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Analysis of the Efforts to Promote Racial Desegregation within the Pasadena Unified School District as Directed by the Court Order of Judge Manuel L. Real in January of 1970

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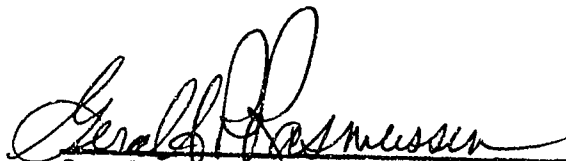
ANALYSIS OF THE EFFORTS TO PROMOTE RACIAL DESEGREGATION WITHIN THE
PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT AS DIRECTED BY THE COURT ORDER
OF JUDGE MANUEL L. REAL IN JANUARY OF 1970

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

ANALYSIS OF THE EFFORTS TO PROMOTE RACIAL DESEGREGATION WITHIN THE
PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT AS DIRECTED BY THE COURT ORDER
OF JUDGE MANUEL L. REAL IN JANUARY OF 1970

On January 20, 1970, Judge Manuel L. Real directed the officials of the Pasadena Unified School District to prepare and implement a school desegregation plan to take effect at all levels within the district by the opening of school in September of 1970. This study dealt with the efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District to meet the provisions of this court order. Such examination involved an extensive perusal and analysis of the desegregation plan developed in response to this order. That response is known as the Pasadena Plan.

This dissertation considered four issues in addition to its examination of the Pasadena Plan: (1) major factors necessitating court action in Pasadena, (2) the degree to which the meeting of Judge Real's directives has led to racial stability within the schools and community, (3) possible alternatives to the Pasadena Plan, and (4) implications for other school districts as a result of the Pasadena experience.

Organization of the study involved a division of the three hundred and seventeen pages of the main text into ten chapters, followed by a bibliography and two appendices. Chapter I introduced the problem and included a series of hypotheses, basic assumptions, and definition of terms commonly used throughout the dissertation. Chapter II outlined

the scope and method of investigation used in the study. The methodology of the study was based upon procedures of historical research. Historical review within this dissertation consisted of a review of pertinent literature, including books, newspapers, magazine articles, school records, statistical data related to school enrollment and racial distribution within the Pasadena Unified School District, and interviews with selected members of the district staff and community. Viewed together, these two initial chapters met the specific purposes of describing, defining, and delimiting the problem.

The next seven chapters contained the body of the dissertation. Chapter III provided a summary of salient national factors affecting school desegregation, and Chapter IV discussed the sequence of local events that significantly influenced the direction toward court action regarding racial balance of schools in Pasadena. Chapter V analyzed the court order of Judge Real, Chapter VI described and examined the provisions of the Pasadena Plan, and an analysis of the first two years of operation under the Pasadena Plan was developed within the next two chapters. Chapter VII analyzed the operation of the desegregation plan in 1970-71, including the preparation and planning that preceded actual implementation. Chapter VIII provided additional analysis based upon planning and operation of the plan during the 1971-72 school year. Chapter IX presented an overview of the current picture within Pasadena as of March 25, 1972, discussed apparent strengths and weaknesses of the Pasadena Plan, suggested implications that the Pasadena experience provides for other school districts, and examined possible alternatives to the Pasadena Plan.

Chapter X contained conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further study. Conclusions were made regarding the original hypotheses

presented in Chapter I, and additional conclusions were formed on the basis of information contained in Chapters III through IX.

Major conclusions of this study included the following: (1) the pattern of accelerated racial transition that preceded the Pasadena Plan had intensified during the first two years of desegregation in Pasadena; (2) racial transition within the Pasadena public schools had reached the point that the Anglo-Caucasian student majority became a minority within district schools prior to termination of this study; (3) problems attributed to the Pasadena Plan actually resulted from school board and community decisions that preceded adoption of that plan; (4) viable alternatives to the present desegregation plan should be considered as possible means of decelerating present rates of racial change within the community and schools of Pasadena; (5) the Pasadena Plan represented an effective mechanical means of desegregating public schools; (6) the court order limited the flexibility of implementing desegregation in Pasadena; (7) there was conclusive evidence of "white flight" and some evidence of "bright flight" from Pasadena public schools during the first two years of desegregation; (8) fiscal problems in Pasadena adversely affected the future of effective desegregation within the schools of that community; (9) the efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District provide potential guidelines for other school districts facing similar challenges and opportunities, and (10) the Pasadena experience strongly supported that desegregation of schools does not guarantee integration within those schools.

The following recommendations were made regarding the future courses of action available to the Pasadena Unified School District: (1) the Pasadena Unified School District should request Judge Real to amend that portion of the 1970 court order which directs that no school may contain a majority of any single minority group within its school population;

(2) if Judge Real refuses to amend the court order directing student assignments, the Pasadena Unified School District should legally appeal the current application of that directive on the basis of its wording; (3) if a revision in the present court order regarding student assignments cannot be obtained through either a request for such revision or appeal procedures, the Pasadena Unified School District should implement a massive redistricting program; (4) efforts should be made to retain as large a percentage of the currently qualified probationary teachers as possible; (5) greater efforts should be made to promote qualified minority personnel to positions of leadership; (6) more attention should be given to employment of non-Negro minorities at all levels of the professional staff; (7) in-service summer workshops should be initiated to sensitize certificated and classified staff members regarding problems related to racial transition and school desegregation; and (8) a crash program of remedial and diagnostic instruction in reading and mathematics should be instituted immediately.

Areas suggested for further study include projects which would:

(1) concentrate upon viable methods of merging the special interests of such groups as the Black Task Force, the Mexican-American Task Force, and the Sierra Madre Task Force into a single and constructive community interest group in Pasadena; (2) compare school desegregation within Pasadena and such desegregation within similar communities not confined to the specifics of a court order; (3) evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the educational park concept as applied to desegregated schools; (4) examine alternative methods of funding by which the present

financial burden upon local school districts incident to desegregation may be reduced; (5) assess the strengths and weaknesses of phased programs of desegregation as compared to those exhibited within total and immediate desegregation programs; and (6) explore intensively those means by which school desegregation may be more effectively and readily translated into significant movement toward school integration.

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I particularly wish to thank Dr. Gerald R. Rasmussen, my local advisor, for his patience, inspiration, and wise counsel. His dedication to this undertaking deserves special emphasis. He gave much of himself in guiding me, and I shall always be in his debt.

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I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of colleagues within the Pasadena Unified School District. A special note of appreciation is given to Mrs. Alice A. Hamane, who cheerfully responded to my many requests for research materials.

My warmest acknowledgment is given to my children, Karen, Mark, Kevin, and Rick, each of whom gave up so much so that I could attempt this dissertation. With much love, this study is dedicated to them.

Finally, to Betty McAlpin, my wife, I extend deep gratitude and appreciation. Without her understanding, cooperation, patience, and encouragement, the completion of this study could not have become a reality.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

School districts throughout the United States are being confronted with court orders to desegregate their schools. This trend has created a need to evaluate what is happening to those school districts already operating under court-ordered desegregation plans. One way to meet this need is by studying the processes, procedures, and effectiveness of existing school desegregation plans established under such court orders.

On January 20, 1970, Judge Manuel L. Real directed the Pasadena Unified School District to prepare and implement a desegregation plan at all levels within its schools. This order represents one of the first experiences in court-ordered desegregation among school districts located within the western region of the United States.

This dissertation deals with the efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District to meet the provisions of this court order. The study identifies and analyzes the steps taken under the directive set down by Judge Real.

The study examines the ways in which the officials of the Pasadena Unified School District have responded to the court mandate. Such examination involves an extensive perusal and analysis of the

Pasadena Plan. This plan comprises the district's response to Judge Real's desegregation order. The major features of the Pasadena Plan involve policy revisions in three areas: (1) assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members, (2) location and construction of facilities, and (3) assignment of students.

This study considers four issues in addition to its overall examination of the Pasadena Plan: (1) major factors necessitating court action regarding desegregation in Pasadena, (2) the degree to which the meeting of Judge Real's directives has led to racial stability within the schools and community, (3) possible alternatives to the Pasadena Plan, and (4) implications for other school districts as a result of the Pasadena experience.

Importance of the Study

The importance of this study is grounded in two primary facts: (1) it has not been done in the past, and (2) it contains issues of concern to many communities in the future. While this dissertation analyzes the Pasadena experience as a means of considering what future direction the schools of that community might best undertake, it is hoped that the greatest value in analyzing the successes and failures of the court-ordered desegregation plan in Pasadena lies in its use as an example from which other school districts may profit.

School districts throughout the nation are preparing desegregation plans. Officials within these school districts are studying the experiences of other districts that have been among the first

to initiate total desegregation plans.¹ School districts desegregating under specific court order are receiving requests for information from other school districts.² Pasadena, having adopted a total desegregation plan under specific court order, qualifies as a subject for study on both of these counts.

A review of the literature, including over 30,000 dissertation titles, reveals that over fifty research studies are available on the problems of desegregation within the schools of the South.³ Studies are also rather extensive in relation to partial programs of school desegregation in selected northern cities. A majority of the studies within the South involve programs that evolved through a series of phases covering several years in duration. Most of the research involving urban areas of the North deals with desegregation of "target areas" rather than city-wide desegregation. School districts outside the eleven southern states attempting relatively complete desegregation programs have either operated such plans for too brief a period to draw valid conclusions, such as San Francisco, or have initiated

¹Ecumenical Council of the Pasadena Area Churches, Pasadena's Road to Quality Education (Pasadena: American Friends Service Committee, 1970), pp. 27-42.

²Mrs. Marshall P. Ernstene, private interview held at the Pasadena League of Women Voters office, Pasadena, Calif., December 29, 1971. Mrs. Ernstene is the President of the Pasadena League of Women Voters for 1971-72, and her office has received numerous requests for information regarding the Pasadena school desegregation plan from outside school districts and individuals, some as far removed as Michigan.

³This study considers the South to consist of that geographic region included within the eleven states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

the process voluntarily, as is the case in Berkeley, California; Evanston, Illinois; and Westchester County, New York.

A search of available resources indicates a lack of studies that deal with court-ordered desegregation in school districts outside the South. The number of northern or western school districts undergoing court-ordered desegregation prior to the 1971-72 school year is less than ten.¹ Pasadena was the first school district among the western states to be prosecuted by the federal government for maintaining segregated schools.² Analysis of the Pasadena experience provides an opportunity to study a court-ordered desegregation plan that has been operative for over eighteen months.

There is reason to believe an increased number of schools will operate under court-ordered desegregation plans in the near future.³ The decision of Judge Real was regarded as a test case. Its implications are not limited to Pasadena.⁴ The 1971 desegregation decision in San Francisco closely parallels the previous Pasadena ruling. A precedent has been set, and it can be assumed that school districts that do not choose to desegregate by voluntary action will find the courts are prepared to compel them to do so.

¹Ibid.

²Roy Reed, "Classic Segregation Crisis: Pasadena," New York Times, April 7, 1969, p. 1.

³Ibid.

⁴A realization of the implications in the Pasadena case seems evident in the active interest taken in the case by officials outside the state at the time of the hearing. State Attorney Generals MacDonald Gallion of Alabama, Jack P. Gremillion of Louisiana, and A. F. Summer of Mississippi flew to the Los Angeles hearing to make personal appearances before Judge Real.

That communities must desegregate their public schools is no longer a matter of local choice or moral consideration. It is a matter of legal fact.¹ The option that does remain to many communities is not whether or not they will desegregate their schools, but how they will comply with the legal order to do so. They can establish their own plans voluntarily, or they can wait for the courts to mandate their action. It is possible that the worth of this study to some citizens may be measured to the degree in which it provides data for school districts to consider in deciding which of the above choices they make within their own school systems.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were developed for analysis within this study:

1. The pattern of accelerated racial transition in Pasadena has continued during the period of school desegregation.
2. Problems that are attributed to the Pasadena Plan actually resulted from school board and community decisions that preceded adoption of that plan.
3. The court order requiring the desegregation of schools in the Pasadena Unified School District has led to withdrawal of Anglo-Caucasians from the district.
4. Community participation in planning and involvement in implementation is essential to any successful plan for desegregation.
5. Pasadena is approaching the point where its Anglo-Caucasian majority will become a minority in terms of school enrollment.²

¹Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 493, 74 Sup. Ct. 636, 98 L. Ed. 873 (1954).

²The term "minority" is defined here as a group representing less than 50 per cent of the total school enrollment.

6. Viable alternatives to the present desegregation plan should be considered as possible means of decelerating present rates of racial change within the community and schools of Pasadena.
7. Specific provisions of court-ordered desegregation plans will require later revision, since continued changes in the racial composition of communities will make it impossible to racially balance school populations according to ratios mandated in the original court orders.
8. The efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District will provide guidelines to other school districts facing similar challenges and opportunities.

Basic Assumptions

The framework and emphasis of this study is governed by a series of basic assumptions. The basic assumptions underlying the analysis presented here are as follows:

1. The decision of Judge Real is legally binding upon the Pasadena Unified School District.
2. Any viable course of action taken by the Pasadena Unified School District regarding desegregation must be consistent with the conditions set down by Judge Real in January of 1970 or, if in deviation from those conditions, must receive prior approval from either Judge Real or his designated representative.
3. The problems posed by racial changes in Pasadena are not unique to that community.
4. Desegregation is a prerequisite to integration, but it does not assure that integration will occur.
5. Problems incident to desegregation must be faced by school officials and members of the community.
6. It must be anticipated that desegregation may encounter some hostility and resistance from various sectors of the community.
7. A primary purpose of desegregation is to provide equal educational opportunities for all students.

8. An effective program of desegregation is one which minimizes patterns of accelerated withdrawal from the community by members of a particular racial group.
9. School desegregation is accomplished by racially balancing pupil enrollment in all schools.

Definition of Terms

Few areas of study yield more diversely defined terms than those involving race relations generally and school desegregation in particular. The sociologist, for example, interprets such terms as "race" and "ethnic origin" quite differently from the anthropologist, and both differ substantially from interpretations of the same terms given by a specialist in urban affairs. A survey of literature in the field leads this writer to conclude that disagreement as to definition of terms relevant to school desegregation is widespread. A review of eighteen sources containing definitions of "desegregation," "integration," "minority," "racial," and "ethnic" reveal a minimum of eleven different definitions for each of these terms.

This paucity of definitional agreement compels this author to provide the following definition of terms commonly used within this study so that there will be a common understanding among readers:

1. Anglo-Caucasian: all Caucasian groups other than those possessing Spanish surnames. Under this definition, the use of this term is expanded to include many national groups beyond those possessing English heritage. The Scandinavian, Slavic, and Germanic groups are examples of this expansion.
2. Desegregation: the act of ending segregation of races in schools and public facilities. The condition resulting from such action.

3. Ethnic group: a group of people who have a distinct culture and/or national origin. The terms "racial" and "ethnic" are used synonymously as adjectives relating to school enrollment figures.
4. Integration: a combination or coordination of separate and diverse racial or ethnic groups into a more complete or harmonious whole.
5. Majority: as used in population or enrollment studies, is applied to a given cultural sub-group when its number exceeds half of the total number within the sample. In all other portions of the study, the amount or number by which one group exceeds another group.
6. Mexican-American: individuals or groups who share a common cultural identity with the citizens of Mexico, live in the United States, and trace their heritage to ancestors who lived within territory presently or formerly considered as part of the Republic of Mexico.
7. Minority: as used in population or enrollment studies, is applied to the smaller in number of two parts or parties. In all other portions of the study, a group smaller than a larger group of which it is a part.
8. Oriental: people of Chinese, Siamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Japanese, Korean, Manchurian, Mongolian, and Vietnamese ancestry.
9. Other non-white: people of Filipino, Arabic, American Indian, Eastern Indian, and Polynesian ancestry.
10. Pasadena Plan: school desegregation plan in effect within the Pasadena Unified School District since the opening of school on September 14, 1970. A desegregation plan prepared by the Pasadena Unified School District and implemented at all levels within its schools in compliance with the court order issued by Judge Manuel L. Real on January 20, 1970.
11. Racial discrimination: treatment of an entire racial category of people in ways that single it out from among other racial categories.
12. Racial group: a group of people regarded as having a common origin and exhibiting a relatively constant set of physical traits. Anthropological definitions state that mankind has been divided into five primary stocks or races, each of which is considered as including a varying number of ethnic groups.

13. Segregation: the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary containment within a restricted housing area, barriers to social intercourse, or divided educational facilities.
 - a. De facto: the actual or real existence of segregation, with or without legal sanction.
 - b. De iure: segregation established by law.

14. Spanish surname: people with family names that appear to be Spanish in origin. Mexican, Spanish, Cuban, Central American, and South American national groups are placed together within this category.

CHAPTER II

SCOPE AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Organization of the Study

Chapter I introduced the problem. It provided a focal point for the dissertation by stating the problem and discussing the importance of the study. The initial chapter also included a series of hypotheses, basic assumptions, and definition of terms commonly used throughout the dissertation.

Chapter II outlines the scope and method of investigation used in the study. It further sets the stage by creating a perspective through which the analysis is approached. As such, the second chapter is also considered introductory in nature. The organization, limitations, and methodology of the study are discussed.

To understand the circumstances surrounding any decision to act, it is necessary to review the sequence of events that led to that decision. The third and fourth chapters combine to provide an historical review of factors that led to the 1970 court decision to mandate desegregation within the schools of the Pasadena Unified School District. While Chapter III provides a summary of salient national factors, Chapter IV discusses the sequence of local events of significance in leading toward court action.

Chapter V analyzes the court order that mandated the present desegregation process in Pasadena. The directives of the court are reviewed directly from the wording contained in the original order. The timing for implementing these directives is discussed. Excerpts from a forty-five page amplification of the original court order issued by Judge Real are included within this chapter.

Chapter VI describes and examines the provisions of the Pasadena Plan. This plan represents the efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District to formalize a procedure to promote racial desegregation that would meet the conditions stated by Judge Real in the court order which he issued on January 20, 1970. The Pasadena Plan was approved by Judge Real as meeting those conditions, and it is the desegregation plan currently in operation within the Pasadena public schools.¹

An analysis of the first two years of operation under the Pasadena Plan is developed within the next two chapters. Chapter VII analyzes the operation under the desegregation plan in 1970-71, including the preparation and planning that preceding actual implementation of the plan. Chapter VIII provides additional analysis based upon planning and operation of the plan during the 1971-72 school year. The analysis in Chapters VII and VIII deals with decisions and actions taken from January 20, 1970, until termination of the study on March 25, 1972.

¹The term "Pasadena public schools" is used within this study to refer only to those schools operated by the Pasadena Unified School District. Enrollment within these schools is limited to those students attending kindergarten through grade twelve.

Chapter IX begins with an overview of the current picture within Pasadena as of March 25, 1972. Apparent strengths and weaknesses of the Pasadena Plan are discussed. Chapter IX also presents a series of implications that the Pasadena experience suggests for other school districts. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of possible alternatives to the Pasadena Plan.

Chapter X contains conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further study. The real value of a study such as this must rest largely on the use that readers may find for it in aiding them to make future decisions within their own school districts. This final chapter suggests areas the writer believes worthy of such future study.

Limitations of the Study

Authorities with experience in educational research caution researchers to construct realistic limitations upon their studies. A staff member of Walden University, Dr. James E. Parejko, counseled avoidance of attempting to "prove the world" in an advisement session held with this writer in Naples, Florida, on July 20, 1971.

This study is limited to an examination of the degree to which the Pasadena Unified School District has effectively responded to the several mandates contained within the Real decision. The study of that response is limited further to actions taken by the school district from the time of the court order in January of 1970 until the completion of this study in March of 1972.

The intent here is to examine and interpret data relative to the Pasadena experience under a court-ordered desegregation plan.

The conclusions drawn from the Pasadena experience within this study are limited to data available prior to March 25, 1972.

Specific limitations must be placed upon any study if it is to be sufficiently focused and detailed to serve as a meaningful contribution to scholarly research. Specific limitations of this study are:

1. This analysis of efforts toward racial desegregation is limited to those schools under the jurisdiction of the Pasadena Unified School District.
2. This study is limited to an analysis of a specific desegregation plan developed by the Pasadena Unified School District in response to the specific mandates contained within the court order issued by Judge Real on January 20, 1970.
3. The period of analysis within this dissertation is confined to the life span of the Pasadena Plan to date. This span is considered as commencing with issuance of the court order of January 20, 1970, and concluding with decisions and events having transpired prior to March 25, 1972.
4. This study focuses upon the degree to which the Pasadena Unified School District has met the directives contained within the court order.
5. This dissertation is limited to a study of those implications with greatest relevance for educators in school districts now implementing or planning to implement court-ordered desegregation programs.

Methodology of the Study

What has happened in Pasadena to date is now history. Used in the context of educational research, history is concisely defined by C. V. Good as:

. . . an integrated narrative or description of past events or facts, written in the spirit of critical inquiry, to find the whole truth and report it.¹

¹C. V. Good, Essentials of Educational Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 145.

The methodology of this study is based upon procedures of historical research. A chronological narrative is utilized throughout this dissertation. Knowledge of the events and decisions leading to the court order for desegregation in Pasadena is important to an understanding of the Pasadena experience. Such knowledge seems to this writer to be as fundamental to a comprehensive study of school desegregation in Pasadena as either the court order itself or the events emanating from that order. The events and decisions leading to court-ordered desegregation in the Pasadena schools therefore are narrated at some length within this study.

Descriptions of those events and decisions which have brought the Pasadena experience in school desegregation to its present state are clearly matters of historical review. Historical review within this dissertation consists of a review of pertinent literature, including books, newspaper and magazine articles, school records, and statistical data related to school enrollment and racial distribution within the Pasadena Unified School District. Interviews with selected members of the district staff and community are utilized as additional means of gathering data for historical review.

An historical review of school desegregation in Pasadena has not been attempted previously. It is a function of this dissertation to carry out that review. It is a responsibility of this study to analyze the information yielded by this review and present that analysis in a manner worthy of stimulating additional study by other educators concerned with implementing desegregation plans within their own school districts.

The writer feels that actions of individuals provide more reliable data than their expressed opinions when attempting to determine the degree of their commitment to desegregated schools for their children. Any conclusions drawn in this study as to attitudes of Pasadenans toward desegregation will concentrate on examining what they have done rather than relying upon their viewpoints as reflected by responses given in structured interviews or questionnaires.

The role of critical inquiry in historical research is an important one. The vital nature of this role is discussed in a review of research methods by William Wiersma. He summarizes the relationship of critical inquiry to historical research as follows:

Since historical research involves a description of past events, there is no possibility of control or manipulation of variables in the experimental sense. The aspect of critical inquiry is an important part of historical research. As control and manipulation of variables are essential to the experimental approach, so critical inquiry is essential to historical research.¹

Use of such inquiry will be extensive in this study. Analysis of the Pasadena experience may raise more questions than it answers. If this proves true, it is possible that the questions raised will create interest in future studies that begin where this one concludes.

Summary

Chapters I and II are introductory in nature. They deal with the mechanics of the study. Chapter I stated the problem and deve-

¹William Wiersma, Research Methods in Education: An Introduction (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1969), p. 289.

loped hypotheses, basic assumptions, and definitions to be used as guidelines within the remainder of the paper. Chapter II outlined the scope and method of investigation to be employed in succeeding chapters. Explanation of the organization, limitations, and methodology of the study is contained therein.

These two initial chapters have served the general purpose of setting the stage for the remainder of this dissertation. Viewed together, they have met the specific purposes of describing, defining, and delimiting the problem.

The next seven chapters contain the body of the dissertation. They deal with the development and completion of the study and reflect variously the approaches of historical review, description, and analysis.

The final chapter provides conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF NATIONAL TRENDS

TOWARD SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Introduction

The history of school desegregation has involved a struggle that is waged in at least two arenas: (1) the courtroom, and (2) the community. There is a direct link between national trends toward school desegregation and the efforts to accomplish desegregation at the local level. National trends toward desegregation established within the courts and in communities outside the courtroom influence local desegregation plans. In order to adequately analyze present school desegregation in Pasadena, familiarity with those national trends that influence desegregation decisions in local areas such as Pasadena is important.

This chapter presents an historical review of national trends toward school desegregation. Three areas in which national trends toward school desegregation have influenced the Pasadena experience are discussed. Key judicial decisions leading to establishment and destruction of the "separate but equal" concept are considered, growth and development of the civil rights movement are outlined, and selected

test cases involving school desegregation are studied. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of major trends revealed therein.

Destruction of the "Separate But Equal" Concept

The concept of "separate but equal" facilities stood at the center of the legal argument for school segregation. Destruction of the legality of this concept by the United States Supreme Court created a precedent that swept aside a segregationist position which had been supported by the courts for over half a century.

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

In 1896 the Plessy v. Ferguson case resulted in the United States Supreme Court upholding the validity of a state statute in Louisiana that provided "separate but equal" accommodations for white and colored passengers on railroad trains.¹ Within that finding lay the heart of segregationist arguments related to the public schools.

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

At 12:52 p.m. on May 17, 1954, 335 years after the first Negro slaves arrived in America in chains and 91 years after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Abraham Lincoln, Chief Justice Earl Warren began reading the unanimous opinion of the United

¹Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 16 Sup. Ct. 1138, 41 L. Ed. 256 (1896).

States Supreme Court in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.¹ It took the Chief Justice less than half an hour to complete the reading. The opinion stated that laws requiring racial segregation in the public schools were in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

While many people believe that the Supreme Court decision to strike down the legality of "separate but equal" facilities in public education was based solely on the suit brought by Oliver Brown against the Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas, this was not the case. The Supreme Court ruled on four separate state cases that day, rendering their judgment on a common legal question by presenting a consolidated opinion.² In addition to the *Brown* case, the May 17, 1954 decisions involved appeals in the cases of *Briggs v. Elliott* in South Carolina, *Davis v. Prince Edward County School Board* in Virginia, and *Gebhart v. Belton* in Delaware.³

In each of these cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, sought the power of the courts to obtain admission to their community public schools on a nonsegregated basis. Each had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under

¹Albert P. Blaustein and Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law: The Meaning and Effect of the School Desegregation Cases (New York: Random House, Inc., 1962), p. 4.

²Daniel M. Berman, It Is So Ordered: The Supreme Court Rules on School Segregation (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1966), p. 134.

³Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, pp. 45-49.

laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Premised on different facts and varied local conditions, the origins of these cases cut across the divisions of North and South. In each of the cases, other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs under the authority of the "separate but equal" doctrine upheld by the United States Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.¹ In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered the plaintiffs to be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.²

The common denominator in the Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware cases was the question of whether "separate but equal" facilities in the public schools really represented equality. The concluding statement of the *Brown* decision clearly states they did not.

We conclude 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 and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.³

¹Ibid., p. 299.

²*Gebhart v. Belton*, 344 U.S. 891, 73 Sup. Ct. 213, 97 L. Ed. 689 (1954).

³*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 493, 74 Sup. Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873 (1954).

The importance of the Brown decision was that the Supreme Court now held that in the public schools "separate but equal" facilities were no longer legal. The shadow of a nineteenth century ruling on railroad accommodations no longer lingered over twentieth century classrooms.

Reaction to the Brown Decision

As a result of the decision reached by the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, school desegregation became a matter of legal fact. The wisdom of this decision became a subject of immediate debate in the press. The New York Times cheered the decision as a "monumental constructive stride in constitutional law and fundamental justice."¹ The Washington Evening Star condemned the verdict as "a blow to fundamental American institutions."² The Atlanta Constitution praised the court for allowing "a reasonable transition period."³ The Jackson Clarion-Ledger criticized the action and feared "a black day of tragedy for the South."⁴

The impact of the Brown decision was viewed differently by various newspapers. The Chicago Tribune predicted little change as a result of the ruling, claiming the Supreme Court had simply restated a principle borrowed "from that distinguished Virginian named Thomas Jefferson."⁵

¹Editorial, New York Times, May 18, 1954, pp. 1, 18.

²Editorial, Washington Evening Star, May 17, 1954, p. 1.

³Editorial, Atlanta Constitution, May 18, 1954, p. 3.

⁴Editorial, Jackson Clarion-Ledger, May 17, 1954, p. 2.

⁵Editorial, Chicago Tribune, May 18, 1954, p. 1.

The Los Angeles Times believed a basic change would result from the Brown judgment, stating that the Court opinion "appeared to doom separation of pupils on racial grounds as surely as Lincoln ended slavery in the United States."¹ The Louisville Courier-Journal saw the adjustments as minimal because it believed the Supreme Court ruling was simply "acceptance of a process that has been going on for a long time."²

A Gallup Poll in July of 1954 found that 57 per cent of those Americans expressing an opinion approved of the Brown decision. The same poll found 68 per cent approving in the Far West, 61 per cent in the Middle West, and 76 per cent in the East.³ Of course most of the poll participants had yet to experience other than token desegregation within their own communities. It might be interesting to poll those same individuals today.

The Delay Between Decision and Implementation (1954-1955)

Almost a year passed between the Brown decision and the beginning of arguments on implementing that decision. Oral arguments on implementation did not begin until April 11, 1954.⁴

Debate in the United States Senate over approval of a new Supreme Court Justice contributed to the delay. Justice Jackson died in October of 1954, and President Eisenhower selected as his replacement a man whose very name made him a symbol of racial equality. The new nominee,

¹Robert Hartmann, Los Angeles Times, May 18, 1954, p. 1.

²Editorial, Louisville Courier-Journal, May 17, 1954, p. 2.

³Benjamin Muse, Ten Years of Prelude (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), p. 14.

⁴Berman, It Is So Ordered, p. 117.

John Marshall Harlan, was the grandson of the Justice who cast the sole dissenting vote in the Plessy case of 1896. The irony of the choice did not set well with many legislators from the South, and southern members of the Senate dramatized their displeasure by delaying confirmation. When action finally was taken, nine of the eleven votes against Harlan came from Southern Democrats.¹

The intensity of feeling aroused by the original decision may have contributed to the slow movement of the Court toward implementation. The delay, however, did permit the initial swirl of controversy to abate somewhat.

The interval between decision and implementation provided an opportunity for all states affected by the decision to consider their own courses of action. School segregation was practiced in widely separated areas of the United States at the time of the May 17, 1954 decision. The twelve-month hiatus between decision and the order to implement that decision created a period for individual reassessment in each of these areas.

A review of the areas practicing segregation at the time of the Brown decision reveals the difficulty in immediate implementation of a policy to end that segregation. Seventeen southern and border states maintained segregated schools by law. The southern states were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The border states were Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.²

¹Berman, It Is So Ordered, p. 117.

²Richard S. Ross, "ABC's of Busing Furor," U.S. News & World Report, November 15, 1971, p. 83.

Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming allowed various forms of local segregation to exist within their public schools in 1954. Sixteen states had laws specifically prohibiting segregation, and eleven states had no laws on the subject. Within this latter group, however, housing patterns created de facto segregation in many community schools, and the desegregated nature of these schools was questionable.¹ California schools were in this latter group, and the schools in California were theoretically open to all races. This study, however, would not be possible if the schools in the California community of Pasadena were desegregated in 1954.

The Implementation Order (1955)

The United States Supreme Court rendered its judgment on implementing the Brown decision on May 31, 1955. It became clear that the implementation process would be a lengthy one. The Court specified no deadline date for school desegregation. It required only that a "good faith" start be made in the transition from segregated to desegregated schools, with compliance to be accomplished by "all deliberate speed."²

A major reason that no specific date for completion of national desegregation was included in the 1955 implementation order may have been the realization that segregation was deeply imbedded throughout much of this nation. To demand other than compliance with "all delibe-

¹Ibid.

²Richard H. Saylor, Barry B. Boyer, and Robert E. Gooding, Jr., ed., The Warren Court: A Critical Analysis (New York: Chelsea House, 1969), p. 52.

rate speed" might well have created a directive that would have been impossible to enforce.

Desegregation Patterns Following the 1955 Implementation Order

The pace of actual desegregation was slow during the first decade that followed the Brown decision. Resistance to total school desegregation remained strong in many sections of the country.

Voluntary desegregation was very limited in the southern states. Various ways were tried to avoid, modify, or delay the effect of the Supreme Court ruling. Mississippi passed a law which made it a crime for an organization to initiate desegregation proceedings in the state courts. North Carolina set up a lengthy pre-court process to discourage desegregation litigation. Some states established new methods of student assignment based on achievement and aptitude tests. These methods of assignment were ostensibly non-racial, but their application would still result in separation of students along racial lines. Attempts at such assignments were made in Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and Virginia.¹

A Georgia plan called for closing the public schools and leasing their facilities to private persons who would continue segregated education.² South Carolina passed a resolution closing any all-white school immediately upon receipt of a court order requiring the admission of a

¹Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, pp. 249-253.

²Act No. 13, General Assembly of Georgia, 1956 Session, Feb. 6, 1956. See 1 RACE REL L. REP. 420 (1956).

Negro child to that school.¹ A Virginia statute abolished all public schools threatened with desegregation and provided tuition grants which in effect subsidized the existence of private schools.² In due course, the United States Supreme Court struck down such actions as subterfuges to evade the law.

The impetus for accelerated school desegregation was provided by Congress when it passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This act gave the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the power to withhold federal aid from school districts which practiced discrimination, and it authorized the Justice Department to initiate court suits against school districts it found lagging in efforts to desegregate. It was under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare investigated the school situation in Pasadena, and it was under the authority provided in the same act that the Department of Justice intervened on behalf of the plaintiffs in the suit which resulted in the court order requiring desegregation within the schools of the Pasadena Unified School District.

The Civil Rights Act passed in July of 1964 aimed at racial discrimination in public accommodations, public schools, housing, labor unions, employment, and economic opportunity.³ Its strongest influence

¹Acts of 1955 (49), 329, South Carolina Legislature, 21-2, CODE OF S.C. See 1 RACE REL. L. REP. 241 (1956).

²Resolution of Board of Supervisors, Prince Edward County, Virginia, May 3, 1956. See 1 RACE REL. L. REP. 789 (1956).

³C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 188.

may have been in the direction of accelerating school desegregation.

As cited previously, less than two per cent of all Negro students in the South attended racially mixed schools in 1964. Eighty-six per cent of all Negro students in the South attend racially mixed schools during the 1971-72 school year.¹ Similar patterns of accelerated school desegregation are apparent in the Far West, Middle West, and East over the same period. The rise in school desegregation over the past eight years appears in part to be due to the decisions of many school districts to voluntarily desegregate rather than face the loss of federal funds or court-ordered desegregation.

Conclusion

The *Brown v. Board of Education* case was a necessary first step in destruction of the "separate but equal" concept. The verdict in that case negated the precedent of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and mandated national school desegregation.

Neither the 1954 *Brown* decision nor the 1955 implementation order caused massive movements toward national school desegregation. It seems evident that firm enforcement provisions such as those included in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are needed to prevent many school districts from delaying or ignoring the edicts of the court. The penalties contained within the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have apparently greater force than the original court order in making national school desegregation effective in terms of numbers.

¹Ross, U.S. News & World Report, p. 83.

Growth of the Civil Rights Movement

A complete picture of the national trends toward school desegregation involves more than Supreme Court decisions or acts of Congress. It concerns the feelings of those most directly affected by school desegregation, concentration of those feelings into political and sociological movements, and organization of such movements toward action-oriented goals. No movement or organization has been as directly linked with the school desegregation struggle as the civil rights movement. Its growth deserves examination at this point.

The growth of the civil rights movement has been one of the major social forces of the twentieth century. There is little doubt that recent intensification of the civil rights struggle hastened school desegregation. The impact of the civil rights movement has been particularly strong since the conclusion of World War II. While the origins of civil rights organizations can be traced to the nineteenth century, consolidation of these organizations into an effective political and sociological force is a distinctly postwar phenomenon.

The growth pattern of the civil rights movement is viewed as a three-stage cycle within this study. This cycle includes: (1) the early period of slow development, beginning in the post-Civil War era and continuing until World War II; (2) the postwar period of accelerated development, extending from the close of World War II to the mid-1960s; and (3) the current period of internal division, having its origins in the mid-1960s and continuing into the present time.

The Early Period

The civil rights movement had its origins in a period of modest growth that began in the 1860s and terminated in 1945. The initiation of the Negro civil rights movement might be credited to Frederick Douglass, an outstanding Negro leader of the Civil War generation. During the Civil War he helped recruit Negro soldiers for the Union Army, advised Lincoln on problems of race relationships, and, following the war, urged the newly freed Negro to organize for self-protection.¹ This early attempt at organization provided the beginnings of a formal civil rights movement.

The early period of the Negro civil rights movement was marked by conflicting extremes in leadership. These extremes are illustrated by examining the opposing viewpoints of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, two famous early Negro civil rights leaders who represented very different views of the Negro role in American society.

Under the direction of Booker T. Washington the Negro civil rights movement was generally passive. Washington supplanted Douglass as the leading spokesman for Negroes in the 1880s. He advocated a policy of cooperation and compromise with the white establishment. While Washington agreed with Douglass in stressing the importance of economic equality for the Negro, he continually counseled Negroes against attempting to achieve social equality with the white man. In an address to the Cotton States Exposition at Atlanta in 1895, Washington told his fellow Negroes that it was extreme folly for them to pursue goals

¹Henry Steele Commager, The Struggle for Racial Equality (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 13.

related to social equality.¹ By agreeing that the two races could be separate in all social matters, Washington set the tone of acquiescence that characterized Negro civil rights from 1880 until the early 1900s.

The mild tone of the Washington era ended with the challenge of W. E. B. DuBois. DuBois criticized the previous policies of Negro concessions in a series of arguments written in 1903 in The Souls of Black Folk. He demanded a change in Negro leadership, charging that "Mr. Washington represents the old attitude of submission."²

Two years after openly attacking Washington, DuBois founded the Niagara Movement. This new group insisted upon enforcement of the so-called "Civil War Amendments." These amendments, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth, were designed to guarantee not only freedom but civil rights to the Negro. DuBois was angry because these amendments, adopted from 1868 to 1870, still were not adequately enforced in the early twentieth century. The Niagara group particularly stressed its demand that the Fourteenth Amendment be enforced throughout the land. That this demand was not readily met is seen by the fact that the Brown decision in 1954 was determined on what the Court considered to be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although the Niagara Movement did not immediately realize its goals, it did provide impetus for creation of an organization of crucial value to the future growth of the civil rights movement. The Niagara group formed under DuBois' leadership joined with liberals such as John Dewey

¹Ibid., p. 17.

²W. E. B. DuBois, "Essay," The Souls of Black Folk, 1903.

and Jane Addams to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) in 1909.¹

The views of DuBois have received greater attention during the present period than they attracted during his era of leadership. He stressed the need for Negro self-reliance and militant organization. While DuBois gave fire to the early civil rights movement and established a springboard for creation of the N.A.A.C.P., he had difficulty in gaining widespread support during the early period of the civil rights movement.

The Postwar Period

It appears that the timing was right for growth of the civil rights movement in the climate of a postwar, mid-twentieth century America. Concerns over injustices that represented various forms of slavery for the black man were not new in 1945. Such concerns were summarized by Abraham Lincoln in an address to the voters in Peoria, Illinois, in 1854:

Slavery deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty.¹

The striking feature of the Lincoln address at Peoria is that it could easily have been delivered ninety-one years later. While some historians contend that the Civil War was fought to free Negroes from bondage, very few assert that the Negro was truly free in 1945.

¹Commager, The Struggle for Racial Equality, vii.

At least three factors appear to have contributed to the postwar growth of the civil rights movement: (1) the United States was more sensitive to world opinion than ever before, (2) our own citizens demanded the equality they had fought to defend, and (3) an aggressive and intelligent new Negro leadership group agreed upon a basic strategy that differed from the past.

The nation found itself in a new position in 1945. It was competing for world leadership and asked the newly emerging nations of Africa and Asia to see Americans as people worthy of their trust. America saw a new "third world" surface as the critical balance of power between itself and the Soviet Union, and this "third world" was black, brown, and yellow. It appeared obvious that we could not win the trust of the newly independent non-whites abroad without a moral repair of the treatment of non-whites within our own nation. As the United States Secretary of State Dean Acheson stated:

The segregation of school children on a racial basis is one of the practices in the United States which has been singled out for hostile foreign comment in the United Nations and elsewhere. Other peoples cannot understand how such a practice can exist in a country which professes to be a staunch supporter of freedom, justice, and democracy.¹

A second reason for the postwar growth in the civil rights movement was the demand for equality voiced by our own minority citizens who had served in the armed forces. These minorities who risked their lives for freedom outside the United States were not prepared to settle for a denial of that freedom upon their return home. Second-class citizenship was no longer enough.

¹Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, p. 132.

A third and most significant reason for the postwar growth in civil rights was the decision by the movement's Negro leadership to seek agreement among themselves rather than agreement with the white man. While complete accord on strategy was not possible on every issue, the early postwar era saw Negro leadership at least avoiding the tendency of previous leaders to "self-destruct" through disunity of purpose.

Under the leadership of such Negroes as James Farmer, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Thurgood Marshall, and A. Philip Randolph, the postwar civil rights movement developed more quickly than anticipated by much of American society. Civil rights workers in the community employed a variety of tactics. Vigorous and effective publicity campaigns were launched. Political candidates friendly to civil rights were sought, supported, and elected. Sit-in demonstrations dramatized the inequities of segregated eating facilities in the South. Protest marches illustrated grievances of Negroes in most major cities throughout the nation. Economic boycotts were utilized successfully.

Since World War II the civil rights movement has applied consistent and effective pressure upon the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Civil rights leaders have used political and economic power to persuade others to support the causes of minorities in America. One measure of the growth of the civil rights movement from 1945 to 1965 can be taken by reviewing the major actions taken in the civil rights field during that period by the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations.

President Truman held office from 1945 to 1953. His administration established the first presidential committee on civil rights,

proposed the first comprehensive civil rights bill to Congress, issued an executive order to desegregate the military services, supported a strong civil rights statement in the 1948 Democratic Party platform, and survived an election which many predicted would demonstrate the "political suicide" of a President who supported strong civil rights action.

The first presidential committee on civil rights was established by executive order in 1946.¹ The findings of that committee served as the basis for a comprehensive civil rights bill which President Truman presented to Congress on February 2, 1948. While little legislative action resulted from the Truman proposals, they served to dramatize existing inequalities and prepare the way for the Supreme Court decision in 1954.

Civil rights leaders launched a major campaign to remove discrimination and desegregation in the armed forces, and A. Philip Randolph threatened to conduct a mass civil disobedience campaign against the draft. President Truman responded in 1948 with an executive order requiring desegregation in the armed forces.²

President Truman supported adoption of a strong civil rights statement at the 1948 Democratic Nominating Convention. This position, in combination with his previous civil rights requests to Congress, made Truman's candidacy for President unacceptable to many Southern delegates.

Southern Democrats left the 1948 convention and reconvened three weeks later to form the States' Rights Party and nominate Senator Strom

¹President Harry S. Truman, Executive Order 9908, 1946.

²President Harry S. Truman, Executive Order 9981, 1948.

Thurmond of South Carolina for President. Thurmond was popular in the South as a major anti-civil rights spokesman in the Senate.¹ Combined with the anticipated loss of liberal Democratic votes to the candidacy of former Vice-President Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket, Thurmond's candidacy was seen by many as a death blow to Truman's chances for election.

Segregationists pointed out that Truman's defeat would demonstrate the "political suicide" of supporting civil rights legislation. Most political polls indicated that Republican Governor Thomas Dewey of New York held a lead over Truman at every stage of the campaign. The result of the election was a stunning upset. Truman led Dewey by over two million popular votes, with Thurmond and Wallace trailing. Table 1 shows the election results in greater detail.

TABLE 1
RESULTS OF THE 1948 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Candidate	Political Party	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
Thomas Dewey	Republican	21,970,005	189
Strom Thurmond	States' Rights	1,169,063	39
Harry Truman	Democratic	24,105,812	303
Henry Wallace	Progressive	1,157,172	0
Total Popular and Electoral Votes		48,402,062	531

Source: No author listed, Congress and the Nation, 1945-1964 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1965), p. 5.

¹William A. McGlenaghan, American Government (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1963), p. 208.

The 1948 Presidential election was highly significant to the growth of the civil rights movement. The results vindicated the position that President Truman had taken in support of civil rights, encouraged an expansion of civil rights efforts, and dispelled the belief that a candidate for President would commit "political suicide" if he supported a strong civil rights program.

President Eisenhower served as the nation's Chief Executive from 1953 to 1961. The eight years of the Eisenhower Administration spanned a period of significant civil rights success. Additional military desegregation, the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, desegregation of schools in the District of Columbia, the implementation order on school desegregation, resolution of the Little Rock crisis, and judgment in a series of test cases relating to civil rights were major steps taken during the Eisenhower era.

Civil rights leaders brought to the attention of President Eisenhower the fact that some military units had not desegregated, and such desegregation was completed by the end of 1953.¹ Schools within the District of Columbia were desegregated during the Eisenhower era.² The Brown decision in 1954 and its implementation order in 1955 have been discussed previously in this chapter.

Perhaps the most severe test of the resolve of federal officials to uphold school desegregation came in 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas. President Eisenhower summoned federal troops to Little Rock in a suc-

¹Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mandate for Change: 1953-1961 (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), p. 235.

²Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, p. 186.

cessful effort to overcome defiance of a federal court order to admit Negroes to previously all-white Central High School.¹ Failure of resistance efforts to halt desegregation in Arkansas is regarded by many as a major milestone in the school desegregation struggle.

President Kennedy served from 1961 until late 1963. The attention of civil rights leaders was drawn primarily to the courts during this period, and a growing battery of civil rights attorneys worked with Justice Department officials to secure important victories.

The stature of the civil rights legal department grew considerably during the Kennedy era. Civil rights attorneys were active in four cases of particular importance over that two-year period, winning a significant legal victory in each instance. These cases included: (1) the Taylor v. New Rochelle Board of Education case in New York in 1961, resulting in a decision prohibiting cities from gerrymandering school district lines to prevent desegregation; (2) the Garner v. Louisiana case in 1961, upholding the legality of sit-in demonstrations; (3) the Wright v. Georgia case in 1963, sustaining the right of Negroes to use municipal parks; and (4) the Peterson v. Greenville case in 1963, which initially sustained the right of Negroes to service at lunch counters, but was expanded by the United States Supreme Court to strike down all state ordinances requiring segregation in public facilities.²

A series of crises for the civil rights movement in Alabama took place during 1963. The first involved the jailing of Dr. Martin Luther

¹Muse, Ten Years of Prelude, p. 126.

²Commager, The Struggle for Racial Equality, p. 105.

King in Birmingham. The second was a murder of a Baltimore mail carrier who attempted a one-man "freedom walk" to Mississippi. The third crisis required that President Kennedy federalize the National Guard to enforce a federal court order admitting Negroes to the University of Alabama.¹ The same evening that he federalized the National Guard in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, President Kennedy delivered a major address to the nation in support of a comprehensive civil rights bill. He said in part:

This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who came here had an equal chance to develop their talents.

We cannot say to 10 percent of the population that "you can't have that right. Your children can't have the chance to develop whatever talents they have, that the only way that they're going to get their rights is to go in the street and demonstrate."

I think we owe them and we owe ourselves a better country than that.²

President Kennedy was assassinated before Congress took action on his civil rights proposals, but President Johnson worked diligently to secure passage of comprehensive civil rights legislation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were passed during the Johnson Administration.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been discussed previously in this chapter. It was supported strongly by the civil rights movement, and its passage was a major victory in the fight for school desegregation.

¹Ibid.

²President John F. Kennedy, radio and television address, June 11, 1963.

A long-term goal of civil rights leaders was realized when the Twenty-Fourth Amendment became law. The so-called "Poll Tax Amendment" became effective when ratified by the thirty-eighth state, South Dakota, on January 23, 1964. Its precise wording is as follows:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or any other tax.¹

Massive campaigns to register Negro voters were conducted by civil rights workers in the South during 1964 and 1965. These campaigns occasionally resulted in clashes between registration volunteers and election officials. In March of 1965 a serious confrontation took place in Selma, Alabama, leaving one dead and many injured.² Widely covered by the news media, the Selma disorder presented a disturbing picture to the American people.

President Johnson reintroduced his voting rights proposals in a nationwide address to a joint session of Congress on March 15, 1965. He reminded Congress of the week-old Selma disaster, its previous refusal to pass a voting rights bill, and the fact that the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment remained inoperative for millions of Negroes. His message stressed that the time for action was already overdue. The following is an excerpt from that message:

As a man whose roots go deeply into Southern soil I know how agonizing racial feelings are. I know how difficult it is

¹Twenty-Fourth Amendment, Constitution of the United States, p. 17.

²Pat Watters, "Why the Negro Children March," New York Times Magazine, March 21, 1965, p. 3.

to reshape the attitudes and structure of our society.

But a century has passed, more than a hundred years, since the Negro was freed. And he is not fully free tonight.

It was more than a hundred years ago that Abraham Lincoln, the great President of the Northern party, signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but emancipation is a proclamation and not a fact.

A century has passed, more than a hundred years since equality was promised. And yet the Negro is not equal.

A century has passed since the day of promise. And the promise is unkept.¹

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed in both houses of Congress by large majorities. Under its provisions, Negro registration increased substantially throughout most of the South. By the close of 1965 it was clear that the battle for equality at the polls had been won, except for some "mopping-up operations" in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina.²

The Current Period

The current period of internal division within the civil rights movement began in the mid-1960s and continues up to and including the present. By 1966 the battleground of civil rights had shifted to the very difficult areas of education, housing, and employment. It remains there today.

The current period has resulted in no sweeping judicial or legislative decisions that rank in importance with the Brown decision of 1954, the implementation order of 1955, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The mid-1960s appear to represent a transitional period in the civil rights movement. They also represent

¹President Lyndon B. Johnson, radio and television address to Congress, March 15, 1965.

²Commager, The Struggle for Racial Equality, p. 214.

a deep dichotomy. The major battles in the courts and Congress had been won. Yet the victory was far from assured. The judicial and legislative successes of the mid-1960s were accompanied by mounting racial unrest in communities throughout the United States.

The sparks of controversy that were set in the early postwar period ignited into raging fires during the middle of the last decade. These fires became literal realities in some cities of the North and West during the mid-1960s. Racial violence erupted in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Brooklyn, Rochester, and New York's Harlem during 1964 and 1965.¹ The community of Watts, a virtually all-black section of south-central Los Angeles, was literally set afire during the riots that began there on August 11, 1965.²

The fires, however, were confined to verbal and philosophical disagreement in the majority of American communities. Since the mid-1960s the flames of discord cut across racial lines. There is not merely the possibility of disagreement between black and white; there is heated debate between white and white and between black and black as well. In some communities this disagreement has led to an open exchange of views that cleared the air and evolved into programs of positive action, such as those currently operating in Syracuse, New York; Evanston, Illinois; Berkeley, California; Westchester County, New York; or Sacramento, California.³ In other communities this disagreement has led to a deep bipolarization of views and division that impedes progress in race relations.

¹Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, p. 184.

²Los Angeles Times, August 12, 1965, p. 1.

³Ecumenical Council, Pasadena's Road to Quality Education, pp. 27-42.

To say those fires do not remain burning today is to ignore one of the most basic problems that beset any plan for concerted action on civil rights. They may not always rage as fiercely as they once did, but in many communities they smolder. Sometimes they smolder on the surface and sometimes just beneath it, but the smoldering flame is often more difficult to extinguish than the roaring one. While this intensity of feeling is understandable, it often inhibits objective approaches to problems of racial discord within a community.

The internal division within the civil rights movement during the current period often seems to smolder rather than erupt. The period itself was launched by a curious blend of Negro successes in the courthouse and legislature and Negro resentment in the streets. Many minorities were impatient with the slowness of tangible results emanating from their judicial and legislative victories, and the civil rights leadership currently reflects that impatience. The period from 1966 to 1972 has been characterized by greater militancy. Some of the most influential writers and leaders of the late 1960s and early 1970s call for black and brown separatism rather than desegregation and ultimate integration with white America.¹

The dividing line between the postwar and current civil rights periods appears to be the emergence of the philosophy of "black power:" in its more extreme form, that philosophy expressed by the Black Muslims. Malcolm X led that movement at its beginning, but he had separated from it at the time of his murder in 1965. Henry Steele

¹Alfred F. Young, ed., Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University, 1968), pp. 321-54.

Commager asserts that the killing of Malcolm X was probably ordered by the Black Muslims.¹ This theory received rather wide exposure in the press at the time of the death of Malcolm X, but it has not been conclusively shown to be fact.

Stokely Carmichael became a most influential and articulate spokesman for black power among major civil rights leaders. Carmichael spoke from an important power base in his position as National Chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. The view of black power toward integration was a negative one, and it was expressed by Carmichael when he said:

Integration, moreover, speaks to the problem of blackness in a despicable way. As a goal, it has been based on complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education, blacks must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to a white school. This reinforces, among both black and white, the idea that "white" is automatically better and "black" is by definition inferior. This is why integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. It allows the nation to focus on a handful of Southern children who get into white schools, at great price, and to ignore the 94 per cent who are left behind in unimproved all-black schools. Such situations will not change until black people have power - - - to control their own school boards, in this case.³

Black power is defined by Carmichael and others as the ability of black people to achieve political, economic, and social control within the black community. It tells the black that he must rely upon himself to rebuild the ghetto rather than move from the ghetto and support integration within the larger white society.

¹Commager, The Struggle for Racial Equality, p. 251.

²August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, eds., Black Protest in the Sixties (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 19.

³Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want" (as reprinted in Commager, The Struggle for Racial Equality, p. 256).

The roots of concepts such as black power appear in such slogans as "black consciousness" and "black is beautiful," and they call upon an emphasis on racial identity as a source of pride. The civil rights movement has redirected itself toward this emphasis during the current period. While such movements as the Black Muslims and Black Panthers differ as to strategy, they agree in supporting the rebuilding of exclusively black communities by black people.¹ They call for promotion of black political leadership in the ghetto, creation of all-black businesses that will return their profits to the black community, support for black banks that will finance those businesses, and the establishment of all-black school boards that will attend to the problems of raising education in all-black schools to a position of parity with the whites.

Similar movements have recently emerged among Mexican-Americans in California areas such as East Los Angeles and the San Joaquin Valley, and among American Indians in some sections of California, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico.² The important feature of each of these movements is that the stress is upon separation rather than integration. It is ironic that these new movements seem to support a return to the "separate but equal" concept of a previous century in preference to the desegregation order that was so widely acclaimed by civil rights leaders in 1954.

¹See Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, eds., American Violence: A Documentary History (New York: Knopf, 1970) and Philip F. Foner, ed., The Black Panthers Speak (New York: Lippincott, 1970).

²See John R. Howard, ed., The Awakening Minorities: American Indians, Mexican-Americans, Black Americans and Puerto Ricans (New York: Aldine, 1970) and Stan Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

The internal division among minority leaders on the issue of integration versus separation has deeply divided the civil rights movement in recent years. Since the proponents of separatism do not contribute to the growth of the civil rights movement as a national trend toward school desegregation, it is not the purpose of this chapter to detail their arguments. Their tenets are presented, however, since they have considerable influence upon the thinking of all citizens concerned.

Selected Test Cases

Resistance to the Supreme Court decision requiring national desegregation of schools took three major forms: (1) challenge to that decision by the original defendants in the cases determined by the Court on May 17, 1954, (2) efforts to delay the implementation of desegregation plans in the South, and (3) attempts to avoid desegregation by gerrymandering the school district lines within the cities of the North. Each of these resistance strategies represented a carefully constructed effort to circumvent the Brown decision.

