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DIMENSIONS IN DISCRIMINATION

PART I

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF SAN DIEGO

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"A STUDY OF THE EXTENT AND EFFECT OF MINORITY-GROUP DISCRIMINATION IN SAN DIEGO AND AN EVALUATION OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL BODIES IN THIS FIELD."

-- Local Program Item 1964-65

D I M E N S I O N S

I N

D I S C R I M I N A T I O N

A Preliminary Survey of San Diego's Community Problems of Discrimination

PART I

February 1965

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INTRODUCTION

The principles of the League of Women Voters of the United States declare "that every citizen should be protected in his right to vote; that every person should have access to free public education which provides equal opportunity for all; and that no person or group should suffer legal, economic, or administrative discrimination." In addition, the League believes "that responsible government should be responsive to the will of the people" and "that government should share in the solution of economic and social problems which affect the general welfare."

League principles are a statement of beliefs which evolved during the early years of the organization and have repeatedly been reaffirmed by League members. These principles are the basis for selection of League program; a study item must fall within their scope and must be an issue which can be resolved through governmental action. The principles quoted here are essentially re-statements of powers and guarantees established in the Constitution of the United States and are therefore part of the national foundation for governmental activity.

* * * * *

DIMENSIONS IN DISCRIMINATION is a study concerned with statistical data, governmental units, civic groups, and issues relevant to and involving people within the city of San Diego. But social problems such as discrimination know no geographical boundaries and local governing bodies are not isolated entities. Their actions are intertwined with federal and state government activities. Local governments cannot repudiate national and state laws and they establish conditions in the local community for implementation and enforcement of these laws.

Governmental policies are based both on philosophical concepts and on reaction to the realities of a specific situation at a definite time. Thus, to consider minority-group discrimination in San Diego, it is valuable to acquire a broad and general perspective on the nature of the problem.

World history and American history reveal a continuous struggle of minority groups to achieve status and equality. In past decades, the struggle has involved religious groups, labor forces, women. In recent years, attention has been focused upon the Negroes in this nation and more broadly thereby on all racial and ethnic groups which face variations of discriminatory treatment.

A Dimension of Words

Prejudice is a word which may have negative or positive connotations; it literally means a pre-judgment. When referring to ethnic or racial prejudice, it commonly denotes an attitude, usually hostile, which places the minority group at a disadvantage.

Prejudices are based on generalizations and stereotypes. Generalizing and categorizing are necessary for the innumerable decisions and adjustments required in daily transactions, and such simplifications are practical if we are capable of altering them when presented with new evidence. However, when a prejudice is threatened with contradiction, we typically react emotionally, resist all new knowledge, and thereby prevent objective thinking in relation to that generalization and category.

There is not always a direct correlation between attitudes and actions. Many people with prejudices are unaware of them or never go beyond expressing their views with like-minded friends. Some will go farther and avoid, even at great inconvenience to themselves, the disliked group but not act directly to harm the group. Others will

overcompensate for their attitude by forcing themselves to act positively rather than negatively. Overt hostile acts and the extremes of physical attack and extermination are likewise based on prejudice.

Discrimination refers to the act of treating some person in a manner different from others. It frequently leads to exclusion and limitation of contact between the persons or groups involved and thereby prevents new experiences which might affect the basic prejudice. Physical separation of groups (segregation) may be by law (de jure) or by custom or individual action (de facto).

The act of discrimination may be made by an individual, a group, or an entire society; the act may take many forms, open or subtle. The result is singular, the effect is the same -- it establishes a separate and unequal status upon the persons involved.

In this area of equality, it is frequently said that government through legislation cannot solve the problem. What is meant by "the problem"? Is it that of prejudice as an individually-held hostile attitude, or does it involve only overt acts of discrimination? Beliefs, thoughts, attitudes are traditionally and constitutionally in this nation not subject to regulation, although education and political action are frequently designed to affect them. Overt actions and behavior can be and are controlled by self-imposed rules, spiritual commandments, group pressure, and by governmental edict.

A Dimension of Theory

Discrimination by law or by custom frequently limits minority-group opportunities and motivation for self-improvement and this limitation in turn supports the reasons for discrimination. One theory states: "discrimination generates inferiority which in turn generates discrimination." (20)

This phrase illustrates what is called the "vicious circle." The circle can spiral upward as well as downward. Pressure applied to any one of the interlocking factors can spiral all of them in the same direction. Opportunities for better education increase job potential which raises income, standards of health, housing, and the possibilities and desire for more education. These higher standards may decrease prejudice and therefore acts of discrimination.

A Dimension of America

American history early illustrated that this country would be composed of a heterogeneous population on a vast, diversified continent. The premise uniting these people is the common denominator Gunner Myrdal has called the American Creed (25). The Creed encompasses the beliefs that the United States is a haven for the oppressed, that this nation has a government of law rather than of men, and that in this country "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

These ideals have been continuously discussed, taught, and revered for nearly two centuries. There is hardly an institution in this country which does not adhere in principle to this Creed; little is done in the political sphere that is not prefaced with the belief. Americans not only expect this principle in their organizational life, but expect their institutions to lead toward the realization of these ideals.

Minority-group Americans are not outsiders, but active participants within this culture. They have demonstrated a strong faith in the political system which professes to grant equality to all, but they must reconcile this belief with the

realities of the life they have known. The majority-group Americans must reconcile the ideals they cherish with the realities of their actions. The protest is not a confrontation between people with different beliefs, but between people with the same beliefs and values.

Because the current civil rights protest has challenged practical adherence to the American Creed, it has invaded every aspect of our society -- from churches to courts, from legislative chambers to city planning, from schools to show business. Most Americans, in theory, consider the cause just, but are also aware that any solution (or resistance to one) will have far-reaching implications for the social structure of this country and for their own lives.

* * * * *

This brief perspective on discrimination perhaps illustrates the multifacet complexities involved in a study and discussion of this scope. It is hoped that some thoughts and questions have been raised which will have a cogent function as we consider the issue in San Diego.

The League of Women Voters is a volunteer organization and must face the reality of limitations in time, womanpower, and resources. There were numerous areas for study the committee considered and, in developing priorities, had to discard for this publication. This is a bringing together of many facts, but it is only a beginning.

Two major local governing bodies exist in San Diego; the responsibilities and roles of each must be evaluated although it is somewhat artificial to consider them independent of each other. For practical reasons, Part I of this publication focuses primarily on those aspects of the problem involving the Board of Education, while Part II focuses on the role of San Diego City government. Survey material is pertinent to both areas of evaluation.

In using this material, we must remember the many dimensions of discrimination and not expect to find syllogisms leading us to conclusions, but strive for a shifting and winnowing of material in a continuous exchange of ideas. We must also remember that the League of Women Voters' principles include us in the flow and force of the American Creed, but similar to that Creed they do not give us specific answers or dictate methods of action. These we must find for ourselves because "politics should be the point at which knowledge meets life and becomes socially effective."

A DIMENSION OF STATISTICS

An excellent source of general statistics on population, housing, income, and employment is the 1960 report for San Diego of the U. S. Bureau of Census (35). Earlier census reports and later reports of estimated population give some data to assess broad trends.

The Census Bureau is probably the most reliable source of data available without a direct survey, which is beyond the capacity of the League of Women Voters at this time. It must be recognized, however, that this source leaves gaps in our knowledge. For instance, the census gives no information on religion, so religious minorities are not included in the scope of this study. In addition, while racial breakdowns for the population are given, these are not always tied directly to job or housing statistics. It should be noted further that such census statistics as education and income are based on a 25% sampling.

In 1950, San Diego was divided for the first time into census tracts, for the purpose of recording detailed statistics by area of the city. The Bureau says: "Census tracts are small areas into which large cities and adjacent areas have been divided for statistical purposes. Tract boundaries were established cooperatively by a local committee and the Bureau of the Census, and were generally designed to be relatively uniform with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions. The average tract has about 4,000 residents. Tract boundaries are established with the intention of being maintained over a long time so that comparisons may be made from census to census."

Unfortunately, since San Diego has grown rapidly both in territory and in population, there have been a number of changes in tract boundaries between 1950 and the present; it is impossible to make exact comparisons. The 1960 census, however, gives excellent data which are undoubtedly sufficiently up-to-date to allow current interpretation.

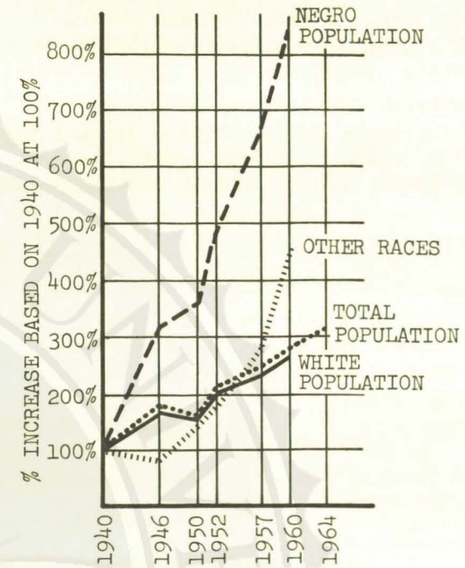
Population Trends

Although the most recent estimate places the City of San Diego's population figure at 638,900, the 1960 census is the most recent report of racial makeup. At that time, San Diego's total population of 573,224 included 490,469 white residents, 38,043 Mexican, and 44,712 non-white (34,435 Negro and 10,277 other races). The 1960 census for San Diego identified "white with Spanish surname" population, which for purposes of this report are identified as Mexican. The category identified as "white" means all other white population. The "non-white" category includes Negro and all other non-white races such as Japanese, Chinese, American Indian, Asian Indian, etc.

Figure 1 shows the increase in population in San Diego from 1940 to 1960. Since 1940, the population of the city had increased nearly three times (and an estimated 314% by 1964). In contrast, the Negro population had increased over eight times, while that of other races increased four and one-half times. No separate statistics are available for the Mexican population before 1960; in this graph, they are included in the "white" category.

Further analysis yields the racial breakdown of San Diego's population in each year for which figures are available. While the Negro population was only 2.0% of the total population in 1940, it was 6.8% of the total in 1960. The population of other non-white races varied from 1.1% of the total in 1940 to only 0.5% in 1946 and then gradually back up to 1.8% of the total in 1960.

Figure 1
POPULATION TRENDS 1940 to 1964
% INCREASE BY RACE



Choice of Study Areas

A first task was to decide which areas (census tracts) of the city would give significant data for a determination of the extent and effects of discrimination toward minority groups in San Diego. The table below shows our method of making this decision and notes the selection of five study areas based on minority population and poverty factors. The chart shows all San Diego tracts that fall under any of the criteria shown.

Dividing points chosen for identification of low, medium, and high non-white and Mexican populations were 20% and 50% of the total population of the tract. Thus, "low Mexican" means less than 20% of the total population is white with Spanish surname; "medium non-white" means 20% or more but less than 50% are other than white or Mexican; and "high combined non-white and Mexican" means that 50% or more of the total population is white with Spanish surname, Negro, or of other non-white races.

The Shevky-Bell Index was used as a measure of poverty or marginal poverty for a census tract. This is a system of measuring the social rank of a sub-area within an

CENSUS TRACT NUMBERS	E 24	E 25 A	E 26	G 31 A	H 33	H 34 B	I 35	I 36	I 37	I 39	I 40	J 41	K 47	K 48	K 49	K 50	K 51	L 53	L 54	N 67	U 86	U 90	Z 100	Z 101
Medium High Non-white 20% to 49.9%		X		X	X	X		X	X				X				X		X	X				
High Non-white 50% or more							X			X	X			X	X									
Medium High Mexican 20% to 49.9%								X					X		X		X							
High Mexican 50% or more																X							X	
Medium High Combined Non-white & Mexican 20% to 49.9%		X		X					X			X							X	X	X			
High Combined Non-white & Mexican 50% or more					X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X						X	
Poverty Rank					X		X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X						X	
Marginal Poverty Rank	X	X	X			X												X	X		X	X		X
Study Area	IV	III	IV	V	I	I	I	I		I	I	V	I	I	I	I	I				III	IV	II	IV

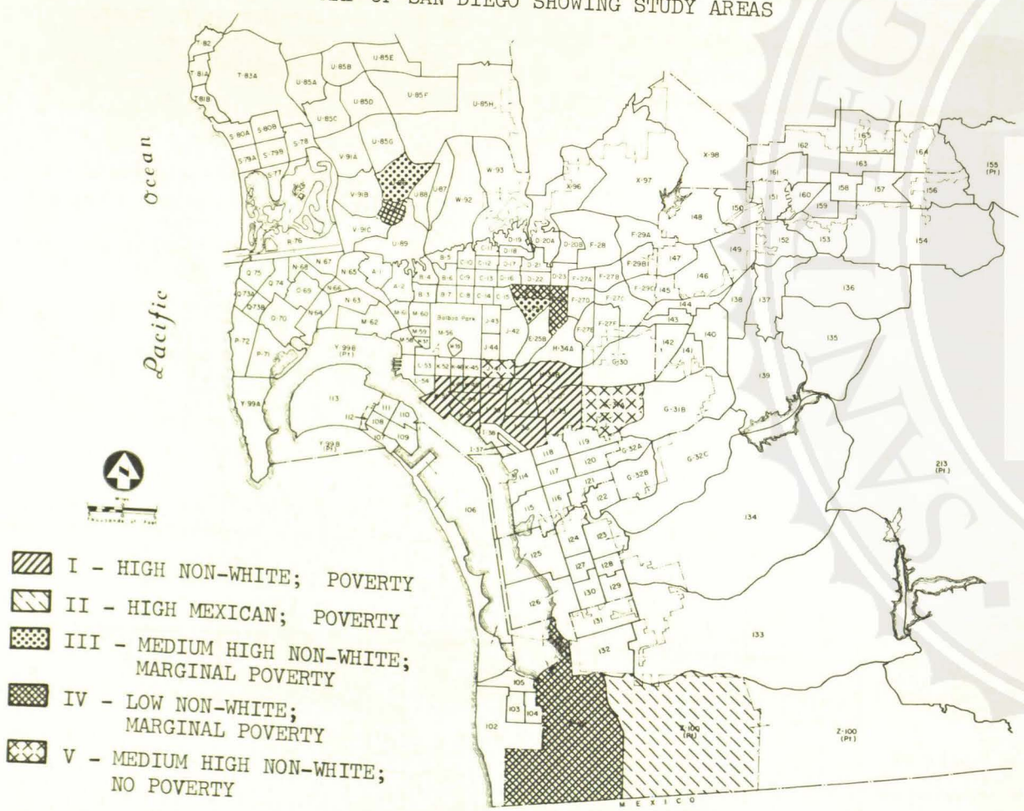
urban community (30). The general index is divided into three components, but the only one used for the ranking in this report is one based upon the occupational and educational level of residents of the area.* Census tracts with an index of less than 40 were classified as areas of poverty; those with an index between 40 and 49 were considered areas of marginal poverty. Theoretically, values of the index can range from 0 to 100; for San Diego, the actual range is from 5 to 89.

