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City Club *of Portland*

BULLETIN

Portland, Oregon

Vol. 60, No. 56

Benson Hotel, Mayfair Room

12:00 Noon

Friday, May 30, 1980

THE PROGRAM:

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION: REPORT ON

RACIAL INTEGRATION-DESEGREGATION ISSUES IN THE PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In September 1979 the Board of Governors authorized establishment of a special research committee to "sort out the facts and identify the issues" regarding race and education in the Portland public schools. That committee's report, published herein, will be the subject of this Friday's City Club meeting.

Committee chairman Ronald B. Lansing will present the report. The committee was instructed not to draw conclusions or to make recommendations about the validity of various positions and plans offered over the past year to solve the School District's desegregation problems. Rather, the Board requested the committee to generate for the Club and for the community a report which details the facts and issues objectively so that the community might gain an understanding of the complex matter of racial integration and desegregation in Portland's public schools.

The report identifies a number of issues in need of additional research. City Club members and their guests are urged to come Friday to hear the committee's findings and to participate in discussion of the questions raised in the report.

Committee members are Ron Ennis, Sara Goldberg, Freddye Petett, Bruce Posey, and Carol Stone.

*"To inform its members and the community in public matters and to
arouse in them a realization of the obligations of citizenship."*

IS YOUR MAIL LATE?

A recent issue of the Los Angeles Town Hall Journal carried this message to its members (which we hope Town Hall won't object to our printing here).

"From time to time the Town Hall (read City Club!) office receives complaints or comments from the members about slow or late mail delivery—especially the Town Hall Journal (read City Club Bulletin!). Fortunately, the Journal contains a Calendar that lists events for weeks in advance (so does the City Club as much as is humanly possible!).

However, we do realize how annoying it can be to receive mail a week or so past the date. Accordingly, we checked with the Post Office for possible remedies and found there is available to you at your local Post Office a form on which you can register a complaint about delay in your mail delivery. This is a Consumer

Service Form 4314 which you file with your local Post Office.

We would very much appreciate it if you would let your local Post Office know that you are unhappy about your slow mail delivery. File Form 4314."

PROPOSED FOR MEMBERSHIP

The following individuals have applied to the Board of Governors for membership in the City Club, effective June 13, 1980:

J. Milford Ford, Associate General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, American Guaranty Life Insurance Company. Sponsored by James Barclay.

Uldis Seja, Technical Coordinator, Portland General Electric. Sponsored by Dan Herborn.

Cindy A. Hurd, Partner/owner, Hurd & Associates. Sponsored by Sylvia Takeuchi.

F. Michael Nugent, Financial Manager, Mercury Development, Inc. Sponsored by Sharon Elorriaga.

PROGRAM JUNE 6

Friday, June 6 is the first meeting of the new fiscal year, and also the meeting at which we elect new officers for 1980-81. Because we had to go to press early because of the holiday, at this writing our speaker for next week is not confirmed. So watch next week's bulletin for that announcement.

PLEASE!

It would be of great benefit to the City Club staff's record-keeping operation if members would keep us advised of address changes—and more particularly, changes in occupation. If you have changed jobs in the last six months, it would be helpful to have that information.

If you don't advise us of address changes, the post office returns your bulletin and charges us 25 cents. You'd be surprised how that mounts up.

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STATEMENT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

In September 1979, the Board of Governors authorized establishment of a special research committee to “sort out the facts and identify the issues” regarding race and education in the Portland public schools. The special committee was given a relatively short time within which to prepare and present its report to the membership.

The committee was instructed not to draw conclusions or to make recommendations. Rather, the Board requested the committee to generate for the Club and for the community a document which details the facts and the issues objectively and dispassionately to facilitate understanding of this complex matter. The issues are not just complex; they are emotionally charged. Decisionmaking on the subject has been characterized by acrimony, by changing decisionmakers, by dispute over the facts and among contending viewpoints, and by interminable, bone-wearying school board meetings on the subject.

This report is the product of the special committee’s effort. It attempts to shed light on the subject in the traditional City Club approach of impartiality and balance, of independent, objective and documented research. It is an important first step.

The Board of Governors expects to approve a continuing research effort on this subject which will use this study as a base. This second report will draw conclusions and make recommendations which will be submitted to and debated by the membership for adoption as Club policy.

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REPORT ON

RACIAL INTEGRATION-DESEGREGATION ISSUES IN THE PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

"The Negro needs neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. A mixed-school with poor and unsympathetic teachers, with hostile public opinion and no teaching of truth concerning Black folk, is bad . . . Other things being equal, the mixed school is the broader, more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider contacts; it inspires greater self-confidence; and suppresses the inferiority complex. But other things seldom are equal, and in that case, Sympathy, Knowledge, and the Truth, outweigh all that the mixed school can offer."

—W. E. DuBois

"I have a dream that one day . . . the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood . . ."

—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"It is my conviction that God ordained segregation."

—Rev. Billy James Hargis

"The white community, and its leadership, has not really committed itself to the goal of integration . . . The Negro problem is really a white problem."

—City Club of Portland,
Racial Justice Report (1968)

"[I]n the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

—Warren, C. J., *Brown v. Topeka Kansas
Board of Education* (1954)

"We're not in Kansas anymore, Toto."

—Baum, *The Wizard of Oz*

I. PREFACE

Our Charge:

This study was born out of a threatened black boycott of the Portland Public Schools, out of an in-depth probing citizen study of racial equity in the schools, out of the end-of-a-decade plan of desegregation in the schools, out of a school board metamorphosis, out of the school board's painstaking search for a new desegregation plan, out of an appeal to the City Club from certain community groups for unbiased detached research.

In October 1979, the City Club's Board of Governors designated and charged this Committee with the duty of investigating race and education in the Portland Public School District. The specific charge limited the study "to generate for the Club and the community a document which details the facts and the issues objectively and dispassionately" and "to conduct a short-term assessment and compilation of the facts surrounding the issues and arguments raised by opposing parties." The committee was instructed to "not draw conclusions or make recommendations" and to be "exclusively fact finding and issues identifying."

A long-range research project will develop out of this short term study. The long-range committee will pursue the issues identified here and will explore those issues in greater depth. Our effort here is the passing of a research baton.

All this report intends to do is take a step away from the trees to get a better look at the forest. Where are we? What is this all about? The report does not pretend to provide a way. That was not our charge. We give an exposition of the varying goals and the pros and cons of the conflicting methods. This is not a blueprint of well laid plans; it is a map of goats' paths.

Our Scope:

This report principally concerns (1) desegregating (2) the races in (3) the public schools.

First, the major focus of this study is on that aspect of *integration* which involves the mixing of student enrollment. That mixing is called *desegregation*. See glossary. Desegregation has been the most controversial aspect of the recent school board discussions. Teachers, staff, curriculum, discipline, and community involvement are all important parts of an integration plan and are, perhaps, more critical to quality education. But public debate has not centered there, and we could find no radical differences of opinion in those other areas. Therefore, our report, a report on the identification of *controversial issues*, focuses on the issues that concern student enrollment mixing, *i.e.*, desegregation. A brief report on some of the other integration aspects is contained in Section VIII.

Secondly, the desegregation studied here concerns *racial mixing*. The discrimination involved is between minority and majority *racial* cultures. It is not directly a division based upon socio-economic classes, even though the latter distinction has a profound effect upon education and learning skills and will be discussed at relevant points in this report. Furthermore, while this report will often refer to Black citizens, "minorities" also include Native Americans, Asians, and Hispanics. The Black student enrollment (14.7 percent) in the Portland Public Schools is almost twice as large as other minorities (8.5 percent).

Finally, this report concerns the racial integration of *schools*. The focus is on desegregation in *elementary* schools (middle and primary schools), not *high* schools. The problems of desegregation are more acute at the elementary level partly because elementary feeder schools (86) are more than six and one-half times greater in number than high schools (13). See Section VI.A.3.

Segregated housing and jobs, while important, are not involved in our study. Nevertheless, it must be observed at the outset that education forms only one junction on a vicious triangle of racial segregation. There are two other junctions, and the cycle is this: The denial of equal schooling opportunities may lead to segregated jobs. The denial of equal employment opportunities may lead to segregated residential areas. The denial of equal housing opportunities may lead to segregated education. Job inequities mean housing inequities which in turn mean schooling inequities, and so forth in downward spiral. While this report is limited to the study of racial inequity in schooling, it must be remembered that these two other factors complete the cycle.

Our Setting:

In 1978, the U.S. Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Office of Civil Rights surveyed over 6,000 school districts throughout the United States. One ranking in that survey showed the bottom 100 districts deserved federal investigation on account of racial segregation in schools. That list included Cleveland, St. Louis, District of Columbia, New York, Cincinnati, Houston, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Tulsa, Memphis, Dallas, Los Angeles, San Jose, Kansas City. The City of Portland was not on the list. Nor was Portland on the list of the "100 worst" on account of segregated *classrooms*. This is not to say that Portland is less nor more racially discriminating. Indeed, the history of racial discrimination in Portland is no more a source of pride than a cause for panic. Nor is it to say that Port-

land cannot learn from the mistakes of other cities. Rather, it is to say that each city's integration problems have a special setting.

Portland has no slum tenements to match the metropolises of the East, no relative core-city decay, no race ratios that defy "minority-majority" descriptions, no Civil War heritage resentments nor Feudal South divisiveness. On the contrary, Portland's intra-city communities are all respected quarters with deserved pride. A plan of desegregation in this setting cannot echo the answers that were developed to meet the problems of ethnically entrenched and economically blighted urban areas of the East or of the socio-economic caste heritages of the South.

All of this does not justify complacency. On the contrary, it should suggest that medicine is warranted all the more, not because Portland is more diseased, but rather because it is worth saving.

II. HISTORY

A. *De Facto Segregation in Portland Schools:*

In 1867, black children attended segregated schools in Portland. At that time the school board built a separate school for black students, but closed it five years later and dispersed the 25 or so black students into white schools. During the late 1800s the City's small black population was living primarily on the west side of the Willamette. By the early 1900s a segregated housing pattern had developed concentrating black residences in the area where the Coliseum is now located. The majority of black children attended Holladay and the old Eliot schools.

As the black population grew, racial isolation in housing and in schools increased. By 1940 the black population was almost 2,000; 57 percent of Portland's black families lived between Northeast Interstate and Union and south of Fremont. The attraction of shipyard jobs during World War II resulted in a 400 percent increase in the black population, to 9,500 by 1950. By 1960 Portland's black population had increased to 15,500 and was even more residentially concentrated. Seventy-eight percent of the black families lived in the area now known as "Albina" in inner northeast Portland. The neighborhood schools serving this area at that time (Boise, Eliot, King, Holladay, Irvington and Humboldt) had become more racially isolated ranging from 30 to 94 percent black by 1960. In 1968 the City Club reported that 73 percent of the black elementary students were enrolled in only nine of the 94 elementary schools in Portland.

In the present 1979-80 school year, 5,268 or 14.7 percent of Portland's elementary students are black. Most of these students (68 percent) attend seventeen schools with 20 percent or more black enrollment. While 39 of Portland's 86 grade schools have less than a five percent black enrollment, seven grade schools exceed 50 percent black enrollment.

To summarize: over the past 100 years the majority of Portland's white and black students have remained concentrated in segregated local schools. As the black student population has grown, additional schools, generally adjacent to the Albina area, have experienced increased black student enrollments. In contrast to this segregation a small minority of black students are attending formerly all-white schools in neighborhoods geographically distant from Albina.

B. *School Board Desegregation Policies:*

The Portland Public School Board has developed and implemented several policies in the past 25 years in an attempt to reduce school segregation, to improve academic performance and to increase inter-racial understanding.

A few months after the 1954 *Brown* decision by the United States Supreme Court, which ruled *de jure* segregation unconstitutional, the school board stated in its minutes that it had a policy of equal education and that it would take no action regarding segregation in Portland Public Schools. This policy of being officially "color blind" persisted on April 20, 1962, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People (NAACP) publicly charged that racial segregation existed in the Portland Public School system. In the spring of 1963 the school board appointed a "Committee on Race and Education" to examine the problem of racial segregation and racially disparate academic achievement in Portland. After an 18-month study, the committee found that unequal educational opportunities existed. On October 29, 1964, the school board adopted the report (the so-called "Schwab Report" named after its chairman) and stated that it would work toward the goals of reducing segregation, reducing class size in predominantly black schools and offering more stimulating educational opportunities. These goals were to be accomplished by the development of compensatory education programs ("Model Schools") and a student transfer program ("Administrative Transfer"). The latter program permitted any student to transfer to any Portland School.

