In Berkeley, black elementary-school pupils go to . . . . . . white neighborhoods, white pupils to black neighborhoods . . .

How School Busing Works in One Town

By GERTRUDE SAMUELS

BERKELEY, Calif.

EVERY day of school, more than 17 million children, or more than one-third of the country's total enrollment, go to school by bus because that is the best and safest way for them to get there; the figure does not include the large number who also go to school by public transportation. Yet with the opening of the new school year, busing as a way of integrating school systems is a major source of controversy, disrupting communities all over the country.

In Charlotte, N. C., the program that will send white children from the suburbs to inner-city black schools this year has created tension and bitterness. In Mobile, Ala., confusion marked the opening of the academic year as white students stayed away from black schools, to which they had been assigned in an effort to achieve desegregation, while black students assigned to white schools showed up in force. "It's an asinine law, and it's theirs [the Federal authorities] and they can enforce it," said a city spokesman. The Mobile school district, along with Charlotte, N. C., and Clarke County in Georgia, filed appeals testing a broad range of school desegregation measures, including busing. The appeals have been scheduled to be heard on the opening day of the Supreme Court's new term, Oct. 12. Such incidents reflect the findings of a recent Gallup poll, which showed that 86 per cent of the American people opposes busing to achieve racially balanced schools, an attitude encouraged by President Nixon's strong opposition to busing "in the case of genuine de facto segregation."

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I came to Berkeley not long ago because this multiracial city has maintained a successful busing program for two years. It is the first city of more than 100,000 people (population 121,300) and a sizable black school enrollment (43.7 per cent) to use busing to achieve total integration in all its classrooms.

Since September, 1968, the Berkeley Unified School District has been transporting nearly half of its elementary pupils (8,600 this year) to and from school by bus. Prior to 1968 its junior and senior highs had long been desegregated; now the lower grades are also integrated. The youngest black pupils, kindergarten through third grade, are bused to the better "hill" schools, formerly middle-class and predominantly white; while the older white children, fourth through sixth grades, are bused down to the "flats" section, where the schools were once predominantly black.* In the city's elementary schools integrated teaching staffs are headed by eight white, four black and two Oriental principals.

For both races the last two school years have been a time of discovery. In ending "genuine de facto segregation," educationally if not residentially, the people had stopped fleeing from reality and begun to change it. As one black administrator put it: "We haven't reached the ultimate yet—but we're showing that black and white children can study and work together, that diversity of achievement levels can be recognized by the teacher and worked with."

Berkeley's impressive undertaking, which has changed the character of the lower schools and to some extent their teaching techniques and teachers' attitudes, is dramatized daily as the yellow school buses make their rounds.

At 8 o'clock in the morning sunshine on the corner of Cedar and Scenic Streets in the hill area, a score of white boys and girls, 9 to 11 years old, are waiting in a double line chatting with friends as they unleash their yo-yos. The huge yellow vehicle with "School Bus" lettered in black across the front, pulls up and the children pile in, greeting the driver: "Hi, Mrs. Goria . . . morning, Mrs. Goria." Mrs. Barbara Goria is an attractive young mother in red plaid trouser suit, who has a daughter in college and two children in the Berkeley schools. Like all the drivers, she has qualified in special driving and first-aid tests.

She returns the greetings, urging the children along ("Let's fill up the back seats first, kids!") to leave room for passengers to come. The bus, which holds 80, is one of 26 used by the Berkeley Unified School District. As it proceeds from one pleasant, wooded neighborhood to another, it makes five stops in the space of a little less than a mile, picking up 50 more white and two black pupils. These are the "hill" children who once attended the more prestigious schools near their homes. They are well-behaved, talking in low tones, studying their books, staring out of the wide windows as they are driven down the hill through the commercial area to the flats. The destination is Longfellow School, once predominantly black. Now it is more than 50 per cent white.

"I'm glad I go to Longfellow," 12-year-old Mike replies to a question. "Like you meet new people—black, Chinese. They're different from what you used to know. The whole Whittier gang is right here," he adds with a laugh, and others nearby join in. (Whittier School was predominantly Caucasian.)