The Briggs v. Elliott case represented the challenge to the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, by South Carolina, one of the four original defendants in the cases heard by the Court on that date. The Little Rock School Board attempted to delay implementation of its own desegregation plan in the case of Aaron v. Cooper. The Taylor v. New Rochelle Board of Education case, cited earlier, involved an attempt to gerrymander school district lines to avoid desegregation within the schools of that New York community.

The success of any one of these resistance plans would have severely reduced the trend toward national school desegregation. The success of all of them would have virtually halted the movement entirely.

Briggs v. Elliott

It will be recalled that the decisions reached by the Supreme Court in May of 1954 involved court cases originating in Kansas, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina.¹ The most bitterly fought of the original actions was the South Carolina case of Briggs v. Elliott.² It commanded particular public attention because the practice of segregation was much more prevalent in South Carolina than it was in Kansas, Delaware, or even Virginia. The South Carolina case was the first of the original suits to reach decision, and it was the first to reach the Supreme Court.³

The challenge to the precedent of the 1954 Supreme Court decision was turned aside by the same judge whose opinion that decision had overruled. The South Carolina school board was enjoined from discriminatory practices and ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed."⁴

Perhaps more significant than the establishment of precedent was the statement of Federal Circuit Judge John J. Parker and colleagues on the meaning of the Brown decision. The statement began with a para-

¹Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, p. 177.

²Briggs v. Elliott, 342 U.S. 350, 72 Sup. Ct. 327, 96 L. Ed. 392 (1952).

³Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, p. 177.

⁴Ibid., p. 178.

graph which has been repeatedly quoted by Southern groups supporting desegregation.

Whatever may have been the views of this court as to law when the case was originally before us, it is our duty now to accept the law as declared by the Supreme Court.

Having said this, it is important that we point out exactly what the Supreme Court has decided and what it has not decided in this case. It has not decided that the federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the states. It has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend. What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. This, under the direction of the Supreme Court, the state may not do directly or indirectly; but if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even through the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches. Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation. The Fourteenth Amendment is a limitation upon the exercise of power by the state or state agencies, not a limitation upon the freedom of individuals.¹

The federal court ruling upholding the May 31, 1955 implementation order in *Briggs v. Elliott* provided the first major test of challenges to the Supreme Court decision. It clearly refused the challenge to precedent filed before it on the part of South Carolina. It provided its own precedent toward refusal of other challenges by original defendants in the 1954 cases. A final contribution of this test case is the court's definition of law as contained in the original Supreme Court ruling.

¹*Briggs v. Elliott*, 132 F. Supp. 776, 777 (E.D.S.C. 1955).

Aaron v. Cooper

A critical test case in the efforts of many states to delay the implementation of desegregation is found in Aaron v. Cooper.¹ This Arkansas court battle involved incident and judgments that spanned a four-year period. The case moved through seven separate hearings before it was resolved. Its final decision in 1958 represented a landmark verdict in the national trend toward school desegregation.

Aaron v. Cooper involved the desegregation of public schools in Little Rock. The original movement toward desegregation began promptly. On May 20, 1954, three days after the Brown decision, the school board issued a policy statement:

It is our responsibility to comply with Federal Constitutional Requirements and we intend to do so when the Supreme Court of the United States outlines the method to be followed.²

The superintendent of schools was then instructed to prepare a school desegregation plan. This plan was approved by the school board on May 24, 1955, seven days before the Supreme Court issued its implementation order. Under this plan, grades ten through twelve at the senior high schools would begin desegregation in September, 1957, to be followed by desegregation at the junior high and elementary school levels. The plan called for complete desegregation by 1963.³

Initial objections to the plan were raised by Negro groups. They argued that the plan was too slow. The courts disagreed. In

¹(Not officially reported), 78 Sup. Ct. 1397, 3 L. Ed.2d 1 (1958).

²"Supreme Court Decision - Segregation in Public Schools," Little Rock District School Board, May 20, 1954.

³Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, pp. 277-78.

a hearing within the Federal District Court the Little Rock plan was upheld as meeting the Supreme Court mandate of "all deliberate speed."¹ This verdict was supported in a later decision by the Court of Appeals.²

At that point it appeared that the issue of Aaron v. Cooper was resolved. The Little Rock desegregation plan appeared about to become a guideline for desegregation of public schools throughout the South. The desegregation time schedule had been upheld by the courts, and the plan was instituted in a state with strong pro-segregation support.³

Complications arose when Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus dispatched National Guard units to Central High School to prevent nine Negro students from enrolling with over two thousand non-Negro students. The issue of Aaron v. Cooper was revived when a preliminary injunction was granted to enjoin Governor Faubus and the National Guard from disobeying the previous court order.⁴

The most critical litigation in Aaron v. Cooper began in February of 1958. The Little Rock school board filed petition in federal court, requesting a postponement of its own desegregation program. The petition cited the "chaos, bedlam, and turmoil" of public hostility,

¹143 F. Supp. 855 (Ark. 1956).

²243 F.2d 361 (8th Cir. 1957).

³Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, pp. 278-79.

⁴Ibid., p. 279.

which it contended was preventing a sound educational program at Central High School.¹ The delay was granted,² but this decision was reversed by appeal.³

Because of the importance of this issue, the United States Supreme Court met in Special Term to review the Aaron v. Cooper case.⁴ Its decision was reached on September 11, 1958, in a per curiam order affirming the appeal decision and requiring Little Rock to reinstate the original desegregation plan. The Court unanimously ruled as follows:

The constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and legislature... Thus law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights... In short, the Constitutional Rights of children not to be discriminated against in School admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the Brown case can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislation or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted "ingeniously" or "ingenuously."⁵

The Court emphasized its unanimity in the concluding statement of its review of the Aaron v. Cooper case:

Since the first Brown opinion three new Justices have come to the Court. They are at one with the Justices still on the Court who participated in that basic decision as to its correctness, and that decision is now unanimously reaffirmed. The principles announced in that decision and the

¹Ibid.

²163 F. Supp. 13 (Ark. 1958).

³257 F.2d 33 (8th Cir. 1958).

⁴(Not officially reported), 78 Sup. Ct. 1397, 3 L. Ed.2d 1 (1958).

⁵358 U.S. at 17, 78 Sup. Ct. at 1409, 3 L. Ed.2d at 16.

obedience of the States to them according to the command of the Constitution, are indispensable for the protection of the freedoms guaranteed by our fundamental charter for all of us. Our constitutional idea of equal justice under law is thus made a living truth.¹

Aaron v. Cooper followed a confusing path of events before reaching its conclusion. The final verdict was nonetheless clear. Tactics of delay and evasion would not be tolerated by the Court. The strongly worded conclusion in Aaron v. Cooper served notice upon other states and school districts of the Court's impatience regarding such tactics.

Taylor v. New Rochelle Board of Education

Even more significant than Aaron v. Cooper in the national picture of school desegregation is the 1961 New York case of Taylor v. New Rochelle Board of Education.² While Aaron v. Cooper was a key test of the delaying tactics employed in the South, its verdict was anticipated from previous studies of the Brown case. The issue involved in the New Rochelle case was very different.

What was achieved in Aaron v. Cooper was the beginning of a desegregation plan. This was an understandable goal in the South. Such beginnings already existed in the North, but some Northern cities were avoiding meaningful desegregation by gerrymandering school district lines. Civil rights groups were fighting this type of discrimination in Chicago, Newark, Philadelphia, and New Rochelle. The New Rochelle case was the first to be decided in the courts.³

¹358 at 19, 78 Sup. Ct. at 1410, 3 L. Ed.2d at 18.

²191 F. Supp. 181 (N.Y. 1961).

³Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, p. 281.

Under the "neighborhood school plan" in New Rochelle, each student was required to attend the elementary school within the district of his residence. Transfers to elementary schools in other districts were granted by school authorities only under "exceptional circumstances."¹

As a result of the city's districting and redistricting plans, the Lincoln School in 1960-61 had a student body which was ninety-four per cent Negro. This was a direct result of gerrymandering.² Lincoln School had once been one hundred per cent Negro, since, until 1949, white children were permitted to transfer to other grade schools.

A suit was filed on behalf of eleven Negro pupils attending Lincoln School against the New Rochelle Board of Education. The plaintiffs charged that the board's redistricting plans had "deliberately and intentionally created and maintained Lincoln School as a racially segregated school,"³ thus violating the Fourteenth Amendment and the principles set down in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The defendant school board hotly denied the accusation of racial discrimination. It pointed out, for example, that the two junior high schools and one senior high school were attended by all children, regardless of race, although it did concede that the ninety-four per cent Negro enrollment at Lincoln School was an accurate figure.⁴

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 282.

Judge Irving R. Kaufman heard the New Rochelle case in federal district court and found in favor of the plaintiffs. He found that gerrymandering had in fact occurred, and he reached the following conclusion:

If a Board of Education enters into a course of conduct motivated by a purposeful desire to perpetuate and maintain a segregated school, the constitutional rights of those confined within this segregated establishment have been violated.¹

The Federal Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit upheld the Kaufman decision by a two-to-one vote.² Judge Charles Clark said for the majority:

Race was made the basis for school districting with the purpose and effect of producing a substantially segregated school. This clearly violates the Fourteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.³

The meaning of the school desegregation case in New Rochelle was clear. No school district may use race as a classification factor to promote or maintain segregation within any of its schools. The drawing of district boundary lines may not be legally manipulated with the purpose or effect of creating or sustaining segregation.

Taylor v. Board of Education was particularly important because it was the first major test case involving desegregation in the North. This New York case in 1961 set a precedent which was followed in other cases involving northern cities. The law applied in New Rochelle was repeatedly cited as school desegregation moved through the 1960s and early 1970s.

¹Id., at 194.

²Blaustein and Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law, p. 282.

³*Taylor v. Board of Education of New Rochelle*, F.2d (2nd Cir. 1961).

Summary

This chapter has dealt with a review of national trends toward school desegregation. For a full understanding of desegregation in Pasadena, such a review is necessary. National trends toward school desegregation influence local desegregation in Pasadena and elsewhere. Had the research for this study been confined to events within Pasadena, only a limited approach to this problem could have been presented.

The review of national trends toward school desegregation included three areas of study within this chapter. The movement within the courts from "separate but equal" to mandated school desegregation was outlined. Growth of the civil rights movement was traced through a three-stage cycle from early development in the 1860s, rapid growth from 1945 to 1965, and factional division in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Finally, the challenges to implementation of school desegregation were examined through a study of three selected test cases.

This historical review of national trends toward school desegregation combines with the material presented in the following chapter to provide the overall review necessary for a full understanding of the conditions that shaped and influenced the decision of Judge Manuel L. Real. An historical review of factors in Pasadena leading to the court decision of 1970 is presented in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF FACTORS IN PASADENA LEADING TO THE COURT DECISION OF 1970

Introduction

A study of conditions within the schools of Pasadena reveals that the problems of racial imbalance did not appear there suddenly. These problems and the opportunities to solve them short of court action span a period of two decades prior to the decision of Judge Manuel L. Real on January 20, 1970.

The potential for difficulties in achieving racial balance and the need for solving those difficulties within the Pasadena public schools emerged during the "decade of opportunity and division" represented by the 1950s. The realization of these difficulties and the greater urgency for specific plans to resolve them is evident in the "decade of challenge and change" represented by the 1960s.

Factors leading to the court decision in 1970 include the failure of several bond issues, withdrawal of two heavily Anglo-Caucasian areas from the Pasadena public schools, influx of large numbers of minority families from other areas, lack of a significant minority population in any of the communities that surround the Pasadena Unified School District, and a number of controversial school plans that aimed toward racial balance but failed to achieve it.

This chapter presents an historical review of these factors. It also considers those events which led to the federal court hearing in Los Angeles which resulted in Judge Real requiring the Pasadena Unified School District to submit, within one month, a plan to accomplish the desegregation it had been unable to voluntarily achieve over a period of years. On January 20, 1970, Judge Real directed the school district to present its plan to him for approval no later than February 16, 1970. The wording of this directive is contained in page two of the original court order issued in the case of Spangler et al v. the Pasadena Unified School District.

This directive might never have been needed if the community and school officials of Pasadena had reached different decisions at some previous point in time. The decisions that were made by the citizens of Pasadena are an important part of this study. They provide the basis for the suit that mandated school desegregation in Pasadena. A review of those decisions is necessary to a full understanding of that mandate. This chapter conducts such a review.

Patterns of School Organization Prior to 1950

A review of the patterns of school organization in Pasadena provides an historical perspective through which the organizational changes of the Pasadena Plan may be identified and understood. The earliest patterns of school organization precede the appointment of Edward T. Pierce as the first Pasadena Superintendent of Schools in 1887.¹

¹Clyde M. Hill and Lloyd N. Morrisett, Report of the Survey of the Pasadena City Schools (Pasadena: Pasadena Citizens School Survey Committee, 1952), p. 1.

School organization in Pasadena began in 1874 with a district consisting of ten square miles, a one-room building, and a single teacher. The total student enrollment within the district expanded from two to fourteen during the first month of operation.¹

The Pasadena public schools grew slowly from their modest origin. District facilities were expanded in 1878 to include two schools that provided instruction from grades one through eleven.² A twelfth year program was added in 1880, and a separate high school facility was built in 1892.³

Establishment of a separate high school created a transition in school organization within Pasadena. The 8-4 plan was adopted in 1892, and a regular kindergarten program was added in 1901.⁴ The 8-4 system of organization remained in effect until 1913, and during its span of operation the total district enrollment increased from eighty-five to one thousand forty-seven.⁵

In 1913 intermediate schools were established throughout the district, and a 6-3-3 organization replaced the 8-4 plan. The junior high school became an integral part of Pasadena school organization, and the 6-3-3 plan continued until a junior college was added in 1924.⁶

¹A. Roland Walker, ed., 81 Years of Public Education in Pasadena (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1955), p. 31.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 10.

⁴Ibid., p. 13.

⁵Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁶Ibid., p. 27.

A 6-3-3-2 plan was employed during a four-year interim period following establishment of Pasadena City College, but in 1928 the school board adopted the 6-4-4 plan. This plan combined the high school and junior college in a system of school organization that remained in effect within Pasadena for a twenty-six year period.¹

Apart from the Pasadena Plan, the most widely publicized and most controversial school pattern ever employed by the Pasadena public schools was the 6-4-4 plan. The merits of the 6-4-4 system were debated by educators throughout the United States, and the plan gained for the Pasadena City School District a reputation as an educational innovator that attracted many widely-known educators to leadership positions within its schools.

One such educator, Mr. Willard E. Goslin, assumed the position of Superintendent of Schools in Pasadena upon Dr. Sexson's retirement in 1948. Having stated upon his appointment that one of the reasons he came to Pasadena was its reputation for innovation, it is ironic that his dismissal, less than three years later, caused many to reconsider their evaluation of that community as being supportive of educational innovation.² The circumstances surrounding Mr. Goslin are discussed at a later point within this chapter. The controversy that attended his dismissal created the first of a series of damaging divisions that beset the Pasadena schools during the decade of the 1950s. These divisions presented significant barriers to educational progress in Pasadena on such issues as the expansion of school facilities, acquisition of desired funding for new programs, and steps to improve racial balance within district schools.

¹Ibid., p. 31.

²See David Hurlburt, This Happened in Pasadena (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1951).

Decade of Opportunity and Division: 1950-1960

The structure and scope of the Pasadena public schools remained basically unchanged during the decade from 1950 to 1960. Clyde M. Hill and Lloyd N. Morrisett outline the community served by the Pasadena City Schools in the 1950s:

The Pasadena School Districts are three in number. The Pasadena City School District, which operates the elementary schools, includes the City of Pasadena, the unincorporated area known as Altadena, and a few unincorporated county divisions within and on the edge of Pasadena. The Pasadena City High School District and the Pasadena City Junior College District are identical in area and include the territory of the Pasadena City School District plus the unincorporated City of Sierra Madre and certain county territories including La Canada and portions of Temple City. The Pasadena City High School and Junior College Districts embrace an area of approximately 128 square miles.¹

The population of Pasadena had reached 104,000 in 1950. The city of Sierra Madre had grown to 7,228, La Canada to 9,750, Temple City to 28,751, and Altadena to 35,753 in 1950. The total population served by the three Pasadena School Districts at the beginning of the 1950s approximated 200,000.²

The community and schools of Pasadena were undergoing the beginnings of racial transition prior to 1950. Hill and Morrisett trace the signs of that transition in their Report of the Survey of the Pasadena City Schools:

. . . it is seen that the nonwhite population is increasing more rapidly than the white population. In 1940, Pasadena

¹Hill and Morrisett, Report of the Survey of the Pasadena City Schools, p. 17.

²Ibid.

City had a total nonwhite population of 5.95 per cent of the total number of residents. In 1950, the nonwhite population comprised 9.4 per cent of the total population of Pasadena City, while 7.5 per cent of the population of the city were Negroes.

Further evidence of the increase in nonwhite population within the Pasadena School Districts was revealed by a study of racial distribution and enrollment of pupils from 1934 to 1950. Although pupils of Mexican descent were fewer in 1950 than in 1934 (850 against 370), Negro children in the schools have almost doubled in number (from 703 in 1934 to 1344 in 1950), their number having shown a consistent gain each year since 1943, with the greatest single year's gain being registered between 1949 and 1950 (112). Oriental pupils were almost the same in number in 1950 (366) as in 1934 (370).¹

Nonwhite movement into Pasadena began to accelerate in 1950.

Table 2 summarizes the ethnic divisions among Pasadena residents at the initial stage of this movement.

TABLE 2
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PASADENA RESIDENTS CLASSED AS NATIVE WHITE,
FOREIGN BORN WHITE, NEGRO, AND OTHER RACES ACCORDING TO THE
OFFICIAL CENSUS FIGURES OF APRIL, 1950

Classification	Male		Female		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Native White	37,556	80.9	47,418	81.6	84,974	81.2
Foreign Born White	4,223	9.1	5,602	9.6	9,825	9.4
Negro	3,529	7.6	4,291	7.4	7,280	7.5
Other races	1,116	2.4	842	1.4	1,958	1.9
Totals	46,424	100.0	58,153	100.0	104,577	100.0

Source: Clyde M. Hill and Lloyd N. Morrisett, Report of the Survey of the Pasadena City Schools (Pasadena: Pasadena Citizens School Survey Committee, 1952), p. 53.

¹Ibid., pp. 52-53.

The Lost Opportunities

Seven factors provided opportunities to improve the racial balance within the Pasadena City Schools from 1950 to 1960. These factors include: (1) a relatively low percentage of minority students that never exceeded 20 per cent, making a plan for racial distribution easier to implement than would be true with higher minority percentages; (2) opening of two new junior high schools, providing new options for redistricting; (3) adjacent location of elementary schools having high minority and non-minority enrollments, creating opportunities for student exchanges to accomplish desegregation without use of a costly or controversial cross-town bussing system; (4) structural reorganization within the school system, presenting possibilities for overall redistricting to improve ethnic balance; (5) effect of the Brown decision, mandating school desegregation in local communities such as Pasadena; (6) availability of bonds to relocate an existing senior high school, presenting an opportunity to select a new site in an area that would reduce existing racial imbalance between the two senior high schools in Pasadena; and (7) passage of a series of bond and tax proposals during the period from 1956 to 1959, permitting financial options that might have been directed in part toward achieving desegregation. An examination of each of these seven factors provides a perspective of the opportunities lost during the 1950s.

As previously indicated in Table 2, the total minority resident population in Pasadena was less than 11 per cent in 1950. A review of school enrollment figures published by the district from 1950 to 1960

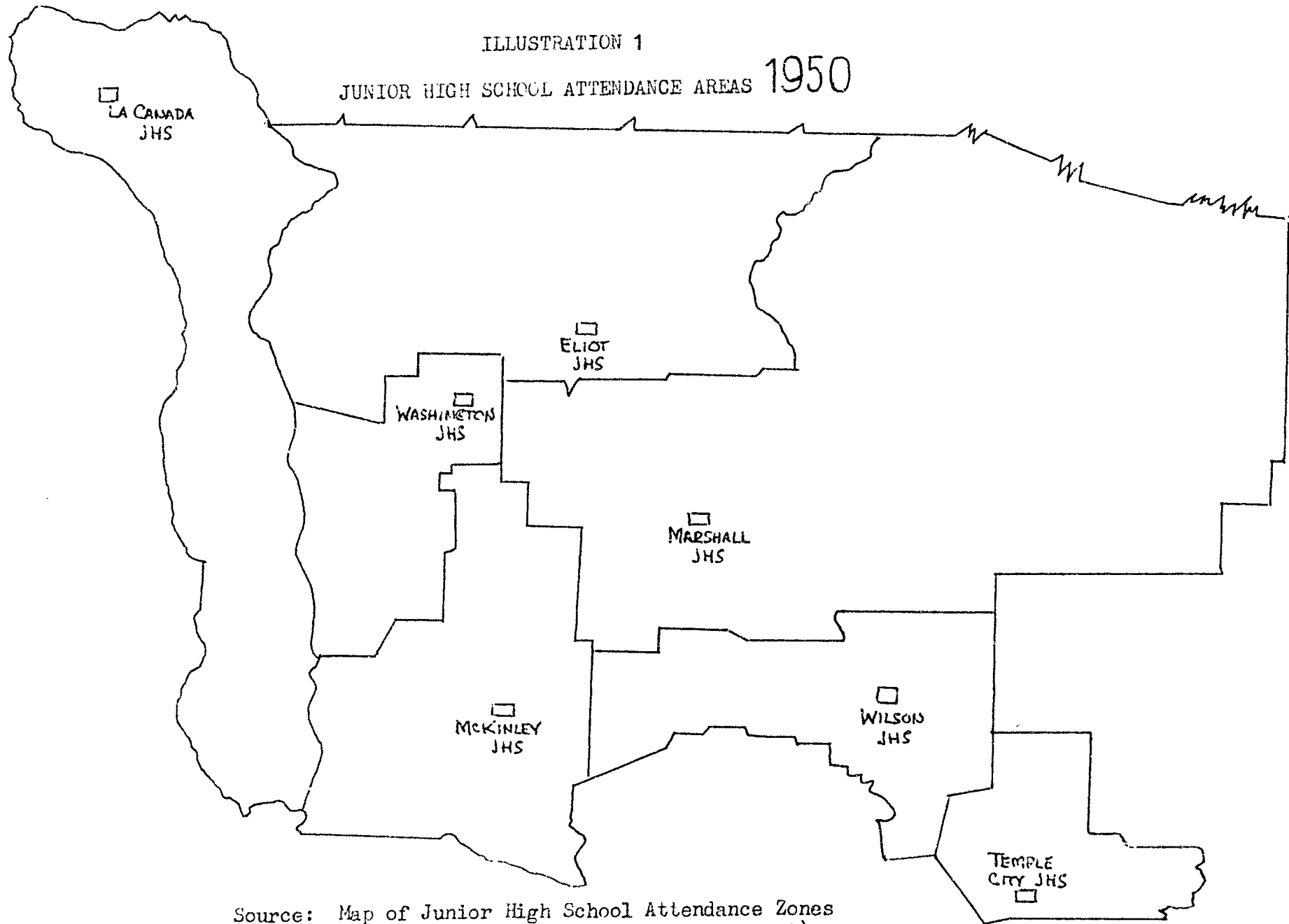
revealed that the total percentage of minority students in the Pasadena City Schools never exceeded 20 per cent during that period. The minority student population in Pasadena exceeded 40 per cent in October of 1969, and the minority percentage increased an additional 5 per cent by the time court-ordered desegregation took effect in 1970.¹ Administrative confusion from numbers alone might lead to the conclusion that school desegregation in the 1950s would have been easier to implement in Pasadena than it was in 1970. A plan for such desegregation would have had the additional advantage of being a voluntary one. No proposal to act upon this opportunity was made by the Pasadena Board of Education.

Two new junior high schools were opened in 1950, and each was in close proximity to a Pasadena junior high school of mixed racial enrollment. The allocation of pupils to the new junior high schools, La Canada and Temple City, not only ignored the possibilities of improving ethnic balance, but accentuated segregation by creating additional virtually all-white schools to the system. The La Canada attendance area bypassed the heavily black Cleveland and Lincoln elementary schools and included the more distant San Rafael district. Cleveland and Lincoln students continued to attend Washington Junior High School, the only junior high school with a predominantly minority population in the early 1950s. The Temple City attendance area did not include any of the Mexican-American population areas served by the adjacent Wilson Junior High School, so the racial composition at Wilson remained unchanged. Illustration 1 indicates the junior high school attendance areas that existed in 1950.

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1971), p. 1.

ILLUSTRATION 1

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS 1950



Source: Map of Junior High School Attendance Zones
(Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1950).

Each of the three elementary schools that contained minority enrollments over 80 per cent in 1952 were located adjacent to elementary schools that contained minority populations that in 1952 did not exceed 20 per cent.¹ No significant action was taken to create racial balance at Cleveland, Lincoln, or Garfield, the three elementary schools which contained minority enrollments over 80 per cent in 1952. Such balance might have been achieved by an exchange of students between those elementary schools and adjacent elementary schools such as Linda Vista, San Rafael, Arroyo Seco, and Allendale, each of which had less than 20 per cent minority enrollment in 1952.² Such an exchange was not made. Illustration 2 shows the percentage of minority students enrolled within each Pasadena elementary school in 1952.

A structural reorganization within the Pasadena school system resulted from the decision of Temple City voters to withdraw from the Pasadena City High School District. After this decision was reached at a special election in December of 1953, the 6-4-4 plan was terminated, and Pasadena returned to a 6-3-3-2 form of organization on July 1, 1954.³ The reassignment of students as a result of the reorganization would appear to have been an excellent opportunity to consider an overall redistricting plan that might have improved ethnic balance throughout the remaining schools of the district, but students were reassigned within the same patterns of de facto segregation that existed prior to the Temple City withdrawal.

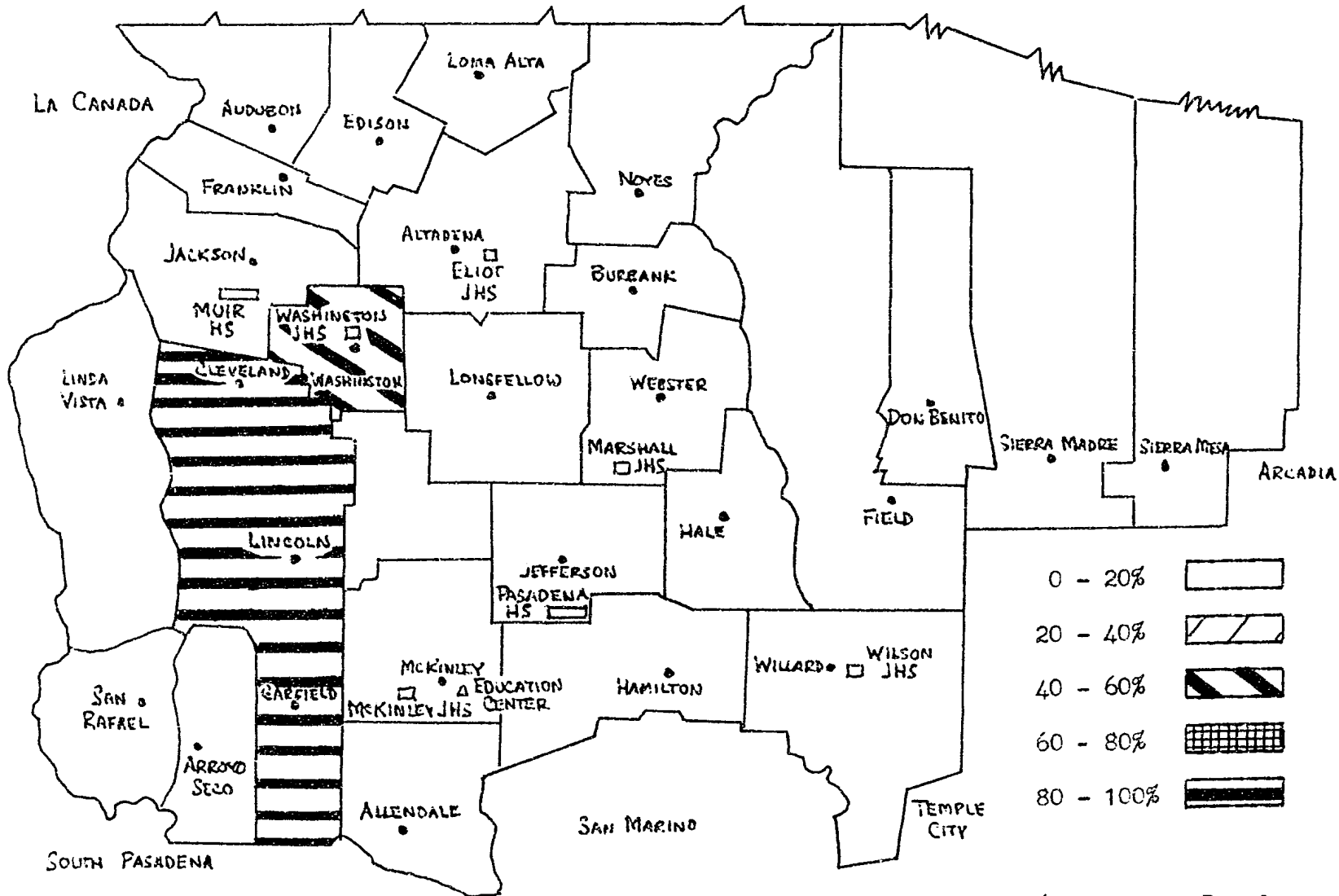
¹Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1952), p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Walker, 81 Years of Public Education in Pasadena, p. 41.

ILLUSTRATION 2

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY ELEMENTARY STUDENTS 1952



Source: Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1952), p. 2.

The Brown v. Board of Education case was discussed previously in Chapter III of this study. Its decision provided a legal mandate for national school desegregation, and many school districts took notice of this mandate by establishing voluntary desegregation plans. Despite the United States Supreme Court desegregation order of 1954, however, no plan for school desegregation was proposed by Pasadena school authorities during the 1950s.

A bond issue passed in 1958 provided the necessary funds for the creation of a new Pasadena High School facility and an opportunity for Pasadena to achieve a better racial balance between its two high schools, since the old Pasadena High School had been located in the racially mixed center of Pasadena and John Muir High School was located at its heavily non-white western extreme. The new Pasadena High School, however, was erected several miles to the east of its previous location. This eastward location increased rather than decreased the problems of racial balance, since it placed Pasadena High School in the heavily white eastern fringe of Pasadena. Such placement positioned the two high schools in Pasadena at opposite extremes of the community, both geographically and ethnically.

Five of the ten bond issues submitted to the voters for improving education in Pasadena during the 1950s passed, but none of these contained proposals for improving racial balance within the schools. A review of all ten bond proposals revealed no mention of specific provisions aimed toward improving racial balance. A renewed community support for the Pasadena schools was seen in the

passage of school bond and tax proposals from 1956 to 1959, but at least one of these proposals increased racial imbalance. The harmful effects of the eastward movement of Pasadena High School were discussed previously, and district figures show that a majority of the \$8,000,000 bond issue passed on June 3, 1958, was spent in construction of the new Pasadena High School at its present location east of Victory Park.¹

The Damaging Divisions

The 1950s represented a decade of divisions within the Pasadena City Schools. The most damaging of these appear to have been; (1) the tax election defeat of June 2, 1950, (2) the controversy surrounding the removal of Willard E. Goslin in November of 1950, (3) the decision of Temple City to withdraw from the Pasadena City High School District in December of 1953, (4) inconsistent support for the schools from 1956 to 1959, and (5) divisions within the school board itself.

The decisive defeat of a tax election in the elementary district on June 2, 1950, dealt a severe blow to public confidence in the Pasadena schools.² For the first time in its existence, Pasadena voted down an increase in taxes for its school system, and it did so by a resounding majority of 22,210 to 10,032. Dissatisfaction with the policies of Superintendent Goslin and the pressures of an economic recession appear to have been major factors in this defeat.³

The Pasadena City School Board requested the resignation of its Superintendent, Willard E. Goslin, in November of 1950. A nationally

¹Department of Research, Planning and Development, Election Statistics (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1969), p. 7.

²Walker, ed., 81 Years of Public Education in Pasadena, p. 41.

³Hurlburt, This Happened in Pasadena, p. 98.

known educator whose respect among his colleagues was evidenced by his election as President of the American Association of School Administrators shortly before he left Minneapolis to assume the Pasadena post, Mr. Goslin had made many friends in his two and a half years in Pasadena.¹ His proposed innovations and increased demands by the schools for financial support brought a hostile reaction from a majority of the school board, however, and a series of heated public meetings preceded the "purchase" of his contract by the board. The issue of his removal caused bitter debate among the citizens of Pasadena. Many saw his resignation as a defeat for progressive education, and others saw it as renewed evidence that Pasadena had its own set of three R's: rich, reactionary, and Republican.² The arguments that revolved around the action of the Pasadena Board of Education in removing Mr. Goslin attracted considerable attention among educators throughout the nation, and it created a division within the community that lasted for a protracted period of time.³

After a series of pre-election meetings that elicited expressions of bitter division over the quality of education within the Pasadena public schools, the voters in Temple City elected to withdraw from the Pasadena City High School District on December 18, 1953.⁴ Since the ethnic composition of Temple City students was virtually

¹Ibid., p. 145.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Walker, ed., 81 Years of Public Education in Pasadena, p. 41.

⁴Department of Research, Planning and Development, Election Statistics, p. 3.

100 per cent Anglo-Caucasian, this decision increased the percentage of minority residents remaining within the public schools of Pasadena.¹

The electorate within the Pasadena City School District demonstrated a pattern of unpredictability on school issues during the mid-1950s, and the campaigns involving school funds were particularly heated during this period. Pasadena residents were divided over support of their schools. Bond elections for the junior college and high school districts were rejected by the voters on March 4, 1953. Tax overrides were approved by the voters on June 5, 1953. When the Sierra Madre Elementary School District was annexed to the Pasadena City Schools, the Sierra Madre voters registered their displeasure by voting not to assume a liability for outstanding bond indebtedness in an election held on June 8, 1954. Two bond issues and a tax override were passed at the same time that Sierra Madre voiced its electoral protest, and additional tax support for the district was received on June 5, 1956.² Increased demands upon the property owner for support of school financing led to formation of groups within Pasadena that campaigned vigorously against passage of additional school bond and tax measures, and anti-bond groups such as Taxaction played increasing roles in school issues.³ A summary of the bond and tax issues presented to the voters within the Pasadena schools during the years from 1950 to 1959 is given within Table 3 of this study.

¹Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1954), p. 2.

²Department of Research, Planning and Development, Election Statistics, pp. 2-4.

³Pasadena Star News, June 4, 1958, p. 18.

TABLE 3

PASADENA SCHOOL BOND AND TAX STATISTICS

1950-1959

Date	Type	Total Vote	Yes	No	Amount
6/2/50	dTax (Elem.)	32,242	10,032	22,210	\$.90 to \$1.35
6/7/51	cTax (Elem.)	23,452	16,351	7,101	\$.90 to \$1.22
6/11/52	cTax (High, J.C.)	27,521	17,717	9,610	\$1.10 to \$1.51
6/11/52	cTax (Elem.)	24,785	16,679	7,899	\$.90 to \$1.32
3/4/53	dBond (J.C.)	26,638	13,849	11,897	\$ 5,230,000.00
3/4/53	dBond (High)	26,638	14,354	11,327	\$ 4,540,000.00
3/4/53	dBond (Elem.)	23,307	17,076	5,883	\$ 5,840,000.00
3/4/53	dBond (6-3-3)	26,638	11,158	14,125	\$ 5,360,000.00
6/5/53	cTax (High, J.C.)	26,077	14,420	9,158	\$1.10 to \$1.46
6/5/53	cTax (Elem.)	23,831	14,006	7,790	\$.90 to \$1.34
<u>County Conducted Elections for Unification</u>					
12/18/53	dLa Canada	13,401	8,501	4,900	-----
12/18/53	cTemple City	12,808	7,866	3,497	-----
<u>Consolidated on Primary Election Ballot</u>					
6/8/54	cBond (J.C.)	67,026	42,247	16,300	\$ 2,600,000.00
6/8/54	cBond (High)	61,310	38,788	14,080	\$ 6,200,000.00
6/8/54	cTax (High)	61,310	34,197	17,861	\$.75 to \$1.36
<u>District Conducted Special Election for Assumption of Liability for Outstanding Bonded Indebtedness (Elem.) by the Area of Sierra Madre City School District Annexed to Pasadena City School District</u>					
6/8/54	dFor Assumption	75	45	30	\$ 6,532,000.00
<u>Consolidated on Presidential Primary Ballot</u>					
6/5/56	cTax (High)	70,151	47,413	13,594	\$.75 to \$1.16
6/5/56	cTax (Elem.)	60,403	38,354	12,254	\$.90 to \$1.54
<u>Consolidated on County Primary Ballot</u>					
6/3/58	cBond (J.C.)	78,211	48,568	19,607	\$ 5,000,000.00
6/3/58	cBond (High)	70,383	46,027	16,213	\$ 8,000,000.00
6/5/59	cTax (J. C.)	26,292	14,365	11,442	\$.35 to \$.52
6/5/59	cTax (High)	25,168	14,126	10,787	\$1.16 to \$1.26
6/5/59	cTax (Elem.)	23,000	12,751	10,022	\$1.54 to \$1.93

Source: Department of Research, Planning and Development,
Election Statistics (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified
School District, 1969), pp. 2-4.

ac = carried

bd = defeated

There were sharp divisions among school board members as to the desired direction of administrative leadership in the Pasadena public schools during the 1950s, and the continuity of leadership was interrupted on several occasions. Four men served as school superintendents in Pasadena from 1950 to 1958. Willard E. Goslin was replaced by Frank R. Walkup, a former Pasadena school principal who was appointed Acting Superintendent of Schools on December 5, 1950. Dr. Stuart F. McComb was selected as the new Superintendent upon Mr. Walkup's retirement, and he took over the duties of that position on January 19, 1953.¹ Dr. Robert E. Jenkins was appointed Superintendent of Schools in 1958, following a series of new divisions within the Pasadena City Schools that led to Dr. McComb's resignation.

Decade of Challenge and Change: 1960-1970

A series of challenges and changes confronted the Pasadena public schools during the period from 1960 to 1970. Among the more important of these relating to racial distribution are the following: (1) the withdrawal of La Canada from the Pasadena City High School District in the fall of 1960, (2) the need for new school facilities, (3) the increased need for racial balance as a result of an increasing minority school population, (4) the case of Jackson v. Pasadena City School District, (5) adoption of the Geographic and Controlled Open District Plan, (6) construction of a third senior high school, (7) modifications in the Open District Plan, (8) the poor financial record of the Pasadena School District regarding the passage of school bond and tax proposals, (9) the withdrawal of the Pasadena Junior College District

¹Walker, ed., 81 Years of Public Education in Pasadena, p. 41.

and creation of the Pasadena Unified School District, (10) the appointment of Dr. Paul B. Salmon as Superintendent of Schools, (11) adoption of Plan A, (12) rescinding of Plan A following election of a new school board, (13) initiation of the Spangler suit, (14) investigation of the Pasadena Unified School District by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, (15) the case of Williams v. Pasadena Board of Education, (16) adoption of Plan V, (17) implementation of the Open Transfer Policy, (18) the resignation of Dr. Salmon and the appointment of Ralph W. Hornbeck as Superintendent of Schools, (19) completion of the investigation by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, (20) transfer of the Spangler suit to federal court and intervention by the Justice Department on behalf of the plaintiffs, (21) the disparity in racial distribution between Pasadena and neighboring cities, and (25) efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District to avoid court action.

Withdrawal of La Canada

The Pasadena City Schools were both challenged and changed by the withdrawal of La Canada students from the Pasadena secondary schools. La Canada elected to form its own unified school district in the fall of 1960. La Canada students had attended John Muir High School, and over ninety per cent of the approximately three hundred La Canada students sent to Muir each year were Anglo-Caucasian.¹ Minority enrollment at Muir was higher than that of Pasadena High School before the La Canada withdrawal, and the problem of racial balance at the

¹Department of Research, Ethnic and Racial Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1950-1960).

high school level in Pasadena was intensified when La Canada withdrew.

La Canada students in attendance at Muir at the time of the unification were permitted to remain there until they graduated. This interim time span provided an opportunity for the development of a district plan to reduce the racial imbalance that the La Canada withdrawal would create. Not only was no such plan proposed by the Pasadena school board during that time, but Judge Real pointed out in a forty-five page amplification of his original court order that board decisions in 1961, 1962, and 1963 actually increased the concentration of black students at Muir. He further pointed out that these decisions ignored the recommendations of citizens-staff groups established by the school district itself; these recommendations would have created a more equitable racial distribution between Muir and Pasadena High School.¹

The Need for New School Facilities

The La Canada decision also dramatized the need for new school facilities in Pasadena. The transfer of La Canada Junior High School from the Pasadena City Schools to the newly formed La Canada Unified School District on July 1, 1961, meant that the second of the two junior high schools built in the postwar period was now lost to Pasadena by a unification election. Both La Canada and Temple City Junior High had opened their doors in 1950. The Temple City facility had become part of the Temple City Unified School District in 1954. From 1961 to the conclusion of this study in 1972, all junior high

¹Lucie Lowery, Pasadena Star News, March 14, 1970, p. 1.

school students in Pasadena have received their schooling in facilities constructed prior to World War II.

One hope for securing new school facilities was lost with the defeat of Propositions "G" and "F", junior college and high school bond issues placed on the ballot in November of 1960. Since the \$4,500,000 junior college and \$9,000,000 high school bonds were placed on the ballot with the presidential election that year, a record ninety per cent of the voters responded to these issues.¹ This figure represented an all-time high for voter participation on a school bond issue in Pasadena, but the result of the election left the school district without the new facilities it had requested.

The Increased Need for Racial Balance

The early 1960s brought further evidence of the increased need for racial balance within the Pasadena City Schools. This need was accentuated by the growing racial imbalance between schools that resulted from a combination of an increasing minority population in the Pasadena schools and a continued lack of school district action to alleviate de facto segregation.

As was stated earlier, the opening of the new Pasadena High School in 1960 further increased the racial imbalance between the two high schools, since several hundred white students from the eastern section of the previous Muir attendance area were shifted to the new school.² Additional shifts of high school boundaries in 1961

¹Department of Research, Planning and Development, Election Statistics, p. 4.

²Reed, "Classic Segregation Crisis: Pasadena," New York Times, April 7, 1969, p. 2.

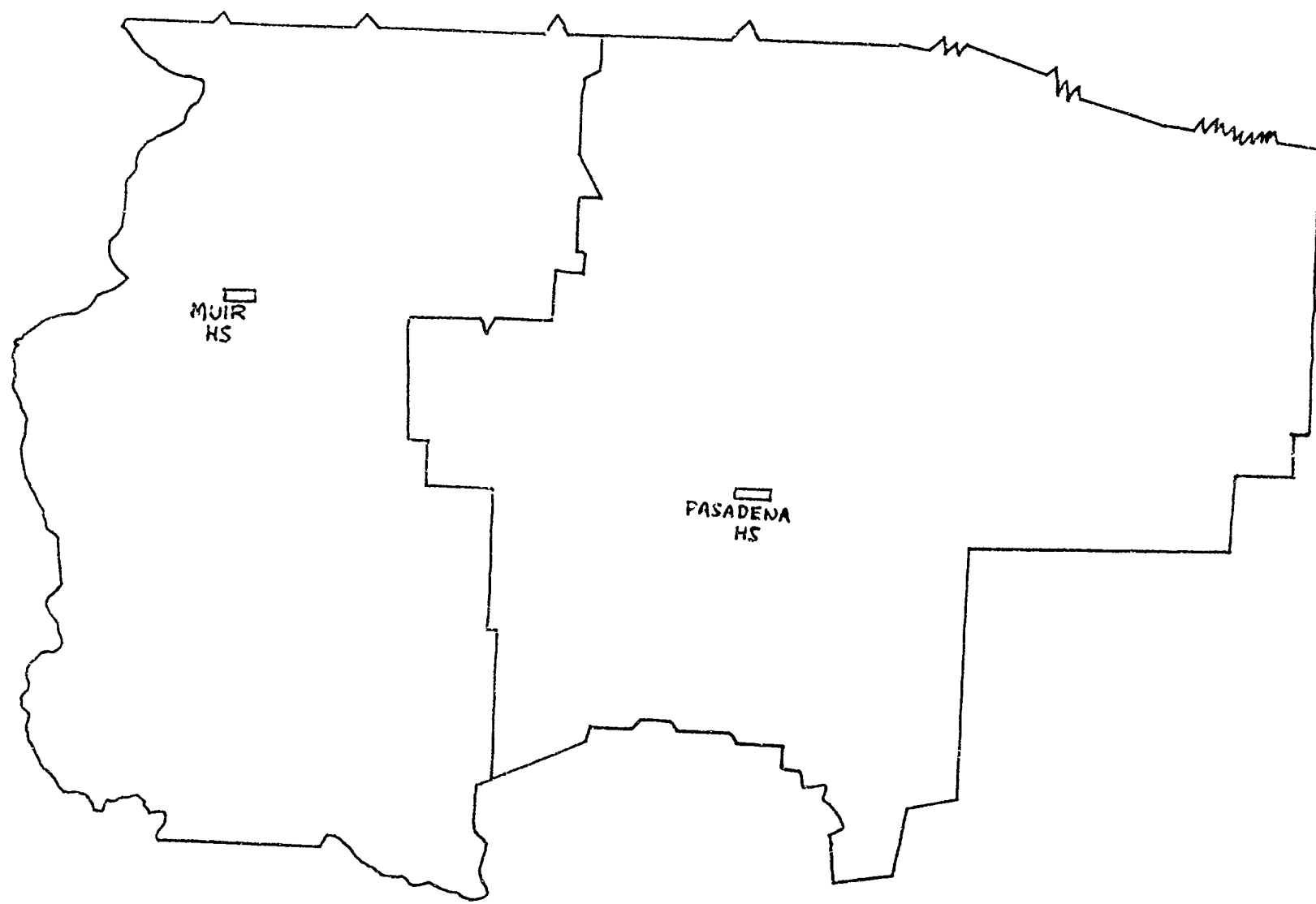
and 1962 increased the racial imbalance between John Muir and Pasadena High School. By 1962 John Muir High School was completely surrounded by a school attendance corridor that was over eighty per cent non-white, a corridor that began a mile north of the Muir campus and stretched southward to the southern limit of the Pasadena City School District. Pasadena High School in 1962 found itself surrounded by a school attendance "buffer zone" that was over eighty per cent Anglo-Caucasian.¹ The high school boundaries are indicated in Illustration 3, which appears on the following page.

The primarily white attendance area that surrounded Pasadena High School stretched in all directions from that school's newly established location in the eastern section of Pasadena. The closest attendance area to Pasadena High School with a non-white elementary school enrollment exceeding twenty per cent was that served by Madison Elementary School, which was over two miles due west of the Pasadena High School campus. In any direction other than westward, the primarily white attendance areas surrounding Pasadena High School stretched from that school to the limits of the school district. The relocation of Pasadena High School in 1960 did nothing to improve racial balance at the high school level.

An examination of racial distribution figures within the elementary schools of Pasadena indicates that the growth of the non-white population in Pasadena during the first two years of the 1960s was confined to the western side of town. Many Negro leaders in the Pasadena area

¹Department of Research, Ethnic and Racial Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1962), p. 2.

ILLUSTRATION 3
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS 1962



Source: Pasadena City School District Map of Senior High School Attendance Zones (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1962).

attribute this to a pattern of restrictive covenants in the sale of property which they assert has prevented Negroes from purchasing homes in non-western portions of either Pasadena or Altadena.¹

The 1962 racial distribution figures for the Pasadena elementary schools are reflected in Illustration 2 of this study. They show that in no school did minority enrollment decrease over percentages of the previous decade. Minority expansion was slight toward the east, and there was no minority movement into the virtually all-white areas of Linda Vista, San Rafael, and Arroyo Seco. The heavily Negro corridor of west side elementary schools with over 80 per cent minority enrollments expanded northward into Altadena, with significant increases in minority enrollments at Jackson, Franklin, and Edison elementary schools. These ethnic shifts are most notable in a line that runs directly north. Jackson, Franklin, and Edison all enrolled over 80 per cent Anglo-Caucasian students in the previous decade, but ten years later Jackson enrolled over 80 per cent minority students, and minority enrollments at Franklin and Edison exceeded 60 and 40 per cent respectively. Minority enrollment at Washington Elementary School rose from approximately 50 per cent to over 80 per cent during this same ten-year period.²

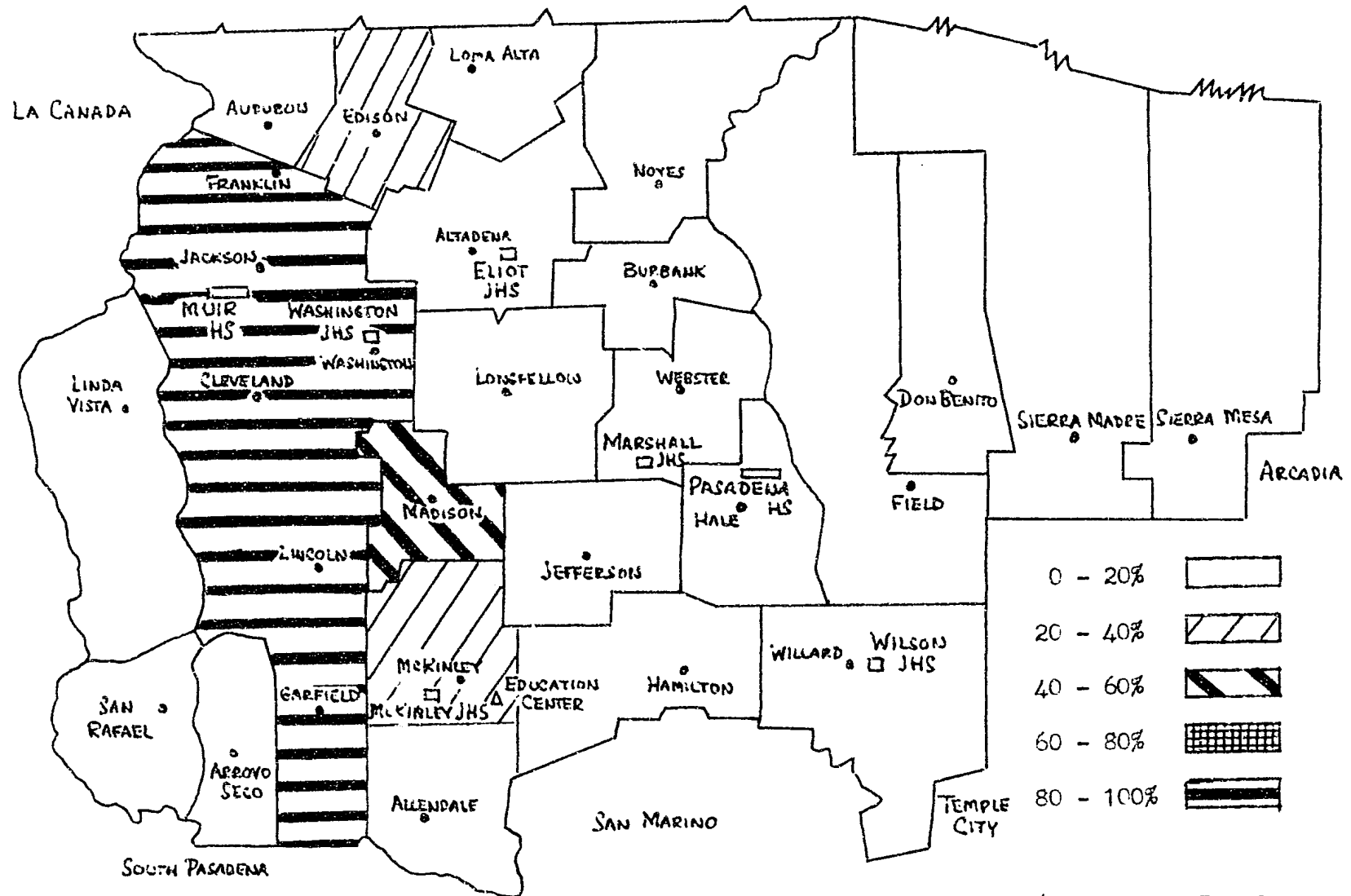
The rate of non-white expansion within the Pasadena elementary schools over a ten-year period can be measured by comparing Illustration 2 with Illustration 4. Illustration 2 appeared on page sixty-five of this study, and Illustration 4 appears on the following page.

¹Reed, "Classic Segregation Crisis: Pasadena," New York Times, April 7, 1969, p. 2.

²Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1962), p. 2.

ILLUSTRATION 4

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY ELEMENTARY STUDENTS 1962



Source: Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, 1962), p. 2.

Jackson v. the Pasadena School District

The landmark case of Jackson v. Pasadena City School District was decided in 1963. The California Supreme Court verdict in this case established the responsibility of a school district to take positive steps to establish attendance practices that would alleviate racial imbalance.¹ In August of 1961 a request was filed on behalf of Jay Jackson, a 13-year-old Negro, that he be allowed to attend Elicot Junior High School on the sole ground that Washington Junior High School, within which district he resided, was a segregated school "and therefore inferior."² The request was denied by the Pasadena school board, and in September of 1961 a suit was filed against the Board to compel the granting of the motion for transfer. The legal issue was expanded by a brief amicus curiae raising the question of "the application of the so-called doctrine of 'affirmative integration' to this case."³ This concept was accepted by the California Supreme Court in its opinion of June 27, 1963. The court said:

Where such segregation exists, it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct. . . The right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation require that school boards take steps, insofar as reasonably feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause. . .⁴

¹League of Women Voters of California, Desegregating California Schools (San Francisco: League of Women Voters of California, 1969), p. 24.

²James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 480.

³Ibid.

⁴Jackson v. Pasadena School District, 59 Cal. 2d 978, 82 (1963).

The Geographic and Controlled Open District Plan

In 1963 the Pasadena school board took its first steps to alleviate racial imbalance within the Pasadena City Schools. It adopted a Geographic and Controlled Open District Plan designed to reduce minority enrollments among heavily minority elementary schools. It created an Open District, which was in fact a sub-district within the overall school system attendance area, composed of elementary schools with student enrollments of over fifty per cent minority populations. The plan encouraged students within the Open District to apply for transfers to other elementary schools within the school system. Such transfers were on a voluntary basis. The original proposal stated:

1. All elementary children living within any of the present elementary districts would be assured a seat in the school serving that district area.

2. Parents in designated elementary schools would be permitted to register their children in any school where there are empty classrooms or empty seats, with transportation provided on any of the existing bus routes, if there is room on the bus; otherwise, transportation would be provided by the parents. Tentatively, the elementary schools designated for this option possibility would be in the more densely populated areas which would include Franklin, Jackson, Washington, Cleveland, Lincoln, Madison, and Garfield. Options could also be permitted for children to transfer from any of the other schools to the schools in the Selected Open District designated area if there are seats available following the options that were first taken by parents in any one of the seven schools in the more densely populated area.¹

The voluntary nature of the plan appeared to be its greatest weakness. The number of Negro students applying for transfers to schools outside the Selected Open District was less than expected. Minority students expressed a desire to remain in the neighborhood schools their brothers and sisters

¹Superintendent's Bulletin 26 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, September 18, 1970), p. 3.

had attended. The greatest percentage of transfer requests came from Anglo-Caucasian students wishing to leave the Open District schools. The westside Anglo-Caucasians saw the plan as a means of escape from those elementary schools with heavy minority enrollments. Virtually no requests were received for transfers into the Open District schools by students residing elsewhere.