In the Report on the Model Schools Program of School District No. 1, 1972, the City Club evaluated both the Model Schools program enacted in 1964 and the Administrative Transfer program. The report concluded that the "4 percent gain" in achievement of black students in Model Schools reported by the school evaluators was statistically insignificant and that the effect of the five-year program in increasing the learning rate of disadvantaged children was inconclusive. The study stated the following: "Apparently, little valid research has been conducted in Portland schools on how students learn. Anyone studying the Portland system is dependent on national studies and research for direction and evaluation." In reviewing the effect of the Administrative Transfer plan, the City Club report concluded: "We cannot find much eagerness now for use of the present administrative transfer program. In fact it was a hard selling job to achieve the present minimal participation."

In January 1970, the then new superintendent of public schools, Dr. Robert Blanchard, submitted his *Portland Schools for the Seventies* plan which the School Board reviewed and adopted after public hearings. The plan called for changes in central administration, administrative districts, an acceleration of the administrative transfer program, the development of Early Childhood Education Centers (ECECs) in all seven predominantly black grade schools, the creation of middle schools, and the establishment of area advisory committees with members appointed by the School Board.

In 1971 the voters soundly rejected a school bonding measure for middle schools. As a result, middle school development could not follow the School Board's timetable. However, the conversion of Albina grade schools to ECECs went on schedule. By 1977 all grade schools in the Albina area had been converted to ECECs except Boise, which had become a school specializing in fundamental education. Because all upper grades in the Albina area had been removed in the conversion to ECECs, all area students from fifth through eighth grade had to transfer out of the neighborhood. Absence of new middle schools in close proximity to Albina, produced inequities in the transfer program.

One intended function of the Early Childhood Education Centers was to encourage white students to attend Albina schools in pre-kindergarten through third or fourth grade. In 1977-78 about 50 percent of the pre-kindergarten children in ECECs were white. In that same year however, approximately 20 percent of the first graders in ECECs were white and only five percent of the third graders were white.

Another consequence of the student transfer plan and the conversion of Albina grade schools into ECECs was that black grade school children were bused to many different schools, accomplishing a result known as "scattering." For example, in 1977, 451 students from the King neighborhood (an Albina school zone) were bused to 39 different Portland Schools. The Community Coalition for School Integration estimated that "11 percent (approximately 250 students) of the transfer students are in grade levels with no friends from their home neighborhoods." This plight was not duplicated for white children because no white children were forced to attend schools outside their home neighborhoods. The one-way distances the children were bused ranged from one mile to 11.7 miles with an average one-way distance of about five miles. Also, 85 to 90 percent of all students bused in the transfer program were black children.

C. *Community Dissatisfaction:*

In the summer of 1977 some black parents and community leaders expressed concern over School Board proposals involving racially disproportionate busing, a plan involving the busing of black high school students away from Jefferson High School, and other factors affecting the education of their children. After a series of meetings the School Board asked the NAACP, the Urban League and the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission to meet to address the problem of "racial imbalance" at Jefferson High School. Late that summer these organizations formed a coalition and invited other individuals and groups to participate. By Spring of 1978 the newly-formed "Community Coalition for School Integration" had 105 individual and 30 organizational members. The School Board accepted the Coalition's recommendations on racial imbalance at Jefferson, and the Coalition began an intensive district-wide study of integration in Portland.

On November 27, 1978, the Coalition presented an exhaustive 365 page report titled: "Equity for the Eighties, A Report to the Board of Education." The 35 pages of recommendations and 241 pages of appendices embraced most aspects of integration and outlined the pertinent surveys and available research which contributed to the development of the report.

Dr. Blanchard responded to the Coalition report on December 11, 1978. Dr. Blanchard's response summarized school administrative policy, presented administration figures on desegregation and made recommendations for policy changes. His report agreed with many of the recommendations of the Coalition, but took a strong stand against the Coalition's school *pairing* desegregation plan. Newspapers reported that Dr. Blanchard criticized the Coalition's desegregation plan as "excessive."

During the freezing cold and snow of an early January 1979 storm, the School Board met to consider the Coalition's Report and Dr. Blanchard's response. Newspaper reports of the meeting indicated that there was confusion in the audience as to the agenda and subject matter of Board discussion and that the Board made no decision on the issue of two-way busing and pairing of schools. The *Portland Observer* (a newspaper originating in the Albina community) editorialized that the School Board "passed the buck" and discussed only Dr. Blanchard's report and not the Coalition report. The attitude expressed in this editorial is significant in that it reflected the beginning of a feeling in the black community that the School Board was not sufficiently responding to the Coalition report. It was this feeling that led to the rise of the Black United Front and the threatened boycott of the schools.

The School Board met again in late January 1979 and rejected the pairing proposal in the Coalition report. The Coalition met in February and began to expand its membership. The Coalition made inquiry concerning complaints filed with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The complaints claimed that black students bore unequal burdens in the implementation of the district's voluntary desegregation plan; that black students were disproportionately suspended and expelled; and that black students were achieving at lower rates than white students in Early Childhood Education Centers. In late June 1979, HEW responded with a finding that the "Portland Public School District was not in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as to the allegations contained in the complaints." However, HEW went on to say: "The burdens imposed upon black students under the district's voluntary desegregation plan are disproportionately greater than the burdens imposed on white students as a result of desegregation. But this in itself, is not unlawful discrimination because a school district which is desegregating under a voluntary plan can impose unequal burdens on black students as long as these burdens are not grossly unequal."

Because of general dissatisfaction with the School Board policies and the HEW opinion, the Black United Front began organizing community members to support a boycott of the schools unless the School Board developed a desegregation plan acceptable to the majority of the Front members. During the summer of 1979, the controversy began to

develop an emotional pitch. Newspapers reported that Dr. Blanchard responded to the threat of the boycott by stating that, "No thoughtful member of the black community will seriously consider a boycott of the schools." The *Oregonian* newspaper on July 12, 1979, quoted a Front member as stating that the boycott was a response to "double talk in HEW and the 'business as usual' attitude of the School Board and administration."

As Fall and the opening of classes approached, the threatened boycott had gained the support of the Coalition, the NAACP, and other individuals and organizations. In August, Herb Cawthorne, a leader of the Coalition, was appointed to the School Board and Jonathan Newman, a past board chairman, resigned. The School Board had an extensive series of meetings and developed short and long-term resolutions to modify Board desegregation/integration policies. These proposals were tentatively accepted by the Black United Front, and the boycott was postponed depending on implementation of an acceptable desegregation plan.

The short-term resolution provided for the voluntary return of transfer students to neighborhood schools and notification to parents of that possibility. Additional grades were added to some Albina schools to accommodate returning students. Attention was directed to see that desegregation plans did not place a greater burden on black students. Finally, a monitoring group was created to serve as a voice for parents and children to monitor the implementation of the short-term resolution.

The long-term resolution called for a comprehensive plan on all aspects of the desegregation/integration program to be completed no later than January 31, 1980. This plan was to be developed with the involvement of a wide cross-section of the community, and had as goals: to establish early grades at all Albina schools not converted to middle schools; to develop one or more integrated middle schools in Albina; to see that disciplinary measures are applied equitably; to insure that funds will be distributed equitably; to develop a program for the training of teachers and administrators on minority history and culture; to develop programs to enhance the self-worth and cultural identity of black students; to increase the number of minority teachers; and to seek changes in HEW's position on the method of teacher assignments so that minority teachers do not necessarily have to be scattered throughout the district. During this period the composition of the School Board also underwent major change. Four new members were either elected or appointed: Steve Buel, Cawthorne, Sarah Newhall, and William C. Scott, Jr. Only Frank McNamara, Wally Priestly, and Forrest Rieke remained from the pre-1979 School Board.

The new Board formed a sub-committee to develop the long-range plan and by late November 1979, two desegregation plans, each with several variations, had been submitted to the full board. After School Board and public reaction, the committee revamped the plans and in January, 1980, the committee proposed Draft II of the Desegregation Options. Draft II contained two basic options. In February 1980, the Board held a series of forums throughout the district in order to gain public reaction. In early February 1980, the Black United Front submitted its proposal. (See Section VI.B.3.) On March 10, 1980, Board Chairman Scott submitted a culminating draft plan. The Board then heard additional public reaction from various civic groups including a special meeting called for presentations by the Black United Front. The various Board desegregation proposals submitted over the four-month period are summarized at Section VI.B.4.

In late March 1980, the Board began discussion on a final resolution. After four weeks of deliberation, the Board adopted on April 14-15, 1980, its new desegregation plan. The details of the new plan are discussed at Section VI.B.5.

D. *Portland's White Population and Desegregation*

The history of racial integration in the Portland Public Schools indicates that: 1) On a percentage basis, Portland's white population is less involved and less affected by school desegregation than Portland's black population; 2) the School Board often, albeit not always, has become involved in desegregation in response to pressure from citizens on be-

half of minority interests; 3) the effect of School Board policies usually has placed the greatest desegregation burden on children who live in minority residential areas.

For example, after the 1954 *Brown* decision, the School Board concluded that action should not be taken because the board believed that *de jure* school segregation did not exist in Portland. It was one year after the NAACP charge of racism and almost a decade after the *Brown* decision that the school board began the "Schwab Report" on desegregation. The policies stemming from that report placed major emphasis on developments in the black community which had little effect on white citizens. The "Schools for the Seventies" plan primarily involved the white community by busing black children into predominantly white schools and by offering pre-school education through the ECECs. White attendance in the ECECs, however, dropped off dramatically by the second and third grades. The recent desegregation efforts of the School Board were prompted by an outside coalition and a threatened boycott. School Board policy has tended to encourage white participation and to require minority participation.

The history of School Board action and white participation in desegregation programs raises a fundamental issue: What underlying forces operate to produce the above history pattern?

In 1968 the United States Government published the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, often referred to as the "Kerner Report." This report, which concluded that the history of race relations in the United States is complex, stated:

"Certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. At the base of this mixture are three of the most bitter fruits of white racial attitudes: Pervasive discrimination and segregation; black migration and white exodus; and black ghettos."

Also in 1968, the City Club *Report on Problems of Racial Justice in Portland* made the following observation:

"The white community, and its leadership, has not really committed itself to the goal of integration . . . the Negro problem is really a white problem; it is a community-wide concern, not just confined to Albina."

To what extent are these observations still true in Portland? To what extent is racial prejudice a factor in the policies and practices of school desegregation in Portland?

An issue associated with the extent of racial prejudice in school desegregation is the political, economic and social influence of the white majority. Whites occupy a disproportionate number of decision-making positions, own a disproportionate share of the wealth, pay a disproportionate share of the taxes, and, for the most part, live in segregated neighborhoods. To what extent does white influence affect School Board desegregation policy?

Other cities have experienced so-called "white flight." This occurs where middle class whites leave the inner-city for the suburbs, allegedly on account of desegregated schooling in the city. If a significant number of whites leave the city is there a potential loss of funding for schools? Is white flight a factor in Portland? Have or would white families leave Portland because of school desegregation programs?

In Portland, academic achievement correlates highly with socio-economic status regardless of the racial composition of the student body. In Portland, for example, the achievement scores of children in schools located in high-income neighborhoods are generally higher than achievement scores of children in lower-income neighborhoods regardless of race. If there is or has been a threat of white flight in Portland or white disaffection at the polls, would it be because of a fear of desegregation, or would it be because of a fear of possible lowered academic standards, not associated with race,

but associated with socio-economic status? If school policy decisions have taken the threat of white flight or white disaffection into account was that consideration appropriate? If the threat is real, what are its causes and what should be done about it?

Thus, beneath the open tactics of boycott, coalition, and other minority pressures, may lie the issues of white flight, tax losses, ballot measure defeats, and potential inner-city decay. Boycott is the deprived person's flight, just as flight is the majority's boycott. Both boycott and flight have common origins. Both are coercions. The difference has been that one is overt, and the other is covert. Both deserve consideration.

These observations suggest further research of these issues: How pronounced is racial prejudice in Portland and what, if any, effect does racial prejudice have on school board policies and procedures? Do programs cater to whites because of fear of white flight or of lost revenues? Do educational opportunities for minorities increase mainly in response to citizen protest? What is the most effective way for Portland to overcome racial prejudice while at the same time achieving improved education for both minority and majority students?

III. LEGAL MANDATES

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the United States has followed the precept that *de jure* segregation within our public schools is unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. *De jure* segregation is segregation which exists by force of law, as distinguished from *de facto* segregation which exists in fact but cannot be traceable to any government action. In *Brown*, the Supreme Court held that the segregation of children solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprives minority children of equal educational opportunities, and amounts to a deprivation of equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 evidences Congressional recognition and support of the concept of public school desegregation, as originally espoused in the *Brown* decision. Title IV of the Act requires the removal of all forms of *de jure* segregation in public school systems. Although the Act conveys a legislative policy favoring desegregation, it does not contemplate the dismantling of those segregated public schools produced by *de facto* residential patterns.

Title VI of the Act states, among other things, that no person shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. If a recipient school is shown not to be in compliance with the objectives of the Act, it will lose all federal financial assistance.

