

1986



DAYTON DESEGREGATION
A 10-YEAR REPORT CARD

Interviews, scientific poll were grist for school series

Dayton Desegregation: A 10-Year Report Card is the result of a four-month examination by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* of the Dayton City Schools. To prepare the series, reporters conducted more than 200 interviews with students, parents, administrators, teachers and experts; reviewed school records in Dayton, Columbus, Cleveland and Cincinnati, and court records in Dayton, Richmond, Va., and Washington D.C.; and prepared and analyzed a scientific poll of parents in the Dayton school district.

Lead staff writers were Nathaniel Madison, Mark Fisher and Tom Price. Staff photographer for the project was Bill Garlow and chief artist was art director Ted Pitts. Sunday editor Don Baldurf did the layout. Contributing stories were staff writers Marie Dillon, Benjamin Kline, Terry Lawson, Ray Marcano, and David Sacash. Assistant Metro Editor John Erickson and Executive Metro Editor Jim Ripley directed and edited the project.

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Tom Price, 40, joined *The Journal Herald* as urban affairs writer in 1975, became politics writer in 1976 and became Washington correspondent for the combined *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* reporting staff in 1982. Over the years, he has directed numerous public opinion surveys for both papers. Price, a Pittsburgh native and graduate of Ohio University, was a reporter, Sunday editor and city editor for *The Athens Messenger* from 1968 through 1972 and then was a nationally published freelance writer before coming to Dayton.

Bill Garlow, 41, joined *The Journal Herald* as a staff photographer in 1964. Prior to that, the award-winning photographer was with the Kent State University Public Information Service. Garlow lives in Dayton.



Madison



Fisher



Price



Garlow

Decade's ride on a yellow bus

Students, teachers, others assess impact of desegregation efforts

**By Mark Fisher
and Nathaniel Madison**
STAFF WRITERS

For all of them, this was something new: boarding yellow buses bound for schools some of them had never seen. White faces in halls that used to be filled with blacks. Black children in neighborhoods that didn't necessarily want them there.

Paul Stamas, who has taught at Belmont High School for more than 20 years, recalled that first day of school a decade ago.

"White kids and black kids stood on opposite sides of the room, looking at each other," he said.

Today, a new wave of students fills the city's schools, students who have attended integrated classes throughout their school career, and thus do not know the racial isolation of a school district that once prohibited black teachers from teaching white children and built separate swimming pools for blacks and whites.

To them "busing" — a once-innocuous term that transformed into an emotion-charged buzzword in the 1960s and '70s — is a way of life.

The first decade of court-ordered desegregation in the Dayton City Schools has brought blacks and whites together — and apparently learning more — in the classroom, but has hurt the schools in some key areas, according to a four-month study by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald*.

To assess desegregation's impact on the schools and community, the newspapers interviewed more than 200 students, parents, teachers and administrators, commissioned a poll to determine how parents feel about the school district, and — in an unprecedented analysis — broke down along racial lines scores from the California Achievement Test given to the students each year.

The findings:

■ Black students are making academic gains. Since 1977, black students in the ninth grade have narrowed the gap between themselves

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and white students in the California Achievement Test. But test scores for fourth-graders, the only other grade analyzed, did not reflect the same trend.

■ More than half of all Dayton public school parents, both black and white, give the school district a grade of "C" or lower for quality; at the same time, however, most parents would give an "A" to the individual school their youngest child attends.

■ Parents have turned to private schools in increasing numbers. In 1970, only 8 percent of school-age children living in Dayton did not attend Dayton's public schools. It is now 18 percent.

■ Fewer students are attending the Dayton City Schools. There were 33,600 whites in the school system in 1970, compared to 13,163 in 1985. Black enrollment has decreased from 21,819 to 16,373 during that time.

■ More than half of all Dayton public school parents say they'd send their children to private schools if they could afford to, according to a poll conducted by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald*. But quality, not desegregation, was the reason given most often.

■ Blacks and whites are getting along better in the schools compared to the first years of desegregation. But some racial animosity still exists, both in school and in the neighborhoods around the schools, and black and white students rarely mix outside the classroom.

■ Students' participation in extracurricular activities such as sports and band has sunk to dismal levels. The Belmont High School band boasted 100 members before desegregation. Last year it ended the year with 14.

■ Parent-teacher associations "are practically non-existent now in Dayton," according to school board President Robert French, who blames busing for the decline. Teachers also say few parents become involved with schools or their children's education.

■ Blacks are suspended in disproportionate numbers, but white students are more likely to drop out of school than blacks. More blacks than whites are also expelled each year, but the number roughly mirrors the proportion of blacks to whites in the district.

■ Teachers and principals have a generally positive outlook on the school district's future, and some of the district's desegregated schools have been singled out for their educational accomplishments, with primarily low-income students.

Changing schools

Much has happened in Dayton since those buses rolled across town a decade ago. A severe recession dealt the city an economic wallop that probably had as much impact on the school system as the court order that put more than 18,000 children on buses. In just 10 years, the district's enrollment fell from 44,165 to 29,536, as many people in Dayton moved elsewhere.

The school system today is not the same system it was 10 years ago.

Today, the school district has a black superintendent — its second in the past two years — and three of the seven school board members are black. Ten years ago, the district had never been directed by a black superintendent, and had one black on the school board.

Just 14 years ago, 47 of the district's 68 schools were single-race schools, with enrollments 90 percent or more black or white. Today, the district's schools are racially mixed, and under court guidelines to have between 45 and 75 percent black students and between 25 and 55 percent white students.

Not all students are bused. The program is designed so students are bused for racial balance no more than six of their 12 years of school. If students attend a primary school near their home for grades 1 through 3, they may be bused to an elementary school outside their neighborhood for grades 4 through 6. And if students were bused outside their neighborhoods for grades 7 through 9, they should be able to attend high school in a neighborhood nearby.

With few exceptions, Dayton schools fall within the court-ordered guidelines. Other aspects of the desegregation plan in Dayton are harder to measure.

Despite the focus on racial issues made necessary by the federal court orders, the school district does not maintain many of its records by race, and thus has not been able to accurately measure achievement of blacks and whites since desegregation.

Achievement scores, for example, are not broken down by race, nor are statistics kept on how many students take advanced placement and honors courses, intend to go to college, or are required to repeat grades.

Dr. Franklin Smith, Dayton schools superintendent, said federal regulations prohibit the district from keeping some statistics by race. And he said race alone is not an adequate indicator of student achievement.

"We look at the individual student, and race or color is not a factor. One poor-performing student has the same needs as another poor-performing student, no matter what their color," he said.

The study of California Achievement Test scores by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* marked the first time statistics on race have been used to look at student

achievement in the district.

One argument in favor of desegregated schools is that black students perform better academically in a mixed school, and whites' scores are not diminished by the integration.

Part of the analysis supports the theory: Among ninth-grade students, blacks in 1977 trailed whites in reading, language and math by a combined total of 122 points on the California Achievement Test's average scale score. By 1986, blacks had narrowed the gap to 32 points.

But the results of test scores of fourth-grade students did not show the same trend. In 1977, it was 37 points. By 1986, it had increased to 53 points. The tests are scored on a curve from 0 to 999.

Superintendent Smith said he could not explain the difference in results between ninth-grade and fourth-grade students. But he said remedial programs that teach primarily black students in early elementary grades may be a factor: The benefits from those programs may not show up as early as fourth grade, he said.

Vinegar and oil

Both teachers and principals say students are getting along better in school, especially compared to the first years following desegregation.

But there appears to be little mixing of blacks and whites after school or in the school cafeterias.

Jim Callahan, a Wilbur Wright teacher for 13 years, gazed across the school's lunchroom last spring and said, "It's like mixing vinegar and oil — they'll stay mixed for a while, but they'll eventually separate."

While the racial climate has calmed, there are still incidents of name-calling and occasional racial violence.

Race-related fights forced former Wilbur Wright Intermediate School Principal Carolyn Wheeler to cancel some extracurricular activities — including a girls softball game and jazz band practice — near the end of last school year.

And desegregation has played a role in students' lack of interest in extracurricular activities such as band, sports and academic clubs, students and teachers say.

Sports tryouts do not draw nearly as many students, and some sports appear racially divided. In a system with 40 percent white students, only one out of 60 high school basketball players who finished the season last year was white.

Teachers also have confronted a steep drop-off in parent involvement in their children's education — and some teachers say desegregation is a factor because of the distance it puts between parents and the schools.

Virginia Tangeman, a first-grade teacher in her 30th year at Cleveland Elementary School,

said, "Before desegregation, we had a strong PTA. We had a lot of activities that the community got involved in. Now, there's nothing.

"Parent involvement is practically nil ... I sent out 13 retention letters with a tear-out form and an envelope to return it in. I only got three back. Those were the same 10 kids that, every time I send out a report card and ask for a conference, I never hear anything.

Tangeman blames busing for the change. Some of her students' parents would have to transfer RTA buses three times to get to the school, she said.

White flight

Dayton's public-school enrollment has suffered a long decline, beginning before the schools were desegregated. Whether for desegregation or other reasons, an overwhelming number of those who left were white, pushing the percentage of black students in the district from 49 percent in 1976 to more than 60 percent today.

Between 1970 and 1980, the city's population dropped from 242,917 to 193,538. The number of whites dropped by 48,962, while the number of blacks dropped by just 417, according to U.S. Census Bureau figures.

While the city lost population, another trend emerged. Fewer of the families who stayed were sending their children to the public schools.

In 1970, the Dayton public schools attracted 92 percent of school-age children between 5 and 17. By 1980, the figure had dropped to about 84 percent, according to census figures analyzed by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald*. And according to 1986 estimates based on Census Bureau surveys, the public school system today teaches only 82 percent of the school-age children in the district.

Negative perceptions

Superintendent Smith said Dayton schools, like other urban districts, suffer from a negative image that is undeserved.

"Give me 100 parents with negative perceptions, let me bring them to our schools and show them what is happening there. I would convince 80 of them they're wrong," he said.

School board member Susan Sibbing said there "is still a perception that a young person

who needs or wants a good, strong academic background can't get it in the Dayton public schools. We feel it is a perception and not a reality, but we have to deal with it."

School officials can point to some success stories. Edison, a school at 228 N. Broadway St. with 570 students in grades 1 through 3, was nominated among 270 outstanding public and private elementary schools selected in the national elementary school recognition program for 1985-86.

And Patterson Co-Op High School has one of the longest-running cooperative educational programs in the country. Last year, Patterson's sophomores and juniors scored highest or tied for highest among the district's five high schools in every category of the California Achievement Test.

Smith and Sibbing aren't the only cheerleaders in the district. Some of the staunchest defenders of the Dayton schools, and of desegregation, are students.

Colonel White senior Allan Dean said in an interview last spring that he enjoys the school's racial and cultural diversity, and he felt Colonel White offered plenty of academic challenge.

"I wouldn't want to go to any other school, and I could, because my mom teaches in the school system. I could even go to Oakwood High School, because my grandmother has a house there, but I wouldn't go anywhere else," Dean said.