The flats section is the more deprived part of town, although it is hardly a ghetto in the traditional sense except that the population is almost wholly black. The neighborhood is neat and clean, with two-story frame and stucco houses and trim lawns. At 8:20 the bus pulls up at Longfellow (for fourth to sixth graders), a low mass of buildings that resembles a barracks. A palm tree rises above the playground. Mrs. Goria deposits her busload—"Don't forget your books! Have a nice day!" Then she turns the bus and starts out on her second route, still in the flats.

At Sacramento and Ward Streets, black children are waiting, younger than the Longfellow group, neatly dressed, plaits beribboned, shoes shined. After several such pickups, the bus heads back to the best part of town in the hills. As it travels up the steep streets, the children gaze out at the beautiful, landscaped homes, with their magnolia trees, palms and ivied lawns. It takes skill and nerve to maneuver the big bus on the steepest grades, and the noise from these younger children is so deafening that Mrs. Goria finally has to remonstrate: "Let's all quiet down, please. . . . I don't want anyone standing up!"

The busload is more outgoing, noisier, gayer than the previous passengers. Six-year-old Phyllis, in yellow sweater and an Afro cut, likes the bus ride "because I can read." Karen, in plaid coat and carrying a rolled-up umbrella, says: "Hillside's cool! I like painting." But Royal, 9, in Karen's class, shrugs: "Well, I'd

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* The 1940 Census showed Berkeley's population to be 93.8 per cent Caucasian, 4 per cent Negro, 2.2 per cent "other" (Mexican or Chicano, Oriental). In 1966, the population was 25 per cent Negro, 5 per cent "other." Today the black-pupil enrollment is 43.7 per cent.

. . . to make up racially balanced classes, like the one above. As might be expected, there have been problems and incidents—left, a teacher intervenes in an argument between a black corridor monitor and a white boy—but in the opinion of most observers, the program, now in its third year of operation, seems headed toward success.

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School busing in one town

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rather be in Longfellow, because it's in my neighborhood."

Some kids chant a song:

My mother gave me a nickel
My father gave me a dime,
My sister gave me a boyfriend
Who kissed me all the time.

On a hilltop overlooking San Francisco Bay, we reach Hillside School—kindergarten to third grade. Its gracious two-story Tudor-style main building, modeled after an English estate, stands behind thick shrubbery. The large playground is well-equipped.

"'Bye Marie . . . Karen," Mrs. Goria says, helping the children off. They chorus affectionate good-bys. To Mrs. Goria these are "my children." "Have a nice day," she calls.

* * *

THE city that has adopted this elaborate busing schedule is one of the loveliest in the country. Berkeley has a temperate climate and splendid vistas of green hills, exotic gardens and the Golden Gate. It has no dreary core ghetto like those in New York, Chicago and Washington; yet the southwest section of town, while no slum, is certainly segregated. Berkeley voted against a fair-housing ordinance so as to maintain residential segregation; Negro unemployment sometimes rises to 20 per cent compared with a white-unemployment rate of 5 per cent.

Berkeley's best-known asset is the University of California, grandfather of the student and teacher protest movements and biggest employer in town, providing jobs for about one-third of the 50,000 working residents — from professors, scientists and administrators to guards, clerks, tradesmen, etc. The city is a community of contradictions: old-timers, retired persons and Birch Society types contrast with Nobel Prize winners and educators with liberal and radical views; with the long-haired, scruffy young adults of Telegraph Avenue, and the Black Panthers whose national headquarters are now here.

Busing and the integrated school program it implements didn't happen in Berkeley overnight. They would never have come about without the persistent, aggressive initiative of leaders in the black community, and a courageous, liberalized Board of Education. Liberalization began in 1961 when black and white groups favoring a new educational approach managed to elect three representatives to the board, among them its first black member. Initial recommendations for fully integrated classes, starting in the elementary grades, stirred a bitter dispute culminating in 1964 in an unsuccessful attempt by a parents' association supported by the local newspaper, The Berkeley Gazette, to impeach the board.