In 1974, Congress passed the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA). EEOA has as its goal the removal of "vestiges of the dual school system." A dual school system exists where students are assigned to a school solely on the basis of race, color, sex or national origin. Through EEOA, Congress declared it to be the policy of the United States that all children enrolled in public schools are entitled to equal educational opportunity without regard to race, color, sex or national origin. EEOA is used to combat instances of a school board's deliberate racial segregation of students. It is also used to combat racial discrimination concerning faculty and staff hiring, firing, assignments, and employment conditions.

EEOA does not apply to *de facto* segregation or racial imbalance based on residential patterns which are not the product of government action. EEOA specifies remedies that may be implemented in instances of "actionable segregation;" those remedies include busing, developing magnet schools, closing inferior schools and opening new ones.

In 1973, the Federal Office of Education began implementation of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). One of the key goals of ESAA is to respond to the special needs incident to the elimination of minority group segregation and discrimination among stu-

dents and faculty in elementary and secondary schools. Federal funds are made available to local educational agencies meeting the ESAA "eligibility for assistance" provisions. The Portland School District has applied for and is receiving ESAA funds. Recipients that cease to comply with ESAA requirements will lose funding. In general, the requirements are designed to prevent racial discrimination and racial separation of either students, teachers, or other school personnel.

The above laws by no means exhaust the federal legislation concerning the issue of public school desegregation; however, they represent the key federal components in the scheme to eradicate *de jure* segregation from the public school system.

In 1975, the Oregon Legislature passed legislation pertaining to desegregation of the state's public schools. ORS 659.150 states that no person is to be subjected to discrimination in any public elementary or secondary education program or service where the program or service is financed in whole or in part by moneys appropriated by the Oregon Legislature. As used in ORS 659.150, "discrimination" means "any act that unreasonably differentiates treatment, intended or unintended, or any act that is fair in form but discriminatory in operation, either of which is based, among other things, on race or national origin."

Oregon's Department of Education, controlled and directed by the State Board of Education, has established administrative rules to insure compliance with ORS 659.150. One of the Department's policies, sometimes called the "50 percent racial balance guideline" states that school boards should attempt to avoid minority school enrollments that exceed 50 percent.

Finally, the Portland School Board has adopted guidelines and policies acknowledging its affirmative duty to reduce and eliminate racial isolation of minority children in the Portland School District and to maintain a racially integrated educational program for the benefit of students in the district. The Board has also adopted the guideline from the State Board of Education 1974 Policy #41-71 which states that a school is "racially isolated" if it has 50 percent or more minority enrollment.

Opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States have suggested that if a plan or policy is adhered to with full knowledge of the predictable discriminatory effect of such plan or policy, this is one factor among many which may be considered by a court in determining whether an inference of segregation should be drawn. In other words, a school board's actions, having foreseeable and anticipated discriminatory or disparate impact, are relevant evidence to prove that the school board has the forbidden purpose of intentionally maintaining segregated schools.

To summarize, at the risk of oversimplification in a complex area of law: It is unconstitutional for a school board to pass resolutions or to create policy with the purpose of furthering racial segregation in the schools. Racially segregated schools that are the product of housing segregation are not unconstitutional. Apart from the Constitution, however, federal and state agency regulations urge, at the risk of the withdrawal of government funding, that school boards seek to alleviate *de facto* racial discrimination and segregation. In choosing the means to alleviate racial segregation in the schools, school boards have broad discretion and may be influenced by past records of success and by the desires of the citizenry.

These latter influences may at times place school boards in a dilemma. For example, what if the public overwhelmingly favors a voluntary desegregation method that by past performance has not produced desegregation? What happens when public attitude conflicts with public practice? Should the Board listen to what its constituency *wants* or what its constituency *does*?

Would it be evidence of an illegal and improper motive for a school board to persist in a desegregation method of past failure? Would it be evidence of an illegal and improper motive for a school board to persist in a desegregation method of past failure that is substantially supported by majority and minority citizen attitudes? The questions have not been resolved at law.

IV. VALUES AND OBJECTIVES

The first humbling insight that confronts any forager into this area of study is the vast amount of conflicting data, attitudes, and emphases. The only sensible way to begin is to address the question of objectives. The Coalition called them "values." Values are a matter of perspective.

Whose interests are at stake? Those varying interests may sometimes be mutually compatible but are never identical. Our examination reveals these major perspectives: the courts, federal agencies, Oregon State Board of Education, the Coalition, the 1970s Portland School Board, the 1980s Portland School Board, the Black United Front, local parent groups, teachers, civic groups.

But in the final analysis, the appetites for education lie ultimately with the consumers of education—our children. Not teachers, not administrators, not parents, not political activists, reactionaries, militants, nor judges. In the children's interests all of these factions endeavor. In those interests are the objectives. What are the interests of our children? Unfortunately, children are no constituency. Their representation comes only through the good and combined motives of all of us no matter what our perspective or faction. What do we seek for our children? What follows does not represent a unanimity of purpose, but it does represent a rough consensus of goals.

1. Most of us seek for our children academic knowledge. We want them to know all of those arts and science mysteries. We want them to know the skills that will aid them in learning. The interest here then is in learning, and the school objective has been called **QUALITY EDUCATION**.

2. Most of us seek to have our children know more about themselves, about their roots and heritage. We want them to understand their own culture and ethnic origins. The interest here is self-pride, and the school objective has been called **PLURALISM**.

3. Most of us seek to have our children know more about the other children, the roots and heritage of other cultures. We want them to sense and respect other racial and ethnic origins. The interest here is inter-racial understanding, and the school objective has been called **INTEGRATION**.

4. Most of us seek to be allowed to choose the educational settings for our children. We want the liberty of deciding where they go to school, under what special programs they learn, and with whom they learn. The interest here is simply freedom of choice, and the school objective is **VOLUNTARISM**.

5. Most of us seek to have our children treated equally. We want them to have the same opportunities as children of other races and do not want them to receive different cultural treatment. The interest here is equal opportunity, and the school objective has been called **EQUITY**.

6. Most of us seek a sense of community for our children within their neighborhood. We want them to go to school with those they know and with whom they have been raised and have shared experience. The interest here is in community and the school objective has been called simply **NEIGHBORHOOD**.

7. Most of us seek to balance our children's schooling needs against the costs of those needs. We want and expect support for them from government, and we recognize in their behalf that all values must be weighed together and not separately. The interest here is in income sources, cost effectiveness, and time and energy efficiency, and is called **ECONOMY**.

Perhaps other goals can be listed, but the more difficult problem is: What are the strengths and weaknesses of each? How do they conflict with or complement one another? What shall be the priorities among them? The major thrust of this research study has to do with the value of integration in general and its desegregation tool in particular. What follows, therefore, is a simple weighing of integration against some of the other objectives enumerated.

For example, Voluntarism and Integration may come into conflict. What shall be the weighted value of voluntarism if it does not produce integration? Some have questioned whether a pure voluntary system can work in Portland. Does it produce racial mixing so that the value of multi-ethnic understanding can be achieved? To what extent must a so-called voluntary plan be infiltrated with mandates in order to accomplish integration? And to what extent must integration efforts be soft-pedaled in order to give parents and their children free choices? Thus, in a voluntary desegregation plan, the people vote approval by the degree of their freely chosen involvement. Is integration more important or less important than freedom of choice?

To what extent does the interest in Neighborhood values conflict with Integration? If the neighborhood school means the local residential school, and if students cannot be assigned to non-local schools, then is integration possible? Shall integration occupy a back seat to the neighborhood school? Can the two values be reconciled? Are neighborhoods made by *places* or by *people*? And if by *people*, then can the mixing of races and the desire for local community be reconciled by simply keeping neighborhood children together albeit at a non-local school? Neighborhoods are endangered by voluntary scattering, but are they threatened by mandated mass zone busing?

To what extent might the objective of Pluralism and Integration conflict? The dissection of races and ethnic cultures is often framed in terms of *black* and *white* or sometimes between *minority* and *majority* cultures. But neither of those adequately defines the critical difference. It is really an ancestral difference based upon Euro-Asian and Afro-Asian cultures. Cultures are not just static things; culturing is an active process. The Euro-Asian dominancy in our melting-pot nation could have a tendency to assimilate minority cultures. That assimilation process is the root of a profound problem confronting schools today. Does inter-racial understanding (the learning about other cultures) tend to detract from self-racial understanding (the building of self-pride in heritage)? On the other hand, does a preoccupation with one's own background detract from learning about other cultures?

To what extent do the efforts to accomplish Integration detract from Quality Education? One of the unfortunate repercussions of the *Brown* decision was that it seemed to place the whole problem of solving racial integration on the schools. This placement has done much to take school board time and effort away from the main mission of schools—Quality Education. Can the reconciliation of these conflicting values be alleviated by other government response? Where are other community leaders and institutions? What are they doing? Where do they stand? What positions have been taken by the Mayor or the City Council, the County Commissioners, the Legislators, the realtors, the employers, the corporate executives?

The goal of Equity may also come into conflict with Integration efforts. What is equitable about a racial balance test that places a 50 percent ceiling on minority race enrollment? Does such a mechanical test forever reduce a minority race to that quantum status? Is it justifiable to prevent a minority race from becoming a majority? Conceivably a school is segregated when the *majority race* is over-dominant. That might be a deserved equity. What if the guideline stated that a school is racially imbalanced when the *majority* is greater than 50 percent? As far as integration is concerned (*i.e.*, racial understanding), the education of majorities is deficient when it lacks minority mixing (desegregation). The problem with that approach in a school district like Portland is that the minority base (20%) is not enough to go around without accomplishing "scattering." There is a starting point inequity between majority and minority races that cannot be avoided because its origins are nothing more than mathematical. Indeed, the very terms "majority" and "minority" express this mathematical inequality of numbers. Any plan or procedure involving the body county transference of students (*i.e.*, desegregation) is confronted at the outset by this inequity: If equal *numbers* of minority-majority students are transferred, then the *percentages* become unequal (minorities having the inequitably greater percentage of transferences). And if equal *percentages* of students are transferred, then the numbers are

unequal (the majority have the inequitably greater *number* of transferences). In the face of this inherent disproportion, can desegregation efforts nevertheless persist? And if they should persist, can the citizens of Portland accept the inequities of a limited number of school zones being involved in desegregation? Is it fair to be critical of a desegregation plan because it is not "comprehensive" in the sense that it does not involve *all* Portland schools? Is the argument of inequity fair when only certain schools are targeted for desegregation?

The interests in Economy are a persistent counter to the goal of Integration. The costs of idealistic desegregation attempts may be prohibitive. Yet a non-quality, segregated education may also be a cost that society cannot afford. Do integration attempts that deny school closures in the face of enrollment declines, that force expensive school facility remodelings, that resurrect mothballed schools, that take no account of the guidelines and policies of government dollar sources, do such attempts create yokes too heavy for a tax-paying public? On the other hand, do desegregation proposals that attempt to make non-integrative reorganizational changes muddy the waters of a desegregation plan and complicate the logistics of racial mixing?

A clear understanding of objectives is essential in any planning operation. But abstraction goes only so far. We are mice, men, and women after all, and all our plans go astray until the details become affixed. All is rhetoric until then.

The question then becomes: How shall these objectives be translated into nuts, bolts, gears, and springs—into a blueprint of what precisely to do?

V. THE DESEGREGATION ISSUE

A central concern, if not *the* central concern, of schools must be *quality education*. Few disagree. Nor do any of the factions seriously contest the secondary principle that integration is one aspect of quality education, that the understanding of varying ethnic and racial cultures is, along with reading, writing, and arithmetic, an important goal of education. Beyond this, however, company parts. The departure occurs on the issue of *desegregation*. If quality education is the principal goal, and if integration (racial understanding) subserves quality education, does desegregation (the physical mixing of races) further the goal of integration? Thus, the critical threshold issue in this study is: Is racial imbalance in school enrollment necessarily wrong?

Since the 1954 *Brown v. Topeka* decision, where the U.S. Supreme Court said that "separate is not equal," it would seem that the issue of racial segregation in schools needs no further examination. But the Court really answered a narrower issue when it held specifically that segregation wrought by *law* is unconstitutional. *De facto* segregation was not legally indicted. The issue today has been somewhat revived, albeit not in the same context. Elements of the black community, particularly the Black United Front, suggest that desegregation means *assimilation* of minorities by the dominant culture, that what is needed today is pluralism (the maintenance of cultural integrity), and that experience shows that mandated racial mixing in classrooms destroys cultural pride and academic achievement of black students.

Forced segregation of races in schooling is illegal. But the question is whether there is any real value in the insistence that minorities cannot be a majority in a given school? Is the recognized distinction between "minority" and "majority" cultural groups a valid reason for the dispersal of minorities wherever they form a majority? Does the Supreme Court's mandate against *forced segregation* place its emphasis on the word "forced" or on the word "segregation"?

