

## Senate

EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Minutes of Meeting - February 27, 1973

The eighth meeting of the Senate Education Committee was held on February 27, 1973 at 2:45 p.m.

Committee members present:

Chairman John Foley  
 Senator Bryan  
 Senator Raggio  
 Senator Neal  
 Senator Young  
 Senator Hecht

Witnesses:

Cliff Lawrence, Clark County  
 School District, Las Vegas  
 Kate Butler, Nevada League of  
 Women Voters

Others present:

Judith M. Potter, Student, W.N.C.C., Carson City  
 Joan Reid, League of Women Voters, Carson City  
 Shirlee Wedow, Nevada PTA, Sparks, Nevada  
 Ken Creighton, Leg. Inters, Reno  
 Jeff Menicucci, Intern, Sparks  
 Sister Carole Hurray, Franciscan Center, Las Vegas  
 Carol Alldredge, OVARC, Las Vegas  
 Fran Heine, OVARC, Las Vegas  
 Anne Kosso, Leg. Intern, Reno  
 Bob Best, Nev. State Board Assn., Carson City  
 Gary Gray, C.C.C.T.A., Las Vegas  
 Ann Ehrenbury, Review-Journal, Carson City  
 Tom Lorentsen, Intern, Reno  
 Valerie Cooke, Intern, Reno

Chairman Foley called the meeting to order at 2:45 p.m.

S.J.R. 6:

Cliff Lawrence was first to testify on this particular bill. Mr. Lawrence stated that the suit was filed in 1968. The Court ordered mandatory busing - no school in Clark County could have more than 50% black students. The Clark County School District developed a planning committee to try to develop guidelines for busing. This plan should keep

## Senate

Education Committee

February 27, 1973

Page Two

186

the racial percentage in balance and should also be fair to all segments of the community. The committee did not want racial isolation. Following investigation, four plans were presented to the school board - in 1971.

1. Educational park - build a large school that would house 4,000 to 5,000 students. This would result in no neighborhood school - all would be bussed.
2. Kindergarten Centers - Set up six West side schools for kindergartens.
3. Pairing - Match one black and one white school. Tried to line this up on a feeder school basis.
4. Sixth-grade center - (See Exhibit A for newspaper reports by Mary Hausch).

Mr. Lawrence stated that in 1969 they borrowed \$800,000.00 to try the voluntary plan (this plan began in 1969. Provides bus transportation to any black student that wanted to go to white school). In 1970, to continue the plan, they borrowed \$1,000,000.00. In 1971 the Legislature granted the Clark County 2.4 million, 1.7 of this was used to pay off the integration loan. This year, for the first time, they have operated out of their own budget, to support the integration plan, which amounts to 1 1/2 million.

Senator Neal asked is you can have extensive integration without busing. Mr. Lawrence said it would be physical impossible without busing.

Chairman Foley asked with voluntary busing and the pairing plan - would it be worth trying with regard to the white flight. Mr. Lawrence stated that there is a problem with mandatory rules.

Senator Bryan asked how the District would propose which schools would be in sixth-grade centers. Mr. Lawrence stated that it has to be a reasonable traveling time.

Senator Young asked what has the impact been on educational purposes. Mr. Lawrence stated that they have not had the time to analyse. At the present they are basing this on feed-back they are getting.

Kate Butler testified on S.J.R. 6, stating they are not in support of the voluntary plan, and furthermore, they are in opposition to S.J.R. 6. Mrs. Butler furnished the Committee with "The Diminishing Barrier".

(As this is quite an extensive booklet, please contact committee secretary if you desire to read same).

Also furnished by Mrs. Butler was an article "Busing in 14 Communities" (See Exhibit B).

Senator Raggio asked if there were any statements saying that results are good. Are there any national testing results. Mr. Lawrence stated that achievement testing is done every year. Mr. Morgan stated that the State Department of Education did assessment. Showed that the minority are running nine months behind the white students.

(See Exhibit C for "Your Child and Busing")  
Chairman Foley commented that Senator Lamb had advised that 20,000 people have signed petition in opposition to busing.

(See Exhibit D for memo from James T. Havel).  
(See Exhibit E for Senator Lamb's telegram).

At this time, Chairman Foley stated that the Committee would act on these bills (S.J.R. 6, 7 & 8) next week.

Following discussion of S.J.R. 6, the following bills were acted upon:

S.B. 134:

Senator Neal moved "Do Pass" and refer to Committee on Finance. Seconded by Senator Hecht. Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 209:

Senator Neal moved "Do Pass" and refer to Committee on Finance. Seconded by Senator Bryan. Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 210:

Senator Hecht moved "Do Pass", seconded by Senator Neal. Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 211:

Senator Raggio moved "Do Pass", seconded by Senator Neal. Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 212:

Senator Neal moved "Do Pass", seconded by Senator Hecht. Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 213:

Senator Raggio moved "Do Pass", seconded by Senator Neal. Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 214:

Senator Hecht moved "Hold", seconded by Senator Neal.  
Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 215:

Senator Foley stated that he is gathering additional information, and this bill will be acted upon at a later date.  
Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 216:

Senator Hecht moved "Do Pass", seconded by Senator Bryan.  
Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 217:

Senator Neal moved "Do Pass", seconded by Senator Bryan.  
Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 218:

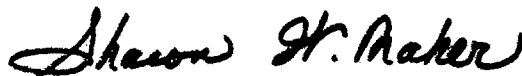
A "Hold" was put on this bill until further information could be attained from John Meder, Dave Henry and Joe Midmore.  
Motion was carried unanimously.

S.B. 219:

Chairman Foley announced that, pursuant to agreement of all members of the committee, the bill was referred to the Committee on Taxation.

Being no further business, Chairman Foley adjourned the meeting at 4:20 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

  
Sharon W. Maher, Secretary

John Foley, Chairman

# 6th grade centers revisited

Editor's note: Five months ago the Clark County School District opened sixth grade centers to initiate court-ordered integration of the races. We took an in-depth look at the centers recently and here is the first of six reports reflecting views of the involved principals, teachers, pupils, protestors and advocates.

By Mary Hausch  
R-J Staff Writer

Sixth grade centers. Even a mention of them stirs reaction among Las Vegasans affected by their creation. Five months ago when the centers were opened under a court order to integrate elementary classes the community was divided in its views on them. At that time principals and some teachers were excited about the prospective plan, but many students and parents were hesitant, fearful and even fearful of what might happen in the seven West Las Vegas centers. Since then the administrators and a majority of teachers have become even more enthused about the special schools. Some of the children have changed their minds and become center supporters, too. But, there are still some teachers who find fault with the integration plan. And the hard core group of parents who led the Bus-Out opposition to the centers are still against them now because they consider forced busing a violation of their constitutional rights. Although the sixth grade center doors opened amidst controversy and with a Bus-Out boycott against them, they have operated peacefully with little interference from outside their walls. Their enrollment has steadily grown as students sent out of state returned and pupils in several unlicensed schools trickled in.



TOGETHER, BUT SEPARATE — Boys at C.V.T. Gilbert Sixth Grade Center have voluntarily

and they have also elected to eat with their best friends in patterns that sometimes result in racial

men day for some science scholars at C. Gilbert and Kermit Booker Centers. "show and tell" sessions have produced everything from goats to hair dryers. Classes start at 9:30 a.m. and end at 4 p.m. at all the centers, but some have shorter periods and some eight. Some maintain lunch hours, others only one. At most of the schools classes intermingle while eating, at McCally the youngsters eat in their classrooms before adjourning to play. At Kit Carson the noon hour format includes an intramural program with competition in kickball, soccer, volleyball and softball. At McCally the competition is organized to insure that every child has a chance to win a trophy or a ribbon. Madison fielded a team which played in the city football league and that school, along with Gilbert, will be sponsoring teams for basketball tournaments. Several of the centers, including Matt Kelly Carson and Gilbert, have student councils the latter has a squad of cheerleaders. Many of the schools have developed an enterprising spirit to sponsor t-shirt or sweat shirt sales. At Jo Mackey the youths will be selling these this spring to finance a proposed adventure to Disneyland. Meanwhile at Gilbert plans are being made for an end-of-year picnic at McCally Springs. Journalistic endeavors have been attempted at several of the schools. The page Jo Mackey Mustang Mumbler includes an advice column, a recipe from a school cooking club and a poet's corner. The issue of the Matt Kelly Swinger features editorials and stories highlighting the efforts of the classes and teachers. When the integration plan was organized the centers were allocated \$30 per student to regularize non-regular allowances.

centers in West Las Vegas and ...  
egas.

All of the centers have a predominantly white population with only a few blacks included in each class. Madison Center, for example, has an enrollment of 593 students. Only about 60 of those youngsters are from the surrounding black neighborhood and only a few more blacks are being bused to the center from other areas.

Like regular schools the centers have adopted some uniform programs, but each one has developed characteristics of its own.

All of the centers operate on a similar plan with core teachers providing instruction in language arts, reading, writing and social studies for half of each student's day. The rest of the children's time is spent in science, math, art, music and physical education classes under the guidance of specialists.

At some centers everyone takes all the special subjects at once, at others they alternate several of them every grading period. The Quannah McCall Center has the same instructors for science and art so

nesday and create on Thursday and Friday.

Matt Kelly has an advantage over other centers in its scheduling of gym classes. While the others fight inclement weather or crowd students into portable classrooms or multi-purpose rooms, the Kelly physical education

Center in the winter months.

Music in the centers is both vocal and instrumental. Each center boasts of its band, string and choral groups. At Christmas they put on concerts at such varied places as the Las Vegas Convention Center and Las Vegas

At seven centers have activity programs on Fridays offering students the chance to learn about things like archery, ballet, bowling, cake decorating, golf, model building, pet care and weaving.

Wednesdays have been turned into speci-

library books, audio visual equipment, instruction kits and band equipment.

Because the allocations could not be spent until implementation of the plan was definite the supplies were not ordered until last September. Consequently some of the material has only recently arrived and some of it is still not here.

Principals said their programs were not severely hampered by the purchase delays, but they are glad they can plan this spring for next year. However, the size of any special grants they may get for 1973-74 will be substantially lower than what they received this year.

School official Dr. Henry C. Bozarth justified this year's expenditure, while stating that any new school opening up would get a similar sum of extra money. "They really needed the money because much of the material they had as elementary schools was inappropriate for use in the sixth grade," he said.

Next: Principals' opinions.

100

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# Principals applaud integration plan

Editor's note: Five months ago the Clark County School District opened sixth grade centers to initiate court-ordered integration of races. We took an in-depth look at the centers recently and here is the second of six parts reflecting views of the involved principals, teachers, pupils, protestors and advocates.

By Mary Hausch

R. J. Staff Writer

Sixth grade center principals are perhaps the most eager supporters of the Las Vegas integration plan.

All seven of the male principals, with

varying degrees of enthusiasm, have endorsed the center concept and agreed that this has been a good year for the students involved.

Quannah McCall Principal Jack Vineyard said, "A school organized like this offers a perfect transition from elementary school to junior high. We are not just a little junior high, but a middle school that will help students adjust to junior high better," he stated.

Jo Mackey Principal Herschel Williams agreed, "Educationally this is a very sound program. In the past we were accustomed to one or two teachers being responsible for

teaching everything, but no one is good in all areas."

"I think this has been a terrific experience for kids. They are really going to be different in seventh grade because of this. That should be a cakewalk for these students," Williams said.

Madison Principal James Shipp noted that "the bus ride alone is an experience for these students."

According to Matt Kelly chief Claude Parson the school has provided a good experience for children by offering a curriculum that allows for in-depth study and by giving

youngsters a chance to develop relationships with persons different from themselves.

"Kids come to school with ideas about other races that just dispell themselves in normal day to day activities," he explained.

Kermit Booker Principal Richard Erbe elaborated, "It has been good for some white kids to find out that there are some damn smart black kids. Some black kids still think all whites are smart, but they have learned that there are some damn dumb white kids."

All of the principals agree that the majority of their students have a positive attitude about

attending the centers now, but that is not necessarily so in September when the centers opened against community protests.

According to C.V.T. Gilbert Principal William Evans, "The kids were a little apprehensive when they first came here, but the attitude was positive and they made it feel they were wanted."

First year principal Roy Gaydos administers the Kit Carson Center, and students seem to feel a prestige about being sixth graders and changing makes them feel older.

At Madison and McCall the positive attitude of students is reflected in their attendance rate, principals of those centers stated.

Principal Erbe said more black students at Booker had problems adjusting to the situation than the whites did. "It was hard for them to accept the whites taking over the school," he said, adding that some of the feelings of inferiority because their achievement was lower.

A lot of the friction at Booker has appeared now. "We still get too much of it and it is seldom that we get black-white problems," Erbe said.

Heads of the seven centers have ideas on the amount of school spirit to instill in students and on ways of promoting pride.

At Matt Kelly there is a happy atmosphere and according to Principal Parson the students seem content. "We couldn't really develop a kind of spirit where kids would pride themselves on school," he said, noting that they have more or less accepted the situation.