Construction of a Third Senior High School

On October 15, 1963, Pasadena voters approved a \$5,000,000 bond issue that permitted construction of a third senior high school. The bond issue passed by a margin of 23,952 to 8,849, which constituted approval by seventy-three per cent of those voting.¹

Construction was initiated immediately on a site in the southwestern portion of the city. Plans were implemented to convert existing structures on the site for school use the following fall. An initial class of four hundred and seventy students entered Blair High School in September of 1964.² The ethnic composition of that class closely reflected the ethnic composition of the total school district. The junior high school which sent more of its student graduates to Blair than any other was McKinley Junior High School, and a review of district records reveals that McKinley has been the most consistently racially balanced junior high school within the Pasadena school system. From the entrance of the 1964 class up to and including enrollment of its present student population in March of 1972, Blair has always main-

¹Department of Research, Election Statistics, p. 4.

²Office of the Superintendent, "Pasadena Schools in Action" (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, September, 1964), p. 5.

tained greater racial balance than either of the other two senior high schools in Pasadena.¹

Modifications in the Open District Plan

The original proposal for the Geographic and Controlled Open District was amended after the Jackson v. Pasadena School District decision, and it was further amended after the bond issue permitting construction of Blair High School was approved.

Students in the Open District were requested to state first, second, and third choices of high school attendance, and students were to be assigned on a space-available basis that combined criteria of choice and distance. If one school received a larger number of first choice requests than it could accommodate, selection was based on a system giving preference to those students living closest to the school. The Superintendent of Schools projected that Negro enrollment at the three high schools under this plan would be as follows for the 1964-65 school year: Muir, 24 per cent; Pasadena, 5.9 per cent; and Blair, 17.9 per cent.²

The process by which the Pasadena City Schools implemented the Geographic and Controlled Open District Plan at the high school level is detailed by James S. Coleman and others in Equality of Educational Opportunity. A portion of that process is taken directly from the Coleman report:

. . . on January 7, 1964, the Superintendent made a presentation of detailed plans for implementation. Enrollment limits were

¹Department of Research, Ethnic and Racial Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools and Pasadena Unified School District, 1964-1972).

²Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 483.

set at 2,500 for Muir, 3,390 for Pasadena, and 470 for the third high school. On the basis of projected enrollments, it was expected that from the Selected Open District 97 spaces for 10th grades would be open at Muir, 195 at Pasadena, and 9 at the third high school. On March 25, 1964, the date selected for making the assignment of pupils to high schools, the estimates of space available proved to be wrong. Enough students had moved from the Muir and third high school areas to the Pasadena area in that short interval of time that only 48 open places remained at Pasadena. The spaces available at Muir increased to 191, and at the third high school (now named Blair High School) to 79.

Applying the agreed-upon procedure to the new figures resulted in partial disappointment of plans to correct racial imbalance. Only 43 students from the Selected Open District would be assigned to Pasadena, with 190 going to Muir and 79 to Blair. The result would be 41 percent minority group enrollment (29.6 Negro and 11.4 percent others) at Muir, 37.2 percent minority group enrollment (23 percent Negro and 14.2 percent others) at Blair, and 8.8 percent minority group enrollment (2.9 percent Negro and 5.9 percent others) at Pasadena. After the Superintendent reported those figures to the Board on April 7, he was bitterly criticized by the NAACP in the press. He was accused of breaking faith with promises made to the NAACP, prior to the bond election, with reference to correcting ethnic balance. At the Board meeting on April 14, he answered those charges.

He said that the Board was committed to a policy of providing some ethnic distribution, which it could keep by increasing enrollment capacity at Pasadena. And on April 17 he recommended that 125 10th-grade students in the Selected Open District who elected to attend Muir be permitted on a voluntary basis to change to Pasadena High School. If 125 failed to volunteer, the Board would choose on a random sampling basis enough students to fill the 125 seats. The breach between him and the NAACP had been closed, and the NAACP volunteered to recruit as many students as possible to fill the 125 places at Pasadena. The NAACP campaign was successful - - 97 Negro pupils living in the Selected Open District were persuaded to change their first choice from Muir to Pasadena, leaving only 28 places to be filled at Pasadena on an "involuntary" basis.

After enrollment in the fall of 1964, it appeared that the racial composition goals for the first of the 3 years had not been met. Muir was 29.6 percent Negro rather than 23 percent and Pasadena 5.5 percent rather than 10 percent.¹

¹Ibid., p. 484.

Modifications in the voluntary nature of the Open District Plan were initiated by the school board in 1965. Transfers were permitted from Open District schools only if those transfers improved ethnic balance. This meant that only minority students were granted transfers from schools within the Selected Open District. While Anglo-Caucasians within the Open District argued that this policy was racial discrimination in reverse, the school board held to its position. The legality of the school board position was eventually upheld in the 1968 case of *Green v. the School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, wherein the United States Supreme Court ruled that freedom-of-choice plans were an insufficient step in moving toward desegregation.¹

No plan for redistricting to achieve school desegregation was adopted in Pasadena during 1965 or 1966. A shift of some sixty students improved racial balance at both Washington Junior High School and Marshall Junior High School during the 1965-66 school year, but the district-wide pattern of de facto segregation remained.

Failure of Four Bond Issues in 1966

A major problem plaguing the Pasadena School District throughout the 1960s was its inability to gain community support for school bonds and tax issues. The failure of four bond issues in 1966 provides examples of the poor financial record of the school district regarding passage of proposals it deemed imperative for the maintenance of a high standard of education in Pasadena.

A \$19,000,000 bond issue received approval from 63.5 per cent of the voters on March 8, 1966, but this margin fell short of the

¹League of Women Voters of California, Desegregating California Schools, p. 6.

two-thirds needed for passage.¹ This bond issue was designed to meet construction and maintenance needs, purchase sites for four new elementary schools, expand Blair from a 1,500 to 2,000 student capacity, and repair older schools to meet the safety standards required by the Field Act.² The new elementary sites and a larger enrollment at Blair High School were viewed as opportunities to improve ethnic balance throughout the district, but this bond defeat frustrated those hopes.

The slim margin of defeat in March encouraged district officials to submit the same request to Pasadena voters on June 7, 1966. Three separate bonds were offered this time, ranging in amounts from \$9,310,000 to \$4,610,000. Each was defeated by a greater margin than the March bond issue.³

Creation of the Pasadena Unified School District

The Pasadena Unified School District became a reality in April of 1966. The Pasadena Junior College District was formed at that time, and Pasadena City College severed its formal connections with the Pasadena City Schools.

This important organizational change provided the Pasadena Unified School District with its present structure. The previously

¹Department of Research, Election Statistics, p. 5.

²Office of the Superintendent, Fact Sheet on the Proposed Bond Issue of March 8, 1966 (Pasadena: Pasadena City Schools, January, 1966), pp. 1-6.

³Department of Research, Election Statistics, p. 5.

separate elementary and high school districts were combined into a single unit.

A Change in Leadership

Dr. Robert E. Jenkins resigned as Superintendent of Schools in March of 1967. He left Pasadena to accept an appointment as Superintendent of the San Francisco Unified School District, and on March 14, 1967, the Pasadena School Board announced the selection of Dr. Paul B. Salmon as his successor.¹

Dr. Salmon came to Pasadena after serving for several years as Superintendent of the Covina Valley Unified School District.² He was familiar with problems of school desegregation and had developed a plan within Covina to distribute the Mexican-American population more evenly among the schools of that community.

Dr. Salmon assumed the duties of Superintendent of Schools for the Pasadena Unified School District on May 1, 1967, and he declared at his first public appearance before the Pasadena Board of Education that he had chosen to come to Pasadena because he liked the challenge of a difficult situation. Considering the problems facing the Pasadena schools at the time of Dr. Salmon's appointment, he apparently had chosen wisely.

The problems faced by Dr. Salmon were not limited to achieving racial balance within the district schools. In his first year in

¹ Esther-Lucile Reitzell, ed., Superintendent's Annual Report, 1966-67 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District), p. 2.

² Ibid.

office he contended with such other issues as (1) abandonment of all school buildings not meeting safety standards as required by the Field Act of 1933; (2) assignment of 3,800 elementary students to double sessions; (3) problems of transition resulting from the withdrawal of the junior college district; (4) staggered sessions at the junior high school level; and (5) efforts to secure passage of a \$5,800,000 bond issue submitted to the voters on June 6, 1967.¹

Adoption of Plan A

The difficulties of achieving racial balance were major priorities at the time Dr. Salmon took office, and it was toward solution of these difficulties that the new superintendent first addressed his efforts. During his first month in office Dr. Salmon recommended adoption of Plan A, an interim plan to create better ethnic balance at the high school level. Plan A involved the transfer of approximately 500 students from Pasadena High School to John Muir High School over a period of three years. These students lived within the virtually all-white Burbank and Noyes elementary attendance zones.

Plan A represented a major departure from the Geographic and Controlled Open Districting Plan adopted in 1963, and it was controversial. The new plan was supported by minority leaders within the community, and it was a modification of the recommendations contained within the majority report of a Board-appointed Citizens Task Force on High School Districting.² Many parents within the Burbank and

¹Ibid., p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 5.

Noyes attendance areas objected vigorously, however, and they were joined by other eastside residents who saw Plan A as the beginning of a large-scale movement toward cross-town bussing. Opponents of the plan stated that they had purchased homes in certain areas because of the schools within those areas, and they felt denial of access to those schools for their children was unfair.¹

Plan A was adopted by a four to one vote of the Pasadena School Board on May 3, 1967. The sole dissenting vote was cast by a board member who had consistently supported retention of "neighborhood schools" and argued against all plans involving cross-town bussing.²

Rescinding of Plan A Following the Election of New Board Members

Candidate views of Plan A were central issues in the school board election held in May of 1967. Two candidates who campaigned on a pledge to rescind Plan A were elected to the new board.

On July 10, 1967, the new board voted to rescind Plan A and return to the 1963 plan. The vote was three to two, with the newly elected board members joining the previous dissenter to form a majority.³

An angry parent addressing the board after the motion to rescind was passed summed up the attitude of those who viewed Plan A as the last hope to achieve voluntary school desegregation in Pasadena. Her speech was representative of several given, and a portion of her state-

¹Los Angeles Times, May 5, 1967, p. 23.

²Pasadena Star News, May 4, 1967, p. 1.

³Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 10, 1967, p. 3.

ment follows:

By rescinding Plan A, you not only neglected John Muir but you took a step that is now transforming this school into a ghetto school and indirectly this community into a ghetto community.¹

Without the added whites that Plan A would have provided, the Anglo-Caucasian enrollment at Muir fell below 50 per cent in the fall of 1967. Negro enrollment, which had been 16.4 per cent in 1961, increased to 38 per cent.²

Initiation of the Spangler Suit

The decision to rescind Plan A brought about the suit which resulted in the Real decision of 1970. Two white fathers, James E. Spangler, a stockbroker, and Skipper Rostker, an insurance broker, and one Negro father, Wilton A. Clarke, a furniture manufacturer, joined together to file a lawsuit to compel the Pasadena Board of Education to reinstate redistricting as directed by Plan A. The state court warned the school board to act on this request, but it did nothing.³

Investigation of District Policies by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

While the Pasadena Board of Education ignored that state court warning, the proponents of the Spangler suit sought assistance from a new source. At the request of a group of Pasadena residents, officials

¹Reed, "Classic Segregation Crisis: Pasadena," New York Times, April 7, 1969, p. 2.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appeared in Pasadena in the spring of 1968 to conduct a review and investigation of desegregation policies practiced by the Pasadena Unified School District. After an initial study, an in-depth review was conducted by Health, Education, and Welfare officials in June of 1968.¹

Williams v. Pasadena Board of Education

Already faced with the suit filed by Spangler, Rostker, and Clarke, the Pasadena Unified School District found itself involved in a second suit charging its school board with policies that promoted school segregation. This second suit became known as Williams v. Pasadena Board of Education. Thirteen plaintiffs filed charges against the school district in Williams v. Pasadena Board of Education, and the suit was popularly referred to as the NAACP case.²

The Williams suit was first filed in Pasadena on April 11, 1968, and it was later transferred to Los Angeles County Superior Court. The plaintiffs originally filed two charges; (1) that the Pasadena School Board intentionally segregated schools and thereby furnished unequal educational opportunities, and (2) that Pasadena schools were racially imbalanced in violation of the decision in Jackson v. Pasadena School Board. Six schools were specifically mentioned as examples of existing racial imbalance within the Pasadena Unified School District: Allendale,

¹League of Women Voters of Pasadena, Ethnic Distribution in Pasadena Schools (Pasadena: League of Women Voters of Pasadena, December, 1968), p. 2.

²Ibid.

Edison, Hamilton, and Washington Elementary; Washington Junior High; and Muir High School.¹

The plaintiffs in Williams v. Pasadena Board of Education filed two additional complaints at a later date, charging that (1) Pasadena was blanketed by a series of racial covenants, enforced by California law prior to 1948, leading to de jure housing segregation, and (2) since students were required to attend neighborhood schools that were segregated as a result of racially segregated neighborhoods, the Pasadena school board perpetuated de jure school segregation. An effort by lawyers representing the school board to strike these new charges was unsuccessful. The judge ruled them relevant to the case.²

Although Williams v. Pasadena Board of Education gave way to the Spangler suit in the legal timetable that eventually resulted in Judge Real's court order, the case serves as another illustration of the mounting pressure faced by Pasadena school officials. It became apparent in the spring of 1968 that some new district responses to racial balance would be necessary if court action was to be averted.

Plan V

The first new response came on April 10, 1968, when the Pasadena Board of Education approved Plan V. As its title implies, this plan was not the first revision of the Geographic and Open Districting Plan attempted within Pasadena. Alterations involving the movement of a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 3.

small number of students from one school to another had been implemented previously. These revisions were extremely limited, however, and they did not affect the overall racial balance within the district. Plan V was a more substantive revision, and its provisions were applied to the high school level on a district-wide basis. The motion to approve the plan was made by Mr. Houser, seconded by Mr. Welsh, and unanimously passed.¹ The provisions of Plan V are as follows:

1. Students living in the Pasadena High School area be permitted to transfer on a voluntary basis to Muir or Blair high schools if it tends to decrease de facto segregation in both receiving and sending schools; the number to be determined by the maximum enrollment at Muir or Blair high schools.
2. Assignments of all incoming tenth grade students from the Geographic and Controlled Open District be based on the following factors:
 - A. All Caucasians and all "Other" mandated to Muir.
 - B. First Choice policy at Blair and Pasadena high schools for Negro students only, not to exceed 23.3 per cent.
 - C. Sibling policy (Negro) for Blair and Pasadena high schools only, not Muir.²

Plan V attempted to reduce the racial imbalance among district high schools through (1) reliance on voluntary movement from Pasadena High School by Anglo-Caucasian students, and (2) a mixture of voluntary and involuntary assignment of students within the heavily minority area designated as the Geographic and Controlled Open District. The change in sibling policy was regarded with interest. Previous policy had permitted Negro students with brothers or sisters at Muir to attend Muir. The denial of this option to Negroes under Plan V removed one of the major obstacles to breaking down the vicious circle of continuing high

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, April 10, 1968, p. 2.

²Ibid., pp. 2-3.

Negro enrollments at the Muir site.

The Open Transfer Policy

A second new response to the problem of racial imbalance at the high schools by the Pasadena Board of Education was the unanimous passage of the Open Transfer Policy on June 30, 1968. The Open Transfer Policy was proposed by Mr. Houser, seconded by Mr. Salisian, and put into effect for the 1968-69 school year.¹ This policy contained the following provisions:

Any student in the elementary, junior or senior high schools of the district may transfer from his home school or any other school in the district under the following conditions:

- A. That he will provide for his own transportation.
 - B. That there is available space open at the receiving school.
 - C. That the ethnic balance will be improved in both the sending and receiving schools by the transfer.
- This policy replaces and supersedes other existing policies provided for volunteer transfers of students within the district.²

A number of Pasadena citizens argued that the provisions of the Open Transfer Policy would have been used more extensively if the school district provided bus transportation for those wishing to attend a school some distance from their residence. Transportation has been a problem in creating any workable desegregation plan within the Pasadena schools. The lack of adequate private transportation is particularly acute within the minority residential areas.

One reason the Pasadena Unified School District did not provide bus transportation to facilitate the Open Transfer Policy was its lack

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, June 30, 1968, p. 1.

²Ibid., pp. 1-2.

of funds. The financial health of the district was not improved by the failure of a \$7,940,000 bond issue in June of 1968. Despite a 61.2 per cent "yes" vote, the bonds failed to achieve the two-thirds required for passage under California law.¹

Despite the adoption of Plan V and the Open Transfer Policy, the schools of the Pasadena Unified School District remained in a condition of increasing racial imbalance at the beginning of the 1970 school year. Anglo-Caucasian enrollment at that time had dropped to a record low of 58.3 per cent. This compared to a 1961 figure of 76.5 per cent, and it represented a loss of 1,149 Anglo-Caucasian students during that span of eight years.²

Total district enrollment during the 1960s followed a pattern of gradual growth from 1961 to 1966, reached an all-time high of 31,977 students in the latter year, and began a pattern of slow decline that resulted in the enrollment of 30,622 students during the 1969-70 school term. The decline in Anglo-Caucasian enrollment was offset in part by the fact that minority enrollment more than doubled during the 1960s.³ This growth in minority enrollment was most pronounced at the elementary level, and, contrary to general opinion, the most rapidly growing minority group in the Pasadena public schools is the Mexican-American rather than the Negro.⁴ Illustration 5 indicates the pattern of racial distribution among elementary schools at the beginning of the 1970 school year.

¹Department of Research, Election Statistics, p. 5.

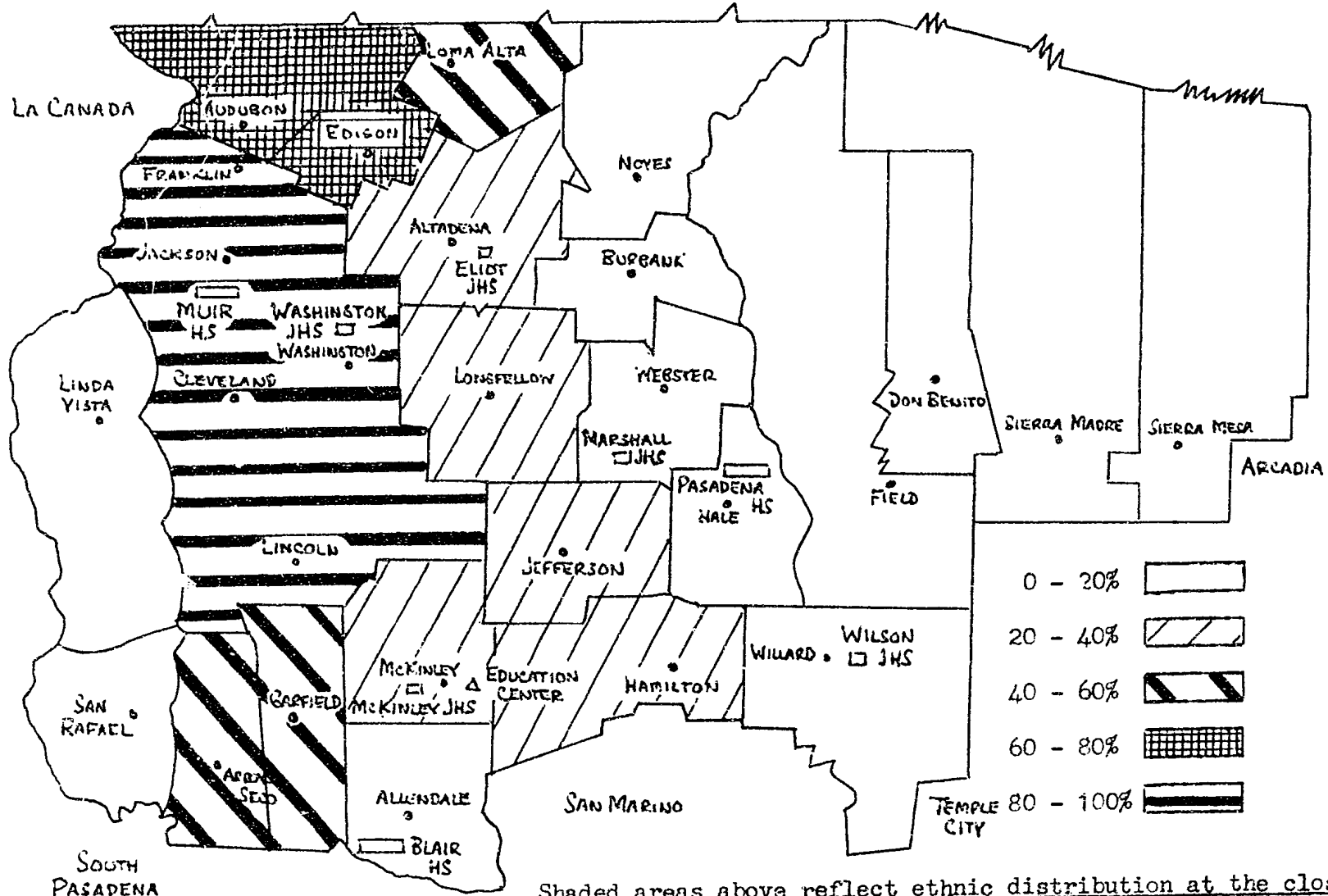
²Pasadena Star News, October 27, 1971, p. 4.

³Ibid.

⁴Mr. Peter Hagen, interview held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., December 22, 1971. Mr. Hagen is the Administrative Director of Planning, Research and Development for the Pasadena Unified School District.

ILLUSTRATION 5

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY ELEMENTARY STUDENTS 1970



Shaded areas above reflect ethnic distribution at the close of the first semester of the 1969-70 school year (time of court order).

Source: Department of Research, Planning and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1970), p. 3.

A Second Change in Leadership

In the fall of 1968 Dr. Salmon resigned his position in Pasadena to take a similar post in the Sacramento Unified School District. The Pasadena Unified School Board immediately replaced Dr. Salmon by appointing Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, a veteran Pasadena school administrator, as Acting Superintendent of Schools. After conducting a nationwide search for qualified applicants, the School Board gave Dr. Hornbeck a permanent appointment as Superintendent of Schools in 1969, and he continues to hold that position at the conclusion of this study on March 25, 1972.

Dr. Salmon was a knowledgeable and experienced educator who had worked hard to achieve an effective plan for school desegregation in Pasadena. As mentioned earlier, he had advocated adoption of Plan A during the first month of his tenure as Superintendent. He registered dismay when that plan was rescinded in July of 1967, and he attempted to convince a majority of the school board that additional steps were needed to racially balance the schools on numerous occasions. His failure in these attempts was a factor in his decision to accept the Sacramento position.¹

The appointment of Dr. Hornbeck as Superintendent of Schools reversed the previous tendency of Pasadena school boards to select the top school official from candidates outside the local school system. Dr. Hornbeck had served in a variety of positions within the Pasadena schools. He had been a building principal at the elementary level, and Assistant Superintendent for Instruction under Dr. Salmon. He had worked outside the schools as well, and

¹Sacramento Bee, November 1, 1968, p. 1.

enjoyed a reputation as a highly successful businessman. Dr. Hornbeck was familiar with the problems of the schools and community of Pasadena.

Completion of the Investigation by the Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare

The investigating team from the Civil Rights Office of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare continued its review of racial distribution policies within the Pasadena Unified School District. They wrote a private report which was submitted to the United States Department of Justice. A copy of this report was not submitted to the Pasadena Unified School District, and officials of the school district did not learn of its existence for several months.¹

The report which was submitted to the Justice Department charged that the Pasadena Board of Education had violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in six specific ways: (1) assigning a majority of Negro teachers to schools with Negro student majorities; (2) refusing to assign additional white students to schools with heavy Negro enrollments, thus perpetuating racial imbalance in both elementary and secondary schools; (3) gerrymandering a junior high school boundary to keep one school predominantly white and another predominantly Negro; (4) manipulating elementary school zones to prevent large numbers of Negro students from attending predominantly white schools; (5) assigning more skilled teachers to predominantly white schools; and (6) providing poorer facilities for predominantly Negro schools.²

¹Dr. Joseph P. Zeronian, private interview held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., February 15, 1972. Dr. Zeronian is Administrative Assistant to the Pasadena Superintendent of Schools.

²Reed, "Classic Segregation Crisis: Pasadena," New York Times, April 7, 1969, p. 2.

Transfer of the Spangler Suit to the Federal Courts and Intervention
of the Justice Department On Behalf of the Plaintiffs

Spangler, Rostker, and Clarke filed suit in the United States District Court in Los Angeles shortly after the study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was completed. The plaintiffs' lawyer twice appeared before the Pasadena school board in an unsuccessful effort to negotiate changes in the district policies prior to filing suit.¹

The United States Department of Justice asked permission to intervene on behalf of the plaintiffs on November 19, 1968, and this request was approved on December 4, 1968. The intervention by the Justice Department resulted from two factors: (1) a request that they do so by the plaintiffs, and (2) the report submitted to them by investigators from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.²

The Justice Department contended that the policies of the Pasadena Unified School District were in violation of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. They did not contend that the Pasadena Unified School District was in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As a result, the Spangler suit did not involve the possibility of a loss to the school district of federal funds.³

While the Justice Department cited examples taken from the investigation by Health, Education, and Welfare officials in presenting the case against the Pasadena Unified School District during the federal court hearing before Judge Real, it is interesting to note that the

¹League of Women Voters in Pasadena, Ethnic Distribution in Pasadena Schools, p. 2.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

charges of violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were not mentioned by Justice Department lawyers. As mentioned earlier, the investigation report submitted to the Justice Department by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare charged the Pasadena school district with six specific violations of that Act.

Disparity in Racial Distribution Between Pasadena and Adjacent Cities

The virtual exclusion of Negroes from the communities surrounding Pasadena has been cited by Pasadena school board members as a factor which contributed to racial difficulties during the 1960s.¹ A comparison of ethnic enrollments based on figures released by six adjacent school districts confirms this pattern of exclusion.

TABLE 4

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBORING SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND PASADENA IN 1969

District	Total Students	Negro	Oriental	Spanish Surname
Pasadena	31,484	8,872	935	2,422
Arcadia	10,132	0	38	278
Glendale	25,182	6	187	1,694
La Canada	4,839	0	16	44
San Marino	3,574	0	10	37
South Pasadena	3,816	26	155	186

Source: Los Angeles Times, January 26, 1969

¹Los Angeles Times, January 15, 1969, p. 14.

Efforts to Avoid Court Action

Efforts to avoid court action were continued by the Pasadena Unified School District during most of 1969. Dr. Hornbeck urged the school board to submit a \$34,000,000 bond issue to the voters in April of that year. Had the measure passed, its provisions would have satisfied the demands of the Negroes and the Muir parents.¹ The issue failed. Its defeat was a serious blow to hopes of averting court action in regard to the Spangler suit.

The school bond defeat in April of 1969 was the culmination of a series of bond and tax reversals that thwarted the possibility of achieving racial balance and added to the general deterioration of the Pasadena Unified School District during the 1960s. Eight of ten bond issues were rejected by the voters in Pasadena from 1960 to 1969. One of the two bond issues that passed did so by a scant eighteen votes, and then only as a result of a recount.² The California requirement that school bonds must be approved by two-thirds of those voting makes it difficult to secure passage of any bond issue, but the Pasadena record in the sixties is a discouraging one under any conditions.

The lack of community support for school bonds may have discouraged district officials from presenting tax proposals to the voters, since only two such proposals were submitted by the Pasadena Unified School District during the sixties. One of those proposals failed to

¹Reed, "Classic Desegregation Crisis: Pasadena," New York Times, April 7, 1969, p. 2.

²Department of Research, Election Statistics, p. 5.

pass.¹

While many factors led to difficulties within the Pasadena schools during the decade of challenge and change that was represented by the period from 1960 through 1969, the financial factor cannot be overlooked. The Pasadena record on school bonds and tax issues is summarized within Table 5 of this study.

Although a major hope to avoid court action died with the defeat of the \$34,000,000 bond issue on April 22, the lines of communication between district officials and representatives for the plaintiffs in the Spangler suit remained open until shortly before the actual court hearing began. With the avenues for dialogue still open, a series of eleventh hour moves by the school district led some to believe that a chance for an out-of-court settlement might still be possible.

Dr. Hornbeck released a statement on December 16, 1969. He called for development of a Master Plan for Quality Education within the Pasadena schools, and his statement stressed the need for racial balance as a primary goal of that plan. A series of Master Planning Committee guidelines were approved by the Pasadena Board of Education at the same time, and these also emphasized the need for desegregation within the Pasadena Unified School District.¹

On December 23, 1969, the Pasadena Board of Education amended its Master Planning Committee guidelines with the strongest statement it had taken regarding school desegregation. That statement was contained

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, December 16, 1969, pp. 3-8.

TABLE 5

PASADENA SCHOOL BOND AND TAX STATISTICS

1960-1969

Date	Type	Total Vote	Yes	No	Amount
<u>Consolidated on Presidential Election Ballot</u>					
11/8/60	dBond (J.C.)	117,092	54,835	47,530	\$ 4,500,000.00
11/8/60	dBond (High)	95,354	45,254	39,665	\$ 9,000,000.00
10/15/63	cBond (Unified)	32,801	23,952	8,849	\$ 5,000,000.00
3/8/66	dBond (Unified)	31,610	20,079	11,531	\$19,000,000.00
4/26/66	aFormation Jr. Col. District (Pasa.-Arcadia-La Canada-San Marino-So. Pasadena-Temple City)	28,184	22,506	5,678	-----
4/26/66	cEstablish 58¢ Maximum Tax Rate - J.C. Dist.	28,039	21,178	6,861	\$0.52 to \$0.58
4/26/66	cCity Charter Amendment (Conducted by City of Pasadena)	10,787	8,174	2,613	-----
<u>Consolidated on Direct Primary Election Ballot</u>					
6/7/66	dBond (Unified)	60,160	34,296	25,864	\$ 9,310,000.00
6/7/66	dBond (Unified)	58,977	32,921	26,056	\$ 4,610,000.00
6/7/66	dBond (Unified)	58,728	31,126	27,602	\$ 5,080,000.00
6/6/67	dBond (Unified)	24,609	16,399	8,210	\$ 5,820,000.00
7/10/67	cBond (Unified) Recount	24,536	16,376	8,160	\$ 5,820,000.00
6/4/68	dBond (Unified)	64,186	39,308	24,878	\$ 7,940,000.00
<u>Bond, Tax Rate, and Primary Nominating Election</u>					
4/22/69	dBond (Unified)	45,999	23,257	22,742	\$34,080,000.00
4/22/69	dTax (Unified)	44,929	21,349	23,580	\$3.21 to \$4.75
10/21/69	cTax (Unified)	25,466	14,044	11,422	#3.21 to \$4.20

Source: Department of Research, Planning and Development, Election Statistics (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1969), pp. 4-6.

a_c = carried

b_d = defeated

simply within a single sentence:

Further, it is the policy of the Pasadena City Board of Education to provide integrated education at all levels.¹

These December statements and guidelines came too late. The court hearing of the case of Spangler et al. v. Pasadena Board of Education began on January 6, 1970. The legal proceedings within the United States District Court in Los Angeles continued for two weeks. The decision of Judge Real was announced on January 20, 1970. He found in favor of the plaintiffs, and he directed the officials of the Pasadena Unified School District to prepare and adopt a desegregation plan to be submitted for his approval no later than February 16, 1970.

Summary

An historical review of factors leading to the court decision in 1970 has been presented within this chapter. The series of local circumstances reviewed here were major factors contributing to the conditions which created the necessity of court action by Judge Real. A review of these factors provides the requisite background to an understanding of the court order itself.

The review of local factors conducted here involved three areas of study. The patterns of school organization in Pasadena prior to 1950 were identified and traced through a chronological sequence. Conditions within the Pasadena public schools during the period from 1950 to 1959 were reviewed. A similar review of events and decisions that contributed to the 1970 court order was conducted in an examina-

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, December 23, 1969, p. 2.

tion of the Pasadena school system during the period from 1960 through 1969.

The following chapter analyzes the court order that mandated the present desegregation process in Pasadena. The directives of the court are reviewed, the timing for implementation of those directives is discussed, and the amplification of the original judgment by Judge Real is considered.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE 1970 COURT ORDER SUBMITTED BY JUDGE MANUEL L. REAL

Introduction

On January 20, 1970, Judge Manuel L. Real issued his decision in the case of Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education. He directed school authorities to prepare and adopt a plan to rectify racial imbalance at all levels within the Pasadena Unified School District, and he ordered the district "to submit that plan to the court by February 16, 1970."¹

These directives set into motion the development of a desegregation plan that remains in effect within the Pasadena Unified School District at the conclusion of this study in March, 1972. This plan is referred to throughout this study as the Pasadena Plan.

The court order contains specific provisions mandated for inclusion within a desegregation plan which would be acceptable to the court. Court jurisdiction in the case was retained "in order to continue to observe and evaluate the plans and execution of the plans of the Pasadena Unified School District" in regard to these provisions.²

¹Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, Cit. 311, F. Supp. 501 (1970), p. 2.

²Ibid.

This chapter presents the court order in its entirety and analyzes its key provisions. Such a presentation and analysis is important to an understanding of the desegregation plan which the Pasadena Unified School District developed in response to the court order.

Arguments presented by the court in support of its decision are considered within this chapter. Five findings of fact and two conclusions of law were submitted by Judge Real in support of the decision in Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education at the time the court order was filed. Facts cited by the court in support of the findings and conclusions were revealed in an amplification issued by Judge Real on March 12, 1970. The original findings of fact and conclusions of law are presented herein, and excerpts from the amplifying statement are included to illustrate the facts cited by Judge Real to support these findings and conclusions.

Discussion of the timing required by the court for implementation of court-ordered desegregation in Pasadena concludes the analysis of the 1970 court order within this chapter. The relevance of the required time schedule to an evaluation of the Pasadena Plan is considered.

Presentation of the Court Order

The judgment in the case of Nancy Anne Spangler, et al., plaintiffs, and the United States of America, plaintiff-intervenor, v. Pasadena City Board of Education, et al., defendants, was handed down by Judge Manuel L. Real in United States District Court,

Los Angeles, California, on January 20, 1970. The court order reflecting this judgment was presented to the Pasadena Unified School District three days later.

The court order is included below, excluding only the directions regarding a claim for attorneys' fees made on behalf of the plaintiffs and those section taxing the defendants for court costs accrued by the plaintiffs and plaintiff-intervenor:

In accordance with the Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law filed herein:

IT IS ORDERED, ADJUDGED, AND DECREED that the defendants, Pasadena City Board of Education, Mrs. LuVerne LaMotte, Albert C. Lowe, Bradford C. Houser, John T. Welsh, and Joseph J. Engholm, as members of the Pasadena City Board of Education, and Ralph W. Hornbeck, as Superintendent of Schools for the Pasadena Unified School District, and each of them, their agents, officers, employees, successors, and all persons acting in concert or participating with them are enjoined from discriminating on the basis of race in the operation of the Pasadena Unified School District.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, ADJUDGED, AND DECREED that the above-named defendants, and each of them, their agents, officers, employees, successors, and all persons acting in concert or participating with them are enjoined from failing to prepare and adopt a plan to correct racial imbalance at all levels in the Pasadena Unified School District. Defendants are to submit that plan to the Court by February 16, 1970. The plan shall include programs for the assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members¹ in such a manner as to reduce racial segregation throughout the District. The plan shall include procedures to be followed and goals to be attained in connection with the location and construction of facilities, both permanent and transportable, that will reduce segregation in the District. The plan shall provide for student assignments in such a manner that, by or before the beginning of the school year that commences in September of 1970 there shall be no school in the District, elementary or junior high or senior high school, with a majority of any minority students. The plan shall indicate specifically the expected enrollment by race, at each school in the District at the time the plan is implemented.

¹The sections underlined above were underlined in the same manner within the copy of the original court order received by the Pasadena Unified School District on January 23, 1970.

The Court retains jurisdiction of this case in order to continue to observe and evaluate the plans and the execution of the plans of the Pasadena Unified School District in regard to the hiring, promotion, and assignment of teachers and professional staff members, the construction and location of facilities, and the assignment of students.¹

The actual certificate of judgment that contained the court order was executed on January 22, 1970, by Virginia M. Molus, a clerk in the office of the United States Attorney in Los Angeles. Issued under the authority of the United States District Court, Central District of California, and signed by Judge Real, the certificate was mailed on the same day it was executed, and it was received by the Pasadena Unified School District the following day. The certificate of judgment was approved as to form by the law firm of Pollock, Palmer, and Metzler, attorneys for the defendant school district. It represented the court findings in Civil Case No. 68-1438-R.²

Analysis of the Court Order

All of the aforementioned information is contained within the transcript of the court order itself. The judgment contained within the order represented more than a recitation of legal conclusions to the Pasadena Unified School District and the community it served. It represented a failure, in the eyes of the law, of a previous succession of attempts by that school district to achieve a satisfactory system of racial balance within its schools; it mandated the district to develop such a plan and submit it to the court for approval within twenty-six days; and it created a new way of life for the students within

¹Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., pp. 1-4.

Pasadena.

The court order provided specific directives to the Pasadena Unified School District which centered around three major areas of school administration and operation. These were the (1) assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members, (2) location and construction of facilities, and (3) assignment of students. Each of these areas presented some difficult problems for the administrators of the Pasadena Unified School District that will be discussed in Chapters VII and VIII of this study.

The first area of concern to Judge Real actually involved several factors. A total of 2,316 employees were on the district salary rolls at the time of the court order.¹ A breakdown of that total into the categories mentioned in the court order resulted in a myriad of personnel variables. The assignment of teachers involved considerations quite apart from those involved in hiring teachers, and promotion policies used a distinctly separate series of criteria than those employed in either assignment or hiring.

The inclusion of "other professional staff members" created an entirely new set of variables. The whole matrix of factors that apply to the assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers differ in considerable measure from those which are relevant in assigning, hiring, and promoting other professional staff members.

¹Department of Research, Number of Certificated and Classified Employees, 1969-70 -- Research Report 288 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1969-70), p. 3.

Definition of what Judge Real meant by "other professional staff members" created another debate. Did use of the word "professional" imply only certificated personnel? What about the hiring, assignment, and promotion of classified employees? The Pasadena Unified School District employed 879 classified employees during the 1969-70 school year.¹ How should the district deal with its existing policies regarding this group?

The problem became more complex when the various types of classified employees were considered. How did the court directive relate to employment and promotional policies involving secretaries, clerk-typists, cafeteria workers, and maintenance personnel? Would the court decision place the district in conflict with previously established union regulations? Would it be necessary to renegotiate existing union contracts? What was the status of such renegotiation under current law? The answers to these and other questions were not provided by the court order itself, and this lack of clarity provided the district with a series of basic concerns.

The location and construction of facilities posed a fundamental problem of financing. The district had passed but two bond issues in the seven years preceding the court order, and the availability of funds for additional buildings or transportables was extremely limited.

The assignment of students created the most difficult decision the school district faced as a result of the court order. The order

¹ Ibid.

decreed that no school at any level could contain a majority of any minority after the opening of school in September, 1970.¹ This decree necessitated an immediate alteration in enrollment policies. At the time of the court order, six district elementary schools contained student populations that were over 80 per cent minority. Two elementary schools within the district enrolled minority student populations that ranged from 80 to 60 per cent, and three schools had student bodies that were between 60 and 40 per cent minority in January of 1970. At the other end of the spectrum, five Pasadena elementary schools contained minority enrollments ranging between 40 and 20 per cent of the day Judge Real rendered his decision, and twelve such schools possessed minority percentages that represented less than one-fifth their total student population on that date.² Illustration 5, contained within Chapter IX on page ninety-five of this study, reveals the racial distribution of students in each district elementary school at the time of the court order. This illustration indicates the geographical relationship between elementary schools of varying racial enrollments and confirms the concentration of minorities within the western portions of the Pasadena Unified School District.

While the directives of the court order contained problems for the Pasadena Unified School District, they also contained motivation

¹Ibid., p. 2.

²Department of Research, Planning and Development, Ethnic and Racial Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1969-70), p. 3.

for action. School officials had considered various plans for more intensive desegregation of the Pasadena schools during the 1960s, and they had debated the merits of new approaches to school organization since the district was unified in 1966. For one reason or another, those plans and approaches had failed to materialize. The courts had stepped in and mandated change in Pasadena. Neither the schools nor the community could legally ignore that mandate.

Court Arguments Presented in Support of the Real

Decision

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, five original findings of fact and two original conclusions of law were submitted by Judge Real in support of his decision in *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*. These findings and conclusions accompanied the original court order and were filed with that order when it was executed on January 22, 1970.

Original Findings of Fact

The original findings of fact were presented without supporting arguments. These findings of fact are as follows:

1. The evidence in this case establishes that there is racial imbalance or segregation in the student bodies and faculties of the Pasadena Unified School District at all levels, elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools.
2. The imbalance is a result of defendants' failure to carry out their announced policies of integration, policies that relate both to faculty and student assignments.

3. These failures have occurred in connection with the teacher assignment, hiring, and promotion policies and practices of the District, its construction policies and practices, and its assignment of students.

4. The Court has also noted with concern the racial effects of the District's interclass grouping policies and procedures. Because of the delicate educational nature of decisions concerning grouping, the Court does not deem it appropriate to enter an Order in this regard, but urges the people of Pasadena to examine carefully the grouping policies of their District.

5. Pasadena City Board of Education has used a neighborhood school policy and a policy against forced cross-town bussing to explain its failure to carry out its policies of integrating students and teachers and staff members. The neighborhood school policy is an educational consideration, but it does not normally have constitutional proportions. Under facts of which Pasadena City Board of Education has been aware since at least 1958 as they affect the District's elementary schools, it can be recognized that the use of the neighborhood school policy results in racial imbalance and increasing racial imbalance. The same is true of the policy against cross-town bussing.¹

Original Conclusions of Law

The original conclusions of law were issued without supporting arguments. These conclusions of law are expressed in the following statements:

1. In Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the Supreme Court was dealing, simply, with racial segregation. The Court made no distinction as to Northern segregation or Southern segregation. The Supreme Court held, simply, that segregated education is inherently unequal in that it deprived Negro children of the educational opportunity to fulfill all their dreams in this country. It further held that all children are deprived, in a constitutional sense, by segregation.

¹Original findings of fact, Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, Cit. 311 F. Supp. 501 (1970).

2. Under the facts of this case, use of a strict neighborhood school policy and a policy against cross-town bussing take on constitutional significance as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.¹

Arguments Presented by the Court in Support of Its
Original Findings of Fact

Arguments in support of its original findings of fact are contained within an amplifying order issued by Judge Real and filed on March 12, 1970. The entire amplifying statement exceeds forty pages in length. Excerpts from that statement are presented below as examples of the supporting evidence cited by Judge Real.

9. Racial segregation or imbalance is especially pronounced in the elementary schools of the District. During the school year 1969-70, 85 percent of the District's black elementary school students attend the eight majority black elementary schools, while 93 percent of its white elementary students attend the other 21 elementary schools. There are 13 elementary schools with less than five percent black enrollments; 61 percent of the District's white elementary students and one percent of its black elementary students attend those schools. Cleveland Elementary School has only seven white students in an enrollment of 542. Washington Elementary School is also over 90 percent black, and has 28 white students, 1,060 black students, and 70 other students. Three elementary schools have enrollments over 80 percent black, Jackson, Franklin, and Lincoln; Madison and Audubon are over 60 percent black; Edison is 59 percent black. (Govt. Exs. 1 and 2)²

10. At the junior high school level, nearly half of the District's black students (49 percent) attend one school, Washington Junior High School, which itself has an enrollment 88 percent black. Wilson Junior High School, on the other hand, has an enrollment less than one-half of one percent black. The other junior high schools are reasonably well racially balanced. (Govt. Exs. 1 and 2)

¹Original conclusions of law, Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, Cit. 311, F. Supp. 501 (1970).

²Throughout the amplification statement, Govt. Ex. is used to refer to Government's Exhibit; Pl. Ex. refers to Plaintiffs' Exhibit; Def. Ex. refers to Defendants' Exhibit.

11. Muir High School has a minority of white students (48 percent); nearly half (48 percent) of the District's black senior high students attend that school; its enrollment is 37 percent black. Pasadena High School is 12 percent black and 82 percent white. (Govt. Exs. 1 and 2)

12. The degree of racial separation within the District has been consistently high, particularly at the elementary level, over the past 15 years. Each year over 90 percent of the white elementary students have attended majority white schools, while over half of the black elementary students have attended majority black schools. At least 85 percent of the District's Negro elementary school children have attended the eight schools that today have majority black enrollments in every year for which records are in evidence. (Govt. Exs. 1 and 2)

13. Since 1954 defendants have never made an attendance area change that involved assigning students from a majority white residential area to a majority black school. (Govt. Exs. 1 and 11-A through 11-K; Tr. pp. 264, 1797 and 2040)¹

15. . . . racial considerations entered into the Board's 1962 decision to transfer a portion of majority black Lincoln's attendance area to Cleveland, already over 85 percent black. In 1968, the Board added still more black students to Cleveland's enrollment when it assigned a portion of the Washington attendance area to Cleveland. (Govt. Exs. 1, 10-C, 10-E, 11-C, 11-G, 11-P, 11-R, and 68-E, Ex. 41, Tr. pp. 371-373)

16. . . . In 1966, the Board did attempt to relieve overcrowding at Washington. However, rather than reassigning black students to a white school, such as Altadena or Longfellow, the Board assigned additional black students to Madison, already 44 percent black. . . .

17. At the senior high school level, defendants have made occasional efforts to improve racial balance, but the efforts have been offset in part by changes in senior high school attendance areas that increased imbalance. In and around the year 1957, while a decision was being made as to where to locate Pasadena High School, the Board members were specifically aware that if they located the school in East Pasadena, they would have to exercise particular care in drawing attendance zone lines if they were to avoid having most black students attend Muir High School and most white students attend Pasadena High School. The District did open the new high school in East Pasadena in 1960. In 1961, 1963, 1964, 1966 and 1967 the Board made decisions that increased the concentration of black students at Muir High School. In 1961 the Board subtracted from the Muir High School attendance area and added to the Pasadena High School attendance area the property enclosed within the predominantly white Noyes and Burbank Elementary School attendance areas. . . .

¹Page references are to the typed daily transcript.

29. There has never been a black teacher, administrator, or other certificated employee assigned to five of the elementary schools in the Pasadena District, Allendale, Linda Vista, Noyes, Sierra Madre and Sierra Mesa, and at another, San Rafael, one black teacher was assigned there for only one year. At a seventh, Willard, the first black teacher was assigned there for this school year. For the 1969-70 school year, there are only four black teachers assigned to the ten elementary schools located east of Allen Avenue. (Govt. Exs. 1-C, 3, 3-A, 3-B, 3-C, 4-C, and 6) . . . For every year for which figures are available, beginning in 1951, over 50 percent of the black certificated employees on the elementary level have been assigned to schools over 50 percent black . . . No black teachers, administrators or other certificated personnel were assigned to three of the five junior high schools in the Pasadena District until after the 1960-61 school year. . . There is still only one black teacher at Wilson Junior High School. (Govt. Exs. 1, 1-C, 3, 3-A, 3-B, 3-C, 4-C) . . . The District has never had a black principal at any school east of Lake Avenue. The District has never had a black principal at any school east of Lake Avenue. For the years for which information is available, there has never been a black principal or assistant principal at any majority white elementary school. . . The only black administrators at the junior high school level for the same four year period were at Washington Junior High and Eliot Junior High, the two junior high schools with the highest black enrollment. . .

31. There is only one black nurse employed by the Pasadena District, of 27. . .

33. While 30 percent of the District's students are black, only ten percent of its faculty members are black. At the senior high school level, only 4.6 percent of the teachers are black (Govt. Exs. 1-D and 3)

38. The District has only two black principals, among a total of 37. The record discloses only one other black person who has been a principal. . . The District's record in the employment of black counselors has been fairly good since approximately 1965; although Mrs. Jeffalyn Johnson experienced difficulty, apparently because of a limit of one black counselor each at schools with large numbers of black students. According to Dr. Jenkins, one purpose of hiring black counselors was to provide training for those individuals to become assistant principals. None of the black counselors became an assistant principal, although numerous vacancies occurred (Govt. Exs. 3-A, 3-C, 4-A, 4-C, 42-A, p. 55, 88-L, Tr. pp. 55C-55i, 556, 2068, 2072)

41. Defendants' plans at the time of trial for the construction and rehabilitation of elementary schools, if implemented, will intensify segregation in the District. Particularly, the construction of a new, six-classroom building at the old Arroyo Seco School site would lead to the creation of another white school. (Govt. Exs. 1; 42-B, Ex. 23-C; and 70, Exs. 2-A and 3)

42. Defendants' plan at the time of trial for desegregation of the junior high schools would, if implemented, impose burdens on black students to a greater extent than on white students. Defendants plan to close Washington Junior High School, principally because "it is impossible without a great deal of bussing to create any kind of integration at that particular school." This is a non sequitur, as closing Washington would require transportation of all the students normally assigned to that school. . . What defendants oppose is transporting white pupils to school in a black neighborhood. (Govt. Exs. 1, 10-F, 99-C, 100-B; Def. Ex. W; Tr. pp. 647 and 1863).

45. Defendants have maintained schools with student enrollment that are minority Caucasian under capacity while adjoining schools that are predominantly Caucasian are over-enrolled. Since 1961-62 predominantly white Allendale Elementary School had been maintained over capacity, Garfield Elementary School, whose attendance area adjoins the attendance zone of Allendale School, has been under-enrolled in each year since the 1961-62 school year. Defendants have failed to fill vacancies at Garfield with white students from Allendale. (Govt. Exs. 1, 10-F, 14, and 70, Exs. 2A-2B). . . Defendants are currently maintaining Washington Junior High School, predominantly black in enrollment, at an enrollment level that is under the school's capacity by approximately 94 students. Defendants also maintain predominantly Caucasian Marshall Junior High School, whose attendance area adjoins Washington Junior High School's attendance zone, at over-capacity by approximately 90 students. Defendants have failed to assign white students attending Marshall to fill the vacancies existing at Washington Junior High School. (Govt. Exs. 1, 10-J, and 42B, Ex. 25)

47. The racial effect of the grouping procedures generally in use in the District is to increase segregation. At every secondary school, a higher percentage of black than white students is in slow classes in every subject matter, and a higher percentage of white than black students is in fast classes. . . Even at the elementary level, where the grouping procedures are most flexible, the racial effects are pronounced. Seventy-five percent of the white students attend classes with gifted students, while 60 percent of the black students do not. (Govt. Exs. 27, p. 32; 53 and 54)

49. Defendants have granted transfers that they knew or should have known were wholly or at least in part motivated by racial considerations, including baseless transfers that had the effect of intensifying racial segregation in the Pasadena schools.

50. Mr. Rex Ratcliffe filled out a transfer application, stating in the blank labeled "School pupil desires to attend," the statement, "Any where colored population is not in majority." He lives in the Washington zone. Although the principal of Longfellow Elementary School recommended that the transfer not be granted, defendants nevertheless granted Mr. Ratcliffe's two

children transfers from Washington Elementary School to Longfellow Elementary School. (Govt. Exs. 1, 76-A and Supp.) . . . Mrs. and Mrs. Wayne Stone filled out an application for their daughter Beverly to transfer from predominantly black Washington Junior High School to predominantly Caucasian Marshall Junior High School. As reason, they stated in part, "Please do not tell us that because of ethnic balance she cannot have a permit. I'm sure one child is not going to make any difference. Would you send yours there under present conditions?" Defendants granted Beverly Stone the transfer. (Govt. Exs. 1 and 76-B)¹

Arguments Presented by the Court in Support of Its
Original Conclusions of Law

Twenty-one supplementary conclusions were included within the amplification statement signed by Judge Real on March 12, 1970.² Four of these conclusions are cited herein as examples noted by the judge as providing legal precedent for his two original conclusions of law.

4. Pursuant to the Fourteenth Amendment, and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, this court had jurisdiction to hear and to decide all issues concerning alleged racial discrimination in public education in the Pasadena Unified School District, including policies with respect to assignments and transfers of students, the allocation of faculty and staff, and the location and construction of schools. United States v. School District 151, 286 F. Supp. 786 (N.D., Ill., 1968), affirmed, 404 F. 2d 2115 (C.A. 7, 1968), United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 372 F. 2d 836 (C.A. 5, 1966), affirmed en banc, 380 F. 2d 385 (C.A. 7, 1967), cert. denied, 389 U.S. 840 (1967); Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D., Ala., 1967), affirmed, 389 U.S. 215 (1967).

5. The chief significance of Brown is its holding that racially segregated public education is detrimental to school children 347 U.S. at 494. See United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 372 F. 2d 836, 846, and 868 (C.A. 5, 1966). For the reason under the Fourteenth Amendment a public school body has an obligation to act affirmatively to promote integration, consistent with the principles of educational soundness and administrative feasibility.

¹Findings of fact, Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, Cit. 311, F. Supp. 501 (1970), pp. 2-39.

²Conclusions of law, Spangler V. Pasadena City Board of Education, Cit. 311, F. Supp. 501 (1970), pp. 39-45.

9. A school board may not, consistently with the law and the Fourteenth Amendment, use a neighborhood school policy as a mask to perpetuate racial discrimination. Board of Education v. Dowell, 375 F. 2d 158, 166 (C.A. 10, 1967), cert. denied, 387 U.S. 931 (1967); United States v. School District 151, 286 F. Supp. at 798.

21. School officials are obliged under the Fourteenth Amendment to attempt to make an equitable distribution of the teachers and administrators with experience and advanced training. By assigning teachers with less experience and training to schools with predominantly black enrollments defendants have denied equal protection of the laws to students in those schools. Kelley v. Altheimer, 378 F. 2d 483, 499 (C.A. 8, 1967).¹

Timing of the Implementation

Order

The timing of the implementation order as mandated by the court directives for desegregating the Pasadena schools placed considerable pressure on the administrators within the Pasadena Unified School District. School officials received their copy of the court order on January 23, 1970. The order required those officials to prepare, adopt, and submit to the court a plan for total school desegregation no later than February 16, 1970. The same court order mandated the implementation of desegregation at all levels within the district during the following school year, stating that "by or before the beginning of the school year that commences in September of 1970 there shall be no school in the District, elementary or junior high or high school, with a majority of any minority students."² The comprehensive nature of the required desegregation, the size of the school district, and the deep divisions within the community over

¹Ibid.

²Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, p. 2.

the issue of "neighborhood schools" created problems that were difficult to solve swiftly. The February and September deadlines provided a limited time in which the school district might seek the needed solutions.

The comprehensive nature of the court order involved logistics that required time for solution. Total desegregation was required, which involved the immediate reassignment of the 30,460 pupils who attended district schools during the 1969-70 school year. These students were distributed among thirty-seven schools, each of which required attendance area revisions to meet the court directive.¹ The mandates for greater ethnic balance among staff members required extensive reassignment among the 2,316 employees retained at the time of the court order.²

Divisions within the community over the issue of neighborhood schools versus increased desegregation did not disappear with the arrival of a court order. Less than three years before the Real decision was reached, the voters had elected two board members who campaigned on a pledge to "bring back neighborhood schools" by rescinding a previously adopted board plan to increase racial balance. The success of those board members in rescinding Plan A undoubtedly contributed to the probability of court-ordered desegregation in Pasadena, but their election attested to the feelings of many within the community.

¹Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1970), p. 2.