Any argument which consciously or unconsciously results in segregation makes strange bedfellows: Liberal black educators would appear to lie down with apartheid reactionaries. The difference, however, is the difference between a position that advocates for the equal opportunity of *voluntary desegregation* and one that advocates for *mandated segregation*. Voluntary desegregation assumes a genuine choice—each indi-

vidual's choice between the segregated neighborhood and the mixing of cultures at a non-local school. It is one thing to *entitle* passengers to sit in the front of the bus if they so desire; it is quite another thing to *order them* to the back of the bus; and, as in the case of *mandated desegregation*, it is still another thing to *order* them to the front of the bus.

There is another line of argument that supports separate education. It proceeds along these premises: The issue is not really racial difference; it is socio-economic class difference. Children are not merely students; they are family members and peers of other children. They learn not only at school but also at home and in the streets. The dynamics of schooling must be made compatible to that socio-economic background. Can a student who spends non-school hours in an environment without exposure to books, college experience, and literacy, compete with students who have such exposure? Poor students, black or white, transported into a foreign middle class education experience may not be able to adjust. They may not have the parental reinforcement and peer support for that kind of socio-economic schooling.

On the other hand, integration proceeds upon the assumption that a desegregated school atmosphere is itself an education in understanding; that separation in school years breeds misunderstanding in the adulthood of employment, housing, and social life; that bridges between peoples must be built in their growing years. In a world that is being shrunk rapidly by advancing transportation and communication technology and by economic interdependence, varying ethnic and socio-economic cultures are thrown more and more together, like it or not. The success of civilization and the success of each individual depends on an ability to understand and to adjust to one another. All of the agony that abounds the attempt to desegregate a school district is born of the basic assumption that educational separation of races is not quality education.

Assuming that desegregation in education is a desired goal, the issue becomes: How should school racial mixing be accomplished?

VI. THE DESEGREGATION LOGISTICAL ISSUES

A. General Methods:

Desegregation is a matter of racially mixing the student enrollment at a particular school. Residency is the foremost influence on enrollment profiles. Where residential patterns are mixed, school boards have no difficulty with the logistics of desegregation. But where residential areas are each racially homogenous, the problems of school desegregation become acute.

School boards have no *direct* power over population shifts and residential patterns. However, school boards may affect residential patterns by influencing realtors, employers, developers, government planners and zoners, and other community leaders. To what extent might the Portland School Board make better use of this potential influence?

But aside from such indirect influence, school boards have certain direct political powers, and the question then becomes: What resolutions by a school board will directly affect the student enrollment profile at a given school? The positive actions by a school board that logistically produce desegregation can be categorized under five dynamics:

1. Zone Boundary Changes
2. School Assignments
3. School Conversions
4. Parental Options
5. Recruitments

1. *Zone Boundary Changes (Neighborhoods):*

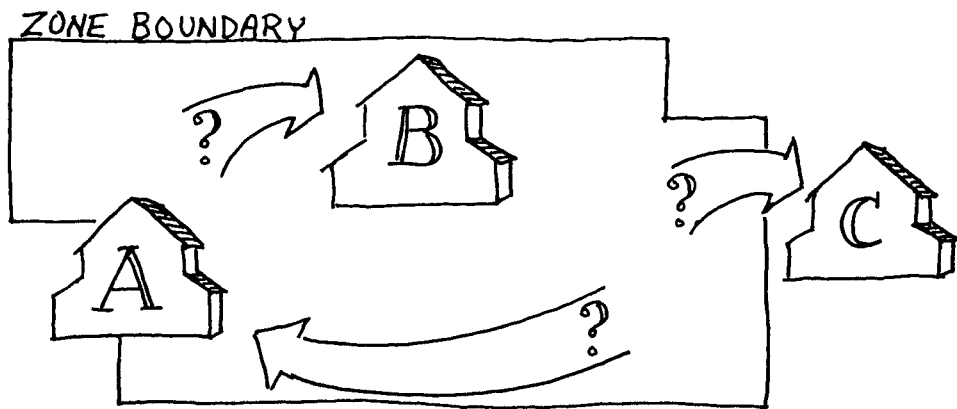
School boards can affect enrollment profiles by fixing the geographical boundaries for the area that will serve a given school. To a large extent these areas are traditional and

have reached semi-permanence by virtue of their having become neighborhoods. Slight modifications are often made from street to street or block to block to accommodate reorganizations based upon population shifts and efficient use of school facilities. But aside from such minor exhaling and inhaling of borders, the zone corpus tends to remain constant. This is especially true in the central city where patterns and life styles are venerate and neighborhoods are well rooted.

Nevertheless, a school board has the political power to alter those areas. The question then becomes: To what extent does desegregation justify the gerrymandering of neighborhoods? To what extent must a school board be sensitive to geographical borders (*e.g.*, rivers, freeways, hills), land use borders (*e.g.*, housing, commercial and industrial development), and ethnic community borders (*e.g.*, ghettos, barrios, "towns"), that have created neighborhoods by popular observance?

2. School Assignments ("Busing"):

School boards can affect enrollment profiles at a given school by the assignment of zones to schools. The drawing of zone borders is one matter, but designating which school will serve that zone is another. It is possible to assign a zone of students to School A, B, or C, thus:



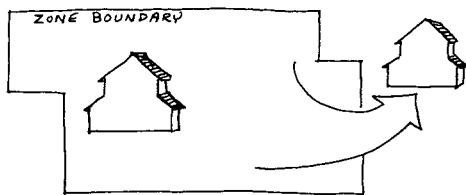
School "B" and possibly School "A" would be regarded as so-called "neighborhood schools." This is so because those schools are situated *within* the zone boundaries and not necessarily because they are closer to a given potential student's home. A better term for such schools would be "local schools." Indeed, in the case of some students, school "C" (a non-local school) is closer than School "A." Thus, proximity to school is not really the criterion. Distance of travel as remedied by bus transportation may be a factor in either local or non-local school assignments. Nevertheless, the school assignment method of desegregating is commonly referred to as "Busing."

Note also that a zone assignment to a non-local school need not be a permanent assignment for all elementary grade levels. It could be a school assignment for just one or more grade levels. Under that concept, students at one grade level are mandatorily transferred to a non-local school for only one year and then are returned to local schooling. This is termed a "One Year Transfer Plan." Of course, it could also be a two-year or three-year transfer plan. In any case, it is simply a limited form of school assignment.

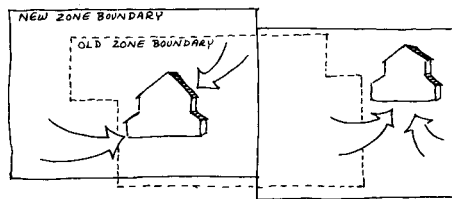
Furthermore, neighborhoods are not made by *places*; they are made by *people from common places*. Thus, the concept of neighborhood is preserved by zone transfers to non-local schools of all students from the same neighborhood. The students remain with their

neighborhood classmates throughout all of their schooling years and in that way "neighborhood" (a community of peers) is not diluted.

In this respect, the radical altering of traditional zone borders (*e.g.*, by gerrymandering) can do greater harm to the values of community (neighborhoodness) than can the shifting of assignments to non-local schools. Thus, contrast a *school* assignment of a designated zone:



with a *zone boundary change* of that zone:



Note that a transference ("busing") of students may occur in either situation, but neighborhoodness is divided in the boundary change.

Nevertheless, the issue that pits "neighborhood" against "busing," arises in these *assignments* of zones to schools. Should a school board in the interests of desegregation exercise its power of school assignments so as to mandate the transference of a whole zone of students to a non-local school? Is there a sociological truth and public attitude that so favors the *local* school concept that it cannot be overcome by this method of desegregation?

Of course, it is also possible for a school board to gerrymander by the school assignment method. A given zone can be segmented without making a boundary change by simply assigning one segment of a neighborhood zone to one school and the remainder of the zone to another school. This is what happened to the King neighborhood in the Portland "Seventies" desegregation plan. The King neighborhood was split three ways by school assignments. Although functionally this was tantamount to a zone boundary change, the King neighborhood maintained its old identity even in the face of its new "King I," "King II," and "King III" designations. Is it more candid to call such "segmented school assignments" by their true effect, *i.e.*, to call them zone boundary changes?

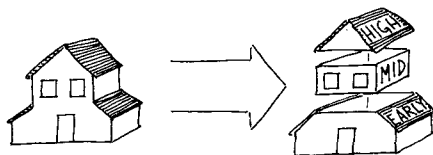
3. School Conversions: (Closure and Grade Alignments)

School boards can affect student enrollment profiles by realigning a school and its academic grade levels. By closing or opening an entire school or a grade level at a school, an effect on enrollment is achieved. This is a dynamic distinct from rezoning or reassignments. Usually it is coupled with a rezoning or a new assignment, but not always (*e.g.*, in the mid-1970s Albina schools were converted to early childhood centers, but no rezoning or new assignments were made for the middle grade students.) Nevertheless, by closing a school, students of the closed school will have to be reassimilated into the school district, and in that process, desegregation is more likely to occur.

More subtle, however, is the recognition that the same effect on enrollment profiles occurs when grades (not entire schools) are closed. The creation of a middle school (*e.g.*, sixth grade through eighth grade [6-8]) out of a previous elementary school (*e.g.*, first grade through eighth grade [1-8]) is in fact the *closure* of first grade through fifth grade [1-5] at that school. Likewise the creation of an early childhood center (*e.g.*, pre-kindergarten through third grade [P-3]) is the closure of fourth grade through eighth grade (4-8) at that traditional elementary school and a creation of a pre-kindergarten grade level.

The division between high schools and elementary schools is a time-honored grade alignment. The further division of elementary schools between middle (*e.g.*, 6-8), primary

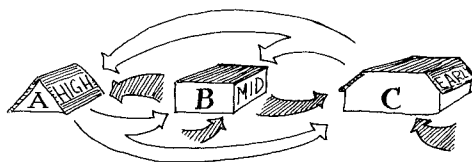
(e.g., 1-5; K-4), and early childhood centers (e.g., P-2; P-3), is a relatively modern realignment in the Portland Public Schools.



From a desegregation standpoint, the dynamic that is really at work in *school conversions* is this: By reducing the number of terminal points (schools or grades), an increase in grade enrollment at any one school is achieved, and thus, a greater mixture of students at that grade follows. For example, if we have Schools A, B, and C each serving students from kindergarten through grade 12, existing segregation is more likely to continue:



Examples of this alignment exist in the Portland schools at Boise (K-8); Chapman (1-8); Ainsworth (1-8). But if the school grades are realigned thus:



then, in a manner of speaking, there is only *one school* network with a commensurate greater mixture of students. School C becomes a feeder school of School B, and School B a feeder school for School A. (See "Pairing" and "Clustering" concepts at Section VI.B.2.)

It follows that every time a school is closed or a middle or early school is carved out of an older "elementary" school, a greater prospect for desegregation occurs. *E.g.*, Because high schools are larger but fewer in number, (13 Portland high schools compared to 86 elementary schools), the problems of desegregation may not be as acute at that level. Carried to its most theoretic extreme, a school district with only *one school* should have no desegregation problem whatsoever.

Likewise, the opposite is true: every time a new school is opened or a previous middle school or early school is expanded to include more grades, the prospect for resegregation increases. For example, the reopening of such "closed" Portland schools as Monroe, Kennedy, or Couch, portends of the latter prospect.

Can school or grade conversion, while sometimes effective as a desegregation tool, undercut quality education? If the seats of education—the school buildings—are constantly contracted or expanded and perpetually realigned and reconverted, is the education that goes on inside those schools likewise agitated? Can the school board that desegregates by conversion of schools, continue to suffer the expense and disruption of constant retooling?

4. Parental Options (Voluntarism):

A school board can affect student enrollment profiles by permitting the student and parents to choose the school of attendance. The previous methods for affecting enrollment (e.g., by zone boundaries, school assignments, and school conversions) are all *mandatory*

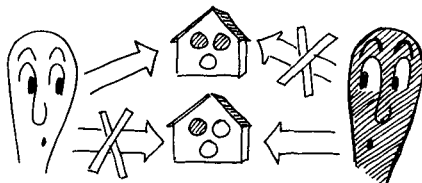
procedures, "mandatory" in the sense that student and parents have no options. To the extent that parents can choose where their child shall go to school, the method is said to be *voluntary*.

But a voluntary method must begin with mandatory assignments. A *pure* voluntary system would be a district-wide open enrollment policy, the equivalent of a college-type system where each enrollee begins by choosing a school, and by competing on a quota basis for enrollment. It could eventually involve entrance exams and selective admissions. Obviously such a pure district-wide voluntary system would be difficult in a public primary-secondary school system. Consequently, even a voluntary plan first makes "mandatory" assignments. Voluntary transfers from those assignments follow. The school board can further "mandate" the strength of those options by reducing the number of permissible choices. To the extent that some options are not open, the method is merely partially voluntary.