Mackey students are "gung-ho" about the activity at their school and have gotten through things like participation in a member chorus, Principal Williams said.

According to Principal Erbe, the sixth grade center plan lends itself to the instillation of school spirit. "We are not the Booker anything else, but there are many teachers and students like about it here," he stated.

At Gilbert the students have named themselves the gladiators. Besides

loyalty, the school has a prize-winning program centered on the weekly selection of a good Gilbert Gladiator girl and guy.

Principals said more spirit might develop if there was competition between the centers in everything from music to sports, but they do not want athletic events that place too much emphasis on winning.

"I want every child to participate," Vineyard said, suggesting the competition should involve teams selected through intramural programs involving all students.

Like other things, the amount of parent involvement varies among the centers. They all had great turnout at open houses in the fall, but not many of them have parents in the classrooms on a day to day basis.

Several of them have loosely structured PTA groups with coordinating leaders from each neighborhood feeding youngsters into the center.

One of the more active organizations is at Matt Kelly where parents have raised funds for the purchase of special equipment. The principal there said even the number of parent visitations at Kelly is up this year.

Parson said many adults change their ideas about West Las Vegas when they visit the centers.

"Some thought it was unsafe to be over here. This had become a no man's land. These centers are a start in breaking down that barrier," Parson claimed.

Several of the principals, while satisfied with how the centers are operating, are recommending changes that could be made next year.

Erbe proposed the biggest change, suggesting that black kindergarten students now attending the centers be bused to the predominantly white elementary schools they will be attending as first graders. He also suggested installing burglar alarm systems in the centers to discourage theft and hiring more health services employees or nurse's aides.

Principals Parson and Vineyard agreed the facilities always could be improved and the former suggested that gymnasiums be built at each center.

Several of the principals with eight period schedules in their schools said next year they will reduce the number to six or seven a day. Williams said he hopes things can be adjusted at Mackey so the physical education and music teachers can have smaller classes than they do now.

**Next: Teachers' Views**



# Sixth grade centers—teachers split

Editor's note: Five months ago the Clark County School District opened sixth grade centers to initiate court-ordered integration of the races. We took an in-depth look at the centers recently and here is the third of six parts reflecting views of the involved principals, teachers, pupils, protestors and parents.

By Mary Hausch  
R-J Staff Writer

Sixth grade center teachers are divided on

the merits of the unique system under which they are teaching this year.

Some, such as Jo Mackey science teacher Ira Kimball, term the experience "challenging" and testify, "this is my fourth year of teaching and this is the first year I've been happy."

Then there are those like Madison math teacher Jean Schultheis who are in the centers only because they have to be and who believe that they are not getting enough across to the students.

Among the teachers there are many who endorse the sixth grade center concept, but bemoan the facts that children must be bused to school and the plan is shrouded in the controversy of court-ordered integration.

C.V.T. Gilbert teacher Dorrel Booth said busing is the only drawback to the plan. "Other than that it has been good for a lot of kids because it puts them in a different environment and gets them away from their brothers and sisters."

Madison teacher John G. Mormon claimed, "If we had these in the local neighborhoods it would be the only way to operate." He said it is good to separate the sixth graders from other students because "they are neither fish nor fowl."

At Matt Kelly, David Hoff, who opposes forced busing, said the centers allow teachers to individualize programs much more, but he added, "There have got to be other ways to integrate."

One of those with reservations about the plan is Mrs. Jimmy McCowan of Quannah McCall Center. She said the students "come in like cows and go out like cows."

"It worries me that I can't keep track of all of them," she said, noting that she sees about 69 students a day in her core classes.

Fellow core teacher Kay Savage agreed, claiming that sixth graders are not old enough to accept the responsibility of changing classes. He also charged that too much money is being spent in the centers for the amount of education being provided.

Art teacher Kathleen O'Hara suggested the plan might work better if students did not have special subjects every day, but instead had them for longer periods of time less frequently.

Miss O'Hara, who teaches at Kermit Booker, said in eight periods a day she sees 210 youngsters. "It is not the number that bothers me, but the time. They really only have about 20 minutes of art a day."

Kit Carson teacher Robert Brown was critical of the plan primarily because he does not believe the school district administration did enough to get ready for it.

Claiming that they did not even work on the center facilities until the last minute, Brown said many of the classroom supplies are just now coming in because no one wanted to order anything until school started.

Mackey social studies teacher Carter Condon said she really enjoys getting up to go to work in the center, but she would like to know how special funding for the schools was spent.

"I remember a lot of promises about \$30 per head, but I don't know if we got it or not," she stated.

Booker core teacher Tom Gurnee said one problem with the center system is the lack of cooperation on the part of many parents. "A lot of them are afraid of being ripped off over here," he said.

Madison teachers Rose Hendrickson and Esther Loman agreed there are good things

Among the enthusiastic supporters of the system is Billie Kenney. The Gilbert teacher termed the plan "just marvelous" because it gives students so many challenging things to do and makes them more knowledgeable and tolerant of others.

Carson teacher Noel Cabe said the centers have a lot to offer and the plan is worthwhile even if it only irradiates the white children's fear of people with black skin.

According to the physical education teacher at Mackey the plan has done just that. She said many whites thought the blacks lived in tents and shacks before they were bused to West Las Vegas. "They backed away from me before," the black teacher noted, "and now I have to fight them off."

Booker science teachers Lee Pearce and Russell Masek are center advocates because they think the schools are good for student. "I've seen more happy, contented faces than ever before. The whole attitude of children has been tremendous," Pearce reported.

Masek said it also has been good academically. "A lot of these kids have never had science before. Now they don't just read about science, they are experiencing it," he claimed.

Many teachers, such as Genevieve Stokes at Carson, Carol Bazar at McCall and Dorothy Jolly at Booker, like the center concept because they can individualize programs to children's needs and teach in their specialized areas.

Miss Jolly, who specializes in science, explained that it is hard for a person to do well in six subject areas, but they can do well when they are only teaching one subject.

Mrs. Bazar added that the plan would work even better than it is "if parents didn't bad mouth the program so much."

Nancy Gasho at Kelly is a supporter who claimed, "I don't have any kids who don't like the centers." She said the program is good now, but it could be improved greatly if the schools could get more playground equipment and space and large multi-purpose rooms.

Several physical education teachers joined in the request for more facilities and suggested the classes be juggled or the staff increased so the specialists could handle fewer students at one time.

Other recommendations for changes include a request from several McCall teachers who would like their blackboards raised above their present primary grade level.

A number of teachers at all of the centers suggested that persons who do not want to teach in the special schools be allowed to move to different schools in the fall. Carson teacher Joanne Dunn also suggested that teachers be told by April if they will be assigned to the centers in the fall to avoid the uncertainty that existed last September.

Other Carson teachers advocated placing the centers in other parts of town so they are not all congregated in West Las Vegas.

Some teachers, such as Nancy Gasho at Matt Kelly, think school hours for the centers should be changed with the junior highs or made earlier so youngsters could get out of class before 3:30 p.m.

Booker Teacher Sallie Makovsky suggested that students in the centers be grouped according to their ability so there could be special teachers for those who are both ahead and behind the average pupils.

# Youth grow in sixth grade center

**Editor's note:** Five months ago the Clark School District opened sixth grade centers to initiate court-ordered integration of the races. We took an in-depth look at the centers recently and here is the fifth of six reports reflecting views of the involved principals, teachers, pupils, parents and advocates.

By Mary Hausch  
R-J Staff Writer

This has been a year of change for sixth grade students in Las Vegas.

While enduring the natural transitions of maturity, the youths have undergone transitions in their life styles and thinking as participants in the integration plan.

Of 132 children recently surveyed by the New-Journal a majority said they don't like riding a bus to school and 74 said they prefer going to special centers rather than traditional elementary schools.

Reasons for liking or disliking busing at the center plan are as varied as the children themselves. Some like their new schools for the food, the friends, the lockers and the changing schedules. Others just enjoy the adventure of crossing town each

Some of the disgruntled students dislike the centers for the same reasons others

favor them. They also miss being with brothers and sisters and former teachers. They don't like bus rides, dirty playgrounds, floors without carpeting or getting home late from school.

Many white students have discovered new things about black people in the integrated settings. In each center, some shared the view of Matt Kelly student Jeanne Jahn, who explained; "Everybody says they are mean, but if you really get to know them they are really nice."

Steve Artus of Jo Mackey and Debbie Runkle of Madison both stated, "If you are nice to them they are nice to you." At C.V.T. Gilbert, John Smock observed, "Blacks are not that different. They are almost just like white people."

Deanna Howard, who admits she would rather be back at West Charleston because bus rides give her a headache, noted, "I had problems with one of them, but after you try to reason with them they are just like us. I was scared that they didn't want us to be over here, but it is not that way at all."

McCall student Clifton Dennis likes his center and the black people he has gotten to know. "They should be given every right we are. They shouldn't be turned down just

because of their color. They've done many things for our country and they should be given the same chance as white people to get a job."

Steve Williams, who also attends McCall, said he thinks some blacks act kind of tough because they want to show off. "They've heard about other guys starting riots and they try to act like those black brothers," he stated.

Kit Carson student Tony Ferguson doesn't think busing will solve anything, but he has made about five black friends in his center who are "just like any other friends."

At Kermit Booker, Steve Weigand longs to go back to O.K. Adcock Elementary, but he is getting along better with blacks than he did in the fall. "Some colored kids don't act bad anymore. I guess they were trying to prove something before," he said.

Kirk Ryan believes a few blacks are nice. He likes riding the bus, but he would like to return to Ruth Fyfe School.

Both black and white children said persons of other races talk differently. At Booker, black students Michael McLemore and Ora Butler said they like to play with whites even though they sometimes use a different dialogue.

Darlene Stanton, who lives in the Madison Center neighborhood, said she liked the school better last year, but she is glad the whites go there now because she likes to meet new people.

One of many blacks who echoed the sentiment that people are nice if you are nice to them was Michael Dee, who said, "They aren't the same color, but other than that they are the same." Anthony Price of Gilbert agreed, "I don't see anything so bad or so good about them. We are just the same."

Shirley Spann said before she knew white children she didn't like them. "I thought they hated black people. It seems since slavery ended we are the ones who tried to boss them around. When you meet them, or even when you don't, they are friendly. We might be different on the outside, but on the inside we are all the same."

Sherman Hayes at Booker said white kids are nice, noting that his best friend is white. One of his few regrets about the center located in his neighborhood is that he doesn't get to ride the bus.

Van Veree at Matt Kelly noticed that some whites are prejudiced and don't want to be friends with blacks, but most of them

are friendly. "If they don't like me, I don't like them," he added.

Several black students, such as Jerome Overton at Mackey said they understand white people a lot better now than they did before.

Cassandra Flowers, who now lives in the Kit Carson neighborhood, said she does not have as many white friends now as when she went to Tom Williams. "This is alright. Sometimes it's good and sometimes it's not. Sometimes we get along and sometimes we don't."

Another black student at Carson, Tammy Harris, said most white kids are fair, but she doesn't like them. "They ain't doing anything for me," she stated.

On the subject of busing, students could not agree on whether it was good or bad for either practical or philosophical reasons.

At McCall, Becky Conway and Eric Foster claimed riding the bus is better than walking to school. Charles Hertig at Matt Kelly loves the ride because he doesn't have to carry his trombone on his bike.

Mackey student Rodney Johnson is less enthused because his bus is always crowded.

# Bus-Out still sizzling over busing

Editor's note: Five months ago the Clark County School District opened 106 high grade centers to initiate court-ordered integration of the races. We take an in-depth look at the centers recently and here is the fifth of six reports reflecting views of the involved principals, teachers, pupils, parents and advocates.

By Mary Hausch

R-J Staff Writer

in opposition to the cross-town busing of Las Vegas youngsters is still strong among leaders of Bus-Out.

Some supporters of the group which oppose the effort to prevent busing in Las Vegas number on constitutional grounds have not given up the fight although their recent action has not been successful.

They are currently conducting a survey to determine the success of the integration effort by visiting the sixth grade centers and soliciting comments from concerned parents.

Bus-Out Chairman Joseph Kastorff and other representatives of the local opposition are working as members of the Coalition Against Forced Busing.

They argue that "politics is where it is at," and that the effort is being run as individuals no one can be held responsible for the busing. "We have to have a united effort because the forces we are up against are national."

Kastorff estimated approximately 75 percent of the community here still support the Bus-Out effort, although some of the supporters may have children enrolled in the school district's high grade centers. "We all had to make our own decisions. People did what they had to do," he stated.

According to Kastorff, the sixth grade center plan is totally unfair to blacks and whites enrolled in elementary schools. Terming

the district has offered gimmicks and bribes to make them look good while depriving other children learning materials.

One Bus-Out parent claimed his fifth grader does not have all the books he needs while his son in the sixth grade center has three books for everything.

