lower, northeast sector, housing wise, their schools, churches and social institutions were separated from the white community. To demonstrate just how effective housing ordinances were in preventing integration I shall share a situation which occurred in the 1940's to a black family still active in educational and civic affairs (Note: The "Pearson Case", Case A under Housing - Real Estate, was briefly presented).

Again tying in at least two elements, economics and education, it is a fact that black teachers, up to the Freeman Case in the late 1940's, were paid considerably less than whites; another example of the inherent inequality of separate but equal.

Are you aware that until Sepuel Fisher Case (Note: This is discussed earlier in the thesis) blacks could not attend graduate or law school in the state? Langston has no graduate program. Any black wishing to gain a graduate degree had to go out of state.

Black Teacher Participant:

I want to share my experience in line with that. The state would not let us attend any graduate program in state when I went. However because of an earlier Supreme Court Decision a state which could not provide educational facilities for blacks within the state had to pay expenses for that student out of state. Therefore I went to Denver during the summers to get my Masters at state expense. I know others who went to New York, California and all over. It cost this state a lot of money but they preferred to pay the extra money rather than let us go to white schools here.

Wollitz:

That's a beautiful example of how all these things we're talking about tie together. This state made a political decision to avoid integrating colleges.

You are familiar with the efforts of Mrs. Clara Luper as discussed by Teall. It seems safe to suggest that the business community of the city - the economic-political power structure - was not a positive force in trying to end segregation. It took Mrs. Luper and others over six years to finally topple the barriers (Note: This was discussed earlier in thesis).

Trainee:

I was with Mrs. Luper during a few of the sit-ins. I guess I had been protected by my parents before that. But I remember being really scared. People spit on us, cursed us and everything. I never was hit but I thought I would be. I was young then, about 13, and it hit me hard. I never realized how much people could hate.

Wollitz:

It appears the business community did not help in the efforts to end segregation during that time. However we find that a few years later, 1969 to be exact, the Chamber of Commerce, the public relations arm of the business community did get involved. The Sanitation Strike of 1969 was important for several reasons (Note: This was discussed in Economic Section). The black community, for about the first time, came together to support the predominantly black refuse workers. Black political leaders, businessmen, ministers, teachers and others put aside their differences. Despite numerous attempts by the City Manager and other white city officials to "break" the strike, it was unsuccessful. Finally the city agreed to certain demands but flatly refused to rehire 11 workers whom the city identified as "ring leaders." When it became apparent that the strike leaders would not sacrifice those 11 men and that the city's image was being hurt, the Chamber of Commerce immediately found jobs for the 11 and the strike ended.

Trainee:

I was one of the 11. I will just add that to this day I am blackballed from getting a job with the city. I was not a ring leader, but they thought I was. I lost my house and everything because of the strike. Others lost too.

Wollitz:

Compare the reaction of the power structure's efforts to end the strike with their efforts to aid the schools during the crisis. The school system has had to fight the desegregation problems alone. There have been groups who have tried to help but the important political and business figures have not helped. This isn't to say that the school administrators and school board

members haven't caused their own problems by their continued reluctance to take positive steps to work toward desegregation, but the school system has not had support from the community.

Again, nothing we have talked about is important unless you can relate it to what you will be doing. As future teachers you need to recognize the problems which have occurred and some of the reasons.

Perhaps the Finger Plan is not the best answer. You have heard speakers, black and white, blast the plan and you know school board members, parents, teachers have complained. Yet have you heard viable alternatives offered? What choices did Judge Bohanon have?