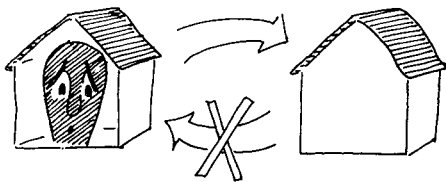
The difficulty is not, therefore, whether to effect a voluntary plan, but rather *how to limit it*; how to withhold total choice; in a manner of speaking, how to "mandate" the choices. A school board might "limit" parental options in the following ways in order to effect desegregation:

a. *By permitting the choice of transfer only if the transfer will aid in increasing the ethnic or racial mixing of students:*

Thus, a black student would not be allowed to opt into a predominantly black school, and a white student would not be allowed to transfer into a predominantly white school. This limitation presents an interesting constitutional issue: *E.g.*, if a black (or white) student sought to enter a non-assigned predominantly black (or white) school because that school had a special educational program of value to that student, could the school by this limitation constitutionally deny the entry? See the discussion of the magnet school concept, at Section VI.A.5.



b. *By permitting the choice of transfer only once, thus impairing the option to return to the originally assigned school:*

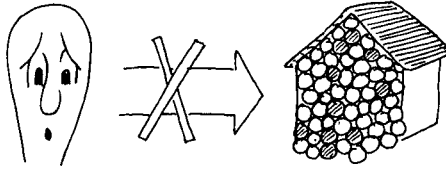


Would such a limitation have a chilling effect on choice? Would it completely abrogate the value of a so-called voluntary system? On the other hand, without such a limitation on choice, would the privilege to return or to make new choices annually, promote "school shopping" and confound administrative enrollment predictions which are so necessary for future planning?

c. *By permitting the choice only if there is room at the receiving school:*

This limitation is obvious and compelling. However, the question of what is meant by "room at the receiving school" becomes acute when students who have *opted out* are permitted to return to their originally assigned school. In that case, "room" must be saved

at each school for all potentially returning students. Should a student be denied voluntary transfer to a receiving school because empty seats are being saved for potentially return-



ing students? On the other hand, should a student be precluded from returning to his or her originally assigned school because there is no room? Should a voluntary transfer student be "bumped" out after enrollment in favor of a returning student? How shall space be allocated for potential returnees under a voluntary plan? Does all of this suggest a logistical value in the one-way, no return limitation?

d. *By permitting the choice of transfer only to certain designated schools:*



This limitation on voluntary plans is sometimes made necessary in order to avoid the effect of scattering minority students. A minority student whose choice places him or her in a student body enrollment that is overwhelmingly majority is more likely to be subject to assimilation. Curriculum changes that promote cultural and ethnic identity, pride and understanding are not apt to occur where minority enrollment is low. The issues then become: What should be a minimum size for minority enrollment? Which schools should be designated for limited choice in order to accomplish these minimum minority enrollments without at the same time violating state standards for maximum minority enrollments?

Having reviewed these various examples of limiting choice, it is clear that a so-called "voluntary" plan does not, in fact, relieve the school board of decisions concerning mandates. Mandates must be delivered under either a mandatory or a voluntary plan.

5. *Recruitments (Influencing of Choice):*

School boards can affect enrollment profiles by persuading students and parents to choose certain schools. This method assumes the existence of a parental option (voluntary) plan. The *recruiting* method is different from *compelled 'limits'* upon parental choice in that it attempts to influence (not mandate) choices by informing the citizenry and imparting value to certain options.

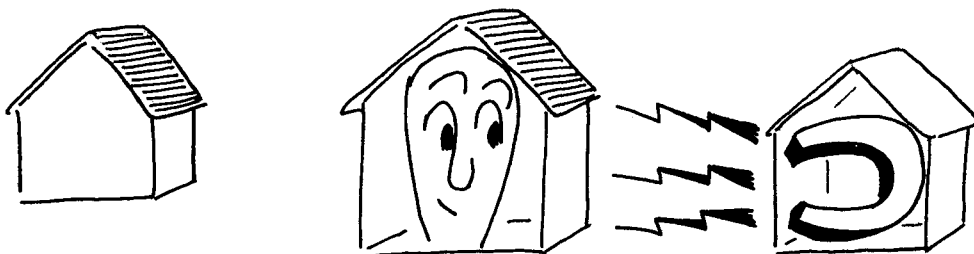
Here school boards can create public information programs and organized campaigns to convince white parents to send their children to predominantly minority schools and to convince minority parents to send their children to predominantly white schools. Basically such campaigns are predicated on the simple selling point that a desegregative school atmosphere is an education *per se*. It is this latter concept of *integration* that *desegregation* serves. (See Section V.)

Whether that simple truth can persuade a substantial number of opting parents, becomes the issue. In other words, in a voluntary plan, will parents appreciate that desegregation in and of itself is a valid objective? And if so, what can a school board do in the way of public communication to persuade parents of that educational fact?

One recruiting technique has to do with communication, or rather the absence of it. An option that is not fully informed is a *guided* option. School administrations can fashion

school enrollment profiles under the rubric of voluntarism by not fully advising constituents of the full breadth of choices. For example, in January 1979, the Portland School Board desired to diminish the scattering of minorities under its then existing voluntary plan. Accordingly, the Board passed a resolution which sought "to accomplish the substantial reduction of the number of receiving schools to which children are transferred, while preserving appropriate latitude for parent choices of schools." Under that resolution, parents were still permitted transfers beyond designated receiving schools. Nevertheless, a reduction in scattering did result. Parental options were just as broad *after* as well as *before* the resolution. Nothing was changed. Yet the resolution communicated the inaccurate notion that a limited number of receiving schools had been designated. The resolution did not *mandate* a limited number of receiving schools. Inadvertently, the school board can narrow choice by other such ambiguous communications. Is that "recruitment" technique made necessary in order to provide some sort of predictability in voluntary school enrollments? How far should a school board go with this kind of "influencing" of parent options?

Another method for recruiting is the magnet school concept. Under that method a particular school is targeted for special educational programs. Presumably these special programs will attract an ethnic diversity of students.



A *pure* magnet school has no zone assignment; its students live district-wide and are composed of those who have opted to attend (*e.g.*, Benson High School and the Metropolitan Learning Center at Couch school). Selective admissions may result, especially where options exceed capacity. Magnet schools are naturally more expensive and a *pure* magnet may suffer waste when subscriptions do not meet projections. For that reason most such programs are hybrid *assigned magnets*, *i.e.*, schools having special educational programs designed to attract some voluntary students but also having an assigned zone to provide a minimum "mandated" student base.

However, these *assigned magnets* present dilemmas. If assigned magnet programs are situated solely in the white community or solely in the black community, stigma or inequity may result. But if magnets offering similar programs are placed in both communities, then they may depolarize each other. Why would black or white parents transfer their child to a special education program in a non-local community when one exists in the local community? And if an assigned magnet school is placed in a neutral area, where black and white residency is already in balance, then how has desegregation been advanced? Why attempt to desegregate a school that is already racially balanced? If the magnets are too many, they may be expensive and counter-productive. If they are too few, they may be selective and elitist.

The issue then is whether magnet recruiting efforts are worthwhile as a desegregation tool. Does their value within a voluntary system outweigh their potential for inequity, expense, and counter-production? Do magnet efforts subtract from the principal recruiting message—an appeal to desegregation/integration for its own sake? Do magnet schools create a "two-tiered" system of schooling with resultant elitism at the top and stigma at the bottom?

6. *Postscript to General Methods:*

The foregoing discussion and analysis of general methods portray desegregation as a "numbers" game." But one must understand that that "numbers game" is spawned out of an attempt, not just to *quantify*, but more importantly, to instill *quality* into the system. It was the Supreme Court of the United States that put a premium on body count mixing by ruling that separate is not equal. It was the Oregon State Board of Education that defined racial imbalance in schools as black enrollment in excess of 50 percent. It was the federal agencies that conditioned federal dollars on mixed racial enrollment. It was the Coalition that criticized the Portland School Board for its seven racially isolated schools. If it is true that too much attention is paid to numbers, then it may also be true that not enough attention is paid to the individual student. Desegregation may be a "numbers game," but each one of those numbers represents a child.

B. **Specific Approaches in Portland**

Various specific methods of desegregation have been operative in or proposed for the Portland situation. What follows is a brief explanation of how some of those plans align according to the foregoing analysis of general methods:

1. *Portland's "Seventies" Desegregation Approach:*

Throughout most of the 1970s Portland operated on a so-called "voluntary" (parental option) plan. The options were limited, however: Any student (white or minority) could voluntarily transfer to any school in the district if such transfer would abet the desegregative profile of the receiving school. Time-honored basic school zones were observed and initial zone assignments were made to local schools. However, in some instances, black students in portions of the Albina area were not given assignment to any middle school. No middle school was located in the Albina area, and, therefore, black middle school students were in effect forced out of the Albina area. In some instances, students from the Albina area were limited in parental options by being deterred from return to their originally assigned Albina school. The initial voluntary choice was not limited to any designated group of receiving schools, and, consequently, a *de facto* dissipation of minority students occurred throughout the district. In spite of this scattering effect, however, the Albina schools remained from 52 to 78 percent minority enrollment.

White students were recruited into the Albina area by magnet programs. The magnets created in the black schools were so-called "Early Childhood Education Centers" (ECEC). These schools provided pre-kindergarten grades and included classes through second or third grades. Magnet programs were also created at high schools having high percentages of assigned minorities. Thus, the magnet concept was employed principally to attract white students into black area schools. Few equivalent magnet programs existed in white schools.

Both white and black students who had opted into non-local schools tended gradually to return to their local schools. White students experienced less difficulty in making that return than did some minority returnees.

During the first eight months of 1979, the School District attempted to rectify the shortcomings of its voluntary plan. These modifications included steps to counter "scattering" by persuading minority parents to choose from a reduced number of standard receiving schools, and steps to emphasize that resident Albina students have a priority right to attend local magnet early schools.

Nevertheless, the general theory of Portland's desegregation plan throughout the Seventies emphasized the logistical techniques of parental choice and recruitment. On balance, the practical operation of that theory tended to *mandate* black exodus and to *attract* white transfers.

In rough figures, the Portland 1970s "voluntary" plan generally produced an annual transfer of approximately 400 to 600 white students to Albina schools and an annual

transfer of approximately 1,500-1,700 minority students to predominantly white elementary schools. The Coalition reported that in 1977, 85 to 90 percent of the 2,194 students voluntarily transferred by parent option were black. The figures imply either an inequitable inducement on parental option or an inequitable commitment to desegregation.

2. The Coalition Desegregation Approach

In late 1978, the Community Coalition for School Integration proposed a different approach to desegregation in the Portland Public Schools. The Coalition recommended that the School Board adopt a "pairing" plan for desegregation. Basically, the pairing concept employs the dynamics of school conversions and zone assignments. Both are *mandatory methods*. Zone boundaries remain unchanged, but locally assigned school grade levels are closed and students within the zone at those closed grade levels are re-assigned to a non-local school. Likewise, different grade levels are closed at the non-local school so that those non-local students are given dovetail reassignments to the open grades at the local school. Thus, it is said that the two schools are paired. If several schools are involved in this complementary closing of grade levels, the concept may be called "clustering." (See diagrams, at Section VI.A.3.)

The paired or clustered zones need not be contiguous. If they are contiguous, the result might be accomplished by a mutual zone boundary change, thus leaving only one zone where two or more previously existed. The Coalition did not choose to describe "pairing" in these latter terms. The result is the same, the method perhaps only semantically different.

The Coalition also acknowledged (but did not recommend) the validity of a One-Year Transfer Plan. That concept emphasizes the zone assignment method at a single grade level with no school conversions involved. (See Section VI.A.2.)

The central point of departure under either a Pairing, Clustering, or One-Year Transfer approach from the School Board's Seventies approach is the difference between a predominantly mandatory and a predominantly voluntary plan. The Coalition's emphasis on school assignments and school grade conversions was a refutation of the voluntary approach and a championing of mandated desegregation. The Coalition specifically deprecated magnet recruiting methods. Neither the Coalition's nor the Board's Seventies approach encouraged significant zone boundary changes.

3. Black United Front's Desegregation Approach:

In early February 1980, the Black United Front submitted its proposal for reorganizing the Portland schools. Concerning the logistics of racial mixing of student enrollments, the Front's plan makes relatively little change. It does make use of the method of school conversions. One Albina school (Eliot) would be converted from an early school to a middle school, and another near-Albina school (Kennedy) would be reopened as a middle school. School assignments would send students in the Humboldt, King, and Eliot zones to the newly converted Eliot middle school. Students in the Vernon and Woodlawn zones would be assigned to the Kennedy middle school. Sabin students would continue in their assignment to Beaumont middle school. The Eliot early school grade children would be reassigned to Boise. No boundaries would be changed under the Front plan.

The Front plan would also permit the exercise of parental options to send children to any school in the district on a voluntary basis. The plan does not, however, provide for and recruitment methods and expressly disavows magnet schools and any counseling of students to leave Albina schools.