In the years that followed, civic forces under the guidance of Dr. Neil V. Sullivan,* a powerful innovator who became superintendent of schools in 1964, assembled data on how integration could be achieved. Through the media and mails, school officials also invited education specialists and the public to submit plans for desegregating the schools.

Of 50 such plans submitted, five were finally chosen for closer study by the administration, faculty groups and civic leaders. Discussions were held in P.-T.-A. groups, churches, community centers, private homes. Questions were raised: Why not close all the black schools, as the city of Sacramento had done, and bus the black children to the white schools? Could white teachers work with black children? Would absorption of blacks in a Caucasian culture preserve the proud identity of the blacks? There were pleas from some to "stop the whole thing."

In late 1967 a staff advisory council on integration voted unanimously for what has come to be known as the K-3, 4-6 plan. No school would be closed or sold. There would be no mere busing of black children to white schools in some condescending spirit of paternalism. There would be a rezoning of the existing system as well as marked changes within the classroom.

Experimentally, all elementary school teachers now entered a "teacher exchange program," black teachers going into the hill schools and white teachers to the flats for a brief period; and in a "dry run," more than 200 black children were bused to white schools. In January, 1968, the plan was adopted by the school board at a public meeting. The changeover now belongs to history. The buses began to roll the following September.

Berkeley's K-3, 4-6 program reorganized the entire ele-

***Now Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts. His book, "Now Is The Time" (Indiana University Press), with a foreword by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., recalls the history of integration in the Berkeley schools.**

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mentary school system by dividing the city into four attendance zones, each containing one large 4-6 (fourth through sixth grade) school and several K-3 (kindergarten through third grade) schools. The busing pattern was developed by computers. First, a card for each school child was prepared containing information on age, race, address and school and was fed into computers at the municipal Data Processing Center. The results of this study guided the school district's Office of Transportation in working out "ride zones" for 3,500 children. (These zones covered routes and stopping points where buses could pick up and deliver children safely at designated times.) "Walk zones" were similarly devised for 5,100 children who lived within walking distance of their classes. Before the busing plan went into effect, each parent received a card explaining about routes and schedules. Parents were even taken on dry runs on the buses to ease any fears concerning the safety of their children.

ALONG with the new busing plan, Berkeley undertook another innovation, an approach to classroom teaching embodying the concept of heterogeneity. For Berkeley, in fact, the cornerstone of its busing-to-integrate program is the heterogeneous classroom with its basic proposition that, in a pluralistic society, mutual benefits accrue to *all* races when they are brought together for learning purposes.

Before integration, the hill teachers had worked with homogeneous classes of white children representing basically the same socio-economic background and middle-class values and grouped according to ability and performance within the classroom. Down in the flats, teachers, both black and white, had similarly worked with their predominantly black children, many of whom, however, were behind the white children in terms of the basic skills—reading, language, mathematics. Under the ability-

"The new program reorganized the entire elementary system. The busing pattern was developed by computer."

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grouping program, sometimes called "tracking," children of the elementary schools eventually entered the more rigid "tracking" systems of the junior and senior high schools. This practice could, and often did, label a child for his entire school life ("He's a No. 3" or "he's a No. 7, the 'dumb' track.")

According to Mrs. Harriett G. Wood, a black administrator who taught here for a dozen years and is now director of elementary education: "The basic problem was that black kids had been getting an inferior education before integration. In their old schools, there was a sort of overriding, debilitating, low self-image that becomes a kind of vicious, self-fulfilling prophecy. Kids should see themselves in the whole society."

As worked out here, heterogeneity, considered the ideal integration, deliberately created racially balanced classes. These were not merely composites of all races but also contained a broad range of intellectual ability, all the way from mentally gifted children to the slower learners in the "normal" range. This approach was adopted partly because of the black community's demand that its children receive education of the same quality that the whites enjoyed (tests had shown that black children in black schools simply did not do as well as whites). It also recognized the fact that in real, everyday life people have to deal with many racial types and many kinds of mental ability. Berkeley wanted *all* of its children to function adequately in that real society.