The following tracts were omitted from the Study Areas since they have atypical characteristics: I 37, Navy housing area; L 53, includes County Jail; L 54, includes City Jail; N 67, Navy housing area, since removed. Tract Z 100 was separated since it was felt that the border area might be so different as to mask some of the characteristics of the more central areas.

The five Areas, as shown on the map below, have these characteristics:

Study Area I - High non-white and Mexican population; poverty
Study Area II - High Mexican population; poverty
Study Area III - Medium non-white and Mexican population; marginal poverty
Study Area IV - Low non-white and Mexican population; marginal poverty
Study Area V - Medium non-white and Mexican population; no poverty.

MAP OF SAN DIEGO SHOWING STUDY AREAS

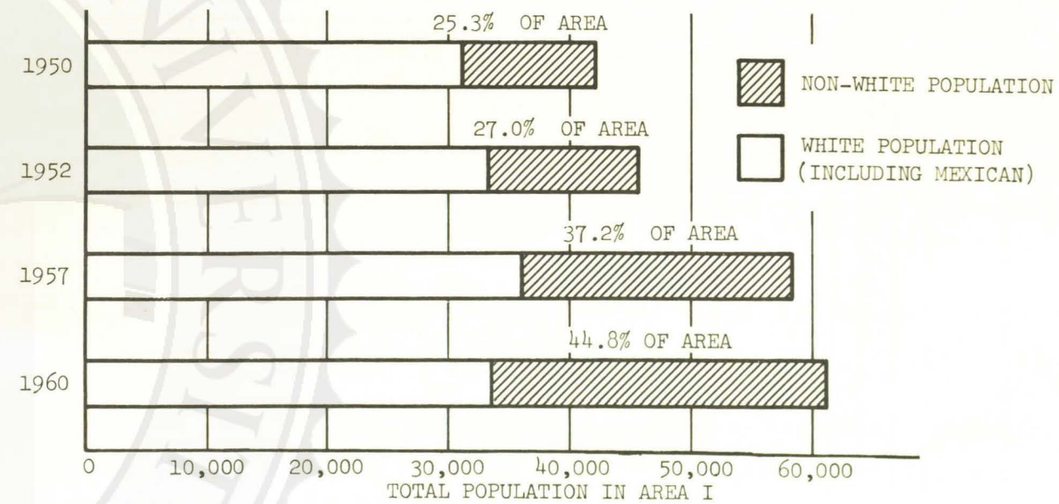


* The Indices of Social Rank for the census tracts for the City of San Diego are those furnished to the Community Welfare Council of San Diego County, as computed by the Bureau of Social Research, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, San Diego State College, through the cooperation of Dr. Aubrey Wendling, Director.

Race and Ethnic Status

Figure 2 shows the population breakdown of Study Area I. Tract boundaries of the area were not identical in 1950 and 1960, but the figures have been adjusted to make them as nearly comparable as possible. The white population of this Southeast San Diego area has increased very little in the ten-year period (from 31,372 to 33,760) but the non-white population has nearly tripled during the same period (from 10,647 to 27,414), increasing from 25% of the total in 1950 to 45% in 1960. In 1950, this area contained 58% of the entire non-white population of San Diego. By 1960, Study Area I contained over 67% of the non-white population of San Diego, which includes over 77% of all Negroes in the city.

Figure 2
POPULATION TRENDS IN STUDY AREA 1 1950 TO 1960



Further analysis reveals that our five study areas together include 19% of the total population of San Diego, but represent only 11% of the white population, 51% of the Mexican, 88% of the Negro, and 44% of other non-white residents. These figures again indicate that the racial minorities of the city are concentrated in the study areas (which is why they were chosen). Concentration is most apparent regarding the Negro population, next for the Mexican, and least for other non-whites.

Figure 3 illustrates the degree of racial concentration. If the races were evenly dispersed (integrated) throughout the city, each area would be made up of equal percentages of each race, showing a straight line on each chart. Thus, if an area contains 10% of the city's population, it would include 10% of the city's Negroes, 10% of its Mexicans, etc. The figure makes clear that Area I includes a disproportionate fraction of the city's minority groups. Area II has a disproportionately high percentage of the city's Mexicans and very few Negroes. Area III has a high, and Area IV a low, percentage of the city's Negroes, but these two areas are fairly evenly distributed otherwise. Area V has a disproportionately low percentage of the city's whites and a high percentage of minority-group residents.

Figure 3
RACE AND ETHNIC STATUS
IN SAN DIEGO

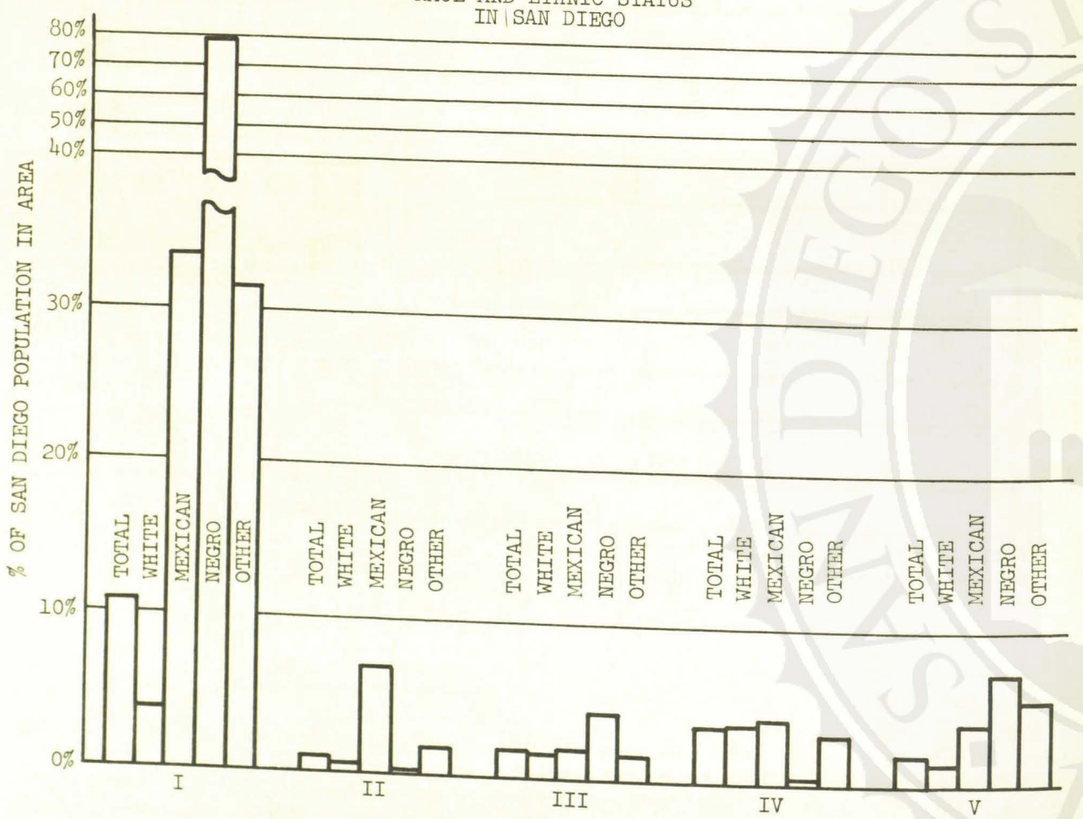
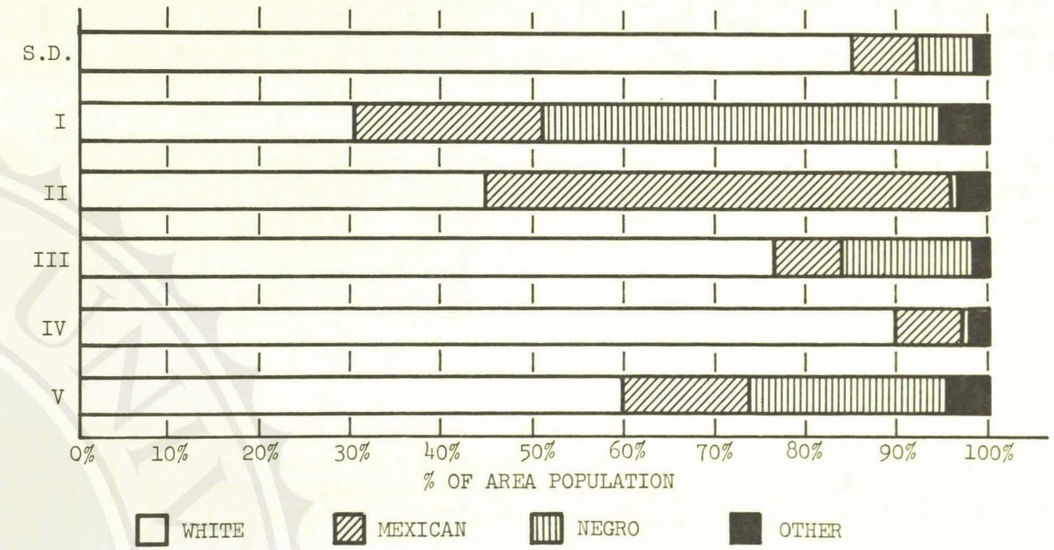


Figure 4 shows the racial composition of San Diego and of each study area.* It can be seen that Areas II and IV have almost no Negroes, but that Area I has a high percentage of Negro residents and Areas III and V substantial numbers. Study Area II is especially heavy with Mexicans; Areas I and V moderately so, but Areas III and IV are not far from typical for the whole city. Distribution of other races in all areas is quite similar to the city as a whole.

* In this figure and all those following which show a comparison between San Diego totals and area totals, "crews of vessels" and military reservation tracts have been omitted.

Figure 4
RACE AND ETHNIC BREAKDOWN BY AREA

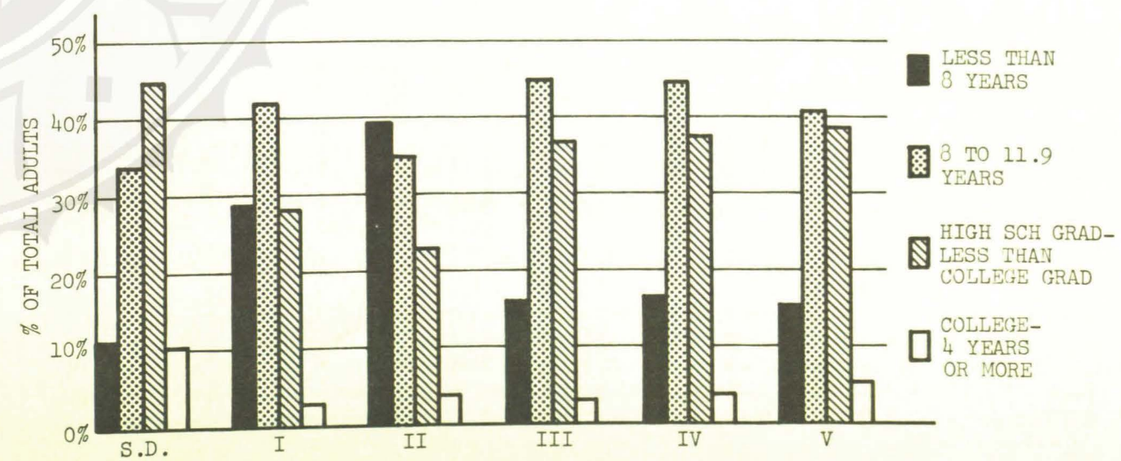


The census reports that 7.5% of San Diego's 1960 population was foreign born. Analysis of the foreign population of the study areas showed that the only area strikingly out of line with the city average is Study Area II (27.4%). The high percentage of foreign-born (predominantly Mexican) here may be relevant when examining the amount of schooling completed.

Formal Education

Figure 5 shows the amount of formal education completed in the study areas as

Figure 5
FORMAL EDUCATION COMPLETED



compared to San Diego as a whole. All areas show considerably fewer high school and college graduates than the city average, but the most noticeable difference is in Study Area II, where 52% of the population is Mexican. Here almost 40% of the adult population has not finished elementary school, and over 74% have not completed high school. Study Area I, which has 77% of all Negroes and 34% of all Mexicans in San Diego, shows the next lowest educational level with 29% of the adults having completed less than elementary school and 71% without a high school diploma.

Study Areas III and IV are very similar in educational characteristics. Area III has 24% minority-group population, whereas Area IV has only 10% minority population; both areas show marginal poverty ranking. Areas I and II both show poverty. Perhaps it can be concluded, therefore, that poverty and educational level are more closely related to each other than is minority-group status with either factor.

Figure 6

MEDIAN EDUCATION

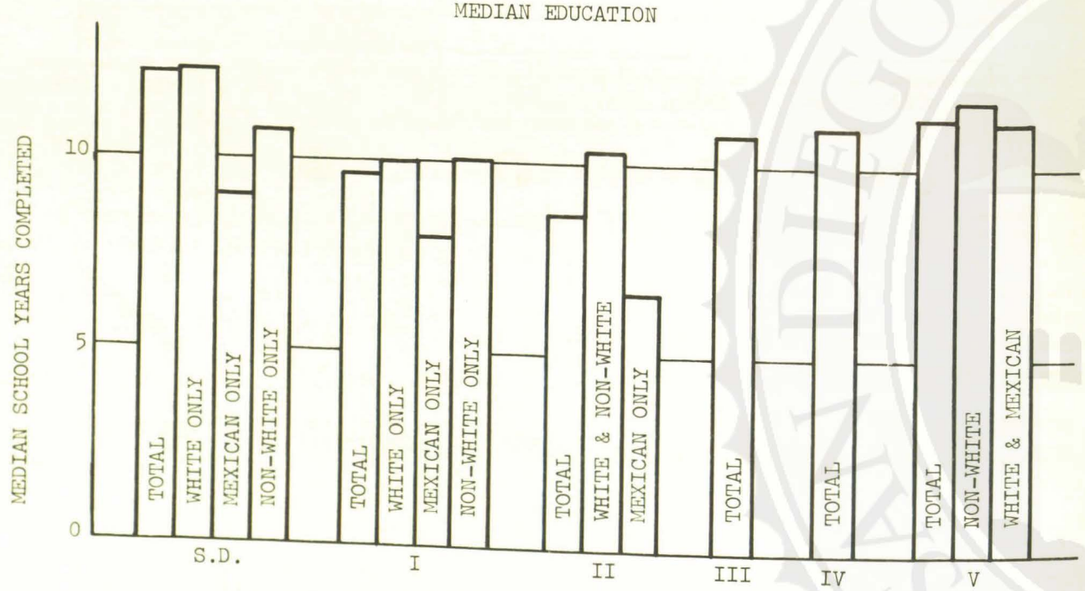


Figure 6 shows the median education completed for each area. The median school years completed is the level of educational achievement representing the midpoint of a group, with exactly half of the adult individuals having less education and half having more. The median years completed for all of San Diego is 12.2, meaning that of all San Diegans 25 years old and over, half have entered college and completed at least two-tenths of a year, and only half have completed less than this amount of schooling. For all adults in the U.S., the median number of school years completed is 10.3.