²Department of Research, Number of Certificated and Classified Employees, 1969-70, p. 3.

CHAPTER VI

DESCRIPTION OF THE PASADENA PLAN

Introduction

The Pasadena Plan is the school desegregation plan developed by the Pasadena Unified School District in response to the court order of Judge Manuel L. Real issued on January 20, 1970. This plan went into effect on September 14, 1970, and it remains operative at the conclusion of this study on March 1, 1972.

The initial proposals of the school district for implementation of the desegregation of the Pasadena public schools were submitted to the court on February 18, 1970, Judge Real having granted a two-day extension of the original February 16th deadline at the request of school officials.¹ Additional revisions in the plan were presented to Judge Real on February 27, 1970, and the revised plan was approved by the court on March 4, 1970.²

The Pasadena Plan described within this chapter is the plan approved by the court on March 4th. It is divided into two major sections. Part I deals with student assignment and facility utilization. Part II outlines procedures for the assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and administrators.

¹Pasadena Star News, February 19, 1970, p. 1.

²Pasadena Star News, March 4, 1970, p. 1.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the presentation of the Pasadena Plan, which is presented precisely as it was submitted to Judge Real. Apart from a summary that concludes the chapter, the wording throughout the remaining pages of this chapter is that of the authors of the Pasadena Plan. The plan appears in its entirety.

Part I: Student Assignment

Introduction

Ethnic imbalance in certain schools of the Pasadena Unified School District has increased in recent years. In 1963, neighboring La Canada withdrew from the Pasadena school district, resulting in the loss of more than 600 Anglo-Caucasian students from John Muir High School.

In the past seven years, the main factor contributing to the increase of Negro students in certain schools has been the immigration of large numbers of Negroes in certain housing areas of the Pasadena school district, and the emigration of Anglo-Caucasians.

In the seven years from May 1962 to October 1962, the total Negro enrollment in the schools increased from 5,252 to 9,173, a net gain of 3,921 students, while the percentage rose from 17.3% to 30.0%, an increase of 12.7% of the total enrollment. The number of Anglo-Caucasian pupils decreased from 22,463 to 17,859 during this same period, a drop of 4,604 students. The percentage declined from 73.8% to 58.3%, or a decrease of 15.5% of the total enrollment. "Others" (Oriental, Spanish-surname, et al) increased from 2,703 to

3,590, a net gain of 887, while the percentage rose from 8.9% to 11.7% of the total enrollment.

Over the years, the Board of Education has taken steps designed to gain better ethnic balance. In September, 1969, the superintendent commissioned a Master Planning Committee to develop a plan to assure an educational environment in each school conducive to equal educational opportunities for all pupils, which would provide more comprehensive and integrated education at all levels, and could be implemented without passage of a bond election.

In December, 1969, the Board of Education amended the By-Laws and Policies of the Board of Education to include the following: ". . . it is the policy of the Pasadena City Board of Education to provide integrated education at all levels."

This plan to integrate the Pasadena Unified School District at all levels presented here meets the specifications of Federal District Court Judge Manuel Real in his decision of January 20, 1970. This plan represents the work and thinking of the Pasadena City Board of Education, the superintendent, and the staff under his direction. The diligent efforts of the State Department of Education's Bureau of Intergroup Relations have been of great help as has the work of so many Pasadena principals and teachers. All available information has been considered in the development of this plan. The changes included will not only facilitate integration, but will move the district in the direction of greater quality education .

As additional information is obtained, it may be necessary to make minor modifications and adjustments.

Preface to Supplement No. 1

The Division of Elementary Education staff has reviewed the "Plans for Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District" as submitted to Judge Manuel Real, and found that further refinements should be made in areas that would:

- . Reduce islands in attendance areas
- . Achieve better contiguous attendance areas
- . Achieve better proximity to school facilities
- . Reduce the costs in implementing the plan by reducing the number of relocatables needed
- . Correct clerical error which affected ethnic count in Area "A"

Elementary Schools

Criteria

The district plan to integrate the elementary schools is predicated on the following criteria:

1. All schools should have populations that are as similar as possible to the ethnic make-up of the entire district.
2. Neighborhoods should be maintained so that, essentially, children will walk to a nearby school for part of their elementary schooling and be transported as a neighborhood to another school for the balance.
3. The shortest traveling distances to effect integration should be used.
4. Optimum use should be made of existing facilities.

5. Population trends and future mobility should be taken into consideration in building a plan for permanence.

Plan

The Pasadena Unified School District will be divided into four ethnically balanced areas. Schools within each area will be designated either primary or upper grade schools. Within each area students will be assigned to primary and upper grade schools in such a way as to develop an ethnic balance in each school. Students will walk to a nearby school for part of their elementary schooling and be transported with students in their neighborhoods to another school to provide ethnic balance. The estimated result of such a plan is indicated on the charts which follow. The charts show which schools within each area are designated primary and upper grade, the estimated enrollment of each school, and the estimated ethnic distribution percentages.

Rationale

The entire Pasadena Unified School District will be divided into four areas -- A,B,C,D, extending east to west across the city. The decision to divide from east to west was made because the minority population is moving east.

If this population continues to move eastward, the ethnic balance that has been achieved in these areas will be maintained for several years. Each year the areas will be reviewed to assure that the ethnic balance is maintained.

Within each area the district will maintain individual school zones. A child will be assigned to either primary school or upper grade school according to grade level and zones.

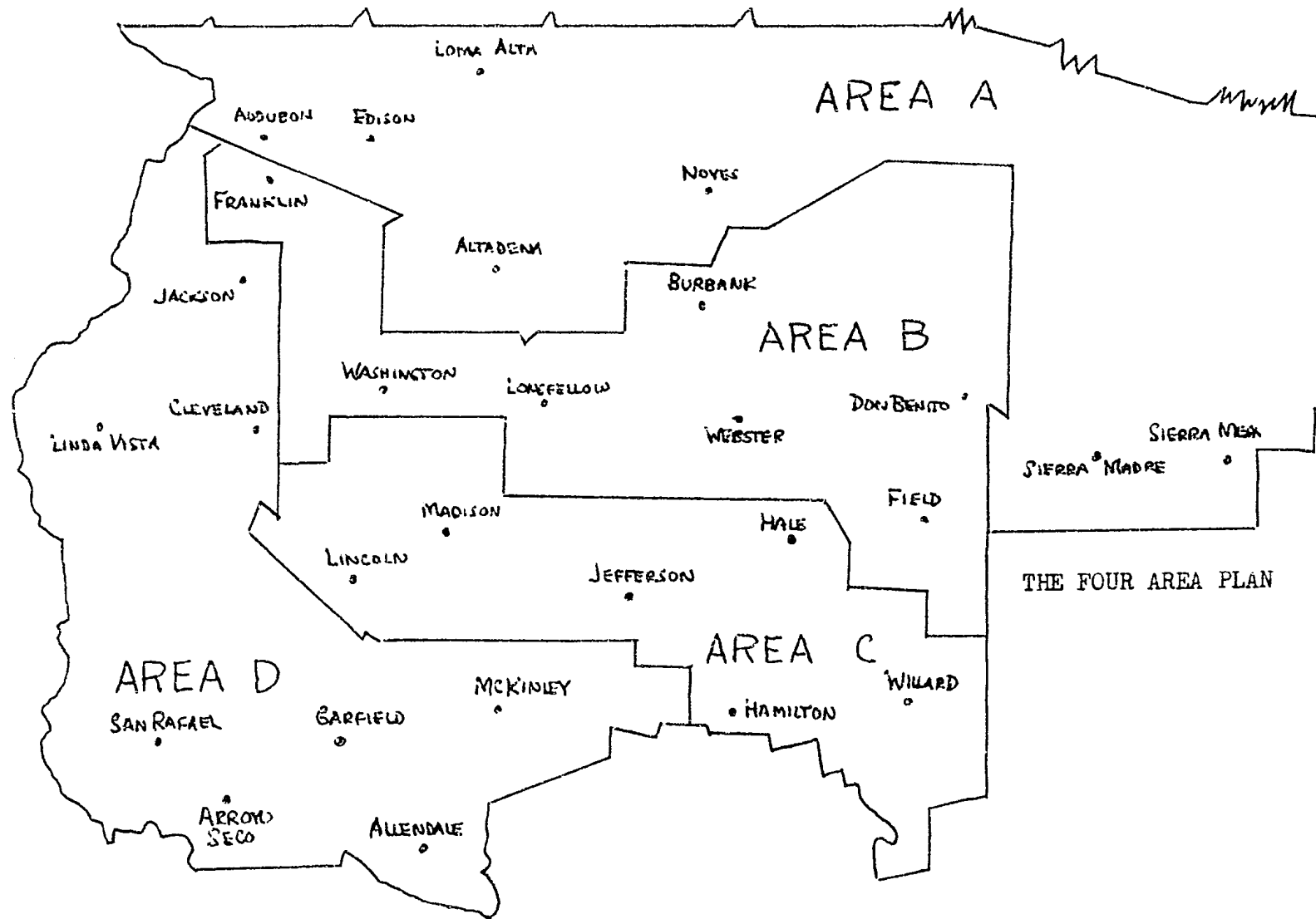
The reorganization of elementary schools into primary schools (K-3) and upper schools (4-6) will provide specialization which is important to guarantee improvement in basic skills. Research indicates that some type of primary unit is presently being used by 18% of the public schools in the United States. Pasadena's K-6 elementary schools have usually been divided into two groups - - lower and upper grades - - and it now seems appropriate that the entire district be divided into primary and upper.

It should be noted that Arroyo Seco and Roosevelt school facilities are not included in these plans for the following reasons:

Arroyo Seco - The decision on the reconstruction of this school is pending, awaiting an appraisal report on and consideration of the feasibility of sale of Garfield School.

Roosevelt - This specially equipped school currently serves physically and severely mentally handicapped youngsters from the entire district.

ILLUSTRATION 6



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 6.

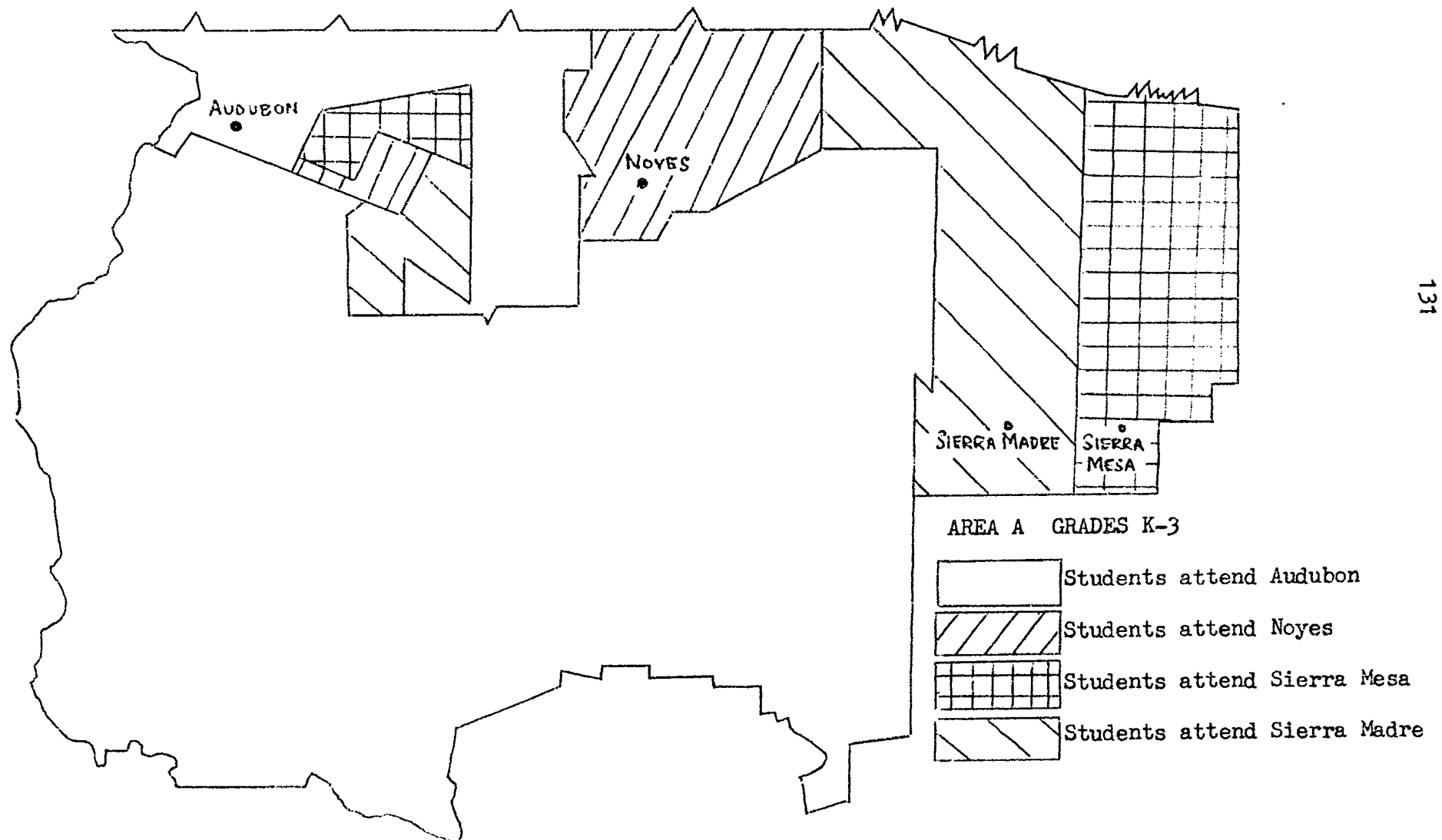
TABLE 6

PROJECTED ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION UNDER THE
PASADENA PLAN IN AREA "A" (1970-71)

AREA "A"	Ethnic Distribution, 1970-71 (Per Cent)					Estimated Enrollment 1970-71	1969-70 Fourth School Month Enrollment (Gr. 1-6)		
	Anglo-Cauc.	Negro	Spanish Sur.	Orient.	Other		Ethnic Dis.:		
							C&O%	N%	
<u>Grades K-3</u>									
AUDUBON	53.1	38.6	4.4	2.8	1.1	655	584	34	66
NOYES	57.6	34.1	5.2	2.3	.8	481	315	99	1
SIERRA MADRE	55.2	36.0	5.5	2.4	.9	641	543	100	0
SIERRA MESA	56.7	35.4	5.5	2.6	.8	582	438	100	0
<u>Grades 4-6</u>									
ALTADENA	55.9	30.7	9.6	2.4	1.4	730	834	71	29
EDISON	55.9	35.4	4.6	2.8	1.3	539	631	39	61
LOMA ALTA	57.2	37.1	3.8	1.7	.2	601	554	75	25

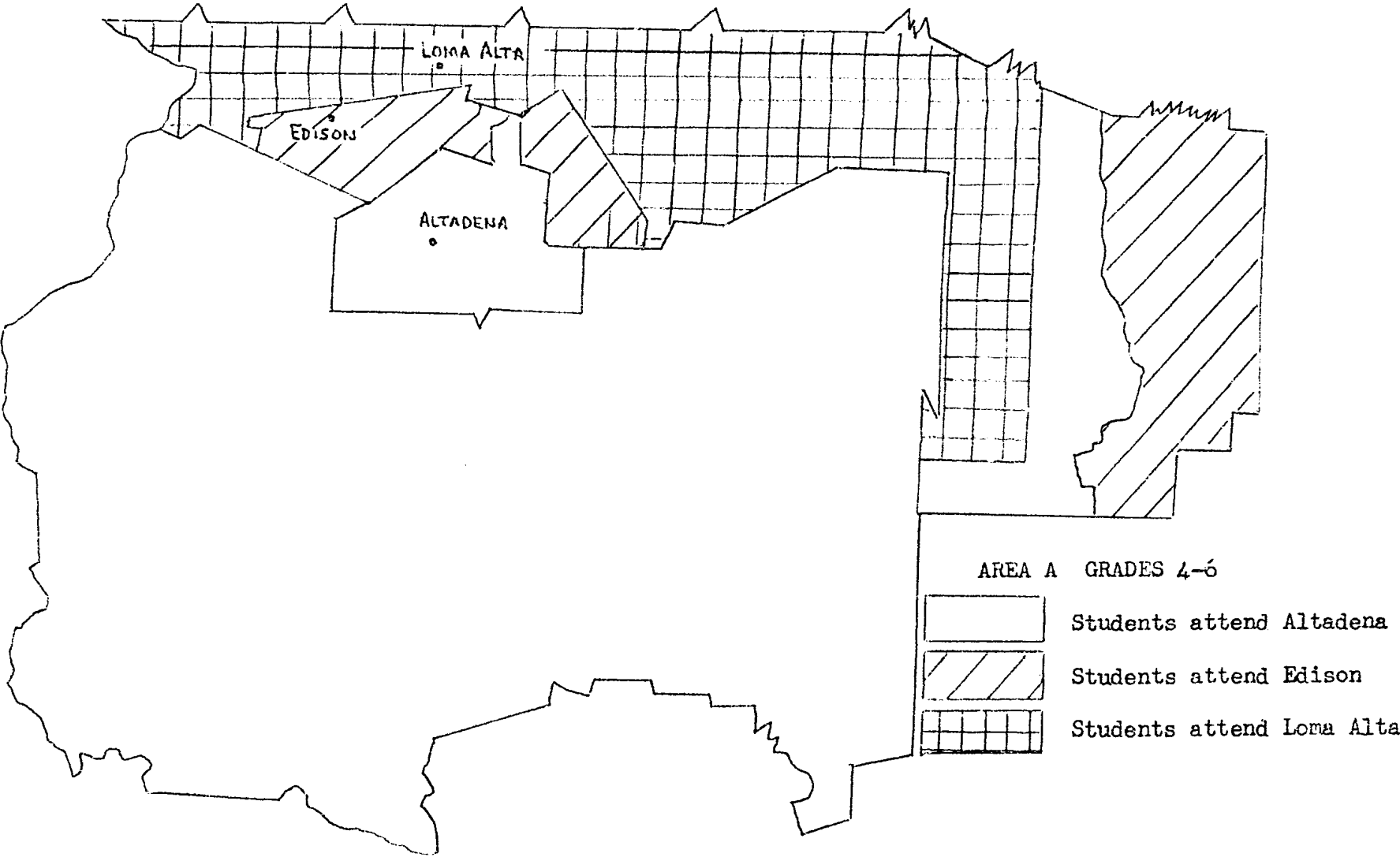
Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 7.

ILLUSTRATION 7



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 8.

ILLUSTRATION 6



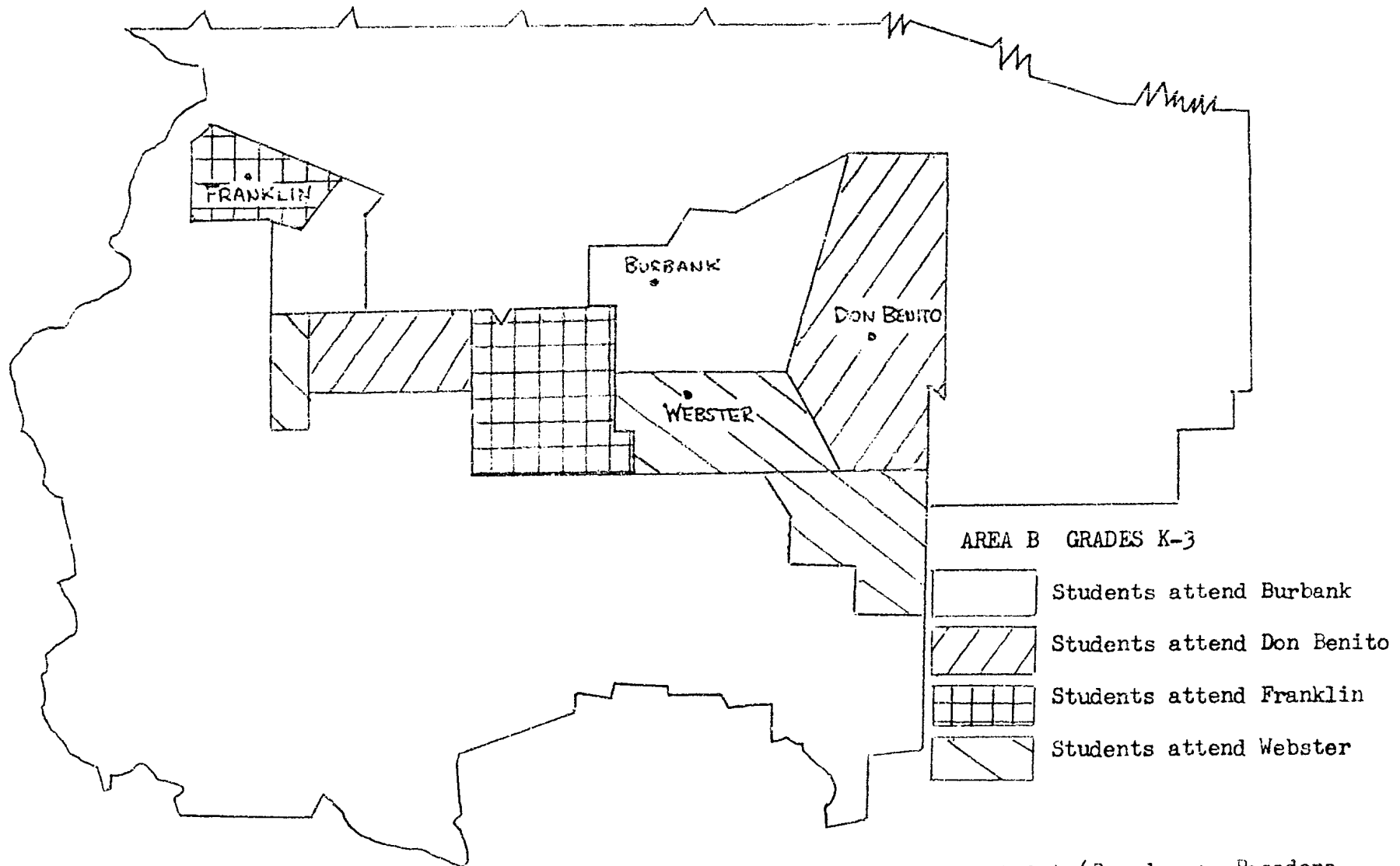
Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 9.

TABLE 7
 PROJECTED ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION UNDER THE
 PASADENA PLAN IN AREA "B" (1970-71)

AREA "B"	Ethnic Distribution, 1970-71 (Per Cent)					Estimated Enrollment 1970-71	1969-70 Fourth School Month Enrollment (Gr. 1-6)		
	Anglo-Cauc.	Negro	Spanish Sur.	Orient.	Other		Ethnic Dis.:	C&O%	N%
<u>Grades K-3</u>									
BUREANK	58.0	36.3	4.3	1.4	0	628	535	98	2
DON BENITO	57.3	34.0	7.3	1.1	.3	741	539	95	5
FRANKLIN	48.6	38.0	10.5	2.6	.3	716	609	18	82
WEBSTER	61.1	30.5	6.9	1.2	.3	872	678	93	7
<u>Grades 4-6</u>									
FIELD	58.2	34.0	5.5	1.9	.4	674	541	98	2
LONGFELLOW	55.9	32.0	8.8	2.7	.6	784	1129	89	11
WASHINGTON	60.0	35.4	2.6	1.7	.3	748	1144	9	91

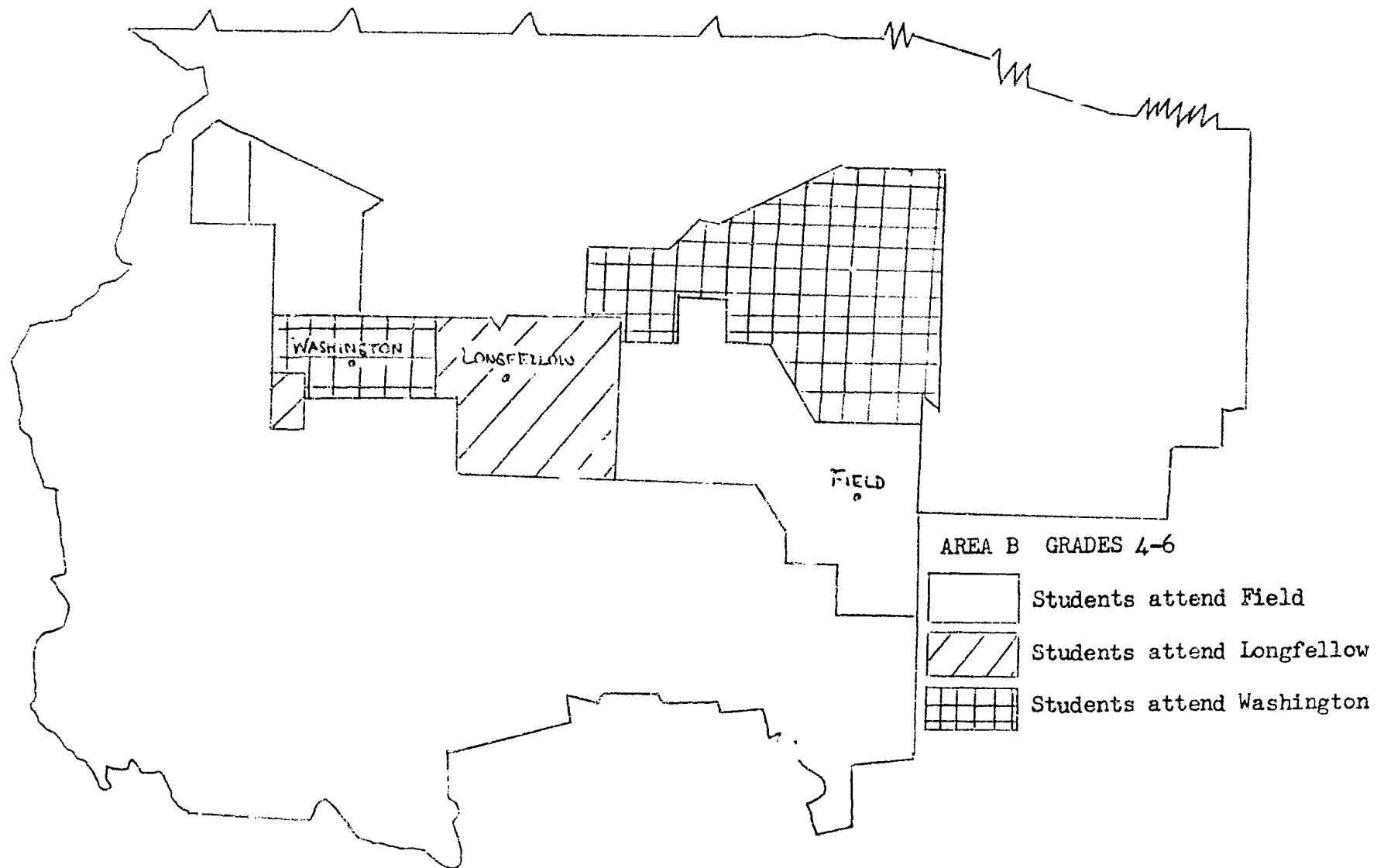
Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 10.

ILLUSTRATION 9



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 11.

ILLUSTRATION 10



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Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 12.

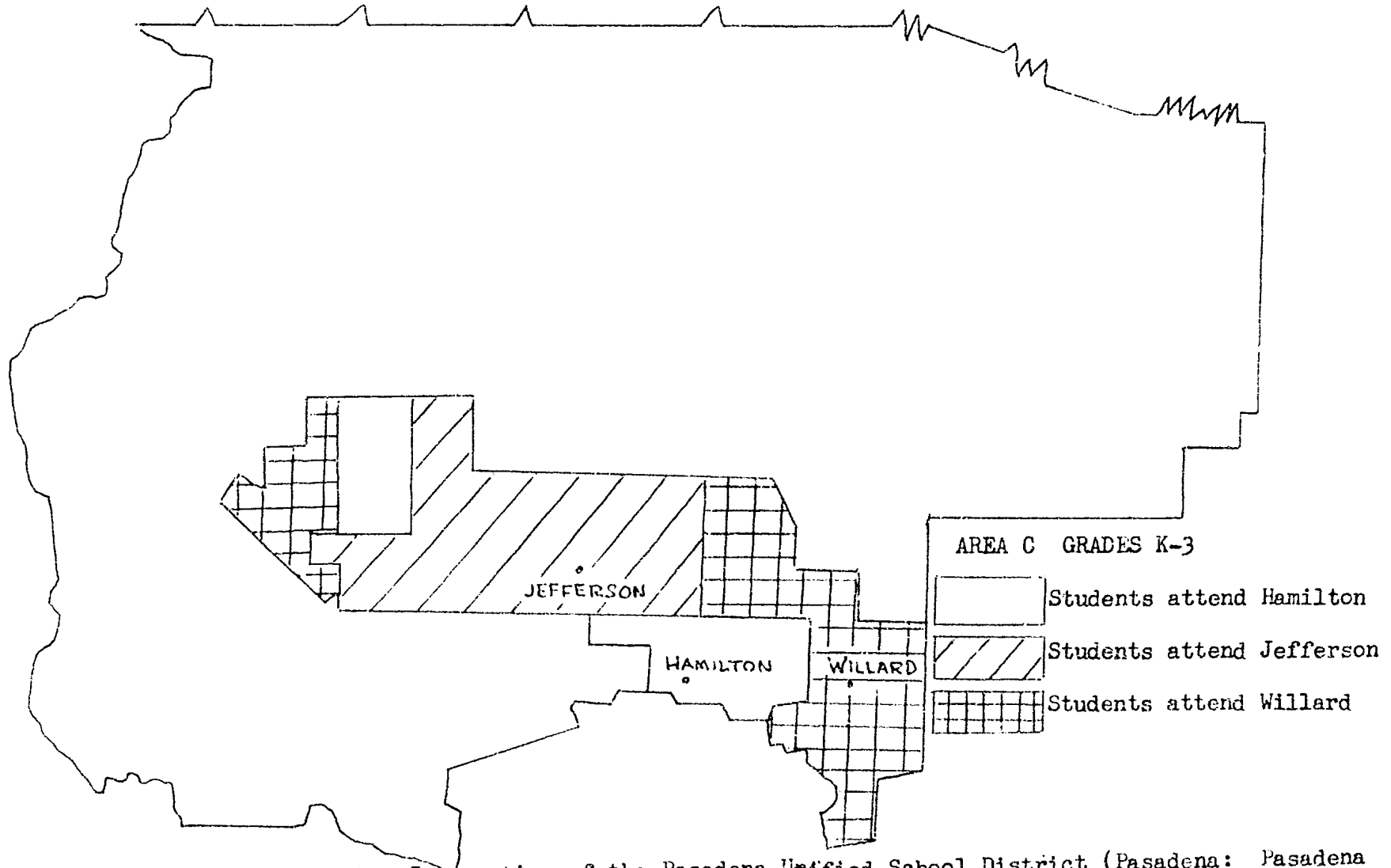
TABLE 8

PROJECTED ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION UNDER THE
PASADENA PLAN IN AREA "C" (1970-71)

AREA "C"	Ethnic Distribution, 1970-71 (Per Cent)					Estimated Enrollment 1970-71	1969-70 Fourth School Month Enrollment (Gr. 1-6)		
	Anglo- Cauc.	Negro	Spanish Sur.	Orient.	Other		Ethnic Dis.:	C&O%	N%
<u>Grades K-3</u>									
HAMILTON	47.0	32.6	16.2	1.8	2.4	623	596	99	1
JEFFERSON	46.7	24.2	23.1	2.8	3.2	888	857	94	6
WILLARD	54.4	36.4	7.4	1.5	.3	971	824	100	0
<u>Grades 4-6</u>									
HALE	58.3	26.8	11.6	1.7	1.6	482	545	90	10
LINCOLN	51.4	34.1	13.4	.9	.2	589	797	19	81
MADISON	48.5	29.1	17.9	1.3	3.2	626	855	37	63

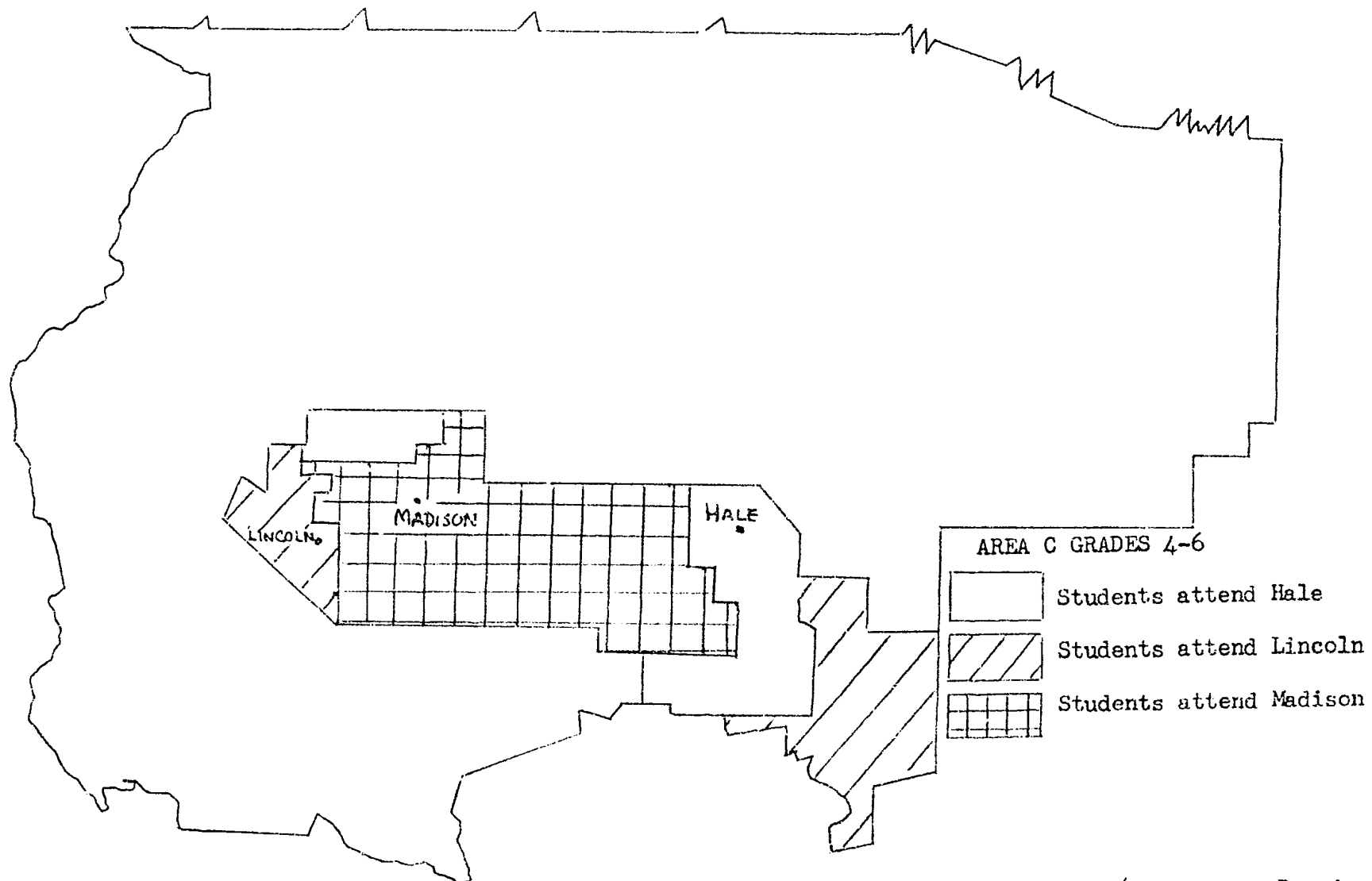
Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 13.

ILLUSTRATION 11



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 14.

ILLUSTRATION 12



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 15.

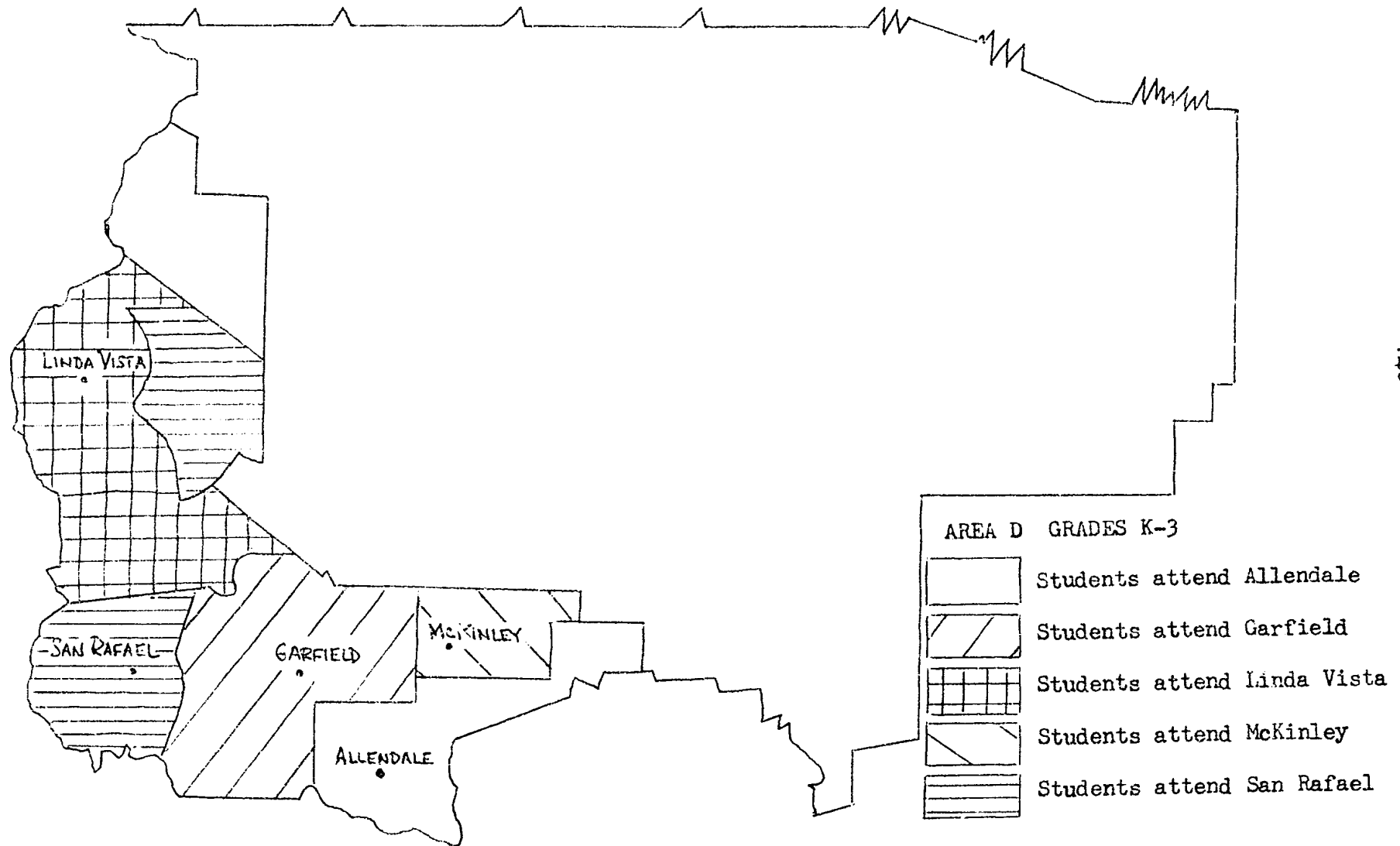
TABLE 9

PROJECTED ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION UNDER THE
PASADENA PLAN IN AREA "D" (1970-71)

AREA "D"	Ethnic Distribution, 1970-71 (Per Cent)					Estimated Enrollment 1970-71	1969-70 Fourth School Month Enrollment (Gr. 1-6)		
	Anglo- Cauc.	Negro	Spanish Sur.	Orient.	Other		Ethnic Dis.:	C&O%	N%
<u>Grades K-3</u>									
ALLENDALE	47.3	35.9	10.0	5.8	1.0	512	432	99	1
ARROYO-GARFIELD	43.5	23.2	31.7	.6	1.0	306	356	86	14
LINDA VISTA	56.3	33.9	3.5	5.7	.6	174	176	99	1
McKINLEY	54.2	15.0	22.4	5.1	3.3	214	209	88	12
SAN RAFAEL	60.5	33.9	2.9	2.7	.0	339	404	99	1
<u>Grades 4-6</u>									
CLEVELAND	59.6	35.9	1.8	2.5	.2	443	513	5	95
JACKSON	48.3	29.2	16.3	5.0	1.2	742		16	84

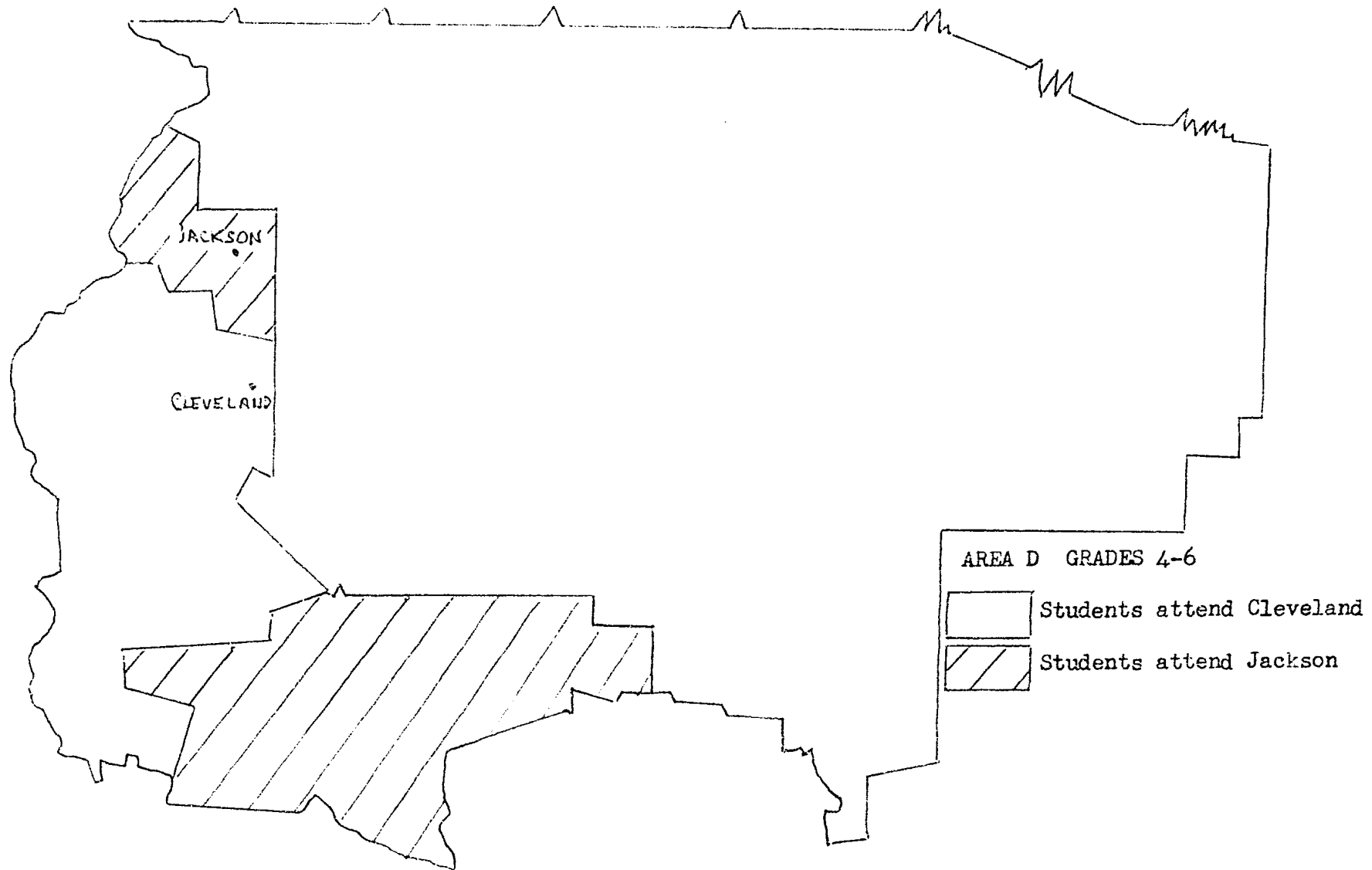
Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 16.

ILLUSTRATION 13



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 17.

ILLUSTRATION 14



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 18.

Junior High Schools

Phase I

Implementation of integrated junior high schools will take place in September 1970 as indicated on the enclosed map. Under this plan, the district will include four intermediate schools serving grades 7-8 on the present Eliot, McKinley, Washington, and Wilson campuses, and one school serving the ninth grade at the present Marshall campus. The ninth graders will have the advantages of an expanded elective program utilizing the facilities on both the Marshall and, to a limited degree, the Pasadena High School sites. (PHS is approximately one mile away and a shuttle bus service would facilitate this program).

Phase II

McKinley Junior High School will move to the present Blair site when funds are available through the sale of property to build a new Blair high school at the high school educational park site. Because of the increased student capacity at the Blair site, it would be possible to re-district students numerically to better utilize space in the four junior high schools at this time.

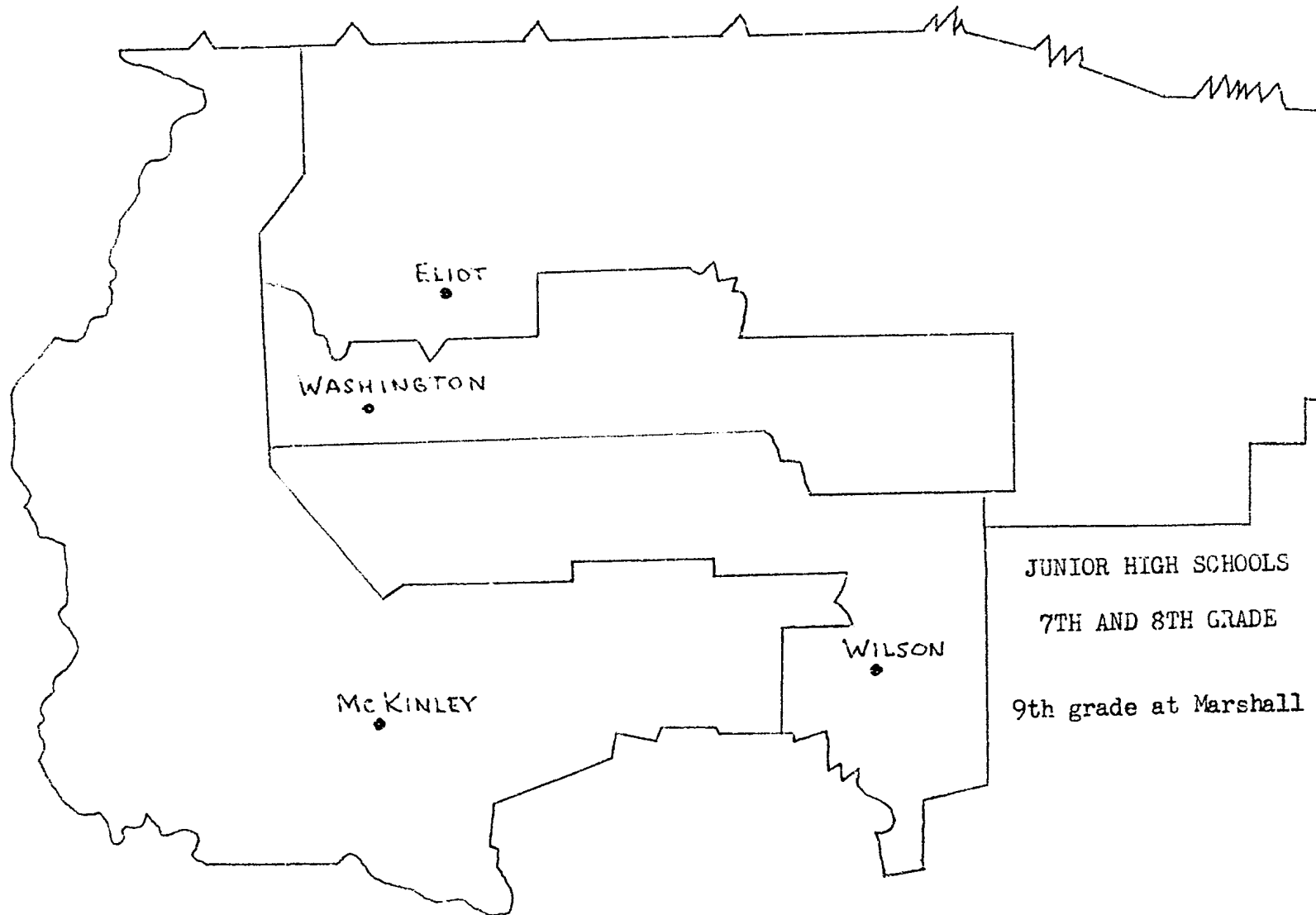
Junior High School boundaries may need to be changed from time to time to continue ethnic balance as established in September 1970.

The Junior High School Estimated Enrollment for 1970 is as follows:

School	Caucasian	%	Negro	%	Other	%	Total
McKinley	661	53.4	356	28.7	222	17.9	1239
Wilson	679	56.0	358	29.6	174	14.4	1211
Eliot	726	58.5	405	32.6	110	8.9	1241
Washington	553	59.8	304	32.9	68	7.3	925
	2619	56.7	1423	30.8	574	12.5	4616

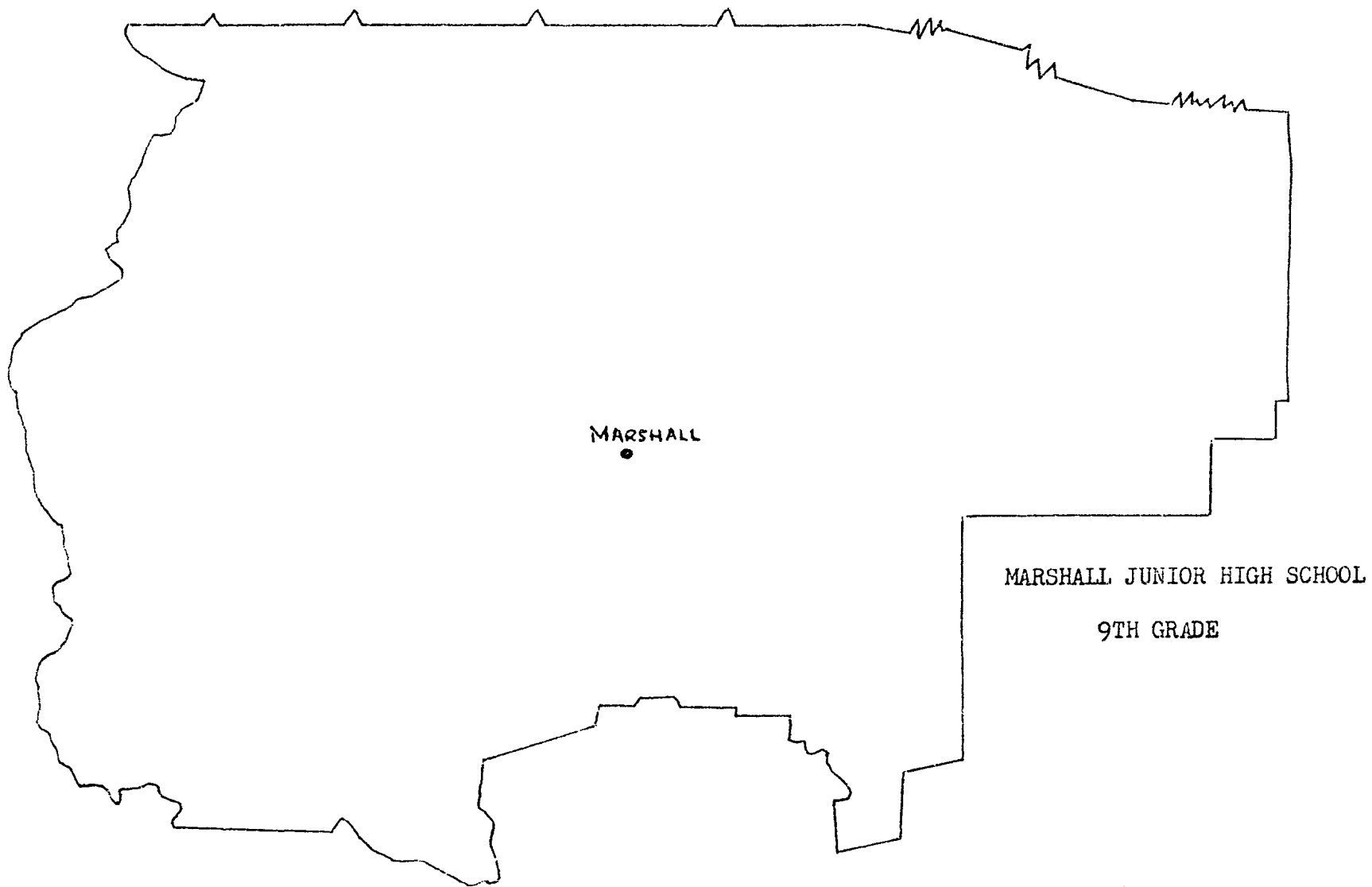
9th Grade at Marshall Junior High School = 2,276

ILLUSTRATION 15



Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 20.

ILLUSTRATION 16



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Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 21.

Senior High Schools

Phase I

In September 1970, the incoming 10th grade class at each senior high school will be ethnically balanced. The size of the classes will be adjusted to be more comparable than at present, with the idea in mind that each 10th grade class will have the same ethnic and numeric composition when the high school educational park is implemented. New district lines will be drawn to accomplish this. The boundaries will be drawn so that there will be no Open District henceforth.

Phase II

John Muir High School will be moved to the area north of PHS as funds are available through the sale of property.

Phase III

Blair High School will be moved to the area north of PHS as funds are available through the sale of property.

Phases II and III could be implemented at the same time if funds are available. The completed high school educational park in the present Pasadena High School - Victory Park area will be a combination of three individual high schools and the 9th grade school on the Marshall Junior High School site. Students will have equal opportunities on the high school level. Each of the three high schools will be numerically and ethnically balanced. The placement of the three high schools at one site will allow students and staffs to share some facilities and programs while continuing with others independently. Facilities can be developed at the high school educational park for joint use which would be financially impossible to duplicate on various campuses.