THE 1968 changeover meant that educators had to find effective ways of teaching in a class composed of children of different socio-economic backgrounds, different achievement levels and different life styles. The former ability groupings were dropped, for it was recognized that, without breaking up the old "tracking" system which separated quick learners from slower ones, busing would still mean segregated classes and would perpetuate the old superiority and inferiority feelings.

"Tracking" was replaced to some extent by "performance groups," but these were so flexible that, as children *improved in reading, math* and science, they could move freely from one grouping to another within the same class. As Theodore F. Blitz, principal of Hillside, put it: "The old homogenous class tended to take away any educational stimulation and opportunity from those who were designated for the lower track. Our goal now is to help children to function academically in the heterogeneous class, whether at a study assignment, a work assignment, a reading assignment, or independently.

"This *is* a vast improvement. We're *finding that our* able students are going just as far, and making just the same kind of progress, moreover, as they did in the basic skills before integration. There's been no sacrifice, because able learners go ahead in spite of what any school

***"UP THE HILL"*—Principal Theodore Blitz visits the lunchroom at Hillside, once an all-white grade school, where 44 per cent of the pupils are black.**

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Classes were racially balanced; ability grouping was abandoned

is doing. They have the ability to learn and to create a class atmosphere in which they—and others—can learn."

As an example of the new, flexible, heterogeneous class in action, seven children in a second-grade reading group, a unit ranging from slow to very fast learners, were analyzing a main idea in a paragraph and learning vowel sounds. Later a group in the same class, all accelerated readers, worked on some stories about horses, sharing their information together. These advanced readers were going at their own pace, too.

I VISITED many classes in Berkeley, focusing mainly on two schools—Hillside (K-3), a prestigious hill school once considered racially impregnable, and Longfellow (4-6) in the flats, because it is the largest intermediate school, to which Hillside eventually sends its youngsters.

Hillside has 375 children, 44 per cent of whom are black, and 21 teachers, including four part-time specialist aides for remedial reading. The white pupils are mainly from hill or mid-Berkeley families where often both parents have university degrees. The blacks are mainly from poor, working-class families.

The emphasis at Hillside, as at other elementary schools, is on reading, for many of the black children are limited in their use of language, a serious handicap. Reading and the language skills are, of course, essential in coping with other subjects like math, social studies, science. When you can't understand what is going on in the classroom, it becomes too painful to be there; the youngsters begin to slide and the result is often avoidance, anger, escape, truancy or worse.

Under one technique adopted at Hillside, teachers employ a "language-experience approach"—the child's own vocabulary becomes his reading vocabulary. A first-grader, for example, may be fascinated by racing cars and have words relating to them in his vocabulary. Instead of being compelled to study words familiar to boys and girls who live in the suburbs but which he can't grasp or "see," the youngster is invited to tell a story in his own words about racing cars. The teacher types out his story and then helps him to read it, identifying the words and learning the sounds that the letters represent.

In the language-arts class of Mrs. Patsy Tanabe, a Chinese-American, the desks of the children, black and white, boys and girls—are pushed close together. Nine-year-old Lyanne reads her story to the class: "I went on a hike. We were crossing a river when Dennis spotted a burned-out tree and went the long way thinking it was a jungle. . . ." A black boy, listening intently, breaks in with questions about the jungle. Lyanne explains she invented that part.

"There had been a tendency," Mrs. Tanabe told me later, "for the more verbal white kids to speak more often—they've got more to say. The black kids tended to listen and not participate as actively." So Mrs. Tanabe devised her own incentives to encourage the black pupils (and some shy whites) to be less inhibited. One was a "Speech Certificate" bearing an impressive gold seal. Children could earn this by bringing in original stories about some happening and reading their stories to the class. Now many more black children, working for a certificate, are volunteering to speak out and share their ideas.

"I'm getting the ones who have never spoken even one word in class," Mrs. Tanabe said with pride, "and they're good talkers now."

IN the room of Mrs. Margaret Jukes, a large, vibrant woman, whose husband and three children are all teachers, books by the score are piled helter-skelter on chairs, crates, window ledges, desks and shelves. Mrs. Jukes teaches second and third grades together in tandem. With the changeover to the heterogeneous class, such multi-age groupings, combining two or more grades, are not uncommon. Mrs. Jukes has found them "very exciting, very challenging."