Only two of our five study areas are below the national median, although all are below the San Diego median. By far the lowest is Area II, which contains a high percentage of foreign-born Mexicans. A special comparison may be made between Areas III (with medium high non-white and Mexican population) and IV (with low non-white and Mexican population), both showing marginal poverty; Area IV is only

two-tenths of a year higher in median years completed. A further comparison between Area III and Area V is of interest. Both have medium high non-white and Mexican populations, with Area V the highest (40% as compared to 24% for Area III), but Area V does not rank as a poverty area. The median school years completed in Area V is half a year higher than in Area III. Here again we find that educational level ties more directly to our poverty ranking than it does to minority-group content of the area.

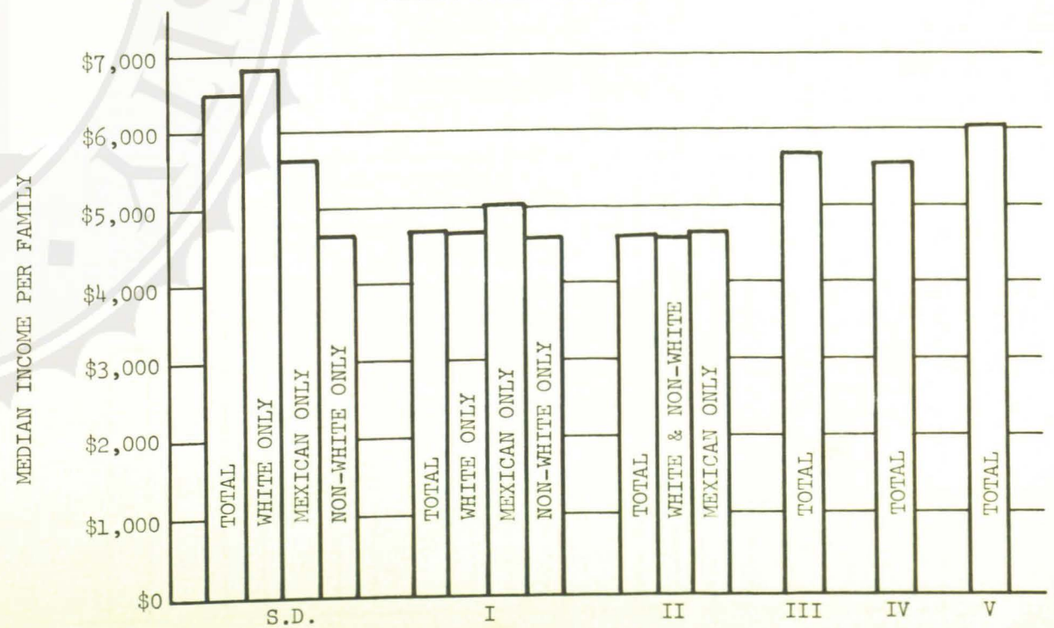
Figure 6 also shows for Areas I, II, and V more complete information by racial groups (similar breakdowns were not available for other areas, and the census breakdown was by different races in the three areas). It is evident that schooling of the Mexican population is significantly lower than that of the other groups. It can also be seen that the schooling of non-whites in Areas I and V is slightly higher than that of whites and Mexicans. The census report shows further that of the Mexicans in Areas I and II, 52% have not completed an eighth grade education as compared to only 23% of the whites and non-whites. In Study Area I alone, 825 adults have never completed a single year of school. Of 661 individuals in Area I who have completed college, 60 were Mexican, 190 were white, and 411 were non-white.

Family Income

Figures 7 and 8 show family income characteristics in the study areas. Note that for the study area totals the pattern of median family income (Figure 7) is almost identical to that of the median school years completed (Figure 6), but that income and minority status are less closely related (Figure 4). Thus, while Areas I and II with high minority-group populations are decidedly the lowest in family income ($4,766 and $4,692), Area V with 40% minority population has a median income of $6,109, while Area III with 24% minorities averages $5,724 and Area IV with only 10% minority population has a median income of only $5,643.

Figure 7

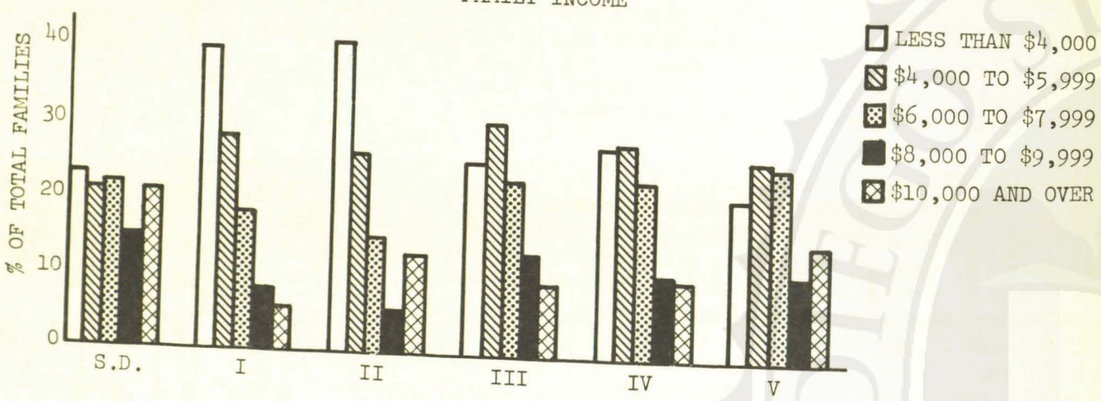
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME



Again it was possible to compute a median for non-whites and Mexicans in Area I and for Mexicans in Area II. We find that the median income for the individual racial groups seems inconsistent with median educational level. It is of particular interest to note in Area I that the median income of the Mexican population is $395 higher than that of non-whites, although their median schooling is 2.1 years lower. A further comparison shows that median income of non-whites is also slightly below that of whites. Income statistics by race were available for only part of Area V, showing $6,595 median for non-whites, $6,739 for Mexicans, and $6,247 for whites within the partial area, which has $6,414 as a median.

Figure 8

FAMILY INCOME

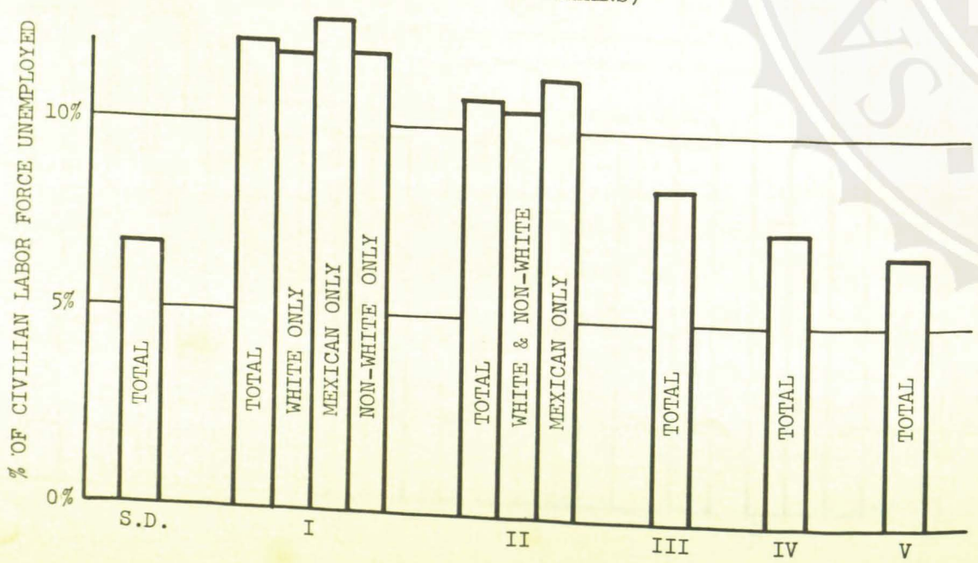


Occupational Status

Figure 9

UNEMPLOYMENT

(MALE CIVILIAN WORKERS)



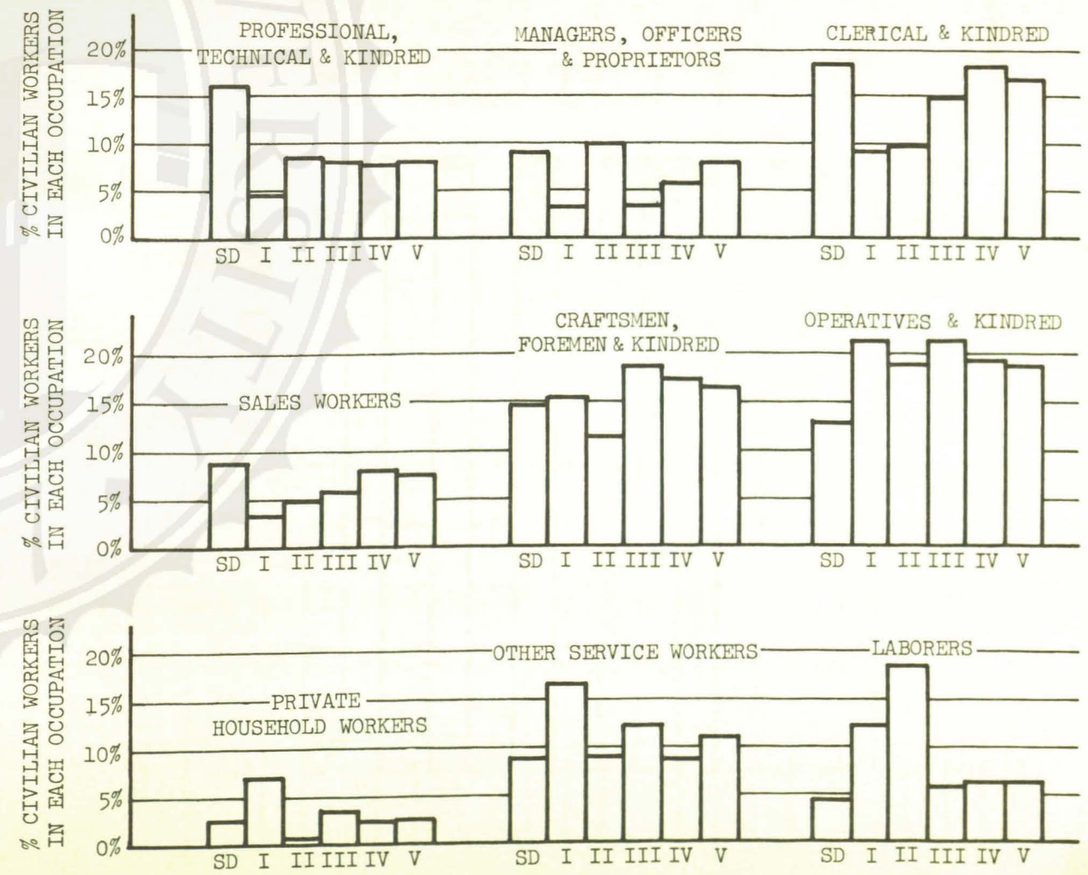
The second chart of income gives much the same information, but in addition shows that there is a fair distribution of high income families in all of the study areas. Even in Area I which has the smallest percentage of high incomes, there are 841 families (6% of the total) with income of $10,000 or more (319 white families, 158 Mexican, and 364 non-white). We also find in the census report that there are 114 incomes among these that are $15,000 or more, including 4 of $25,000 or more, but there is no identification of these highest income families by race. In Area V there are 400 families (16% of the total) with incomes of $10,000 or more, including 93 of $15,000 or more and 28 of $25,000 or over.

Figure 9 shows the percentage of unemployed among male civilian workers in the study areas. All areas have higher unemployment than San Diego as a whole, but this is especially true in Areas I and II. Here we find that Mexican workers have a noticeably higher degree of unemployment (Area I: Mexicans 12.7%, non-whites 11.9%, whites 11.8%; Area II: Mexicans 11.3%, whites and non-whites combined 10.5%).

Figure 10 gives more detailed occupational statistics, showing the percentage of civilian employees in ten different categories of occupations. Very roughly we might say that these categories move from "white-collar" type of occupations toward "blue-collar" work.

Figure 10

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS



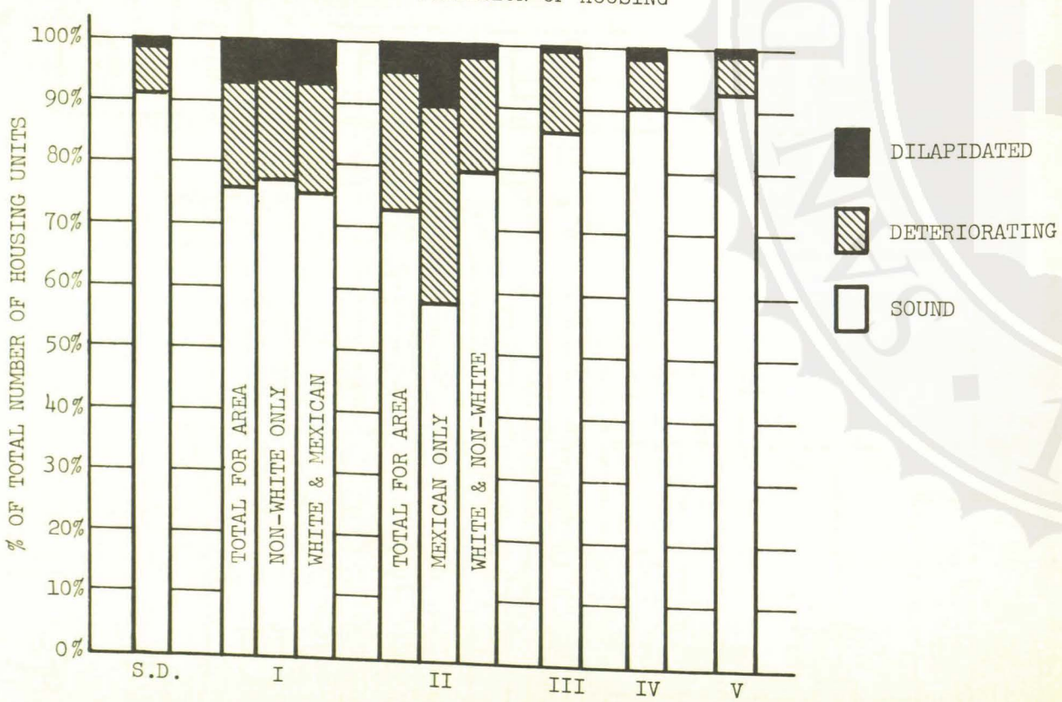
In general, our study areas tend to be lower than the city as a whole in percentage of white-collar workers and higher in percentage of blue-collar workers. A careful study of these graphs can disclose considerable detail. For instance, there are very few professional or technical workers in Area I where most San Diego Negroes reside; the other study areas are about equal in this category but all are much below the San Diego average. Area II has more workers in the category "Managers, Officers, Proprietors" than the city as a whole, probably accounted for by the large number of very small stores and food establishments in the Mexican district. Other graphs in Figure 10 show that the predominantly Negro Area I is high in household and other service workers. The predominantly Mexican Area II is fairly low in both types of service workers but very high in laborers. "Operatives and kindred" are quite high in all areas.