Candi Corwin, a senior at Belmont High School, recalled being bused long distances in grade school.

"As much as I hated those dumb buses, I think it had a purpose ... because when we go out in the world, we're not going to be just with white people or just with black people, so I think this better prepares us for what we're going to go through in life," she said.

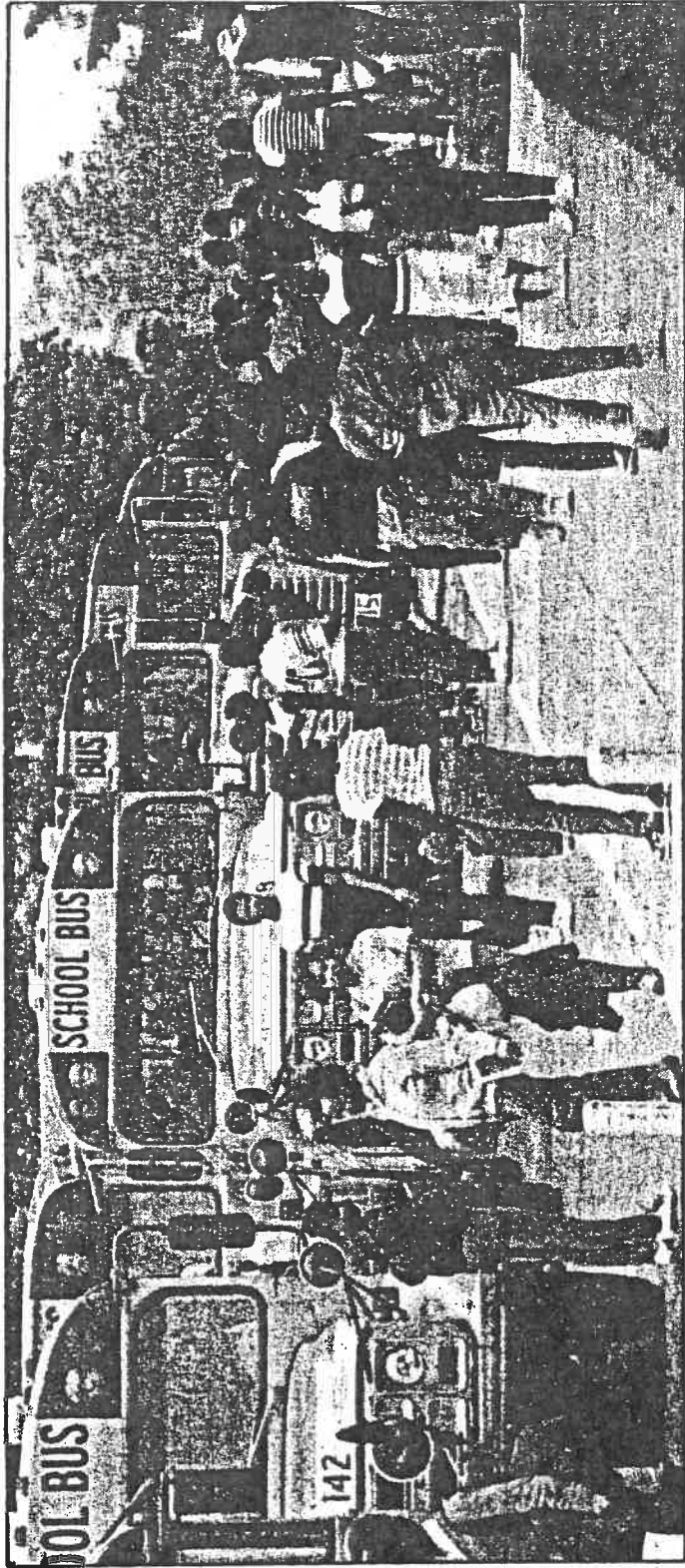
Others are not certain of the merits of desegregation. Carol Radford, a Belmont High School graduate, was among the first blacks to enter the school in 1972 under the district's open enrollment plan. Now, Radford said she doesn't want her children, aged 1 and 2, to attend Dayton schools if it means they'll be bused.

"I don't like the busing. I never did like how they did the desegregation. I'm not prejudiced, but why take a little child of 5 years old and bus it way across town when there's a school across the street?"



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

Pupils take their turns at a favorite watering spot during a field day at Cleveland Elementary School



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

Students head for now-familiar bus at Belmont High School

Dayton, Ohio, Monday Evening, Sept. 8, 1986

Ninth-grade blacks close testing gap; fourth-graders slip

By Nathaniel Madison
and Mark Fisher
STAFF WRITERS

Both blacks and whites have improved their overall achievement scores since the Dayton City Schools were desegregated a decade ago, but blacks still trail whites in reading, math and language.

A four-month examination of 10 years of desegregation by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* found blacks have made significant gains on white students in ninth grade, helping to close a historic gap in achievement between blacks and whites. But the gap among fourth-grade students has increased since 1977, the study found.

The study of scores from the California Achievement Test — taken annually by students in grades one through 11 — marked the first time statistics on race have been used to look at student achievement.

The study focused on the California Achievement Test scores for two grade levels — fourth and ninth — in three separate years: 1977, 1979 and 1986, and for three subjects: reading, language and math.

Blacks in ninth grade made gains in all three subjects, but made the most significant increases in math, the study found. Black students in ninth grade — perhaps for the first



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time — are performing at essentially the same level as white students in math, according to the California Achievement Test scores for the 1985-86 school year.

Black students also closed the gap in reading and language, but still lag behind white students in those subjects.

Of the district's eight ninth-graders with straight "A" averages last year, four were white and four were black.

"I see some optimism in the trend of the last 10 years," said Deputy Superintendent Dr. Wanda McDaniel. "I'm optimistic that the progress will continue. But I'm not content with that."

SEE GAP/5

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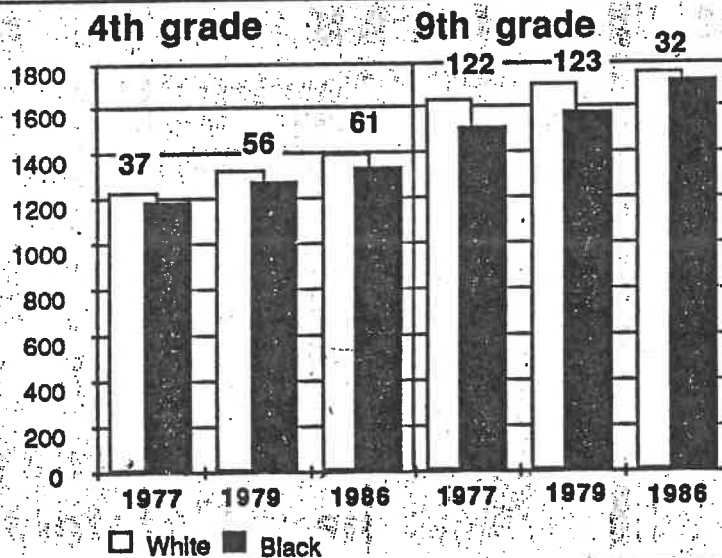
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Test scores

Combined reading, language and math scores for black and white Dayton public school students on the California Achievement Tests.



Bold numbers indicate difference between black and white combined test scores.



SOURCE: Ken Rhoads, Supervisor of testing programs, Dayton public schools

STAFF



Gap

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McDaniel attributed the increase to better preparation at the primary school grades, which has turned out better students in the upper grades.

However, the experience in ninth grade was not duplicated in fourth grade, where black students lost ground to white students in language and failed to gain in reading and math.

Desegregation was supposed to end the division between blacks and whites, or at least close the gap in achievement levels. By eliminating one-race schools, sociologists argued, blacks would perform better in a mixed setting without hurting the performance of whites.

Results have been mixed.

In addition to the academic test scores of black students and white students, the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* examined suspensions, dropouts and attendance records of black students and white students; studied drug-related charges; assaults, including assaults on teachers; statistics on students who repeat grades and on students who enroll in advanced placement courses; and interviewed teachers, administrators and counselors about the state of schools since desegregation.

The findings:

■ The schools may be more violent than a decade ago. In 1976, 712 black students and 326 whites were suspended or removed from school for assaulting other students. But in the 1985-86 school year, school records show 1,606 blacks and 450 whites were suspended or removed for assaults on students, more than in any single year since schools were desegregated. Assaults can range from shoving matches between students to violent fights, according to school officials.

■ Dayton's classroom gains are less impressive when considered against national averages. White students in fourth and ninth grade are now at or above the national average in reading, math and language — an improvement from both 1977 and 1979 — but black students are below national averages in all three subjects in fourth grade, and are reading below the national average in ninth grade. Moreover, the district plans to shift from the 1977 test it now uses to determine student achievement to a 1986 test this year, which probably will mean fewer students — both black and white — are performing at or above the national average because the curve for the 1986 test is higher.

■ Blacks have spent more time in the principal's office than whites. Three of four students removed from school last year for suspensions, expulsions and drug offenses were black, in a school district in which blacks make up 60 percent of the students. More black students were removed from school last year, 2,427, than at any year in the last decade. And in the 10 years of court-ordered desegregation in Dayton, about twice as many blacks as whites were removed from school for suspensions, expulsions and drug offenses, and more than three times as many blacks as whites were caught assaulting teachers and students. More than half of last year's dropouts, however, were white. While blacks made up 62 percent of the students in grades seven through 12 last year, 456 white students and 434 blacks dropped out before the year was over.

■ Attendance is more of a problem now than 10 years ago, at least at the high-school level. About 22 percent of today's high-school students are absent on any given day. Ten years ago, it was about 15 percent. Attendance rates at the elementary schools have stayed roughly the same, however, at about 92 percent. On average, 88.8 percent of the students in the district are at school each day.

■ A higher percentage of high-school graduates today plan to attend college from a decade ago. Last school year, 39.3 percent of the district's seniors said they planned to go to college compared with 31.7 percent in 1976. However, the district does not keep records by race on the numbers of students planning to attend college.

■ High-school seniors, both blacks and whites, in the 1985-86 school year took about the same number of advanced placement courses in physics, chemistry and calculus. The 1985-86 school year was the first time the district began keeping records by race for students taking advanced placement courses.

■ Parents of students in the Dayton school system have different ideas on whether the schools are better off since desegregation. In a survey of 402 parents of school-age children, about 60 percent of black parents believe their children get a better education today because of busing. But nearly two-fifths of white parents believe just the opposite: Busing, they feel, has decreased the quality of the schools.

Jeffery Mims Jr., president of the Dayton Education Association, the union which represents 94 percent of the system's teachers, said the survey results are not surprising.

"Blacks historically have depended largely on the public-school system," Mims said. "They see education as their only salvation."