Among her 26 children are 11 "high potentials," including second-graders doing third-grade work, and two so-called E.H. (emotionally handicapped) black children.

"The beginning of this year worried me," she said. "There were some children so educationally deprived they couldn't read C-A-T. Now they're doing beautifully, and that's what matters to me, the growth of the children. Many of them don't have books in their homes. So, as you can see, I *make* books and materials available to them. When they come to me, they're coming to books."

June Long, a young, miniskirted black teacher with a

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red Afro cut, now on leave to work on her law degree at the University of Santa Clara, chaired the advisory committee that created what is considered Berkeley's most important tool for orienting teachers in the new methods: an in-service training program in minority history and culture designed to help teachers, white and black, who may have hangups about racially mixed classes.

"As a black person in this culture," she told me in her soft, slightly cynical tones, "I am not interested in helping develop cultural mulattos out of black children. I am interested in the positives of a school environment — in the honest exchange and sharing of life styles and beliefs and values. I'm concerned that children learn to *think*—and I don't mean think what I think or what I tell you to think, but to use the basic tools to think independently."

HILLSIDE typically has about 40 children (10 per cent) with severe reading problems requiring a specialist's attention. Of these, 30 are black. In a small, quiet room, for hourly periods each week, these pupils cluster around Mrs. Brenda Starbird, who works with them on basic sounds. "TH" is printed on the blackboard, and the youngsters make words as they follow the teacher's lips: "THimble . . . THink . . ." They are 8- and 9-year-olds doing first-grade work.

Not all of the teachers experience the same problems in the heterogeneous classroom. Mrs. Jeanette B. Russell, a kindergarten teacher at Hillside, says firmly: "I didn't want to change my teaching techniques as the black children came—to 'teach down' to them. I simply wanted to maintain my high learning expectations for all the children. On the whole I've not been disappointed. I'd had children with reading difficulties before, and actually the newcomers didn't present that many problems. What I did change was one teaching approach — more individualized instruction than ever before. And in changing, maybe becoming a better teacher in the process."

Like all of Berkeley's certificated personnel, Mrs. Russell had been in the "teacher exchange program" prior to integration when, for a week or more, black and white teachers had traded classes and taken orientation courses. While this apparently did not affect her approach to teaching, it had changed one attitude: "I find that I've become more physical—showing more affection and praise than ever before," she said. "These little ones are much more responsive than the white children, more loving in some ways. I suppose I began responding to what I was getting from them. Do you want my honest opinion now? I think if we'd done this 10 or 15 years ago, many of our racial problems would be solved by now. The children are so accepting of each other, with no racism that I can see."

LONGFELLOW (4-6) School is known as a University of California laboratory school, attracting large numbers of teachers in training. Corridor walls proclaim in dozens of signs and posters that learning is "in": "Reading is cool, man!" "Brain Power Is a Swingin' Thing!" The school is so large that its 37 teachers and 1,050 pupils have been divided into two sections to bring pupils, teachers and parents into closer contact in smaller administrative units.

The teachers work in teams, each teacher on a team taking responsibility for developing materials in his field. This system, as one official put it, recognizes that a teacher is human and can't always relate to every child in the class; if one teacher can't, another on the team probably can—and the child, instead of being stuck with an "I-hate-teacher" attitude, can communicate with some adult instead of feeling rebuffed. The approach makes for a "built-in compassion" for both teacher and child.

The curriculum provides black studies for all students, black and white. In one black-studies classroom, Mrs. Bayonne Holmes, a handsome young black teacher in dashiki and high Afro cut, guides her racially mixed class of 10- and 11-year-olds through a discussion of the black man in America, using a film strip entitled "The Fight For Our Rights — The Right To Vote."

"We're all made of the same stuff — and we all feel the same way, well, most of us," one white boy blurts out.