Condition of Housing

Figure 11 shows the condition of housing, as defined by census reports. It is immediately apparent that the housing condition is considerably poorer in Areas I and II than elsewhere. It also can be seen that in Area I the condition of non-white housing is slightly better than that of the remainder of the area. In Area II, the housing of the Mexicans is considerably lower than that of any other group. We also find that Area V has a slightly higher percentage of sound housing than San Diego as a whole.

Figure 11

CONDITION OF HOUSING



Other Surveys

In addition to the information compiled from the census report, we should note other pertinent surveys already made. Probably the most significant study is "Pockets of Poverty" by the Community Welfare Council (33). This is a study of two areas, the first of which corresponds very closely though not exactly to our Study Area I and the second of which is the same as our Study Area II. The following table shows some of the additional data from this report.

	San Diego	Area I	Area II
TB - cases per 10,000 population, June, 1964	5.3	11.6	.2
V.D. - cases per 10,000 population - 1961	16.0	83.0	.4
Deaths per 1,000 population - 1962	7.8	7.8	8.2
Infant deaths (within first year) as % of all deaths	8.0	14.0	17.5
Neo-natal deaths (within first 30 days) as % of live births	1.9	3.1	2.5
Aid to Dependent Children - cases per 1,000 children	15.2	38.6	35.7
Old Age Security - cases per 1,000 over age 65	165.7	323.0	242.8
Aid to Totally Disabled - cases per 1,000 population	2.1	11.9	5.1
General relief cases per 1,000 population	1.3	1.9	1.6

In addition, without a breakdown by census tract or area, the report indicates that Negroes, who represent 6.0% of the San Diego population, accounted for 15.3% of all arrests and 15.7% of juvenile arrests in San Diego in 1963. Mexicans, who represent 6.6% of the population, accounted for 11.0% of all arrests and 8.7% of juvenile arrests in the same year.

A survey for the Rosenberg Foundation in 1963 (16) revealed, in addition to many other facts, that in 1962-63, 28% of San Diego's high school dropouts were in the south central area, although the area under investigation constituted only 16% of the population. Figures furnished by the Welfare Department showed that about one-half of the ANC recipients in the county resided in this area, although it represents only 10% of the total county population. Further statistics showed the average age of these recipients to be 32 (young enough to be employable) and the average educational attainment as 7.5 years. This survey found an almost total lack of organized cultural activity in the area under discussion. It was felt the apathy was due to lack of education and ignorance of those activities termed "cultural."

Several other reports and surveys on these areas have been completed by various groups and agencies in recent years and have also been consulted (8 , 18, 27, 28). Their findings tend to parallel findings of this present analysis.

Conclusions

In summary, these data support the following generalizations about the five areas selected for study:

1. The areas include a disproportionately large number of San Diego's racial and ethnic minorities.
2. The median amount of formal education of the adult population is considerably less than that of the general population of the city.
3. The median income for the areas is substantially lower than for the city as a whole.

4. The occupations of employed adults in the areas are predominately in the low status and low income categories.
5. The housing in the areas includes an excess of that classified as deteriorating and dilapidated.
6. The rate of unemployment is higher than in San Diego generally.
7. Incidence of disease and infant death rate is higher.
8. The rate of police contacts is higher than in other San Diego residential areas.
9. The number of cases of welfare aid is disproportionately high.

Possibly the most significant comparison is that between education, income, and unemployment in the various areas and between races within the areas. We find that Mexicans average a much lower educational level, higher income, more unemployment, and poorer housing conditions than other racial groups. We find that the education, income, and housing condition of the white population within the study areas are considerably lower than those of San Diego as a whole. From this, we might conclude that the areas, especially Study Areas I and II, are "poor neighborhoods" by several standards.

In spite of this we find a significant number of non-whites in Area I who have college educations and a significant number with top incomes. It might be assumed from these facts that many of these wealthier, better educated non-whites might choose to live in different areas of the city if no other factors compelled them to remain in these neighborhoods. It is apparent that more non-whites with high salaries and education choose to live in Area V, on the outer edges of Southeast San Diego where the housing condition is better, rather than in Area I.

On the other hand, we saw in our original analysis that while 88% of all Negroes of the city are found in our study areas, only 51% of San Diego's Mexican population are found here. Perhaps the better-educated, better-paid Mexicans have dispersed to other parts of the city, while even the best-educated, best-paid Negro residents have in large part remained in these areas.

Historical Background

Immigrant minority groups in our nation traditionally have looked to education as "the great equalizer of the conditions of men." In the last century, the Negroes and other minority groups in America have likewise turned to public schools in the struggle for equality of citizenship.

Following the Civil War and the crushing of "Reconstruction Democracy," Negroes in cities and towns of the Middle Atlantic region attended legally-authorized segregated schools. In New England, legal separation either did not develop or was abolished during the 1860's. In the East-North-Central region, segregation prevailed in schools. West of the Mississippi River, segregation in public schools became an important issue only in recent decades. Segregated school facilities were, of course, the rule in southern states.

After 1900, there developed a growing concern and struggle over public school segregation, profoundly affected by expanding employment opportunities in the North and West during and after the First and Second World Wars. During this period, immigration was sharply curtailed and millions of Southern Negroes moved North and West to take advantage of new job opportunities. The proportion which non-Southern Negroes constitute of all Negroes in the United States increased from 13% in 1920 to 39% in 1960.

Only 5% of these immigrant Southern Negroes moved into rural areas. The vast majority flocked to industrial centers of large cities. In 1960, 45% of all Northern Negroes lived in five cities: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles. As the Negroes poured into the cities, wholesale discrimination in housing developed and after 1920 every large industrial city of the North and West developed its Negro ghetto. These residential areas of large Negro concentration gave rise to what has come to be known as de facto segregated schools. De facto segregation (not prescribed by law) in schools results from racial patterns of residential concentration in conjunction with the concept of "neighborhood" educational facilities.

It must be realized that not all Northern schools which are segregated became so by, so to speak, "natural" means. Four states (Indiana, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming) have laws authorizing separate schools for Negroes. In other areas, segregation supposedly resulting from residential concentration was, in fact, achieved by gerrymandering of school district lines.

Public school segregation was not considered to be in opposition to the U. S. Constitution because of a decision rendered by the Supreme Court in 1896. The case of Plessy v. Ferguson established the doctrine of "separate but equal" involving not education, but transportation; the doctrine, however, was given wide application. The Supreme Court, prior to 1954, handled six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education, but in these cases the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In areas other than education, the Court had all but nullified the "separate but equal" position through interpretations of the Interstate Commerce Act, commerce clause, and Fourteenth Amendment.

In 1954, Chief Justice Warren asked the Court, in Brown v. Board of Education, to consider the following question: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority groups of equal educational opportunities?" The decision rendered by the Court was that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the

plaintiffs . . . are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

That the principle set forth in this 1954 decision had implications for de jure school segregation was immediately apparent. De jure segregation is prescribed by law and/or avowed by public policy. What was not realized, however, was that the decision also had implications for so-called de facto segregation. De facto segregation is the result of residential concentrations and population trends.

In 1961, the U. S. District Court in the case of Lincoln School in New Rochelle, New York, found that the school "was established as an all-Negro school by the gerrymandering of district lines, and by the transfer of white children residing in the district to schools outside the district." The district court also maintained that Lincoln School was "purposefully maintained" as a segregated school by arbitrary rejection on the part of the Board of Education "of all proposals for change." Since that decision, the New Rochelle School Board has acted to correct the situation.

Where segregation is not the result of gerrymandering of district lines, the role of the courts is unclear. In 1963, the U. S. Court of Appeals in Chicago, in a case concerning the Gary, Indiana, schools, decided that "there is no affirmative United States constitutional duty to change innocently arrived at school attendance districts by the mere fact that shifts in population either increase or decrease the percentage of either Negroes or white people." The New York State Supreme Court, in 1964, ruled that "the Federal Constitution . . . forbids segregation by law in the public schools. It does not, however, prohibit racial imbalance, nor does it mandate racial change." Many civil rights lawyers doubt the U. S. Supreme Court will take any of the similar pending cases on appeal.

The history of public school segregation in California follows rather closely that of other Northern and Western states. In addition to the increasing number of Negro newcomers entering the state after 1920, California has two other "major minority groups." Chinese immigrants began arriving in 1849 at the time of the Gold Rush; Japanese immigrants came about 1885. In 1921, a state segregation law covering Chinese children was amended to cover Japanese children. The law was later repealed and segregation of Asian children is no longer official public school policy, although de facto segregation persists.

Mexican-Americans immigrated to California in a small but steady flow during the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century saw a rapid increase in Mexican-American immigration. They were employed mainly in agriculture, often as impoverished migrant workers. Mexican-Americans are generally designated as "white" by the U. S. Census but this has not kept them from exposure to the whole gamut of social and economic discrimination. In 1909, an amendment to California's educational statutes gave school districts authority to establish separate schools for Mexican-Americans. It wasn't until 1946 that the U. S. District Court, in a California case, formally outlawed public school segregation of Mexican-Americans. Because of ghetto areas of residence, many communities of California have de facto segregated Mexican-American schools. In other areas, these minority groups share segregated schools with Negroes.

In 1962, the California State Board of Education adopted a statement of policy on school segregation. This policy requires "persons and agencies responsible for school sites to exert all effort to avoid segregation of children on account of race or color" (Calif. Admin. Code Title 5, Sec. 2010). In order to implement this California resolution, the Code was revised to provide that in establishing attendance areas and attendance practices, local school boards should consider ethnic

composition of residents in the school area.

The Governor's Code of Fair Practice, Article XI, states: "Through its policy declarations and staff services, the State Board of Education shall assist local school districts in eliminating racial imbalances and de facto segregation in the state's public schools." This has an advisory effect only upon school boards.

A Survey of San Diego Schools

On January 1, 1964, the San Diego City Board of Education approved conducting an ethnic census of the schools and a visual survey of students was then taken. The results indicate that the percentage of students with an ethnic minority background in San Diego city schools is slightly higher than the percentage of these minorities in the total population of the city.

	City population	SDUSD students
Anglo-Caucasian	85.6%	82%
Negro	6.0%	9%
Others (Orientals and Mexican-Americans)	8.4%	9%

Also revealed is a greater concentration of minority group students in elementary as compared to junior and senior high schools. The highest percentage of minority-group student enrollment is found in the continuation and adjustment schools.

The distribution of Negro children in city schools reflects patterns of residence existing in the city. There are two schools with 100% Anglo-Caucasian enrollment, 88 schools with one or more Negroes enrolled, 42 schools with 5% or more Negroes, and 21 schools with 35% or more Negroes. Of the schools with 35% or more Negro enrollment, the following have 50% or more Negro enrollment: eleven elementary, one junior high, and one senior high.

All schools with 35% or more Negro enrollment are located in the Southeast San Diego area, where census figures indicate the highest concentration of Negroes. If the high concentration of Mexican-Americans living in this area were considered, the schools would reflect an even higher percentage of minority-group student enrollment. One elementary school with 88% Negro enrollment actually has 100% minority enrollment; there are no Anglo-Caucasian students. Another elementary school has an enrollment of 87% Mexican-Americans and 7% Negroes; there are two Anglo-Caucasian families and one Oriental family in that school.

From the preceding analysis, it is quite apparent that racial imbalance in the schools of San Diego does exist. Although other urban areas of similar size often have as many as fifty or more segregated schools, the smaller number in San Diego is due, of course, to a relatively small number of minority-group residents.

It may be noted that the area in which the segregated schools are found corresponds to Study Area I described in the previous chapter. The data presented regarding this area clearly indicates that it is an area of deprivation. Does this create special problems for an educational system? For example, can it be concluded that academic performance of children residing in this area is inferior to performance of children living in less-deprived areas of San Diego?

Numerous studies, conducted elsewhere, indicate that such may be the case. Children of a lower socio-economic class perform less well academically than do children of a middle-class background. Poverty and the lower incentives and aspirations that accompany it are considered to be a major cause of the inferior performance (29). In addition, as disadvantaged children grow older, their scores on I.Q. tests often

decline. Median scores in one area of New York City's disadvantaged districts declined in the following manner: grade one-95; grade three-92; grade six-87; grade eight-82 (29).

In San Diego, research has indicated that a large proportion of the students in underprivileged areas have lower academic performance than students residing in more privileged areas of the city. Illustrative of this is the number of children from the deprived areas who, upon completion of kindergarten, are not yet ready to begin first grade work.

The Curriculum Services Division of the city schools has further pointed out that standardized tests indicate the average child's eighth-grade achievement in under-privileged-area schools is two or more years below the district norm in reading and between one and two years below the district norm in languages and math.

By the eleventh grade, the average San Diego student achieves on various tests of the Iowa Tests of Educational Development at percentiles ranging from 54th to 71st. However, the average performance of students from underprivileged areas of the city ranges from the 31st percentile to the 39th on various tests. Only the upper 1/4 of children from the underprivileged areas do as well as the average city child on the ITED tests. Also, in the eleventh grade, three times as many students from underprivileged areas fail proficiency tests in English and math as do students from more privileged areas.

Deprived-area and segregated minority-group schools in the urban North and West frequently have inferior physical facilities, usually due to two general characteristics of city growth in America. First is the tendency of people to move outward from the city's center as economic status improves, leaving the older center of the city to the poor. Second is the tendency for culturally-different groups to settle near the center of the city. Individual families leave the area as they become "Americanized" and more well-to-do. In other words, "poverty clusters near the center of the city." Negroes follow this pattern, with one important difference; -- they are seldom able to leave the central city and "escape" to suburbs.