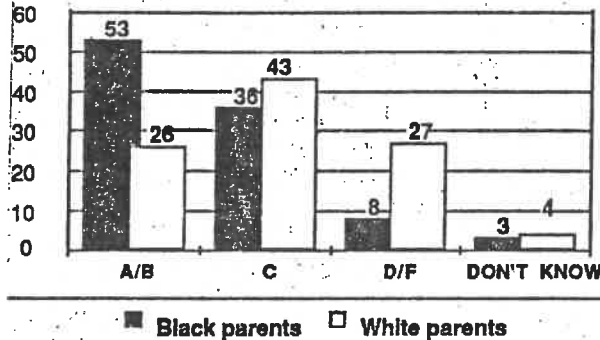
But school officials were at a loss to explain some of the results in the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* study.

Superintendent Dr. Franklin Smith said he did not know why black students were performing better in ninth grade than in fourth grade. But he said remedial programs that teach primarily black students in early elementary grades may be a factor: The benefits from those programs may not show up as early as fourth grade, he said.

Smith said he was pleased with the academic improvements made by black students and white students, but he warned that national comparisons may not look so good a year from now. Since 1977, Dayton has used the same California Achievement Test — with the same national test curve — to measure student achievement. This year, the

Polarized perceptions

400 Black and White parents give the Dayton public school system divergent grades ranging from A to F. Numbers are percentages within the two categories.



district will administer a new test with a much higher curve, school officials say.

"If we are talking about improvement, we have to talk about a new test," said Smith. "I have to be realistic in letting this community know where we are."

Where the district is depends on whom you talk to.

School board President Robert French said desegregation, because it exposed disadvantaged students to better programs and instruction, helped close the gap between black students and white students. But he also pointed to a negative side of desegregation that may also have worked to close the gap.

Since 1976, many middle- and upper-middle-class whites have moved out of the district or sent their children to private schools, undoubtedly hurting overall scores for white students, he said.

"Some blacks have done the same thing, but not as nearly in the proportions to whites," said French.

Board member Virginia McNeal gives the district a "C" for the past decade of court-ordered desegregation, and said it needs a discipline policy to deal with the high numbers of suspensions, dropouts, expulsions and assaults. Overall the district hasn't progressed as fast as she would like it to.

"We don't have any incentives in place so that students won't get discouraged," she said.

Board member Susan Sibbing gave a more positive account of the district's performance, saying the busing plan helped boost inner-city schools in East and West Dayton.

But, said Sibbing, the school system doesn't do enough to foster relations between black students and white students.

"We've sort of said we're going to put everybody together and mix them up, but we're bringing people together from different economic and ethnic backgrounds," she said.

To sophomores Kyra Grimes and Stephen Fogle, court-ordered busing didn't have much impact on their straight "A" averages last semester. In fact, the two said they rarely think about it.

"I really wanted to do my best in school and I put forth a lot of effort," said Kyra, who is black and attends Meadowdale High School.

"I've always pushed myself to do my best," added Stephen, who is white.

But Kyra and Stephen don't come to mind when school officials discuss problems in the district. The suspension rates, absenteeism and number of dropouts do.

Deputy Superintendent McDaniel said a committee is being formed to look at the problems, and she vowed that by the end of this school year, "we will begin to get a handle on them."

"I'm not at all satisfied with the statistics," she said.

The statistics show that Dayton has an overall attendance rate of 88.8 percent, which is better than Cleveland's but worse than in Columbus, Cincinnati and many districts in the area, such as Huber Heights school district with 93.3 percent and Kettering city schools with 94.34 percent. The state average is 93.5 percent, according to the state Department of Education.

The statistics also show that assaults on teachers average more than one a week. Of the 78 students removed from school for assaulting teachers through June of the 1985-86 school year, 62 were black, according to school records. And nearly 78 percent of students removed from school for assaulting fellow students during the same period were black. It's not clear from the records, however, how many of the altercations resulted in injuries.

Smith contends the disproportionate number of assaults by blacks on teachers and students is typical in an urban school district. Smith is black.

"In urban school districts, you find a lack of respect for authority and a lower tolerance level among blacks," he said. "They don't have the patience to work out solutions. The normal reaction is through fighting."

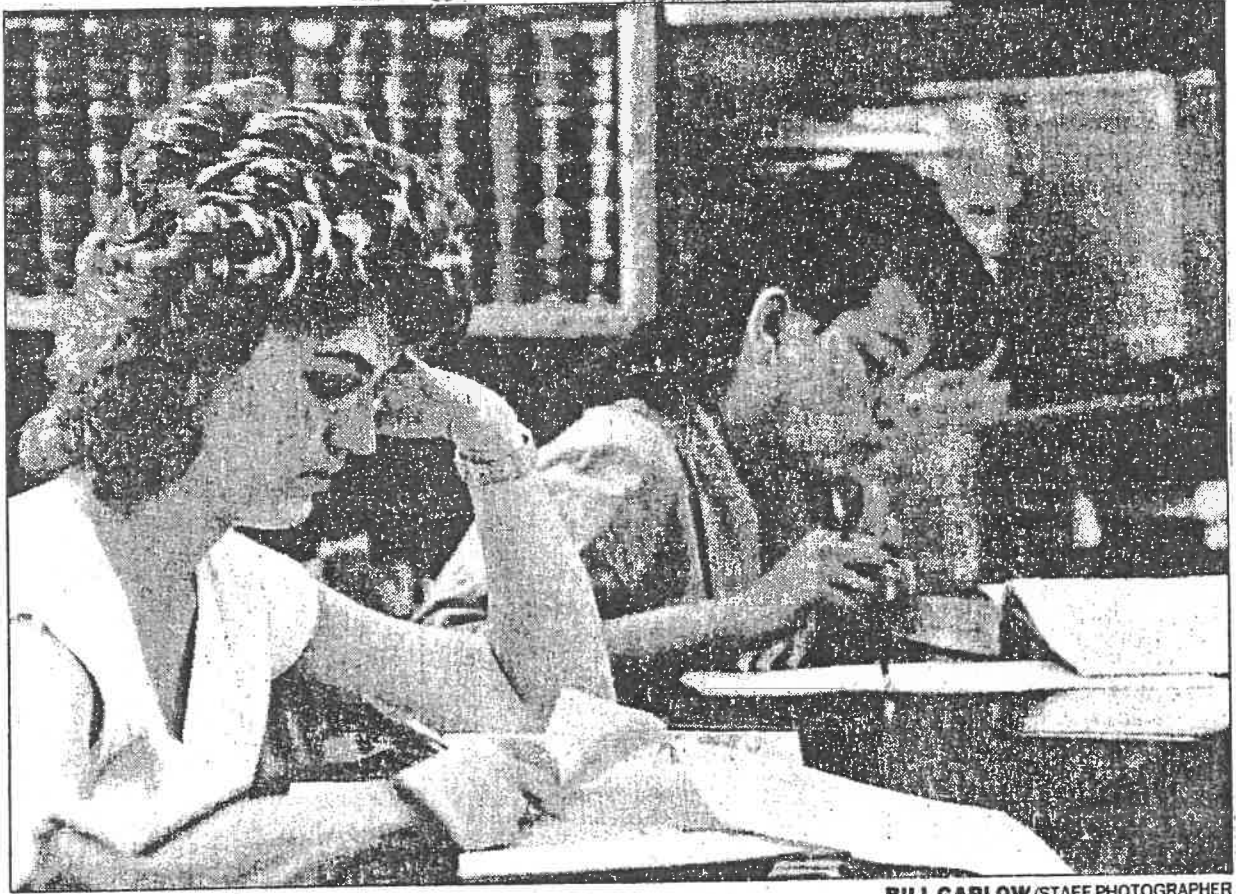
While he called the number of assaults alarming, he said they aren't as severe as the numbers indicate. Most teachers go through the school year without a serious incident involving a student.

"It all stems from a lack of discipline," he said. "And we will not tolerate it."

The district has made at least one change in looking at students' behavior: Fewer of them are getting kicked out of school. Dayton schools had 350 expulsions in 1983-84 compared with 109 last year. William Stolle, the district's executive director of pupil personnel, said the school system has found alternatives to expulsion, including home instruction and alternative schools.

But, he said, "We need to go beyond what we've been doing, because we have so many more kids with no support systems at home, and it doesn't take much to set them off."

Monday, Sept. 8, 1986



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

Students Kathy Collins (L), Tonya Maiden at Meadowdale; desegregation a mixed educational cup

Sun., Sept. 7, 1986

Busing opinions divide along racial lines

By Tom Price

WASHINGTON BUREAU

Each morning, the children of Betty Jean Dawson and Judith Millsap board buses to ride outside their neighborhoods to the schools they attend under Dayton's desegregation plan.

Dawson, whose 14-year-old son rides from Lower Dayton View to E.J. Brown Intermediate School in Upper Riverdale, believes that her child is better educated because of busing for desegregation.

Millsap, whose 11-year-old son rides from East Dayton to Whittier Elementary School in West Dayton, believes her children are not: "They don't have any school spirit — they don't feel like they belong anywhere."

Betty Jean Dawson is black. Judith Millsap is white. And, together, they illustrate most parents' views of desegregation in Dayton.

Ten years after it began on a district-wide basis, busing for desegregation remains a black-and-white issue in the Dayton School District.

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Opinion

CONTINUED FROM/1

Two-thirds of black parents with school-age children believe that busing is worthwhile and should be continued, while just a quarter believe busing should be ended, a *Dayton Daily News* and *Journal Herald* public-opinion survey revealed. Three-quarters of white parents would like to stop busing, while just 15 percent think it should go on, the survey showed. And white parents tend to hold more negative opinions about the school system than black parents do.

Judith Millsap spoke for a majority of the district's white parents in the survey when she said she believes her children "should have gone to the neighborhood schools."

"When I bought my house, it was for the fact that the school was close by," she said. "When you take a child out of his neighborhood, he's insecure. (Parents) can't participate because it's so far away you can't get there."

Millsap believes that the schools began to improve recently, but she adds that "a lot of the damage has been done."

In contrast, Betty Jean Dawson remembers attending a predominantly black elementary school in Dayton in the 1960s and believes her son "is getting a better education than I did."

"We didn't have the advantages of white students in our system years ago," she said. "As black people, we didn't have in our schools as much as white students had in their schools."

"I think (her son) has more opportunities as a black child, and he's learning about different people."

A *Dayton Daily News* and *Journal Herald* survey of 402 parents of school-age children who live in the Dayton School District revealed that Millsap's and Dawson's views are widely shared.

Half of the black parents surveyed believe busing for desegregation has improved the schools, a view shared by just a tenth of white parents. Half of the white parents believe educational quality has suffered, a view shared by just 15 percent of blacks. The rest have no opinion or believe busing hasn't caused any significant change.

Similarly, half of the black parents believe busing has improved the schools that used to be attended only by blacks and 60 percent believe black students overall get a better education today because of busing for desegregation. Just about a tenth of the black parents believe black students and formerly black schools are worse off today because of busing.

Only a fifth of the white parents believe previously all-black schools have improved, however, and just a quarter think black students are receiving better education today.

Nearly two-fifths of the white parents believe busing has decreased the quality of education for white students while just a tenth believe quality has increased.

The findings do not surprise school officials, who are aware of long-standing white opposition to busing.

"I think there is a perception that integration was designed only to benefit blacks," Dayton schools Superintendent Dr. Franklin Smith said.