Not all teachers at Longfellow have multi-graded classes, but the trend is certainly in that direction; in fact, some schools have gone over completely to multiple-grade teaching. Miss Jo Ann Cheeseman, a white teacher, middle-aged and motherly, who taught in predominantly white schools before, has fourth, fifth and sixth graders among the 29 children in her class. I asked if it was difficult to teach three grades in one classroom.

"Difficult? Yes. This is a fantastic range," she said,

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"DOWN THE HILL"—Richard Hunter, youngest principal in the system, heads Longfellow School (grades 4-6) in Berkeley's black neighborhood. The school is a laboratory for teachers training at the University of California.

"with some sixth grade children who don't know the difference between a sentence and a question, all the way up to children doing compound sentences and brilliantly creative reports."

"But I've learned, too," she went on suddenly.

"Like what?"

"Like kids are kids! I had fears of how I was going to handle this diversity. I had impressions — what to beware of, the emphasis on the needs of the blacks. And it turned out," she went on quietly, "they were . . . kids. The main difference I found out about them was that they were poor.

"Now I guess it's me trying to meet the needs of these very divergent children.

"I can do it. I'm seeing results. I have one boy, 10 years old and black, he was a frightened child, a grade level below the class. He'll never set the world on fire. He had great difficulty in listening and then translating anything into action. He made a lot of growth this year. He needs polish, but I can't keep him busy enough. I give him five days to do a report, and he brings it in within three. Before busing he would have seen only black kids, poor work habits, poor school models, like himself. It wasn't the 'in' thing to learn as it is now."

A large black girl of 10 came up to listen. She hung on Miss Cheeseman, then shook her up with: "My cousin, he's 17, and he's in jail. Someone put a gun at his stomach and him and my cousin are in jail for disturbing the peace." She said it routinely, as though relating a simple fact of life in the flats.

HEADING the staff and a symbol of the new order is 31-year-old Richard Hunter, youngest principal in the district. A tall, dynamic black man with a high Afro, he is a well-known figure in classes and on the playground in his brightly-colored shirts and blazers. He taught in the Berkeley and neighboring Richmond schools and is currently working on his doctorate at the University of California.

"I'm aiming for the sort of experience here," he said, "that really turns kids on, provides them with the tools they need to be successful in living and later in working. Too often in school, teachers turn students off. Putting black and white children side by side in a classroom is only a first step. The significant thing is to get them to relate to each other, speak to each other, care about each other. That is our role as educators. When these human relationships become real, then we're moving on our basic objective, which is integration. This will cut across the whole district then, and not just the classrooms."

At Longfellow, as in many other schools I visited, adult volunteers have been helping as instructional aides, some for pay (three days a week), some "on their own" for the pure fun of tutoring. The district's School Resource Volunteers—parents, university students, other residents—in-

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creased from 600 in 1968 to nearly 800 this year.

Mrs. Eileen Gilbert, who teaches fourth, fifth and sixth grades, in tandem at Columbus School in the poorest section of the flats, depends heavily on her aide as a bridge between school and community. "So many families think if you just send a child through the door, he'll learn," she said. "But every teacher knows that what a child can learn depends on his experiences inside and outside the school." There are several black teacher-aides at Columbus, young mothers from the neighborhoods, who had in-service training to help tutor slower children. "This gives the child a model whom they can easily identify with, and also helps to ease my way with the child."

Another of Mrs. Gilbert's innovations is the "learning team." Periodically the class is divided, (by placing the desks in circles) into six teams with the aptest students acting as leaders. In this way, as the teams study a math or science concept, the fast learners stimulate the slow ones, helping them to think through an idea. Mrs. Gilbert finds that such new teaching tools also give her insights as a teacher into the needs of individual pupils that she must meet.

* * *

IT is sometimes argued that Berkeley is atypical because of its unique assets, physical and intellectual. Yet for a city of its size with its ethnic and housing patterns, it does reflect the problems in interracial communities everywhere.

Before Berkeley undertook its busing program, five major objections were raised: (1) it would mean too much moving around for the children; (2) busing would be too complicated and inefficient; (3) it would provoke a white exodus; (4) disciplinary problems with strong racial overtones would develop; (5) the new sociological emphasis would dilute the quality of education.