These two patterns of city growth are evident in San Diego's development. It might therefore be expected that schools in older areas of Southeast San Diego would be older, smaller, and more congested than schools in other parts of the city. Figures, however, indicate no startling differences.

The accompanying chart compares local schools of different degrees of racial makeup on the basis of the numbers of pupils per classroom and per acre. Elementary schools with more than (>) 35% Negro enrollment have on the average more pupils per classroom and more pupils per acre than do elementary schools with Negro enrollment below (<) 35%. The discrepancy, however, is not large. It is significant to note the wide variation between individual schools within the two categories. The figures are reversed on the junior and senior high school levels, where schools of greatest racial imbalance have fewer pupils per classroom and fewer pupils per acre.

San Diego has no 60-year-old schools, common in central areas of other U. S. cities. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that San Diego's greatest growth has occurred within the last 20 years. Over 2/3 of San Diego's schools have been built in the last 15 years, 83% since 1940.

In the late 1950's, the school district began to tackle the problem of congestion in elementary schools in older areas of the city. It was proposed that eight primary schools (K, 1, 2) be built in these areas to "relieve congestion in area elementary schools and to establish smaller operational units." Seven of these primary schools have been built, five in southeast San Diego. In addition, improvements were made

PUPIL CONCENTRATION IN SAN DIEGO SCHOOLS

Enrollment	Elementary Schooos						Junior High Schools				Senior High Schools			
	>35% Negro			<35% Negro			>35% Negro		<35% Negro		>35% Negro		<35% Negro	
	Number of Schools	Average Pupils per Classroom	Average Pupils per Acre	Number of Schools	Average Pupils per Classroom	Average Pupils per Acre	Number of Schools	Average Pupils per Classroom	Number of Schools	Average Pupils per Classroom	Number of Schools	Average pupils per Classroom	Number of Schools	Average Pupils per Classroom
100-199				5	16.7	39.2*								
200-299	1	47.6	75.1	4	21.0	37.9								
300-399	4	37.0	85.1	12	30.3	50.3								
400-499				11	29.8	59.5								
500-599	2	41.4	69.3	13	34.6	97.9								
600-699				14	38.1	85.2								
700-799	3	41.0	127.9	15	39.1	94.5								
800-899	4	37.2	100.9	12	40.9	96.9			2	27.9				
900-999	1	42.8	167.7	2	53.6	171.3			1	29.4			1	26.5
1000-1099				3	55.5	91.7			2	28.7				
1100 & up				4	52.1	99.2	2	24.5	10	33.9	1	22.2	9	31.5
TOTAL	15	39.3	100.6	95	37.1	82.5	2	24.5	15	32.6	1	22.2	10	31.2

* Incomplete information

with Board-authorized funds in many older buildings in the 1950's.

The Board of Education has adopted standard lists of essential equipment for schools and all schools in San Diego are similarly equipped. This is not to deny that there is a great difference between schools in terms of encyclopedias, phonograph equipment, records, choir robes, radios, etc., which are available. These discrepancies, however, are not due to district action but are the result, usually, of local PTA activities.

School Policies Regarding Racial Imbalance

Have the local Board of Education and school officials devoted serious attention to problems of minority groups and interracial matters in the schools? Many administrative policies and practices are in existence whose intent it is to alleviate the negative effects on education of racial segregation and cultural deprivation. The goal of these programs is to provide equal educational opportunity for all children in San Diego. Later in this survey these policies and practices will be examined in detail. It should be noted, however, that there has been no formal policy statement by the Board of Education regarding this subject.

In light of the recent State Board of Education policy regarding elimination of ethnic discrimination in establishing school boundaries, it is appropriate to

question whether local school administrators have given positive implementation to such policies. In San Diego it does seem that racial imbalance in schools is a consequence of population trends and residential concentrations. No evidence has been found to indicate that school district boundaries have been gerrymandered to maintain segregation.

There are policies and practices of San Diego school authorities which have been attacked as contributing to the increase or maintenance of segregated schools. One is the policy of having optional attendance zones in several areas of the city, which critics contend leads to increased segregation. Where minority groups and whites reside in a designated optional zone, the white parents tend to send their children to a white school in the adjacent district rather than to the regular, predominantly non-white school in the district where they live. Two optional areas in San Diego are said to operate in this manner. The school district, on the other hand, points out that optional areas were "created to provide the opportunity for some minority-race students to have a modified open-door privilege of attending a less-segregated school which was a greater distance from home than the school of required attendance."

Another group has said that, although boundaries have not been drawn to deliberately create racial imbalance, "more farsighted planning on the part of school officials, when drawing up boundaries, might have helped materially in maintaining a racial balance."

The Superintendent of Schools is not unaware of these problems; he appointed, three years ago, an Equal Educational Opportunity Committee. The committee is composed of a broad cross-section of San Diegans and operates in an advisory capacity to the superintendent. A recent recommendation made by this committee was a review of boundary policy. School boundaries are reviewed by the Board each year and a policy review is now underway.

A solution often suggested for reducing racial imbalance in schools is an "open enrollment" plan. The essence of such a plan is to permit the transfer of minority-group students from segregated schools to under-utilized, predominantly "white" schools. Transfers are authorized on the basis of formal applications by parents. Costs of transportation may be met by the Board of Education or may be the parents' responsibility.

Those favoring such a plan point out that it leads to desegregation of a number of predominantly "white" schools. Studies also seem to indicate that transferred minority-group children react with improved interest in school and markedly improved behavior.

Those opposing the open enrollment plan note that it does not desegregate minority-group schools. Also, they point out that very few minority-group students take advantage of such a plan. Those who do usually tend to come from more successful, socially-mobile families, resulting in the removal of brighter and more highly-motivated students from the segregated school.

San Diego has no "open enrollment policy." Allowances are made, on a fairly rigid basis, for a student to attend a school outside the area in which he resides. The parent must request a "Special Attendance Permit," which is filled out and given to the principal. The principal records his recommendation and forwards the permit to the Guidance Department where final action is taken. Among acceptable reasons for the granting of Special Attendance Permits are: health or physical handicap requiring special school facilities, personal and social adjustment cases, senior pupils permitted to graduate from the school attended prior to moving to another district, or child care arrangement in another school area.

In school districts throughout the nation, sides are forming to do battle against de facto segregation. One side feels the proper way to deal with racial imbalance in schools is to deal with its effects. It is, so far, on this side that the San Diego Board of Education and school administration align themselves. The other side is not opposed to dealing with effects but is opposed to programs which refuse to deal concurrently or directly with causes of racial imbalance in the schools.

These opposing sides exist largely because of a legal confusion. The attack on de facto segregation exists largely because of the belief that the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawed de facto as well as de jure segregation. However, the law regarding de facto segregation is hazy for two reasons: first, de facto segregation is produced by such a wide variety of causes, and, second, no Supreme Court case involving de facto segregation has yet been considered.

San Diego school officials feel that if segregation is the result of gerrymandered school district lines, the schools have an obligation to correct the resulting racial imbalance. Where school segregation is the result of racial make-up of a neighborhood, school officials feel no obligation to end resulting de facto segregation. Their main proposition is that the vicious cycle of educational deprivation leading to social pathology can best be broken by instituting a program of excellence in the schools of deprived communities. Such programs have come to be termed "compensatory education."

Some Negro leaders and others in the community are "firmly opposed to the substitution of these programs (i.e., compensatory education programs) . . . for maximum desegregation itself. These programs must complement desegregation and not be misused on a 'separate but equal' basis." These leaders take the position that "if there is a single segregated school, such a situation is contrary to the law of the land and poisonous in its influence on our American way of life." They feel, therefore, that "for whatever reason de facto segregation exists, it is incumbent upon a school district to act positively to do whatever it can to correct racial imbalance."

These spokesmen urge that the Board and administration consider one or a combination of the following plans to eliminate segregated schools in San Diego:

> The Princeton Plan -- A program wherein a Negro school and a white school are "paired." One would contain students from the first three grades of both schools, and the other building would house fourth through sixth grades.
>
> Site selection that avoids creating a segregated school and opposition to locating new schools in segregated housing units.
>
> Bussing in order to permit the widest possible distribution of various racial, ethnic, and cultural groups in each school.

Supporters urge the adoption of these programs because:

San Diego's segregated schools are inferior. Schools composed of a heavy majority of students from culturally different and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds cannot provide a superior education.

The concept of the neighborhood school is valuable only when it does not create a ghetto-type situation, else it is not serving the purpose of democratic education.

No child, white or Negro, can receive a democratic education in a non-democratic school. An educational system cannot teach about brotherhood of man unless that system is organized to treat all men as brothers.

Segregation in public schools is damaging to personalities of minority-group children. A sense of inferiority decreases motivation of a child to learn and thus is his ability to learn reduced.

Opponents of artificial means of eliminating segregation argue:

Programs of compensatory education will enable schools to do their job so well that students' educational performance no longer will reflect their deprived background.

The neighborhood school should be preserved. Among its many values are accessibility to students, "neighborhood-center" activities, convenient parent participation in school activities, youngsters' associations in school with their after-school playmates.

Genuine integration is not possible until schools in deprived areas are brought up to the level of the very best schools in the city. Deprived students cannot be integrated into higher level classes.

To take a child from a deprived background and put him, unprepared, into a class performing several grade levels above his attainments would be more damaging to his personality than keeping him in a segregated classroom.

Teaching Personnel and Policies

The California Commission on Equal Opportunities in Education was established by the State Legislature in 1957. It is authorized to ". . . assist and advise school districts in problems relating to racial, religious, or other discrimination in connection with the employment of certificated employees." It is the position of this commission that sound educational practices demand that the professional staff of a school district be representative of various ethnic backgrounds. Legal provisions relating to non-discriminatory practices in hiring of certificated personnel are outlined in the Education Code:

> "Governing boards of school districts shall employ for positions requiring certification qualifications, only persons who possess the qualifications therefore prescribed by law. It shall be contrary to the public policy of this State for any person or persons charged, by said governing boards, with the responsibility of recommending such persons for employment by said boards to refuse or to fail to do so for reasons of race, color, religious creed, or national origin of said applicants for such employment." (Education Code, Section 13274)

The ratio of non-white to white teachers in California is much lower than the ratio of non-whites to whites in the total population of the state. In San Diego 6.0% of the population is Negro; according to an ethnic survey made by the city schools on May 1, 1964, 3.2% of the teachers in city schools are Negro. Whites with Spanish surname comprise 6.6% of San Diego's population; 1.2% of San Diego's teachers belong in this category.

The long-time employment policy of San Diego schools was reaffirmed in writing on November 19, 1963. It states in part:

> "The Board of Education, upon recommendation of the Superintendent, shall appoint each employee of the school district. The best-qualified applicant shall be employed without regard to race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry."

The reasons for the minority-group percentages noted above are not readily apparent. Some accusations of discrimination in hiring are heard, but evidence of such discrimination is difficult, if not impossible, to locate. Five cases of alleged discrimination were recently referred to the state Fair Employment Practices Commission. In each instance, the FEPC found no basis for a charge of discriminatory hiring practices on the part of the district.

The school administration, in discussing the numbers of Negro and Mexican-American teachers employed by the district, points out that a limited number of qualified Negroes and Mexican-Americans apply for jobs. The U. S. Census figures for the San Diego metropolitan area shows that of 8,800 teachers (both employed and not employed) in the area in 1960, only 199 (2.3%) were non-white; only 1.4% of the total number of employed teacher-professionals in San Diego County were Negro. A similar small percentage of trained professionals is also found among Mexican-Americans. The administration has recently decided that in order to get more minority-group applicants, some recruiting practices may be modified experimentally. Teachers have been and are presently recruited from schools throughout the U. S.; with a recent increase in the number recruited in the South. Next year, recruiters from San Diego will visit three of the best Negro colleges in the South.

Visiting San Diego's schools indicates clearly there is a concentration of Negro teachers in Southeast San Diego (more than 80% of those employed by the district). Similar concentration of Mexican-American teachers does not seem to exist. Reasons for the concentration of Negro teachers in one area cannot be simply explained, as they are complex and involve more than assignment policy alone. Minority-group spokesmen have noted both advantages and disadvantages of Negro teachers for Negro students. The administration contends that any such concentration is due mainly to housing patterns in the city, many teachers preferring to work close to where they live. Charges that teacher transfers have been denied on the basis of color have not been substantiated.

The assignment administrators do not screen teachers to assure that a prejudiced teacher is not placed in contact with minority groups. Such screening is considered by the administration to be impractical if not professionally unsound. A teacher is hired by the district because he or she is considered to be qualified to teach anywhere in the district, not just in a particular area. A teacher's folder is reviewed and an effort is made to place him where he will be most successful.

It is generally observed that minority-group schools tend to be inferior in professional personnel to schools where segregation does not occur. In San Diego, as has been seen, all teachers hired must have the same general qualifications. Other factors must be considered, however, when attempting to assess the quality of teaching being done in deprived areas, including teacher-turnover and percentage of new teachers in the area.

Problems encountered in teaching in a deprived area are discouraging ones. The pathology of the community is reflected in the school. Educational and discipline problems require different techniques and somewhat different goals in these schools

than in schools in middle-class neighborhoods. Not every teacher is adapted by training, experience, or personality to teach in a deprived area. The job is physically tiring and emotionally exhausting. Even the travel distance from the teacher's home is a significant factor. Some teachers find much happiness and reward in teaching in culturally deprived areas; many others find the work-environment depressing or too difficult and request transfers to other areas. Thus, there are always openings for new, inexperienced teachers in the most difficult teaching situations.

In order to assess the extent of this problem in San Diego, it is helpful to compare the percentage of permanent and probationary teachers in deprived areas of the city with other areas of the city. The southeastern part of the district does not have a disproportionate number of probationary teachers when compared with other areas (47% of the teachers in the southeast area as opposed to an average of 40% in other areas).

Another way of looking at this problem is to determine the percentage of teacher turnover. In San Diego, teacher turnover figures for the seven elementary schools with enrollments above 50% Negro may be contrasted to those for seven other elementary schools of equal total enrollment but low Negro enrollment. These figures for teacher-turnover are revealed:

	TEACHERS		
School Population	Transferred Within Area	Transferred Out of Area	Resigned
Above 50% Negro	30	38	31
Low Negro	7	6	27

It is necessary to point out that a comparison of teacher-turnover in the seven elementary schools of greatest racial imbalance with the district average might be more valid; such figures are not available. Teacher-turnover figures on the secondary level indicate a slightly higher rate of turnover in the southeast area of the city than in other areas, although the rate is not as high as in elementary schools.