"I take an entirely different interpretation. I think both races can benefit from having integrated schools. We learn from each other."

Similarly, school board member Leo Lucas said that "what we did was not decrease the quality for whites but to increase the services for all the schools."

"That in itself has a connotation that is negative" for some whites, who believe improving education for blacks inevitably meant decreasing quality for whites, Lucas said.

And Smith said, "The level of performance and the standards we felt all of us need to attain were what whites were always operating at."

School board member Shirley Fenstermaker, however, said that parents "feel less in control the farther away their children are being educated from where they live — particularly when we start dividing up families and start having children from one family in three or four different schools."

"They lost control, lost the ability to monitor, to get

Poll contacted 402 parents

This survey was conducted following standard public-opinion polling procedures.

Between June 25 and July 17, interviewers dialed random telephone numbers in the Dayton City School District and talked with 402 parents of children who attended school in grades kindergarten through 12 during the 1985-86 school year.

Opinions of all parents who live in the school district should be within 5 percent of those reported in the survey and probably are closer. The variation could be greater when results are analyzed by smaller groups, such as according to race or where the children go to school.

For opinions reported today, the variation should be no greater than 6 percent for all parents of public-school students, 7 percent for all black parents and all white parents, 8 percent for black parents of public-school students, 9 percent for white parents of public-school students, 11 percent for private-school parents, 13 percent for white private-school parents and 26 percent for black private-school parents.

involved," she said. "And with that goes insecurity which generally is interpreted as questioning the quality."

Blacks may support busing out of a belief that schools in black neighborhoods were inferior to schools in white neighborhoods, she said. And Lucas said predominantly white schools definitely were treated better than predominantly black schools before desegregation.

Fenstermaker said she believes that most parents of all races would choose neighborhood schools "if they felt the quality of education was good."

Majorities of blacks and whites believe their children benefit from attending school with children of different races — a finding Smith said shows parents "believe the integrated situation is positive, but what we must do to achieve it is a negative."

Fewer whites than blacks are convinced of the benefits of racial mixing, however, and whites are much less likely to believe that desegregation is improving relations between the races.

Nearly 90 percent of the black public-school parents surveyed and two-thirds of the white public-school parents said their children benefit from attending integrated schools. Three-quarters of the black parents — but just a third of the whites — said desegregation is teaching black children and white children to get along better.

"I feel the youngsters need to have a strong appreciation and feel for the real world," said a black father who favors busing.

A black mother who believes in busing thinks her children "get a better perception of life."

But a white mother who opposes busing says her children "are more prejudiced now than when they started."

"I see nothing was accomplished," she said.

Some parents express their opposition to busing by sending their children to private schools. And a majority of public-school parents would turn to private schools if they could afford to, although not solely because of busing, the survey showed.

Of parents who send all of their children to private schools, a majority of the whites surveyed and some blacks said busing influenced their school choice.

Of parents who send all of their children to public schools, 60 percent of the whites and 49 percent of the blacks said they would like to use private schools. Of those who prefer private schools, a majority of the whites and a significant minority of the blacks said busing contributes to that preference.

School Board President Robert French said he believes "the time has come to try to give as much freedom of choice to parents as possible to the limits of the law as to where their children go to school."

As long as the courts require busing, however, Smith said, the best way for the schools to respond to busing opponents is to focus on quality and to establish more magnet schools.

"Many magnet schools still would require busing," Smith said. "But then you'd be being bused for a different reason — to get to the education program that would match a particular child's needs."

Although most of the black parents surveyed believe that busing for desegregation is needed to remedy the effects of discrimination, the survey revealed that a substantial number of blacks might support some curtailment of Dayton's current busing program.

Two-thirds of the black parents surveyed opposed the elimination of busing for desegregation. Ending desegregation busing in elementary schools, however, was supported by 39 percent of the blacks who opposed elimination of all desegregation busing.

That means that 54 percent of the black parents favor elimination of at least part of the current busing program — as do 82 percent of the whites.

Support for a specific plan to curtail busing of elementary students would not be as high, however. Some blacks and whites who favor eliminating all busing for desegregation oppose ending elementary busing while continuing to bus older students for desegregation — in the belief that, if busing is continued at all, it must begin with young children if it is to have any chance of success.

That is one issue on which Betty Jean Dawson and Judith Millsap agree.

"Why should you start later?" Dawson, who favors busing, asked. "They're much better able to adapt to busing when they're younger."

Millsap, who would like to eliminate all busing for desegregation, said that, "if they're going to have busing, I think they should start it out young."

"That way," she said, "they grow up with it."

DAYTON DESEGREGATION

POLL

"Do you think busing for desegregation should be continued in the Dayton public schools"

PARENTS	CONTINUE	END	DONT KNOW
All Parents	41%	51%	8%
Black Parents	67%	28%	5%
White Parents	15%	76%	9%

"How has the overall quality of education in the Dayton public schools been affected by busing for desegregation?"

PARENTS	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	DONT KNOW
All	29%	29%	31%	11%
Black	49%	29%	15%	7%
White	10%	29%	48%	13%

"How has busing for desegregation affected the quality of education in the individual schools that used to be attended only by black students?"

PARENTS	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	DONT KNOW
All	35%	31%	12%	22%
Black	50%	33%	7%	10%
White	19%	30%	18%	33%

"How has busing for desegregation affected the quality of education received by black students throughout the Dayton public school system?"

PARENTS	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	DONT KNOW
All	42%	27%	15%	16%
Black	60%	23%	12%	5%
White	25%	31%	20%	24%

"How has busing for desegregation affected the quality of education received by white students?"

PARENTS	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	DONT KNOW
All	21%	37%	23%	19%
Black	34%	35%	7%	22%
White	9%	39%	38%	14%

"How has busing for desegregation affected the way children learn to get along with people of all races?"

PARENTS	BETTER	SAME	WORSE	DONT KNOW
All	53%	25%	16%	6%
Black	73%	19%	5%	3%
White	34%	30%	28%	8%

"Do you feel your child benefits from attending school with children of different races?"

PARENTS	YES	NO	DONT KNOW
All	76%	17%	7%
Black	87%	9%	4%
White	64%	28%	8%

The first six poll questions were asked of 402 parents of Dayton public school children. The last was asked of 320 parents.



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

Children at Cleveland School outing: Desegregation a black-and-white issue for parents

Dayton bus trip began in Topeka

Court ruling in Kansas case, 4 others outlawed separate schooling

By Tom Price

WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — In 1951, the Topeka, Kan., Board of Education refused Linda Brown's request to attend the all-white elementary school in her neighborhood, forcing the young black child to walk to an all-black school 20 blocks away.

As a result, children in Dayton for the last decade have been forced to ride buses to schools outside their neighborhoods under a federal court order designed to eradicate the vestiges of the discrimination suffered by Brown and millions of other black children 35 years ago.

Former Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark once said the high court's desegregation doctrine grew "like Topsy," with no grand design.

The court gave local school boards the opportunity to eliminate segregation in their own ways, Clark said in a 1977 interview with the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. But resistance by school officials pushed the justices toward stronger and stronger orders that culminated in busing mandates throughout the country, Clark said.

The Supreme Court's first desegregation decision was a simple declaration of principle that enjoyed broad support outside the South.

"Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," the high court ruled in five cases brought from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware and the District of Columbia in 1954.

A year later, the court ordered segregated school districts to "achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis . . . with all deliberate speed." Nine years after that, however, a frustrated high court was moved to complain that "there has been entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed" in desegregating the nation's schools.

Led by U.S. Sen. Harry Byrd, Virginia offered "massive resistance" to desegregation in the 1950s that included public-school closings and state funding for segregated private schools. Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina maintained total segregation into the '60s. Most other Southern states grudgingly admitted handfuls of blacks to previously all-white schools, while erecting barriers to keep most blacks out. And Northern school districts — such as Dayton's — continued to operate all-black schools that drew students from throughout the districts, to segregate black teachers in all-black schools, to exclude blacks from high administrative positions and to provide generally inferior facilities to black students.

The Supreme Court never said the Constitution requires any particular racial balance in the schools. But school officials' success in keeping the races apart pushed the justices toward mathematical measures of desegregation. And, in 1968, the high court passed a watershed in New Kent County, Va.

That county had operated a school for whites and a school for blacks until 1965, when it adopted a "freedom-of-choice" plan that allowed students to attend either school. After three years, however, one school remained all black and the other overwhelmingly white, despite the fact that families of both races were dispersed throughout the rural district. And the U.S. Civil Rights Commission identified 102 other districts with "freedom-of-choice" plans that preserved total segregation.

During oral arguments before the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren suggested that, when school officials "took down the fence" against integration, they "put booby traps in the place of it, so there wouldn't be any white children going to a Negro school."

The high court ruled the plan inadequate in an opinion that included several key phrases that would be cited to justify busing orders throughout the next decade.

Formal repeal of segregation policy is not enough, the court said. A school board must operate a system "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools," the court said. It was the board's burden to "come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work and promises realistically to work now" and to "explain its prefer-

The Supreme Court never said the Constitution requires any particular racial balance in the schools. But school officials' success in keeping the races apart pushed the justices toward mathematical measures of desegregation.

ence for an apparently less effective method" if more effective methods were available.

Some school districts and states had taken actions on their own to promote integration by pairing and clustering schools, gerrymandering attendance zones and using buses for transporting students to new school assignments outside their neighborhoods. Those tools also had been used to maintain segregation, with black students and white students bused — or forced to walk — past nearby schools to distant schools reserved for their race.

In light of the Supreme Court's New Kent County decision, some federal judges felt the need to question desegregation plans that did not eliminate one-race schools. In urban districts with segregated housing patterns, only busing could integrate schools in one-race neighborhoods. And, in 1971, the Supreme Court endorsed busing in a case involving North Carolina's Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District.

"The law has moved from an attitude barring discrimination to an attitude requiring active desegregation," a federal district judge had said in ordering busing to desegregate all of Charlotte-Mecklenburg's schools.

"When racial segregation was required by law, nobody evoked the neighborhood school theory to permit black children to attend schools close to where they lived. It may not now be validly used to perpetuate segregation."

Neither was there a "freedom-of-choice" tradition under which students could pick which schools to attend, the judge said.

"It has been a courtesy offered in recent years by some school boards, and its chief effect has been to preserve segregation," he said.

In any event, the judge said, "the test is not the method or plan but the results."

On appeal, the Supreme Court said the district judge was correct.

Noting the "plain language" of its New Kent County ruling, the high court said that succeeding years "brought fresh evidence of the dilatory tactics of many school authorities."

"In a system with a history of segregation," school authorities must prove that racially unbalanced schools are not "the result of present or past discriminatory action," the Supreme Court said.

"Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school," the high court ruled.

In 1973, the Supreme Court moved beyond states that had enforced segregation by law, ruling that Denver could be ordered to adopt a desegregation plan because school board policies had fostered segregation in the district.

In 1974, the justices cautioned that court-ordered remedies were limited by the constitutional violations addressed, overturning a lower-court-ordered desegregation plan that encompassed Detroit and 53 suburban districts in three counties. Such a plan could be required only if all the districts were responsible for unconstitutional segregation or if violations in some districts caused segregation in others, the Supreme Court said.