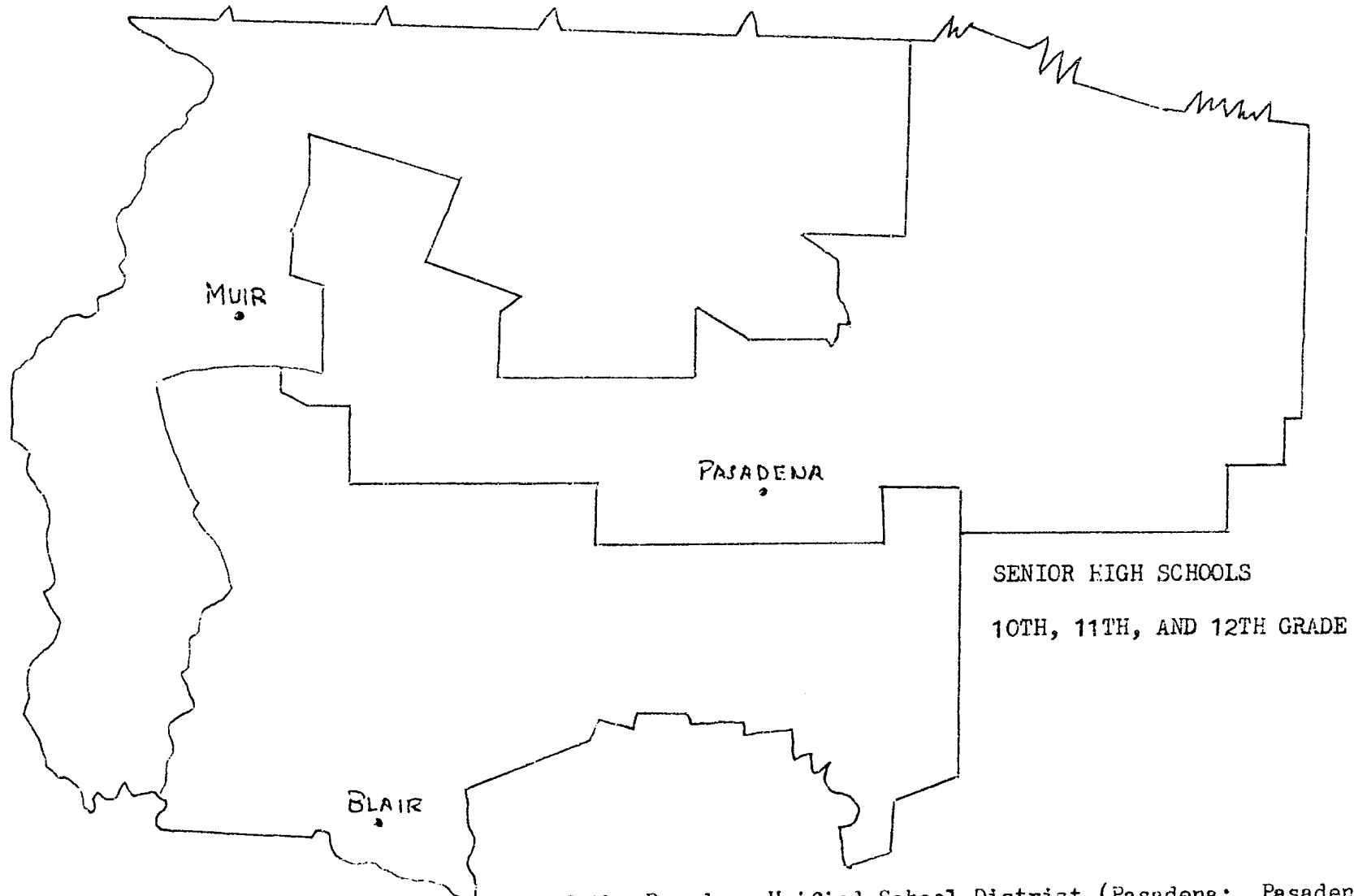
Foothill High School

Foothill High School has not been included in these plans because of its unique nature. This is the continuation high school in the Pasadena Unified School District. Students are assigned to this school during the school year when it is seen that they are not making satisfactory adjustment, for various reasons, in their regular school. As a result, there is a continual change in the composition of the student body and a significant fluctuation in the enrollment. Enrollment might increase from 150 to 400 students within a month.

The Senior High School Estimated Enrollment for 1970 is as follows:

School	Caucasian	%	Negro	%	Other	%	Total
Blair-10th	377	57.6	156	23.8	122	18.6	655
11th	276	54.8	139	27.6	89	17.6	504
12th	297	58.7	118	23.3	91	18.0	506
Total	950	57.1	413	24.8	302	18.1	1665
Muir- 10th	453	62.5	210	29.0	62	8.5	725
11th	368	47.2	292	37.4	120	15.4	780
12th	319	49.7	229	35.7	94	14.6	642
Total	1140	53.1	731	34.0	276	12.9	2147
PHS- 10th	563	61.5	274	29.9	79	8.6	916
11th	822	77.9	162	15.3	72	6.8	1056
12th	971	83.8	128	11.1	59	5.1	1158
Total	2356	75.3	564	18.0	210	6.7	3130
TOTAL	4446	64.0	1708	24.6	788	11.4	6942

ILLUSTRATION 17



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Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 23.

Sibling, Transfer Permit, and Senior Policies

Sibling Policy

Present policy of the Board of Education provides the following:

When attendance zones are changed which would require the younger child of a family to attend a different school than the one his older brother/sister attends, then the following choices are available to the family:

1. The younger child may enroll at the school his older brother/sister attend, or enroll in the school located in his residence-attendance zone.
2. The older brother/sister may remain at his school of last attendance, or enroll in the school located in his new residence-attendance zone.

The above policy shall not be continued.

Transfer Permit Policy

Present policy of the Board of Education provides the following:

At all grade levels, approval of transfer permit requests are considered in hardship cases involving family circumstances, and/or medical, safety, psychological, or curriculum considerations.

In addition to the above, approval of private child care and children center transfer permit requests shall be considered at the elementary level.

The above policy shall be continued with added emphasis on screening and careful review of each request in order to ascertain that approval is warranted in urgent and valid cases only.

Senior Policy

Present policy of the Board of Education shall be extended as follows:

1. Present kindergarten, 1st and 2nd grade pupils now enrolled at a school under Plan VI or under the Open Transfer Policy, shall be permitted to continue at their school of attendance, providing that this school is established as a primary grade school. However, if the school of their present attendance is changed to an upper grade school, they shall attend the school established as their primary grade school.
2. Present 4th and 5th grade pupils now enrolled at a school under Plan VI or under the Open Transfer Policy, shall be permitted to continue at their school of attendance, providing that this school is established as an upper grade school. However, if the school of their present attendance is changed to a primary school, they shall attend the school established as their upper grade school.
3. Present 10th and 11th grade students now enrolled at a school under the Geographic and Controlled Selected Open District Policy or under the Open Transfer Policy, shall be permitted to continue at their school of attendance.

Plan VI, the Open Transfer Policy, and the Geographic and Controlled Selected Open District were instituted in order to improve ethnic distribution of students among the schools of all grade levels, subject to space availability of the individual schools.

Construction

Rehabilitation and/or Construction of Elementary Schools to Meet Field Act Standards

Schools involved are Burbank, Edison, Jefferson, Linda Vista and Sierra Madre.

Background - Engineering drawings for the possible structural rehabilitation of all five schools are in progress. The District is now considering these alternates:

1. Rehabilitating (making the buildings structurally safe to meet the Field Act standards only).
2. Demolition and replacement with relocatable classrooms.
3. New construction, using the 1967 bond funds allocated, to build new administrative and classroom areas to the extent the allotted funds would allow and to maintain the balance of classrooms required in relocatables now on the sites.

Whichever alternative is ultimately chosen, it will have little effect upon the ethnic composition of the elementary schools involved because adjustments in attendance zones will be made, if necessary, to insure that no school has a majority of any minority group.

High School Educational Park

Construction for the high school educational park will take part in two phases.

Minimum Costs:	Phase I	\$9,200,000
	Phase II	<u>3,500,000</u>
		\$12,700,000
	Renovation of Washington Jr. High	<u>500,000</u>
		\$13,200,000

This total is based upon Davis, MacConnell & Ralston's study of 1968. Added to their costs is a 6% per year inflation factor.

The \$12,700,000 construction estimate should be considered the very minimum that would be needed.

In the present estimates for construction and renovation, it should be considered that it would take approximately nine months for planning, another nine months for architects' plans and bidding, and 24 months for construction. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ years should be the very minimum amount, and it should be considered that it may take a time span of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 years to reach the ultimate goal.

Completion of Phase I would provide adequate housing to insure a good educational program. Phase II is necessary to meet the ultimate goal, but it is not necessarily vital to the immediate educational program.

Financing required for the educational park would come from two sources. Approximately \$1,000,000, which was allocated for Muir rehabilitation from the 1967 bond issue, would become available. Approximately \$8,200,000 would be available through the sale of Muir High School, the Education Center (to be moved to the present Washington Junior High School site), and McKinley Elementary, Washington Junior High School north field, unused site adjacent to Field Elementary, unused site adjacent to Don Benito Elementary, and McKinley Junior High (to be moved to the Blair site). It is estimated that the sales of all properties would be consummated within a minimum of three years, and a maximum of six years. The estimates for the sale of properties are based on present zoning.

Other sources of additional funding for senior high school educational park are being investigated. These include the possible avail-

ability of \$34,080,000 from the April, 1969 bond issue, which received greater than a 50% vote but less than the 66-2/3% presently required in California. District litigation to declare the bond issue valid on the "one man one vote" premise will be heard by the State Supreme Court soon. Possibilities of lease-sale arrangements and joint-powers agreements are also being investigated.

Relocatables

Elementary

Space Utilization - Complete implementation of the area plan will result in the reallocation of 39 permanent classrooms and 25 relocatable classrooms. It will be necessary to move 17 relocatable classrooms to other sites to accommodate adjusted enrollments under the area plan. The remaining classrooms will be used to accommodate classes for Special Education, Opportunity and ESEA programs. Attached is a detailed breakdown of the classroom requirements at various schools.

Time frame - The moving of the relocatables would have to take between the end of this school term and the beginning of the fall term. This is an ambitious effort to complete, but it is felt that between now and June 15 it is possible to hire an architect, get State approval and receive bids for relocatables, as well as get board approval. All that would be left would be the actual physical movement of the relocatables. Also, preliminary electrical work can be done and foundations poured between now and the end of school. These classrooms, of course, would not be available for the summer school program.

Cost - Move 17 relocatables at \$2,750 each = \$46,750.

Architect Fees	\$	150
OAC Fees		50
Physical Moving		1,100
Foundations		800
Utilities		650
		<u>\$ 2,750</u>

Secondary

Space Utilization - It is assumed that eight classrooms will be needed at Marshall Junior High School. These will be available as follows:

<u>School</u>	<u>Relocatables Available</u>	<u>No. to be Moved to Marshall</u>
Washington Jr. High	2	2
Eliot	2-4	2
Wilson	2	0
Pasadena High School	2-6	<u>4</u>
Total to be Moved		8

Time Frame - It is expected that these relocatables could be moved during the summer of 1970.

Cost - It is assumed that the average cost to move a relocatable classroom will be \$2,750. Therefore, the cost of moving eight relocatables will be \$22,000.

TABLE 10

CLASSROOM ADJUSTMENTS UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN
IN AREA "A" (1970-71)

BASE SCHOOL	Esti- mated Enroll- ment	Rooms Avail- able At Present		Rooms Needed	Adjust- ment	Unassigned Rooms Avail- able After Adjustment		Number Reloca- tables to be Moved onto Site
		Perma- nent	Reloc- atable			Perma- nent	Reloc- atable	
K-3								
Audubon	655	15	4	20	+1			1
Noyes	481	11		14	+3			3
Sierra Madre	641	4	16	20				
Sierra Mesa	582	16		18	+2			2
4-6								
Altadena	730	27		25	-2	2		
Edison	539	5	15	18	-2		2	
Loma Alta	601	18	2	21	+1			1
TOTALS						2	2	7

Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 30.

TABLE 11

CLASSROOM ADJUSTMENTS UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN
IN AREA "B" (1970-71)

BASE SCHOOL	Esti- mated Enroll- ment	Rooms Avail- able At Present		Rooms Needed	Adjust- ment	Unassigned Rooms Avail- able After Adjustment		Number Reloca- tables to be Moved onto Site
		Perma- nent	Reloc- atable			Perma- nent	Reloc- atable	
K-3								
Eurbank	628	9	8	20	+3			3
Don Benito	741	24		22	-2	2		
Franklin	716	15	6	21	0			
Webster	872	22		27	+5			
4-6								
Field	674	22		23	+1			1
Longfellow	784	27	3	27	-3		3	
Washington	748	30	8	26	-12	4	8	
TOTALS						6	11	9

Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 31.

TABLE 13

CLASSROOM ADJUSTMENTS UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN
IN AREA "D" (1970-71)

BASE SCHOOL	Esti- mated Enroll- ment	Rooms Avail- able At Present		Rooms Needed	Adjust- ment	Unassigned Rooms Avail- able After Adjustment		Number Reloca- tables to be Moved onto Site
		Perma- nent	Reloc- atable			Perma- nent	Reloc- atable	
K-3								
Allendale	512	14	3	16	-1		1	
Arroyo-Garfield	306	13		10	-3	3		
Linda Vista	174	1	4	6	+1			1
McKinley Elem.	214	9		7	-2	2		
San Rafael	339	16		11	-5	5		
4-6								
Cleveland	443	20		15	-5	5		
Jackson	742	19	6	25	0			
TOTALS						15	1	1

Source: Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), p. 31.

Transportation

Cost Estimates

The estimated expense to transport pupils is based on the following assumptions:

1. That all pupils attending schools outside their normal areas will ride the bus.
2. That there would be three runs each per bus, a.m. and p.m. for elementary pupils; and two runs each per bus, a.m. and p.m. for secondary pupils.
3. That the expense is based on the present contract cost per bus.
4. That starting times are staggered.

	<u>Total Cost</u>	<u>Estimated State Reimbursement*</u>	<u>Net Cost</u>
Elementary Area Plan	\$485,000	\$120,000	\$365,000
Jr. High 9th Grade Plan	325,000	75,000	250,000
Sr. High Plan III	<u>220,000</u>	<u>15,000</u>	<u>205,000</u>
	\$1,030,000	\$210,000	\$820,000

*Does not include possible federal funding.

Since the district has limited budget which is needed to continue a strong educational program, the district is investigating various outside sources of fundings for the transportation necessary to implement this program, and has in mind the assurances given repeatedly in Federal Court by Attorney Charles Quaintance of the U.S. Justice Department, that funds would be made available to provide for transportation costs to implement a desegregation plan.

Additional facts based on previous assumptions:

50% of elementary pupils to be transported (approximately 8,000 students)

52% of junior high pupils to be transported (approximately 3,600 students)

27% of senior high pupils to be transported (approximately 1,900 students)

Requires 106 buses at a cost of \$5,800 per day.

Part II: Assignment, Hiring, and Promotion
of Teachers and Administrators

Introduction

In the judgment, the District was required to present a plan which would "include programs for the assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members in such a manner as to reduce racial segregation throughout the District."

The plan here presented is designed to accomplish the desired results, yet with a concern for the educational program for students and the morale of all employees.

In formulating this plan certain factors have been recognized.

1. The schools are currently staffed with a full complement of administrators and teachers. Inasmuch as there is no increase in pupil enrollment anticipated, the number of positions available for new teachers is limited to the number of vacancies which occur due to resignation and retirement.

2. There is and has been a nationwide shortage of qualified teachers. This shortage is particularly acute for minority groups who have not entered training for the teaching profession in sufficient numbers to meet the needs.
3. A plan adopted to meet the immediate emergency must be subject to continuous scrutiny in order to insure that a better ethnic and racial balance once achieved is maintained. It must also be sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of changing population trends within the school district.

Elementary School Teacher Assignment

There are twenty-seven elementary schools with approximately 650 teachers. The annual turnover of teachers due to resignation and retirement averages 15% resulting in approximately 100 elementary school teacher vacancies to be filled each year.

In the interest of retaining high standards of employment and in considering the shortage of minority teachers available, the plan proposes to reduce the racial segregation throughout the elementary schools as follows.

By September 1970 each elementary school will have assigned no fewer than 15% and no more than 45% minority teachers and no fewer than 2 minority teachers in any one school except where the total number of teachers is less than 8 in which case there will be at least 1 minority teacher.

By the opening of school in September 1970 we will have increased the number of minority group teachers significantly. Each year there-

after, a recruiting program will be so planned as to increase the number of each minority to more closely approximate the racial composition of the student population.

The recruitment program as outlined elsewhere is directed toward an active recruitment of minority groups including Negroes, Spanish-Americans, and Orientals.

Junior High School Teacher

Assignment

There are five junior high schools with approximately 295 teachers. The annual turnover of teachers due to resignation and retirement averages 15% resulting in 44 junior high school teacher vacancies to be filled each year. In addition to this number, in September 1970 thirteen teachers presently assigned to the junior high schools who were transferred September 1969 because of the senior high school reduction from six to five periods, will be returned to the senior high school resulting in a total of approximately 57 vacancies at the junior high school level.

In the interest of retaining high standards of employment and in considering the shortage of minority teachers (which is even more acute at the secondary level than at the elementary level) the plan proposes to reduce the racial segregation throughout the junior high schools as follows.

By September 1970 each junior high school will have assigned no fewer than 15% and no more than 45% minority teachers.

By the opening of school in September 1970 we will have increased the number of minority group teachers significantly. Each year thereafter, a recruiting program will be so planned as to increase the number of each minority to more closely approximate the racial composition of the student population.

The recruitment program as outlined in another part of this plan is directed toward an active recruitment of minority groups including Negroes, Spanish-Americans, and Orientals.

Senior High School Teacher

Assignment

There are three senior high schools with approximately 263 teachers. With the restoration of the six period day the number of teachers at the senior high school level will be increased to approximately 307. The annual turnover of teachers due to resignation and retirement averages 15% resulting in approximately 39 senior high school teacher vacancies to be filled each year. In September 1970 forty-four (44) additional teachers will be required to restore the six period day for all students resulting in 83 teacher vacancies at the senior high school level. Thirteen of these vacancies will be filled by junior high school teachers returning to their positions in the senior high schools resulting in a total of approximately 70 vacancies at the senior high school level.

In the interest of retaining high standards of employment and in considering the shortage of minority teachers (which is even more

acute at the secondary level than at the elementary level) the plan proposes to reduce the racial segregation throughout the senior high schools as follows.

By September 1970 each senior high school will have assigned no fewer than 15% and no more than 45% minority teachers.

By the opening of school in September 1970 we will have increased the number of minority group teachers sufficiently to meet the goals named above. Each year thereafter, a recruiting program will be so planned as to increase the number of each minority group to more closely approximate the racial composition of the student population.

The recruitment program as outlined in another part of this plan is directed toward an active recruitment of minority groups including Negroes, Spanish-Americans, and Orientals.

Recruitment

It is estimated that the Pasadena Unified School District will have 100 teacher vacancies at the elementary school level and 130 vacancies at the secondary level which must be filled before the opening of school in September 1970.

In planning the recruitment program we have selected interviewing locations where minority group candidates would be available. Assistance was requested from the district Office of Intergroup Education and the State Department of Intergroup Relations. The California State Department of Education publication entitled "Recruiting Minority Teachers" was used generously for reference. Conferences were held with experts in the field of teacher recruitment. The

Los Angeles County Office, college and university placement offices, teacher association offices (both California Teachers Association and the American Federation of Teachers), and Association of Mexican American Educators were contacted.

There are four phases to the program.

I. Local recruitment will include

- A. An organized program of teacher referrals by minority employees of the school district. Members of this group will contact minority persons with teaching credentials who live in the Pasadena area who may wish to apply for positions in Pasadena.
- B. Inquiries by telephone and by letter from teachers who wish to apply will be answered and interviews will be scheduled.
- C. An advisory committee composed of recently hired minority personnel will be formed to help recruit teachers who might be interested in a position with the Pasadena Unified School District. Members of this committee will write individual letters to their former colleges and acquaintances telling of their experiences in Pasadena concerning living conditions, climate, employment opportunities and the educational program. Through these contacts minority educators will be encouraged to apply for teaching and administrative positions in the Pasadena Unified School District.

II. Southern California recruitment will include

A. College and university placement offices.

Appointments have been made for recruitment teams to visit the following college and university placement offices.

California State College at Los Angeles
 California State College at Long Beach
 California State College at Fullerton
 California State College at San Bernardino
 San Fernando Valley State College
 California State Polytechnic College at Pomona
 University of California at Los Angeles
 University of California at Irvine
 University of California at Riverside
 University of Redlands
 University of Southern California
 Pepperdine College
 San Diego State College
 California Western University

III. Out-of-area recruitment will include college and university placement offices outside of Southern California.

Appointments have been planned for recruitment teams to visit the following placement offices.

University of California, Santa Barbara
 Fresno State College
 University of California, Berkeley
 University of San Francisco
 San Francisco State College
 Stanford University
 San Jose State College
 California State College, Hayward
 Sacramento State College
 College of the Pacific

Northern Arizona State, Flagstaff, Ariz.
 Arizona State College, Tempe, Ariz.
 University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
 New Mexico State, Las Cruces, N. M.
 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.
 Adams State College, Alamosa, Colo.
 University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
 Loretta Heights College, Denver, Colo.
 University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
 Colorado State College, Greeley, Colo.
 Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colo.

IV. A recruitment letter outlining the teacher needs in Pasade for September 1970 will be sent to college and university placement offices throughout the Midwest and East and to candidates from whom letters of inquiry are received in the Personnel Department. Advertisements will be placed in large city newspapers. Recruitment centers will be established in Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Columbus, Ohio. The establishment of additional centers will be governed by the response to the advertising program.

Placement offices and recruitment centers will be visited by recruitment teams under the administration of the Personnel Department. School personnel, both teachers and administrators, will serve as members of interviewing teams. Membership will include representatives of varied ethnic and racial groups. Inservice training sessions will be held by the Personnel Department. During these sessions team members will be instructed in interviewing techniques and evaluation procedures. In the inservice training sessions and in advertising materials distributed both locally and nationally, the need for additional minority teachers will be stressed.

Teacher Selection

This program of selection has been planned with a concern for the educational welfare of the students. Although it is committed to the hiring and promotion of minority groups, there is an equal commitment to the maintaining of high standards of competence among all those who

are employed. Anything less than this commitment would result in irreparable damage to the educational program of present and future generations of students.

The decision to employ a teacher should be a committee decision (at the district and/or school level) and not the sole responsibility of an administrator, a consultant, or the Director of Personnel. The committee members will interview candidates, review applications, college transcripts, references, and other materials submitted by the applicants.

The Personnel Department will refer candidates to individual schools where vacancies occur. The administrator in charge of the school will be requested to make a selection from no more than five such referrals.

When a majority of the committee members find a candidate unacceptable, notice will be sent to the candidate. Written documentation must be made and kept as a part of the Personnel Department files.

In referring teachers to schools, the Personnel Department will be responsible for maintaining the 15% - 45% range of ethnic balance within the school district. Care will also be given to maintaining a balance of new and experienced teachers in each school.

Recruitment and Selection of Administrators

There are 57 non-teaching certificated assignments in the Education Center.

There are 76 non-teaching assignments located in the schools.

This total of 133 non-teaching certificated assignments includes all school administrators, directors, supervisors, consultants, counselors, school psychologists, and others who have regular assignments outside the classroom. Of the 133 such assignments 27 are held by minority personnel, 18 of which are Negro.

Vacancies in these positions are filled from eligibility lists established by examination. At the present time the examination consists of an oral interview, evaluation of training and evaluation of experience by a committee appointed for this purpose. Every such committee this past year has had at least one minority group representative. Announcements for these positions are distributed to all school personnel, to college and university placement offices in Southern California and to a mailing list recommended by the Department of Intergroup Education which includes agencies and districts where minority personnel may be available. The announcement contains the title of the position, the minimum requirements for entrance, desirable qualifications, job duty statement, and the salary. All applicants who meet the minimum entrance requirements are admitted to the examination. Applicants who do not meet minimum entrance requirements are so informed by the Personnel Department.

When vacancies occur, the top five names on the eligibility list are referred to the appointing authority for consideration. All appointments must be approved by the Superintendent.

A positive recruitment program paralleling the teacher recruitment program will actively seek out minority group administrators,

supervisors, and counselors who are interested in employment with the Pasadena Unified School District. As a part of this recruitment program, bulletins concerning job opportunities will be sent to college and university placement offices and other professional organization offices. In these bulletins, minority candidates will be especially encouraged to apply.

Appeal Procedure - Candidates who are unsuccessful in their application for administrative and other non-teaching certificated positions will have the right of appeal. Requests for interview should be addressed to the Administrative Director for Personnel and appointment will be scheduled before the Review Board hereafter described.

Review Procedure

It is hoped that any candidate who has been unsuccessful in his application for an administrative position in the Pasadena Unified School District would feel free to discuss the results of his evaluation with the Administrative Director for Personnel. However, there are occasions when the candidate wishes to go beyond the Personnel Department and present his case to a higher authority.

In order to provide this opportunity to candidates for promotional positions, it is proposed that a special Review Board be established. This Board will consist of:

One member appointed by the Negotiating Council representing the elementary division

One member appointed by the Negotiating Council representing the secondary division

One member appointed by the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education

One member appointed by the Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education

One member appointed by the Department of Intergroup Education

This Board will have a revolving membership so that at all times at least two members of the committee are experienced. At least two meetings of the Board will be held each semester.

Any applicant who has applied for a promotional position in the Pasadena Unified School District and who has not been approved in the examination or by the evaluating committee will have the right to appeal this decision. This appeal must be in writing and addressed to the Director of Personnel who in turn will arrange for an appointment for the candidate at the next meeting of the Review Board. The Board will review the application and all other materials submitted by the candidate at time of application and will offer the opportunity for the candidate to appear before the Board in person.

Assignment of Substitutes

Competent substitutes are in critical shortage. They are hard to find and hard to keep. Because of the very nature of the job, many competent teachers prefer regular or long term assignments. Replenishing the supply of substitutes is a daily necessity. The Personnel Department urges substitute teachers to make themselves available for all assignments.

In order to make certain that minority substitutes receive equal consideration, all substitute cards have been identified as to race

and the substitute clerks have been instructed that substitutes will be assigned to positions regardless of the racial composition of the school.

Recruitment of additional substitutes is difficult at best. Recently a change in policy was adopted which permitted teachers on leave to serve as day-to-day substitutes. Requests are being made to local chapters of the PTA for former teachers now housewives to make themselves available for substitute service.

With the shortage of substitutes, maintaining a reasonable standard of quality is difficult. In an effort to make certain that unqualified teachers are not retained, principals are requested to make regular reports on substitutes' services and those who prove unsatisfactory will be terminated.¹

Summary

The school desegregation plan developed by the Pasadena Unified School District in response to the court order of January 20, 1970 has been presented within this chapter. The Pasadena Plan was reproduced in its complete form, including all illustrations, tables, and revisions submitted to the court on February 27, 1970. Except for the numbering of illustrations and tables to provide continuity with a listing of similar materials included elsewhere in this study, the wording and sequence of the Pasadena Plan in this chapter is identical to that approved by Judge Manuel L. Real on March 4, 1970.

¹Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1970), pp. 1-49.

The Pasadena Plan was divided into two parts, each of which responded to a mandate for action within the court order of Judge Real. Part I dealt with new methods of assigning students to specific schools, including construction, redistribution, and general utilization of facilities to accomplish such assignment, and Part II proposed revisions in district procedures for the assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and administrators.

Major changes in district organization were proposed to facilitate student assignment. A 3-3-2-1-3 system was proposed to replace the previous 6-3-3 pattern. Four elementary attendance zones were created. Each zone extended from east to west across the district, thus attempting to create greater racial balance within the schools of a district in which de facto segregation in housing created a high concentration of minority residents within its western extremes. The K-6 pattern was replaced by primary schools (K-3) and upper schools (4-6) within each zone. The three-year junior high school was abandoned, revised attendance zones were created for inclusion of all students at one of four schools during the seventh and eighth grades, and a single school was proposed for all ninth grade students. Assignment of students to the three district senior high schools was altered. Factors relating to student assignment such as sibling transfers, senior policies, construction, use of relocatables, and transportation were reviewed.

Revised district procedures were proposed to promote greater racial balance among the certificated staff of the Pasadena Unified School District. Policies to create ethnic balance among teachers

at each school at the elementary and secondary levels were initiated, recruitment of minority personnel was reviewed, new procedures for teacher selection were outlined, methods for recruitment and selection were revised to encourage minority participation, a new review procedure was established, and provisions for the assignment of minority substitutes were altered.

A precise and complete description of the Pasadena Plan was necessary in order to analyze the efforts to promote desegregation under the provisions of that plan. This chapter has provided that description. The chapter that follows presents an analysis of the Pasadena Plan during its first year of operation.

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST YEAR OF OPERATION

UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN

Introduction

Eight months of intensive planning preceded the actual implementation of the Pasadena Plan. This planning had a direct influence upon the success of that implementation, and an analysis of the planning and preparation stage is considered important, therefore, in assessing those factors which contributed to the efforts to achieve school desegregation during the 1970-71 school year. This preparation involved the joint efforts of school and community leaders. It began with receipt of the court order to desegregate the schools of the Pasadena Unified School District on January 23, 1970, and it concluded with district-held tours of school facilities for students and parents on the day prior to the opening of school in September.¹

While the quality of planning is an important factor to be considered in evaluating the successes and/or failures of the first year of operation under the Pasadena Plan, the real test of the merits of that operation coincides with the actual implementation of the plan itself, and that implementation began with arrival of the first school bus at

¹Pasadena Star-News, September 14, 1970, p. 1.

a senior high school campus at 7:05 a.m. on September 14, 1970.¹ That date marked the first day of classes for the 29,123 students who attended the Pasadena Unified School District during the 1970-71 school year.²

Six criteria are used within this chapter to analyze the Pasadena Plan during its first year of operation. These criteria evaluate the degree to which this plan represented an effective response to school desegregation in the following areas: (1) preparation and planning, (2) adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, (3) community acceptance, (4) physical operation, (5) academic progress, and (6) social assimilation.

The same six criteria will be utilized in the following chapter to analyze progress under the Pasadena Plan during its second year of operation. The writer believes that the similarities and/or differences between the operation in its first year and its function during the following year can be compared most effectively by maintaining a constant set of evaluative criteria used for measurement within both time periods.

Preparation and Planning Prior to the First Year of Operation Under the Pasadena Plan

The major sources of information utilized to analyze the preparation and planning for the implementation of the Pasadena Plan are as follows:

(1) provisions of the plan as adopted by Judge Manuel L. Real on March 4, 1970, (2) changes in that plan that were initiated in the period

¹The Altadenan, September 17, 1970, p. 2.

²Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, 1970), p. 4.

from the time of its adoption to the date of its implementation on September 14, 1970, and (3) efforts to disseminate information and generate public support regarding its procedures and policies.

Provisions of the Plan

The provisions of the Pasadena Plan as adopted on March 4, 1970, are included in their entirety within Chapter VI. Summarized briefly at this point for purposes of analysis, these provisions called for the reorganization of the Pasadena Unified School District into sixteen primary, eleven elementary, four junior high, one intermediate, and four senior high schools.¹ The primary schools contained kindergarten through grade three, elementary schools spanned grades four through six, junior high schools encompassed grades seven and eight, the intermediate school comprised grade nine, and senior high schools included grades ten through twelve.

Four attendance zones were created at the primary and elementary levels. These zones extended generally east to west across the school district. Specific areas included within each zone are shown in Illustration 6 on page 129.

The junior high school attendance areas were drawn in an east-west pattern demonstrated in Illustration 15 on page 143. A single intermediate school was envisioned as the site for all ninth grade students, and its central location is shown in Illustration 16 on page 144. The three senior high schools with specified attendance areas were rezoned to achieve greater racial balance, and the pattern of that rezoning is illustrated on page 147.

¹Foothill High School serves as a continuation high school and is not racially balanced.

Only in the western section was a deviation from the east-west pattern observed, and this deviation followed a standard geographical configuration at each grade level. Area D at the primary and elementary levels was similar to the attendance areas of both McKinley Junior High School and Muir High School. Each of these areas followed a north-south pattern that covered the major portion of the western region. The similarities between these areas are seen in graphic form by a comparison of their boundaries as shown in Illustrations 6, 15, and 17, which appear on pages 129, 143, and 147.

The attendance areas appeared to create zoning patterns that significantly reduced racial segregation within all levels of the school district. The general east-west pattern of those areas attempted to compensate for the eastward movement of minorities within the Pasadena Unified School District.¹ Enrollment figures for the 1970-71 school year reveal that the attendance areas prescribed within the Pasadena Plan did create significant reduction in racial segregation at all levels within the Pasadena Unified School District. These figures are analyzed in a later section of this chapter that deals with adherence to the specific provisions of the court order.

The Pasadena Plan terminated the previous policy of permitting younger siblings to attend the school in which their older sisters or brothers were currently enrolled, thus removing a longstanding barrier to an effective, long-term plan for racial desegregation. Conditions under which transfer requests would be granted were carefully enunciated, and these conditions emphasized improvement of racial balance.

¹A survey of residential sales within the area served by the school district confirmed this assumption of eastward minority expansion.

The twenty-seven elementary schools in the district were divided into sixteen primary schools and eleven upper grade schools. Dislocations necessitated by the decision to divide the elementary schools into primary and upper grades were eased in part by specific provisions within the Pasadena Plan. Students at kindergarten, first, second, fourth, and fifth grade levels were permitted to continue at their previous school of attendance unless that school had been designated to serve grade levels inappropriate to their normal grade placement.

Similar efforts to reduce mandatory changes of schools were instituted at the senior high level. Tenth and eleventh grade pupils were permitted to continue during the 1970-71 school year at their schools of attendance in 1969-70.

The Pasadena Plan envisioned several special conditions: (1) rehabilitation and/or construction of elementary schools to meet standards of structural safety as provided by the Field Act, (2) a two-phase program for completion of a high school educational park, (3) the sale of property valued at \$8,200,000 to partially finance construction of the aforementioned educational park, (4) reallocation of thirty-nine permanent classrooms and twenty-five relocatable classrooms at the elementary level, and (5) the movement of eight relocatables to provide adequate facilities for the ninth grade intermediate school.

Many of these conditions did not materialize. Elementary schools were rehabilitated to meet safety standards of the Field Act, but no new elementary schools were built. The concept of the high school educational park was abandoned, and the projected sale of properties to finance that project was discarded. The reallocation of permanent and relocatable

classrooms at the elementary level was implemented during the summer of 1970, but movement of relocatable classrooms to the intermediate school became unnecessary because the Board of Education decided in May of 1970 to abandon the plan to initiate the one-year school.¹

Plans related to the assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members were specified in detail within the provisions of the Pasadena Plan. Those provisions directed that action be taken in the following areas: (1) the redistribution of teaching personnel in such a manner that a more equitable racial balance would be attained at all schools, (2) the hiring of a greater number of minority group teachers in order that the racial composition of the certificated staff more closely reflect the racial composition of the community it served, and (3) the encouragement of minority personnel to apply for promotional opportunities.

The plan specified that no more than 45 per cent and no fewer than 15 per cent minority teachers would be assigned to each school by September of 1970. No elementary school would have fewer than two minority teachers, except where the total size of the staff was less than eight, in which case at least one minority teacher would be assigned. Due in part to the fact that 90 per cent of the elementary staff voluntarily accepted reassignment in order to meet these provisions, the plans specified in March of 1970 regarding racial distribution of teachers were met by September of 1970.¹

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, May 15, 1970, p. 1.

²Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October, 1970), pp. 1-10.

Recruitment of minority teachers involved a four-phase program. Local recruitment included an organized program of teacher referrals by minority employees of the district, rapid response and interviews upon requests regarding employment by minority group members, and establishment of an advisory committee composed of recently hired minority personnel. Recruitment within the Southern California area relied heavily upon college and university placement offices, with district personnel conducting on-site interviews at fourteen such offices. Recruitment within the western states involved appointment interviews at twenty-one placement offices, eleven of which were outside the State of California. Recruitment letters were sent to college and university placement offices throughout the Midwest and East, advertisements were placed in newspapers within major midwestern and eastern cities, and minority recruitment centers were established in Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Columbus, Ohio. That these recruitment provisions were successful may be inferred by the fact that the Pasadena Unified School District hired a greater number of certificated minority personnel during the six months preceding implementation of the Pasadena Plan than during any previous six-month period in the history of the school district.¹ Eighty-three new minority group classroom teachers were employed for the 1970-71 school year.²

The Pasadena Plan stipulated that a positive recruitment program would be initiated to actively search for minority group administrators,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 10.

supervisors, and counselors. Mailings to college and university placement offices were increased, information regarding promotional opportunities was disseminated among professional organizations, and minority candidates were particularly urged to apply. The success of these procedures appears to have been extremely limited, based upon the following facts regarding racial distribution of staff during the first year of operation under the Pasadena Plan: (1) racial minorities comprised 15.8 per cent of all building level administrators, (2) Negroes held 8.8 per cent of all Pasadena school administrative positions, and 7 per cent of such positions were staffed by Mexican-Americans, and (3) no Orientals, American Indians, or other nonwhites were employed in administrative, supervisory, or counseling positions.¹

In conclusion, the provisions of the Pasadena Plan as approved by Judge Real in March of 1970 were mechanically sound. They achieved success in creating attendance zones that led to racial balance in student assignment at all levels within the Pasadena Unified School District, and they succeeded in attracting a record number of minority group classroom teachers to employment in Pasadena. Two of the special considerations within the plan appear hastily arrived upon, however, and they were abandoned prior to its implementation. The problems created by the decision to abandon the one-year intermediate school and the high school educational park are discussed in detail at a later stage within this study. It should be emphasized that mechanical soundness does not guarantee success in implementation, as evidenced by the limited involvement of minority personnel in leadership positions during the 1970-71 school year.

¹Ibid.

Changes in the Plan

Three areas of change altered the Pasadena Plan during the period between its acceptance by Judge Real in March of 1970 and its implementation in September. The ninth grade school was abandoned, the high school educational park was set aside, and attendance zone revisions were made.

The decision to abandon the ninth grade intermediate school represented a basic reversal in planning. The concept of a single school for ninth grade students was a major provision of the original desegregation plan. Its supporters stated that it would create immediate racial balance at the ninth grade level, reduce behavioral problems at the junior high school by contracting the grade span from three years to two, and provide a transition between junior and senior high school. As seen in Illustration 16 on page 144, the selected site for the intermediate school, Marshall Junior High School, is located almost precisely in the center of the total district attendance area. It housed the largest student enrollment of any junior high school, thus making it the most feasible junior high facility to serve the 2,276 students projected for enrollment in the ninth grade during the 1970-71 school year.¹ Its central location and relatively large student capacity appeared to make Marshall the logical choice for the one-year intermediate school.

Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, was a staunch advocate of the high school educational park.²

¹Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District. See page 142 of this study.

²The original proposal and planning for a high school educational park in Pasadena developed under leadership by Mr. Cortines.

Inclusion of all ninth graders at a single school would permit a practical feasibility study of some issues that would be encountered later if the educational park were to become a reality.

Opposition to the intermediate school came from parents and teachers. Parents appeared at several board meetings to speak against the single year school, and Marshall staff members expressed their opposition to the plan at a series of staff meetings. Rising estimates as to the cost of converting Marshall for use as an intermediate school created new obstacles to the practicality of the plan, and, in a memorandum to the Superintendent of Schools on May 4, 1970, Mr. Cortines recommended that the ninth grade school be discarded in favor of a new reorganizational plan that would convert the senior high schools to grades nine through twelve. This proposal was accepted by Superintendent Hornbeck; it was adopted by the Board of Education on May 15, 1970.

Plans for establishing an educational park to include all three regular high schools within a single, cluster complex were stated at some length within the original Pasadena Plan. An increasingly tight budget, the lack of a favorable market to sell the properties necessary to help finance the project, the need to direct immediate attention to implementation of the Pasadena Plan, and the rejection of the ninth grade school appear to be major factors that led district administrators to quietly abandon implementation of these plans. The high school educational park expired more quietly than the ninth grade school, but its death may have more long-term significance for the future of students in Pasadena. The merits of the high school educational park concept will be

discussed in some detail within Chapter X of this dissertation.

One major change in attendance zoning was approved at the senior high school level. On May 15, 1970, the Board of Education approved the movement of a central attendance zone comprising one hundred and ninety-one students from Blair High School to Pasadena High School.¹ This move did not materially affect the racial balance at either school, but it avoided future transportation problems by placing most of the Blair attendance area in a zone that would not be divided by the proposed Colorado Freeway. The geographical effect of this change is demonstrated in Illustration 18, page 185.

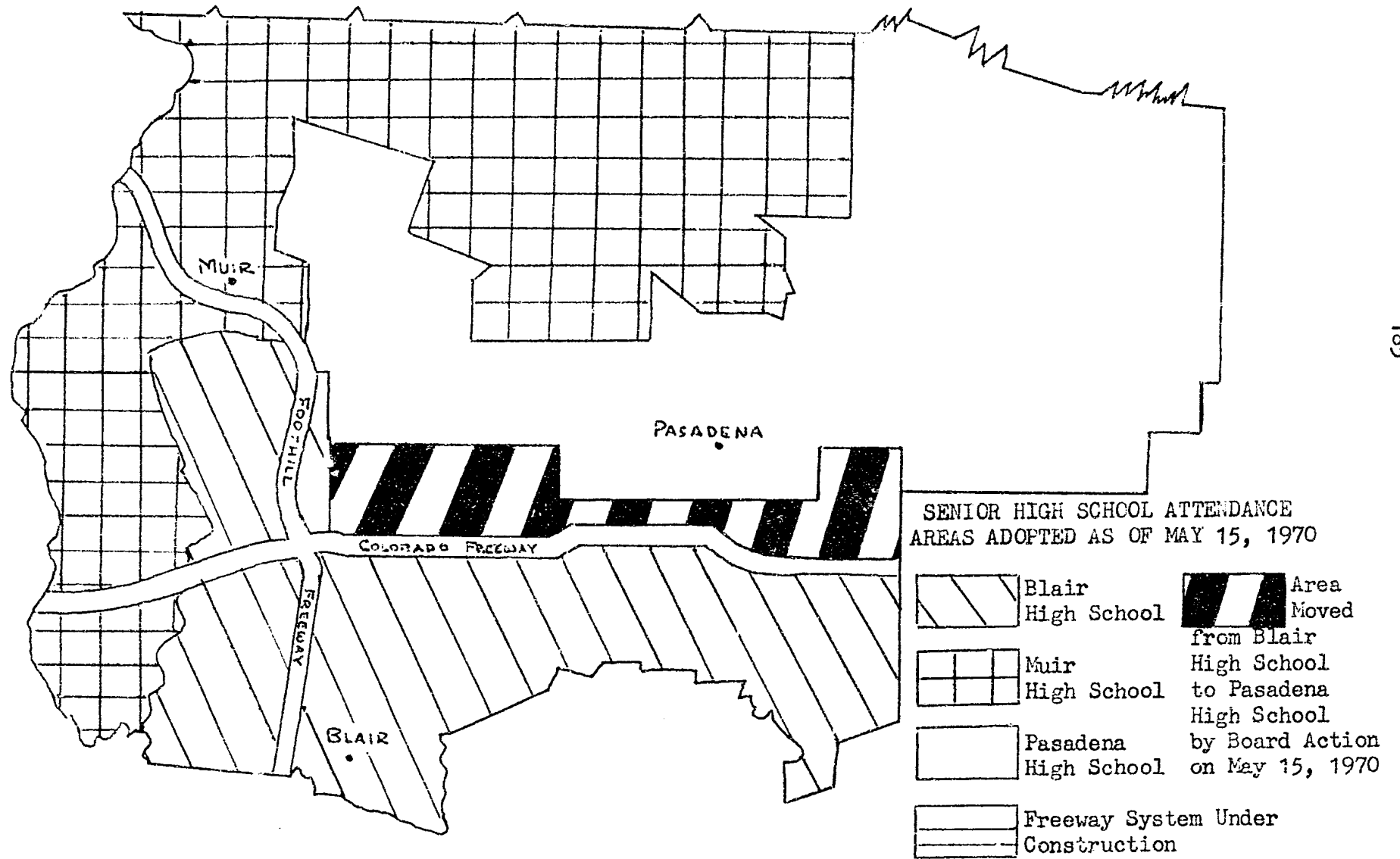
Seven minor changes in attendance zones were made at the primary and elementary levels. These alterations involved exchanges of students in very small numbers, and the total number of students involved was seventy-two. Three of these zone changes involved ease of transportation, two involved slight modifications in previously established boundaries in order that such boundaries followed natural barriers, and two involved the inclusion of students from areas which were erroneously omitted from district maps. None of these changes significantly altered either total numbers or ethnic percentages among enrollments at specific schools.²

The lateness of the decisions to abandon the ninth grade school and move almost two hundred students from Blair High School to Pasadena High School provided difficulties for students, parents, and staff members.

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, May 15, 1970, p. 3.

²Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution, 1970-71 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, March, 1971), pp. 1-10.

ILLUSTRATION 18



Master schedules were close to completion at many of the junior and senior high schools when these decisions were made on May 15, 1970, and these schedules were based upon student choices and enrollment figures gathered in March and April. The reallocation of students and staff at the ninth grade level and the switching of a large number of students from Blair High School to Pasadena High School required massive readjustments within a short period of time.

Having made major changes in planning at an inconveniently late date, the district officials compounded the problem by failing to make any provisions for hiring additional certificated or classified assistance to compensate for the limited time given to adjust to these changes. Reorganization of the senior high schools to include the ninth grade was severely hampered by the fact that a majority of the senior high school counselors had terminated their assignments for the year before final changes were approved by the school board. Minor changes in senior high school attendance zones were made as late as July 6, 1970, and the timing of these revisions added to the problems of all concerned.¹

Efforts to Disseminate Information and Generate Support for the Plan

The Pasadena Unified School District initiated a massive program to disseminate information and generate public support regarding the Pasadena Plan. These efforts were concentrated into four areas: (1) communications, (2) transportation, (3) community involvement for curriculum development, and (4) staff development.

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 6, 1970, p. 1.

The communications program was directed primarily to parents. Public Schools Week in April was utilized to orient parents to the Pasadena Plan. The League of Women Voters manned an Information Center at the Education Center on a daily basis to answer parent questions from May to September. An Open House Information Night was held during the first week in June, at which time both parents and students were invited to go to the school the students would be attending in the fall. Parent-Teacher Association chapters at each school sponsored social events, so that parents whose children were assigned to the same school could meet and become acquainted prior to the fall term. A letter was distributed in late July to parents regarding transportation, and an additional letter regarding specific busing procedures was mailed to parents during the first week in September. A packet enclosed within this letter included information regarding the bus, bus number, bus stop, and bus schedule pertinent to the children of the parent to whom the letter was addressed. Safety regulations were stressed. An intense and generally negative reaction to the September letters was noted in the calls received at the Information Center. Over a thousand calls per day were received at the Center during the week that followed receipt of those letters.

The transportation area involved extensive planning for implementation. The district transportation office, under the direction of Mr. Crville Triggs and Mr. Joseph Packi, began to develop a detailed plan immediately upon approval of the Pasadena Plan by Judge Real. District planning was further checked by comparison with independent evaluations made by the Rapid Transit District and the Southern Califor-

nia office of International Business Machines. These outside sources confirmed the district plans. Early estimates called for the use of ninety buses, and March cost projections indicated that an additional \$1,000,000 in funds would be required to transport students during the 1970-71 school year.¹ These estimates proved to be basically correct. The Transportation Department established 595 routes involving 2,380 stops for 87 buses to transport 14,500 students to and from school.²

The Associated Charter Bus Company of Van Nuys, California, was awarded the transportation contract for the 1970-71 school year. The drivers underwent a mandatory 100-hour training course that involved human relations as well as driving techniques. Law enforcement representatives provided counsel and traffic control information.

Other extensive planning concentrated upon the problem of students getting on the right bus on opening day. Symbols, animals, and objects readily identifiable to primary-age children were used to distinguish between buses. Each primary student was sent a wallet-sized card with the picture of the object that identified his or her bus, and signs were posted at each bus stop with pictures of identification equated with the bus that stopped at that location. The Automobile Club of Southern California donated leaflets and cards on bus transportation and standards of behavior for all students who were bused.

¹Dr. Joseph Zeronian, private interview held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., February 15, 1972. Dr. Zeronian is Administrative Assistant to the Pasadena Superintendent of Schools.

²Office of the Superintendent, 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October 9, 1970), p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 3.

Practice runs of bus routes were employed on the Sunday afternoon preceding the opening of school for the fall term. Students and parents were bused to and from each school, and these "dry runs" appear to have been a particularly helpful orientation device at the primary level.¹ In addition to riding the buses, students were involved in orientation programs at each school which provided opportunities to visit the classrooms and talk to the teachers with whom they would be working the next day.

Meetings were held in each school and in many homes within the community to involve the total community in curriculum development. These meetings began in early April and continued into the summer. These sessions did not achieve the intensive involvement of all segments of the community in curriculum development, and they were disbanded without achieving their primary purpose.

Thirteen separate citizens-staff committees worked on various aspects of curriculum development during the spring of 1970. The results of these committees were mixed, but they were more successful than the meetings held at each school and within the community itself. Some of these committees produced nothing of value, but many of the recommendations of other committees were incorporated into the school program.

Staff development programs were planned and organized by the Office of Intergroup Relations, a human relations group employed by the Pasadena Unified School District. A three-week program of staff in-service training and development was conducted during the summer of 1970. Morning

¹Mrs. Dorothy F. Fagan, private interview held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., March 3, 1972. Mrs. Fagan is the Coordinator of Information for the Pasadena Unified School District.

sessions involved speakers who specialized in either human relations or instructional aspects of desegregation, and these sessions were followed by question-answer and discussion periods. Afternoon programs were designed to permit opportunities for teachers to incorporate what they had heard and discussed earlier in the day. Evaluation by staff participants indicated a general feeling that these programs had value. Over 90 per cent of the total staff participated for the entire three-week period.¹ A \$75 stipend was provided by the school district to each participating staff member. Teachers were given a choice of two three-week sessions to attend, and this choice enabled many employees to participate without interrupting previously scheduled vacation plans. Quality planning, as evidenced by favorable teacher evaluations, provision for remuneration, and a choice of session dates, appears to have been achieved in terms of staff development related to first-year desegregation under the Pasadena Plan.

In summary, considerable effort was expended to disseminate information and generate support for the Pasadena Plan. In the areas of communications, transportation, and staff development, this effort achieved some degree of success. Success was less notable in the area of community involvement for curriculum development.

Adherence to the Specific Provisions of the Court Order of 1970

The specific provisions of the 1970 court order issued by Judge Real explicitly stated that action to reduce racial imbalance at all levels

¹Dr. Joseph P. Zeronian, private interview, February 15, 1972.

in the Pasadena Unified School District shall involve programs in the areas of (1) assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members, (2) location and construction of facilities, and (3) student assignments.

Assignment, Hiring, and Promotion of Teachers and Other Professional
Staff Members

Racial balance in teacher assignment was attained at all levels within the Pasadena Unified School District, in accordance with the formula cited on page 179 of this study. All schools employing eight or more teachers contained teaching staffs of no more than 45 per cent or less than 15 per cent minority group members, and each school with less than eight teachers included at least one minority group teacher.¹

Success in achieving racial balance among all schools was not achieved easily. Certificated staffs at several schools were highly segregated prior to 1970-71. An analysis of the racial composition of all schools within the district in 1969-70 reveals that the following ten schools possessed certificated staffs that were entirely Anglo-Caucasian: Allendale Elementary, Don Benito Elementary, Hale Elementary, Linda Vista Elementary, McKinley Elementary, Noyes Elementary, San Rafael Elementary, Sierra Madre Elementary, Wilson Junior High, and Foothill High School.²

Considerable progress was made in implementing the court directive to hire more minority group teachers and other professional staff members.

¹Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1970-71, pp. 1-10.

²Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1969-70 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October, 1969), pp. 1-10.

As stated previously, a record total of eighty-three new minority group teachers were employed between the 1969-70 and 1970-71 school years. An increase is also noted at all levels in the hiring of other minority staff members.¹

Promotion of minority group personnel was very limited. No increase in minority group representation is noted during 1970-71 among leadership positions assigned to the Education Center. Only one Spanish surname administrator was appointed during the 1970-71 school year, although the number of Spanish surname teachers employed during that period rose from 18 to 43. No Negro administrators were added to the district staff from 1969-70 to 1970-71, despite the addition of 145 Negro teachers. The number of Oriental teachers increased from 16 to 24, but district schools remained without a single Oriental administrator. American Indians were employed for the first time as teachers within the Pasadena Unified School District in 1970-71, but no American Indians served in administrative capacities. The racial distribution of teachers and administrators among the schools of the Pasadena Unified School District during both 1969-70 and 1970-71 is presented in detail within Appendix A.

It is clear that, while the court order was met in each area, progress toward creating racial balance was significantly high in the assignment and hiring of minority personnel and significantly low in promotion of such personnel. A majority of the leadership positions available in 1970-71 were filled by Anglo-Caucasians.²

¹Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1970-71, pp. 1-10.

²Ibid.

Location and Construction of Facilities

The court order of Judge Real directed that the location and construction of facilities within the Pasadena Unified School District should serve the purposes of racial desegregation. Primary and elementary schools were paired together within the same attendance zone, so that elementary students of a given elementary school converted to a primary school moved as a group to attend the same upper elementary school wherever possible. Construction within existing schools was largely limited to the expansion of facilities to accommodate racial balance through the "pairing" of primary and upper grade elementary schools, the changes in total enrollment figures at the junior high schools, and the inclusion of ninth grade students at the senior high schools. No new schools were built within the Pasadena Unified School District during the 1970-71 school year.

Student Assignments

The provisions of the court order regarding student assignments were two in number: (1) students should be assigned in such a way that, by the beginning of school in September of 1970, no school within the district would possess a majority of any minority students, and (2) the anticipated enrollment by race should be specified within the desegregation plan for each school at the time of implementation. Both of the provisions mandated by the court regarding student assignments were adhered to by the Pasadena Plan during its first year of operation. Each school covered by the court order failed to possess a

majority of any minority group within its total enrollment. Enrollment projections specified within the Pasadena Plan as reproduced in Chapter VI of this study provide evidence that the provisions of the court order requiring such projections were met.

The reassignment of students in such a manner as to avoid a majority of any minority at each school was perhaps the greatest challenge posed to school officials by the court order issued in January of 1970. To propose and implement such a plan within an eight-month time period was a complex undertaking, as evidenced by the high minority enrollments existing at a number of district schools at the time of the court order. Cleveland Elementary School, for example, possessed an enrollment that was 97.4 per cent Negro in 1969-70. Eight additional elementary schools enrolled a majority of Negro students in the year prior to implementation of the Pasadena Plan. Washington Junior High School reported a Negro enrollment of 87.9 per cent in 1969-70.¹ Cleveland Elementary School enrolled 41.3 per cent Negroes during the first year of the Pasadena Plan, and Washington Junior High had a student body that was 38.3 per cent Negro during the same time period.²

An examination of the enrollment figures for 1970-71 reveal that the Pasadena Unified School District did a commendable job of reducing racial segregation at all levels within its schools. In this primary task of responding to the court order, the Pasadena Plan is analyzed as having achieved a high degree of success in its first year. The highest percentage of a single minority was 47.1, which constituted the Negro percentage at Franklin Primary School. The highest Anglo-Caucasian percentage was the 59.4 figure at Linda Vista Primary School.

Ethnic percentages for the total school district during the first year of the Pasadena Plan were as follows: Anglo-Caucasian, 53.9; Negro, 33.0; Spanish surname, 9.3; Oriental, 2.8; other nonwhite, 2.9; and American Indian, 0.1.¹

Community Acceptance

A judgment of successful implementation of a desegregation plan cannot rest solely upon the ability to move students and staff in response to a court order, since successful desegregation requires attitudinal as well as physical change. The degree to which the Pasadena Plan is considered successful in its initial year depends, in part, upon the degree to which that plan was accepted by the community.

In selecting criteria upon which to base an assessment of the degree of community acceptance, it is difficult to divorce acceptance of the court order from acceptance of the response to that order as represented by the Pasadena Plan. There seems little doubt, for example, that the community was deeply divided over the wisdom of the district decision not to appeal the court order. Evidence of this is found in the closeness of the vote in an election to recall three board members on October 13, 1970. The board members who voted not to appeal the Real decision were subject to recall as a result of their decision, and, while the recall measure failed in each case, the margin in all three instances was less than 5 per cent of the total votes cast.²

¹Pasadena Star-News, October 29, 1970, p. 12.