Some citizens feel there is a direct method of attacking teacher turnover. They feel the district should establish a uniform percentage of permissable turnover; once that percentage is reached, no further transfers should be allowed. Others contend that the problem will not be solved so easily, that "if a teacher can't transfer, she'll quit."

Is the San Diego school administration aware of the exceptionally demanding nature of teaching disadvantaged children? Special administrative efforts are being made to sustain the morale of teachers in difficult areas through inservice education programs. The administration feels that the effective teacher of disadvantaged children must be aware constantly of the circumstances that affect his pupils. He must have understanding and sympathy to prevent him from being offended by deviations from his own standards.

San Diego city schools have cooperated with the University of California Extension in presenting a series of six lectures, from September through December 1964, on "Teaching Children Who are Culturally and Educationally Disadvantaged." The purpose of this program was to "help identify children from a culturally disadvantaged background and to discuss the problems and special needs of these children." A block of sixty tickets was purchased for this series and given to schools in the disadvantaged area for participation of their classroom teachers.

In October, the SDUSD cosponsored with the County and State Departments of Education a two-day conference on "The Education of Mexican-American Youth." In November, the same groups sponsored another two-day conference on "The Educational Problems of Disadvantaged American Negro Youth." Two curriculum development workshops in "Meeting the Needs of the Educationally Disadvantaged" are being offered by the administrator of inservice education. Observation lessons are offered for teachers of special classes and adjustment classes.

The San Diego school district was the first school system in the country to present an application for funds under the federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Title II of this act covers "Urban and Rural Community Action Programs," proposed "to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs." Section 207 states that ". . . the Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants to or enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private organizations for the conduct of research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this part."

The school district presented a "Plan to Establish a Model School Sub-system in a Deprived Area, for Research and Development of Educational Programs for Underprivileged Youths." The plan is a large and inclusive one. There may be some question as to whether a school system qualifies as a "community action organization" and it is necessary to emphasize that these plans are tentative and their acceptance is unknown. They are of interest as an indication of the district's awareness and concern about problems of deprived students.

There are other efforts which can be undertaken to sustain morale of teachers in disadvantaged neighborhoods. One most commonly mentioned is the offer of a salary supplement for such teachers. In San Diego at this time no additive pay is provided for teaching in deprived areas. Salary supplements out of district funds seem unlikely since the administration is devoted to the principle that "basic costs of educational adjustments in one area of a district should not be made at the expense of schools in other areas of the district." One portion of the proposal noted above requesting federal funds includes provisions for additive pay to attract and keep qualified personnel.

A suggestion offered by critics of the district is that teachers be paid on the basis of their competency and that each area of the school district have a proportionate number of teachers rated as highly competent. In this manner, it is felt that one area would not benefit at the expense of another. The proposal raises, of course, the myriad problems of defining, interpreting, and determining teacher competency.

Another way to help teachers in difficult teaching situations is to sharply reduce class size. Most professionals agree that elementary classes of twenty-five should be the goal in schools where the children's home background is favorable; for disadvantaged pupils, classes of twenty or even fewer are considered best. All children need the attention of a skilled and understanding teacher but this requirement is particularly marked in cases of disadvantaged pupils poorly prepared for formal education.

In San Diego, class size is established by formula, and is, so far as possible, uniform throughout the city with exceptions for special classes. (It has been determined that to reduce every class in San Diego, Grades 1 - 12, by one student, would cost $1.5 million the first year and half that amount each succeeding year.) The teacher-pupil ratio is slightly more favorable in disadvantaged areas because of provisions for special and adjustment classes. A "special class" (for mentally-retarded) has a maximum of fifteen pupils per class and an "adjustment class" (for emotionally handicapped) has no more than eighteen pupils per class.

A large portion of these small classes are located in San Diego's deprived areas. For example, the elementary school of highest minority enrollment has eleven special classes and four adjustment classes. In this school, 237 of the 860 students or 1/4 of the total enrollment are in classes of less than 20 students. Some citizens have suggested that educational or cultural handicaps might justify special teacher-student ratios in much the same way that physical or emotional handicaps have been handled.

Team teaching is a plan with objectives of program enrichment and more efficient utilization of teacher skills. It was with these objectives in mind that San Diego, several years ago, instituted team teaching in some classes.

The largest team teaching experiment in the country, involving 7,500 pupils, has been in process for several years in Pittsburgh in a heavily-populated, culturally-deprived, and racially-segregated urban area. Some conclusions from the experiment are of interest to our subject. In addition to meeting the two objectives stated above, it is found that the team approach makes teaching in segregated schools more attractive. Team leaders receive 10% additional pay which retains a core of experienced and dedicated teachers in deprived-area schools. Teachers working under an experienced team leader receive excellent inservice education. Teacher turnover, which was previously high, has been sharply reduced.

Team teaching in San Diego will be used next year in an elementary school in a deprived area. No team leader will be designated, and no additive pay will be given. Since many of the homes in this school's area have no father in residence, the teams will be composed of both sexes to enable the children to witness cooperation, respect, and harmony between the sexes.

Special Services in the Schools

It is possible the effects of segregation as other circumstances can so burden a child that he cannot learn. It is becoming an increasingly acceptable premise that it is the school's responsibility to do what needs to be done so that the child can profit from standard educational offerings. In San Diego the schools have carried out this premise by offering special services to students, such as visiting teachers, nurses, and psychologists.

Service staff is allotted to each school on the basis of a formula. The official ratio of visiting teachers to students is 1/2000. Strong feelings exist among service staff personnel and others that many middle-class areas don't need as much service as they are getting. A more effective utilization of service staff, they believe, would be to concentrate such staff in the areas of greatest need. (An example of greater need is one elementary school in San Diego's disadvantaged area. In 1963 in this school, with an enrollment of 879, there were 2,500 discipline cases considered to be of a serious nature, i.e., serious enough to warrant the principal's time and attention.)

The Board of Education has given no formal authorization to change the formula for distribution of service staff time. It is supported in this by many of the principals, particularly from middle-class areas. Furthermore, there seems to be some community concern that preferential staffing is unfair staffing. Nevertheless, such services are being provided, in a limited and informal manner, on a flexible ratio for different areas of the city. This is being done on an informal basis. In the school noted above, the formula assigns a visiting teacher to the school two days a week. The flexible staffing gives the school additional services of a visiting teacher for one or two extra hours per month.

To further enrich the formula for service staff in certain schools, without draining funds from other areas, the district may turn to the Economic Opportunity Act. The district is considering a request for funds for development of increased health and psychological services, counselors, and instructional aids. Provision would be made for remedial work to be conducted in smaller groups.

One of the severest criticisms of public school segregation is in relation to intellectural development of children. It has been seen already that the academic performance of children from disadvantaged areas is inferior to that of children from other areas. It is apparent that this difference in performance is related to socio-economic conditions. Evidence justifies the conclusion that there are no native differences in intelligence between races or differing ethnic groups. It might therefore be concluded that intelligence tests given locally would support this contention. They do not.

A group of four eminent social scientists (13) has supported the findings of countless other distinguished experts in related fields regarding the reasons for lower intelligence test scores recorded for certain groups of people. They maintain that the "nature of intelligence tests is such that they are incapable of identifying genetic differences between any two groups." They further maintain that I.Q. tests "do not measure only native intelligence; what they measure as well are the effects of opportunity to learn the kinds of items included in the tests, the motivation of the individual taking the test, the meaningfulness of the items for him, and his ability to perform in a test situation." How then can the potential for intellectual development of deprived children be ascertained? If a school district accepts the results of I.Q. tests given to disadvantaged children as a true reflection of their capabilities, the resulting waste in undeveloped human potential is shocking.

One means of improving reliability of test results for deprived children is to use tests that have been devised to minimize the middle-class orientation of most standard I.Q. tests. Such tests are used in San Diego but on a very limited basis. Special qualifications are needed for psychologists administering these tests and, since the tests are non-verbal, they must be given individually. The district ratio of psychologists to students would have to be sharply increased in order to effectively utilize such tests, whereas recent budget cuts resulted in a decrease in this ratio.

Realizing that the I.Q. range indicated among deprived students is an inaccurate measure, the school district has recently adopted a new program. Two elementary schools in Southeast San Diego have been designated as instructional study centers for gifted students. In San Diego generally, a gifted student is one with an I.Q. score of 140 or above; such students may enter, in the fourth grade, a special gifted program. To qualify for the gifted program in operation in the Southeast schools, a student may register an I.Q. considerably below 140. (The state of California defines the gifted as having I.Q.'s of 130 and above).

San Diego schools also offer remedial programs district-wide, and a larger proportion of children from disadvantaged areas are enrolled in these programs. One such program involves 28 "reteaching reading" teachers who distribute their time among 112 elementary schools. The purpose of the program is to "reteach" reading to first, second, and third grade youngsters who are having difficulties to forestall failure to learn to read. It is believed that the child who can master reading can usually succeed in school; success in school seldom results in dropping out. One hundred elementary children also receive intensive, individualized remedial reading help during the annual six-week summer reading clinic. Children selected for the clinic must be average or above in intelligence, but with severely retarded reading ability.

The district has planned a program of reading adjustment classes for secondary students to be initiated next year. Each secondary school which needs one will be provided with a "reading adjustment" teacher who will teach classes stressing diagnostic and remedial procedures. Class size will be limited to 12 students.

A basic-skills strengthening summer program is offered to fourth, fifth, and sixth graders in need of review of reading, spelling, arithmetic, language arts, and handwriting. The program was discontinued in 1963 for lack of funds, but was reinstituted in 1964.

For ten years San Diego secondary schools have offered "differentiated instructional programs," primarily in the fields of language, mathematics, and science. These programs offer students lower and higher track curriculums. In the eleventh grade, all students take English and mathematics proficiency tests; those failing are required to take remedial courses. More than three times as many students from underprivileged areas are enrolled in these remedial courses as are students from more privileged areas.

Many disadvantaged children come from illiterate or semi-illiterate homes and it is not unusual for such children to enter school without having learned what reading is. No adult has ever read anything to them and, in fact, they may never have seen anyone read. The difficulties in teaching reading to such children are obvious. In 1957, San Diego schools began an experimental program, known as junior first grade, designed to meet the needs of such disadvantaged children. The program provides another grade-level step for children who, after a year of kindergarten, are not ready to enter first grade. It is hoped this extra experience will help to broaden backgrounds and develop understanding to compensate for lack of home experiences.

The junior first grade program is presently in effect in ten San Diego schools located in deprived areas of the city. The excess costs for these small classes are totally supported by local funds. Average class size enrollment is 22.7 students, selected on the basis of performance on reading readiness tests and by consultations between the child's teacher and principal. Teachers are first-grade teachers who have indicated particular interest and inclination for this type of teaching situation.

There is growing concern throughout the country that providing "enrichment" or extra help to deprived youngsters after they have entered school is not enough. Dr. Ronald Koegler, a neuropsychiatrist at UCLA, is involved with a Montessori nursery program for disadvantaged children (19). He contends that by the age of six, the "culturally deprived have already been deadened by environment and are already so far behind the middle-class child that all the best elementary education will not be sufficient for them to catch up." The solution, he feels, is public nursery schools.

Los Angeles has instituted a program of nursery education in which 12,000 preschool children are involved. One of the best-publicized experimental programs in nursery education for disadvantaged children is a research and demonstration project in New York's public schools. The objectives of the program are to teach youngsters the skills they will need in order to learn to read and also to help them develop "a sense of self." Approximately seventy school districts across the nation are in the process of, or considering, instituting public nursery schools.

San Diego at present has no such program, and no state funds are available for such a program. Often confused with nursery education are the child care centers in San Diego, entirely supported by state funds but administered and staffed by the local school system. As the name implies, they merely offer child care facilities. Supporting a nursery education program in San Diego with local funds is not considered possible. One part of the plan presented in the application for federal funds through the Economic Opportunities Act would provide for approximately 20

preschool classes for three and four year olds, but it is necessary to note again the uncertain status of that application.

San Diego has a specific educational problem relating to its relatively large non-English speaking, Mexican-American population. One school with the largest percentage of Mexican-American enrollment (87%), approximately eight years ago, instituted an "adjustment non-English class." Through the dedicated efforts of the principal and a Spanish-speaking adjustment teacher, great progress was made by those children enrolled. The program was locally-supported and unfortunately could benefit only a few of the children needing extra help.

Two years ago State Senate Bill 1192 was passed giving approximately $50 million to eight schools to aid them in setting up English classes for foreign-born, non-English speaking students ($50 alloted for each child). It should be emphasized that the funds are not available to American-born, non-English speaking children. Four of the recipient schools are in Imperial County and four are in San Diego County; the only one in the city district is the school referred to above in Southeast San Diego.

In this San Diego school, 70 children qualify under the state program. Because of their place of birth, 160 others identified as non-English speaking do not qualify. Two classrooms are utilized on a complicated rotating basis, each class consisting of approximately 22 children. The problems facing hundreds of Mexican-American children who speak no English and receive no extra help in San Diego's schools are staggering. The San Diego administration hopes that SB 1192 will be extended soon to provide assistance for American-born, Spanish-speaking children.

Children from culturally-different and educationally-disadvantaged backgrounds often feel themselves to be a reflection of the realities of their social existence. They see themselves as set apart, rejected, and inferior. Many educators feel that these feelings of inadequacy are increased when these children enter school and use texts and illustrations which refer exclusively to middle and upper class orientations. Efforts should be made, they feel, to offer reading materials and visual aids which take into account the backgrounds of the children using them. The Governor's Code of Fair Practice, Article XI, states that ". . . the State Board of Education . . . shall pursue its programs of . . . approving textbooks which realistically portray the contributions of minority groups to the history and culture of this state and nation."

In San Diego, approximately $8,700 worth of special equipment and other instructional materials have been supplied, over formula, to the experimental schools participating in the local compensatory education project (to be detailed later). The cost for this equipment has been financed by special funds.

Teaching of the accomplishments achieved by minority groups in America, their contributions to America's culture, their role in history, may do much to encourage self-respect and pride among minority-group children. Such teaching, it is pointed out, should not be restricted to minority groups. It is considered appropriate and essential for all children of all backgrounds to be aware of the significant contributions to American society made by our ethnic and racial minorities. In San Diego, an adult evening course dealing with the role of the American Negro in the history and development of the nation is offered.

The physical horizons of many disadvantaged children are unbelievably limited. Many such children in San Diego have never traveled outside their immediate neighborhood. Museums, galleries, universities, the zoo, factories -- even the ocean -- are unknown to these children. In order to enable these children to expand their horizons, several projects are either in existence or in the planning stage locally.