In fact, recent studies show: (1) less than half of the elementary children are actually using buses; (2) routings were worked out so carefully that no bus takes more than half an hour for pickup and delivery of passengers. (The actual cost of busing is negligible—less than 1 per cent of the school budget, which works out to 45 cents a day per pupil.)

(3) Some people did move because of busing (they moved because of taxes, too,) but as shown in the schools' racial census, the shift was under 2 per cent. (4) There have been disciplinary problems, mostly during the first year, but nothing of a significantly racial nature.

(5) It is the issue of academic achievement that has generated the most heat among educators and parents. It is, of course, too early for conclusive studies of the ultimate effect that Berkeley's new style of schooling will have on quality education. But local foes of integration, and some liberals, using a set of figures distributed six months after busing started, argue that academic excellence is being sacrificed. School board officials and other experts, using more current data, say there is no proof that this is happening.

The critics have attacked the the school board for "the aca-

PHONICS LESSON—Many of Berkeley's black pupils are deficient in reading. The staff at Hillside School, where this boy is being tutored, includes four part-time remedial-reading experts.

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demic failure of the Berkeley schools," basing their charge chiefly on the results of the standard Stanford Achievement Test (S.A.T.) administered in the spring of 1969. According to those S.A.T. scores, the highest achievers in the sixth grade, for example, had fallen below their potential: they should have been doing better than 93 out of 100 students, it was argued, while actually they were only doing better than 67 out of 100.

But the school administrators hold that such traditional data are not true indicators of achievement or potential, especially among minority populations, being based arbitrarily on reading skill. By last fall, even the state government—no supporter of busing—had itself switched from the old S.A.T. method of scoring students to the new C.T.B.S., or Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills. According to school administrators, test figures for last spring, using the C.T.B.S., showed no significant difference between performance of pre- and post-integration classes of the first six grades.

As for reading itself, school spokesmen point out, reading test figures are actually beginning to show a significant difference between performance of pre- and post-integration classes of the first six grades, whether the children are high or low achievers. Before integration, low-achieving students grew from 4 to 7 months in one year's time. The post-integration rate, based on last spring's figures, shows a growth of 6 to 11 months for this group. The high achievers, before integration, made from 10 to 12 months' growth during the school year; post-integration figures show 13 to 15 months' growth.

"For the future," asks Dr. Arthur Dumbacher, coordinator of evaluation for the Berkeley schools, "why shouldn't we hope for tests to assess growth in behavior and attitudes? These domains involving feelings, values, responses are harder to measure."

NOW as court-ordered busing to desegregate schools continues to disrupt other communities, the fears and opposition here in Berkeley have declined. A survey conducted before busing indicated that 52 per cent of Berkeley's parents opposed the idea (70 per cent of the Negro parents were in favor of it). Recent estimates show only about 30 per cent opposed.

Dr. Richard Foster, successor to Dr. Sullivan as superintendent of schools, told me:

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"I've been here over a year and never get a question on busing. Berkeley in my judgment is past the stage of discussing that. Busing as an argument," the heavy-set man with bushy, white sideburns went on in a hard tone, "is an acceptable escape for racism. People can't say they're really afraid of having their children exposed to the black race, so they use busing as their excuse for opposing integration. Yet in a pluralistic society, it's through the *early* association that you learn loving — pluralistic loving—isn't it?"

It will take some years to make a reliable assessment of how the innovators—the civic leaders and the educators — feel about their system, but some reports are noteworthy. Superintendent Foster has noted among the "positives" "the enthusiastic and dedicated spirit of the teachers, aides . . . lay citizens and volunteers, all working cooperatively to make our program succeed." Among the "negatives": The feeling of some parents that bright children were not having a fair share of teacher attention because of time spent on discipline problems; some teachers' unrecognized biases toward both black and white children.

One principal on the other hand, has commented: "My most singular 'positive' is the growth I have seen in my total staff as teachers and human beings. Some have grown more than others; some had farther to go; some may never 'make it.' But for the most part, teachers are working harder, learning more, teaching more, and growing more than I had ever anticipated. The kids are beautiful. Some of them won't make it either, but most will."