The parents fear that children in the centers are being denied the opportunity to participate in such things as after-school sports and scouting because they must spend so much time on the bus.

In the opinion of board member Carrie Bagley, "They can window-dress those schools until they are blue in the face, but they are still illegal."

As dedicated opponents of forced busing, the Bus-Out leaders strongly resent any implications that their organization is racist. "Anyone who may have had those leanings has long since deserted us," Mrs. Bagley claimed.

Board member Don Beck said instead of being racist the group is concerned about anything that threatens the rights of individuals. Like others in the organization, he views busing as an illegal means of attempting to solve social ills and he is convinced the country is strong enough to solve the problems in the framework of the constitution.

With a philosophy that "the least government is the best government," the Bus-Outers are concerned that through busing school officials are taking away responsibilities that rightfully belong to parents.

"A lot of questions are being asked in all of the schools that are no one's business," Mrs. Bagley claimed, adding that "a lot of time people don't know what is going on in the schools."

"We've been brainwashed into thinking that education is best left to professional educators," the former teacher

According to Mrs. Bagley, that theory has been turned around in secret schools operated by Bus-Out members which have total parent involvement. "In the underground schools we have going what parents have been crying for," she stated.

The leaders claim they do not know how many of the unlicensed schools exist, how many attend them or even exactly where they are all located.

However, they are positive that all of the students in them are getting the best possible education and using books approved by the Nevada Textbook Commission.

Mary Kastorff, wife of the group's chairman, said, "The kids don't miss anything about the established schooling." Instead she believes most children in her neighborhood who are being bused to school hate the bus ride and

are getting angry about it.

A teacher in one of the unlicensed schools described her classroom as being "pleasant with all the extras available for a good learning environment."

She said her class has a student-teacher ratio of 10 to one that makes her alert to individual problems within the classroom.

"As a teacher of experience I feel this situation, as touchy as it may seem, is rewarding to both the students and teachers. These students are not lacking for an education as they are getting it fully," she stated.

"Perhaps they won't get credit for their work throughout the year, but that in no way means they haven't grown educationally. They aren't flaunting the law, they are learning a deep respect for the American process," she reported, while saying her students are not a

product of hard-headed parents, but rather of parents who want the best for their children.

Leaders of Bus-Out are betting that youngsters in the underground schools will be allowed to go to seventh grade next year even though school officials have repeatedly stated that they will have to go to sixth grade.

"The school board has the power to grade kids according to their ability," Mrs. Bagley stated. "I believe they will go by the spirit of the law, rather than the letter of it."

She predicted that the school board will "stand up and be counted" in the fall. "I am betting that the board is interested in the welfare of these kids," she added.

Although they express confidence that secret school scholars will get credit for their work, some Bus-Out leaders are taking no chances with their own children.

Chairman Kastorff's sixth grader attended an underground school for a long time, but is now enrolled in a private school. And board member Beck's child is attending one of the district centers.

Marsha Reid exercised another option by sending her son, Kenry, to live with her cousin in New Hampshire. That was a difficult decision because he had never seen the relatives before and it was the first time he had ever been away from home.

"I sent him away because I don't have a right to deny my child a year of schooling," she stated. "The school district will do anything they can to make the centers look good so people forget that the whole thing is against their constitutional rights. I don't want my kid to go to any school that violates my constitutional rights."



**COMMUNITY PLANNING** — Social studies scholars at Kermit Booker Sixth Grade Center keep busy outlining plans for their own civilizations. Here Donna Day, Sandra Ransey, Mike Davies, Mike Rocca and Darrel Berkley are hard at work on their master

# Sixth grade busing plan praised

**Editor's note:** Five months ago the Clark County School District opened sixth grade centers to initiate court-ordered integration efforts. We took an in-depth look at the centers recently and here is the last of six parts reflecting views of the involved principals, teachers, pupils, protesters and parents.

By Mary Hansch

R-J Staff Writer

Integration advocates and school administrators are happy with the operation of the sixth grade center busing plan so far this

County School Superintendent Dr. Clifford Lawrence said, "So far I think it is running smoothly. I am frankly quite pleased the way things have gone. The response has been more positive than negative." Charles Kellar, attorney for the NAACP, said the sixth grade plan is a distinct improvement over anything Clark County has had before and in his judgment the centers operated well this year.

Dr. Lawrence said on the several occasions he has visited the centers he has found that black and white children were getting along well. "There was no bunching up of whites on one side of the room and blacks on the other. They were interacting and learning together." However, the NAACP does not think the plan, despite its success, has been fair to blacks and is recommending to Federal Judge Robert Thompson in Reno that a greater emphasis for integration be placed on white students, the lawyer reported.

Dr. Lawrence said they won't be opposing the continuation of the present plan, but they will be requesting changes so that small black students will not have to spend so much time being transported to and from school.

The plan is now operated first through the sixth grade black children from West Las Vegas and bused to predominantly white schools in the rest of the metropolitan area. Only white children in the sixth grade are sent

to the Las Vegas Valley said the plan has been a good first step toward meaningful school integration and she commended the community for making it work.

"Many of the white parents who were previously concerned about having their children attend schools on the west side have become quite enthusiastic about the sixth grade centers," she noted.

According to Mrs. Butler, only a small minority of parents directed by Bus-Out have continued to defy the law.

"This small, but vocal continuing opposition to the desegregation plan is not directed, as many people assume, at total busing nor total desegregation, but is only directed against the participation of white children in the sixth grade centers," she stated.

Speaking about opposition to the plan, Mrs. Butler said the league is now concerned about anti-busing activity in the Legislature. "We are disturbed that school board members are not actively lobbying against this legislation in view of the successful first six months of their desegregation plan."

On the centers themselves she reported that league members have noted a more optimistic attitude in the schools than existed generally before.

"Part of this new spirit is due to the kinds of programs and resources now made available in the centers and to the possibilities that open up when innovations are encouraged and teachers and children are given support for the things they want to do," she claimed.

Mrs. Butler said the league agrees with others who have said the centers serve a useful purpose for students as a middle school between the elementary and junior high years.

Like the NAACP the league is concerned that the present plan places a disproportionate burden on the West Las Vegas community. Mrs. Butler said the group has supported the plan though because it filled the court order and involved the total school community.

They also endorsed it because of the district concept of feeder school arrangement which

promise to the black community that under the integration plan their children would not be shifted from school to school as has been the practice in the past.

Mrs. Butler said the league plans to study and evaluate the district's effort and effectiveness in the integration plan, especially as it involves the black children who are bused to predominantly white schools.

She expressed hope that the rest of the community would get involved in the integration process also. "The community must involve itself in the commitment to an educational system that serves all children equally and it must continue to move forward in eliminating discrimination in a broad range of other areas such as housing, employment and voting rights if our efforts for reform in education are to succeed."

predicted the district will continue using the basic sixth grade plan as long as it is under a court order.

One change officials have considered is a switch in the center operating hours with those of junior high schools. This year the centers are in session from 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. while the junior highs hold classes from 8:15 a.m. to 2:15 p.m.

Lawrence said there might be a potential problem of older youths congregating at the bus stops if the hours are reversed so the change might not be practical. "Ideally we should have them both on the same schedule, but that would take an additional 20 to 30 buses," he explained.

There is also a possibility that the district will provide late bus service from the centers in the fall so students can stay after class for

He said it was too early to say how much money will be spent on the integration plan next year because the district's total resources are still unknown. However, he is sure they will not be receiving the level of special funding they did this year.

"There is really not much rationale for providing extra funds in the sum of \$30 per student," he said, claiming that most of the centers are well equipped now because of special funding this year.

According to the deputy superintendent, elementary schools in the district were not neglected because of the integration plan. "They all received an allocation on the basis of the same funding formula we used before. They also got \$30 more for every black being bused in so they received more funds than ever before," he said.

Lawrence said school officials are studying the status of six schools now exempt from the court ordered plan because they are naturally integrated, but he does not foresee changing any of them next year.

"We made some zone changes for Lois Craig Elementary to help their situation and we will be taking another look at Bonanza in the spring too, but we won't change it if we can help it."

Under the court order the schools can remain exempt from the plan as long as their black enrollment is below 50 per cent of the school population.

Lawrence said there probably will not be any new exemptions next year either because Sunrise Acres is the only school which is even close to having a significant natural minority enrollment.

"It is really hard to say down the road what will happen in the future, but it won't be too long before we will be needing more sixth grade centers," he predicted.

One thing the district will be standing firm on in the fall is its policy against admitting students to seventh grade who have not completed sixth grade in accredited schools. "If we allowed them in it would be the end of the game for us," Lawrence said, noting that a lot of people are involved in the plan who



**ROCK HOUNDS** — Studying layers of earth becomes a real life experience when students see samples of rock formations to contact. Here, Kit Carson sixth graders Kiven Finn, Greg Beck,

before and in his judgment operated well this year. Far said on the several occasions he has visited the centers he has found that black and white children were getting along well. "There was no bunching up of whites on one side of the room and blacks on the other. They were interacting and learning together." The NAACP does not think the plan, for its success, has been fair to blacks and whites. He is recommending to Federal Judge James E. Thompson in Reno that a greater emphasis for integration be placed on white students, the lawyer reported.

Far said they won't be opposing the continuation of the present plan, but they will be requesting changes so that small black students will not have to spend so much time being transported to and from school.

The plan is now operated first through sixth grade black children from West Las Vegas are bused to predominantly white schools in the rest of the metropolitan area. Only whites in the sixth grade are sent to town.

Far would like to see some administrative changes made in the operation of the centers so the students spend more time on their studies. "Too much time is spent moving from room to room now," he explained. Far also wants more division of the student load so children who need remedial help will get it. Mrs. Butler of the League of Women Voters

their desegregation plan. On the centers themselves she reported that league members have noted a more optimistic attitude in the schools than existed generally before. "Part of this new spirit is due to the kinds of programs and resources now made available in the centers and to the possibilities that open up when innovations are encouraged and teachers and children are given support for the things they want to do," she claimed.

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They also endorsed it because of the district concept of feeder school alignment which permits children to attend school together from first grade through high school.

Now they have real concerns about the recent board decision to reevaluate zoning policies and make alignments along neighborhood patterns. "Despite popular thought to the contrary, there has never been a uniform neighborhood school policy in Clark County," Mrs. Butler pointed out.

She said a neighborhood zoning policy might be costly and it might contradict the



**ROCK HOUNDS** — Studying layers of earth becomes a real life experience when students have samples of rock formations to contemplate. Here, Kit Carson sixth graders Kiven Finn, Greg Beck, Reggie Ratliff and David Ratliff stack up their own configuration.

Because the integration plan has worked relatively well in many people's opinions, it probably will not be changed much next year, according to Deputy Superintendent Lawrence.

"When you've got something that is working fairly well there isn't any reason to make major changes," he explained. Lawrence

added special activities.

Lawrence predicted that next year sixth grade teachers will be given the option of transferring out of the centers if they would rather be in regular schools. "If it is the normal number of teachers who want to transfer I am sure they will be able to," he added.

Craig Elementary to help their situation and we will be taking another look at Bonanza in the spring too, but we won't change it if we can help it."

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One thing the district will be standing firm on in the fall is its policy against admitting students to seventh grade who have not completed sixth grade in accredited schools. "If we allowed them in it would be the end of the game for us," Lawrence said, noting that a lot of people are involved in the plan who don't like it, but who went along with it.

He said he hopes people who have been holding out will elect to enroll their children in the sixth grade centers before the end of the year.

For those who are hesitant he noted, "With the kind of court order we have this is a good plan and there are some real advantages to having everyone be the same age."

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### BUSING IN 14 COMMUNITIES

This year staff members of the [U.S.] Commission on Civil Rights have visited 14 communities—North and South, rural and urban, peaceful and turbulent—to assess the use of busing to achieve desegregation. The following are some general findings:

- Desegregation tends to be smoother and more peaceful if it has community support. If the adult community resists busing, the transition is more likely to be disorderly.
- Advance preparation of the community and pre-school planning with staff, teachers, and students is important to an orderly desegregation program.
- Being under court order often helps. It many times paves the way for a superintendent and board to take a step that might otherwise be politically perilous.
- Improvements in curriculum and facilities commonly accompany busing. Districts are careful to see that previously neglected schools are spruced up before white pupils are transferred there.
- Desegregation goes more smoothly at the elementary level. Whereas high school students tend to segregate themselves, elementary pupils don't. Whereas high school students might complain about busing, younger children report enjoying the ride.
- Although white flight occurs, it is exaggerated. A

relatively small portion of the enrollment withdraws. Several of the studied cities reported that these young people soon began returning to the public schools.

- Busing for desegregation rarely means trips of inordinate distance. Sometimes desegregation results in less busing. In Leon County, Florida, the number bused dropped from 8,897 to 8,482 and the number of miles covered each morning dropped from 8,409 to 7,523, although enrollment increased.