One of these is the experimental development of educational "film trips." A "film trip" is a film strip or a series of slides depicting a particular local attraction,

e.g., an industry such as a fish cannery, a legitimate theater, or an art gallery. The teacher is supplied with a pocket guide and in some cases a tape-recorded narration is available.

Another method used to enlarge horizons of disadvantaged children is the use of a classroom telephone (a regular telephone with loudspeaker attached). In this way, resource people in the community can be brought into the classroom. On the basis of limited experimentation during the past two years, the district feels this device can provide valuable enrichment of curriculum for disadvantaged children.

The contributions of the mass media to an equal educational opportunity program are appreciated by the district. A portable television system, they feel, would be invaluable for conducting inservice education programs. Its value in developing kinescope or video-type programs for student enrichment is not overlooked. The city schools, in cooperation with a local citizens' committee and San Diego State College, are exploring possibilities for a local ETV channel.

The influences operating upon disadvantaged students ultimately leading to their dropping out of school are many. They may drop out because of need for money, or because their educational disadvantages have never been equalized. They may lack sufficient motivation or feel that the school bears no relationship to their social reality. Why take a college preparatory course when chances of entering college are slim, and chances of employment on the level of training achieved after college are even slimmer? Why take a secretarial course when so few Negro or Mexican-American secretaries are hired? The school alone is not responsible for these conditions. Where it can affect these conditions, however, many contend it should do all it can.

San Diego utilizes counseling services to deal with this problem. School principals set up their own counseling program in secondary schools and choose their own counselors from among their teachers. The official counselor to student ratio is 1/600; this ratio is maintained evenly throughout the district. Most counselors teach from one to four hours per day, and are given one hour off per day for each 120 students they counsel. All senior high schools have the additional services of a junior employment or work counselor to assist students in finding part-time employment and who provide limited occupational information and guidance for after-graduation vocations. The school administration would like more counselors and point out that two more work counselors will soon be available in San Diego through auspices of the federal Vocational Education Act.

That counseling programs are relatively successful in San Diego can be seen by comparing the district's drop-out rate with the California rate. The Bureau of Educational Research of the State Department of Education has given an estimated figure for the four-year cumulative drop-out rate in the state as being 25%; the annual drop-out rate would therefore be 6.2%. These figures are arrived at by defining a dropout as a "pupil who leaves school for any reason except death, before graduation or completion of a program of studies and without transferring to another school."

Using the same definition, San Diego's four-year cumulative rate is 17.1%, or 4.3% annual rate of dropout. A more realistic definition of a dropout is "a pupil under 18 years of age who quits school for reasons of personal choice." Using this definition, San Diego's annual drop-out rate is 1.8%.

Of interest to this study would be a comparison of the entire district drop-out rate with the rate of the six junior and senior high schools in Southeast San Diego. Allowing for slight error (figures for one school are based on the first definition above; for the other five schools, the second definition is used), the Southeast San Diego drop-out rate is found to be 3.01% (as compared to the district's 1.8%

rate). It was previously noted that one study (16) found 28% of San Diego's dropouts in one year were in this area.

In 1963, the district received $6,500 from the federal government to fight the drop-out problem. 1,600 potential dropouts were identified in five schools, and through contact with parents and counseling only 92 actually left school. Two junior high schools, with high proportions of minority-group students, have been commended by the Board of Education for developing effective programs to combat drop-out and disciplinary problems. These programs were financed with National Defense Education Act and State McAteer Act funds.

Critics feel that the higher drop-out rate in Southeast San Diego can be further lowered. First, they indicate a need to improve the counselor/student ratio in disadvantaged areas. Second, they feel that the present method of selecting counselors results in a large number of ill-prepared personnel, particularly in deprived and segregated areas. A competent counselor, they contend, must be constantly aware of influences that affect the counselees. He should be trained in "psychology, sociology, anthropology, and the science of human development regarding the influence of environment." Only in this way, it is thought, can the danger of hiring prejudiced counselors be avoided.

Finally, it is contended, counselors must be made more aware of employment opportunities for minorities. They feel counselors should be aware of the fact that Negroes are, vocationally speaking, in the professions or the unskilled labor force, with a vacuum in the middle vocations. Statistics regarding classified employees in the schools are pertinent. In SDUSD, 3.4% of classified employees are Negro; most of these are in custodial and cafeteria work and Negroes comprise only .7% of clerical and secretarial help. Critics feel that the district should increase that percentage and should inform counselors that such jobs are available to graduating Negro students.

The San Diego Urban League is planning an employment institute in cooperation with representatives from the school district, industry, and the community to plan "The Wider Development of Employment Opportunities for Minority Groups." Letting youngsters know that jobs are available to them when they finish school will offer them incentive to remain in school, it is argued.

It should not be construed that those who wish improvement in counseling services want counseling to be determined by jobs available. Counseling, they feel, must always be determined by the student's ability. Many observers feel that the district's counseling services are weak with respect to vocational guidance for all students.

As an outgrowth of an administrative proposal made to the Board of Education in 1964, two far-reaching vocational education programs are under way. These programs are aimed at motivating students to continue their education through their school contacts, to develop marketable skills, and to provide the needed inspiration to prevent some students from dropping out of school. Disadvantaged youth, potential dropouts, and noncollege-bound students make up the bulk of those benefiting from these programs.

Following study by the Board of Education of the report mentioned above, a total of eleven applications were filed under the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The proposed expansion of vocational opportunities in each high school and the use of facilities at junior colleges, proposed by the administration report, call for an estimated capital investment of $838,000 and operating expenses of $228,195, or a total of $1,066,195. Applications include programs on occupational education, vocational business education, and work experience, transportation for high school students to junior

college sites, equipment for trade and technical shops, remodeling of technical science laboratories, an ornamental horticultural course, instructional materials development laboratory, and an apprenticeship shop building. Approval has been received on six of the applications and the school district now is moving ahead on the apprenticeship shop building.

A revised application, submitted September 29, 1964, under the Vocational Education Act of 1963, covers a pilot, 24-hour, residential vocational school designed for a limited number of unemployed youth with special needs. Approval of this application is pending in Washington as funds have not yet been appropriated but optimism has been expressed by school administrators that favorable action will be taken. Possible sites mentioned for the school include the Miramar area and Mission Valley.

The entire program of expansion of vocational opportunities includes upgrading of existing standards, development of courses, expansion of skilled trade and technical training classes, including transportation for high school students to junior colleges, on-the-job-training programs, and expanded vocational guidance for counseling for students and parents of prospective vocational students.

In considering the whole environment of children from disadvantaged areas, James Conant has said, "If we could change the family attitude, we could accomplish much." One way to change family attitude is to boost the educational and social aspirations of parents of deprived children. The SDUSD in 1962 expressed interest in attacking the educational problem in Southeast San Diego by trying to reach parents in the area. Late in that year the district presented a description of the problem to community leaders of the area and these people indicated a willingness to serve on a "manpower opportunity" committee. Criteria for selection of a project coordinator were outlined, and a decision was made to seek outside help.

Accordingly, the SDUSD requested assistance from the Rosenberg Foundation to finance a community education project. The Rosenberg Foundation is a philanthropic organization which seeks by its grants to assist in initiation of worthwhile projects, particularly pertaining to the welfare of children and youth in California. It was hoped the community education project would indirectly help children by promoting a higher level of achievement by the parents.

The project got under way February 1, 1963, with a grant from the Foundation of $37,000 covering a three-year period. A coordinator was appointed and under his guidance a survey was made of the area and a report prepared for the Rosenberg Foundation. The survey revealed many of the facts noted previously in this study. The project proceeded by various methods to stimulate interest of adult residents of the southeast area:

A door-to-door campaign was waged emphasizing the value of education in helping one's children, as a means to better employment, and as an aid to a happier old age. The coordinator made calls on students who had dropped out of school and many returned to classes expressing appreciation that someone was concerned about their education. Adult classes in the area were decentralized and some child care facilities were arranged. Elementary school staffs helped set up classes; other individuals gave money, time, and effort. "Adult Education Sunday" was held in every church and enrollment in adult classes showed an immediate increase. Two parent-child workshop classes were started and the fee waived in the more deprived area; classes were filled. In cooperation with the welfare department many recipients were tested and enrolled in classes. A community theater was organized and is now operating independently as a nonprofit organization.

At the end of its second year, many of the project objectives have been achieved. Enrollment in adult classes in the area for 1964-65 is up by nearly 150 in the two-year period. The number of adult high school graduates increased from 71 in 1963 to 127 in 1964, and the number of elementary certificates issued increased similarly.

The Rosenberg Grant will expire in February 1966. The district feels that the project has been successful and has submitted a request for further assistance under the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 to the U. S. Office of Education. This request is for $70,450 to be used for counseling, testing and supervision, and $27,500 to cover the cost of five instructors in basic education to adults.

In September 1964 San Diego Adult High Schools offered approximately 160 courses in seven major fields of education. Students eighteen years of age or older, or married, or in the armed forces, are considered adult students. Classes are centered in five evening high schools and one day school. The curriculum varies from school to school, attempting to meet the need and demand in each area. Most classes are free. Textbooks are provided for classroom use in Americanization and basic education (elementary education for adults) classes; in all others students must provide their own books and supplies. Students may work for an eighth grade certificate or a high school diploma.

In the community education project survey, published in 1963, a comparison of courses offered at the three Southeast San Diego Adult Centers, with courses offered at Hoover Adult Center, showed Hoover to have a more varied program. Class schedules of September, 1964, indicate this is still true, although classes have been added in the South-Central area.

Classes for high school credit are also offered via television (three in 1964). A two-dollar registration fee is charged for each course and students must purchase books. An examination is given at completion of term. It is interesting to note that the Lincoln area in Southeast San Diego registered fifty students as compared with forty-five from the Clairemont area and twenty-seven from the Hoover area.

Compensatory Education Programs

Programs of compensatory education to counter the effects of impoverished environments received national impetus in 1962 when resolutions were adopted by the National Education Association, the American Association of School Administrators, and the Council of Chief State School Officers. These resolutions urged action programs in the schools to combat dropouts, delinquency, disease, and disorganization. The NEA noted that such school programs are costly, but not nearly so costly as the services which are now provided by other agencies for dealing with these problems.

Compensatory education programs all indicate a more flexible attitude on the part of educators and a recognition by society that middle-class standards as reflected in textbooks and teachers' attitudes have little meaning for pupils who are not from middle-class homes and neighborhoods. The compensatory programs follow the American pattern of emphasis on the individual, with the focus on students failing to achieve anywhere near their potential. This means that not all such programs are directed at students from underprivileged areas.

Compensatory education programs cost more money, of course, than regular educational programs. Why are legislators, school boards, and ultimately taxpayers, willing to spend more for these programs? Part of the reason undoubtedly is because the public is becoming aware of the expense of delinquents, dropouts, and under-educated citizens. They not only do not contribute to the general economy, they sap it at a much faster rate than it can afford, or needs to. Thus, across the country experiments in compensatory education are flourishing, and San Diego is moving with this tide.

An extremely wide variety of school programs, attempting to deal with various aspects of cultural, home or community-caused problems among pupils, exists. They range from activities within the regular school system framework and budget to highly organized projects, often supported by outside foundations.

The first large-scale, and perhaps best-publicized, program to meet educational needs of disadvantaged children was Higher Horizons, begun in 1956 in Manhattan. This program, begun experimentally in one school, showed such success that it was extended in September, 1959, to 13 junior high schools and to the 52 elementary schools feeding into them. In 1961-62, the Higher Horizons' program cost about $1.5 million, or about $35 per pupil. Other school programs of this nature indicate about a 10% increase in costs per pupil, covering additional books, supplies, guidance counselors, assistants for teachers, and sometimes special training for staff.

In 1962, the Educational Research Division of the NEA sent a letter to school superintendents in about 150 large cities asking for more information about any program developed in their schools "to relieve or mitigate acute slum conditions and to upgrade the academic progress of the children affected." Of 83 replies received, nearly half reported that no special program had been organized. Forty-two programs revealed by that survey are described in a circular published by the Educational Research Service. This circular outlines some common objectives of these programs as follows:

1. To raise the achievement levels of the children, recognizing that a deprived child's IQ may not indicate his true potential;
2. To discover latent talents and develop them;
3. To motivate each child so that he will want to do his best;
4. To build strong ties and understanding between school and home.

Some schools indicated that their additional program was being covered by local funds while others noted state financial help. Many acknowledged the support of outside organizations.

Among outside organizations heavily supporting special compensatory education programs are the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Wieboldt Foundation, and especially the Ford Foundation. Assistance has come from the state or from universities or colleges in Alabama, West Virginia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and California. Community organizations which have helped in various areas include the Junior League, American Association of University Women, the Parent-Teacher Association, YMCA, YWCA, churches, and citizens' advisory committees. Civic agencies, such as medical centers, park and recreation boards, and libraries, have made facilities available. Industry has also played a part.

Outstanding among special community organizations is the Urban Service Corps in Washington, D.C., whose goal is "to match a child who has a need with a volunteer who can supply that need." This Corps has provided after-school clubs in art, music, literary appreciation and dramatics, typing for parents and dropouts, instruction for pregnant dropouts, English for foreign-born, free medical and dental services, special counseling and supervision, field trips, and a school work program.

Most such programs have been in operation too short a time to draw sound conclusions as to their effectiveness. Some have tabulated gains in reading proficiency and arithmetic achievement. Some have produced lower dropout rates, and one at least has found a lower teacher turnover rate in its "distressed" areas. Intangibles such as enthusiasm among staff, students, and parents are frequently noted. No school showed any indication that its program was not considered worthwhile.

California officially recognized the problem of educating culturally-deprived children with the passage of the McAteer Act (SB 115, Chapter 98, Statutes of 1963). This act, authored by State Senator "J" Eugene McAteer from San Francisco, provides for a pilot two-year program of compensatory education for culturally-disadvantaged children and states its purpose as follows:

> "The Legislature finds and declares that because of home and community environmental conditions which give rise to language, cultural, and economic disadvantages, the latent talents of many minors in the elementary and secondary schools in the state remain undiscovered and are not adequately developed by the general educational programs afforded by the public school system. It is the intent and purpose of the Legislature to encourage the establishment and development of programs by local officers and agencies of the public school system directed to identifying those pupils affected by language, cultural, and economic disadvantages who are potentially capable of completing the regular courses of instruction leading to graduation from the public elementary and secondary schools, and by special services, techniques, and activities to stimulating their interest in intellectual, cultural, and educational attainment. The Legislature finds that such special undertakings are essential to the conservation and development of the cultural, economic, and intellectual resources of the state and nation. The provisions of this article shall be liberally construed to carry out these intents and purposes."