In 1976, the high court further restricted lower courts' powers, ruling that Pasadena, Calif., could not be forced to adjust its desegregation plan every year in order to maintain a specified racial balance in its schools. Once the district had become "unitary" — by dismantling its "dual" segregated system — a court could order changes in the plan only upon finding the school board guilty of new acts of discrimination, the Supreme Court said.

And, when the high court issued its first ruling in the Dayton case in 1977, busing advocates appeared to suffer another setback.

Because the remedy must address the violation, the court said, district-wide busing could not be ordered in Dayton where district-wide segregation had not been found.

Two years later, however, the high court upheld district-wide busing in Dayton after lower courts determined that district-wide violations had occurred.

Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal'



1976 — school buses for desegregation purposes began rolling in Dayton in line with Supreme Court rulings

Dayton schools desegregated, not integrated

By Mark Fisher
and Nathaniel Madison
STAFF WRITERS

It's lunch time at Belmont High School, and something strange is occurring at the cafeteria tables.

The same black students and white students who talked amiably in the halls before school and worked closely together in classes all morning are segregating. With only a handful of exceptions, blacks are sitting with blacks and whites are sitting with whites.

The same pattern exists in cafeterias at Dunbar, Meadowdale, Colonel White and the district's intermediate schools, and carries over when students are dismissed from school: For the most part, blacks and whites stay apart.

"Although this school is desegregated, it's not integrated," said Frank Keane, who has worked as a teacher and counselor at Belmont High School since 1963.

Why?

"I don't know. Maybe it's because they still have segregation after they leave school and go home to their neighborhoods. And, it might be that kids feel more comfortable with their own race," he said.

Sapanallah Johnson, last year's eighth-grade class president at E.J. Brown Intermediate School and a black, said most of her friends at school are white. But she said most students segregate immediately after the dismissal bell rings.

"Most people, even when they're walking home from school, there's a black side of the street and a white side of the street. . . . The buses are the same way," she said.

Belmont's Candi Corwin, who is white, said the lunchroom segregation is not a conscious effort to avoid people

of other colors.

"I see it, but I never really think about it," she said.

But fellow Belmont student Randa Daniels said they segregate because they have more in common with students of the same race.

"We can relate better with our black friends," she said. "Many whites don't want to bother with us. . . . And sometimes we don't share the same things, like dance and music. I think it has a lot to do with cultural aspects."

It's been a decade since Dayton desegregated its schools, but in some respects not much has changed.

At school-sponsored dances at Meadowdale, black students seem to dance when a black artist's song is played, and white students dance when a white artist's song comes on.

Black students and white students, said Belmont's Keane, "just need something extra to bring them together. You'll find sports or a play causes them to mix. But a lot of kids don't get involved in anything."

Some educators are not concerned that court-ordered desegregation has failed to bring blacks and whites together as friends.

"I don't think desegregation was designed to make close buddies out of anybody," said Phyllis Greer, a retired Dayton teacher and administrator who testified about discrimination against blacks in the federal court trial that led to the court-ordered racial guidelines.

The desegregated system allows students to interact, and it explodes stereotypes they hold of one another, Greer said.

"Without it, blacks and whites won't know how to live and work together," Greer said.

On occasion, though, a slice of cul-

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tural exchange will sneak through "barriers."

"I'm in orchestra, and I sit between two white girls," said Lanetta Jackson, a student at E.J. Brown Intermediate School. "I'll teach them rap songs. (One girl) seems to get a kick out of it; she says it fascinates her."

Michael Mangan, music teacher and orchestra director at Colonel White High School, said an equal number of blacks and whites join his music magnet program, which draws students from throughout the city.

On the whole, students say, blacks and whites get along fairly well in school, even if they don't mix much after school.

"When you're with the people every day, they don't become black and

white," said Erica Myers, a senior at Meadowdale.

Some racial problems linger, however.

Race-related fights forced Wilbur Wright Intermediate School Principal Carolyn Wheeler to cancel some extracurricular activities — including a girl's softball game and a jazz-band practice — near the end of last school year.

The tension began with a fight between a black and white student in school, and escalated with a second fight outside of school involving two black students who had been suspended and a white student who apparently was truant, Wheeler said.

A Dayton police officer monitored the area during the final days of school, and the year ended with no violence.

But on consecutive days in June, black students who waited for an RTA bus on Huffman Avenue in front of the school were subjected to racist name-calling from whites passing by in cars. The students said it happens nearly every day.

"I'd never stay in this neighborhood past five o'clock," said Tony Beasley, a black Wilbur Wright student.

White students also report harassment from blacks. At Dunbar, which sits in a predominantly black neighborhood, white student Paula Lemance said she wouldn't attend the school this fall because of an incident last spring when she said she was harassed by blacks.

"If there was open enrollment, I would choose my neighborhood

school," she said. "Blacks don't want to go to school in East Dayton, and whites don't want to go to school in West Dayton."

She has enrolled this year at Carroll High School, a Catholic school in Dayton.

Interracial dating remains controversial. Mike West Jr., a white student at Dunbar, said he was harassed in his East Dayton neighborhood because he dated a black girl.

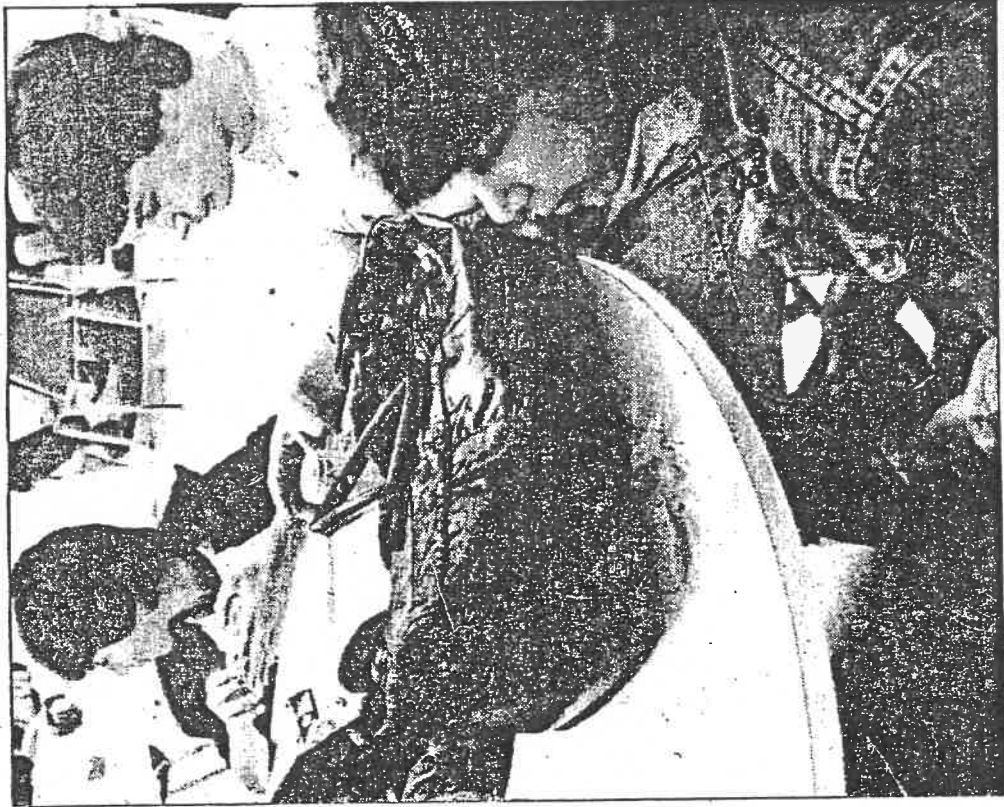
Students offer mixed opinions when asked whether school officials should continue the current system that buses many of them across town to achieve racial balances.

"There really should be a choice," said Dunbar senior Marco Ward. "Students excel when they attend schools where they want to be."



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

A student's opinion: 'We can relate better with our black friends'



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

At lunchtime, cafeteria tables become all-white or all-black

City schools fare well under parents' grading

By Tom Price
WASHINGTON BUREAU

The vast majority of parents with children in the Dayton public schools give the school district a high or passing grade, a *Dayton Daily News* and *Journal Herald* public-opinion survey revealed.

Those parents are far more positive toward the public schools than are parents who send all their children to private schools. The parents are even more positive towards the public schools that their own children attend than they are toward the school district as a whole. And parents of elementary-school children rate their children's schools higher than do parents whose youngest children are in intermediate or high schools.

As they did when they were asked questions about busing for desegregation, however, black parents and white parents differed in their assessments of the quality of the school system. Blacks were more likely than whites to give the schools high grades. Whites were more likely than blacks to be critical of the schools' quality.

"We lucked out and got a good magnet school," said one white mother who believes her child's elementary school is better than the district as a whole.

Expressing a common belief, one black father said that "the city school district does do an adequate job for elementary schools." He then went on to give equally high ratings to his child's elementary school and to the district as a whole.

To determine parental perceptions of school quality, *The Dayton Daily News* and *Journal Herald* asked parents to grade the schools the same way students often are given grades from A to F to report the quality of their school work.

The Dayton public-school system was graded by 400 parents of school-age children who live in the city school district. Each of the 318 parents with children attending public schools also graded the individual school attended by the parent's youngest child.

Overall, 35 percent of the parents surveyed graded the city school system A or B, 38 percent C, 20 percent D or F, and 7 percent said they didn't know.

The district received A or B grades from 41 percent of the public-school parents and 10 percent of the private school parents. Just 17 percent of the public-school parents, compared with 30 percent of the private school parents, graded the district D or F.

When grading their own children's schools, 56 percent of the public-school parents awarded As or Bs while just 14 percent gave Ds or Fs.

"That is a perfect argument that we're dealing with perceptions rather than reality," school board President Robert French said of the survey findings. "The actual consumers have a better perception.

"They've heard all these stories that the schools are so bad. But, when it comes down to their own child and what they have personal knowledge of, it's OK at their own child's school."

Similarly, Superintendent Franklin Smith said that, "if you're not there to get the first-hand knowledge, you tend to use that national judgment that urban school districts aren't as good as they are."

"The more they know and have facts, the stronger ratings we get," Smith said.

Black public-school parents tended to give the highest grades — 53 percent awarding As or Bs to the district and 65 percent giving those high grades to their children's schools, while just 8 percent graded the district below the C level and 7 percent gave Ds or Fs to their children's schools.

Among white public-school parents, 26 percent graded the district A or B, 43 percent C and 27 percent D or F. Like black parents, whites tended to rate their own children's schools higher — 46 percent awarding As or Bs, 28 percent Cs and 21 percent Ds or Fs.

Among parents whose youngest child attends elementary school, 64 percent awarded that school an A or B, 26 percent a C and 9 percent a D or F. Among parents of older children, 47 percent gave their children's schools As or Bs, 29 percent Cs and 20 percent Ds or Fs.