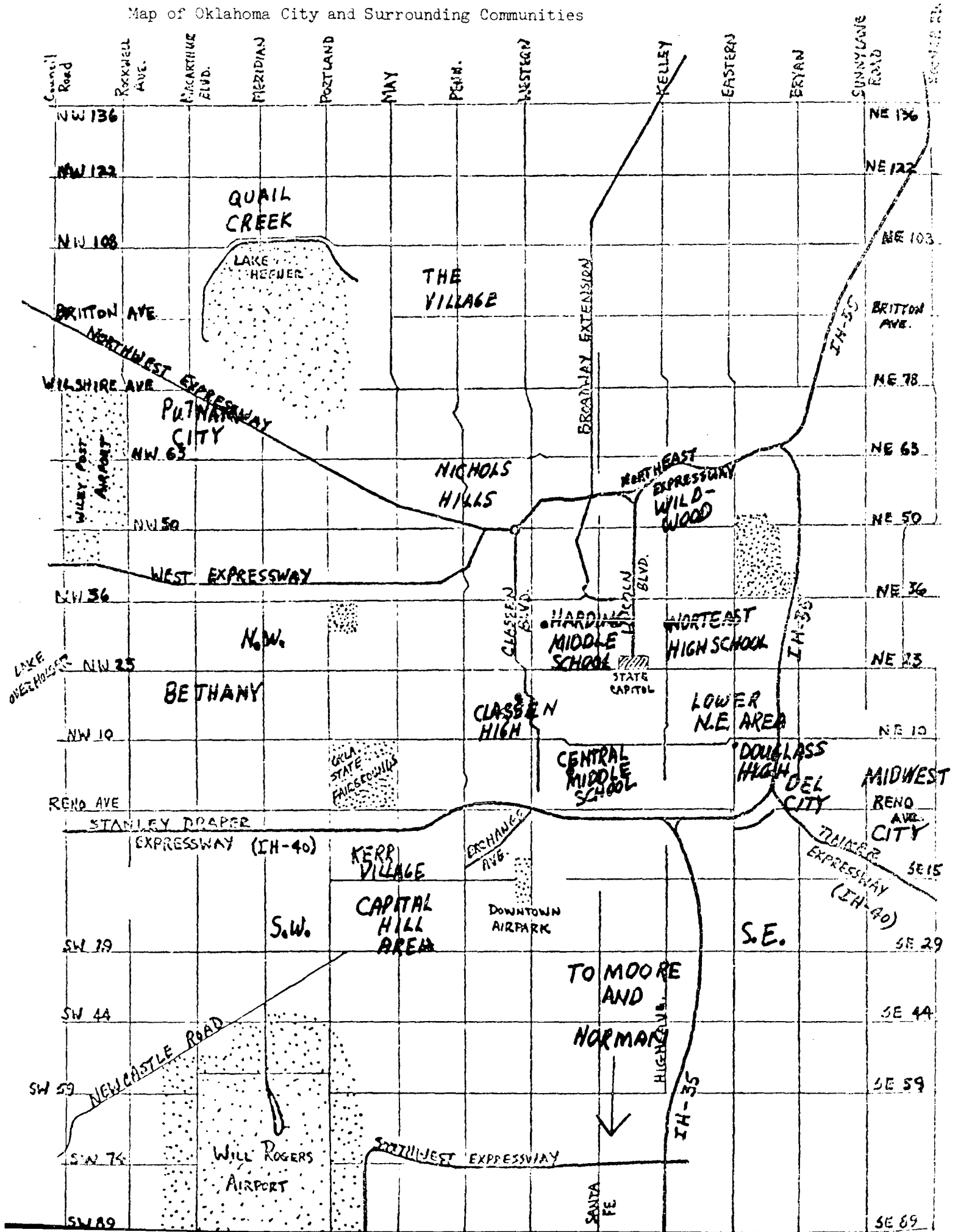
Having discussed housing, economics, education and politics from a historical perspective, is it valid to suggest we should have continued to function as segregated communities? Can we have quality education without integration? As teachers these questions will have significance to you.

What I have given you today is not a cookbook formula designed to answer specific questions with simplistic responses. Rather, I have tried to show you a process - one which necessitates that you open up your minds to recognize that social-educational problems cannot be solved in a vacuum. Human social problems are interconnected. Alone these problems may not have significance, but pieced together, like a jigsaw puzzle, they begin to create a more complete picture.

Please try to expand your thinking when you are asked questions from now on. I think this would not only help you now but will help you reach your students when you get in the classroom.

APPENDIX J

Map of Oklahoma City and Surrounding Communities



APPENDIX K

SIMULATION GAME

As noted earlier the expansion of this study into a simulation game is beyond the scope. However, a brief discussion of ideas relating to its utilization of a simulation model will be presented.

A. In order to experience a feeling for the dynamics involved in each component, at least two questions from the education guides at the end of each component may be selected. Participant-students may then be placed in each of the roles identified and scenes incorporated in each question acted out.

Participants should be encouraged to develop additional role play scenes from cases in each component, with observers present to help players stay within their roles.

B. Upon completion of scenes from each of the components, the entire participant group should critique the scenes and discuss process and content.

C. After completing each of the six components a massive simulation game may be created. Characters from each of the components might be pulled together in one large group. As an example the group might focus on one problem - the development of a community wide plan to help the schools integrate. By incorporating concerns of politics, economics, race relations, education, religion and housing-real estate roles may be created which will help clarify issues.

The list of characters may include the following. Of course some roles may overlap.

- 1) Parents
- 2) Students
- 3) Teachers
- 4) Principals
- 5) School Administration
- 6) Police
- 7) Real Estate Agents
- 8) Businessmen
- 9) Corporation Representatives
- 10) Newspapermen
- 11) City Council Members
- 12) School Board Members
- 13) Social Action Representatives
 - a) Urban League
 - b) NAACP
 - c) Community Action Program
- 14) Ministers
- 15) Church Members
- 16) Attorneys
- 17) Community Residents
- 18) Neighborhood School Representatives
- 19) Observers
- 20) Other