An essential element of the Act is that local school districts are responsible for defining, interpreting and determining which students are "culturally disadvantaged." Acceptable criteria may include any or all of the following: "Residential areas within the school district likely to produce substantial numbers of culturally-disadvantaged children, areas which may properly be characterized as slum or depressed urban areas, areas of retarded socio-economic development, remote rural areas, areas including impoverished homes, areas with concentrations of non-English speaking populations, Indian reservations, areas with concentrations of recent immigrant families, areas with concentrations of low-income racial and nationality minority populations."

Under the Act, groups of pupils involved in a compensatory education project may vary from one unit of 8-25 pupils and one grade level to an entire school range, but the maximum number involved in a district proposal may not exceed 1,500 pupils.

A basic characteristic of these programs is that they will go beyond regular school offerings. They may contain any one or more of the following elements:

a. Individualized psychological evaluation
b. Individualized instruction
c. Remedial assistance
d. Dissemination of educational and career information
e. Broadening of cultural experience
f. Working relationships with, and the enlistment of the encouragement and support of persons in the homes of such minors
g. Teaching English to children whose lack of facility with that language constitutes an educational handicap
h. Intensified guidance and counseling of such minors and persons in the homes of such minors
i. Liaison with community and non-school agencies which may render assistance, including local, public and private welfare agencies and organizations

j. Activities involving motivation and stimulation of the minor's educational and cultural propensities
k. Development of community leadership aimed at achieving cooperation with the school district among those families and groups for whom the program is designed.

The Act empowers local school districts to undertake compensatory education programs and provides for contracts under which the districts would be partially reimbursed for expense of such programs. It also establishes a 17-member committee on compensatory education which serves as an advisory body to the State Board of Education and to the superintendent of public instruction. Administrative responsibility for the program is vested in the office of consultant on compensatory education.

In California, 24 districts are conducting compensatory education programs under the McAteer Act. They include Berkeley, Bishop, Centinela Valley, Colusa, Edison (Fresno), Kings County, Los Angeles City, Los Nietos, Merced, Chualar (Monterey County), Mt. Diablo, Oakland, Oxnard, Pasadena, Ravenswood City, Riverside County, Rodeo, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, Sausalito, Sequoia Union High School, Stockton, and Willowbrook. A progress report submitted to the state office by these districts compares closely with the findings of the 42 school districts covered in the national report. These are two-year programs and final evaluations will be available in 1965.

Many of the previously-described special programs offered in San Diego schools may be broadly described as compensatory education offerings. In addition, since passage of the McAteer Act, San Diego schools have developed pilot projects specifically designated as compensatory education programs.

The elementary division of San Diego schools has identified 22 elementary schools as urgently needing compensatory education. Three of these, all schools of high minority-group make-up, are now receiving minimal support under the McAteer Act. The other schools were divided into priority groups on the basis of need. Five Priority I schools were designated; estimated costs for supplying the additional help needed in these schools were $119,650. Seven Priority II schools were designated, with costs for supplying additional help needed in these schools estimated at $88,940. These twelve schools are also all schools of high racial imbalance. The costs for Priorities III, IV, V, and VI combined were estimated at $173,762.

Two junior high schools, located in San Diego's disadvantaged area are now receiving aid under the McAteer Act and from the National Defense Education Act. It has been recommended that this program be broadened to include another junior high school and two senior high schools. Also recommended was creation of a position in the post high schools division to continue work begun by the Rosenberg Foundation with adult education and to expand parent participation preschool classes.

These recommendations are those of the Equal Educational Opportunity Committee referred to earlier. This committee consists of school staff and citizen members and has been studying problems in the city's disadvantaged areas. If all recommended programs were implemented, the total cost would be approximately $1,008,517. Recognizing, however, practical limitations of the district's budget, four possible compensatory education plans were outlined by the superintendent for implementation in the summer of 1965. These ranged from Plan I requesting $132,205 to Plan IV requesting $254,000. The Board of Education approved the minimum amount, part of which will be reimbursed by state and NDEA funds.

Current funds utilized for local programs in compensatory education are from three sources:

1. State funds under the McAteer Act for two pilot projects, one at the elementary level and one at the secondary level;
2. Federal funds channeled through the National Defense Education Act to support a counseling and guidance project at the junior high level and for additional mathematics materials (1 and 2 total $54,067 for 1964-65).
3. Local district budget ($78,138 for 1964-65).

A fourth source of funds that may be used by the district is the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 which has been described as emphasizing education as the first line of attack on poverty.

Three elementary experimental schools and three control schools were chosen for sub-project I, involving kindergarten through sixth grade. A majority of the pupils attending all these schools come from families belonging to low-income, racial and ethnic minority groups, some from homes where English is not spoken or spoken with difficulty. The project coordinator appointed for this sub-project is a specialist in language arts with the city schools. Total budget for the project is estimated at $25,398, of which the state share is to be not less than $18,000.

The following goals are stressed:

1. To enrich the lives of culturally and educationally disadvantaged children
2. To develop broader language and number concepts
3. To raise the aspiration level of pupils
4. To develop realistic expectancies of parents for their children
5. To develop better teacher understanding and acceptance of these children
6. To develop behavior patterns conducive to maximum school achievement and reflecting understanding and appreciation of the responsibilities of good citizenship.

The report of the first year of the project (dated June 30, 1964) shows that actually 1,033 children in the three experimental schools were identified as meeting the state's criteria for culturally-disadvantaged minors. In the three control schools, 998 children were similarly identified.

Eighteen teacher assistants, as well as substitute teachers and 30 volunteer students from the YMCA and YWCA at San Diego State College, helped with the program. The students, who received no compensation, were prepared by an orientation course given through cooperation of the school principals and college faculty. In addition, special psychological and visiting teacher services were provided.

Committees of teachers studied and recommended educational materials, books, and audio-visual equipment they believed would most successfully augment the regular program. Approximately $900 worth of equipment and $7,800 worth of books and other instructional materials beyond school formula were supplied for the experimental schools. A library or reading room has been set up in each experimental school and parents have been invited to these rooms to obtain a library card, as well as to meetings and special teacher conferences. The Junior League and the National Conference of Christians and Jews have provided special field trips for the children.

Special tests have been given to both experimental and control pupils to assist in evaluation. The results of these tests will be included in the report to the State Advisory Committee on Compensatory Education early in 1965. Other evaluating

devices to be used are report cards, teacher comments, a statement by the school principal including statistical data on office referrals, and two graduate school papers that will compile a log of activities and personal interviews in depth with teachers in the programs.

The concluding paragraph of the first report states that " . . . the financial assistance . . . provided by the Legislature for this program is totally inadequate for the work that must be done. We believe, however, that the money allocated has been invested wisely in pilot programs that will enable us to test certain hypotheses. At the conclusion of our two-year pilot study, we will be able to describe with some assurance representative approaches that are successful in working with these children."

The compensatory education pilot project at the secondary level (sub-project II) involves grades seven through nine. Two junior high schools, with combined enrollment of approximately 3,000, and both in San Diego's deprived area,were selected. Approximately 750 students were identified for the experimental group and a comparable group of 750 as controls. All were students with better-than-average potential for educational achievement, occupational success, or positions of leadership. A survey of the two schools disclosed 18% unemployment for students' fathers and ethnic grouping as follows: 50% Negro, 13% Anglo, 23% Mexican-American, 12% Oriental-American, and 2% other.

The budget estimated for the project was similar to that for the elementary school, $28,500, of which the state would provide not less than $18,000. McAteer funds, however, proved inadequate to develop the guidance portion of this project and the NDEA allotted $17,400 to support this aspect. (Note: Figures are largely budget figures and estimates; actual expenses will be available in the final report.)

The compensatory program implementation began with the opening of spring semester, 1964, plans having been developed during the previous fall semester. Goals of the secondary school project differ from the other only insofar as they take into account the difference in age levels and accomplishments or lack of them within the intervening years. Essentially, they stress improvement of communication (and other) skills and a raising of aspiration levels of students, parents, and teachers involved. Because of the psychological damage already done to these students, an additional objective was improvement of "self-image" of the selected students.

Again, cooperation with community agencies was included in the project. The San Diego Urban League, the local chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Rosenberg Foundation, Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, San Diego Junior League, the GI Forum, the Don Diego VFW Post, San Diego State "Y," Kiwanis, the San Diego Bar Association, and Pacific Telephone Company have all given help or are committed to do so. Program directors feel this cooperation will increase the community's awareness of the schools' problems and thereby lead to an improved program.

Interviews with parents, field trips to acquaint students with the community, special guidance sessions, research in developing materials especially for teaching the "disadvantaged," and inservice training for teachers were all part of the program. Evaluation of the various devices will come from observations by teachers and administrators, interviews with teachers, ratings of teachers, school marks, case studies, various tests and questionnaires.

A guide for curriculum adaptation for compensatory education is being prepared by a writing team headed by a teacher-counselor, appointed to research curriculum material for this project.

Again, evaluations will be made early in 1965, when all pilot projects operating under the McAteer Act will forward their findings to the State Department of

Education to assist it in determining what role compensatory programs should have in California's educational future.

Another compensatory education program is still in the planning stage (and implementation will no doubt depend at least in part on results of the pilot projects). This program would involve the senior high school level and takes into account statistics and reports that have been accumulating for many years in San Diego schools. A third administrator, "Coordinator for Compensatory Education in the Senior High Schools," has been appointed. The intent at present is not to limit this program to the "culturally disadvantaged" but to try to reach all students in the district who are not producing according to their ability. This program would also follow up those students involved in the junior high pilot projects. Some implementation of the senior high program may be made in the spring of 1965.

Community Involvement

Problems of educational inadequacy and cultural incompatibility are by no means new experiences in our nation. Waves of immigrant groups have inundated our slums, faced job discrimination, inferior schools, and personality-damaging segregation. These immigrants entered a rapidly-growing economy of a nontechnological nature; jobs, though menial and low in status, were available. As their economic situation improved, "acculturation" of the immigrants advanced. Their children, or their children's children, were able to leave the slums and enter the mainstream of American life. The history of the Irish, Italian, Slavic and other immigrant groups in this country is both a painful and an inspiring one.

Minority groups of today are facing similar situations, but with variations. Low skill jobs are no longer readily-available; economic and cultural improvement is more difficult. In addition, in many communities as in San Diego, the minority groups facing the severest problems are those who differ from earlier immigrant groups in a crucial characteristic. Because of skin color (Negro, Oriental, or Mexican) they are unable to become "lost in a crowd." No matter how adequate their education, no matter how imbued with middle-class attitudes and morality, assimilation into the majority is made more difficult because of this distinction and reactions to it. The Mexican-American has additional problems of language and greater cultural differences, but despite these his mobility is greater than that of the Negro as economic and educational status improves.

Concern about the problems of racial minorities and/or the disadvantaged in San Diego is not overwhelming. The largest deprived area of the city is "encapsulated." It is seldom seen by non-residents of that area and therefore its existence does not prod the conscience of the general citizen. By what means will the concern of the San Diego community be developed?

One suggestion is that the schools should establish cooperative relationships with many community agencies, institutions, and citizens. Community concern and interest develops when community talent and leadership are involved in meeting problems. The San Diego school district is attempting such involvement and many cooperative efforts have been noted. Some communities have developed more extensive projects which could be emulated or expanded in San Diego (e.g., the Baltimore Public Schools Project Mission is a program designed to help young teachers prepare for teaching in urban slum schools by providing intensive training in problems of these schools).

Business, industry and labor might also be engaged in such projects. Some efforts are made in this direction by San Diego schools through "career days" and "employment institutes." There is a growing conviction, not yet felt in San Diego, that schools in disadvantaged areas should have regular advisers from business and labor groups, so that school programs might be realistically adapted to fit the needs of the

community as well as the students.

Another method adopted by some school districts wishing to involve the community in meeting the educational problems of deprived students is the establishment of official committees or commissions to study and advise on the problem. Seventeen city school systems, including Berkeley, Los Angeles, Pasadena, and San Francisco, are known to have such bodies. Most of these groups are of lay citizens, with some professional staff participation. After study, these investigative groups make recommendations to their local school boards.

Actually, fewer than half of the Northern cities with non-white populations of 50,000 or more have such study commissions. In almost all cities where these groups exist, months of public pressure by local civic groups to desegregate schools preceded formation of the citizen body. In a number of cases, it is alleged that the commissions have failed to recommend substantial corrective measures and this has led to renewed protests by local civic groups. (7)

In San Diego there exists no such committee established by the Board of Education or making recommendations to the Board. The Equal Educational Opportunities Committee has been appointed by the superintendent and operates as a advisory committee to him. Existence of this group and its recommendations receive little publicity. The Citizens' Interracial Committee, a volunteer body with no official relationship to the schools, has a subcommittee concerned with problems of education. This group, as well as many citizen organizations with concerns ranging from civil rights to educational quality to school taxes and financing, has expressed concern and suggestions for school actions. Decisions on school policy ultimately are made, of course, by the five members of the Board of Education.

This report has illustrated the extent of concern within the SDUSD for the disadvantaged within our community, as part of the program to meet educational needs of all children within the district. It has been noted that the educationally and culturally handicapped children in our schools tend to be from racial minorities. (It should be noted in this regard that, although the Mexican-American population of the city is somewhat larger than the Negro, the Unified School District does not encompass census tracts located near the Mexican border where a large segment of the Mexican-American minority is found.)

Schools do belong to the community. They do not create public opinion but rather reflect it. Citizens rely heavily on their schools in matters of equal opportunity, but it is fair to say that the schools are not responsible for creating the problems of disadvantaged minority groups. Some spokesmen would suggest that responsibility to solve problems of housing patterns, employment policies, college and professional opportunities, and economic growth lie elsewhere and need to be met. Whether or not the schools are doing enough in this field, and whether what they are doing is appropriate, is for the community to decide.

Many questions may be raised. Is the problem of racial discrimination the same as the problem of educational impoverishment? Will compensatory educational programs affect problems of racial relationships? Are these latter problems with which the schools should be concerned?

Should the schools accept responsibility for desegregation where it exists, no matter what the cause? Should children of racial minorities or impoverished environments be distributed throughout the school system regardless of area of residence, or should other integration techniques be developed? Or should the schools, within the neighborhood school framework, aim toward specialized programs to meet specific needs? Do educational and cultural handicaps justify increased services and expenditures as do mental and physical handicaps?

What are the costs of any of these courses of action, not only in school financing but also in terms of social benefit? San Diego contains a relatively-small and politically-weak minority which is directly affected by the answers, but all citizens of the school district are ultimately involved and should participate in the decision-making process.

# # #

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Note: Other sources include
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PART II

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