That tendency was true of blacks and whites, although white elementary parents continued to be less positive than their black counterparts.

French said parents are "absolutely right" to think the city's elementary schools are better.

"Our secondary program has not had a lot of attention," French said, "and

that's one of the things we're looking forward to Dr. (James) Williams (the incoming assistant superintendent for intermediate and secondary instruction) to invigorate that program."

Perception also plays a role in parents' evaluations of the elementary schools, Smith said, because parents "have a tendency to get more involved in elementary education when the kids are younger than we do at the high school level."

School board member Shirley Fenstermaker, however, suggested that parents may not recognize problems until children get older.

"In elementary school, you haven't magnified the problem yet," she said. "Weaknesses show up with time, become magnified with time."

Differences of opinions among blacks and whites reflect racial differences of opinion about busing for desegregation and its impact on the school system.

Older blacks remember being short-changed in predominantly black schools before desegregation, school board member Leo Lucas said.

"Most black parents see and know that their children are getting far more in-depth education than those parents themselves received," Lucas said. "That's particularly the case when there are grandparents also in the household."



In elementary school, you haven't magnified the problem yet. Weaknesses show up with time, become magnified with time.'

— Shirley Fenstermaker
school board member

The actual consumers have a better perception. They've heard all these stories that the schools are so bad. But, when it comes down to their own child and what they have personal knowledge of, it's OK at their own child's school.'

— Robert French
school board member

DAYTON DESEGREGATION

POLL

"Given a scale of A, B, C, D, or F, what grade would you give the Dayton public school system?"

PARENTS	A-B	C	D-F	DON'T KNOW
All	35%	38%	20%	7%
Private	10%	37%	30%	23%
Public	41%	38%	17%	4%
Black	53%	36%	8%	3%
White	26%	43%	27%	4%

Question answered by 400 parents of school-age children who live in the Dayton School District.

"What grade would you give the Dayton public school that your youngest child attends?"

PARENTS	A-B	C	D-F	DON'T KNOW
Public	56%	27%	14%	3%
Black	65%	26%	7%	2%
White	46%	28%	21%	5%
Primary	64%	26%	9%	1%
Secondary	47%	29%	20%	4%
Black Primary	73%	24%	3%	0%
White Primary	54%	28%	15%	3%
Black Secondary	56%	29%	12%	3%
White Secondary	30%	30%	34%	6%

Question answered by 318 parents of children attending Dayton public schools.

Busing helped speed white flight

By Mark Fisher
STAFF WRITER

In 1976, East Dayton natives Danny Oney and his wife Nancy lived directly across from Orville Wright Elementary School, not far from where they graduated from high school.

A year later, as the couple's oldest son was preparing to start school, the Oneys sold their home and moved to Kettering.

"We lived right across from the school he would've gone to, but instead he faced a 45-minute bus ride. That just didn't make sense to me," Oney said.

The Oneys are one of many families in Dayton who have fled the public school system. Some did so for religious reasons: They enrolled their children in parochial or Christian schools. Others moved out of the city for economic reasons after Dayton was hit by a severe recession in the late '70s and early '80s. Still others chose to settle in the more wide-open spaces that suburbs provide.

But population and enrollment figures suggest that court-ordered desegregation in Dayton helped speed the movement of students — most of them white — to the suburbs and private schools.

For example:

■ The first year of desegregation in Dayton saw the largest drop in enrollment in the school district's recent history, from 44,165 in 1975 to 40,257 in 1976.

■ Since 1970, the percentage of school-age children who live in Dayton but do not attend Dayton public schools has increased from 8 percent to 18 percent, according to Census Bureau statistics analyzed by the *Dayton Daily News* and

The Journal Herald.

■ More than half of all Dayton public-school parents would enroll their children in private schools if they could afford the tuition, according to a poll commissioned by the newspapers. For nearly half of those parents, busing for desegregation had a "great deal" of influence on their desire to send their children to private schools, the poll found.

■ Private school enrollments have held steady since Dayton desegregated its schools. Last school year, 12,738 Montgomery County students attended state-chartered private schools. Ten years ago, the figure was 14,115, according to the state Board of Education, which doesn't have figures for private schools that are not chartered by the state, and many are not.

Desegregation alone cannot be blamed for the enrollment declines in the Dayton public schools, which have 29,536 students now compared with 40,257 in 1976.

Some of the decline reflects fewer births as the baby boom burst both locally and nationally: Total enrollment in Ohio public schools dropped 14.7 percent from 1976 to 1985.

And while Dayton was losing students, some private and suburban schools also suffered losses, due mainly to the lower birth rate and a faltering economy.

Between 1976 and 1985, Kettering's enrollment dropped 37.3 percent. Centerville lost 14.3 percent of its student enrollment and Northmont 16 percent.

SEE WHITE FLIGHT/7



White flight

CONTINUED FROM/1

Chaminade-Julienne, a Catholic high school in downtown Dayton, dropped from 1,082 students in 1976 to 988 last year. And Dayton area Catholic schools (which include parochial schools outside Montgomery County) have had a 21.2 percent drop in enrollment since 1976.

However, the first year of desegregation in Dayton marked one of only two years during the last decade that Catholic school enrollment rose. And enrollment at Northmont peaked the same year desegregation in Dayton began.

Dayton School Superintendent Dr. Franklin Smith said the school district does not keep statistics on numbers of students transferring to or from private schools. But, he admitted, public and private schools in Dayton are "competing for the same students in the same community."

A 'quality problem'

School Board President Robert French said that many middle- and upper-middle-class whites, along with a lesser number of blacks, have moved out of the district because of court-ordered busing for desegregation.

And board member Shirley Fenstermaker said the district gives some parents good reason to leave: There are children who have been assigned to six different schools in six years, she said.

"It's not racially based — that's not the problem," she said. "It's a quality problem, (and) it's the long-distance transportation. People are saying, 'I'm not going to do this to my kids.'"

But fellow school board member Leo Lucas said he has not seen adequate proof of white flight, though he said he knows people who have abandoned Dayton's public schools for private and suburban systems.

"If (flight from the school district) is out there, it's levelling off," said Lucas, who has served 21 years on the school board.

Some of the students who have already left the Dayton system were among the "best and brightest" who set positive examples and propped up teacher morale, according to teachers and counselors.

Brian Gooden, of 1017 Angler Drive near Dunbar High School, enrolled at Dayton Christian High School four years ago because his parents wanted him to attend a Christian school. But, said the honor roll student, "it was my decision to stay."

"I think (Dayton Christian) offers a better quality education. Dayton Christian offered more courses, especially in the sciences," said Brian, now a senior. "The classes are smaller, 15 (students) compared to 30. . . . And I think they have more control over drugs."

Brian said he noticed an immediate increase in his academic workload when he entered Dayton Christian. "I got homework starting on the second day of school, and it lasted the whole year," he said.

Student supports school

Katie Meixner, a junior at Chaminade-Julienne, has attended Catholic schools her entire school career. She lives in the Dayton City School district, and has close friends who attend Meadowdale High School.

The Catholic system, Katie said, stresses academic achievement more than the public schools.

"My friends, they'll get a grade at Meadowdale, but they don't have to work as hard for that grade as I do at C-J. That's just the way it is . . . that's what I think, and that's what (my friends at Meadowdale) tell me," Meixner said.

Superintendent Smith said he has

heard the arguments before. While he said it is a misconception that Dayton public school teachers don't challenge students in the classroom, he said the district has done little to "dispel that myth."

"What hurts public schools is that people tend to look at averages," Smith said. But the public schools are required to accept all students, whereas private schools generally teach a more elite group, he said.

"I contend public schools can do as good as or better job than private schools when it comes to the individual student."

At least some of the students in the Dayton schools agree with Smith. "What you learn in a public school, with everybody together, is far more valuable than book learning," said Colonel White High School student Mary Taylor.

"I don't feel private schools are any more educational," said Sapanallah Johnson, last year's eighth-grade class president at E.J. Brown Intermediate school. "I wouldn't put my own kids in a private school."

Dayton's enrollment problems began long before court-ordered busing, as economic setbacks — the pullout of Frigidaire, the closing of the Dayton Tire and Rubber Co. and Dayton Press, the reduction in the work force at NCR — helped shrink the city's population.

Two trends emerged: The Dayton City Schools had fewer students to choose from and a greater percentage of the ones it had were black.

Between 1960 and 1970, before the court battle over school desegregation began, the number of whites in the school district dropped by 40,752, while the black population rose by 15,215, according to census figures examined by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald*.

The shift accelerated between 1970 and 1980, when the school district's white population dropped by 60,995. The black population in the district rose by 3,189 in the '70s, according to census figures.

Between 1970 and 1986, the number



Franklin Smith

of white students in the Dayton City Schools dropped 65 percent, from 33,600 to 11,769. The number of black students in the district also decreased, but by 23 percent, from 22,995 to 17,767.

Today, more than 60 percent of the students in the Dayton schools are black. Fifteen years ago, the figure was 40 percent.

The figures suggest the movement of students to private schools in the last decade comes almost entirely from whites, despite an effort — from parochial schools in particular — to increase black enrollment.

In the Dayton area, blacks are permitted to attend any parochial school they choose, while white students face certain geographical restrictions. And schools in low-income neighborhoods

— including two predominantly black Catholic schools — receive money from the church to help make tuition more affordable, according to Sister Mary O'Brien, superintendent of the area's Catholic schools. Scholarships also are available for black students.

The policies, which have been in effect since 1976, appear to have worked only to a point. At Alter High School, which serves the nearly all-white suburbs south of Dayton, 72 of the 1,062 students are black. But some Catholic elementary schools remain all-white.

Dayton's not alone

White flight is hardly confined to Dayton. It is at the forefront of a Norfolk, Va., court case that could eventually affect all school systems — Dayton's included — that operate under court-ordered busing.

The Norfolk school board cited the flight of white residents from its district when it voted in 1983 to end busing for elementary school students. School board members said if busing was not curtailed, the school system eventually would become overwhelmingly black and effectively resegregated.

A legal challenge followed, delaying any change in the busing plan. But federal courts have sided with the school board, and the U.S. Supreme Court so far has refused to block a neighborhood-based elementary school program scheduled for this fall.

Dr. Theo Majka, an associate professor of sociology at the University of Dayton, said some cities are seeing a reversal of the flight of white residents from city school districts. Washington, D.C., for example, is drawing an increasing number of whites back to the city.

But in Dayton, Majka said, the general movement that began after World War II of whites to the suburbs has been accelerated by the loss of manufacturing jobs that once drew whites to the city. Whites are moving from the region in search of employment as well as from the city to the suburbs in search of larger yards and quieter neighborhoods, said Majka, who holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California.

And often, there are no white families willing to replace those residents in their urban homes.

If a school system is mostly black, "there will be a hesitation for some whites to move there if they intend to enroll their children in public schools," Majka said. "Their fears may be much worse than the actuality, but it makes it harder to attract new residents to those neighborhoods."

Smith said the district can't keep losing students. The problem is most acute at the high schools, where enrollment has dropped 41 percent in the last decade, he said.