- Incidents often are blown out of proportion. Where they are racial, they frequently occur at the beginning of school and soon fade away. The behavior of parents is a factor, creating an atmosphere that carries into the schoolhouse.

- Where there is vociferous opposition, it comes almost altogether from parents. Students become staunch defenders of desegregation and even organize to support it. In some communities, parents also have formed bi-racial organizations.

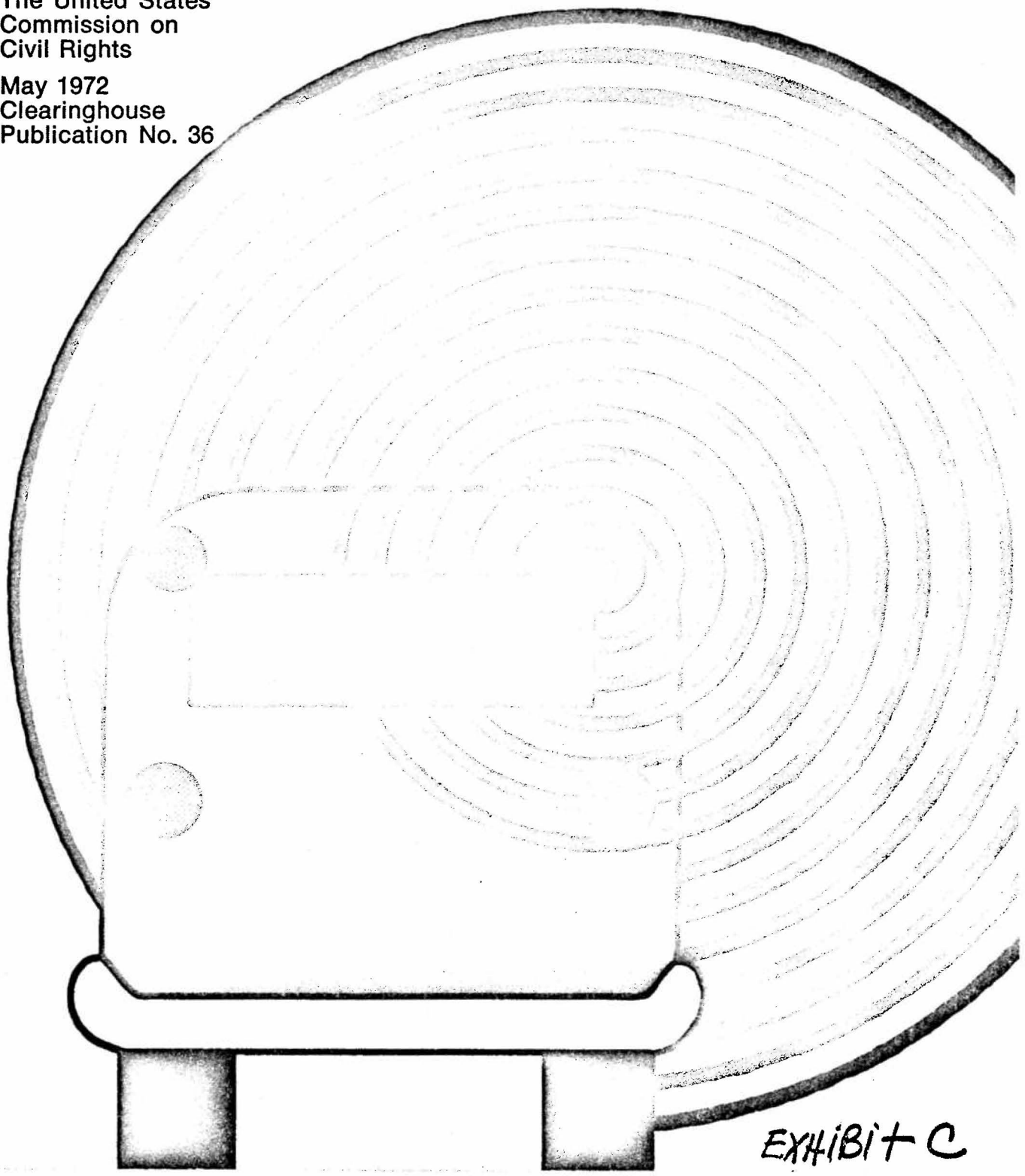
This is not to say that our staff has discovered perfect success in any area. What we have found are a number of communities at different stages on the road, sometimes a tortuous one, toward eventual success.

—Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman  
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, July 28, 1972

*John Foley*

# Your Child and Busing

The United States  
Commission on  
Civil Rights  
May 1972  
Clearinghouse  
Publication No. 36



*EXHIBIT C*



## U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan Agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;

Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;

Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws; and

Submit reports, finding, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

Members of the Commission:

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., *Chairman*

Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*

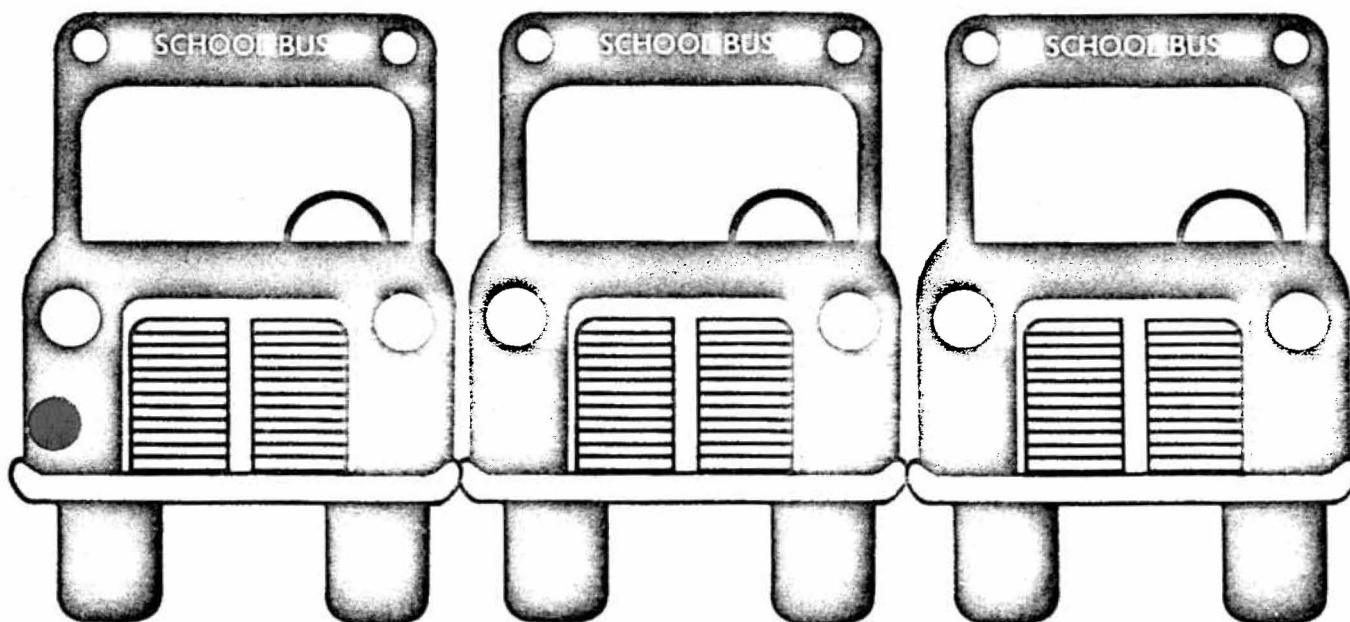
Frankie M. Freeman

Maurice B. Mitchell

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Manuel Ruiz, Jr.

John A. Buggs, *Staff Director-Designate*



## Foreword

The school bus is familiar to every American. For decades, it has been viewed as a convenience, even a necessity, for the education of the Nation's children. Whether brought up in big cities, suburbs, or rural areas, millions of Americans—at one time or another—were bused to and from school and thought little about it. Traditionally, busing has caused little upset or controversy, for everyone understood that the benefits, in the form of better educational opportunity, well warrant the minor inconvenience which a bus ride involves. Scenes of picketing and protest over busing were rare, and occurred only when parents demanded more, not less, busing.

In recent years, the situation has changed radically. The school bus has been vilified as representing a needless waste of money, a threat to the safety of children, and a health hazard. Busing has been condemned, not as a relative inconvenience but as an absolute evil.

The storm over busing is a limited one. For most purposes, busing continues and even in-

creases with little show of concern. Handicapped children still are bused to schools with special facilities. Gifted children still are bused to schools with curriculum and teachers better suited to develop their abilities. And children in rural areas still are bused in increasing numbers as the movement toward school consolidation proceeds.

Only in the context of school desegregation has busing become an issue of emotion and controversy. For this purpose alone, the familiar school bus has aroused passionate objections, has stimulated protest marches to the Nation's Capital, and has generated acts of violence.

The Commission on Civil Rights deals in fact. It is our conviction that the American people and their duly elected representatives, if fully informed, will act wisely and compassionately. On the issue of busing, the American people have not been served well. The issue of busing for desegregation more than any other domestic issue in recent memory, has been discussed in terms that have clouded, rather than clarified,

public understanding. Myth has been confused with reality; groundless fears have been substituted for fact; and appeals have been made to the baser instincts of the American people. The tenor of public discussion has also led to the introduction of radical legislation that would threaten to halt the progress made in securing racial equality and would upset the constitutional balance of power among our three branches of Government.



There are many legitimate concerns about busing for desegregation: Will the quality of education suffer? Will the children be safe? Will their health be jeopardized? Will problems of school discipline increase? Will the bus rides be unreasonably long? Are the courts going beyond constitutional requirements? These and other questions demand answers that fact, not rhetoric, can provide.

The Commission issues this booklet in the hope that it can help separate fact from fiction and dispel many of the unfounded fears that underlie the controversy so troubling the Nation.

The Commission concedes that we, like others who have spoken on this issue, are not without a special viewpoint. Our perspective is one that we have developed over the years as individuals and through our collective experience as members of the Commission. It is fourfold.

First, we believe that the great importance the American people have placed on education is justified and that every child deserves, as a matter of right, a high quality education.

Second, we believe that the Supreme Court of the United States has been right in the several decisions it has handed down on this issue since 1954.

Third, we believe that school desegregation is the most urgent moral imperative facing the American people; that racial justice and racial unity are essential to the Nation's future well-being and that they cannot be achieved so long as our children are educated in racial isolation.

Fourth, we are convinced that acceptance of the continuation of school segregation at this critical point in our history will leave to future generations a heritage of distrust, cynicism, and alienation which may prove irreversible.

1. For almost as long as there has been an automobile, American children have been going to school by bus. Thousands of men and women who today hold important positions in American life went to school by bus and would not have been able to complete school otherwise. Sometimes they spent several hours on the bus each day, leaving home before daybreak and not returning until dark.

Indeed, some trips could be measured in terms of days and weeks instead of hours. Some round trips simply were too long to be made daily. Thus the pupil would leave home on Monday morning, spend the entire week at school, and return home on Friday. Blacks in Warren County, Virginia can recall making such trips as late as 14 years ago. There was one of 17 Virginia counties which had no black high school, so 106 Warren County black students had to attend schools in two neighboring counties. Instead of making daily round trips of more than 100 miles, 59 of them boarded

at school. Some Indian pupils spend months at boarding schools, after being flown there from hundreds of miles away. One such trip carries Alaskan youths to a boarding school in Oklahoma—a distance of more than 3,000 miles. Some of the planes go from village to village to pick up students, much as a bus picks up pupils at stops along a country road, before the students board airliners for the rest of the trip.

New Mexico has two bus routes measuring 74 miles one-way and three others of about 70 miles in each direction—none having any connection with desegregation. A bus route in the Needles, California area stretches 65 miles one-way, and the pupils spend about 3 hours day on the bus.

Pupil transportation in the United States did not begin with the motor bus. It is nearly as old as public education itself, and student transportation at public expense goes back almost to the beginning of compulsory education. Massachusetts in 1852 became the first State to adopt compulsory education and in 1869 became the first State to provide pupil transportation at public expense. If all children had to go to school, it stood to reason that some means of transportation had to be furnished for those who lived too far away to walk. By 1919 every State had authorized the use of tax money for pupil transportation.

The earliest trips were by horse-drawn wagons or sleds. Just prior to 1920 the first motor buses were used, gradually becoming the now-familiar yellow, box-shaped vehicle that generally carries 50 or 60 young passengers.

But the tax-supported school bus isn't the only means of pupil transportation. In at least two States, Maine and Louisiana, children travel to and from school by boat. And in some remote areas at times, children have been flown to school by airplane. Many urban children use commercial buses to get to school and have done so for years, largely at their own expense. Fewer than half of the Nation's pupils get to school on foot or by bicycle.