In general, the Black United Front champions pluralism (see Section IV) and neighborhoodness (see Section IV), denigrates assimilation (see Section V), and places no emphasis on desegregation. The mandatory school conversions are principally designed to correct the previous inequity of no middle schools in the Albina area. Any racial mixing of students in the schools is left to individual parent options with no emphasis in recruiting those options. The Front urges greater attention to quality education. Is that

emphasis a return to the Model Schools compensatory education approach of the late 1960s and early 1970s, an approach dispelled in the City Club's 1972 Model Schools study?

4. *The Portland School Board's Proposed Desegregation Draft Proposals:*

In December 1979 and January, February, and March of 1980, the Portland School Board developed a number of desegregation draft plans which were presented to the public for discussion. Those drafts were submitted in varying combinations and would be too numerous and complicated to explain here. Approximately 14 different plans or variations were discussed. However, in general, certain basic dynamics in each of them provide a basis for analysis. The various proposals can be categorized under one of three possible transfer dynamics: (a) the "Greater Northeast Dynamic," (b) the "East-West Dynamic," and (c) the "Inner Northeast Dynamic." (See Illustration No. One.)

The "Greater Northeast" plans emphasized a desegregation flow between the Albina schools and outer northeast schools. These plans, in varying combinations, would have influenced student mixing by incorporating one or more of these specifics: *E.g.*, closure of Columbia Middle School; conversion of Adams High School to a middle or early or combined high-middle-early school; assignments to Whitaker Middle School or to Columbia or Adams; together with other recruitment techniques in aid of an overall voluntary method.

The "East-West" plans emphasized a desegregation flow between the Albina schools and schools west of the Willamette River. These plans, in varying combinations, would have influenced mixing by incorporating one or more of these specifics: *E.g.*, clustering Chapman, Ainsworth, and Couch schools with certain Albina schools; inclusion of the Sylvan schools on a limited option basis; together with other recruitment techniques in aid of an overall voluntary method.

The "Inner Northeast" plans emphasized a desegregation flow between the Albina schools and nearby schools in and around the inner Northeast area. These plans in varying combinations would have influenced mixing by incorporating one or more of these specifics: *E.g.*, boundary changes between Sabin and Alameda schools; assignments between Albina schools and Ockley Green, Beach, Fernwood, and Irvington schools; recruitments between Albina schools and some nearby Southeast schools such as Monroe and Buckman; together with other recruitment techniques in aid of an overall voluntary method.

Illustration No. Two shows in a very *approximate* way student residential patterns in the Portland School District. The statistics are taken from page 340 of the Coalition's 1978 report. Therefore, the reader may compare the various *de jure school* desegregation dynamics here discussed with *de facto* residential desegregation in Portland. These figures should be updated by the new 1980 census results.

5. *Portland School Board's Desegregation Approach for the 1980s*

On April 14-15, 1980, (as this research study goes to press) after more than eight months of school board deliberations, the board finally adopted a new "Desegregation Plan." The plan relies substantially on parental option and recruitment to accomplish racial mixing of students in the schools.

In one instance the plan speaks of a "boundary change" (in reality, a school reassignment): students in the King III zone are reassigned to either Alameda or Sabin schools, depending on parental choice and "crowding at Sabin."

School conversions occur at Eliot, Humboldt, and Boise schools in the Albina community. Eliot would be converted from an ECEC to an assigned magnet middle school. An ECEC would be added to Boise (presently K-8), and existing programs at Boise would be strengthened in order to improve the fundamental magnet potentials there. Monroe school would be reopened in order to initially and temporarily accommodate the new Eliot middle school students during Eliot's possible two year renovation period. Humboldt school would be expanded from a PK-3 to a PK-5 ECEC.

The plan places emphasis on the *integrative* aspects of education by attempting to improve multi-ethnic curriculum and staff training. *Quality education* in the Albina schools is strengthened by reducing student-teacher ratios, by accentuating basic skill learning, by attending to more individualized learning through the use of learning maps and contracts, and by expanding classroom space.

In general, the mechanics of the plan emphasize the values of equity and quality education, rather than the desegregative features of racial balancing. For example, the conversion of Eliot to a middle school was more of a solution to the inequity of no middle school in Albina, than it was a commitment to the mixing of races. Whether or not desegregation also will be served at the Eliot middle school will depend upon the success in achieving voluntary white transfers. The board hopes to recruit 300 white students to Eliot to align with the 300 black students mandatorily assigned there.

Estimated cost of the plan is \$5 million for capital construction plus \$2 million for operations. This \$7 million constitutes five percent of the school district's 1980-81 budget (\$143 million). The desegregation logistics are depicted at Illustration No. 3.

Illustration No. 1

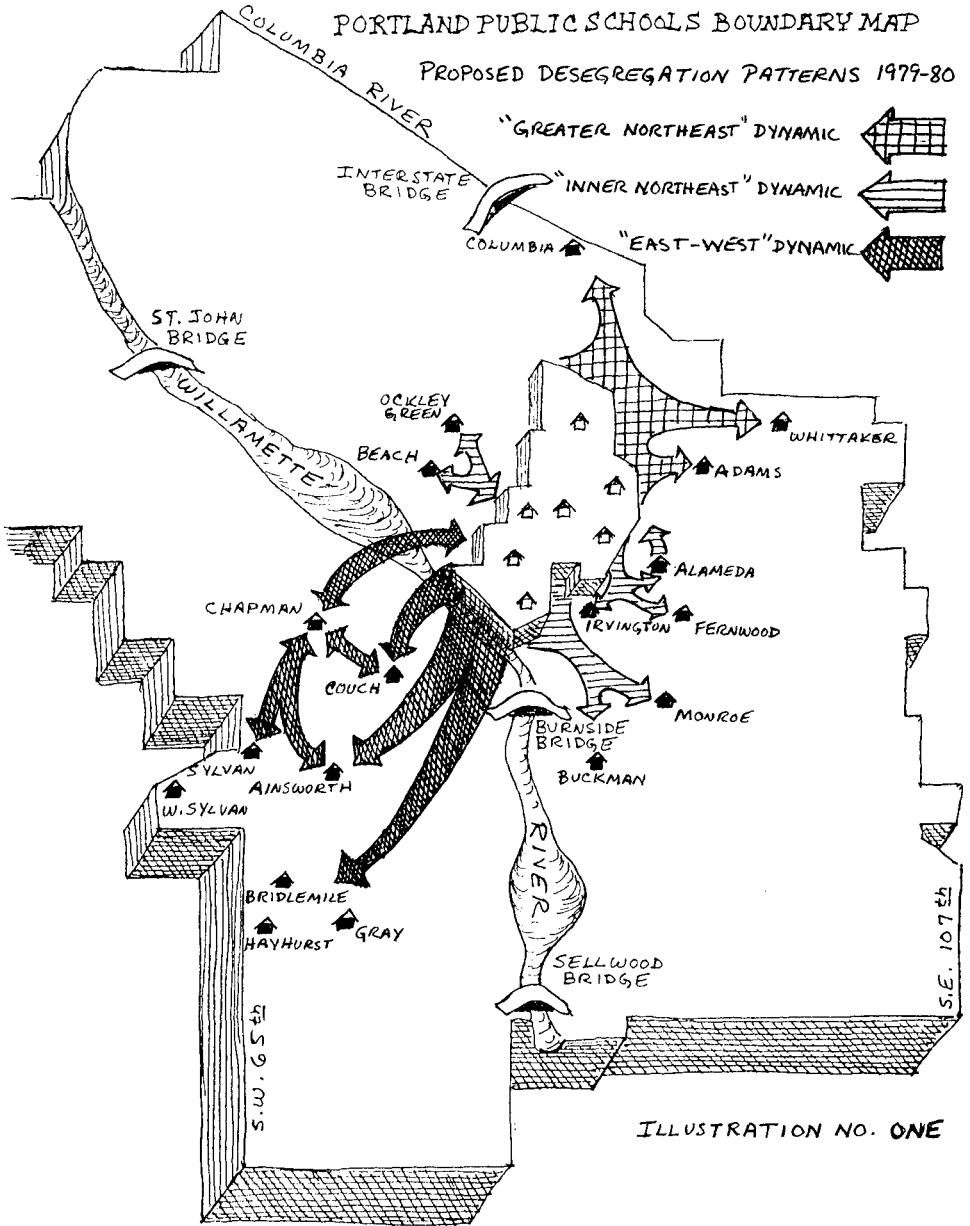


Illustration No. 2

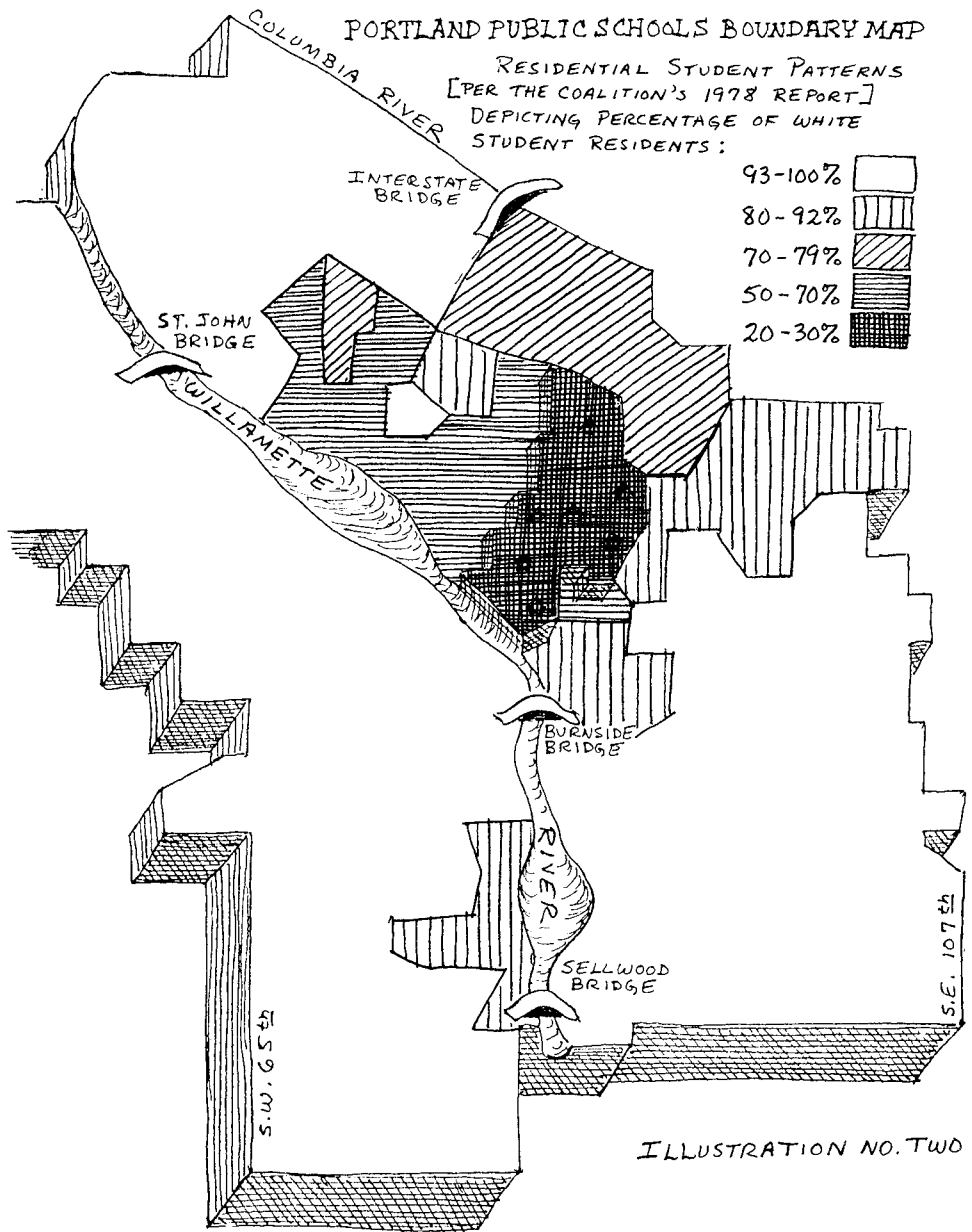
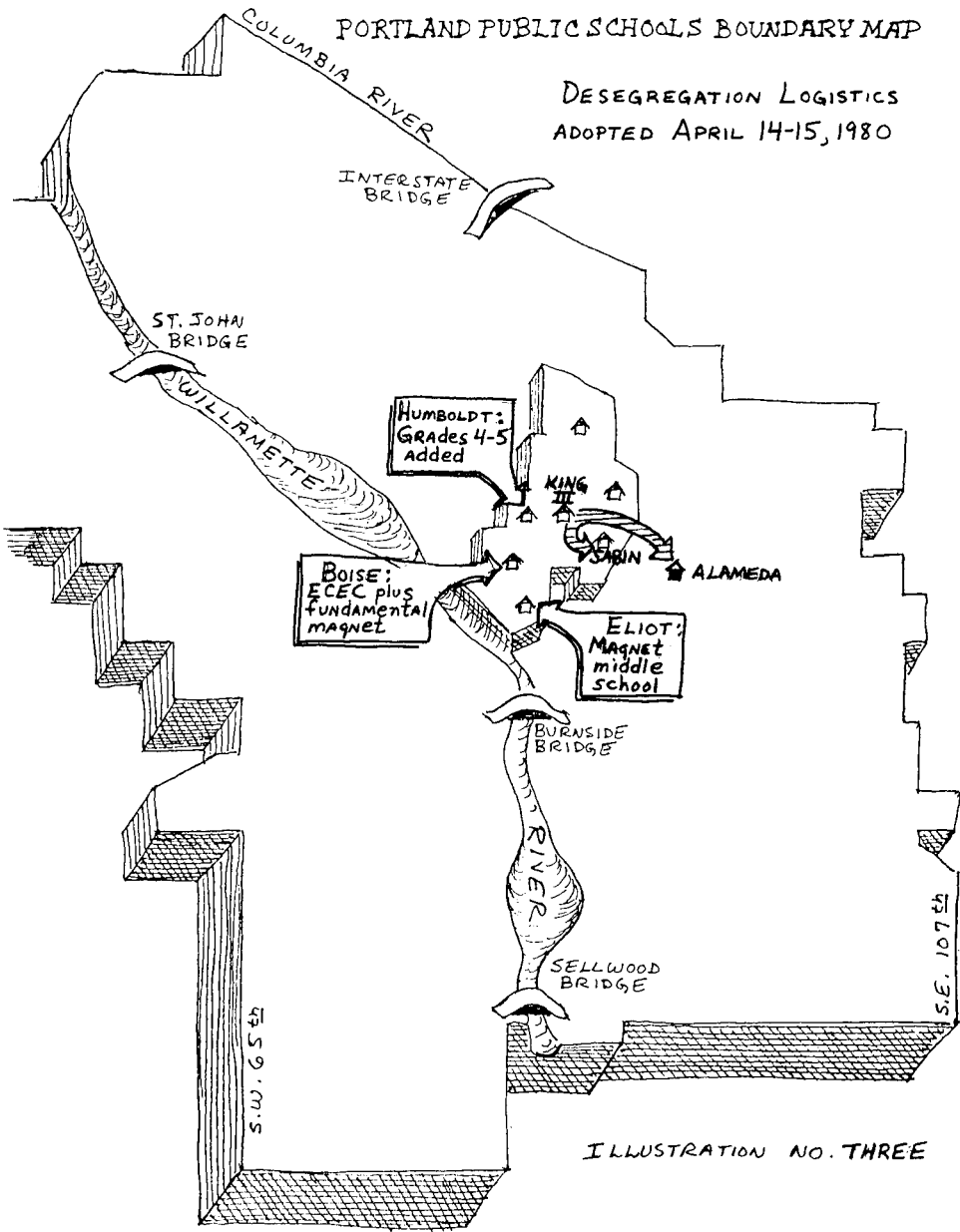