The school district has launched or is studying several programs that are designed in part to keep those students in the system, Smith said.

The system also is planning a third change that could help reverse the trend: moving ninth-grade students from the intermediate schools to the high schools, possibly in the 1987-88 school year.

"There's a feeling," said Smith, "that once we get them into the high schools, they'll stay there."

Upbeat Edison conquers odds

School has most-disadvantaged children, earns national honors

By Nathaniel Madison
STAFF WRITER

Most children at Edison Elementary School in Dayton come from single-parent families and live and play on the toughest streets in the city.

But they are winners anyway.

Edison, a school at 228 N. Broadway St. with 570 students in grades one through three, was nominated to be among 270 outstanding public and private elementary schools in the national elementary school recognition program for 1985-86.

Black schools like Edison, which historically had offered unequal educational opportunities for blacks, helped lead to Dayton's court fight in May 1972 to integrate its classrooms.

Dayton was forced to desegregate its school system in September 1976. For the first time, students such as those at Edison were given the opportunity for a wider educational choice, better facilities and a cross-section of educational leaders.

Four years ago, when Principal Brenda Lee took over the school, Edison didn't have much to brag about.

Just getting students to school and keeping them there was a problem, she said.

"The students didn't feel good about themselves, they weren't encouraged to learn, and there was no unity among the teaching staff," Lee said.

Discipline was serious problem

Discipline was another problem. Students didn't want to learn and had no respect for authority, according to Lee.

"A person likes to feel successful. People don't realize that children are human beings. They have feelings, desires and aspirations just as adults do," she said.

Edison has turned some of Dayton's most disadvantaged children into some of the district's best students.

The gains are coming at a school in which 70 percent of the enrollment is black, and many of the students have problems at home. Some students lack adequate clothing, nutrition and medical care, according to Lee. Others come from homes where either one or both parents have been in jail, or the children are victims of child abuse, she said.

"They are the children that society gave up on," Lee said.

Numbers tell story of school of winners

The numbers tell the story:

■ **RECORD GAINS** in reading and math have been posted by Edison students in each of the last three years. In math, 53.6 percent of the students were at or above grade level last year compared to 40 percent in 1983. Reading improvement was even more impressive. About 83.6 percent were reading at or above grade level last year compared to 65 percent in 1983.

■ **ATTENDANCE** was a problem just a few years ago at Edison. Last year, the school set a district attendance record of 93.3 percent.

The key to Edison's success begins with the staff and parent involvement in school programs, said Miley Williamson, chairman of Edison's community education council.

"The staff is really trying to make the best children out of them," Mrs. Williamson said.

First-grade teacher Marilyn Czech agrees.

Lee, she said, doesn't always agree with the theory that economic circumstances, income and neighborhood prevent a child from learning.

Ten years after court-ordered desegregation, Lee, who is 45, teaches pride as the cornerstone of self-development.

Polishing 'diamonds in the rough'

"What we have here are a lot of diamonds in the rough," she said. "We spend more time at Edison trying to polish them."

Edison's staff uses alternative teaching methods to improve each child academically, Lee said.

For example, depending on the child's learning style, teachers will use a variety of instructional ma-

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terials, peer tutoring, small group sessions, one-on-one tutorial assistance and community resources, she said.

"We may not be doing anything different than other schools in the district," she said. "We're trying to provide the best quality education for youngsters."

But Edison is the only school in the district with the federally funded Follow-Through Program, which puts a paraprofessional in the classroom to provide additional assistance to students in reading and math. And it is one of only 15 schools that uses the Write-to-Read Program, which uses computers to teach students how to write.

"I try to match the teaching style with the learning style," said Lee. "Then, we find the material that fits the individual needs of the students."

Other programs at Edison include a banking program, which teaches students how to manage money, and New Vision, a collection of items from around that world that exposes students to other cultures.

One reason for Edison's success is the involvement of the school administration at every level of a child's educational development, according to Lee.

That means going to the playground, being visible at school, and monitoring the academic, emotional and social growth of each child, she said.

Lee began her career in 1969 as a teacher at F.G. Carlson Elementary School on South Gettysburg Avenue. She was assistant principal at Jefferson Elementary and coordinator of the district's human relations department before becoming principal at Edison.

The all-important triangle

Lee said the parent, the child and the school are the three most important components of a child's personal growth.

All students need to know who they are and what they can become if they are to be successful, she said.

"At Edison, we find a child's strengths and build on them. Then we work on a child's deficient skill areas and build on them to develop the whole person."

"A child that is aware of him or herself can be taught reading, writing and mathematics."



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER.

Edison Assistant principal Nick Nicholas with some young winners

Desegregation law

reaches crossroads

End to mandatory busing winning favor in federal courts, White House

By Tom Price

WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — A decade after court-ordered busing began in Dayton, desegregation law is approaching another crossroads nearly as significant as the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling that school segregation is unconstitutional.

The attack on the status quo is coming from the Norfolk, Va., school board, which has won federal district and circuit court approval for ending mandatory desegregation busing in elementary schools. The court rulings would place 40 percent of black elementary students in schools with enrollments more than 96 percent black.

A Norfolk victory in the upcoming Supreme Court term could open the door for numerous other districts, including Dayton, to dismantle busing programs imposed in accordance with earlier Supreme Court rulings in favor of busing, experts on both sides of the desegregation debate agree.

According to Henry Marsh III, attorney for Norfolk black students and parents since 1963, that is a frightening prospect that "could lead to a whole new generation of litigation, reopening wounds many com-

munities have gone through and resolved."

Justice Department civil rights chief William Bradford Reynolds, however, believes Norfolk's victories in lower federal courts have injected "a breath of fresh air" into desegregation litigation.

The case is being watched closely from Dayton, where school board President Robert French has said "it's about time" to stop districtwide busing of primary grade students. A majority of board members, however, do not support French.

In some ways Dayton's experiences with desegregation have been similar to those that led Norfolk's school board to seek court approval for curtailing its busing program. Both districts, for instance, have seen school enrollments shift from white majorities to black majorities.

A key difference, however, is that a court has never formally declared that the Dayton district has "satisfied its affirmative duty to desegregate," as courts have in the Norfolk case.

Reynolds, who represents the views of the Reagan administration, is among those who argue that it is time to eradicate busing as a prime remedy in school desegregation cases.

"It is time in Norfolk — as in many other school districts around the country that have sustained for years good-faith compliance with court-ordered desegregation plans — to restore to the local authorities full responsibility for running their public schools," Reynolds said.

Reynolds and other busing critics argue that white families flee center cities for predominantly white suburbs with neighborhood schools. Other whites place their children in predominantly white private schools, the critics add.

SEE BUSING/6



Busing

It is time in Norfolk — as in many other school districts around the country . . . to restore to the local authorities full responsibility for running their public schools.'

— William Bradford Reynolds

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As a result, they argue, black children are being resegregated in center-city districts that are becoming predominantly black.

Most researchers agree that significant white flight has tended to occur at the beginning of busing programs and then to level off. Most cities have been losing white residents for decades, however, and many researchers contend that busing tends only to accelerate that process slightly over the long run.

Although proponents contend that busing is required by the Constitution and helps to improve the quality of education received by black students, lawyers and social scientists continue to debate both points. And, since Ronald Reagan became President in 1981, his administration has challenged busing on practical and philosophical grounds.

Early in Reagan's first term, then-Attorney General William French Smith said busing "compromised the principle of color-blindness" by assigning students to schools on a racial basis. Justice Department attorneys have supported school districts that oppose new busing orders or seek to dismantle existing programs. And the Justice and Education departments' civil rights offices have sought non-busing remedies in negotiations with school districts alleged to be operating unconstitutionally segregated school systems.

"This administration has taken the position in a number of cases that mandatory busing to achieve or maintain racial balance in schools is neither an equitable nor efficacious remedy," Reynolds told a House Judiciary subcommittee earlier this year. "We have fashioned a blueprint for constitutional compliance through combinations of

devices such as school closings, boundary adjustments, magnet school plans and incentives for voluntary transfer."

In addition, he said, the administration is working to "return operating authority to locally elected leaders" in school districts currently under the control of longstanding busing orders.

"Where a plan has been in place for a number of years and the vestiges of past segregation have been successfully removed, we believe, and the law requires, that the cases be closed and the decisional power restored to where it belongs," Reynolds said.

Busing usually is self-defeating, Reynolds said during a speech, and "those who suffer the most are the very ones that proponents of mandatory busing intended to be the greatest beneficiaries — that is, the blacks and other minorities left within the inner city public school system."

That argument is at the heart of the Norfolk case, which so far has produced a string of victories for the Norfolk school board, the Reagan administration and busing opponents in general.

At issue are how long a school district can be required to maintain a busing program and whether a school board can consider white flight in revising a desegregation plan.

The Norfolk school board argues that busing caused a substantial proportion of white flight which shifted the district's enrollment from 57 percent white in 1969 to 59 percent black in 1981 when development of the neighborhood plan began. Continued busing eventually would produce a district so overwhelmingly black that significant integration would become impossible, the school board contends.

Eliminating mandatory desegregation busing in elementary schools could end white flight and possibly increase the district's white enrollment, the board says. A healthy racial balance could be maintained in middle and high

schools, the board argues. And black students could voluntarily choose to be bused to integrated elementary schools.

A key element in the case is a 1975 federal district court ruling that the Norfolk school board had "satisfied its affirmative duty to desegregate" and that the school system had become "unitary" — no longer a "dual" segregated system.

Lower federal courts cited the district's "unitary" status in approving the board's neighborhood schools plan for elementary students.

The Constitution does not require that all schools in a unitary district be racially balanced, those courts said. That placed the burden on the plan's opponents to prove that the new plan represented an intentional act of racial discrimination — something the lower courts said the opponents failed to do.

Those courts also accepted the school board's argument that busing had accelerated white flight and had eroded parental involvement in the schools. And the courts said it was legitimate for the school board to attempt to stabilize white enrollment and to increase parental involvement through a neighborhood schools plan.

The Supreme Court refused to block the plan's implementation this fall and is considering whether to hear an appeal from black parents and students who want to maintain busing.

More than 100 other districts have been declared unitary and would be well-positioned to revise their busing programs if the high court allows the lower courts' rulings to stand.

Smith set for big leap forward

'Magnets' core of school plan

By Nathaniel Madison
STAFF WRITER

Dayton Schools Superintendent Dr. Franklin Smith has a blueprint for the future — and, he hopes, a cure for some of the ills of the past: dropping enrollments, rising absentee rates, more discipline problems.

The centerpiece of Smith's proposed platform consists of specialized magnet high schools for the 1987-88 school year. The schools would serve primarily high school students in Dayton but, because of the courses they offer, also would attract students from neighboring districts, Smith said.

"We need to move the district forward before people recognize we have a quality school system," he said.

Magnet schools offer a more specialized curriculum than is found in other schools and enrollments are determined by the number of students who apply, not the number who live within a specified school boundary. Dayton has had magnet elementary schools since before court-ordered desegregation, but what Smith proposes is new: magnet high schools, each boasting a curriculum currently not found in the district.