²Los Angeles Times, October 14, 1970, p. B-3.

Additional evidence of community division over the court order is seen in an examination of public opinion responses on this issue. During the period from issuance of the court order on January 20, 1970, to the time of its implementation on September 14, 1970, 211 individual reactions to the court order were published in either the Pasadena Star-News, The Altadenan, or the Los Angeles Times. An analysis of those published reactions reveals that 102 favored or accepted the court order, 106 disapproved or failed to accept the order, and the other three responses indicated a neutral position on the question. There are, of course, dangers in accepting such a summary as highly indicative of the community as a whole. The numbers reflect only those individuals who chose to write to one of these three newspapers regarding the issue, and they further reflect only that portion of respondents that the newspaper staffs selected to represent in print. The apparent balance between those favoring and those opposing the court order may reflect a journalistic tendency to present balanced viewpoints rather than the real existence of such balance among the total responses received. The selection process may be further misleading in that the published responses represented only those which were written in a style the editors found interesting and/or acceptable as to literary form. These weaknesses notwithstanding, this summary, when combined with the perhaps more reliable results of the recall election, tends to confirm the assumption that the community was split somewhere near the middle on the wisdom of the court order itself.

Perhaps of greater value than published or unpublished expressions of opinion are the actual decisions and/or actions taken by individuals

in response to a particular situation. The movement of individuals from the Pasadena Unified School District provides another criteria by which to judge community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan. In October of 1969, three months before the court order was issued, there were 30,622 students enrolled within the Pasadena public schools. In October of 1970, that figure had diminished to 29,123. In October of 1971, the total enrollment within the Pasadena Unified School District stood at 27,547.¹ This represented a loss of 3,075 students during a two-year period.

While the figures of October, 1971, might properly be included as a reaction to the Pasadena Plan in its second year of operation, they appear to more accurately reflect reaction to the Pasadena Plan in its first year. It takes a certain period of time to sell a house or even to change from a public school to a private or parochial school, and the Pasadena Plan was barely in its second month of operation during the 1971-72 school year at the time that the October, 1971, figures were obtained. These figures reflect the loss of students during the summer months of 1971, and, to the degree that loss can be attributed to a reaction of experience under the Pasadena Plan, such reaction could only relate to experience during the first year of operation.

If the loss of 3,075 students from October of 1969 to October of 1971 is to be submitted as relevant to an analysis of community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan during 1970-71, the following questions must be answered concerning those figures. Is the loss of 3,075 students a significantly greater loss than that sustained by the school district

¹Pasadena Star-News, October 27, 1971, p. 4.

during any other recent two-year period? Was the loss a general one that cut across all racial segments of the community? Is there any evidence that the drop in overall enrollment was the result of withdrawals by Anglo-Caucasians?

A study of the decline in both total enrollment and Anglo-Caucasian enrollment within the Pasadena Unified School District from 1961 to 1971 provides answers to those questions. The greatest numerical losses in both total and Anglo-Caucasian enrollments occurred during the period from 1969 to 1971. No two-year period prior to that time yielded a loss of over 2,000 students. Although a decline in Anglo-Caucasian enrollments took place during each year of the ten-year span, the highest percentage of loss prior to adoption of the Pasadena Plan was 6 per cent in 1969, and the highest numerical loss of Anglo-Caucasians in any single year was 1,149, also in 1969. In 1970 the percentage of Anglo-Caucasians that withdrew from the district jumped to 12.4, over twice the previous high. The numerical loss more than doubled as well, of course, with 2,212 Anglo-Caucasians removing themselves from the Pasadena public schools in 1970. The Anglo-Caucasian drop in enrollment reflected in October of 1971 showed a dip of 11.5 per cent and a numerical loss of 1,799. Both of these figures were slightly under the losses sustained the previous year, but they were also significantly higher than losses sustained during any year prior to adoption of the Pasadena Plan.¹

The district statistics reveal further that the loss of enrollment among Anglo-Caucasians during the period from 1969 to 1971 was signifi-

¹Ibid.

cantly greater than the total loss in enrollment. A total of 4,011 Anglo-Caucasians left the Pasadena Unified School District during the period from October of 1969 to October of 1971, which meant that 936 members of various minorities were added to the school district enrollment during that same period.¹

Based upon this student enrollment data compiled from figures used by the Pasadena Unified School District in preparing October reports to the California State Department of Education for the ten-year period from 1961 to 1971, the writer concludes that the loss of 3,075 students during the two-year span from 1969 to 1971 was a significantly greater loss than that sustained within any comparable period in recent years, and that the loss was not a general one that cut across racial lines, but rather one that was spearheaded by Anglo-Caucasian withdrawal. This ten-year study yields an additional conclusion that minority groups are moving in increasing numbers to areas within the Pasadena Unified School District, but that the rate of that increase is not as great as the rate of Anglo-Caucasian withdrawal. Table 14 contains all data revealed by this ten-year study on the following page.

An examination of racial distribution by grade level within the Pasadena Unified School District for the period from 1969 to 1971 reveals that minority enrollments are greatest at the primary and elementary levels. In kindergarten through grade six, the following ethnic percentages are observed in October of 1971: Anglo-Caucasian, 46.3; Negro, 38.3; Spanish surname, 11.8; Oriental, 2.6; American Indian, 0.2; and other nonwhite, 0.8. Examinations of grades seven through twelve

¹Ibid.

TABLE 14

DECLINE OF ANGLO-CAUCASIAN ENROLLMENT WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
FROM 1961 TO THE PRESENT

Year	Total Enrollment	Anglo-Caucasian Enrollment	Anglo-Caucasian Percentage of Total Enrollment	Numerical Change	Percentage of Anglo Change
1961	29,490	22,565	76.5%	- -	- -
1962	30,418	22,463	73.8%	- 102	- 0.5%
1963	30,850	22,073	71.6%	- 390	- 1.7%
1964	31,490	21,695	68.9%	- 378	- 1.7%
1965	31,864	21,488	67.4%	- 207	- 1.0%
1966	31,977	20,958	65.5%	- 530	- 2.5%
1967	31,780	20,049	63.1%	- 909	- 4.3%
1968	31,484	19,008	60.4%	-1,041	- 5.5%
1969	30,622	17,859	58.3%	-1,149	- 6.0%
1970	29,123	15,647	53.7%	-2,212	-12.4%
1971	27,547	13,848	50.3%	-1,799	-11.5%

Source: Pasadena Star-News, October 27, 1971, p. 4. Figures used are those prepared by the Department of Research, Pasadena Unified School District, for inclusion in the annual October Report to the California State Department of Education, years 1961 to 1971, inclusive.

reveal the following racial distribution in October of 1971:

Anglo-Caucasian, 54.4; Negro, 32.5; Spanish surname, 8.7;

Oriental, 3.3; American Indian, 0.1; and other nonwhite, 1.0.¹

The greater percentage of minority enrollment at the lower grade levels leads to the conclusion that minority enrollment percentages will probably continue to increase, since it is at the entry level of public schooling that those percentages reflect the greatest growth. Table 15 presents grade level comparisons of racial distribution within the Pasadena Unified School District over the past three school years, and the results of these comparisons appear on the following page.

Based upon both enrollment studies cited within this chapter, a conclusion that "white flight" from the public school classrooms did occur in Pasadena is inescapable. The data makes equally unavoidable the conclusion that this flight was accentuated during the period directly prior to and including the first year of the Pasadena Plan. Since both studies deal only with students, however, it is not clear whether this "white flight" is restricted to the classroom or involves withdrawal from the community as a whole.

If the students who withdrew from the Pasadena Unified School District remained within the community, they would probably enroll in private or parochial schools. Available evidence indicates this is not where the majority of these students have gone. An analysis of enroll-

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution by Grade Level (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October 26, 1971), p. 1.

TABLE 15

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION BY GRADE LEVEL WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT DURING THE YEAR PRIOR TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "PASADENA PLAN" (1969), THE YEAR THE "PASADENA PLAN" WAS IMPLEMENTED (1970) AND THE SECOND YEAR THE "PASADENA PLAN" WAS IN TOTAL OPERATION (1971)

Grade	Year	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
K-6	Oct. 1969	1497	9.2	8867	54.4	5393	33.1	376	2.3	25	0.2	136	0.8	16,294
	Oct. 1970	1565	10.3	7549	49.6	5521	36.3	389	2.6	28	0.2	156	1.0	15,208
	Oct. 1971	1658	11.8	6524	46.3	5397	38.3	366	2.6	29	0.2	108	0.8	14,082
7-12	Oct. 1969	1011	7.1	8894	62.8	3733	26.4	444	3.1	7	0.1	77	0.5	14,166
	Oct. 1970	1080	7.9	8003	58.2	3997	29.1	454	3.3	45	0.3	167	1.2	13,746
	Oct. 1971	1159	8.7	7220	54.4	4314	32.5	431	3.3	18	0.1	128	1.0	13,270
Total K-12	Oct. 1969	2508	8.2	17,761	58.3	9126	30.0	820	2.7	32	0.1	213	0.7	30,460
	Oct. 1970	2645	9.1	15,552	53.7	9518	32.9	843	2.9	73	0.3	323	1.1	28,954
	Oct. 1971	2817	10.3	13,744	50.2	9711	35.5	797	2.9	47	0.2	236	0.9	27,352

Source: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution by Grade Level (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 26, 1971), p. 1.

among 102 private and parochial schools within the area reveals that, during the period from October of 1967 to October of 1970, total numbers of students within those schools decreased from 13,371 to 13,297.¹ Some former students of the Pasadena Unified School District did enter these schools during this period, but, since the district enrollment in Pasadena decreased by 2,657 students without an increase in enrollment among non-public schools, one must conclude that a majority of these students moved from Pasadena to attend schools elsewhere.

Whether the Pasadena Plan is the primary cause of declining enrollments is difficult to ascertain, but such a judgment seems plausible. The Superintendent of Schools has cited such factors as increasing use of birth control pills and the recent economic recession as other reasons for enrollment decline, but these factors do not totally explain why Anglo-Caucasians leave and members of minority groups arrive in Pasadena. Dr. Hornbeck has mentioned that removal of families from approximately 150 homes to be demolished for freeway construction has resulted in enrollment losses to the Pasadena Unified School District. This is undeniably true, but it should also be pointed out that a high percentage of those homes were located in heavily minority residential areas. In fairness to the Superintendent of Schools in Pasadena, he has never denied that opposition to the Pasadena Plan has been a factor in the withdrawal of students from the Pasadena Unified School District. At times he has estimated that withdrawal that is directly related to the Pasadena Plan as reaching as high as 2 per cent

¹Department of Research, Summary of Enrollments in Parochial and Private Schools, 1967-1970 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October, 1970), pp. 1-16.

of the total school population.¹ The Superintendent concedes that opposition to the Pasadena Plan is a factor in student withdrawal, but he does not concede that it is a primary factor.

A summary of individual reactions to the Pasadena Plan published by four newspapers from September 14, 1970, to June 15, 1971, provides further evidence of community division on the issue of its acceptance. During this period, 183 responses appeared in either the Los Angeles Times, The Altadenan, the Pasadena Star-News, or the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, and, of this number, seventy-seven favored the plan, eighty-one opposed it, and twenty-five were either neutral or counseled readers to give the plan time to succeed or fail on its own merits. While this sampling combines with previously submitted data to support the conclusion that the community was divided on approximately an even basis between proponents and opponents of the Pasadena Plan, the sample has the same limitations upon its validity and/or reliability as were mentioned previously in regard to published reactions to the court order.

An analysis of property listings during the first year of the Pasadena Plan reveals intensified sales throughout the Pasadena Unified School District. Contradictory assumptions can be drawn from the acceleration of property sales, however, so it appears logical to draw no conclusions from this data. It is plausible to conclude that the rise in residential sales means people moved out to avoid desegregated schools, but it is equally plausible to assume that this rise means people moved in to attend such schools.

¹Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, interview on a Columbia Broadcasting System television program entitled "Busing," March 9, 1972.

District enrollment figures provide persuasive evidence to the author of this dissertation in support of the conclusion that a sizable portion of the Anglo-Caucasian community did not accept the Pasadena Plan during its first year of operation. This is not to say, however, that there were not many Anglo-Caucasians who have accepted the plan since its inception, nor to deny that many Anglo-Caucasians who originally opposed desegregation have not since reversed their positions and subsequently worked assiduously for its success.

One such individual is Mrs. Janet Wood, a Pasadena parent with children attending the public schools in that community. Mrs. Wood is President of the Arroyo-Garfield Parent Teachers Association during the 1971-72 school year, was interviewed extensively regarding her views on the Pasadena Plan during a national television program on busing presented on March 9, 1972, and has been extremely active in efforts to persuade Anglo-Caucasian students within Pasadena area private and parochial schools to consider continuing their education within the public schools of the Pasadena Unified School District. Mrs. Wood delivered a speech to the Pasadena Board of Education on October 19, 1971, and she kindly provided this writer with the original notes from that address. She stated in part:

The old Arroyo Seco School was closed by the school board as being unsafe in April of 1966, and the entire school was moved into trailers in the school yard for the remainder of the year, and, to add insult to injury, we were notified that we were to be bussed away from our "neighborhood school." Our 4th, 5th, and 6th graders were to come to Allendale and, horror of horrors, our kindergarten through third graders were to be sent to Garfield. Let me remind you that at that time Arroyo Seco was 98.8% caucasian, 1.2% other and zero per cent black, while Garfield was 26.2% caucasian, 37.3% other and 36.5% black. And, if you will remember the geographical locations, you will know that the Arroyo Seco district was very high socio-economically, while Garfield had a very large low socio-economic area.

Needless to say, the Arroyo Seco parents, myself included, were horrified, and many neighborhood meetings, PTA meetings,

fathers' meetings, etc., followed.

When school opened in the fall of 1966, we were minus a goodly number of students, especially in the lower grades, but those of us who had decided to "stay and fight" put our kids on the busses, even to two different schools, if you can imagine anything so terrible, and continued our battle.

. . . Of course when our kids went to Garfield they were kept together in their own classes. . . But since our attendance was dwindling, the next year a new experiment was tried. Rather than have all combination classes with just our students, a few Garfield students were "picked" to be put in our classes. In 1968 our classes were filled up with Garfield students, and in 1969 Garfield and Arroyo Seco were completely integrated.

The purpose of this history lesson is that Arroyo-Garfield is in fact a preview of the Pasadena Plan. Think about it. . . geographically, socio-economically, and racially. We got a head start on the district.

Now to the present. We would like to report that our enrollment is up 8.5% over last year, despite the continuous removal of homes for the freeway, Ambassador College, and the Huntington Hospital complex.

We further can tell you that our PTA membership has climbed to 207, and we only have 200 families in the school. . . based on parent interest already indicated, we can say that 80% of our families have already or are planning to take an active part in some school activity before the end of the year.

And then the subject of quality education for all. It gives me great pleasure to say that our children are making great strides academically. . . growing at a very satisfactory rate, and proved themselves beyond a doubt last year. And this was done with 15.8% of the total enrollment classified as non-English speaking.

So to you of the school administration, you teachers and you parents who believe in the Pasadena Plan, we say "hang in there." We are the proof positive that it can and has worked. And to borrow a quotation from the Star-News. . . "stay and work."

The address by Mrs. Wood has been included at such length within this portion of the study because the ~~stat~~ statement she made reflects at various points the positions taken by many Anglo-Caucasians who have strongly supported the Pasadena Plan. This writer does not believe that the available evidence indicates that the views expressed in the above quotation by Mrs. Wood typified the views of a majority of

Anglo-Caucasians relative to the Pasadena Plan in 1970-71, but her views do represent quite accurately the opinions of many among the approximate 20 per cent of the population within Pasadena that spoke out and worked in support of the plan during its first year in operation.

Support for the plan was not confined to individuals. More than fifty local civic organizations endorsed the Pasadena Plan at the time of its implementation.¹ A critical factor in gaining at least limited acceptance within some segments of the community was the widespread support given to the Pasadena Plan by various churches within the area. Church support was particularly important in the narrow defeat of the recall attempts launched against the three board members who refused to appeal the court order of Judge Real.²

The certificated and classified staffs appear to have accepted desegregation. The turnover of personnel was less from 1969-70 to 1970-71 than in many years.³ It should be noted, however, that economic conditions limited the opportunities for employment elsewhere. The fact that over 90 per cent of district teachers contacted voluntarily accepted reassignment may or may not represent a significant commitment to the Pasadena Plan. Such reassignment can be made without voluntary acceptance, so real freedom of choice was not present in this situation.

¹Office of the Superintendent, 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons, October 9, 1970, p. 5.

²Mr. Robert Salley, interview held at Blair High School, Pasadena, Calif., February 29, 1972. Mr. Salley was Chairman of the Teacher Anti-Recall Committee prior to the recall election of October 13, 1970.

³Pasadena Star-News, September 19, 1971, p. A-1.

To summarize, community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan must be considered mixed at best during its initial year of operation. The preponderance of evidence supports the conclusion that a majority or near majority within the community did not support the plan at any point from the time of its adoption up to and including the final day of the 1970-71 school year. There is also some evidence that at least a third of the members of the community would oppose any plan for racial desegregation within the Pasadena Unified School District.

The community appears to have become bipolarized in its reactions to the Pasadena Plan. While at least a third of the community expressed open opposition to the plan in some form, a multi-racial group of perhaps one-fifth of the community not only expressed approval of the plan, but worked tirelessly to promote its success at one point or another during its first year of operation.

Physical Operation

The mechanics of operating the Pasadena Plan worked smoothly during 1970-71. This was due to careful and effective prior planning. Particularly helpful were the information booths that were set up at twenty-three different locations throughout the city during the final days before the opening of school in the fall of 1970.¹ These information booths were manned by volunteers who answered scores of questions about the mechanics of the plan, but the questions they were asked most frequently dealt with specific aspects of the busing procedures.

¹Office of the Superintendent, 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons, October 9, 1970, p. 3.

Despite the fact that 87 buses transported 14,500 students to and from school on a daily basis, no major accidents involving public school transportation took place during the entire 1970-71 school year. This fortunate fact is in part a tribute to the skill of the bus drivers employed by the Associated Charter Bus Company of Van Nuys, a result of sound prior planning by the Pasadena Unified School District and Associated Charter management, the fact that the distances and times of the longest runs did not exceed twenty-five minutes or six miles, and the unscientific but formidable element of continued good luck.

A few bus stops were missed, a few students arrived late, and a few misconnections were made during the first week of school, but these minor mishaps were less in number than even the most optimistic estimates made by school officials in early September. Those mixups which did occur seemed to be the result of overplanning rather than underplanning, and these appear both understandable and excusable. Primary students became either confused or carried away with the intricacies of the object system of bus identification, for example, and the very tight schedule of time for loading and unloading needed to be relaxed somewhat to enable young people to be young people. It must be said in summation, however, that the transportation problem, feared prior to the opening of school as the most likely source of initial confusion, proved to be little or no problem at all in terms of its physical operation.

The general smoothness of mechanics in the area of transportation applied to other operational aspects of the Pasadena Plan as well. The Operations Division of the Pasadena Unified School District worked many hours of overtime during the spring and summer months, and the results of those labors were apparent when school opened in September.

In many district schools, particularly those on the west side of Pasadena and Altadena, the appearance of the schools was better on the first day of school than on any previous day within memory. Custodial staffs had cleaned and scrubbed, painters painted, and gardeners planted new lawns, pruned shrubs, and trimmed and planted a large variety of trees and flowers. This cleanliness and preparation created a curious "backlash" among many black parents and children. They contended that they favored desegregation, but they favored it because they knew desegregation meant that the white establishment would plant new lawns and refurbish old desks so that they would have the west side schools fit for attendance by the new Anglo-Caucasian arrivals from the east.¹

The Maintenance Division of the Pasadena Unified School District also worked overtime during the spring and summer of 1970, and their efforts contributed greatly to the general readiness of school facilities in the fall. Needed repair work was accomplished, new floor materials and venetian blinds were installed, and broken windows were replaced with new plastic shatter-proof material.²

A new dining hall was created at Washington Junior High School to serve the needs of that school, separate from the elementary campus. Since Washington Junior High School had reduced its Negro enrollment from 87.9 per cent to 38.3 per cent and increased its Anglo-Caucasian student body from 1.9 per cent to 52.5 per cent under provisions of the Pasadena Plan, the new dining hall at Washington was viewed with great

¹Interviews with unidentified Negro parents and children, Columbia Broadcasting Company television program entitled "Busing," March 9, 1971.

²Office of the Superintendent, 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons, October 9, 1970, pp. 3-4.

interest by the black militants. It provided an excellent and sorely needed eating facility, but the timing of its arrival also provided dissidents with ammunition for comments similar to those concerning lawns and desks on the previous page.

Mrs. Dorothy F. Fagan, Coordinator of Information for the Pasadena Unified School District, was heavily involved in the planning aspects related to the physical operation of the Pasadena Plan during its first year. This writer asked Mrs. Fagan if, assuming the opportunity, she would make any major changes, additions, or subtractions from the plans as they were implemented in 1970-71. She appeared to give the question considerable thought, paused, and replied she would not.¹ That response seems reasonable. Although minor alterations might have improved the smoothness of operations slightly, the overall effectiveness of the mechanics of desegregation during the first year appears conclusive. The argument that care should have been taken to avoid the "backlash" of Negro criticism when west side schools were improved directly prior to the arrival of Anglo-Caucasian students at those schools seems self-defeating, since (1) the facilities needed improvement, (2) the criticism could hardly be avoided if improvement were to be made, and (3) use of this argument invites the counter-argument that no action to improve facilities would have resulted in greater and probably more justifiable criticism from all racial groups. In conclusion, the Pasadena Plan is analyzed as being successful in its initial year when judged by the criterion of physical operation.

¹Mrs. Dorothy F. Fagan, private interview, March 3, 1972.

Academic Progress

Any educational plan, be it one involving school desegregation or improvement of composition skills, must be judged in some measure by the test of academic progress. Indeed, the Pasadena Superintendent of Schools has written that the Pasadena Plan has three emphases: desegregation, integration, and sound education.¹ The order of importance that should be assigned to academic progress among criteria used to analyze the effectiveness of a desegregation plan in its first year is a question that is virtually impossible to answer, but to ignore an evaluation of such progress is to ignore the basic business of education . . . that of facilitating the process of learning.

Two criteria are employed to analyze academic progress under the Pasadena Plan in 1970-71: (1) comparative test scores attained by students within the Pasadena Unified School District on tests that are nationally or state normed and considered to yield a high degree of validity and reliability related to information on learning and/or achievement, and (2) curricular development.

Comparative Test Scores

Briefly stated, academic progress as measured by test scores simply did not occur during 1970-71. Test results for the 1970-71 school year were released by the Department of Research on June 22, 1971. These results were highly disturbing.

Three facts became readily apparent upon examination of these scores: (1) students within the Pasadena Unified School District per-

¹Office of the Superintendent, 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons, October 9, 1970, p. 2.

formed consistently below national norms in each of the four areas most commonly measured: reading, language, spelling, and arithmetic, (2) performance below national norms occurred at all but one of the grade levels tested, and (3) test scores attained by students in 1970-71 were significantly lower than scores achieved by students on the same tests in 1969-70.

Direct comparisons between 1970-71 test results and previous test scores are limited to results attained in 1969-70, since the Pasadena Unified School District introduced a new battery of tests in 1969-70. District achievement test scores fell 7.3 percentile points between 1969-70 and 1970-71. When performance is compared across grades four, six, eight, and twelve, reading scores dropped 7 percentile points, a 7.5 percentile dip was recorded in language arts, and mathematics scores were down by 7.3 percentile points.¹

This sharp decline in test scores between 1969-70 and 1970-71 is a more alarming fact, in the opinion of this writer, than the discovery that students within the Pasadena Unified School District performed consistently below national norms in reading, language, spelling, and arithmetic. Performances by Pasadena students were below national norms in these four areas in 1969-70, and there was no reason to expect that implementation of the Pasadena Plan would reverse this trend.

The drop of over 7 percentile points in test scores attained by Pasadena students within a one-year period cannot be dismissed easily. The fact that this decline occurred in several areas that span diverse measurements of achievement and learning must be regarded as significant.

¹Department of Research, Results of 1970-71 Testing Program for the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, June 22, 1971), pp. 2-13.

That these scores dropped during the first year of the Pasadena Plan must not be overlooked. The question of "white flight" has been widely debated in regard to community reaction to desegregation in general and the Pasadena Plan in particular. The sharp reductions in 1970-71 test performance raises the question of a possible "bright flight" from Pasadena public schools. As previously cited, 13,297 students attended private and parochial schools in the Pasadena area in October of 1970, and some of those students were attending public schools in Pasadena during the previous year.¹ Since private and parochial school enrollments did not rise within the Pasadena area during the first year of the Pasadena Plan, it seems logical to assume that most of the students who withdrew from the Pasadena Unified School District left the area entirely.

First grade students in Pasadena scored at the 57th percentile on Metropolitan Readiness Tests given in October of 1970.² These results support the thesis that students enter the Pasadena public schools well prepared, and continued high reading readiness scores in first grade plus low reading scores in fourth grade will serve as an indictment which the school system can scarcely ignore.

As measured by the criterion of test results, academic progress during the initial year of the Pasadena Plan did not exist. A majority of test scores were considerably below national averages, and all test scores recorded in 1970-71 were below those of the previous year. Test

¹Department of Research, Summary of Enrollments in Parochial and Private Schools, 1967-70, p. 16.

²Department of Research, Results of 1970-71 Testing Program for the Pasadena Unified School District, p. 3.

results on reading readiness indicate Pasadena is receiving students who can learn effectively, and the above average scores of first grade students in the Pasadena Unified School District poses both an opportunity and a challenge to educators within that district.

Specific test scores on comparative district-wide batteries are contained within Appendix B. Test results for 1969-70, 1970-71, and 1971-72 are cited, and district performances are compared with national and state norms at the 75th, 50th, and 25th percentile points.

No valid long-term assessment of the future of education under the Pasadena Plan can be made on the basis of a single year of disappointing test results. Tentative assumptions are possible, however, after analysis of even a one-year testing program. It seems more than coincidental, for example, that so sharp a drop in district test scores should occur during the first year of a desegregation plan. The low test results recorded by Pasadena students in 1970-71 provide no answers as to whether academic progress is to be attained under the Pasadena Plan, but they do provide questions as to whether such progress is threatened by "bright flight," a multi-racial withdrawal of highly intelligent students from the Pasadena public schools.

Curricular Development

Reorganization of schools under the Pasadena Plan provided new opportunities for innovation and flexibility in curricular development in 1970-71. The transition from the 6-3-3 pattern to a 3-3-2-4 sequence provided mixed blessings. It created avenues for changes in both the substance and approach of course offerings, but it also tended to compart-

mentalize education. The new organizational pattern permitted primary, elementary, and junior high schools to concentrate on shorter age and grade level spans than was possible previously, but it dislocated the anticipated sequence of school attendance for approximately 50 per cent of all students within the school district.

Primary and upper grade elementary schools emphasized team teaching to a considerable degree in 1970-71. Students at these levels received instruction from several teachers instead of one, each operating in his or her chosen area of competence, thus providing greater opportunities for teacher specialization. A system of student-selected electives was introduced in the upper grade elementary schools, and movement toward departmentalization resulted in attempts at modular scheduling in a number of upper grade elementary schools. Modular scheduling was attempted on a voluntary basis at the building level, and various pilot projects experimented with a variety of modular combinations during the 1970-71 school year.

Growth in vocational arts was notable at the junior high level. Remedial programs in reading and mathematics were expanded at the entire secondary level. New remedial course offerings were prepared for use during 1971-72. The consistent failure of the average student in Pasadena to read or compute at grade level provided a stimulus to development of such programs.

Division curriculum specialists were appointed to direct in-service workshops and promote curricular development at all secondary schools. Each secondary school was staffed with an Assistant Principal for Instruction and Curriculum, and a directive was sent to each

Principal, explaining that administrators responsible for curricular development were not to be used in such other areas as discipline or student activities.

Basic groupings were virtually abandoned at the secondary level. New concepts of teaming and pontooning were attempted in an effort to find means of meeting the challenge of heterogeneous grouping.

Over fifty new course offerings were added to the senior high school course selection list during the 1970-71 school year. New programs were initiated in English, mathematics, industrial arts, homemaking, science, and the humanities. Chinese and Russian were added to the senior high school curriculum, and courses in stage management, television production, restaurant occupations, and nursing were introduced in pilot form.

Tutorial programs proved highly successful at one senior high school. Volunteers traveled from the senior high school to three elementary schools and provided assistance to the students on a one-to-one basis. This program, open to seniors on a credit basis, gained popularity with students of all ability levels.

One of the advantages of change is that it often requires people to look at old problems in new ways. The organizational, structural, and behavioral changes necessitated by the Pasadena Plan mandated such an approach to the area of curricular development. Many of the new avenues attempted in curriculum were abandoned before the conclusion of the 1970-71 school year. Others were revised, refined, and retained.

Expansion of curriculum was not always accompanied by orderly planning and direction. Many courses that might best have been combined were continued separately, and several promising pilot projects were

dropped for lack of funds. An unprecedented number of new course offerings were introduced at all levels. Counselors at the secondary level consistently commented that the proliferation of options within the English and social science areas alone seemed to be without end. At the smallest of the three regular senior high schools there were ten new one-semester English courses offered to students at the opening of the 1970-71 school year, and the creation of ethnic studies courses in the social sciences provided a wide spectrum of new selections within that field.¹ Some staff members observed that curriculum development was apparently predicated only upon the inspiration to add new courses, with additions of course offerings being scheduled without sufficient thought as to the content and value of those offerings.

There is merit in those criticisms. The term "instant curriculum" was used derisively in district faculty lounges in 1970-71, and this writer considers the term appropriate for much of what transpired in the name of curricular expansion during the first year of the Pasadena Plan.

On the other hand, significant curricular development did occur at all levels within the Pasadena Unified School District in 1970-71. Much of it was hastily planned, and some of it failed. Yet there was important movement in curriculum throughout the year. The lock-step pattern was broken. Course outlines yellowed with age were no longer regarded as sacred. On these bases alone, this writer submits that significant academic progress was made under the Pasadena Plan in the area of curricular change.

¹Ethnic studies courses included in the senior high curriculum during the 1970-71 school year were Black Heritage, Afro-American Studies, La Raza Heritage, La Raza History, Black Literature, and Asian-American Studies.

Social Assimilation

Administrators, teachers, parents, and students in Pasadena were questioned regarding social assimilation, and virtually every person questioned agreed on one point. Success in achieving social assimilation among diverse racial groups seems to operate in inverse proportion to age. The younger the person, the greater the degree of social assimilation. Thus, it appears that social interaction between races was significantly greater at the primary and elementary levels than at the junior high or senior high levels.

The television camera recorded this point in a nationally televised documentary aired by the Columbia Broadcasting Company on March 9, 1972. The interaction between members of various racial groups was easily seen when the camera recorded the actions of children at recess and lunch time in district primary and elementary schools. At Franklin Primary School, for example, many instances of multi-racial groupings were observed. Interracial clusters of Anglo-Caucasian, Negro, Mexican-American, and Oriental children played, ate, and conversed together with apparent ease and enjoyment.

At the secondary level, however, the racial mix in the classrooms resegregated itself in the quad or the cafeteria. The same camera observed the social behavior of students at Pasadena High School during the lunch hour. Negro students clustered together with other Negro students, Mexican-American students banded together with other students of Mexican-American origin, and Anglo-Caucasians sat in a circle with other Anglo-Caucasians. No racial interaction was observed at the various

locations within the eating area during this filming.

While the degree of social assimilation achieved at any level during the 1970-71 school year was limited, movement toward such assimilation was greatest among primary age children. Virtually no movement toward assimilation was discernable at the junior high or senior high schools.

Implementation of the Pasadena Plan apparently increased racial tensions at the secondary level. Mr. Ramon C. Cortines expressed this view in an interview with this writer on February 15, 1972. As the Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education for the Pasadena Unified School District, Mr. Cortines handled all serious disciplinary cases that occurred in the junior and senior high schools during the 1970-71 school year.

Comments of other staff members, personal observation, and an examination of school records supports the assumption that racial disturbances intensified at the secondary level during the first six weeks of operation under the Pasadena Plan. A total of 436 suspensions were issued at the senior high schools from the opening of school up to and including October 31, 1970, and 320 suspensions were given at the junior high school level during the same period. Approximately one-fourth of these involved incidents of racial friction. Those figures compare to forty-one and fifty-nine suspensions issued to elementary and primary students during the identical six-week span.¹

Although progress toward social assimilation and eventual integration was minimal during the first year of operation under the Pasadena

¹Office of the Superintendent, News of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, January, 1972), p. 2.

Plan, the ultimate success of that plan depends upon the degree to which such assimilation and integration may be achieved. It may well be that this goal may only be reached by beginning with the primary students who have never been exposed to anything other than a totally desegregated school system.

Summary

Six criteria were utilized in analyzing the Pasadena Plan during its first year of operation. Those measurements selected to be used within this chapter were (1) preparation and planning, (2) adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, (3) community acceptance, (4) physical operation, (5) academic progress, and (6) social assimilation. Judged by these criteria, the court-ordered desegregation plan experienced both success and failure in 1970-71.

The preparation and planning that preceded implementation of the plan demonstrated foresight and attention to detail. Provisions within the Pasadena Plan were stated clearly, cost and enrollment projections proved to be basically accurate, and comprehensive procedures for disseminating information and generating support within the community were developed.

The desegregation plan adhered to each specific provision of the court order. The court directed that racial imbalance be reduced at all levels within the Pasadena Unified School District through specific programs in the areas of (1) assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members, (2) location and construction of facilities, and (3) student assignments. This was done.

The court mandated that the students within the school district be racially distributed in such a way as to preclude a majority of any minority within each school, and Judge Real further required that the desegregation plan contain stated enrollments anticipated at each school. By the opening of school in 1970-71, both of these mandates had been met. A final stipulation within the court order was that expected enrollments at each school must be projected by race. The Pasadena Plan provided such projections.

Community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan was by no means unanimous. Available evidence indicates that the community was divided sharply on both acceptance of the court order and the plan which implemented that order. This division appears to have approximated a 50-50 split during the first year. Evidence analyzed within the chapter included the narrow defeat of efforts to recall board members who refused to file an appeal to the court order, published reactions to both the court order and the Pasadena Plan, a sharply accelerated decline in total enrollment and Anglo-Caucasian enrollment within the schools of the Pasadena Unified School District, support given to the plan by church and community organizations, patterns of property sales within the Pasadena area, and the reactions of school employees.

The mechanics of physically operating the Pasadena Plan proceeded smoothly during the first year. The problems encountered in implementing large-scale busing were handled effectively. There were, in fact, relatively few problems that occurred in the area of transportation. This appears to have been due to a comprehensive planning program, the relatively short bus routes employed, and the skill of those involved in

operating the program on a daily basis. District facilities were prepared in advance for the mass movement of students. Specific credit should be given to administrative planners at the district level, employees of the Associated Charter Bus Company, numerous volunteer groups within the community, students, parents, and staff members.

Academic progress was measured by test results and curricular development. Test results indicated some areas of early failure under the Pasadena Plan, while flexibility and innovation in curricular development was highly encouraging. Pasadena students scored significantly lower on a majority of nationally normed tests in 1970-71 than they had the previous year, and, while long-term academic progress cannot be assessed on the basis of a single-year testing program, the sharp decline created concern over the possibility of "bright flight," a withdrawal of highly intelligent students, multi-racial in nature, that may have accompanied the more discernable pattern of "white flight" during the months preceding and including the initial year of school desegregation in Pasadena.

Social assimilation was hesitant under the Pasadena Plan in 1970-71. The statistical evidence leaves little doubt but what numerical desegregation was achieved at the outset, but the more significant goals of social assimilation and movement toward integration were far from realized in a single year. Such success as can be noted came almost exclusively from the primary and elementary levels. Little positive interaction between diverse races was observed at the secondary level, and some evidence was submitted to support the conten-

tion that racial tensions increased in the higher grades during the initial year of school desegregation.

After a full year of operation within the public schools in Pasadena, court-ordered desegregation had proved to be at best a limited success. High marks were attained in most areas of preparation and planning, adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, and physical operation of the Pasadena Plan. The first-year record regarding community acceptance, academic progress, and social assimilation was not highly impressive. Clearly, on the issue of the ultimate success or failure of school desegregation in Pasadena, the jury remained out after viewing the evidence provided by the 1970-71 school year.

The same six criteria used in this chapter will be utilized to analyze progress under the Pasadena Plan during its second year of operation in the following chapter. Analysis of the Pasadena Plan in Chapter VIII includes examination of each of the six aforementioned criteria based on data from the beginning of the 1971-72 school year on July 1, 1971, up to and including the date of termination of this study on March 25, 1972.

CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND YEAR OF OPERATION UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN

Introduction

A shift in the emphasis and nature of primary concerns of the school district is evident in examining the deliberations of the Pasadena Board of Education at the beginning of the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. Fiscal problems, declining enrollments, new measures to combat drug abuse, and consideration of alternative schooling proposals were matters of major concern to board members and district administrators in the summer and early fall of 1971.¹

Some major concerns of the previous year had abated. A massive planning and orientation program to implement desegregation was no longer necessary. Such areas as transportation planning, structural reorganization, and total revision of student attendance zones were determined and implemented prior to the 1971-72 school year, and only minor alterations in these areas were required for second-year operation.

¹Minutes, meetings of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 6, 20, 23, August 3, September 7 and 14, 1971.

The criteria used to analyze the first year of operation under the Pasadena Plan are utilized in this chapter as a basis for second-year analysis. These criteria, repeated for purposes of clarity at this point, are as follows: (1) preparation and planning, (2) adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, (3) community acceptance, (4) physical operation, (5) academic progress, and (6) social assimilation. While the degrees of emphasis and involvement vary somewhat between the first and second years of operation, each of these six criteria provides relevant measurements of the merits and demerits of the Pasadena Plan as implemented in both 1970-71 and 1971-72.

The shift in priorities of concern to the school district between the first and second years of operation under the Pasadena Plan did not mean that the difficulties faced by the district in 1971-72 were less vexing than those confronting school officials during the previous year. The financial problem was particularly complex in 1971-72, for example, and the major ramifications of this problem are discussed in the preparation and planning section of this chapter.

Preparation and Planning Prior to the Second Year of Operation Under the Pasadena Plan

Major areas of preparation and planning between July 1, 1971, the first day of the 1971-72 fiscal school year, and September 13, 1971, the first day of classes, involved consideration and/or action on the following items: (1) school finances, (2) new measures to combat drug abuse, (3) alternative schooling proposals, and (4) revisions in the Pasadena Plan relative to student attendance zones.

School Finances

The Pasadena Unified School District faced a problem of insufficient funds as it approached the adoption of a budget for the 1971-72 school year. The problem was not peculiar to Pasadena, but it was particularly acute at the beginning of the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan.

A series of debates over finances preceded actual budget adoption. Demands of staff members for salary increases ranging from 5 to 11 per cent, a projected decline in enrollment of over 1,000 students, a 22% decrease in unsecured assessed valuation, and rising costs related to implementation of the Pasadena Plan were primary factors that exerted pressure upon district financial planners.¹

On July 20, 1971, the Pasadena Board of Education adopted a budget of \$39,404,675 for the 1971-72 school year. This budget was based on a projected average daily attendance of 29,324, income of \$37,448,037, expenditure of \$37,404,675, and reserves of \$1,992,640, including an undistributed reserve of \$400,000.²

Three days later, the school board announced that no salary raises would be granted to any district employees for the 1971-72 school year. The board cited three reasons for this decision: (1) it considered existing salaries to be reasonable for services performed, (2) increases averaging 10 per cent had been granted to district employees the previous year, and (3) a newly received projection of average daily attendance

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 23, 1971, p. 2.

²Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 20, 1971, p. 1.

showed an increased downward revision from 29,324 to 28,645 students anticipated for enrollment in September of 1971, thus providing the board with new evidence that the school district could not afford to grant salary raises to its employees for the coming year.¹

The lack of salary increases was, of course, not viewed with great pleasure by most employees within the Pasadena Unified School District, but it was the manner in which that decision was supported that created angry charges of "bad faith" by district employee negotiators. These negotiators were particularly upset by the fact that the board used a revised attendance estimate that varied by 1,679 students from that accepted by the board in adopting a budget three days earlier. A "credibility gap" was established in the minds of some employees, and its existence did not aid staff morale during the 1971-72 school year.²

The denial of salary raises was but one of several ramifications of the poor financial picture that faced the school district in the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. The hiring of new teachers was curtailed, and those hired were placed on a long-term substitute basis. The professional staff at the Education Center was reduced. Pupil-teacher ratios were increased, psychological services were decreased substantially, and counselors who left the district were not replaced at the secondary level. Many pilot programs initia-

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 23, 1971, p. 2.

²Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, cited the existence of a "credibility gap" and need for its reduction at a meeting of parents held at Edison Elementary School, Pasadena, Calif., on March 20, 1972.

ted during curricular expansion in 1970-71 were dropped for lack of funds in 1971-72. Staff reductions curtailed activities within those programs which survived.¹

New Measures to Combat Drug Abuse

A survey of district records reveals that a greater number of students were removed from the attendance rolls of the Pasadena Unified School District due to narcotics violations in 1970-71 than in any previous year. With enrollments dwindling and narcotics violations apparently rising, the school board adopted a new policy on drug abuse that accomplished two things: (1) it retained the drug violator on the district rolls for average daily attendance by transferring such violators to Foothill High School, Intermediate Opportunity School, or an Elementary Opportunity class rather than using the previous policy of mandatory suspension for such violators, and (2) it mandated the participation of drug violators and their parents or guardians in the district drug awareness program.

In deliberations on July 6, 1971, that led to adoption of the new policy, the board cited three advantages to the new drug policy: (1) continuity of the student educational experience, (2) insurance of individual counseling and guidance, and (3) provision of a therapeutic environment conducive to rehabilitation.² The board did not cite

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees in the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, February, 1972), pp. 1-12.

²Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 6, 1971, p. 3.

the fact that the district would save sorely needed funds by retaining drug violators excluded by the previous policy.

Alternative Schooling Proposals

Various alternatives to established methods and/or times of instruction were pursued during the planning and preparation for operation of the second year under the Pasadena Plan. An Evening High School was established for students in grades nine through twelve, an Expanded School Program was developed for students desiring credit course offerings to be scheduled at sites and times apart from the regular school program, and a tentative agreement was reached to implement a proposal for creation of an Alternative School under joint sponsorship of the Pasadena Unified School District and the University of Massachusetts.

On July 27, 1971, plans were approved for the opening of an Evening High School on September 13, 1971. Students who found it more convenient to attend grades nine through twelve at a time later than regular day school were invited to apply. Enrollment was voluntary, parental permission was required, and a limit of 100 students was set for participation during the fall term. The school was to operate on the Blair High School campus and provide the same curricular opportunities as were available to day school students. At a hearing prior to adoption of this proposal, the school board was informed that the operation of the new school would not represent additional costs to the district.¹

¹Dorothy F. Fagan, ed., Board Briefs: A Digest of Board of Education Meetings (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, July 20, 1972), p. 1.

A wide variety of course offerings was included in the Expanded School Program for the 1971-72 school year. This program provided opportunities for students to take credit courses at the secondary level at locations and times apart from the regular school program. Course offerings were dependent upon student interest, and a majority of the courses were scheduled from 7 to 10 p.m. on week nights or on Saturdays. The range of offerings permitted inclusion of many courses not contained within the regular curriculum. On September 7, 1971, the school board approved adoption of the following ten courses to be offered as additions to the existing Expanded School Program for 1971-72: (1) banking functions, (2) business organization, (3) management experience and salesmanship, (4) media, (5) animal care, (6) ballet for modern dancers, (7) basic boating, (8) desert exploration, (9) environmental structures, and (10) human organization.¹

A proposal of long-range significance was considered initially by the Pasadena Board of Education at a series of meetings between July and September of 1971. This proposal involved agreement to enter into a joint contract with the University of Massachusetts to establish an Alternative School for Pasadena students at all grade levels. A three-phase program was agreed upon in early negotiations. Phase one created a steering committee composed of parents, students, and staff members to develop a broad outline of what a Pasadena Alternative School should be and determine guidelines for phase two, the active planning of the school. It was agreed that, if both the Pasadena

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, September 7, 1971, p. 4.

Unified School District and the University of Massachusetts wished to continue the project upon evaluating the recommendations of the steering committee in January of 1972, phase two would be initiated immediately. Phase two called for establishment of a Planning School during the second semester of the 1971-72 school year. This school would include fifty students selected by the school district from applications received from all grade levels. The planning phase envisioned active involvement of students, parents, and staff in development of curriculum content and techniques, organization for instruction, decision-making, and school governance. During phase two the Pasadena group was to be assisted by consultants and graduate students from the University of Massachusetts. Phase three was to involve the opening of the Alternative School in September of 1972. Although participation by students and staff was to be voluntary, ethnic balance was to be maintained. Prior to the opening of school for the 1971-72 year, the Pasadena Board of Education approved phase one of this project. Dr. Joseph P. Zeronian, Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent, was appointed as Project Director.¹ Development of phase two of this plan is discussed in a later section of this chapter.

While the school board approved new avenues of instruction and curriculum by its actions regarding the Evening High School, the Expanded School Program, and phase one of the Alternative School proposal, it laid to rest any lingering hopes of involvement in an alternative proposal that two years previously had been regarded by

¹Office of the Superintendent, News of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, December, 1971), p. 1.

some within the district as the most promising option of all, that being creation of an educational park to include all district senior high schools. On July 20, 1971, the following recommendations of the District Committee on Senior High School Reorganization were approved by the Pasadena Board of Education:

1. The Educational Park will no longer be considered as the reorganization plan for the senior high schools. All alternate plans will include the continuation of John Muir High School as a senior high school site.

2. The 1967 bonds designated for John Muir High School will be made available for improvement of that school. Funds will be released with the understanding that recommendations for specific expenditures will come before the Board for approval.

3. All reference materials and statistical data compiled by the committee will be submitted to the Long Range Planning Committee for consideration.¹

It may be remembered that the educational park concept was a major provision within the Pasadena Plan as approved by Judge Real on March 4, 1970, but a lack of funds and reversal of the decision to create a ninth grade intermediate school led to abandonment of the concept. The action of the school board on July 20, 1971, confirmed publicly a redirection in policy which most educators close to the Pasadena picture had accepted as fact over a year earlier.²

Revision in Student Attendance Zones

A series of minor changes in student attendance zones were approved by the Pasadena Board of Education at the primary and elementary school levels. These changes involved a total of 108 students and 15 schools.

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 20, 1971, p. 4.

²A survey of twelve district administrators, a majority of whom favored the educational park concept, revealed that all twelve considered the possibility of implementing the educational park to be non-existent under prevailing circumstances in June of 1970.

A single secondary level change involved a minor boundary alteration between John Muir High School and Blair High School to conform to the natural boundary of the Arroyo Seco Basin. The high school revision involved less than ten students.¹

Five of the six recommendations made to the district by the Citizens-Staff Advisory Committee on Redistricting were accepted by the school board. The sixth recommendation, which involved the closure of McKinley Primary School, was deferred for one year because facilities to serve the McKinley students were not ready for occupancy by September.²

The suggestion of the Superintendent that redistricting be held to a minimum for the 1971-72 school year was heeded by the Citizens-Staff Committee and the Pasadena Board of Education. Acceptance of this suggestion meant that no major revisions in racial balance were created, dislocations of massive numbers of students were avoided, and community unrest over new alterations was virtually non-existent. Less than 120 students throughout the school district were affected by redistricting between the first and second years of operation under the Pasadena Plan. Acceptance of minimal redistricting also meant, however, that continued racial transition in certain residential areas would bring several primary and elementary schools close to violation of the court mandate that no school possess a majority of any minority group within its enrollment.

¹Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, September 7, 1971, p. 2.

²Minutes, meeting of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, July 6, 1971, p. 6.

In conclusion, the Pasadena Unified School District planned and prepared with varying effectiveness for the 1971-72 school year. The compilation and computation of enrollment estimates added to the confusion in projecting district finances, a new drug policy retained more students but contained no provisions for added facilities to house those students at the senior high level, alternative schooling proposals created three new programs and rejected the creation of an educational park, and revision in student attendance zones minimized changes while maximizing the danger of violating the court provision that no school possess a majority of any minority group within its enrollment.

Research estimates regarding fall enrollments were particularly inconsistent. The school board adopted a general fund publication budget based on a projected average daily attendance of 29,324 on July 20, 1971, and three days later received a projection of 1,679 less students for use in support of its refusal to grant salary raises to district employees.¹ These inconsistencies contributed to a "credibility gap" that diminished morale among district employees during the 1971-72 school year. A comparison of projected and actual enrollment of Anglo-Caucasian students indicated that district research figures were accurate when dealing with overall figures, but highly inaccurate in underestimating Anglo-Caucasian withdrawal in grades one and two. Comparison of projected and actual Anglo-Caucasian enrollment for the 1971-72 school year is shown in Table 16.

¹Dorothy F. Fagan, ed., Board Briefs: A Digest of Board of Education Meetings (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, July 20, 1971, and July 23, 1971), p. 1.

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF PROJECTED AND ACTUAL ENROLLMENT
OF ANGLO-CAUCASIAN STUDENTS IN THE PASADENA
UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT FOR THE CURRENT
(1971-1972) SCHOOL YEAR - PROJECTIONS
BASED ON DISTRICT FIGURES PREPARED
BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING,
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Grade Level	Projected Enrollment	Actual Enrollment	Degree of Error	Percentage of Discrepancy
K	47%	47%	0	0
1	52%	45%	+7	+16%
2	44%	47%	-3	- 6%
3	47%	48%	-1	- 2%
4	47%	46%	+1	+ 2%
5	47%	48%	-1	- 2%
6	46%	45%	+1	+ 2%
7	49%	48%	+1	+ 2%
8	53%	52%	+1	+ 2%
9	51%	50%	+1	+ 2%
10	56%	56%	0	0
11	54%	58%	-4	- 7%
12	60%	6	-2	- 3%
Total	50%	50%	0	0

Source: Frank A. Fleck, Fleck Enrollment Surveys
(Pasadena, Calif., Frank A. Fleck,
November, 1971), p. 3.

^a Anglo-Caucasian percentages are expressed as a percentage of the total enrollment.

^b Mr. Fleck has contended that the Pasadena Unified School District has consistently erred in overestimating both total enrollment figures and Anglo-Caucasian percentages within those figures. Mr. Fleck's own figures have also overestimated both total enrollment and Anglo-Caucasian percentages during each of the past five years, but his degree of error in all past projections at all grade levels has been less than the degree of error contained in the projections of the Pasadena Unified School District's Department of Planning, Research and Development.

New measures to combat drug abuse retained needed funds by increasing average daily attendance through retention of drug violators at special schools rather than removing them from the school district, and a decrease in the drug problem during the 1971-72 school year to date would tend to confirm that this policy possessed benefits other than financial gain. No provisions were placed within these measures to alleviate overcrowding at those schools receiving drug violators, however, and the lack of such provisions contributed to the fact that Foothill High School could accept no transfers by March of 1972. The drug problem may have been alleviated by adoption of a new drug policy prior to the 1971-72 school year, but attendance and behavioral problems who would normally be referred to Foothill High School from March to June of 1972 will not receive the specialized assistance provided by that school as a result.

Alternative schooling proposals planned prior to the opening of school in September have met with mixed success. The Evening High School has exceeded its quota of 100 students, and student evaluations of the program indicate satisfaction with the program. According to the Director of the Expanded School Program, that option has "fallen apart" during the 1971-72 school year, primarily due to the fact that the Director cannot devote sufficient administrative time to organization of the program. This is understandable, since the Director of the Expanded School Program is also the full-time Director of the Evening High School, an allocation of responsibilities that does not reflect well upon district planning.¹ The Alternative School is currently in

¹Paul S. Finot, private interview held at the Evening High School on March 14, 1972. Mr. Finot is Director of the Expanded School Program and the Evening High School.

in phase two, the planning stage. The Planning School is in its second month of operation, fifty students are actively participating in the program, and reports involving the success of the project to date are contradictory. It appears to be too early to fairly evaluate the success of planning, let alone implementation, of the Alternative School proposal. The Pasadena Unified School District may still reconsider operating a full-scale Alternative School in co-sponsorship with a university located over 3,000 miles from Pasadena, but phase one of the project resulted in the acceptance of the recommendations of the Pasadena Steering Committee by the Pasadena Board of Education on January 11, 1972. Those recommendations called for continued involvement by Pasadena in this joint project.¹

The few revisions made in attendance zones during the planning and preparation stage of the second year under the Pasadena Plan had advantages and disadvantages. The fact that the number of students who unexpectedly had to change schools dropped from over 14,00 to less than 120 seems advantageous, and the relatively few complaints over redistricting provided a welcome respite from the furor that accompanied original implementation of the Pasadena Plan. Acceptance of the suggestion of the Superintendent to hold attendance changes to a minimum meant that several schools were dangerously close to violating the court order prohibiting any school from having a majority of any minority group within its student enrollment, however, and the results of that disadvantage are discussed further in an analysis of the degree to which the school district adhered to the court provisions regarding student assignments. That analysis appears in the following section of this chapter.

¹Office of the Superintendent, News of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, January, 1972), p. 1.

Adherence to the Specific Provisions of the Court Order of 1970

Adherence to the specific provisions of the 1970 court order is evaluated by the same criteria for 1971-72 as were used in evaluating 1970-71. These criteria are the provisions of the court order itself, provisions which mandated district action in the following areas:

(1) assignment, hiring, and promotion of teachers and other professional staff members, (2) location and construction of facilities, and (3) student assignments.

Assignment, Hiring, and Promotion of Teachers and Other Professional
Staff Members

Racial balance in assignment of teachers and other professional staff members was adhered to only in part during the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. The greatest success in achieving racial balance in assignment was related to classroom teachers. All schools employing eight or more teachers contained teaching staffs of no more than 45 per cent or less than 15 per cent minority group members, and each school with less than eight teachers included at least one minority group person on its staff.¹ No Orientals, American Indians, or other nonwhite groups were represented in any professional capacity other than classroom teacher, however, and the number of Mexican-Americans employed in professional capacities within the district were fewer by four in 1971-72 than in 1970-71.²

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1971-72, pp. 1-10.

²Ibid., p. 12.

Progress was made in the hiring of minority group teachers. Of the total new teacher group employed in 1971-72, 22 were Anglo-Caucasian, 19 were Negro, 6 were Mexican-American, 7 were Oriental, 1 was American Indian, and 2 were other nonwhite. Compared to the previous year, the percentages of each ethnic group reflected the following changes: Anglo-Caucasian classroom teachers decreased from 80.9 to 78; Negro teachers increased from 12.9 to 15; teachers of Mexican-American descent dropped from 3.5 to 3.3; Oriental teachers jumped from 1.9 to 2.6; American Indian teachers rose slightly from 0.2 to 0.3; and other nonwhite teachers moved from 0.6 to 0.8.¹

Further progress in hiring was impeded by a lack of funds and decreasing enrollments. Only 72 new teachers were employed by the district, and 18 of those were returning long-term substitutes. Those selected were chosen from 2,000 qualified applicants. During the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan, 40 applicants competed for each available position.²

Gains were mixed in terms of employing minority group personnel as non-teaching members of the professional staff. The district hired 4 more Negroes in non-teaching positions than were employed the previous year. Mexican-Americans in such positions decreased by 1, and the Anglo-Caucasian numbers decreased by 5. As was the case in 1970-71, no Orientals, American Indians, or other nonwhites were employed as non-teaching members of the professional staff.³

¹Ibid.

²Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, private interview held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., on March 22, 1972. Dr. Hornbeck is Superintendent of Schools for the Pasadena Unified School District.

³Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1971-72, p. 12.

No significant rise was noted in promotion of minority personnel to leadership positions. Mexican-American administrators decreased from 2 to 3; Negro administrators increased from 5 to 7; Anglo-Caucasian administrators decreased from 48 to 47; as was true for the two preceding years, no Oriental, American Indian, or other nonwhite served in a leadership position within the Pasadena Unified School District.¹

Thus it can be seen that specific provisions regarding staff were met inconsistently in 1971-72. Staff assignments at schools covered by the court order reflected conscious efforts to achieve racial balance, and the goals of the Pasadena Plan were met in each of these schools, as indicated on page 238. Gains in employment of Negro and Oriental teachers were impressive, but Mexican-American teachers decreased, and additions of American Indians and other nonwhites were insignificant. No notable progress was made in employing minority personnel in non-teaching positions or in the promotion of such personnel. No deliberate effort to exclude any minority group was noted at any level, but two trends do provide cause for some concern: (1) no additional Mexican-Americans were employed in any professional capacity, despite the fact that the Mexican-American represents the most rapidly growing minority group in the Pasadena area,² and (2) no Orientals, American Indians, or other nonwhites were included in the district staff at any level other than that of classroom teacher.

¹Ibid.

²Mr. Peter F. Hagen, private interview held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., on December 28, 1971. Mr. Hagen is the Administrative Director for Planning, Research and Development within the Pasadena Unified School District.

Location and Construction of Facilities

Existing school locations were utilized to serve the purposes of desegregation through the "pairing" of primary and upper elementary schools within the same attendance zone. Due to budgetary limitations, new construction at these sites was severely limited during the 1971-72 school year. Such construction involved expansion of facilities to accommodate racial balance. No additional school buildings were constructed during the 1971-72 school year.

Student Assignments

Only a few minor changes in student assignments were made prior to the 1971-72 school year. This lack of major change meant that adjustments to compensate for racial transition were not reflected in the overall assignment of students to specific schools during the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. As a result, the school district placed itself in danger of violating the court mandate that no school possess a majority of any minority group within its total enrollment.

The first violation of that mandate occurred at Loma Alta Elementary School in October of 1971. An analysis of school enrollment figures revealed that Loma Alta contained a Negro enrollment that represented 51.9 per cent of its total school population at that time.¹ Mid-year racial distribution figures indicated that a Negro enrollment of 51.4 per cent at Franklin Primary School placed a second district school in

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1971-'72, p. 7.

violation of the court order in January of 1972. The mid-year study showed that the Negro majority at Loma Alta Elementary School had increased to 52 per cent. Enrollments at each of the other 34 district schools covered by the court order met the provision of that order regarding racial distribution.¹

The difficulties in maintaining district enrollments in such a manner as to avoid a majority of any minority at each school are particularly acute at the primary and elementary schools. This is due to the larger number of schools and the smaller attendance areas served by each school at those levels. Both violations of the court order regarding racial distribution between schools occurred within primary and elementary schools. An examination of the latest available district statistics on school enrollments revealed that no junior or senior high school contained a single minority group in excess of 43 per cent of the total school population, but nine primary and elementary schools possessed single minority groups above that figure.²

The degree to which a majority of the district primary and elementary schools approach violation of the court order regarding student assignments is shown in visual form in Illustrations 19 and 20. Illustration 19 shows the percentage of minority students at each primary school during the 1971-72 school year. Only a single primary school contained a total minority percentage under 40 per cent, and 2 such schools

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, A Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment -- October 8, 1971, and January 28, 1972 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, February 22, 1972), pp. 2, 4.

²Ibid., pp. 2-6.

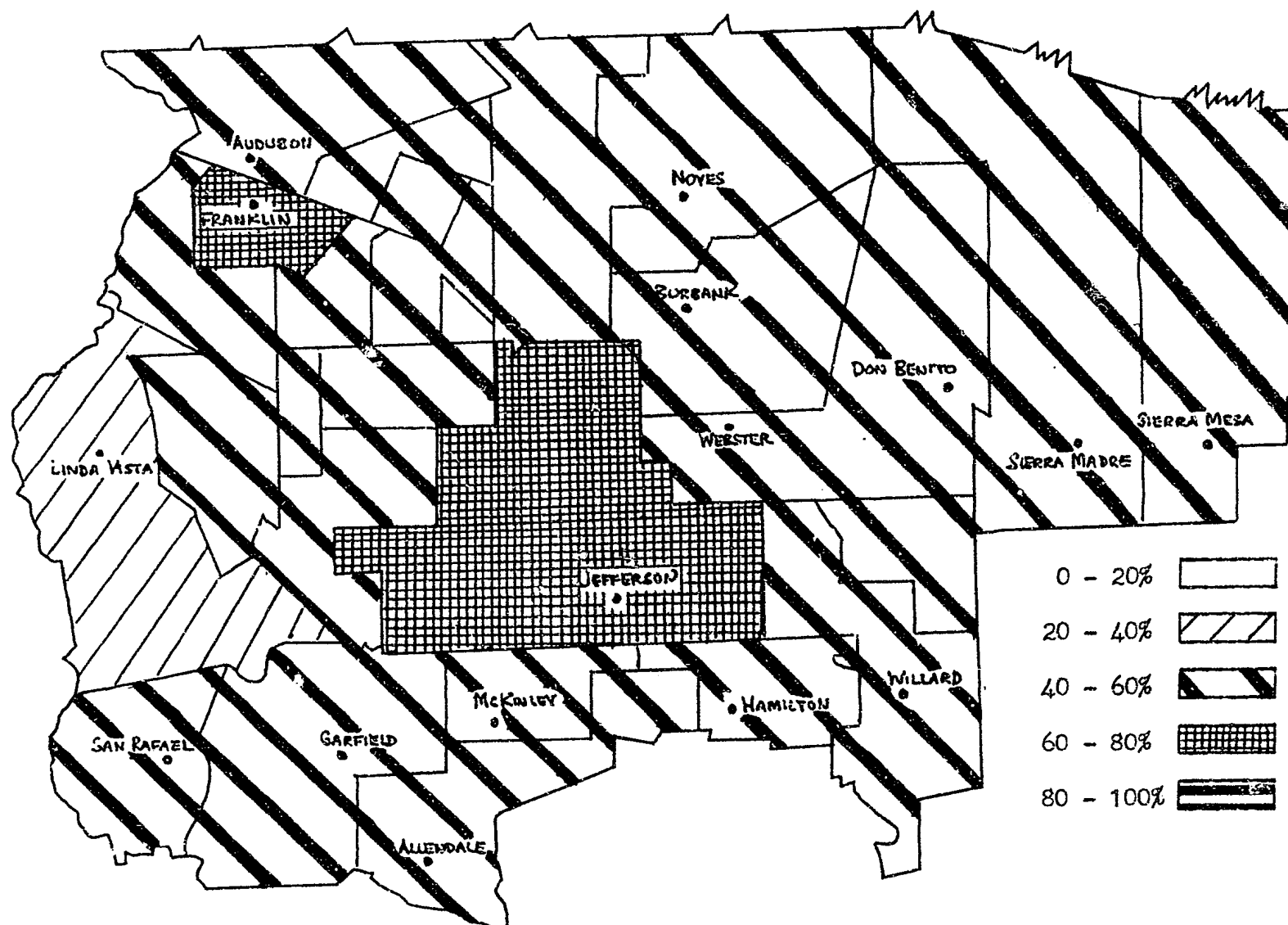
possessed minority enrollments exceeding 60 per cent. Illustration 20 indicates the 1971-72 percentages of minority students at the elementary level. No elementary schools had minority enrollments of less than 40 per cent, and a single elementary school enrolled a minority population of over 60 per cent. Percentages in these illustrations are expressed in range increments of 20 per cent. Illustrations 19 and 20 appear on the following two pages. An examination of specific percentages of racial distribution at each district school for the 1971-72 school year is contained in Appendix A.

The degree of effectiveness in achieving racial balance at the lower grade levels under the Pasadena Plan is graphically demonstrated by comparing the racial distribution patterns in Illustrations 19 and 20 to the patterns of such distribution reflected in 1969-70 within Illustration 5 on page ninety-five. Such a comparison leaves no doubt that racial balance in each school at the lower grade levels was attained under this desegregation plan. Comparison of racial distribution percentages in Appendix A demonstrate similar success under the Pasadena Plan at the upper grade levels.

Achievement of racial balance at a given point in time does not solve the continuing problem of how to maintain such balance within the schools of a community in racial transition. Yearly redistricting is a possible solution, but such frequency of student dislocation creates other problems. The Pasadena Unified School District chose to avoid extensive redistricting in 1971-72, and the resultant violations of the court order regarding student assignments provided new problems. The court did not cite the school district from the deviations from its man-

ILLUSTRATION 19

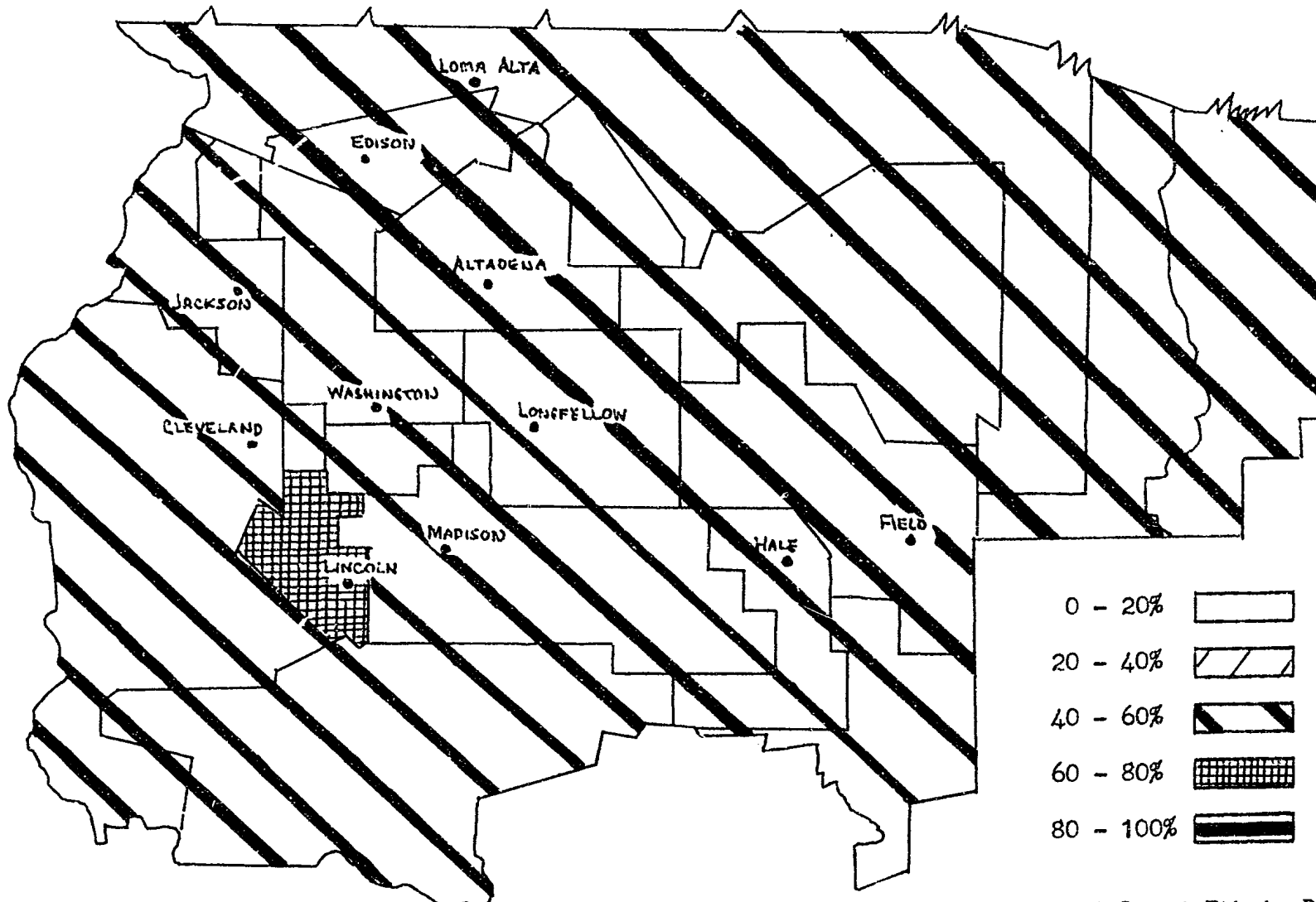
PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY STUDENTS (GRADES K-3) UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN 1971



Source: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October 8, 1971), p. 2.

ILLUSTRATION 20

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY STUDENTS (GRADES 4-6) UNDER THE PASADENA PLAN 1971



Source: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, October 8, 1971), p. 2.

date at two schools in 1971-72 as of March 25, 1972, but the court order provided Judge Real with the authority to do so at any time. Whether additional violations would result in further legal action against the school district is difficult to assess at this point, but continued racial transition without changes in district policy would seem to insure that such violations will occur.

Community Acceptance

Evidence of continued community division over acceptance of the Pasadena Plan during its second year of operation is provided by an analysis of published responses reflecting individual opinions on the merits of the plan. A total of eighty-two such responses were printed in either the Los Angeles Times, The Altadenan, the Pasadena Star-News, or the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner from September 13, 1971, to the termination of this study on March 25, 1972. Of this number, forty-one approved the plan, thirty-eight opposed it, and three expressed a neutral view. As mentioned in analysis of a similar summary of published opinions contained in Chapter VII, reliance upon such data is unwise. The sampling included only those who chose to write to these four newspapers regarding this issue, and the response is limited further by selection of only those which these newspapers decided to print. Apparent balance between proponents and opponents of the plan may be real or imagined, depending upon the degree to which this small group represents the community at large and the degree to which the newspapers sought to provide a balance of views expressed in publication. Notwithstanding the vulnerability in data created by these variables, a relatively even division of opinion appears in other

information relative to community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan.

One criterion for acceptance is an examination of whether increasing or decreasing numbers of families enroll their children in the schools that are implementing the Pasadena Plan. It is valuable to also examine these numbers in terms of racial transition, since such issues as "white flight" may be confirmed or refuted on the basis of such numbers. A decline in both total enrollment and Anglo-Caucasian enrollment occurred during the 1971-72 school year. On October 8, 1971, total district enrollment stood at 27,547, of which 13,848 were Anglo-Caucasian. Anglo-Caucasians represented 50.3 per cent of all district students on that date. Exactly one year previously, total district enrollment was 29,123, 53.7 per cent of which was Anglo-Caucasian. From the second month of the first year of the Pasadena Plan to the second month of its second year, therefore, total enrollment dropped 1,546, and Anglo-Caucasian enrollment decreased by 3.4 per cent. A total of 15,647 Anglo-Caucasians were enrolled in schools within the Pasadena Unified School District on October 8, 1970, so the loss of 1,799 between the beginning of the 1970-71 school year and the beginning of the 1971-72 school year was greater than the total loss in enrollment during the same period.¹

A more pertinent comparison of enrollment figures to community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan during its second year of operation is found in comparing the aforementioned figures of October 8, 1971, to those reflected on January 28, 1972. This comparison reflects a decline

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment, 1966-1971 (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, February, 1972), p. 2.

in total and Anglo-Caucasian enrollments in much the same ratio as the previously cited figures, but this decline has greater relevance to an analysis of community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan during its second year of operation because the decline took place entirely within the 1971-72 school year. Total enrollment dropped by 289 from October 8, 1971, to January 28, 1972, and Anglo-Caucasian enrollment declined by 582 during the same period. The Anglo-Caucasian loss caused the percentage of that ethnic group to decline from 50.3 per cent to 49.7 per cent of the district total.¹ For the first time in the history of the Pasadena public schools, a majority of the students enrolled within those schools were not Anglo-Caucasian.²

Community involvement in school activities decreased during the 1971-72 school year. A number of community-staff human relations groups that were active in 1970-71 disbanded in 1971-72, often because of a lack of representatives from the minority community. The record number of parent volunteers who participated as teacher aides, clerical assistants, and noon supervisors during the first year of the Pasadena Plan diminished at most schools during the second year of desegregation, although a significant rise in such aid occurred at John Muir High School. Parental attendance at fall Back-to-School Night programs dropped to an all-time low in 1971-72, and senior high school teachers considered abandoning such programs because of an apparent lack of community interest. Membership and active involvement in chapters of

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, A Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment -- October 8, 1971, and January 28, 1972, p. 1.

²Pasadena Star-News, February 13, 1972.

Parent Teacher Associations declined at a majority of schools, particularly those at the secondary level. It is difficult to assess the degree to which this decreased community involvement in school activities was related to community feelings regarding the Pasadena Plan, or even to evaluate whether the decrease was peculiar to Pasadena or part of a national syndrome involving public education in the 1970s, but its existence tends to confirm that parent-school communications did not operate extremely well during the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan.

The Black Task Force, the Mexican-American Task Force, and the Sierra Madre Task Force became active within the community during the 1971-72 school year. The racial composition of the first two groups is apparent from their titles. Sierra Madre is an almost exclusively Anglo-Caucasian suburb whose residents are served by the Pasadena Unified School District. These task forces met with various segments of the professional staff and other community organizations during the 1971-72 school year. Their stated goals were the improvement of education in Pasadena and the establishment of new lines of communication between the schools and the community. The eventual roles of these task forces can be assessed only after their recommendations have been made public, an event which had not occurred at the time this study was terminated. Their goals are both laudable and sorely in need of attainment, and these organizations can become significant positive forces if they are, in fact, primarily concerned with the improvement of education for all children within the Pasadena Unified School District. If they are to represent only those special interest groups that their titles imply, however,

they may become sources of further division within the community. While the Superintendent of Schools in Pasadena has stated his support for the establishment of such task forces as a means of increasing communication between the schools and the community, he recognized the danger of possible divisiveness within the creation of such groups in an interview with this writer on March 22, 1972.

To summarize, the preponderance of evidence suggests that the Pasadena Plan did not gain an appreciable measure of community support between the first and the second year of its operation. On the basis of published responses, enrollment figures, community involvement in school activities, and the creation of task forces representing special interest groups within the community, it is concluded that Pasadena remained bipolarized on the merits of this particular approach to school desegregation at the time this study was completed. The percentage of those who favor or oppose the plan does not appear to have changed appreciably since the plan was originally implemented in the fall of 1970. The available data supports the conclusion that community sentiment regarding the Pasadena Plan is split approximately down the middle, with a majority or near majority of residents within the Pasadena Unified School District as yet unwilling or unable to commit themselves to making court-ordered desegregation work within either the schools or the community.

Physical Operation

Physical operation of the desegregation plan functioned well during the portion of the 1971-72 school year covered by this study.

Transportation and maintenance operations were exceptionally smooth during the first six months of operation during the second year under the Pasadena Plan.

The district busing program was reduced slightly during the 1971-72 school year. This reduction was due to declining enrollments and did not involve any curtailment of services to the individual student. The Associated Charter Bus Company utilized 86 buses to transport over 12,000 students to and from school daily. The average student who used district bus transportation rode for four miles and fifteen minutes each way, and 45 per cent of all students within the Pasadena Unified School District rode buses to and from school in 1971-72. This program was implemented without a single major accident during the period from September 13, 1971, to termination of this study on March 25, 1972.

Maintenance services were expanded during school hours throughout the district. Custodial services were refined and improved. In conclusion, the Pasadena Plan operated very effectively in its second year when judged on the basis of mechanics.

Academic Progress

Academic progress is measured within this chapter for the second year of desegregation in Pasadena, and the criteria used in this second year analysis are the same as those used in the previous chapter to measure such progress in 1970-71. Those criteria are: (1) comparative

¹Roger Mudd, Columbia Broadcasting System television program entitled "Busing," March 9, 1972.

test scores attained by students within the Pasadena Unified School District on tests that are either nationally or state normed and considered to yield a high degree of validity and reliability related to information on learning and/or achievement, and (2) curricular development.

Comparative Test Scores

Academic progress as measured by test scores was extremely limited in 1971-72. In a comparison of fall test scores released by the school district on March 14, 1972, and scores received on the same tests by Pasadena students in 1970-71, no progress at all was attained on overall achievement, reading, language arts, or mathematics test results.

District-wide testing revealed a disturbing pattern for the second straight year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. Scores achieved by district students indicated the same three facts in 1971-72 as they did in 1970-71: (1) students within the Pasadena Unified School District performed consistently below national norms in each of the four areas most commonly measured: reading, language, spelling, and arithmetic, (2) performance below national norms occurred at all but one of the grade levels tested, and (3) test scores attained by students in 1971-72 were significantly lower than scores achieved by students on the same tests in 1970-71.

Achievement test scores fell 2.6 percentile points between 1970-71 and 1971-72. When performance is compared across grades four, six, eight, and twelve, reading scores dipped 0.3 percentile points, a drop of 3.3 percentile points was observed in language arts, and mathematics

scores decreased by 4.3 percentile points.¹

Students in Pasadena achieved above national norms only at the first grade level, where a score at the 61st percentile was achieved on Metropolitan Readiness Tests administered in October of 1971.² The 1971-72 scores were also above district scores on the same test for the previous year. First grade students in Pasadena scored at the 57th percentile on Metropolitan Readiness Tests given in 1970-71. These results indicate that students enter the Pasadena schools with an above average capacity to learn.

At the four higher grades tested during the fall of 1971, district scores were below national norms in every area tested. In reading, language, spelling, and arithmetic, four grade students scored at the 38th, 34th, 33rd, and 29th percentiles; sixth grade students averaged at the 39th, 34th, 36th, and 27th percentiles; eighth grade students recorded scores at the 45th, 38th, 37th, and 32nd percentiles. On Iowa Tests of Educational Development, twelfth grade students scored below national norms in all four areas for the first time since the test was used in Pasadena. In correctness of expression, spelling, quantitative thinking, and social studies reading, district seniors averaged at the 40th, 47th, 42nd, and 48th percentile points.³ Comparative results for 1969-70, 1970-71, and 1971-72 are shown in Appendix B.

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Results of Fall 1971 Testing Program for the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, February, 1972), p. 30.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Ibid., pp. 24, 25, 26, and 28.

Urban school districts generally have experienced high percentages of student mobility and non-attendance in recent years, and Pasadena was no exception. Of the 1946 students eligible to take the sixth grade achievement test in 1971-72, only 555 could be identified as having attended district schools for a minimum of 160 days each year since grade one. Factors of student mobility and non-attendance affect test scores, and they affect the potential for academic progress within the Pasadena public schools.¹

As measured by test results, academic progress occurred only at grade one during the second year of the Pasadena Plan. The low scores achieved by district students in 1971-72 were a source of concern to members of the school board, and Superintendent Hornbeck agreed that his retention of leadership within the district should rest upon a reversal of the downward trend.² When interviewed by this writer eight days after having "placed his job on the line" at a public board meeting, the Superintendent stated that a five-year period of time provided an ample period in which to obtain significant results in raising district test scores under the Pasadena Plan.³

Racial transition, student apathy regarding the relevance of district-wide testing, "bright flight" from Pasadena schools, mobility, and non-attendance are possible reasons for the continued decline of test scores attained by students under the Pasadena Plan, but, whatever the reasons, the poor achievement of academic growth as reflected in those scores presents an indictment which school officials must strive

¹Pasadena Star-News, March 15, 1972, p. 1.

²Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, private interview, March 22, 1972.

³Ibid.

to remove.

Curricular Development

Curricular development during the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan involved a marked shift in emphasis from the rapid growth and proliferation of course offerings that characterized development in curriculum in 1970-71. Very few new course offerings were added at any level within the school district after the beginning of the 1971-72 school year, and many of the courses originally scheduled in September of 1971 were dropped because of small class numbers.

This shift in emphasis was partially due to a need for retrenchment that was created by a lack of funds. Decline in enrollment was another factor that inhibited a new proliferation of course offerings in 1971-72. At the secondary level the saturation factor contributed to a cutback in course offerings. Over 430 different classes were operating at the senior high school level during the first months of the second year of school desegregation in Pasadena.

The movement away from expanded course offerings did not mean that curricular activity was absent in 1971-72. Such activity was merely redirected, with primary emphasis being placed upon the development of alternative schooling proposals and expansion of remedial programs. Strong efforts toward new ways of presenting curricula were explored at the Evening High School. The Expanded School Program provided a variety of new approaches to learning during the fall of 1971, but the program became more limited as the school year progressed. A major examination of curriculum was being undertaken at the time this

study was terminated in March of 1972. This examination was a primary purpose of the Planning School, phase two of the Alternative School proposal described in some detail at a previous point within this chapter. Remedial programs in reading and mathematics have been expanded during the 1971-72 school year, and additional programs are scheduled for initial implementation in the fall of 1972.

The expansion of basic courses in reading and mathematics have resulted from two factors: (1) a new state law which requires high school graduates to complete diagnostic and/or remedial courses in both reading and mathematics unless they score at or above a grade placement of 8.0 on a nationally normed examination selected by the local school district, and (2) the consistent inability of the average student in Pasadena to read or compute at grade level. This inability is dramatized by the fact that district pupils consistently score below national and state norms at virtually all grade levels. The gap between Pasadena students and other students is most pronounced in mathematics, and a myriad of district committees have been assigned to examine means of reducing this gap during the spring of 1972.

The Pasadena Unified School District has increasingly attempted to secure federal and state funding for curriculum expansion during 1971-72. The professional staff responsible for development of special projects to acquire such funds is one of the few areas in which an expansion of personnel has transpired within the past year.

School officials have joined with civic leaders to create a special educational foundation to raise funds for curricular expansion, innovation, and development. The Pasadena Educational Foundation is a

newly formed organization that began operation during 1971-72. The foundation was incorporated as a separate entity from the Pasadena Unified School District and legally chartered within the State of California as a non-profit organization whose sole purpose is to acquire and dispense tax deductible contributions for the improvement of public education in Pasadena.¹ Funds were sought from corporations, foundations, and individual citizens. The foundation set \$100,000 as its fund-raising goal for the 1971-72 school year. The Pasadena Educational Foundation is unique because no other public school district currently has such a body devoted to raising money for its support exclusively.²

Despite a decrease in community involvement at many schools in 1971-72, over 750 volunteers worked in classrooms and offices to supplement the instructional program.³ Such assistance provided valuable time for teachers to become more heavily involved in curricular planning.

State funding permitted expansion of the gifted program, and emphasis was placed on improved procedures for identifying gifted students at all grade levels. A minimum of 200 minutes per week was devoted to special instruction for gifted children in elementary schools. Accelerated classes were offered in a wide variety of subject fields at the secondary

¹Mr. Frederick W. Purdy, private interview held at the Pepper Mill Restaurant, Pasadena, Calif., on January 14, 1972. Mr. Purdy is a member of the Board of Directors of the Pasadena Educational Foundation.

²Office of the Superintendent, News of the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, November, 1971), p. 2.

³Pasadena Chamber of Commerce, Why Your Children Should Attend Pasadena Public Schools (Pasadena: Pasadena Chamber of Commerce, October, 1971), p. 4.

level, and college credit advanced placement courses were provided at each senior high school in such areas as English, history, mathematics, science, and foreign language.¹

Two-week minicourses exposed students to a broad spectrum of subjects which would have otherwise have been unavailable. Subject areas ranged from photography at elementary schools to applied ecology at the high school level.²

Efforts were made to expand curricular offerings in the field of career education during the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. Greater exposure to career opportunities was provided through the inclusion of courses such as electronics, auto mechanics, data processing, industrial lithography, business education, and stage technology.³

In conclusion, academic progress during the second year of desegregation in Pasadena was uneasy and uneven. Test scores were disturbingly low and curricular offerings were somewhat curtailed, but notable expansion was achieved in approaches to alternative schooling, remedial programs in reading and mathematics, creation of a foundation to acquire private funding, expansion of the gifted program, development of minicourses, and expanded course offerings in career education.

Social Assimilation

Student movement from physical desegregation to social assimilation was hesitant. As was true during the first year of operation under the

¹Ibid., p. 3.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 2.

Pasadena Plan, interaction between diverse racial groups during 1971-72 occurred with significantly greater ease and frequency at primary and elementary schools than at junior and senior high schools.

A two-part analysis of the progress toward integration in the Pasadena public schools was presented on television in Los Angeles on March 13 and 14, 1972, and the contrast in multi-racial relationships between younger and older students was visually dramatized. Primary school students extended the racial mix of the classroom into the voluntary associations they formed on the playground, and a slightly less frequent incidence of social interaction was observed during lunch period in grades four through six. A marked tendency to resegregate socially was apparent during passing periods and at lunch in junior high school, and virtually no multi-racial groupings occurred during non-class periods at senior high school. Racial isolation was captured clearly among upper grade students, with members of each racial group clustered separately in tight circles.¹

The Superintendent noted the greater degree of observable social assimilation at the lower grades in an interview with this writer in March of 1972.² In a similar interview in February, the Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education stated that he felt virtually no movement toward attitudinal integration had as yet transpired under the Pasadena Plan at the secondary level.³

¹KNXT News Special on "Integration in Pasadena," March 13-14, 1972. This two-part program was broadcast locally within the Los Angeles area by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

²Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, private interview, March 22, 1972.

³Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, private interview, February 15, 1972.

There is some evidence that overt racial hostility decreased at upper grade schools during the second year of desegregation. In comparing first and second year incident records from the opening of school to October 31, secondary schools in the Pasadena experienced a sharp decrease in incidents during the latter period. The number of suspensions declined by 26 per cent at the junior high schools and 39 per cent at the senior high schools.¹ There was an accompanying drop in the percentage of incidents involving racial tension between the first and second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan.²

In conclusion, social assimilation did not occur to a significant degree during the first six months of the 1971-72 school year. Where racial interaction was present, it was almost totally restricted to the lower grade levels. A declining number of racial incidents suggests that progress was made by upper grade students in reducing racial hostility, and such reduction must be regarded as a prerequisite to the possible movement from desegregation to attitudinal integration.

Summary

Analysis of the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan utilized the same criteria as employed within the first year analysis: (1) preparation and planning, (2) adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, (3) community acceptance, (4) physical operation, (5) academic progress, and (6) social assimilation.

Preparation was both good and bad, but financial planning was poor in

¹Office of the Superintendent, News of the Pasadena Unified School District, January, 1972, p. 2.

²Mr. Frederick W. Purdy, private interview held at Blair High School on February 2, 1972. Mr. Purdy is Dean of Boys at Blair High School.

area of enrollment projection and staff relations. The manner in which the salary issue was handled resulted in a "credibility gap" that hampered staff morale. A new drug abuse policy was generally well planned, although provisions for expansion of facilities would have increased its effectiveness. Alternative schooling proposals created new approaches and provided flexibility. The decision to avoid massive redistricting resulted in a lack of student dislocations and community unrest, but it neglected the factor of racial transition and placed the district in danger of violating the court provision regarding racial balance.

The second year record under the Pasadena Plan was less than impressive regarding adherence to specific provisions of the court order. Staff assignments reflected racial balance, and strong efforts were made to hire minority personnel. No significant progress was made in promoting minorities to leadership positions, however, and a loss in representation of Mexican-Americans was noted at all professional levels. No progress occurred in the employment of Orientals, American Indians, or other nonwhites in non-teaching areas, and no member of these three ethnic groups was employed in a non-teaching capacity by the Pasadena Unified School District at the conclusion of this study in March of 1972. Location and construction of facilities promoted racial balance and adhered to the court order. Negro majorities occurred in the total enrollments of two district schools during 1971-72, placing the district in direct violation of the court provision that no school possess a majority of any single minority group.

Success was evident in physical operation of the Pasadena Plan during its second year. Transportation and maintenance operations were particularly effective during 1971-72. The Pasadena Plan scored its highest marks in the area of mechanics.

Community acceptance of the Pasadena Plan was not achieved during its second year. The community appeared to be equally divided in its approval of disapproval of the plan, as evidenced by published reactions, enrollment figures, community involvement in school activities, and creation of task forces to represent special interests within the community. Enrollments declined in 1971-72, with Anglo-Caucasian withdrawal greater than that reflected throughout the entire district. Community involvement decreased in many areas during the second year under the Pasadena Plan, and creation of black, brown, and white task forces reflected increased activism by special interest groups within the community.

Academic progress was not reflected by test results. Test scores at all grade levels tested, except grade one, were both below national and state norms and significantly lower than scores attained by Pasadena students during the previous year. A shift in emphasis was noted in curricular development. Major priorities were placed upon alternative schooling and expansion of remedial programs in reading and mathematics. A unique organization was formed to raise and allocate funds for the improvement of education in Pasadena, the gifted program was expanded, two-week minicourses provided exposure to course offerings which could not normally be provided within the regular curriculum, and efforts were made to expand curricular offerings in career education.

Social assimilation was largely restricted to the primary and elementary grades. Although movement toward voluntary multi-racial associations was not discernible in any significant degree at the secondary level, a reduction in racial incidents and student suspensions

during the fall of 1971 suggests a decrease in overt racial hostility among junior and senior high school students.

At the conclusion of this study, the second year record of court-ordered desegregation in Pasadena exhibited both success and failure. The plan operated most successfully at the mechanical level, least successfully at the academic and social levels. A more detailed analysis of the current position of the Pasadena Plan at the termination of this dissertation on March 25, 1972, is included within the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX

OVERALL ANALYSIS OF THE PASADENA PLAN TO DATE, IMPLICATIONS FOR OTHER SCHOOL DISTRICTS, AND A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES

Introduction

The two previous chapters analyzed the first and second years of operation under the Pasadena Plan. Chapters VII and VIII examined and evaluated the school desegregation plan through the confines of two separate and specific time periods, and each chapter utilized the following set of six common criteria as evaluative vehicles: (1) preparation and planning, (2) adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, (3) community acceptance, (4) physical operation, (5) academic progress, and (6) social assimilation. There remains a need for an overall analysis that summarizes the current status of the Pasadena Plan at the termination of this study.

This chapter provides such an analysis by focusing upon a summary assessment of the Pasadena Plan as of March 25, 1972. Using the above criteria as guidelines, the present strengths and weaknesses of the plan are identified and discussed.

The implications of the Pasadena experience for other school districts are considered. It is hoped that court-ordered desegregation in Pasadena would provide some lessons of value to educators elsewhere.

The situation in Pasadena is not unique. Increasing numbers of urban and suburban school districts are confronted with opportunities and problems similar to those facing Pasadena in recent years, and the response which Pasadena has made to those opportunities and problems represents but one of several available options. This chapter examines briefly a series of possible alternatives to the Pasadena Plan.

The Current Picture

Court-ordered desegregation has been operative for almost two years within the Pasadena Unified School District. Throughout this period, this desegregation has been implemented through a series of district-initiated and court-approved procedures known as the Pasadena Plan.

Alterations in those procedures have been virtually non-existent during this two-year time span. No changes have been suggested or directed by the court, and only minor student attendance revisions have been approved by the school district. Those revisions made since original implementation have affected less than 120 students and have had no significant impact upon racial distribution among the 39 district schools.¹

The latest available enrollment figures show a student population of 27,268. Those figures reveal that, for the first time in history, a majority of Pasadena public school students are not Anglo-Caucasian.

¹Minutes, meetings of the Pasadena Unified School District Board of Education, June 22, 29, July 6, 13, September 7, 1971.

The percentages of each racial group within the Pasadena Unified School District in 1972 were as follows: Anglo-Caucasian, 49.7; Negro, 35.8; Spanish surname, 10.5; Oriental, 2.9; American Indian, 0.2; and other nonwhite, 0.9.¹

Continued racial transition places the district in danger of frequent violation of the court order that no school contain a majority of any minority within its enrollment. Two such violations occurred prior to conclusion of this study, and seven district schools currently enroll over 45 per cent Negroes.²

The Pasadena Unified School District faces a difficult financial future. Declining enrollments, lack of additional sources for school revenue, impending withdrawal of all state equalization aid, increased costs, and the inadequacy of present reserves add up to a picture of a clear financial crisis within the Pasadena public schools.

District enrollment has declined by over 10 per cent within the past thirty months. A total of 3,354 students has been lost to the district during that period, and the Superintendent projects an additional loss of 1,200 students prior to the 1972-73 school year.³

No attempts to secure additional school funds through bonds or tax overrides are contemplated as of March 25, 1972. No requests for such funds have been made since issuance of the court order to desegregate in January of 1970.

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, A Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment -- October 8, 1971, and January 28, 1972, p. 1.

²Ibid., pp. 2-6.

³Office of the Superintendent, The 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, February 1, 1972), p. 1.

The Pasadena Unified School District will not receive state equalization aid in 1972-73. Such aid is provided within California for those school districts which have low assessed valuations and large enrollments. An increase in construction of large apartment buildings and other commercial structures has resulted in a rise of assessed valuation in Pasadena, and the decline in district student population has been previously cited. As a result of these two factors, the school district will receive only basic state aid in the future. Such aid is based upon \$125 for each unit of average daily attendance, and the units of average daily attendance are consistently decreasing within the Pasadena public schools.¹

The increased cost of goods and services plus normal salary increments mean greater expenditures to maintain current programs. The effect of inflation was felt in 1971-72, despite a \$1,000,000 cut in the budget, district estimates on bids to be received that were within 1 per cent of total accuracy, and a 25 per cent reduction in business office costs.²

The District Financial Subcommittee recommended a \$400,000 increase in reserve funds held by the district for emergency purposes, contending that present reserves are no longer adequate to meet district needs. Due to the loss of state equalization aid, a higher percentage of district income will be dependent on local property taxes. Since the general reserve funds are needed to financially carry the district from July 1, when the fiscal year begins, to mid-December, when the property taxes are received, current proposals for the 1972-73 budget include a \$300,000 addition to those reserves. This is \$100,000 under the original recommendation,

¹Ibid.

²Pasadena Chamber of Commerce, Why Your Children Should Attend Pasadena Public Schools, p. 4.

but it supports the statement of the Superintendent that the amount of general reserve funds needed for July to December must be increased.¹

At the termination of this study, two budget proposals are being considered for 1972-73. Budget A reflects a \$1,800,000 cut in services and does not grant a salary increase to district employees. Budget B reflects a \$2,750,000 cut and includes a two and one-half per cent salary increase for all employees.²

Both of the above proposals accept the Financial Subcommittee finding that the total amount of money available next year will be \$1,800,000 less than that available in 1971-72. Both proposals envision the need to terminate some probationary teachers, and over 600 probationary teachers received notices of intent not to re-employ on or about March 10, 1972. Adoption of Budget A would permit retention of a greater number of probationary employees, but it would deny salary raises to all district personnel for the second consecutive year.

The financial needs of the district are in direct conflict with the provisions of the Pasadena Plan. The court order of Judge Real required the school district to increase employment of minority staff members, and the Pasadena Plan implemented this task. A total of 42 per cent of all persons recruited for teaching positions in 1970-71 were minority group members, and that percentage rose to 63 per cent in 1971-72.³ If the school district retains personnel on the basis of seniority, a procedure established as law under the Education Code of the State of California,

¹Office of the Superintendent, The 3 R's: Reports, Reviews, Reasons, February 1, 1972, pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., p. 1.

³Dr. Joseph P. Zeronian, private interview, February 15, 1972.

it will terminate primarily members of racial minorities, thus placing itself in violation of the 1970 court order.¹ If the district retains personnel on the basis of retaining the minority personnel employed under the Pasadena Plan, it will terminate without regard for seniority, thus placing itself in violation of the State Education Code.² To quote one Pasadena Assistant Superintendent, "Whatever we do, we will end up in court."³

In conclusion, the current picture presents serious problems for the future of the Pasadena Plan. This is particularly true in terms of student enrollment, racial transition, and financial strength. The Pasadena Plan has made considerable progress in attaining racial balance in student populations at all school levels and in employing minority staff members, but the above problems threaten future progress in both of these areas. The choices which the Pasadena Unified School District faces are extremely difficult ones, and, at the conclusion of this study on March 25, 1972, the future effectiveness of school desegregation within the present provisions of the Pasadena Plan is very much in doubt.

Strengths of the Pasadena Plan To Date

The Pasadena Plan is analyzed as having six major areas of strength as judged at the conclusion of this dissertation. These strengths are as follows: (1) comprehensive and effective initial provisions, (2) effec-

¹Plan for the Integration of the Pasadena Unified School District, p. 159 of this study, and provisions of the original court order, p. 107 of this study.

²Section 13447, Education Code, State of California.

³Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, meeting with Assistant Principals for Instruction held at the Pasadena Education Center, Pasadena, Calif., on March 20, 1972.

tive dissemination of information regarding implementation of the plan, (3) total desegregation at all school levels, (4) increased employment of minority group classroom teachers, (5) smoothness of physical operation, and (6) curricular flexibility.

Comprehensive and effective initial provisions of the Pasadena Plan were noted particularly in the areas of school reorganization and distribution, projections of ethnic enrollments for the 1970-71 school year, and programs for recruitment of minority personnel. Elementary level schools were divided into primary and upper grade schools, and these schools were paired in such a manner as to promote racial balance from kindergarten through grade six. Reorganization and student distribution at the junior and senior high school levels promoted such balance at these levels as well. Projections of ethnic enrollments for the first year of operation were within 1 per cent of actual enrollments in September of 1970.¹ Recruitment programs for minority personnel were established throughout the area, and over 50 per cent of all teachers employed since the inception of the Pasadena Plan have been members of minority groups.²

Effective dissemination of information regarding implementation of the plan has continued from the time of its adoption by the court in March of 1970 to termination of this study in March of 1972. The League of Women Voters manned an Information Center at the Pasadena Education Center from May to September of 1970, answering telephone inquiries on a daily basis. Community and school orientation sessions were held, a weekly summary of board actions were distributed within the community,

¹Comparison of projected enrollments under the Pasadena Plan as given on pp. 130, 133, 136, 139, 142, and 146 of this study with actual enrollments as shown in Appendix A.

²Dr. Joseph P. Zeronian, private interview, February 15, 1972.

special publications related to progress under the Pasadena Plan have been issued periodically by the Coordinator of Information, and a monthly publication on school affairs related to the Pasadena Plan was circulated from the Office of the Superintendent.

Total desegregation at all school levels was accomplished under the Pasadena Plan. No school covered by the court order had a majority of any minority group within its 1970-71 enrollment, and only two schools possessed a majority of any minority group in 1971-72. An effective balance of racial distribution was achieved during the first two years of court-ordered desegregation in Pasadena, as evidenced by comparative school enrollment figures contained within Appendix A.

Increased hiring of minority group teachers was evident during the past two school years. A record total of minority group teachers were employed in 1970-71, and a majority of all new teachers hired by the Pasadena Unified School District since initiation of the Pasadena Plan have been members of ethnic minority groups.¹

The Pasadena Plan experienced perhaps its greatest success in the smoothness of physical operation. This is most pronounced in implementation of its massive busing program, as evidenced by the fact that over 12,000 students have been transported to and from school daily without a major accident or incident. This impressive two-year record is explained in part by the relative brevity of distances traveled. The average bus ride in Pasadena is four miles and takes less than twenty minutes to complete, with no route extending over six miles or requiring more than thirty minutes to complete.²

¹Ibid.

²Roger Mudd, Columbia Broadcasting System television program on "Busing," March 9, 1972.

Greater curricular flexibility was a positive result of the Pasadena Plan. The division of schools at the lower grade levels permitted curricular experimentation. Team teaching and modular scheduling was introduced at the upper grade elementary schools. Expansion in the vocational arts area was noted at the junior high level. Over 430 courses were offered to senior high school students during the second year of court-ordered desegregation. During the 1971-72 school year, emphasis was placed on two new areas of curricular expansion: (1) development of new remedial programs in reading and mathematics, and (2) development of alternative schooling proposals. Low district test scores in reading and mathematics combined with a new state law requiring additional course work for all senior high school students not performing at the eighth grade level in reading and mathematics to provide a dual stimulus to expansion of the remedial program. An Evening High School was initiated in 1971-72, additional course offerings were provided through the Expanded School Program, and the initial phases of an Alternative School to serve all grade levels were implemented.

To summarize, the Pasadena Plan proved to be most successful in the area of mechanics. It created comprehensive and effective provisions for reorganizing the schools, accurately projected ethnic enrollments, and instituted successful programs to recruit minority teachers. It provided effective programs to transmit information about the plan to the community, and those plans were implemented in a highly efficient manner. Total desegregation at all levels of the Pasadena Unified School District was achieved, and, in so doing, the Pasadena Plan fulfilled its primary charge. Employment of minority group teachers was significantly increased

at all levels, and the mechanics of physically operating the plan were accomplished with particular efficiency. Finally, academic progress was noted in the mechanics of curricular expansion, with notable movement observed in techniques of instruction, manipulation of instructional time and staff involvement, increased course offerings, development and expansion of remedial programs, and creation of alternative schooling proposals.

Weaknesses of the Pasadena Plan To Date

As viewed on March 25, 1972, the Pasadena Plan presented nine major areas of weakness: (1) a lack of community acceptance, (2) an inability to halt the accelerated pattern of student withdrawal that began at the time the plan was originally announced, (3) an inability to reduce the rate of racial transition within the district schools, (4) a lack of plans or procedures to compensate for continued racial transition in district enrollment, (5) an inability to reduce high district costs related to school desegregation, (6) a lack of progress in employment of non-Negro minority members in professional capacities other than classroom teaching, (7) a lack of progress in promotion of minority personnel to leadership positions, (8) a lack of academic progress as measured by comparative test scores, and (9) an inability to achieve significant progress toward social assimilation among diverse student racial groups within the schools.

Available evidence indicates that no significant progress has been made to reducing the level of community opposition to the Pasadena Plan during its first two years of operation. Clearly, community accep-

tance of the plan has not been achieved to date. An analysis of published reactions to the plan, enrollment figures, residential sales, and the opinions of those interviewed for purposes of this study provide two areas of agreement: (1) the community is deeply divided over acceptance of the Pasadena Plan, and (2) that division approximates an even split between those favoring and those opposing the plan.

Student withdrawal from the Pasadena public schools began to accelerate at the time the desegregation plan was originally announced, and the specifics of that withdrawal are clearly seen in an analysis of comparative enrollment figures. In 1966, the Pasadena Unified School District enrolled 31,977 students. In 1969, the total enrollment figure had dropped to 30,622. In the three-year period prior to adoption of a court-ordered desegregation plan in Pasadena, a loss of 1,355 students was noted. In 1970, enrollment dropped to 29,123, representing a loss of 1,499 between the figures of the previous year and those enrolled during the first month of the Pasadena Plan.¹ The one-year drop is greater than the total loss during the three years preceding desegregation, and this drop must be regarded as significantly accelerative. The district efforts to halt this accelerated withdrawal over the past sixteen months have been unsuccessful. On January 29, 1972, the total number of students enrolled within the school district stood at 27,258.² This loss represented a decline of 2,615 in student enrollment since the desegregation plan was implemented, which converts to a loss of 9 per cent of the total student population. The Pasadena Unified School Dis-

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment, 1966-1971, p. 2.

²Department of Research, A Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment, October 1, 1971, and January 29, 1972, p. 1.

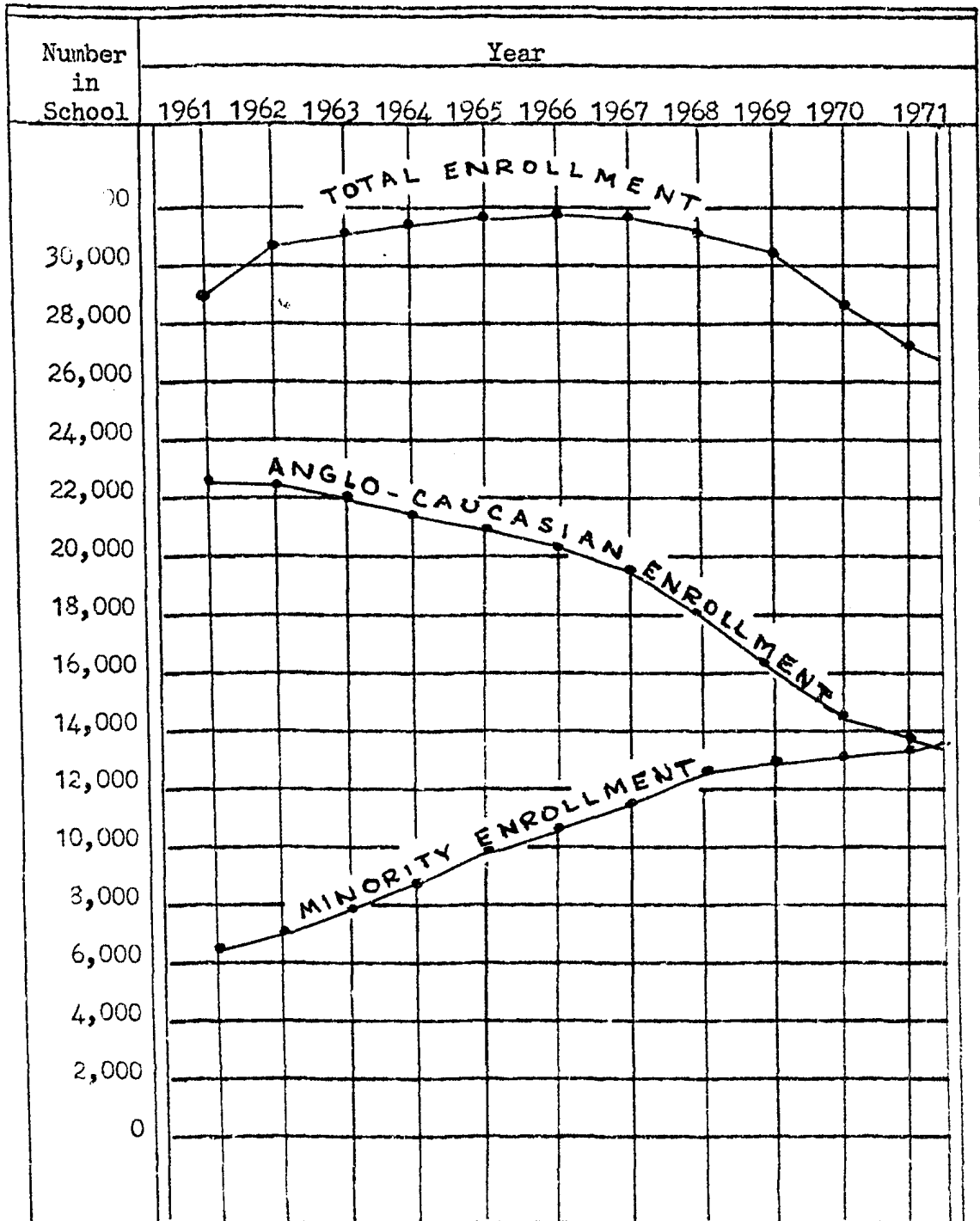
trict sustained a total loss of 3,324 students from the year preceding adoption of the Pasadena Plan to the mid-point of its second year of operation under that plan, a drop that represents close to 15 per cent of the current number of students enrolled. From the data accumulated to date, the Pasadena Plan has not succeeded in halting or even reducing the withdrawal of students that has occurred since its inception. To the contrary, the plan has apparently been a contributing factor to such withdrawal.

The desegregation plan has not reduced the rate of racial transition within the schools in Pasadena. There has, in fact, been a slight increase in that rate during the two years of operation under a desegregated school setting. Table 17 presents the pattern of racial transition in graph form for the past ten years. Table 18 projects enrollment by ethnic group within the Pasadena public schools over the period from 1971 through 1975. Table 19 contains a ten-year forecast of enrollment percentages for Anglo-Caucasians over a ten-year period. These tables appear respectively on pages 277, 278, and 279 of this study.

The Pasadena Unified School District has not developed definitive plans or procedures to cope with the aforementioned racial transition. The school district chose not to initiate massive redistricting in the second year of operation under the Pasadena Plan, and no plans for such redistricting have been made to date for the third year. As previously noted, Franklin Primary School and Loma Alta Elementary School had a majority of Negro students in attendance during the 1971-72 school year, placing those schools in violation of the court order issued by Judge Real. Unless remedial steps are taken in terms of student redistricting, the certainty that additional district schools will possess a majority of

TABLE 17

1961-1971 ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT



Source: Pasadena Star-News, October 27, 1971, p. 4.

TABLE 18

FIVE-YEAR PROJECTION OF ENROLLMENT BY ETHNIC GROUP
WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

Primary and Elementary (K-6)											
Year	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Others		All Minorities		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1971	1,686	11.5	6,752	45.9	5,686	38.6	593	4.0	7,965	54.1	14,717
1972	1,816	12.6	5,852	40.8	6,091	42.4	603	4.2	8,510	59.2	14,362
1973	1,941	13.9	4,982	35.7	6,411	46.0	615	4.4	8,967	64.3	13,949
1974	2,065	15.3	4,112	30.4	6,731	49.7	628	4.6	9,424	69.6	13,536
1975	2,167	16.8	3,243	25.1	6,851	53.1	642	5.0	9,660	74.9	12,903
Secondary (7-12)											
1971	1,147	8.5	7,433	54.9	4,262	31.5	687	5.1	6,096	45.1	13,529
1972	1,236	9.1	6,861	50.7	4,718	34.9	711	5.3	6,665	49.3	13,526
1973	1,312	9.8	6,264	46.7	5,098	38.0	733	5.5	7,143	53.3	13,407
1974	1,389	10.5	5,667	42.6	5,478	41.2	754	5.7	7,621	57.4	13,288
1975	1,453	11.2	5,069	38.9	5,739	44.0	774	5.9	7,966	61.1	13,035
Projected Total Enrollment (K-12)											
1971	2,833	10.0	14,185	50.2	9,948	35.2	1,280	4.6	14,061	49.8	28,246
1972	3,052	10.9	12,713	45.6	10,809	38.8	1,314	4.7	15,175	54.4	27,888
1973	3,253	11.9	11,246	41.1	11,509	42.1	1,348	4.9	16,110	58.9	27,356
1974	3,454	12.9	9,779	36.5	12,209	45.5	1,382	5.1	17,045	63.5	26,824
1975	3,620	14.0	8,312	32.0	12,590	48.5	1,416	5.5	17,626	68.0	25,938

Source: Department of Research, Projected Enrollment by Ethnic Groups (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, April 14, 1971), pp. 1, 3, 5.

TABLE 19

TEN-YEAR FORECAST OF ANGLO-CAUCASIAN ENROLLMENT
IN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

Grade Level	School Year										
	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-74	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
K	47%	39%	32%	25%	19%	14%	10%	7%	5%	3%	1%
1	45%	43%	36%	28%	21%	16%	11%	8%	6%	4%	2%
2	47%	41%	39%	31%	24%	18%	13%	7%	6%	5%	2%
3	48%	44%	37%	35%	27%	20%	15%	11%	7%	4%	4%
4	46%	47%	42%	33%	32%	24%	17%	12%	8%	5%	4%
5	48%	44%	45%	39%	30%	28%	20%	14%	9%	7%	5%
6	45%	45%	40%	41%	36%	25%	23%	16%	12%	8%	5%
7	48%	40%	40%	36%	37%	34%	20%	19%	13%	9%	6%
8	52%	47%	39%	40%	35%	36%	30%	18%	17%	12%	6%
9	50%	51%	45%	37%	37%	33%	34%	28%	16%	15%	10%
10	56%	51%	51%	44%	36%	36%	32%	33%	26%	15%	14%
11	58%	58%	51%	51%	44%	35%	35%	32%	32%	25%	13%
12	62%	61%	58%	51%	51%	44%	35%	34%	31%	31%	25%
Total (K-12)	50%	47%	43%	38%	33%	27%	22%	18%	14%	10%	7%

Source: Frank A. Fleck, Fleck Enrollment Surveys (Pasadena, Calif., Frank A. Fleck, November, 1971), p. 2.