Today busing is a national issue. But for decades, busing has been a matter of concern

for Southern blacks. One concern was that the buses were used to carry children to racially separate schools, and that almost always meant a better school for white than black children. Another concern was that black children were not even provided buses until well after buses were provided for whites, and in some instances many years afterward. Busing was looked upon as an advantage—a symbol of the desire of parents and the community to provide children with the best possible schooling. Black parents were shortchanged in terms of buildings, teachers, books, and supplies—in short, in public education itself—and they were similarly deprived of pupil transportation.

Henry Marsh, a young black Virginian who is vice mayor of Richmond, recalled in a recent address that his earliest memory of school segregation was when he “walked five miles each way to a one-room school with one teacher and seven grades, while white children rode past me on the school bus to a modern, well-staffed school.”

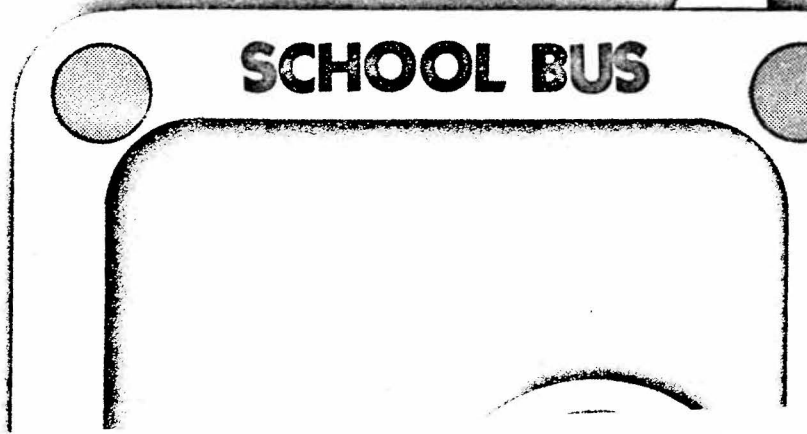
When buses were finally provided for black children in the South, the service was segregated in the same manner as the schools were segregated. Sometimes the buses were old ones that had been replaced by new buses for white children. Many Southern blacks can remember that when they were bused at all, they were bused beyond the front door of a nearby white school in order to be driven to a black school. Many pupil miles were added, at great cost to hard-pressed State and local education budgets, to bus children for long distances in order to maintain segregation.

White and minority children alike had no guarantee of attending a neighborhood school, or even the school nearest their home. Thousands of children passed each other on the way to different schoolhouses. One North Carolina county had four separate sets of schools. And in south Texas, until the recent consolidation of districts, Anglo children were bused out of a district that was predominantly Mexican American to schools predominantly white.

Before and after the 1954 *Brown v. Board*



**SCHOOL BUS**



of *Education* decision, strictly segregated bus routes were laid out for segregated schools. Thus, in 1958 a white teacher in south Georgia almost lost her job because she let one of her pupils ride home on the black bus. Thousands of miles, hours, and gallons of gasoline were spent transporting children to racially separate schools.

Pupil transportation has grown rapidly over the years and neither segregation nor desegregation has been the most important factor. Aside from the steady increase in enrollment, the most important factor by far has been school consolidation, especially after the Second World War. During the War, labor and materials were scarce and non-defense construction of all kinds had to be postponed. Once the War was over, school districts set about building new consolidated schools to replace the old one- and two-room schoolhouses that were inadequate to meet growing educational needs. In the meantime, highway building, which also had been postponed by the War, became a major national undertaking—thus providing the roads that made it possible for buses to serve the new consolidated schools.

Rising educational demands and the thinning of rural populations spurred school consolidation during the fifties and sixties. In 1925 there were 163,000 one-teacher elementary schools, and at the end of the Second World War half of them were still around. By the early 1960's, however, the number of these one-teacher schools had dropped to 13,000 and today only 2,000 remain. Similarly, the number of school districts dropped from 127,000 in the early thirties to about 17,000 today.

During recent decades other factors have been at work to increase busing. Many high schools students in the sprawling suburbs had to be bused, so busing became an urban as well as a rural practice. Cities used busing to relieve crowded schools. Bus service was provided for the gifted and the handicapped, enabling these children to attend schools tailored to their needs. Some parents—worried about such things as lack of subdivision sidewalks, dangerous

traffic conditions, and bad weather—demanded bus service. Gradually, bus pick-ups became closer and closer to the pupil's home, for the convenience of both pupils and parents.

As the number of buses increased, so did the purposes for which they could be used. Many classes in nature study, art, or music, civics classes, science classes, choruses, bands and athletic teams have been transported by school bus to special events and occasions. Many trips to parks, museums, farms, concert halls, theaters, zoos, seats of government, industrial plants, and health clinics have been made possible by the school bus.

Since 1921, the number of children transported at public expense has risen from 600,000 to nearly 20,000,000. The number of vehicles has grown from about 60,000 in 1930 to about 256,000 at the beginning of the last school year. During the 1970-71 school year, school buses logged 2,200,000,000 miles at a total cost of one and a half billion dollars. From coast to coast, 43.5 percent of the public school enrollment is now bused.

Although busing has played a role in the desegregation controversy almost from the time of the *Brown* decision, busing specifically for desegregation purposes has been used across the Nation only in the last 3 or 4 years. Busing as a desegregation tool became a national issue with a series of court decisions, starting in 1966, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

How much of the increase in busing has been caused by desegregation? In a letter dated March 24, 1972, Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe quoted the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration as estimating that less than 1 percent of the annual increase in busing can be attributed to desegregation. Taken altogether, according to most published estimates, the number of children who are bused for desegregation purposes is 2 to 4 percent of those transported. While busing may seem "massive" to a community just beginning to bus to achieve desegregation, this category of busing accounts for only a small part of the national total.

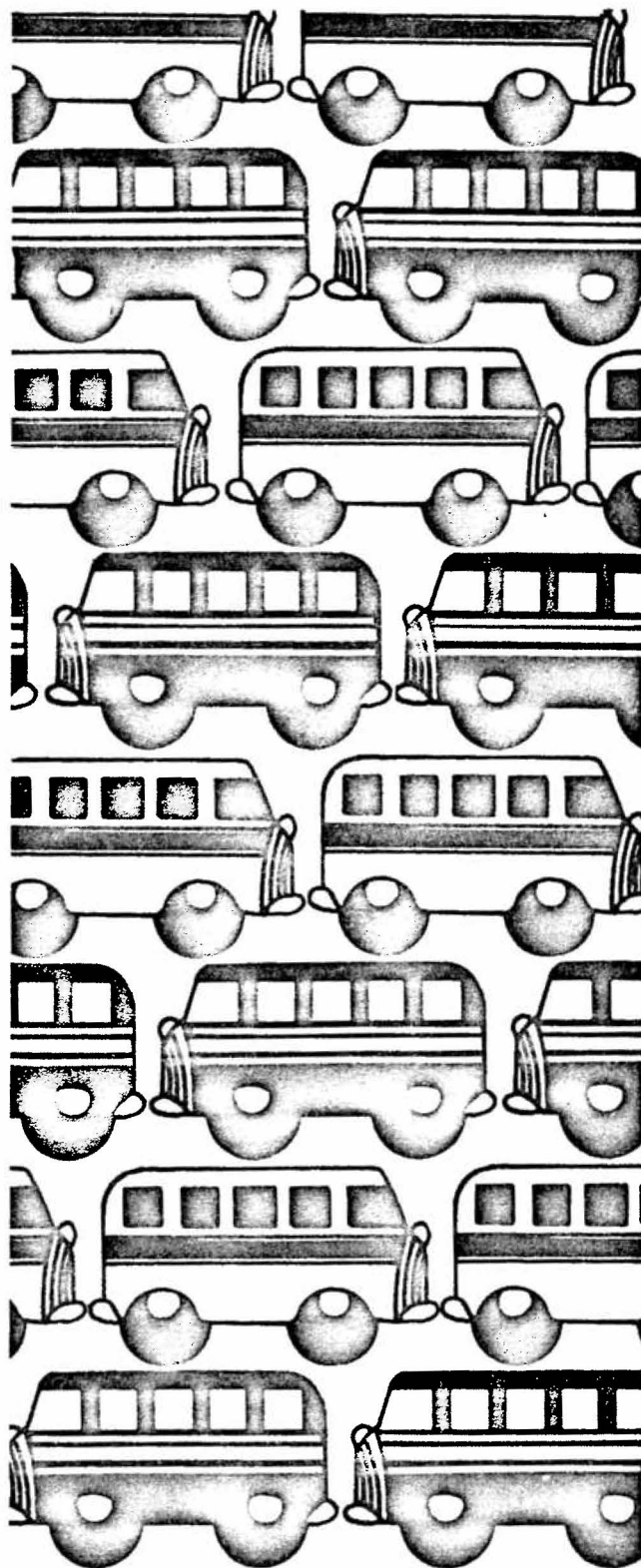
Indeed, in some parts of the country desegregation has reduced the amount of busing. In 42 desegregating Georgia districts between 1965 and 1969, with enrollment up 92,000 and the number bused up 14,000, there was a decrease of 473,000 in the total number of miles traveled. Similarly, in 27 Mississippi districts at about the same time bus mileage dropped 210,000 miles although the number of students bused had increased by 2,500. It is easy to see how desegregation could reduce the amount of busing, especially in rural areas which had extensive busing for segregation purposes. In those localities, white and black children no longer are passing each other on the way to segregated schools lying in opposite directions. Bus routes are more efficient and shorter, meaning quicker rides for the children.

That a great deal of busing can be tolerated—and by deliberate choice of the parents—was illustrated by statistics on public and private school busing published in 1970 by *South Today*. The *South Today* article surveyed pupils at 10 segregated private schools and found that the number of pupils bused averaged 62 percent and that the distance averaged 17.7 miles each way. By contrast, public schools in the eight States in which these private schools were located were busing less than half the enrollment an average of 10.1 miles each way. Thus, more of the private school students were being bused, and they were traveling an average of 7.6 miles each way farther than pupils at the public schools.

To grasp the importance of the school bus to American education, one needs only to imagine the national outcry that would result if all bus service for all purposes suddenly were withdrawn. Only when busing is used for desegregation purposes is there bitter complaint.

**2.** Before 1954, public school segregation was lawful in the United States. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled that States could provide separate facilities for whites and blacks, so long as the facilities were equal.

At the time of the famous 1954 *Brown* case, segregated schools were required by law in 17



States and were permitted by law in four States. Southern schools were strictly segregated, but they were seldom—if ever—equal. Much more money was spent for white education than for black education, and in some States expenditures for white pupils were several times those for black pupils.

In 1954, the Court unanimously overturned the 1896 decision, declaring that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” A year later, in the same case, the Court ordered desegregation to proceed “with all deliberate speed.”

However, the speed with which the decision was carried out was all too deliberate. The pace of desegregation was painfully slow, each year depriving more black children of equal educational opportunity. In the mid-1960’s, courts took note of the inaction and began ordering segregated school districts to take firmer steps to remove all traces of discrimination.

In the first dozen years after the *Brown* decision, courts concerned themselves with the right of individual black children to attend non-segregated schools. Southern districts answered with elaborate freedom-of-choice plans which put the burden of desegregation on the children seeking it. In 1966, however, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals focused on the school system as a whole and said that formerly dual systems had to convert to “unitary,” or single, systems without racial division. The court also said that freedom-of-choice plans would be acceptable only if they resulted in desegregation, and not merely in the possibility of desegregation.

Two years later, the Supreme Court held that districts have a duty to set up a unitary system and eliminate segregation “root and branch.” The Court called for a school system in which there would be no white or black schools, “but just schools.”

“The burden on a school board today,” the Court said, “is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now*.”

These two decisions set the stage for the

busing controversy. This was not because they ordered busing—the districts involved already had busing—but because they ordered elimination of “white” and “Negro” schools, and in many communities that could be done only by busing both white and black pupils.

In the meantime, a few Northern cities—Boston, Chicago, Evanston, Berkeley, Hartford, Rochester, Riverside, and others—began experimenting with busing as a means of increasing school integration. Some of these plans called for “one-way” busing—that is, transporting minority pupils to predominantly white schools. Others called for “two-way” busing, in which both white and minority children would be bused.

In 1969, in a Mississippi case, the Supreme Court declared an end to the “all-deliberate-speed” rule. “The obligation of every school district,” the Court asserted, “is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools.”

In 1971, in the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* case, the Court ruled on what kind of steps should be taken to create a unitary system. The Court held unanimously that busing is a proper means of desegregating schools.

“We find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation,” wrote Chief Justice Warren Burger. “Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school.”

The Court was careful in its handling of the busing issue. It suggested that busing should not be used if the time or distance would endanger the child’s health or education. But in the case at hand, the Court saw no such danger.

Courts in the North, meanwhile, also were finding unconstitutional segregation and were ordering desegregation with the use of busing to achieve it. Involved in these decisions were cities like Pontiac, Pasadena, Detroit, and Denver. Other cities—Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for example—acted under State law.