The plan requires approval by the school board, which is not expected to take up the matter until sometime this winter. But a task force appointed by Smith has recommended that each of the five high schools and the Dayton Career Academy offer a specialty pro-

gram along with its standard course fare. The specialty programs, one for each school, would be business, math, science, international studies, performing arts and law and government, according to the task force recommendation.

Under the proposal, each high school would offer college preparatory and vocational education programs, but students throughout the

□ Big leap

CONTINUED FROM/1

district would be allowed to enroll in the magnet program of their choice.

For example, a student who now attends Colonel White High School could enroll in the business magnet program at Belmont. Or a Belmont student could attend Colonel White for its courses in creative and performing arts.

Suburban students also would be allowed to enroll, but those students would have to pay tuition.

In addition to the specialized magnet centers, sophomores in the district will be able to take advanced placement courses at the Dayton Career Academy beginning this fall. The courses were previously available only to juniors and seniors, according to Smith.

Also, beginning this fall, the high schools are offering advanced placement courses, such as high-level calculus and trigonometry, for juniors and seniors. Previously, those courses were offered only at the career academy.

Smith said the changes are long overdue. He said the city schools are losing students to suburban and parochial schools because of a perception that public schools do not offer advanced courses. And, in some cases, it was more than a perception. Until this fall, sophomores could not take the high-level math and science courses that were offered at the career academy no matter how gifted they were.

"I think this district needs to offer every course that suburban districts offer, and go beyond that," Smith said.

All of Smith's recommended changes will cost the district money, but Smith said he is not in a position to say how much.

"It's going to cost us a little more, but we're going to have to reduce in some areas where there are duplications," he said.

Smith, who has been in the district only about a year, inherited a school system steeped in problems, most of them caused by forces unrelated to the now decade-old plan to desegregate Dayton schools. But a four-month examination by the *Dayton Daily News* and *The Journal Herald* found the community — and some educators — still divided about the continuing merits of busing for desegregation in Dayton.

A poll commissioned by the newspapers found black parents far more supportive of busing — and of the school system in general — than white parents.

Desegregation seems to have brought on some troubling trends. A study of assaults on students and teachers found the schools more violent now than a decade ago, when the district had about 15,000 more students. More students — a disproportionate number

of them black — were suspended and expelled for fighting in 1985-86 than in 1976-77. In fact, more students were suspended and expelled last year than in any single year since court-ordered desegregation began.

Some results were more positive. An analysis of California Achievement Test results for ninth-graders found blacks have begun to close an historical gap between blacks and whites in math, reading and language, and black and white students have improved on their scores from 1977 (the first year for the California test). But the gap in fourth-grade actually increased, the study found. Moreover, school officials predict that some of the gains made by students in all grades will be short-lived. The district plans to switch from a 1977 to a 1986 test this year, which means some students may not do as well because the curve for the 1986 test is higher.

Most Dayton city school teachers and administrators have some good to say about desegregation: It brought black and white students together in the classroom and they are apparently learning more as a result, as suggested by the California Achievement Test scores.

But desegregation, both locally and nationally, is at a crossroads. The Norfolk, Va., school board has won federal district and circuit court approval for ending mandatory busing for desegregation in elementary schools, and a Norfolk victory in the upcoming U.S. Supreme Court term could open the door for numerous other districts, including Dayton's, to dismantle their busing programs.

Few on the Dayton school board expect that to happen. However, school board President Robert French has said he supports ending busing, at least for primary-grade students, because he said the district no longer is guilty of discrimination.

"If you serve your sentence," he said, "you ought to be able to get out of jail."

Dayton's court-ordered desegregation case is still alive, meaning the board must meet the racial quotas set in federal court a decade ago. In most cases, it does. The district could ignore the quotas, though, if the court ruled that the district had fulfilled its obligations under court-ordered desegregation. That could come if the school board petitions the court to discontinue busing for desegregation.

But, said French, "There is no desire by the majority of the board to interfere with the court order."

If it decides to "interfere," the board could have a fight on its hands. The local branch of the NAACP, the group that originally filed the federal lawsuit in May 1972, said it will challenge the



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

At Belmont High School and other city high schools the name of the game will be academic programs

‘We need to move the district forward before people recognize we have a quality school system. I think this district needs to offer every course that suburban districts offer, and go beyond that.’

**— Dr. Franklin Smith,
Dayton school superintendent**

district again if busing for desegregation is eliminated.

“I definitely think it’s not the most prudent thing to do,” said Jesse Gooding, president of the Dayton NAACP chapter. “Attitudes in terms of schools and race relations are worsening, not improving.”

Smith thinks the district is improving, though he acknowledged some of its problems. Its attendance rate, for example, is worse than in Columbus, Cincinnati and several of the surrounding school districts, and test scores are not where he would like them to be. Still, he said, the schools are better than they are given credit for.

“We can turn things around, but it’s

a gradual process,” he said. “People now believe we have a comprehensive offering, but our schools don’t have the reputation.”

They do have some new faces, beginning with Smith. The 42-year-old superintendent came to the district only a year ago, became interim superintendent in October 1985, and was officially named to the post in March. He came well recommended, as did Dr. James Williams, the district’s new assistant superintendent of intermediate and secondary instruction.

Some credit Williams, former principal of Cardozo High School in Washington, D.C., with helping reverse Cardozo’s high rates of truancy, drug use and dropouts, while at the same time

improving test scores.

Dr. Robert Kegerreis, who resigned as president of Wright State University in 1984 and now serves as a consultant to local businesses, said the Dayton school system “is really emerging” and cited Smith’s latest administrative appointments to round out the system’s top staff.

“After all these years, 10 years now, we’re in a new era,” Kegerreis said. “There’s more emphasis on excellence, more quality control. I feel very upbeat about the future of the Dayton school system.”

The future will hold changes. The administration proposes a new curriculum for virtually every grade — including tougher requirements for passing from one grade to the next — and a task force has been appointed to study problems with dropouts, absenteeism and assaults.

Some of the changes are already in place.

The district promises to put more emphasis on basic skills this year; such as reading, language arts and math, and hopes to strengthen music, art, social studies and foreign language, according to Dr. Jerrie B. McGill, executive director of educational services.

“The issue is not whether there is something wrong with the curriculum

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in kindergarten through grade 12, the issue is how we structure what we do with youngsters so we increase their success," McGill said.

Programs such as Writing-to-Read, which teaches students writing techniques by using computers, and Reading Recovery, a program that identifies a student's reading problems, will be expanded this year, according to Deputy Superintendent Dr. Wanda McDaniel.

Also, teachers in grades one through six will be trained to assist students who have problems in basic skill areas, McDaniel said. "We're attacking problems right from the start. We can't depend on one program being our salvation," she said.

Other changes include more preschool programs and expanded kindergarten classes to identify problems at an early age. Programs for gifted students also will be expanded, administrators say, so the district can keep its better students in the school system.

While the district reviews its curriculum, other more visible changes are in the works: Beginning with the 1987-88 school year, the school board proposes to move ninth-graders from middle schools to the high schools, reversing a decision that was made years ago.

The philosophy behind the move is that ninth-graders are on the same grading system as high school students and would be exposed to better academic programs in the high schools.

But some people, including some students, disagree with the plan.

"I think it's too early to move ninth-graders to the high school," said Katy Skipper, a ninth-grader who attended MacFarlane Intermediate School last semester.

Added fellow classmate Jackie Mayle: "Ninth-graders are given more responsibility at the (middle) school."

Jeffrey Mims Jr., president of the Dayton Education Association, which represents most of the district's teachers, said the school board is setting false expectations for parents and students, and "can't deliver the type of quality education" it talks about because it lacks the money.

But at least one school board member, Shirley Fenstermaker, said money is not the reason the district is losing students to private and suburban schools — and will continue to lose them. Fenstermaker said the board has spent too much time and money making sure its buildings are integrated, and not enough on providing a quality education.

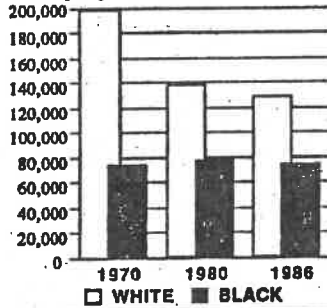
"We have to get over this business of looking at every issue in black-and-white terms," she said. "We have to start looking at it as if it's right or wrong..."



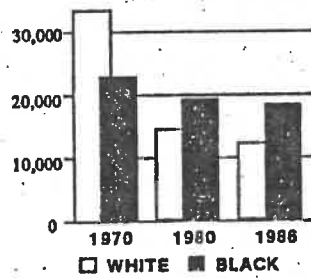
Enrollment

Dayton School District population and enrollment figures

Total population

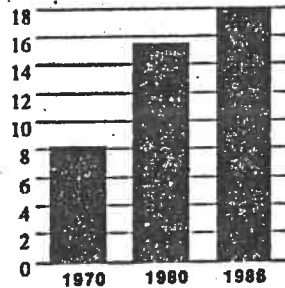


Dayton school enrollment



Non-attending students

Percentage of school-age children in Dayton who do not attend Dayton schools

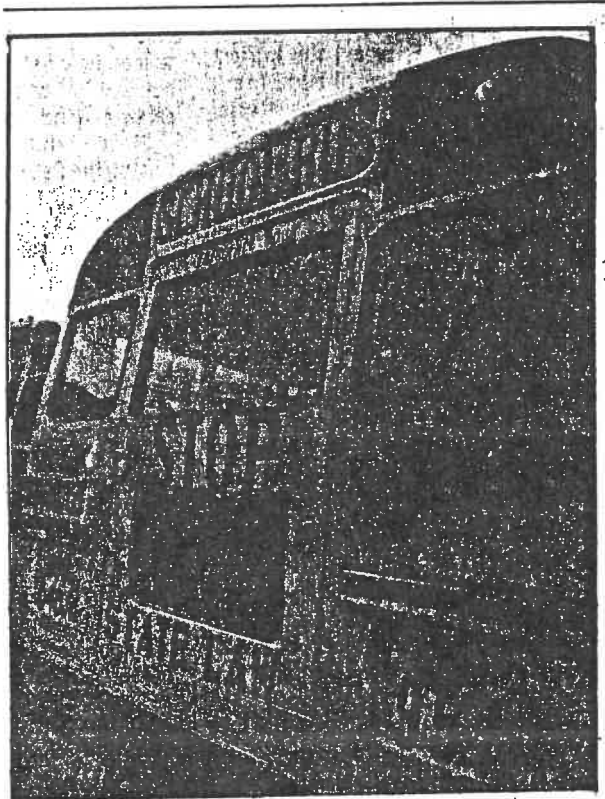


SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau and Dayton city schools. Based on 1980 school district boundaries.

STAFF

I think (Dayton Christian) offers a better quality education. Dayton Christian offered more courses, especially in the sciences. The classes are smaller, 15 (students) compared to 30. . . . And I think they have more control over drugs.'

— Brian Gooden
Dayton Christian student



BILL GARLOW/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

Ride on school bus may become less common