Mrs. Wood, director of elementary education, puts it this way: "When you desegregate every school, then every classroom is going to have proportionate black kids and white kids. So there was no need for any teacher to rush toward these former white or former black schools. That was one of the beauties of the two-way busing that we achieved here. I think teachers have learned from the integration experience and that parents have profited from it, too.

"I would assume that the public schools, even these at Berkeley, have not been immunized against all of the things of our society that inculcate racism in us. There is latent racism in teachers throughout the nation, though I feel we have fewer of them here. Good teachers are adjusting to children on the basis of what they actually need to learn, not on color. In poor teachers it shows up in such things as low expectation of blacks, a sort of rationalization that 'the poor things can't do this,' say with a math assignment, and accepting a half-done paper from a black, while insisting that the Caucasian student perform as directed."

"Some may change during their in-service training," adds Bernard Flanagan, director of certificated personnel, who also heads the teacher recruitment program, "or for all we know some may not want to change, and get out for themselves. The usual reason is the offer of employment elsewhere, never 'racism.'"

Among the 1,000 teachers working in the Berkeley schools, there is today a 10 per cent turnover (leaves of absence, retirement, resignation)—the same turnover rate as before busing. Although last spring there were only 24 openings on the teaching staff, the district received more than 8,000 applications.

AMONG those still firmly opposed to Berkeley's program of integration by busing is Dr. Arthur R. Jensen, the U. of C.'s controversial educational psychologist, who maintains that genetic differences between blacks and whites result in lower I.Q. scores among blacks taking intelligence tests.

"I think that the schools by themselves are not going to build an integrated society," Dr. Jensen says. "But greater equality of occupational opportunities, enforcement of open housing laws — those things will bring *natural integration* in the schools. In some places it could take hundred of years. In others it shouldn't take long. I support the views of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew on this matter of preserving the neighborhood schools. Neighborhoods happen to be socio-economic, and because of this, racial in aspect."

Also unreconciled to the new program is Michael Culbert, executive editor of the Gazette. "We certainly questioned busing, and we still do," he says. "It was new and innovative, and it still is. The school district has had a descending spiral of academic achievement for several years. I personally attribute it to the changes in educational priorities in which *social change*— meaning integration of the races — becomes a first priority, and hard-core, basic skills — meaning reading, writing and math — come in second."

Would he like to see Berkeley give up busing?

"No. But so far we doubt

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that the district is delivering on its promise of quality education."

ON balance, one finds that the new type of schooling has been breaking down clichés while not living up to all the fears or all the expectations. What Berkeley has certainly done is give a new dimension to school integration: the learning and working together of all races in the heterogeneous classroom, in meaningful numbers in a meaningful way.

And with busing so widely accepted here, many people are now worrying more about the drug problem involving the older youth, and the hippies, who hang around the campus but are not students. Dr. Alan Wilson, professor of education at U.C., father of four and a strong advocate of the Berkeley program "because it's morally right," declares: "I feel that the parents I know are more concerned with the young people's alienation, the dropouts of society, the use of drugs in this community. No one is a real expert of the subterranean movements among youth today, but there certainly is a fairly widespread delegitimization of the Establishment, which applies to the university as well as the national Government."

More than 100 years after the end of the Civil War, and more than 15 years since the 1954 Supreme Court decision to desegregate the schools, there are black schools and there are white schools all over the country. Is the Berkeley plan worth imitation by other communities? Most people here seem to be saying yes, for there is no move to drop busing to integrate, and the opposition to it has been declining.

In her small frame house in the flats section, Mrs. Mary Johnson, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose 8-year-old grandson, Michael Dulaney, is in grade school, reflected on the years of preparation in Berkeley before busing, and the controversy over busing now raging throughout the country.

"Our children will be something to watch," she said. "The Berkeley children are recognizing that their likes and dislikes are identical and there's nothing racial about them, contrary to what they may have learned at home through myths and prejudice. It's my hope that 10 years from now, these kids — black and white — will be the nucleus of a new and a better society for having had this experience. And had it in their earliest, formative years." ■

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