It can be seen from the cases just outlined that desegregation moved gradually and logi-



cally in the direction of using every available and reasonable tool, including busing. Old segregation patterns are deeply rooted and slow to give way. It became evident that many American children would never see desegregated classrooms unless positive steps were taken to break the old pattern.

Nevertheless, courts did not leap to order wholesale busing. On the contrary, busing was called for only when necessary to undo the unconstitutional wrong of segregated schools.

Despite the care with which the courts acted and despite the fact that many years had gone by since the *Brown* decision, busing drew a violent reaction during 1970 and 1971 in some communities. Busing began dominating the Nation's headlines. Two buses were overturned in Lamar, South Carolina, and buses were burned in Denver and Pontiac.

But these headline-making incidents were the exception rather than the rule. While they were happening, scores of districts were desegregating quietly. Moreover, the incidents usually have occurred at the beginning of the school year. Once the school-opening tensions and disturbances settle down, desegregation generally goes forward in orderly fashion.

Many a superintendent, board, and court has struggled to find a way to desegregate effectively without busing. They have had to conclude, in the final analysis, that there is no other way. Given the tightly segregated neighborhoods in most American communities, desegregation simply is not possible in many localities without busing and isn't likely to be for years to come. Where courts have ordered school districts to carry out desegregation plans involving busing, they have done so for a sound reason: namely, that a violation of the Constitution must have an effective remedy and some way to bring the violation to an end. Without that, the constitutional right to attend an unsegregated school is meaningless.

**3.** As an issue of national controversy, busing has created a forest of fears, myths, and incorrect and misleading statements. For example, busing for desegregation purposes fre-

quently is described as "massive" busing. But, as we have seen, the number of children bused solely for desegregation purposes is relatively small.

Busing for desegregation purposes often is called "forced" busing. But, as noted previously, pupil transportation in America followed closely behind compulsory education, which "forces" children to go to school, whether on foot or by bus. Thus, any busing in a State with a compulsory attendance law could be called "forced" busing, for the child has to go to school and attend the school to which he is assigned, and the bus is his means of getting there. Moreover, as mentioned previously, bus trips to private schools—to which parents freely choose to send their children—often are much longer than trips to public schools.

Somehow the busing-for-desegregation debate has become clouded in its own language and expressions, in which the word "busing" almost always follows such labels as "massive" and "forced," and in which the defenders of busing are pictured as wanting children bused simply to have the experience of being bused.

Somehow a pattern of fears and myths has become fixed in the minds of the public, making it hard to sort out the facts and determine what is true and what is false. This chapter will deal, one by one, with some of the fears and myths often heard about busing:

**1. A child has a right to attend a "neighborhood" school.**

Long before the busing issue, there were parents who wanted the right to send their children to the school of their choice. Sometimes they wanted to send their children to the "neighborhood" school and sometimes they wanted to send their children to schools outside the neighborhood.

Parents who felt that their children should attend the same school as children in the next block wanted the say-so about which of two nearby schools would be their "neighborhood" school. Sometimes parents have felt that the route to one school would be safer than the route to another because of traffic, the lack of sidewalks or crossing guards, and so on.

At times parents have wanted to send their children to schools outside the neighborhood. Sometimes parents have felt that a school a little farther away had better teachers. Sometimes classrooms were less crowded at another school. And sometimes their children had more friends at another school.

A few parents have gone to court to force a school board to send their children to a certain school. In some of these lawsuits parents have insisted that their children be sent to the nearest—that is, the “neighborhood”—school. Courts have ruled in these cases that the school board, and not the parents, has the right to determine which school a child will attend.

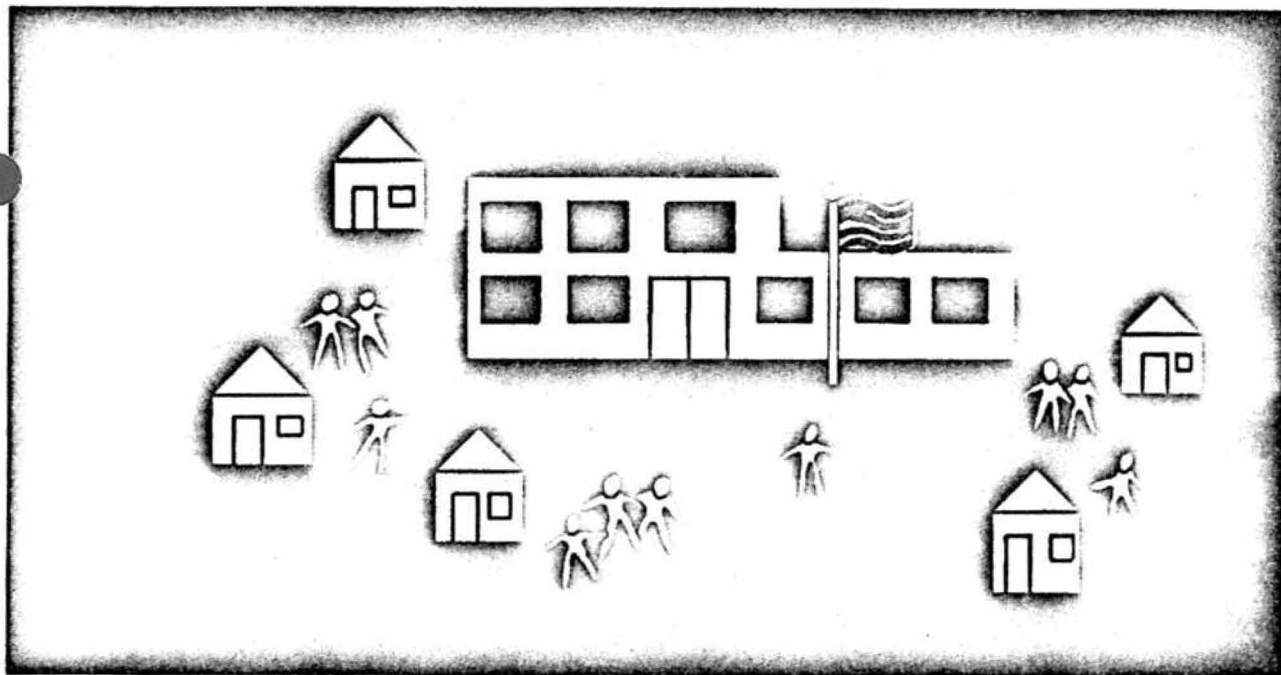
A 1965 Michigan case provides an example. The local board felt that because a school was overcrowded some of the pupils should be sent to another school farther away (and keep in mind, this was several years before the busing controversy in that State). The court ruled that the board had the right to send the students to a school other than the “neighborhood” school.

For many years, of course, some States sent all pupils of one race to one school and all the pupils of another race to another school, no

matter what the parents said. Often this meant going directly past the door of a nearby school to another school much farther away.

Courts backed up the boards, holding that there was no legal or sacred right to a “neighborhood” school. The courts held that boards had the right to make pupil assignments and decide to which school a child would go. In an 1876 Cincinnati case, a court used colorful language to make that point, saying that “children cannot cluster round their school like they do around their parish church.”

In recent times, courts have supported the right of boards to send children to certain schools in order to reduce segregation. Courts have upheld boards which have taken the position that the best schooling is schooling which does not occur in segregated classrooms. The courts have regarded this as a sound educational position with which they should not interfere. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court went on to point out that the neighborhood-based school—made up, by and large, of children of the same race and status—is the exact opposite of the old “common” school, which is deeply rooted in American history and which

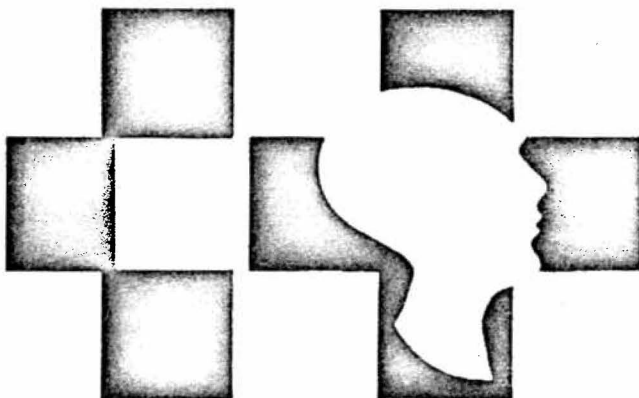


brought together children from a wide variety of families and backgrounds.

Clearly parents cannot, on their own, make the final decision about where to send their children for public schooling—whether it be to the nearest school, the “best” school, the newest school, or whatever. A school district in which parents made such final decisions could hardly operate, because every parent would want to enroll his children in the “best” or most convenient school. The final decision must be made by the board, on the basis of what is best for the district as a whole, and no parent has the absolute right to send his child to a school simply because it happens to be geographically nearest.

The educational trend in recent years has been away from the neighborhood school, whose facilities are necessarily limited by size, toward larger schools which can provide better facilities and a broader curriculum. The neighborhood school was not sacred in the days of segregation, and there is no reason why it should be today. To make the neighborhood school the cornerstone of American education would be to turn the clock back educationally as well as socially.

2. Busing puts a child out of reach of his parents or neighbors when school illnesses and injuries occur.



This is a fear that seems to bother many parents more than it should. Children do have accidents and get sick at school, but not very often.

If the matter is serious, school authorities

are capable of seeing that the child gets immediate attention. Some schools have small buses and automobiles that are used to transport handicapped children, and these can be used in an emergency. Of course, nearly all school officials have private automobiles handy which could be used if necessary. Some large schools employ full-time nurses or, at least, have first-aid facilities and equipment and faculty members with health and first-aid training.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania prepared this response to questions about what would happen if a child who is bused got sick or hurt at school:

“The school nurse will be called immediately for preliminary diagnosis and treatment. A parent will be called if warranted. If a parent is unable to pick up the child, the school district will provide transportation to take the child home.”

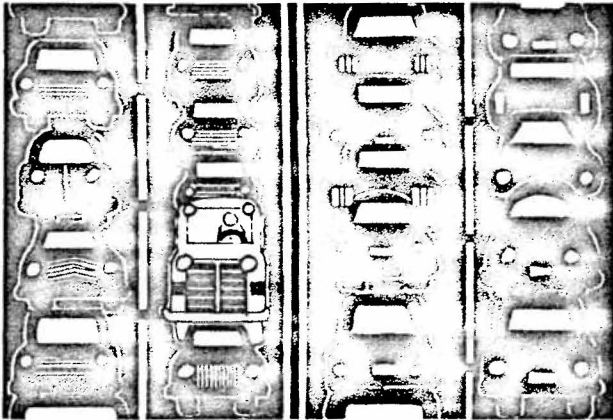
The concern is one that undoubtedly has passed through the minds of millions of parents whose children have been bused all along for reasons having nothing to do with desegregation (less than half the Nation’s school enrollment walks to school). Yet the concern has not been serious enough to block such bus-related educational developments as consolidation, often requested and ardently supported by parents. It can hardly now pose a danger of major proportions for the relatively small percentage of children who are bused for desegregation purposes.

3. Buses aren’t safe.

Thousands of American parents would disagree with that statement. In school districts across the country, they have been asking for more busing, not less.

The reason, of course, is the growing congestion in urban areas and the ever-increasing number of automobiles. Streets that once rarely saw an automobile, and could be used as places to play catch or touch football at practically any time of the day, now are clogged with automobiles. Streets once safe now are so heavy with traffic that they are dangerous for young children to cross.

Hence many parents have been asking for—



indeed, demanding—bus service. Gradually, over the years, school districts have been providing bus service closer and closer to the children's homes. The parents who have been demanding this service regard buses as being safer than walking, rather than the reverse. Stringent State traffic laws go to great lengths to protect school buses and their young passengers.

Parents whose children are bused can take comfort in the fact that the National Safety Council regards the school bus as "the safest transportation in the United States." Says the Council: "The school bus is safer to travel in than your own automobile, an airplane, buses (other than school buses), or a passenger train."

The National Safety Council's latest statistics show that while there are 2.4 fatalities per 100 million miles of travel in private automobiles and .29 in airplanes, the figure for school buses is .06.

That children who ride buses are safer than children who walk was supported by a 6-year report compiled by the Pennsylvania Department of Education. The report found bus riding three times safer than walking—one accident for every 280 pupils who walked to school, against one for every 898 who rode to school on a bus.

#### 4. Fights and racial clashes occur on buses and in the desegregated schools.

Scuffling, bullying, and other childish behavior have always been a part of growing up and always will be. It occurs wherever children

gather—at home, on playgrounds, at school, and on the way to and from school, whether the trip is on foot or by bus.

As far back as 1939 educators were trying to decide if busing causes an increase in disciplinary problems. The conclusion was that it does not.

Nevertheless, districts using busing have taken steps to reduce incidents on buses. The standard approach has been to place monitors on buses, as well as in the halls and schoolyards. Some parents believe their children are safer on a bus with an adult monitor than they would be walking home by themselves or in small groups.