Illustration No. 3



VII. THE EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION

Three of the most important reasons for desegregating students are to improve academic performance, to foster interracial understanding, and to promote self esteem and group identity. This section summarizes the information available on the effects of desegregation on those objectives.

A. Academic Performance:

Academic performance is generally measured by grades, scores on standardized achievement examinations, comparative reading levels and pass-fail rates. These are quantifiable aspects of a child's school experience which lend themselves easily to comparisons. According to the records of the Portland Public Schools, academic achievement throughout the 1970s has generally remained constant in the elementary schools with a predominantly black enrollment. During that decade the average achievement levels in the primarily black schools were similar to levels in schools in other low income neighborhoods and were lower than the scores in schools in upper income neighborhoods.

The Portland school administration recently began assembling data on achievement levels of black and white students involved in desegregation programs, but has no presentable information available at this writing.

B. Inter-Racial Understanding:

Measurement of interracial understanding and awareness, those crucial but non-quantifiable variables in a child's education, is generally made by attitude surveys and by keeping data on social phenomena such as associational patterns, interracial friendships and understanding of cultural differences. Some evidence suggests that interracial understanding is highest when desegregation begins in the early grades and then only when there is high commitment to integration by students, parents, teachers, and administrators. The Portland Public School System has no distinct or formal method for inquiry into the effects of segregation and desegregation on interracial understanding and awareness.

C. Group Identity and Self-Esteem:

Group identity and self esteem, one's perception of one's self, are important factors relating to a child's school performance. Many studies by child psychologists and sociologists have shown that desegregation and the timing and methods used in desegregation affect the group identity and self esteem of black children.

Self esteem and its relation to learning are difficult to measure. An individual's self perception and the way in which it develops and changes can greatly affect his or her acceptance of a desegregation program. Available data supports the premise that if the educational or cultural gap between white and black students, or the ratio of whites to blacks, is too great, there appears to be a tendency for children to withdraw into their own racial group. For black students attending a predominantly white school, this withdrawal may include a withdrawal from the educational program as well as from their white peers. The Portland school system has not developed any data to measure or determine the possible effects of desegregation plans on children's self esteem.

VIII. PERIPHERAL ISSUE AREAS

The following areas of study are grouped under the heading "Peripheral Issues," not because they are of lesser importance but rather because this committee has identified them as involving less public controversy. The fact is that school board policy concerning teachers, community relations, and curriculum, is in many ways of greater consequence than the issue of desegregation. However, this short-term committee did not explore these areas in breadth or in depth because in recent months no significant factionalization or dispute was generated concerning them. Nevertheless, because of the profound effect these areas have on quality integrated education, further study should explore the issues here identified.

A. The Teacher-Staff Issues:

An important step toward achieving effective integration within Portland's schools is the development of a solid School Board Policy regarding hiring, placement and training personnel. While personnel includes teachers, administrators, and staff, it is classroom teachers who are the key to all formal education. School Board policy could set definite standards for implementation by the school district administration. Involvement of parents, teacher organizations and various community groups in planning and implementing these standards may be essential to insure the development of a workable plan satisfactory to all affected persons.

1. *Hiring*: Some primary considerations in developing a minority hiring policy should include the following factors:

Racial Balance: Does the percentage of minority hires within the school district reflect the percentage of minority students within the schools? Are the proportions equitable? The School Administration has developed a policy of hiring 12 percent minorities in all job categories, matching the total minority *citizen* population in Portland. Minority *student* population in the Portland Schools is approximately 23 percent (15 percent black). During the 1977-78 school year minority employees comprised 8.8 percent of Portland Public Schools employees. The question thus emerges: Should the hiring of minorities be set at the lower figure of 12 percent of citizens rather than 23 percent of *students* when one of the reasons for affirmatively seeking minority personnel is to provide students (not citizens) with role model identification?

Job Categories: Are minorities well represented in *all* categories of employment (teachers, administrators, and staff) having direct contact with the student population? A necessary component of integration within the schools is the providing of positive role models in both professional and non-professional jobs within the students' school environment. Are all such job classifications considered in the minority hiring policy or is the focus primarily on teacher hiring? There has been concern that the school administration is overly represented by white males while certain non-professional jobs may have an over-representation of minorities. A February 1980 report indicates there is one top administrator who is black and 5 school principals out of 87 who are black.

2. *Placement*: Federal ESAA regulations under the so-called "Singleton Rule" (see Glossary) require that minority teachers be apportioned equally throughout all schools in a district; some minor deviation is allowed. For example, where there is perhaps a six percent minority teacher population and a 20 percent minority student population throughout a school district, the percentage of minority teachers at any one school cannot radically exceed six percent. The regulation currently prevents schools with higher minority student enrollments from having a proportionately higher number of minority teachers. Thus, a school with 50 percent minority students cannot have any more than its apportionate share of minority teachers. The regulation forces minority teacher "scattering." Should the Portland Public Schools continue to comply with this rule? Is this an inequity required by federal law that is worth the legal costs of a court challenge? Would the ESAA waive its rule and permit a teacher apportionment that is commensurate with district-wide student populations? Some concerned community groups have requested the school board to challenge these placement restrictions.

3. *Training*: The issues concerning teacher training for multi-ethnic classroom situations can be separated into two basic parts: (a) training logistics, and (b) the incentives provided for such training. *Training logistics* includes these important considerations: Is there a specific comprehensive district policy on training teachers for the desegregated classroom? Which teachers will be targeted to receive it? Are training sessions to be presented in scattered places throughout the district? Is the timing right, *i.e.*, does the training take place well in advance of the desegregation situation? Is training presented on a regular basis with follow-up, teacher preparation, and the opportunity for feedback?

In planning, are parents, teachers and other school personnel consulted? Is there a

mechanism for this communication, or are training needs determined at the administrative level only? Are administrators recipients of multi-ethnic training?

Aside from the logistics of such training sessions, teachers also need to have *incentives* for multi-ethnic development. Do those incentives exist and continue to be effective? Does the teaching staff feel a proprietary sense about the training as a result of their inclusion in the planning and presentation? Does the training require attendance at workshops scheduled at convenient times and locations? Are teachers encouraged by a positive approach toward the school integration process, or does a negative attitude prevail so that the training becomes a nuisance that must be endured? Is the training included in the teacher recertification process? Are graduate credits offered?

B. Community Participation Issues:

One of the issues surrounding integration in Portland public schools concerns the problem of gaining community support. This is especially true in voluntary desegregation plans. Experience from other geographic areas such as Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Dallas, Texas; and Seattle, Washington bear witness to this fact.

How is community support achieved? While there is no single answer to this question, two areas that are bound to impact the level of community support are public participation and *communication activities*. "Public participation" involves the opportunity for community input into the decision-making process. "Communication activities" refers to the school administration's communications programs. Thus, public participation is *input* into the system; communication activities is *output* from the system. The School Board needs to be concerned not only with involving public input into the decision process, but also with "selling" the final desegregation plan to the public.

In a voluntary effort such as Portland's, community support is even more crucial. Willingness to participate in the logistics of the desegregation program may well be a clear indicator of the level of community support achieved.

Various avenues for community participation presently exist. One grass-roots opportunity for local input is the traditional parent-teacher organization established at most schools. The Portland Council Parent-Teacher Group did initiate a "parent survey" regarding possible magnet middle school development. The results of this survey were presented to the School Board's Desegregation Sub-Committee.

A more formalized community participation occurs through the two District Citizens Advisory Committees. Regularly conducting meetings open to the public, these committees were established under the *Schools for the Seventies* program, and have a structured membership.

Because Portland Public Schools receive Federal Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) money, the district must have a Parent Advisory Committee (PAC) to monitor the expenditure of the funds. While the original membership of the committee was selected by the school board, the group now selects its own membership and holds regular meetings open to the public. The ESAA-PAC did respond to *Desegregation Options Draft II*, presenting testimony to the school board.

Citizens not directly involved in the above mentioned groups have alternative forums. All school board regular, special, and committee meetings are open to the public, with advance notice of such meetings made available by law. Normally each meeting has a scheduled agenda, but public testimony cannot always be accommodated. Of course, the school board and administration may learn a citizen's ideas through written communication.

In addition to those community input opportunities which regularly exist, a number of *ad hoc* opportunities were created within the context of current desegregation planning. The Board conducted approximately 30 public hearings or special meetings between December, 1979, and March, 1980, to explain the development and substance of desegregation proposals, and to elicit public response. Advertised in the public newspapers and

through flyers sent home with students, these meetings were held throughout the district. Interested persons indicated a desire to speak, and time was then allotted for presentations.

By School Board resolution in November, 1979, a Desegregation Communications Steering committee was formed. Composed of representatives from various civic groups and selected "to ensure broad community representation," the committee will focus on implementation of the final plan. Meetings of this group will also be open to the public.

The School Board also has established, on a temporary basis, a desegregation information center. The center's objective is to field citizen questions over the phone regarding the desegregation program. Staffed in February 1980, the "Deseg Hotline" is funded only through August 1980.

Two other vehicles for community input have yet to be established. The School Board's August 1979 short-term resolutions called for the formation of a monitoring group for community input on the equitable implementation of Board policies. While the Board issued invitations for participation in the monitoring group, none were accepted. The Board's long-term resolutions also called for the formation of a community advisory group to be involved in the staff selection process in schools that are part of the desegregation/integration program.

As noted above, a number of vehicles exist for community input. However, basic issues surround both the quantity and quality of that public participation. Concerning the quantity of participation, do enough opportunities exist for public input? Concerning the quality of participation the questions include: If the School Board prescribes the composition of a group, does this insure community representation? Is the School Board receptive to public participation? Does the Board regard it as welcome advice or mere tokenism?

C. Multi-Ethnic Curriculum:

Issues which should be considered in the continuing efforts to develop multi-ethnic curriculum are:

1. *Scope.* Should multi-ethnic curriculum be included integrally within all areas of regular school curriculum, or should it be taught as a separate subject?