School disorders are indeed a problem. But the fact that disorders occurred at schools and on buses before they were desegregated indicates that such incidents are not uniquely connected with busing for desegregation. Moreover, there is reason to believe that some incidents are given overblown attention—in and out of the press—if they somehow can be connected with the controversial issue of busing. Some incidents that otherwise would not even be reported are suddenly "racial" incidents.

Staff members of the Commission on Civil Rights have found that where incidents occur they generally take place at the beginning of the school year and quickly die down. There is considerable evidence that disorderly pupils take their cue from their elders, particularly those in the community. Students can hardly be unaffected when adults burn and bomb buses, throw up picket lines, and shout insults. If there is tension and disorder outside the school, there is bound to be tension and disorder inside.

Once the protests and demonstrations fade, so do school disorders. In Pontiac, for example, discipline returned to normal and monitors were removed after the pickets left the schools. In Pasadena, incidents in the schools have dropped to the lowest point in 6 years.

Uneasiness is to be expected at first, of course, when children are being placed in new and unfamiliar learning situations. Some districts have moved creatively to prepare schools, officials, teachers, parents, pupils, and the com-

munity for desegregation, often with successful results. Students themselves have taken steps to make the change to biracial education as orderly as possible. But when a busing program is carried out quietly and smoothly it makes very small headlines or none at all.

5. Busing forces children to spend long hours away from home, thereby taking away play and study time.



There seems little doubt in the minds of busing opponents that busing steals hour after hour from the children. The facts do not support this result as being a natural and usual consequence of busing.

Indeed, in the South the reverse can and does happen. Desegregation actually can cause many children to spend less time on the bus. This is because they are no longer bused past one segregated school to get to another; hence the trip is shorter.

In Hoke County, North Carolina, for example, the switch from segregation to integration resulted in bus runs that were 15 minutes shorter. In Georgia the number of pupils bused statewide has risen gradually from 516,000 in 1967-68 to 566,000 in 1970-71. During the same period, however, the number of miles logged by Georgia buses has dropped from 53,997,000 to 51,257,000.

Similarly, it is possible that an attendance area in a Northern district might be so drawn that a bus trip after desegregation might be quicker than the ride or walk prior to desegregation.

In most districts where pupils are being bused for desegregation, trips are rarely long. The average travel time reported seems to be 20 to 30 minutes. Trips of an hour or more would be out of the ordinary. A trip of a half hour or so would not bring the pupil home much later than if he walked from a neighborhood school.

The desegregation order for Richmond, Virginia, for example, would call for average bus rides of about 30 minutes, which is less than the current average in an adjacent county involved in the decision.

Of 11 cities surveyed recently by the Center for National Policy Review, the length of the average trip had been increased by more than 15 minutes in only two. In six cities, the average trip remained exactly the same before and after court-ordered desegregation.

The Supreme Court, in the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* case, was mindful of the fact that children should not be subjected to bus rides "when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process." Thus the Court has already taken steps to protect children against the overlong trips that concern busing opponents.

6. Minority Americans are just as opposed to busing as majority Americans.

This assumption on the part of busing opponents is more wishful thinking than fact.

It is true that many minority Americans are apprehensive about desegregation, but rarely because it would mean a bus ride for their children. They have more solid reasons. At times they oppose desegregation, and not without cause. Minority schools have been closed in carrying out desegregation plans while previously white schools have remained in use. Often it has been the minority senior high school that has been converted to a desegregated junior high school. Some black principals and teachers have lost their jobs or have been demoted.

Minority Americans have another concern about desegregation. They fear that their children could be abused and mistreated in a pre-

dominantly white school and swallowed up in the dominant white atmosphere. They remember the taunts and threats from Little Rock onward. Some minority parents feel that their children, therefore, would be better off in an improved school serving their own group.

Some minority Americans have been discouraged by what they sense to be white opposition to desegregation at every step of the way. In frustration and dismay, they have come to question integration.

While many minority Americans share these strong concerns, most, nevertheless, want to see the public schools desegregated. They recognize, as do most majority Americans, that ours is one Nation—not two or three—and that the Nation cannot be sure of its future until its citizens learn to live together, beginning in the classroom.

More concretely, minority Americans have long known, as the Supreme Court stated in 1954, that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” As one black leader put it recently, the only way to make sure that black Americans receive an equal educational opportunity is to put them into the same classrooms with whites.

In several cities, the Commission on Civil Rights has been told of inner-city schools that have been improved magically and almost overnight when the district launched a busing pro-

gram. And in a letter to a Washington newspaper, a black parent from North Carolina gave her own testimony:

“Within one month, the parents of the white children who were bused managed to get the black school painted, repairs made, new electric typewriters and sewing machines, and the shelves filled with books . . .

“I contend that busing for one year will upgrade all our schools quicker than anything the President or Congress can do.”

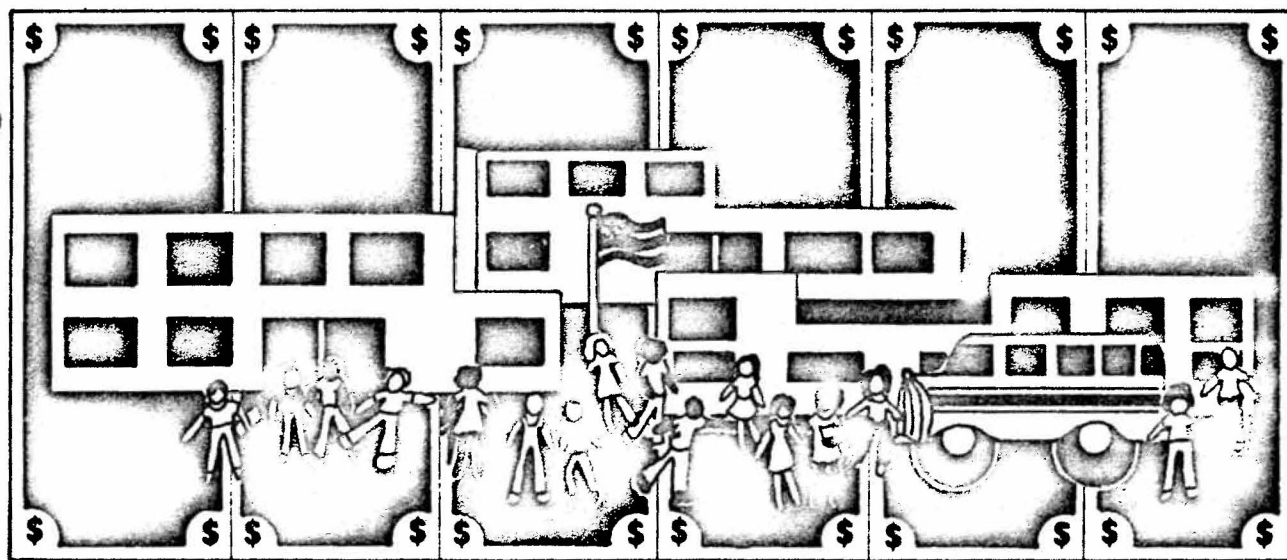
#### 7. Busing is too expensive.

To be sure, a school bus is not an inexpensive item. The average school bus costs \$8,500.

However, pupil transportation is a relatively small part of the Nation’s education budget. Down through the decades, although the number of children bused has risen substantially, that part of the education budget which goes for pupil transportation has stayed about the same. In 1933, the expenditure for pupil transportation was 3.5 percent of the cost of operating public schools. In 1969-70, it was 3.6 percent.

Last year, the cost of pupil transportation was just over \$1.5 billion, out of a total public school expenditure of nearly \$44 billion.

When school districts talk about the high cost of busing they are speaking, generally, about capital outlay—that is, the one-time expenditure of funds to buy the necessary buses



to carry out a desegregation plan. This initial expenditure can, indeed, put a severe strain on limited school funds. Past legislation has made Federal funds available to help districts buy buses, and this seems the logical answer to the initial burden of acquiring buses.

**8. Instead of busing, we should spend the money on education.**

This issue is at the heart of the busing debate. Some argue that learning can best be advanced in desegregated schools; others argue that learning can best be advanced by leaving children in segregated neighborhood schools and pumping catch-up funds for compensatory education into schools serving low-income areas.

For some 15 years, educators and social scientists have been debating the matter, and the debate is far from over.

In the thick of the debate is a massive 1966 Federal study called the "Coleman Report." Boiled down, the Coleman Report found that minority children from low-income families learn faster when there is racial and economic integration of classrooms. The report said family background is, by far, the most important factor in a child's education, but an integrated classroom can accelerate learning.

Other studies have found that minority students do better in integrated classrooms. A 1968 report said the evidence "is quite conclusive; i.e., integrated minority pupils recorded higher achievement gains than segregated minority pupils." Said another report: "Several studies, which compared disadvantaged Negroes in traditional compensatory education programs with Negro students transferred to majority white schools, showed integration to be superior."

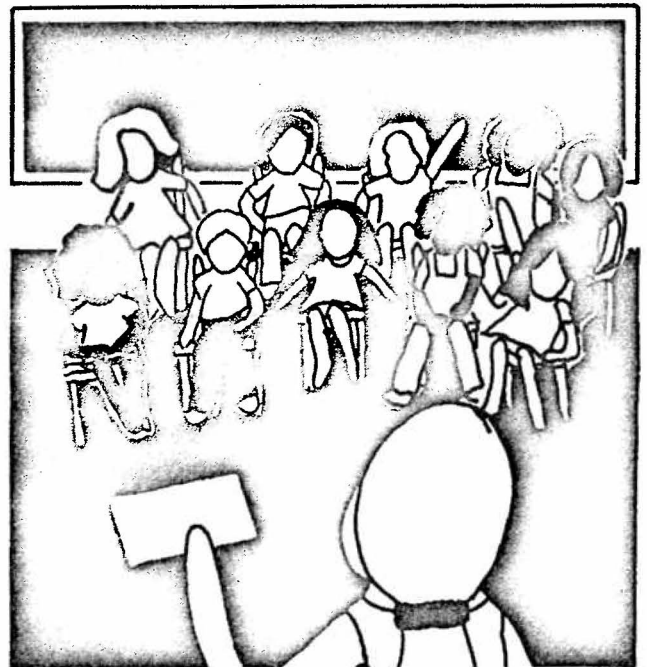
The issue is not integration versus compensatory education, but whether catch-up programs can work by themselves. In 1967 the Commission on Civil Rights evaluated compensatory education programs in isolated schools in large cities and concluded that the data did not show lasting gains in achievement. Berkeley, California found that compensatory education in

racially isolated schools was not closing the education gap, so Berkeley coupled compensatory education with an integration program accomplished through busing. Results to date in Berkeley show advanced achievement by both white and minority students.

Some busing opponents say desegregation is a failure because it has not yet closed the achievement gap between majority and minority pupils. This criticism overlooks the fact that widespread desegregation through the use of busing is a fairly new development. It would be unrealistic to expect a few years of desegregation to overcome the effects of generations of segregation. But in one desegregated system after another, the gap is being closed.

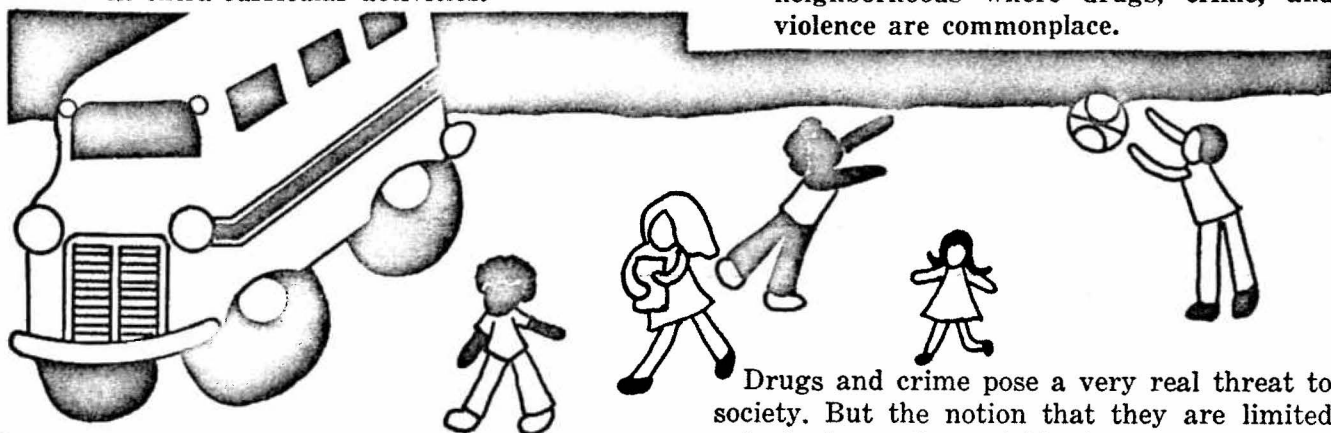
To repeat, it is not a question of desegregation versus compensatory education. Both are needed to bring education alive for all of the Nation's pupils. As the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children said in 1969:

"School desegregation and compensatory education are not an either/or proposition, but are mutually complementary actions which can lose much of the effectiveness in isolation from each other."



9. Busing prevents students from taking part in extra-curricular activities.

10. Busing would carry children into dangerous neighborhoods where drugs, crime, and violence are commonplace.



There is little reason why this should happen. Students have been riding buses for years, sometimes in remote rural areas, without surrendering after-school activities.

Districts undertaking desegregation through busing commonly have provided what is known as an "activity" bus. The "activity" bus is scheduled so that it doesn't leave until late, an hour or so after school ends for the day. Thus there is late bus service available to take students home after football and basketball practice, play rehearsals, band practice, track meets, chorus rehearsals, club meetings, and so on.

A teacher in Berkeley, California, who had the same concern often voiced by parents about pupils having to sacrifice extra-curricular activities, has written:

"I know the anxieties parents feel when school authorities begin talking about busing. . . . We were concerned that our son [a fifth-grader] would not be able to participate in after-school activities at his new school."

But the school system provided "activity" buses to keep that from happening, and the teacher reported:

"People in Berkeley now feel a tremendous sense of pride in having made it work. And the evidence has begun to come in, showing the improved achievement levels of the disadvantaged children. . . . My own hope is that busing will now settle back into the secondary issue it really is."

Drugs and crime pose a very real threat to society. But the notion that they are limited only to inner-city neighborhoods simply does not square with the facts.

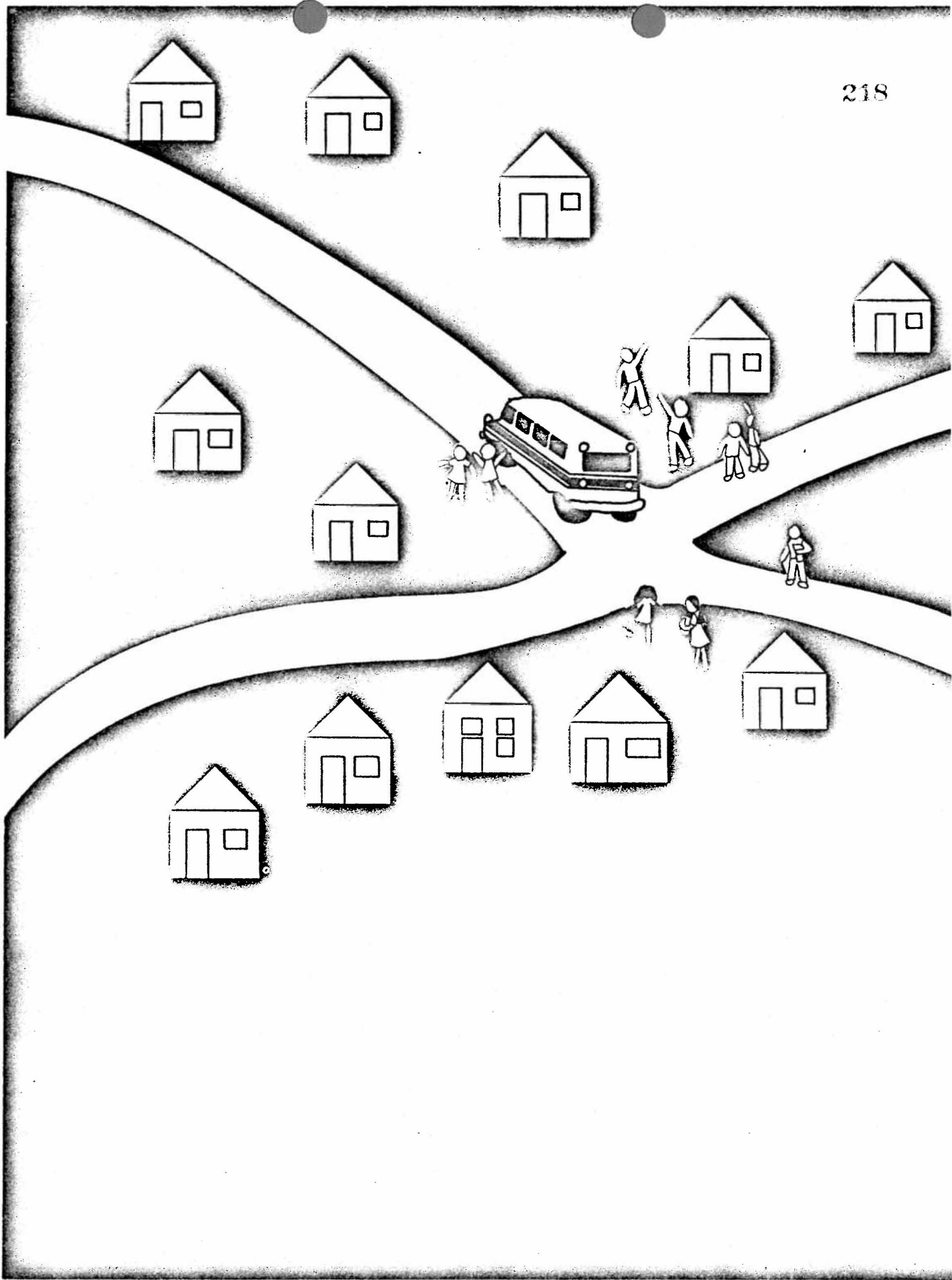
Recent statistics released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation show that crime respects no boundary between city and suburb. In fact, it is increasing faster in the suburbs than in the cities. Violent crime, for example, was up 13 percent in suburban areas and 9 percent in cities. As for drugs, suburban and inner-city parents alike can testify that their schools are far from being drug-free.

The job of school officials is to see that no children—whether they are bused or walk—are placed in danger. And the schools are taking the steps necessary to meet this duty. The steps include adult crossing guards, neighborhood and school monitors, and close coordination with police and municipal authorities.

The problem of safeguarding children from crime and violence is a very real one, but it has nothing to do with busing. If a neighborhood in which a school is located poses a threat to school children, the school should be closed and the children should be sent to another school. If school and municipal authorities cannot make certain that a school is safe, no child should be made to attend it, whether he walks to school or gets there by bus.

In short, the answer to the very real problem of danger to school children does not lie in stopping the busing of some, but in taking steps to assure that all children can attend school in safety.





**11. Busing penalizes white students by setting them back until other pupils "catch up."**

No study supports this statement. On the other hand, a number of studies have found that white pupils either have gained or stayed at about the same level after integration.

Berkeley, California and Louisville, Kentucky found that both majority and minority pupils gained. Riverside, California and Denver, Colorado reported that the education of white children had not suffered. Evanston, Illinois found the same thing—adding that in the process the community "has made considerable gains in the improvement of communications between races."

Far from damaging educational opportunity for whites, busing often means better educational offerings for everyone. That is because busing frequently is the occasion for a district to reorganize its schools and make educational improvements.

At schools that previously had heavy minority enrollments, the change is especially dramatic. These schools often are given repairs, additional teachers, and general improvements during or just after desegregation—to the benefit of both white and minority pupils enrolled in them.

To experts inside and outside the field of education, desegregation is an essential part of quality education and segregation is educationally harmful to both minority and majority pupils. Dr. Michael J. Bakalis, Illinois State School Superintendent, put it this way in recent congressional testimony:

"A high price is paid by any child, be he white or black, who goes through his entire school career without ever meeting a child or teacher of another racial or ethnic background. . . . Segregated schools can only serve to nurture prejudicial attitudes among the young and to divide us further as a people. A child who

has been so isolated throughout his formative years is being educationally deprived."

**12. It is not the job of the schools to cure social ills.**

This statement, frequently made by busing opponents, takes an extremely narrow view of education's role.

Education is more than reading, writing, and arithmetic; education is preparation for life. Students need more than facts and problem-solving skills; they need to know how to lead full and useful lives in a complex world. In a Nation made up of a variety of races and nationalities, that means learning how to live and work with people of different skin colors and cultural backgrounds.

If one accepts this broad view of education, one cannot imagine a worse way of undertaking it than in classrooms segregated by race and national origin.

The segregated classroom stands to millions of minority Americans as proof that majority Americans do not wish to surrender the separate but unequal educational advantage that is theirs from early childhood. The segregated classroom denies millions of majority Americans the opportunity to become acquainted with minority children whose future they share.

As the president of the Pontiac PTA told a House Subcommittee recently:

"The inconvenience busing creates for the parents and the extra time students spend on the bus seem a very small price to pay to see, hopefully, our children mature into the type of American citizens that the drafters of our Constitution and the present interpreters of the Constitution must have envisioned when they included and interpreted the provisions for equality."

Few top educators would agree to a role for education insulated from the Nation's social problems. Segregated schooling might provide instruction, but it does not provide education.



## CONCLUSION

In the first three chapters we have tried to put the busing controversy into the proper light. It is not easy to separate the exaggerations about busing from what busing actually is: that is, simply one of many tools with which school districts can carry out their constitutional duty to desegregate.

Busing is a last resort and only that. But when all other tools are ineffective, school districts have the duty to use the last remaining tool to meet their constitutional obligation.

In the first chapter, we discussed the history and background of busing, showing that busing is a long established and widely used means of getting American children to and from their classrooms. In the second chapter, we traced the legal history of desegregation and the logical steps through which the Supreme Court decided that busing is a proper means of accomplishing desegregation. In the third chapter, we looked at some of the fears and myths about busing and the arguments that are commonly used against it.

This publication has been developed to present to the American public as factual a statement as possible on all or most of the issues surrounding busing. The United States Commission on Civil Rights believes that it is essential for the American public to be fully informed on these issues. We believe that the facts presented in this publication can serve to set the record straight.

For 50 years, the school bus has been a friendly figure—an accepted and vital part of

the American educational picture. Without the bus, millions of Americans would have had to rely on the limited educational offerings of one-room schools. Some might never have completed school.

Now, because it is being used to carry out desegregation plans, some suddenly have cast the familiar yellow bus as a villain. It is a reversal of roles that cannot but trouble thoughtful Americans.

The basic issue is not busing but integration. Either we continue moving toward the goal of integration, or we reject it and hold onto the separate schooling outlawed in the *Brown* decision. In rejecting busing in the racially segregated situation in which most Americans live today, we also reject integration.

Instead of resisting busing, the Nation should seek to follow the example of some 30 seventh graders at Jefferson Junior High School in Pontiac. After buses were burned, schools were picketed, and children were called insulting names, the seventh graders decided to come to the defense of busing and integration in that city. They formed a biracial organization, called "The Group," which travels from school to school, putting on skits and conducting other activities in behalf of racial harmony in Pontiac. Their slogan:

"We Can Make It Work."

It is a motto worthy of parents, educators, all branches of government, and the Nation as a whole.

ARTHUR J. PALMER, *Director*



CLINTON E. WOOSTER, *Legislative Counsel*  
EARL T. OLIVER, C.P.A., *Fiscal Analyst*  
ARTHUR J. PALMER, *Research Director*

February 5, 1973

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul W. May, Assemblyman  
FROM: James T. Havel, Deputy Director, Research Division  
RE: Status of Proposed Amendment on School Bussing

Regarding your request of this morning for information on the status of the proposed constitutional amendment on school bussing, I have contacted Ms. Donna Brother, Legislative Assistant to Representative David Towell. She informs me that H.J.R. 190, the House resolution proposing this constitutional amendment, is presently in the House Judiciary Committee. There is a similar bill that was introduced on the Senate side that is currently pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Ms. Brother indicates that there will probably be no action on either of these measures within the next several months. Of course, in the absence of congressional action no state has ratified such amendment, although there has been some activity in certain states to support the concept of a constitutional amendment, e.g., Florida, I believe, adopted a referendum approving the idea at the November general election.

JTH/jd  
Encl.



# Telegram

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PMS SENATOR FLOYD LAMB

STATE CAPITOL BLDG CARSON CITY NV 89701

TO TELL YOU AT THIS TIME THAT 80 PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS AGAINST FORCED BUSING, SEEMS REPETITIOUS. WE HAVE THE NOTARIZED SIGNATURES OF 20,000 PLUS LAS VEGANS WHO OPPOSE FORCED BUSING OR SCHOOL ASSIGNMENT, AND MORE PETITIONS ARE BEING SIGNED DAILY. THESE CONCERNED LAS VEGANS URGE YOU TO EXERCISE THE INFLUENCE YOU ENJOY IN THE NEVADA STATE SENATE, BY VIRTUE OF PRESTIGE, RESPECT AND SENORITY, TO RECOMMEND A "D"SO PASS" AND TO OBTAIN A "YES" VOTE ON THE SENATE FLOOR FOR S.B.170, S.B.225, S.J.R.6, S.J.R.7, AND S.J.R.8

EXHIBIT E

BUS-OUT AND PARENTS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

UF-1201 (R5-69)

EXHIBIT E