2. *Uniformity.* Should all schools use the multi-ethnic curriculum sequence, or should it be used only in schools with minority populations?

3. *Future Development.* Who will revise the School District's multi-ethnic curriculum guideline when necessary? Will teachers, administrators, parents and representatives of various ethnic groups in Portland be included in a review and revision process on a regular basis?

4. *Teacher Support.* Have teachers received any training to assist them in applying the multi-ethnic curriculum sequence? Are school principals supportive of teacher efforts to deliver multi-ethnic curriculum within their particular schools? Is support from the school district administration evident?

5. *Evaluation.* Assuming multi-ethnic curriculum is a priority of the School District, have efforts been made to evaluate the impact on principals, teachers, and student populations within the schools?

IX. BASIC ISSUE SUMMARY

What follows is an attempt to generalize in an area filled with unresolved detail. Understanding that, the reader may get from this summary of issue areas a modest focus.

Little controversy surrounds these basic observations:

- A. Education is the basic business of our school system, and all is subordinate to that goal.
- B. Neither desegregation plans nor anything else works without the support and participation of the community.

While still unsettled in some people's minds, these propositions receive at least a consensus:

- A. Inter-racial understanding (Integration) and intra-racial pride and integrity (Pluralism) are two basic tenets in a quality education.
- B. Integration and Pluralism can best be learned when a round multi-ethnic curriculum is offered and when teachers and staff are hired because of and are continually trained in sensitiveness toward varying ethnic heritages.

However, when racial mixing of school enrollments is included as a method of accomplishing integrative and pluralistic learning, controversy emerges. What follows is a general summary of the basic issues concerning desegregation which have surfaced as controversial in Portland in these recent months:

- A. Is desegregation of races in the schools a worthwhile goal? (See Section V.)
- B. If desegregation is worthwhile, should its accomplishment be tested by fixed maximum numerical racial percentages of minority student enrollments? (See Section IV.)
- C. If desegregation is worthwhile, by what means shall it be accomplished: Mandatory or voluntary means?
- D. If *voluntary* desegregation means are chosen:
 1. How shall that volition be limited and controlled? (See Section VI.A.4.)
 2. How shall that volition be influenced? (See Section VI.A.5.)
 - a. By school administration counseling and public relations programs?
 - b. By magnet schools and special education programs at strategic schools?
- E. If mandatory desegregation means are chosen, how shall they best be accomplished?
 1. By boundary changes? (See Section VI.A.1.)
 2. By school-zone reassignments? (Section VI.A.2.)
 3. By school conversions? (See Section VI.A.3.)

X. CONCLUSION

The mission assigned to this Committee permits no conclusions. Serious questions worthy of continued research are raised in this report.

Accordingly, this report may be regarded as a progress report. The final word on desegregation in Portland (or anywhere for that matter) is not yet written. The School Board's "Seventies" plan was designed for a decade. The Board's current effort has been termed a five-year plan. The struggle for answers is on an ocean of shifting population, school board adjustments, and the stirrings of integration philosophies. While there are those who seek to end the matter, there are also those who would begin it. In such a setting, the wisdom of continued, long-range research is confirmed.

Respectfully submitted,

Ron Ennis

Sara Goldberg

Freddie Petett

Bruce Posey

Carol Stone

Daryl Ann Wilson, *Research Intern*

Ron Lansing, *Chairman*

Approved by the Board of Governors April 28, 1980 for publication and distribution to the membership.

GLOSSARY

ALBINA: The name of a neighborhood area in Northeast Portland where many Black families live. Sometimes delineated by the school zones of King, Irvington, Sabin, Humboldt, Boise, Eliot, Woodlawn and Vernon schools. It is not an officially designated political subdivision. It is sometimes referred to as "inner Northeast Portland."

ASSIMILATION: A mixing of cultures wherein, consciously or unconsciously, the minority culture takes on the beliefs, values, and life styles of the dominant culture. The process of assimilation instills the notion that a unity of culture is desirable.

BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF): A black civil rights advocacy group, particularly concerned with perceived racial inequities in Portland Public Schools, and now having a broader focus than strictly school issues.

THE BOYCOTT: A boycott of Portland Public Schools by black students was proposed by BUF during July, 1979, when little alleged progress had been made by the school board to alleviate the imbalanced burden of desegregation. The school board passed long and short-term resolutions in August 1979 addressing the problems, and the boycott did not occur.

"BUSING": A term often used for the transporting of students away from their local school area to a non-local school.

THE COALITION: See Community Coalition for School Integration.

COMMUNITY COALITION FOR SCHOOL INTEGRATION (CCSI): A diverse and broad-based organization formed in 1978 in response to certain proposed desegregation changes by the School Board. There was strong community dissatisfaction with this proposal, and the Board requested an alternative be submitted, which reflected more community consensus. CCSI worked 18 months to produce *Equity for the Eighties*, a comprehensive document which included alternatives for the School Board's consideration.

DE FACTO SEGREGATION: Segregation which exists in fact, but is not traceable to or resulting from government action.

DE JURE SEGREGATION: Segregation which exists as a result of some type of government action. This would include the results of municipal codes and express school board policies and practices.

DESEGREGATION: A reorganization of student enrollment at schools in order to accomplish racial mixing.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION CENTER (ECEC): Schools in Portland offering pre-kindergarten through third grade programs. As part of *Schools for the Seventies*, the previous Model Schools of the 1960s were converted to ECECs. The ECECs incorporate various enrichment programs and are often magnet schools. All Albina elementary schools except Boise were converted to ECECs during the 1970s.

ECEC or ECE or ECC: See Early Childhood Education Center.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: The traditional grade school (e.g. K-8 or 1-8).

EQUAL PROTECTION: When classification of people under the law occurs, the classification must reasonably further a legal goal of the state. If the division deals with race, the state must have a compelling interest to use that classification, otherwise it will be illegal. This is a right guaranteed to individuals against the state through the 14th Amendment.

EQUITY: A sense of fairness or equal shouldering by majority and minorities of the burdens of desegregation efforts. Many factors, including the distance students must travel to school, the number of students transported, and access to school programs, contribute to an equitable plan.

EQUITY FOR THE EIGHTIES: The 365-page 1978 document by the Community Coalition for School Integration proposing changes in school district operations and policies.

ESAA: Emergency School Aid Act; making monies available from the Federal government to local school districts to aid desegregation and integration. ESAA money focuses on upgrading the achievement scores of minority Administrative Transfer (AT) students transferring into white schools, and helps majority students in those schools who are educationally disadvantaged. The Title VII ESAA Committee is the parent advisory committee which advises and monitors the school district's expenditure of these funds.

FEEDER PATTERNS: The hierarchical network whereby students from several early or primary schools are graduated ("fed") to an assigned middle school, and whereby students from several middle schools are graduated to an assigned high school.

HEW: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the Federal agency which previously was charged with overseeing and distributing federal monies to school districts throughout the nation, including Portland Public Schools. Portland is part of Region X of HEW, and is served by the Seattle office.

INTEGRATION: The value that a school institution and community places upon the study of and respect for diverse ethnic and racial cultures; inter-ethnic understanding. "Desegregation" is one of the tools often associated with, but not necessarily an ingredient of, integration.

LOCAL SCHOOL: A school physically located within a school zone; a term often used as a synonym for neighborhood school.

MAGNET SCHOOL: A school that offers a special curriculum capable of attracting substantial numbers of students of different racial backgrounds from a multitude of school zones.

MIDDLE SCHOOL: A school offering grades six through eight (6-8; sometimes 5-8 or 7-8). Middle schools serve several elementary schools within a neighborhood. The primary/middle school division is the result of the reorganization of traditional K - 8 schools.

MINORITY GROUP: Refers to persons who are American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Asians, Pacific Islanders, Blacks, Hispanics, Franco-Americans, and Portuguese, and may include persons whose dominant language is other than English.

MINORITY ISOLATION OR IMBALANCE: When minority group children constitute a greater than proportionate enrollment of a school, the school is said to be racially isolated or imbalanced. By Oregon state guidelines, "disproportion" means greater than 50 percent minority enrollment.

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL: A term often used synonymously with "local school" but which could refer to a school, local or non-local, to which an entire neighborhood zone is assigned.

PAIRING: A school desegregation method whereby a black school zone is coupled with a white school zone with dovetailing mixing assignments.

PLURALISM: The value of maintaining and respecting the cultural differences among all students. This theory, developed in the early 1900s in this country, recognizes the diversity of cultures and races, and respects the positive attributes of each ethnic group. Maintaining differences in culture is respected within a framework of equal treatment. Intra-ethnic understanding and pride.

PRIMARY SCHOOL: A term for those traditional schools below middle schools (e.g. 1-5; K-6).

QUALITY EDUCATION: A value that recognizes that a principal focus of any school system must be academic instruction and sound learning programs.

REORGANIZATION: The process whereby school boards mandate student enrollment at particular school buildings by the techniques of boundary changes, student assignments, school closures, school openings, grade closures, allowances for voluntary student transfers, and so forth. Desegregation is a type of reorganization motivated by the need for racial mixing.

SCATTERING: Dissipation of minority students throughout a school district resulting from reassignment of minority students to many different majority schools without regard to neighborhood community or minimum minority enrollment floors.

SCHOOLS FOR THE SEVENTIES: 1970 plan of the Portland Public Schools recommending, among other things, decentralization of the school district into three administrative areas, making a commitment toward urban core Early Childhood Centers, and supporting middle schools throughout the district.

SINGLETON RULE: A ratio required by ESAA regarding the placement of minority teachers within a school district. The Federal directive generally requires that the percentage of minority teachers in each school should be roughly equal to the percentage of minority teachers in the district. Thus, this rule forces a pure racial balance of minority-majority teachers throughout the district even though the student profile is not so purely balanced throughout the district. If a school district is in violation of this rule, ESAA Federal funds may be withdrawn unless a waiver is secured. Portland Public Schools has received such a waiver in the past. The desirability of complying with the rule remains a controversial issue.

VOLUNTARY PLAN: A School Board term for allowing students to attend schools other than their locally assigned school in order to increase racial mixing throughout the district.

WHITE FLIGHT: The out-migration of whites from desegregated school districts in order to avoid mandatory desegregation.

STATISTICS

APPENDIX

1. What is the public school enrollment in Portland for 1979-80?

Pre-K - 12	53,670
Pre-K	748
K	3,842
1 - 8	30,363
Spec. Elem.	519
9 - 12	16,354
Spec. Progs.	1,844

(All data from 79 PPS Enrollment Report.)

2. Has the total enrollment in Portland's public schools decreased in the past decade?

Yes.

1970-71 total 74,949

1979-80 total 53,670

21,270 fewer students are enrolled now.

The total enrollment declined 3.5% from 1978-79 to 1979-80.

The Kindergarten enrollment for 1979-80, however, shows an increase of 91 children over 1978-79.

3. What is the minority student population for the 1979-80 school year in Portland Public Schools?

23.2% of the total student body are minority students.

American Indian 1.7

Black 14.7

Oriental 4.8

Spanish 2.0

4. Are there schools with a minority student population equal to or exceeding 50% for the 1979-80 school year?

Yes. Seven elementary schools have a 1979-80 minority enrollment which exceeds the state guideline of 50%.

Boise 91.0

Eliot 52.6

Humboldt 55.6

King 64.0

Sabin 53.5

Vernon 63.1

Woodlawn 55.6

APPENDIX

MEETINGS MONITORED

Portland Public School Board

Desegregation Sub-Committee Meetings:

Nov. 6-16-18-20, 1979; Dec. 11-17, 1979; Jan. 4-8, 1980

Regular Board Meetings:

Jan. 19-28, 1980; Feb. 11-25, 1980; March 10, 1980; April 14, 1980

Special Board Meetings:

Dec. 22, 1979; Jan. 21-29-30, 1980; March 6-12-13, 1980

Public Forums:

Feb. 12-13-14, 1980

Community Organizations

League of Women Voters, Schools for the City, Ecumenical Ministries:

Nov. 19, 1979; Dec. 4, 1979; Feb. 6, 1980

Black United Front:

Nov. 19, 1979

APPENDIX

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- "Memo: Dr. Blanchard to School Board: Short-Term Resolution." August, 1979.
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- "Memo: School Board: Black Administrative and Supervisory Personnel." August 21, 1979.
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- "Resolution on Steering Committee for Desegregation Communications Committee." November 13, 1979.
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APPENDIX

WITNESSES INTERVIEWED BY THE FULL COMMITTEE

Jonathan Newman, past member, Portland School Board. October 15, 1979.

Ron Herndon, Spokesperson, Black United Front. October 22, 1979.

Dr. Robert Blanchard, Supt., Portland Public Schools. October 29, 1979.

David "Rocky" Johnson, Research Coordinator, Community Coalition for School Integration. November 5, 1979.

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