^aAnglo-Caucasian percentages expressed as a percentage of the total enrollment.

^bThe 1971-72 figures are actual percentages.

^cMr. Fleck has published projections of total enrollment and ethnic distribution relative to the Pasadena Unified School District for the past five years. Mr. Fleck's projections have been more accurate in both areas each year at every grade level than the projections prepared by the Pasadena Unified School District.

a single minority group appears inescapable. Negro enrollments were above the 40 per cent level in seven of sixteen primary schools, six of eleven elementary schools, and two of four junior high schools in January of 1972. Although no senior high school had yet reached the 40 per cent level at that time, Negro enrollment at Muir High School stood at 39.3 per cent.¹

The problem of long-term costs accrued in maintaining a desegregation program is complex. It is possible to secure outside funding under a variety of grants for periods of one, two, or three years, and the district has been successful in obtaining considerable aid from such sources. In 1970-71, for example, the district actually saved money in implementing its massive transportation program, although the total cost of home-to-school transportation rose from \$190,000 in 1969-70, the last year prior to school desegregation in Pasadena, to \$1,090,597 in 1970-71. The difference of \$994,379 was more than compensated for by a \$645,892 reimbursement from the State of California, a \$96,218 payment from Title I funds secured under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, \$115,000 in Emergency School Assistance Program funds, and \$97,500 in Title IV funds received for transportation through provisions of the aforementioned Elementary and Secondary Education Act.² The problem is that outside funding for such programs is provided under phased programs that reduce in allocation each year, while the costs of implementing desegregation within the local school district continue to rise. Peter F. Hagen, Administrative Director for Planning, Research and Development, is hopeful that local allowances for urban district costs

¹Ibid., pp. 2-6.

²Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, memorandum to the Pasadena Board of Education, January 12, 1972, p. 1.

will be made in state financing within the next two years, but no assurance of such allowances are as yet forthcoming from Sacramento. The district has experienced mixed success in its efforts to secure funds for special projects related to desegregation, and such areas as reduced class size for remedial programs provide costs that must be directly assumed by the district budget. Expansion of the Office of Intergroup Education has been directly related to desegregation, and outside funding to partially compensate for the cost of such expansion terminates at the end of the 1971-72 school year, according to Mrs. Yvette Lightfoot, Director of Intergroup Education. The Pasadena Unified School District has spent additional funds during the past year to expand its Special Projects Office, but whether this cost will be offset by greater success in obtaining special project program funds is not yet known.

The Pasadena Plan has not resulted in a significant rise in employment of non-Negro minority members within professional capacities other than classroom teaching. The number of Mexican-Americans employed in non-teaching positions among the professional staff in Pasadena remained unchanged from 1969 to 1972. Throughout the Pasadena Plan to date, no Oriental, American Indian, or other nonwhite has been employed by the Pasadena Unified School District in a certificated non-teaching capacity.¹

A similar pattern is observed in the lack of progress achieved in promotion of minority personnel to leadership positions.² The total

¹Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees, 1966-1972, p. 12.

²Assignment and/or appointment to duties as a counselor, psychologist, coordinator, director, assistant principal, principal, dean, administrative director, administrative assistant, assistant superintendent, or superintendent would be considered as a promotion for purposes of this study.

number of Negroes employed in leadership positions rose from five to seven during the first year and one-half of operation under the Pasadena Plan, but the number of Mexican-Americans so employed remained at three. As stated in a previous chapter, the lack of progress in employing Mexican-Americans in certificated positions is a matter of some concern, since the ethnic group that is increasing most rapidly in numbers within the Pasadena area is Mexican-American.¹ This writer finds additional concern in the fact that no ethnic group other than Anglo-Caucasian, Mexican-American, or Negro is represented in any position of leadership throughout the Pasadena Unified School District, despite the fact that the district student enrollment includes 783 Orientals, 47 American Indians, and 242 other nonwhites.²

Academic progress, as measured by test results on tests that are either nationally or state normed and considered to yield a high degree of validity and reliability, simply has not occurred during the lifetime of the Pasadena Plan to date. In a two-year period that includes both the last test results achieved by Pasadena students prior to desegregation and the latest test scores attained by Pasadena students in 1971-72, achievement test scores dropped by 9.9 percentile points, and the following percentile drops were noted in the four areas most commonly tested: reading, 7.3; spelling, 9.7; language arts, 10.8; and mathematics, 11.6. Pasadena students scored below national norms on the Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills in each of the above four areas at every grade level tested each year, and Pasadena scores dropped increasingly during each successive year. Only at grade one, on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests,

¹Mr. Peter F. Hagen, private interview, December 28, 1971.

²Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees, February, 1972, p. 12.

did Pasadena students achieve above national norms. In this area they demonstrate also the single measure of test score gain between the pre-Pasadena Plan period and the two years within which the schools have been operating in a desegregated setting. In 1969-70, first grade students in Pasadena scored at the 55th percentile on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests. In 1970-71, they scored at the 57th percentile point, and in 1971-72, the average first grade student in Pasadena scored at the 61st percentile.¹ In all other areas, achievement test scores have continued to decline throughout the period of operation under the Pasadena Plan.

The preponderance of evidence indicates that little significant progress has as yet been attained under the Pasadena Plan in the critical area of social assimilation. It is one thing to physically desegregate the schools, and it is quite another task to see voluntary social contacts by diverse racial groups within those schools. In the first area the Pasadena Plan has succeeded admirably, as noted on page 272. The ultimate test of effective desegregation, however, may lie in the degree to which it provides movement toward social assimilation or integration. Based upon the comments and observations of administrators, teachers, parents, and students, very little movement toward social assimilation has taken place during the first two years of the Pasadena Plan. Where such movement has occurred, it has been primarily at the lower grades. The greater degree of voluntary racial mixing was noted at the primary and upper grade elementary schools by the Pasadena Superintendent of Schools, the Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, and two separate television documentary programs dealing with desegregation in

¹Department of Research, Planning and Development, Results of Fall 1971 Testing Program, February 22, 1972, pp. 3-30.

Pasadena.¹ While little progress was noted between the first and second year of operation under desegregation in terms of social assimilation, the number of racial incidents and suspensions related to such incidents declined significantly during the second year.² This drop may or may not signify a prelude to meaningful movement toward integration within the Pasadena public schools.

Implications of the Pasadena Experience for
Other School Districts

It is hoped that the examination of the Pasadena experience within this study may provide information of assistance to those associated with other school districts that anticipate involvement in school desegregation. The writer believes that the evidence accumulated in Pasadena does have implications for school systems with similar opportunities and problems.

A list of eleven suggestions for possible consideration by school and community leaders is provided at this point. Each of these suggestions seems implied from the Pasadena experience, but it is not presumed that each suggestion would be applicable to all areas with situations similar to that in Pasadena. The reader will be the individual best equipped to judge which, if any, of the following suggestions would be worthy of implementation within his or her school system. The reader will be the one who can also make the most valid judgments as to what

¹Dr. Ralph W. Hornbeck, private interview, March 22, 1972; Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, private interview, February 15, 1972; Columbia Broadcasting Company television documentary programs on desegregation in Pasadena, March 9, 13, and 14, 1972.

²Office of the Superintendent, News of the Pasadena Unified School District, January, 1972, p. 2.

additional implications the Pasadena experience provides for his or her school district and/or community. The following list of implications is not presumed to be all-inclusive.

1. Desegregate without a court order. Court directives limit the options available to a school district in implementing school desegregation, and such directives are not easily accepted by the community. Pasadena failed to desegregate voluntarily, and this made the task of the Pasadena Plan a decidedly difficult one.

2. Develop procedures for explaining the mechanics of the school desegregation plan to the community. Pasadena developed such procedures in considerable detail, as discussed in Chapter VII. This extensive planning prior to implementation must be regarded as a primary reason that the Pasadena Plan is analyzed in this study as scoring its highest marks in the area of physical operation. Development of procedures to transmit information about the mechanics of the plan to the community is particularly important if extensive busing is required by the plan, and, in any event, the transmittal of such information is essential to gaining even minimal acceptance of a desegregation plan within the community.

3. Recognize racial transition in planning for curricular development. This is essential to effective education in an urban community both prior to and during desegregation. Pasadena is tardy in its recent decision to emphasize remedial programs in reading and mathematics, as evidenced by a long-term decline in test scores achieved by Pasadena students in these areas.

4. Utilize facilities to minimize confusion and costs in affecting desegregation. The pairing of primary and upper grade elementary schools is an example of such utilization in Pasadena. The resultant brevity of bus routes is a factor in the smoothness of transportation operations under the Pasadena Plan.

5. Investigate the possibilities of combining grade levels and/or schools within a cluster complex. Examples of such investigation in Pasadena include the original proposals within the Pasadena Plan to house all ninth grade students at a single intermediate school and to develop an educational park within which all senior high schools would be located. The fact that Pasadena rejected those proposals does not mean they do not have validity elsewhere.

6. Develop personnel programs to promote employment of all minority groups at all staffing levels. The assertion that the racial distribution of staff members should closely approximate that distribution among the students served by that staff is a logical one. Pasadena developed programs to attain this goal, but results have been mixed. The lack of total success appears due not to the programs developed, however, but rather to financial difficulties and problems in effective implementation.

7. Emphasize the importance of reliable and valid statistical data. Significant margins of error in enrollment projections, ethnic projections, and budgetary computations create very serious problems in a school district that is implementing desegregation within its schools. The task of such implementation under the Pasadena Plan would have been virtually impossible were it not for the work done by the district Department of Research. While certain aspects of enrollment projections done by that department have received criticism in this study, the writer acknowledged-

ges that the work of that department is invaluable to the operation of the Pasadena Unified School District. The expansion of the Research Department into the areas of advanced planning and development which has taken place during the past year may prove particularly helpful to the Pasadena schools in the future, and the feasibility of such expansion by the research arms of other school districts considering desegregation is an added suggestion for consideration by the reader.

8. Develop in-service programs for staff members relative to desegregation. Staff development programs such as those described on pages 189 and 190 of this study have implications for other school districts contemplating implementation of racial desegregation. As noted previously, in-service programs developed by the Office of Intergroup Education proved quite successful in Pasadena.

9. Consider organizational change to accomplish desegregation. The Pasadena experience implies that other school districts should not be afraid to consider basic organizational changes as a means of desegregating their schools. Development of primary and upper grade elementary schools was an example of such change in Pasadena, and that aspect of the Pasadena desegregation plan has worked quite well. The massive busing program was another type of organizational change, and busing has operated with remarkable smoothness in Pasadena. Some of the greatest problems which Pasadena has encountered during desegregation have come in areas where changes in organization were not made. In many instances, the most difficult task is to attempt to solve new problems by old methods.

10. Contemplate the possibilities of a phased program of desegregation. Assuming the lack of a court order directing that desegregation be

accomplished at all levels within a school system at the same time, a school district might contemplate the possibilities of desegregating its schools through a series of phases. Pasadena was bound by court decree to implement a desegregation plan throughout the entire district within an eight-month time period, so the opportunity for a phased plan was not possible. Such an approach might have accomplished greater success than did occur within Pasadena in the areas of community acceptance and social assimilation. It is suggested that the Pasadena experience leads to the possible conclusion that it would be most effective to begin desegregation at the lower grades, since it appears to be at that level that diverse racial groups associate most readily in formation of voluntary multi-racial activities. A phased process of desegregation would be more gradual, permitting concentration on a limited area at any one time while providing additional time to acclimate the community to the realities of school desegregation. The impact of total, virtually immediate desegregation under court order may have contributed to the difficulties in gaining acceptance of the Pasadena Plan within a significantly large segment of the community.

11. Prepare the community for change. The community chose to largely ignore the reality of racial transition in Pasadena, and the actions of the school district exhibit a similar tendency in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, Pasadena did little or nothing to achieve voluntary desegregation, thereby increasing the probability of the type of court action that did in fact occur within Pasadena in 1970. Faced by the fact of a court order mandating desegregation at all levels by the beginning of the next year, the community was unprepared. Confronted with desegregation within a

year, the school district faced the monumental task of preparing both the community and itself for immediate change. School officials labored diligently to accomplish that dual assignment. The limited time factor reduced the effectiveness of those labors. Time was particularly limiting in terms of community preparation. The Pasadena experience strongly implies that a protracted period of time is desirable in preparing a community for change. School districts contemplating desegregation might profit from that experience.

A Brief Examination of Possible Alternatives

While this study has centered around a particular approach to desegregation within the schools of a specific community, a brief examination of possible alternatives to that approach may provide suggestions for more effective desegregation plans.

Three areas of option are discussed briefly within this chapter:

(1) alternatives that do not involve total school desegregation within a given school district, (2) alternatives available to Pasadena within the confines of the present court order, and (3) alternatives available to Pasadena and/or other communities without the confines of court direction.

Alternatives that do not involve total desegregation range from the choice of doing nothing to affect racial balance to partial and/or limited desegregation within a given school district. Supporters of such alternatives may argue that school desegregation is harmful to education, a needless sociological experiment, or an unnatural mixing of the races. The merits of such arguments will not be debated within this dissertation. Total school desegregation has been a legal reality since the Brown decision in 1954. It has not been nor will it now become the purpose of this

dissertation to debate the wisdom of the law. This study has considered a legal approach to desegregation, and possible alternatives are feasible only within adherence to the law. Alternatives that do not involve total desegregation have not been legal since 1954. Such alternatives do not involve approaches to desegregation; on the contrary, they represent flights from desegregation. On these bases, these alternatives are considered invalid options and are rejected as subjects for further examination within this study.

The alternatives available to Pasadena within the confines of the present court order are extremely limited. They must satisfy the court provision that no school within the Pasadena Unified School District may possess a majority of any minority within its enrollment. Viable alternatives available to the school district under these conditions fall within two categories: (1) organizational alternatives, and (2) legal alternatives.

Three organizational alternatives are available to school officials in Pasadena under present conditions. They may initiate a massive program of redistricting, reduce the grade levels within individual schools, or implement the concept of combining schools within a cluster complex.

1. Initiate a massive program of redistricting. Apart from a reorganization of the present school structure, a massive and immediate program of redistricting appears to be the only means by which the school district in Pasadena can avoid continued violation of the court provision regarding student assignments. That provision, which calls for no school to contain a majority of a single minority group within its student population, was violated twice during the 1971-72 school year. As cited on page 280, a total of 15 district schools currently enroll over 40 per cent Negroes. Those schools comprise all levels except senior high school, and

one senior high school was within a single percentage point of containing a 40 per cent Negro enrollment in January of 1972.¹ Total Negro enrollment within the Pasadena Unified School District has increased on an average of 2.7 per cent each year for the past five years, and district enrollment projections anticipate a Negro enrollment in kindergarten through grade six that will reach 53.1 per cent of total district enrollment at those levels by 1975.²

Large-scale redistricting might be limited to the primary and upper grade levels at this time, since it is only within those levels that individual schools possess single minority enrollments exceeding 43 per cent in 1972.³ It is precisely at these lower grades that the greatest opposition to redistricting has occurred in Pasadena, however, and such redistricting caused considerable dislocation and discontent within that community in 1970. More important, perhaps, this alternative provides at best a short-term solution. If the district projection of a 53.1 per cent Negro enrollment is correct, it is apparent that no amount of redistricting will permit the school district to adhere to the 1970 court order beyond 1974.

2. Reduce the grade levels within individual schools. Racial balance may be temporarily sustained by reducing the grade levels within each school. This alternative reduces the variability of racial distribution at individual schools, and it reduces duplication of facilities

¹Department of Research, A Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment, October 1, 1971, and January 29, 1972, pp. 1, 2, 6.

²Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment, 1966-1971, and Department of Research, Projected Enrollment by Ethnic Groups (Pasadena: Pasadena Unified School District, April 14, 1971), p. 1.

³Department of Research, A Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment, October 1, 1971, and January 29, 1972, pp. 1-5.

and equipment. The ultimate in reduction of grade levels within schools is creation of a single school to serve a single grade level. Such a proposal was contained in the original provisions of the Pasadena Plan. That proposal envisioned creation of an intermediate school to serve all ninth grade students within the school district, but community and staff opposition forced abandonment of the plan. One disadvantage of this alternative is that it increases the number of changes in school that a student must make. At least one high level district administrator has stated that such changes are disruptive to the learning process.¹

3. Implement the concept of combining schools within a cluster complex. This alternative was considered at the senior high school level in Pasadena within the past three years. The original Pasadena Plan provided for eventual creation of a senior high school educational park. Sufficient land to house each of the regular senior high schools within the Pasadena Unified School District exists in the Victory Park area, and the sale of present school facilities would provide financing for initial construction. If the present decline in enrollment continues, the district will be forced to either sell several presently operating school facilities or continue their operation under economically unsound conditions. The Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education has publicly stated that continuance of the current pattern of student loss will result in a recommendation to close one senior high school and several lower grade schools. He has further stated that such a recommendation would be made prior to the conclusion of the 1972-73 school year.²

¹Miss Grace M. McFarland, Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education, meeting of parents held at Edison Elementary School, Pasadena, Calif., on March 20, 1972.

²Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, meeting of the Blair High School Parent Teachers Association Board of Directors, March 9, 1972.

In summary, the Pasadena Unified School District has a limited number of organizational alternatives available for possible use in meeting the present provisions of the 1970 court order. The three such alternatives discussed in the previous paragraphs could be implemented within the structure of the existing Pasadena Plan. Additional judgments as to the practicality of such implementation are contained within Chapter X of this dissertation.

Two legal alternatives might be pursued by the officials of the Pasadena Unified School District under present conditions. The school authorities might request that Judge Real amend the court directive that no school contain a majority of any single minority group within its school population, or they might choose to legally appeal the current application of that directive on the basis of its wording in 1970. It is implausible to believe that any course other than legal revision will permit the school district to operate within the 1970 directive as it relates to assignment of students, unless such operation accepts continued violation of the requirement that no school possess a majority of any minority group. Such revision might be possible through either of the following proposals.

1. Request that Judge Real amend the court directive that no school contain a majority of any single minority group within its school population. Such a request could be made on the basis of practicality. Racial transition is a statistical fact within the Pasadena public schools, as evidenced by previously cited figures and illustrated in graph form in Table 17 on page 277. As stated on page 291, district enrollment projections anticipate a Negro enrollment of 53.1 per cent at the primary and

elementary levels in 1975. No organizational alternative can possibly manipulate racial balance in such a manner that will adhere to the 1970 court directive within the realities of racial distribution projected for 1975. Whether Judge Real would or would not honor the legal alternative of amending his original court directive, the fact of racial transition in Pasadena will render that directive impossible to implement within the near future. It is virtually impossible to implement now.

2. Legally appeal the current application of that directive on the basis of its wording. The portion of the 1970 court order that directs itself to student assignments is stated as follows:

The plan shall provide for student assignments¹ in such a manner that, by or before the beginning of the school year that commences in September of 1970 there shall be no school in the District, elementary or junior high or senior high school, with a majority of any minority students.²

This writer believes that the Pasadena Unified School District should seek legal counsel regarding the feasibility of appealing the current application of that directive. Two aspects of the wording within the above directive might prove to contain fruitful data for such an appeal. The directive states that no school may have a majority of any minority students "by or before the beginning of the school year that commences in September of 1970," but it does not state what racial distribution is expected within district schools beyond that date. Does this mean that there is, in fact, no directive related to specific racial balance beyond the beginning of the 1970-71 school year? The Pasadena Unified School District met the court directive

¹The section underlined above was underlined in the same manner within the copy of the original court order received by the Pasadena Unified School District on January 23, 1970.

²Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, p. 2.

in September of 1970. If it is expected to meet that directive at subsequent points in time, where is that expectation stated within the court order? The wording of the directive states that "there shall be no school in the District, elementary or junior high or senior high school, with a majority of any minority students."¹ Based upon enrollment figures as of January 29, 1972, the Anglo-Caucasian student is now a minority within the Pasadena public schools. Anglo-Caucasians comprised 49.7 per cent of the total district enrollment at that time.² Does less than 50 per cent not constitute a minority?

Answers to the above questions can be legitimately supplied by legal authorities. The questions do seem to be valid ones, and it is suggested that they should be referred for study to adequate legal counsel.

To summarize, it appears that the Pasadena school officials have two possible alternatives by which they might seek legal revision of the present court order. Applicability of these alternatives is discussed further in Chapter X.

A variety of alternatives are available to Pasadena and/or other communities if the limits of a court order do not exist. Each of the alternatives listed below are discussed in other sections of this dissertation, and the options included at this point are not debated again here. Possible alternatives include (1) phased desegregation, (2) cluster complexes, (3) pairing of schools, (4) single grade level schools, and (5) voluntary option plans for student assignment.

Summary

The current picture at the termination of this study suggests that the Pasadena Unified School District has indeed desegregated its schools,

but it also suggests that educational progress within the community faces a number of serious problems. Chief among these are declining enrollments, continued racial transition, and difficult financial barriers. The disturbing financial picture has resulted in the district issuing notices of intent not to re-employ to over 600 probationary employees, a large number of which are members of minority groups. The district is caught in the dilemma of either terminating employees on the basis of seniority, thus following state law as expressed within the California Education Code and violating provisions of the federal court order issued in 1970 by Judge Real, or terminating employees on a basis other than seniority, thus retaining the significant numbers of minority group employees hired since implementation of the Pasadena Plan and violating the aforementioned state law. The current situation poses real dangers to the future of the Pasadena Plan in terms of student enrollment, racial transition, and financial viability.

The strengths and weaknesses of the Pasadena Plan were identified and analyzed. The following six criteria used previously to analyze the first and second years of operation under the Pasadena Plan were utilized as guidelines in this identification and analysis: (1) preparation and planning, (2) adherence to the specific provisions of the court order, (3) community acceptance, (4) physical operation, (5) academic progress, and (6) social assimilation. Six major areas of strength were noted: (1) comprehensive and effective initial provisions, (2) effective dissemination of information regarding implementation of the plan, (3) total desegregation at all school levels, (4) increased employment of minority group teachers, (5) smoothness of physical operation, and (6) curricular flexibility. Nine major areas of weakness were cited: (1) a lack of

community acceptance, (2) an inability to halt the accelerated pattern of student withdrawal that began at the time the plan was originally announced, (3) an inability to reduce the rate of racial transition within the district schools, (4) a lack of plans or procedures to compensate for continued racial transition in district enrollment, (5) an inability to reduce high district costs related to school desegregation, (6) a lack of progress in employment of non-Negro minority members in professional capacities other than classroom teaching, (7) a lack of progress in promotion of minority personnel to leadership positions, (8) a lack of academic progress as measured by comparative test scores, and (9) an inability to achieve significant progress toward social assimilation among diverse racial groups within the schools.

Implications of the Pasadena experience for other school districts were identified and discussed. The identification of such implications within this chapter is not considered to be all-inclusive, but the following eleven suggestions seemed to be implicit within the Pasadena experience: (1) desegregate without a court order; (2) develop procedures for explaining the mechanics of the school desegregation plan to the community; (3) recognize racial transition in planning for curricular development; (4) utilize facilities to minimize confusion and costs in affecting desegregation; (5) investigate the possibilities of combining grade levels and/or schools within a cluster complex; (6) develop personnel programs to promote employment of all minority groups at all levels of staffing; (7) emphasize the importance of reliable and valid statistical data; (8) develop in-service programs for staff members relative to desegregation; (9) consider organizational change to accomplish desegregation; (10) contemplate the possibilities of a phased program of desegregation; and (11) prepare the community for change.

A brief examination of possible alternatives to the present approach to desegregation within Pasadena was conducted. Alternatives that do not involve total school desegregation within a given school district were rejected as invalid options on the bases that such alternatives were neither legal since the Brown decision of 1954 nor representative of viable approaches to the desegregation problem. Alternatives available to Pasadena within the confines of the present court order were identified and analyzed briefly. Alternatives available to Pasadena and/or other communities without the confines of court direction were listed.

Viable alternatives available to Pasadena under present conditions were divided into two categories: (1) organizational, and (2) legal. Organizational alternatives included initiation of a massive program of redistricting, reduction of the grade levels within individual schools, and implementation of the concept of combining schools within a cluster complex. Legal alternatives involved either requesting Judge Real to amend the court directive that no Pasadena school contain a majority of any single minority group within its school population or choosing to legally appeal the current application of that directive on the basis of its wording.

Five of the alternatives available to Pasadena and/or other communities without limitation by court mandate were enumerated. The alternatives listed were as follows: (1) phased desegregation, (2) cluster complexes, (3) pairing of schools, (4) single level schools, and (5) voluntary option plans for student assignment.

Chapter IX presented an overall analysis of the Pasadena Plan to date, implications for other school districts, and a brief examination of possible alternatives. Further evaluation of some of the implications and alternatives presented within this chapter is contained within the concluding chapter of this dissertation, which provides conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further study.

Conclusions

Conclusions drawn from this study may be divided into two categories. Conclusions are made regarding the original hypotheses presented in Chapter I, and additional conclusions are formed on the basis of information contained in Chapters III through IX.

Eight hypotheses were developed for analysis within Chapter I. The veracity of each of those hypotheses is examined at this point.

Hypothesis 1. The pattern of accelerated racial transition in Pasadena has continued during the period of school desegregation.

This hypothesis receives strong support from the data and analysis contained in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX. It is clearly indicated within those chapters that the pattern of accelerated racial transition in the Pasadena public schools has continued during the period of school desegregation. No census has been taken in Pasadena since 1970, and the scope of this study does not include conduct of such a census within a community that contained over 100,000 residents at the time of the previous census.

Therefore, hypothesis number one is partially accepted. The available evidence regarding racial transition within the Pasadena Unified School District is significant, but it is not sufficient to provide conclusive data regarding such transition throughout the total community.

Hypothesis 2. Problems that are attributed to the Pasadena Plan actually resulted from school board and community decisions that preceded adoption of that plan.

This hypothesis is verified by the evidence accumulated within Chapters IV and V. The review of such evidence in Chapter IV clearly confirmed that school board and community decisions in the 1950s and

1960s ignored racial reality within Pasadena. The data and analysis contained in Chapter V verified that those decisions resulted in the necessity for the court order that led to the Pasadena Plan, and the material within Chapter V presented conclusive evidence that those decisions resulted in problems which were later attributed to that plan.¹

Therefore, hypothesis number two is accepted. It represents one of the strongest conclusions made from this study.

Hypothesis 3. The court order requiring the desegregation of schools in the Pasadena Unified School District has led to withdrawal of Anglo-Caucasians from the district.

Anglo-Caucasian withdrawal from the district has accelerated since the court order, as evidenced by data and analysis within Chapters VII, VIII, and IX. The available evidence within those chapters indicated other reasons for such withdrawal, however, and enrollment data in Chapter IV proved that Anglo-Caucasians withdrew in significant numbers prior to the court order.

Therefore, hypothesis number three is partially accepted. The data conclusively proves that Anglo-Caucasian withdrawal has increased significantly since the court order, but it also indicates that the court order was not the only factor which led to such withdrawal. The court order cannot be considered as the sole contributor to the movement of Anglo-Caucasians from the Pasadena Unified School District, since such movement preceded existence of the court order.

¹The problems which were attributed to the Pasadena Plan are most clearly identified within Chapters VII, VIII, and IX, but the evidence of previous decisions which led to those problems is restricted to material presented within Chapters IX and V.

Hypothesis 4. Community participation in planning and involvement in implementation is essential to any successful plan for desegregation.

The available evidence within this study is insufficient to warrant a conclusion regarding this hypothesis. Only one desegregation plan was examined, and judgments made from that examination may not be legitimately expanded to other plans.

Therefore, no conclusion is made regarding hypothesis number four. The fourth hypothesis is considered a null hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5. Pasadena is approaching the point where its Anglo-Caucasian majority will become a minority in terms of school enrollment.

School enrollment figures cited in Chapters VIII and IX verified that Anglo-Caucasians became a minority in terms of school enrollment within the Pasadena public schools by January of 1972.

Therefore, hypothesis number five is accepted. Pasadena approached, reached, and passed the point at which its Anglo-Caucasian pupils represented a majority of the total school population.

Hypothesis 6. Viable alternatives to the present desegregation plan should be considered as possible means of decelerating present rates of racial change within the community and schools of Pasadena.

Data contained in Chapter VIII supported this hypothesis, and such alternatives were considered in Chapter IX. Available evidence proved that two Pasadena public schools were placed in violation of the court order as a result of racial change within those schools during the past year.

Therefore, hypothesis number six is accepted. The present desegregation plan has not decelerated the rates of racial change within the community and schools of Pasadena, those rates of change have placed the public schools in violation of the court order which mandated desegregation within those schools, and it must be concluded that viable alternatives to the present plan provide the only available options by which deceleration of racial change might be created.

Hypothesis 7. Specific provisions of court-ordered desegregation plans will require later revision, since continued changes in the racial composition of communities will make it impossible to racially balance school populations according to ratios mandated in the original court orders.

The evidence presented within this study neither proves nor disproves this hypothesis. As previously stated, this dissertation deals with the provisions of a single court-ordered desegregation plan. It considers only the racial composition of a single community. While the Pasadena experience supports hypothesis number seven, the data from that experience may not be assumed to apply automatically to other school districts. The specific provisions of other court-ordered desegregation plans may contain greater flexibility than those within the Pasadena Plan, and the racial composition within the communities utilizing such plans may or may not continue to change.

Therefore, hypothesis number seven is considered a null hypothesis. The evidence that is relevant to this hypothesis is too limited within this study to permit judgment on areas other than Pasadena.

Hypothesis 8. The efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District will provide guidelines to other school districts facing similar challenges and opportunities.

As evidenced by the data contained within Chapters IV through IX, the efforts of the Pasadena Unified School District do provide guidelines which other school districts should examine. Evidence supports the conclusion that the Pasadena Plan was effective in achieving racial balance at all levels. The desegregation plan was mechanically sound. Successes attained in implementing an extensive busing program should be of particular interest to comparable school districts. The endeavors of the Pasadena Unified School District were less successful in such areas as community acceptance, academic progress, and social assimilation, but a study of those endeavors may aid other districts to avoid similar results. The analysis of such efforts as outlined here can yield information of value if people are sufficiently interested and/or concerned to pursue such an analysis. That depends upon the will of others, however, and predictions of future study must be tentative. Whether the officials of other school districts will accept the Pasadena experience as containing valid guidelines is another area of predictive uncertainty.

Therefore, hypothesis number eight is partially accepted. An insufficient amount of evidence is currently available to support an unqualified acceptance of this hypothesis, but the data that does exist suggests that this hypothesis may be accepted totally at some future date.

Certain additional conclusions are made on the basis of evidence presented within this dissertation. Those conclusions follow.

1. The Pasadena Plan represents an effective mechanical means of desegregating public schools.

The data and analysis within Chapters VII, VIII, and IX verify this conclusion. The schools of Pasadena were desegregated in less than a one-year period, racial distribution within each school was well within the requirements of the court order during the first year of desegregation, and an extensive busing program was carried out with a minimum of confusion. The pairing of nearby schools, relative shortness of bus routes, and effective custodial and maintenance services contributed to the smoothness of mechanics under the Pasadena Plan.

2. A court order limited the flexibility of implementing desegregation in Pasadena.

The specific limitations of the 1970 court order were expressed in detail within Chapter V. These limits were reflected within the provisions of the Pasadena Plan as shown in Chapter VI, and the relatively small range of flexibility within those provisions was seen in the implementation of desegregation examined within Chapters VII and VIII.

The primary example of this inflexibility is seen within the court mandate that no school contain a majority of any minority group. This mandate has twice been violated by the school district within the last year. The establishment of specific ratios of minority teachers to be assigned at each school throughout the district is an example of inflexibility within the Pasadena Plan itself.

3. Massive redistricting presents a viable means of retaining racial balance for a limited period of time within the present provisions of the court order.

Figures regarding racial distribution of enrollment given in Chapter

VII indicated that the Pasadena Unified School District did an excellent job in affecting racial balance at all levels during the first year of operation under the Pasadena Plan. No extensive redistricting was accomplished between the first and second years of desegregation in Pasadena, and racial distribution figures shown in Chapter VIII revealed considerable imbalance by the middle of the second year.

Accelerated racial transition within all school levels was verified by an examination of comparative racial percentages of enrollment at various times since announcement of the 1970 court order. There is no evidence to indicate that this transition has significantly decreased at any point. With two violations of the court order to date, and high Negro percentages within approximately 50 per cent of the district schools in March of 1972, it is concluded that a massive redistricting effort is necessary to prevent further racial imbalance during the coming school year.

4. There is conclusive evidence of "white flight" from the Pasadena public schools during the first two years of desegregation.

A considerable amount of evidence was presented in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX related to school enrollment figures, and each segment of that evidence confirmed the accelerated withdrawal of Anglo-Caucasians from the Pasadena Unified School District. While it cannot be conclusively proven that this withdrawal is due to desegregation, it can be conclusively shown that this withdrawal has occurred primarily during desegregation.

Anglo-Caucasians constitute a minority within the district schools for the first time in the history of the school district, and separately

determined projections of future enrollment within the district revealed agreement that white enrollments will continue to decrease. The fact that parochial and private school enrollments have not increased in the area during the past two years provided additional evidence that the Anglo-Caucasians who are withdrawing from the Pasadena public schools are also leaving the entire Pasadena area.

5. There is some evidence of "bright flight" from the Pasadena public schools during the first two years of desegregation.

An examination of comparative test scores achieved by Pasadena students over the past three years was presented in Chapters VII and VIII, and that examination revealed a significant and disturbing drop in all areas of achievement. That drop was significantly high in both 1970-71 and 1971-72, but it was most pronounced during the first year of desegregation.

Combined with an analysis of declining enrollment patterns, this marked lowering of test achievement scores leads to the conclusion that there is evidence of a multi-racial withdrawal of better than average students from the Pasadena public schools. It is significant to note that this withdrawal is not restricted to Anglo-Caucasians. The multi-racial nature of "bright flight" within Pasadena was noted by Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, in an interview held in February of 1972.¹

The extent of this withdrawal is difficult to assess. Its direction is not as easily observable as the direction of "white flight," but the evidence of its existence should be cause for district concern.

¹Mr. Ramon C. Cortines, private interview, February 15, 1972.

6. The Pasadena Unified School District faces serious financial problems that adversely affect the future of effective desegregation within district schools.

The evidence contained within Chapter IX points to a financial crisis within the Pasadena public schools. Over \$1,000,000 was cut from district services between 1970-71 and 1971-72, and current budget proposals envision additional deficits that vary from \$1,800,000 to \$2,750,000 for the coming school year. Twelve-month counseling services have been abolished, health services have been curtailed, and adoption of a budget with a \$1,800,000 additional cut in 1972-73 will mean that district employees will not receive salary raises for the second straight year.

More serious than the above reductions is the curtailment of teaching staff, and the effect of such curtailment upon the desegregation effort. Over 600 teachers have received notices of intent not-to-reemploy, and, as noted in Chapter IX, a majority of these probationary personnel are minority group members. High cost programs to reduce reading and basic mathematics deficiencies among minority students are endangered by the current financial crisis. The Pasadena Plan cannot be divorced from the financial difficulties that face the Pasadena Unified School District at the time that this study concludes.

7. Desegregation does not guarantee integration.

Considerable data supports the conclusion that the Pasadena Plan has accomplished school desegregation. The presentation of that data is concentrated in Chapter VII, with additional supporting evidence provided within Chapters VIII and IX. Each of these chapters provide evidence that integration has not occurred as yet in Pasadena, however, and Chapter VII

provides some support for the contention that desegregation actually increased racial tension within the schools.

Social assimilation has been minimal under the Pasadena Plan. Virtually no voluntary racial mixing has occurred at the secondary level, according to the data and analysis provided within Chapters VII and VIII. It is concluded that Pasadena has desegregated, but it has not yet made any significant progress toward becoming integrated.

Recommendations

The study has led to the conclusions enumerated in the previous section. Those conclusions, in turn, suggest certain recommendations concerning future courses of action. Those recommendations are included below.

1. The Pasadena Unified School District should request Judge Real to amend that portion of the 1970 court order which directs that no school may contain a majority of any single minority group within its school population.

As stated in Chapter IX, this request may be made on the basis of practicality. Without massive redistricting, the racial balance required by the court order is no longer tenable within the realities of racial transition which has occurred and continues to occur in Pasadena. Assuming the accuracy of district enrollment projections, even massive and frequent redistricting cannot defer violations of the present court provision regarding student assignments for more than three years.

2. If Judge Real refuses to amend the court order directing student assignments, the Pasadena Unified School District should legally appeal the

the current application of that directive on the basis of its wording.

Two bases for such an appeal are suggested within Chapter IX. The court calls for a specific racial balance "by or before the beginning of the school year that commences in September of 1970,"¹ stating that at that time "there shall be no school in the District, elementary or junior high or senior high school, with a majority of any minority students."² Is there, in fact, no directive related to a mandated racial balance beyond the 1970-71 school year? If such a directive exists, where is it stated within the court order? There appears to be no racial majority within the Pasadena public schools, since Anglo-Caucasians now represent less than 50 per cent of the total district enrollment. Does less than 50 per cent constitute a minority? If so, every school within the district is in violation of the court order. Legal authorities are required to answer the above questions, and such authorities should be consulted by the school district.

3. If a revision in the present court order regarding student assignments cannot be obtained through either a request for such revision or appeal procedures, the Pasadena Unified School District should implement a massive redistricting program.

Whether such redistricting could be effectively implemented prior to the 1972-73 school year is debatable, but such redistricting before the beginning of school in September of 1973 is mandatory if the school

1. Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, p. 2.

2. Ibid.

district is to operate within the confines of the present court order. It must be emphasized that either of the two previous recommendations are considered preferable to such redistricting, since the latter course involves considerable student dislocation and is, at best, only a temporary solution to the inherently impossible dilemma of attempting to satisfy an old mandate within the reality of new conditions.

4. Efforts should be made to retain as large a percentage of the currently qualified probationary teachers as possible.

A majority of the probationary teachers employed by the Pasadena Unified School District since the implementation of desegregation are members of racial minority groups. Their retention is important to the realization of total desegregation within Pasadena.

5. Greater efforts should be made to promote qualified minority personnel to positions of leadership.

Evidence presented in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX suggests that greater emphasis should be placed upon appointment of qualified minority members to leadership capacities. To date the number of minority personnel promoted to administrative positions has been small, and standards to assure quality in such appointments appear to be lacking.

6. More attention should be given to employment of non-Negro minorities at all levels of the professional staff.

Racial distribution of certificated staff members should reflect the racial distribution of students served by that staff as closely as possible. Mexican-American staff members have decreased in number, although Mexican-Americans are the most rapidly increasing ethnic group

within Pasadena. No Orientals, American Indians, or other nonwhite groups have been employed in non-teaching certificated positions since introduction of the Pasadena Plan.

7. In-service summer workshops should be initiated to sensitize certificated and classified staff members regarding problems related to racial transition and school desegregation.

Continued in-service programs related to education within an urban school district are needed to sustain progress within the desegregated school setting in Pasadena. Such an in-service program proved successful prior to implementation of desegregation within Pasadena, as evidenced by data contained in Chapter VII. Staff turnover and changing conditions create a need for establishing similar programs on an ongoing basis.

8. A crash program of remedial and diagnostic instruction in reading and mathematics should be instituted immediately.

The changing needs of the students served by the Pasadena public schools require a shift in instructional emphasis. As evidenced by a continuing drop in reading and mathematics test scores, an increasing number of Pasadena pupils are not learning at adequate levels of competency in these two areas. The remedial and diagnostic programs presently anticipated by the school district in reading and basic mathematics should be expanded for the 1972-73 school year.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This dissertation terminates at a critical point in the history of desegregation in Pasadena and the pattern of school desegregation nationally. Many problems remain unsolved to date, and solutions to

these problems can be found only through further study. Some suggestions for such study are enumerated in the concluding portion of this thesis.

1. A study which concentrates upon viable methods of merging the special interests of such groups as the Black Task Force, the Mexican-American Task Force, and the Sierra Madre Task Force into a single and constructive community interest group is needed within Pasadena.

A lack of cohesiveness and cooperation between special interest groups in Pasadena will hinder progress toward integration within the schools of that community. The potential for unified, multi-racial leadership may exist within Pasadena, but an in-depth study of how such potential can be molded into reality is deeply needed within this presently divided community.

2. A comparative study of school desegregation within Pasadena and such desegregation within similar communities not confined to the specifics of a court order should provide worthwhile data for educators in areas currently contemplating school desegregation.

School desegregation is a legal fact of life in contemporary American society. It behooves those educators whose school districts still retain options on how to desegregate to examine the similarities and differences between court-ordered and voluntary desegregation. A study which addresses itself to an identification and analysis of these similarities and differences should prove to be of considerable value to such educators.

3. The advantages and disadvantages of the educational park concept as applied to desegregated schools is worthy of further study.

The applicability of the educational park as a means of creating both school desegregation and quality education needs to be critically analyzed. Such an analysis would be desirable within Pasadena and elsewhere. The cluster concept within the setting of an educational park appears to have potential as a means of achieving school desegregation, and it may or may not represent both economy of services and an effective means of educating youth. An in-depth study of those school districts which have implemented this concept should provide valuable data of interest to educators within urban school districts.

4. An examination of alternative methods of funding should be conducted in a search for means by which the present financial burden upon local school districts incident to desegregation may be reduced.

Viable options to present funding methods within newly desegregated school districts should be thoroughly explored. Long-term methods of providing assistance to local school districts are in particular need of review. A portion of the present financial crisis in Pasadena appears to be related to the desegregation process, and means of avoiding similar crises within other school districts provide a meaningful area for further study and review.

5. The strengths and weaknesses of phased programs of desegregation as compared to such strengths and weaknesses in total and

immediate desegregation plans would provide a study of relevance to educators.

To the knowledge of this writer, such a study has not been made. The assumption that phased programs of school desegregation are preferable to total and immediate desegregation plans appears to be a persistently strong belief among many Americans. It may or may not be valid. If only to prove or disprove this assumption alone, a detailed and comparative assessment of the successes and failures of phased desegregation plans and immediate desegregation plans would be of significant value.

6. An examination of viable approaches to reducing racial transition within recently desegregated schools is sorely needed.

A common characteristic of school districts that are recently desegregated appears to be an accelerated pattern of racial transition. This pattern of acceleration generally exists within both the newly desegregated school system and the community served by that school system. Since a continuation of the same pattern of racial change eventually results in a community that is no longer truly multi-racial, a reduction of racial transition seems to be an important element in the preservation of desegregated schools. Practical means of achieving such a reduction are elusive, but they are necessary if racial stability is to be accomplished within either the school or the community. An identification and analysis of workable approaches to promoting such stability would be an important contribution to effective school desegregation.

7. An intensive exploration of means by which school desegregation may be more effectively and readily translated into significant movement toward school integration provides a vital and critical area for future study.

The ultimate aim of school desegregation appears defeated if diverse racial groups resegregate themselves upon leaving the classroom. A study which could identify and analyze effective methods of fostering movement from desegregation to integration would be of enormous significance.

At this point in the development of school desegregation plans, any study that sheds light on theory and/or practice leading to sound procedures and techniques will provide a real contribution to public education in general and to the creation of effective racial balance in particular.

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APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL DATA RELATED TO THE RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS AND
CERTIFICATED STAFF MEMBERS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL
DISTRICT PRIOR TO AND DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE
PASADENA PLAN

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT -- PRIMARY (K-3)
OCTOBER 1970

School	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Allendale	38	9.0	179	42.1	181	42.6	26	6.1	1	0.2	0	0.0	425
Audubon	27	4.7	293	51.2	227	39.7	20	3.5	1	0.2	4	0.7	572
Burbank	26	4.6	328	57.8	204	36.0	9	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	567
Don Benito	43	6.1	337	48.1	310	44.2	9	1.3	0	0.0	2	0.3	701
Franklin	48	8.2	242	41.4	265	45.4	24	4.1	1	0.2	4	0.7	584
Garfield-													
Arroyo	80	30.5	122	46.6	56	21.4	3	1.1	0	0.0	1	0.4	262
Hamilton	102	18.5	269	48.9	161	29.3	6	1.1	3	0.6	9	1.6	550
Jefferson	238	25.3	403	42.9	249	26.5	28	3.0	7	0.7	15	1.6	940
Linda Vista	2	1.1	102	58.3	57	32.6	13	7.4	0	0.0	1	0.6	175
McKinley	50	21.6	119	51.5	48	20.8	11	4.8	1	0.4	2	0.9	231
Noyes	24	5.1	245	51.6	187	39.4	14	2.9	0	0.0	5	1.0	475
San Rafael	14	4.4	169	53.7	119	37.8	8	2.5	0	0.0	5	1.6	315
Sierra Madre	46	8.0	305	53.0	200	34.8	12	2.1	0	0.0	12	2.1	575
Sierra Mesa	17	3.6	242	50.7	206	43.2	11	2.3	0	0.0	1	0.2	477
Webster	55	6.5	452	53.8	277	32.9	15	1.8	1	0.1	41	4.9	841
Willard	121	12.9	440	46.8	358	38.0	14	1.5	0	0.0	8	0.8	941
Total (K-3)	931	10.8	4247	49.2	3105	36.0	223	3.6	15	0.1	110	1.3	8631

Source: Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 1, 1970), pp. 1-3.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT - - ELEMENTARY (4-6)
OCTOBER 1970

School	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Altadena	57	8.3	342	50.0	265	38.7	14	2.1	2	0.3	4	0.6	684
Cleveland	14	3.4	214	52.3	169	41.3	11	2.7	0	0.0	1	0.3	409
Edison	20	4.5	230	51.6	175	39.2	19	4.3	0	0.0	2	0.4	446
Field	31	5.5	318	56.4	201	35.6	13	2.3	0	0.0	1	0.2	564
Hale	51	9.6	310	58.3	152	28.6	13	2.3	3	0.6	3	0.6	532
Jackson	106	15.6	308	45.3	219	32.2	35	5.2	3	0.4	9	1.3	680
Lincoln	77	14.8	214	41.0	222	42.5	7	1.3	0	0.0	2	0.4	522
Loma Alta	27	4.3	318	50.7	268	42.8	12	1.9	0	0.0	2	0.3	627
Longfellow	91	11.5	411	52.0	255	32.3	25	3.2	3	0.4	5	0.6	790
Madison	149	22.1	298	44.3	199	29.6	9	1.3	2	0.3	16	2.4	673
Washington	11	1.7	339	52.2	291	44.8	8	1.2	0	0.0	1	0.1	650
Total (4-6)	634	9.7	3302	50.2	2416	36.7	166	2.5	13	0.2	46	0.7	6577

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Source: Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 1, 1970), pp. 4-5.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT -- JUNIOR (7-8) AND SENIOR HIGH (9-12)
OCTOBER 1970

Level and School	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
<u>Junior High (7-8)</u>													
Eliot	76	6.0	688	54.9	449	35.8	20	1.6	6	0.5	15	1.2	1254
McKinley	136	11.3	643	53.4	344	28.6	59	4.9	6	0.5	16	1.3	1204
Washington	38	4.3	460	52.5	336	38.3	26	3.0	3	0.3	14	1.6	877
Wilson	131	11.2	663	56.8	335	28.7	28	2.4	1	0.1	10	0.8	1168
Intermediate Opportunity	3	10.7	12	42.9	13	46.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	28
<u>Total (7-8)</u>	<u>384</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>2466</u>	<u>54.4</u>	<u>1477</u>	<u>32.6</u>	<u>133</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>4531</u>
<u>Senior High (9-12)</u>													
Blair	222	12.3	1044	57.9	437	24.2	77	4.3	5	0.3	19	1.0	1804
Foothill	6	4.7	86	67.7	34	26.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	127
Muir	162	5.7	420	50.2	1039	36.7	176	6.2	1	0.0	33	1.2	2831
Pasadena	306	6.9	2987	67.1	1010	22.7	68	1.5	23	0.5	59	1.3	4453
<u>Total (9-12)</u>	<u>696</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>5537</u>	<u>60.1</u>	<u>2520</u>	<u>27.3</u>	<u>221</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>9215</u>

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Source: Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 1, 1970), pp. 6-8.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT - - PRIMARY (K-3)
OCTOBER 1971

School	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Allendale	32	8.4	157	41.1	161	42.1	29	7.6	0	0.0	3	0.8	382
Audubon	42	7.7	261	48.0	219	40.2	19	3.5	2	0.4	1	0.2	544
Burbank	35	6.8	244	47.5	227	44.1	6	1.2	1	0.2	1	0.2	514
Don Benito	34	5.3	308	47.8	291	45.2	8	1.2	0	0.0	3	0.5	644
Franklin	58	10.6	201	36.8	270	49.5	16	2.9	0	0.0	1	0.2	546
Garfield- Arroyo	102	36.2	128	45.4	40	14.2	3	1.0	2	0.7	7	2.5	282
Hamilton	89	15.1	251	42.5	223	37.7	12	2.0	4	0.7	12	2.0	591
Jefferson	279	30.6	362	39.7	211	23.2	27	3.0	8	0.9	24	2.6	911
Linda Vista	5	3.5	94	66.7	30	21.3	12	8.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	141
McKinley	56	23.4	98	41.0	71	29.7	12	5.0	0	0.0	2	0.9	239
Noyes	18	4.4	201	49.2	175	42.8	14	3.4	0	0.0	1	0.2	409
San Rafael	15	4.7	157	49.7	134	42.4	10	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	316
Sierra Madre	43	9.1	243	51.6	170	36.1	12	2.6	0	0.0	3	0.6	471
Sierra Mesa	20	4.5	222	50.4	192	43.5	6	1.4	0	0.0	1	0.2	441
Webster	55	7.6	415	57.1	236	32.5	17	2.3	0	0.0	4	0.5	727
Willard	136	16.3	386	46.2	299	35.8	12	1.4	2	0.2	1	0.1	836
Total (K-3)	1019	12.8	3728	46.6	2949	36.9	215	2.7	19	0.2	64	0.8	7994

Source: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 8, 1971), p. 2.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT - - ELEMENTARY (4-6)
OCTOBER 1971

School	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Altadena	61	9.8	288	46.0	260	41.5	12	1.9	3	0.5	2	0.3	626
Cleveland	12	3.4	173	48.6	159	44.7	10	2.8	0	0.0	2	0.5	356
Edison	21	5.1	195	46.9	177	42.5	18	4.3	0	0.0	5	1.2	416
Field	45	8.3	300	55.1	186	34.2	12	2.2	0	0.0	1	0.2	544
Hale	68	12.9	233	44.3	203	38.6	13	2.5	2	0.4	7	1.3	526
Jackson	95	16.4	243	42.0	199	34.4	35	6.0	1	0.2	6	1.0	579
Lincoln	59	14.7	157	39.0	177	43.9	5	1.2	0	0.0	5	1.2	403
Loma Alta	31	5.1	252	41.1	318	51.9	10	1.6	0	0.0	2	0.3	613
Longfellow	84	11.6	357	49.4	262	36.2	16	2.2	2	0.3	2	0.3	723
Madison	147	22.7	266	41.2	209	32.3	12	1.9	0	0.0	12	1.9	646
Washington	16	2.5	332	50.6	298	45.4	8	1.2	2	0.3	0	0.0	656
Total (4-6)	639	10.5	2796	45.9	2448	40.2	151	2.5	10	0.2	44	0.7	6088

Source: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 8, 1971), p. 2.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT - - JUNIOR (7-8) AND SENIOR HIGH (9-12)
OCTOBER 1971

Level and School	Spanish Surname		Anglo-Caucasian		Negro		Oriental		American Indian		Other Nonwhite		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
<u>Junior High (7-8)</u>													
Eliot	67	5.9	569	50.2	466	41.1	25	2.2	2	0.2	5	0.4	1134
McKinley	129	11.5	561	49.8	365	32.4	45	4.0	0	0.0	26	2.3	1126
Washington	33	4.0	414	49.6	360	43.1	16	1.9	1	0.1	11	1.3	835
Wilson	160	14.6	567	51.8	331	30.2	25	2.3	2	0.2	10	0.9	1095
Intermediate Opportunity	4	7.7	16	30.8	25	48.1	0	0.0	2	3.8	5	9.6	52
Total (7-8)	393	9.3	2127	50.1	1547	36.5	111	2.6	7	0.2	57	1.3	4242
<u>Senior High (9-12)</u>													
Blair	217	12.5	1027	59.4	399	23.1	73	4.2	1	0.1	13	0.7	1730
Foothill	34	9.3	193	53.0	134	36.8	2	0.6	1	0.3	0	0.0	364
Muir	132	5.0	1325	49.9	1019	38.3	163	6.1	1	0.0	18	0.7	2658
Pasadena	379	9.0	2506	59.3	1213	28.7	82	1.9	8	0.2	40	0.9	4228
Evening High School	4	8.3	42	87.5	2	4.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	48
Total (9-12)	766	8.5	5093	56.4	2767	30.7	320	3.5	11	0.1	71	0.8	9028

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Sources: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 8, 1971), p. 2.

^aThe Intermediate Opportunity Junior High and Foothill High serve as continuation schools and student assignment to them from the regular schools is not based on racial balance.

^bThe Evening High School was initiated in September of 1971 as a voluntary alternative to enrollment in regular senior high schools meeting during the day. To this date enrollment in the Evening High School has not been based on racial balance.

A COMPARISON OF RACIAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG CERTIFICATED STAFF MEMBERS
AND STUDENTS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT DURING
THE PERIOD FROM 1969 THROUGH 1971

Group	Year	Spanish Surname %	Anglo- Caucasian %	Negro %	Oriental %	American Indian %	Other Nonwhite %
Classroom Teachers	1969	1.6	86.2	10.3	1.4	0.0	0.5
	1970	3.5	80.9	12.9	1.9	0.2	0.6
	1971	3.3	78.0	15.0	2.6	0.3	0.8
Professional Staff at the Educ. Center	1969	2.3	86.1	11.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1970	1.7	90.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1971	0.0	77.8	22.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other pro- fessional staff at the schools	1969	1.0	81.6	17.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1970	3.2	73.0	23.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1971	3.2	77.8	19.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Administrators at the schools	1969	5.0	86.7	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1970	7.0	84.2	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1971	5.3	82.4	12.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Students	1969	8.2	58.3	30.0	2.7	0.1	0.7
	1970	9.2	53.7	32.8	2.9	0.3	1.1
	1971	10.3	50.3	35.5	2.9	0.2	0.8

Sources: Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Student Enrollment and Certificated Employees in the Pasadena Unified School District (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, February, 1972), pp. 12-13; Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees - - October 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1969 (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October, 1969), p. 10; Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution of Enrollment and Certificated Employees (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 1, 1970), pp. 1-8; Department of Planning, Research and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena, Calif., Pasadena Unified School District, October 8, 1971), pp. 1-4.

^aProfessional staff at the Pasadena Education Center includes certificated personnel who work directly with students but are not assigned to any one school: reading teacher specialists, psychologists, special education teachers, consultants, etc.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG STUDENTS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL
DISTRICT FROM THE YEAR PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION THROUGH THE
MIDDLE OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE
PASADENA PLAN

School	Year	Spanish Surname %	Anglo- Caucasian %	Negro %	Oriental %	American Indian %	Other Nonwhite %
Allendale	1969	14.4	81.0	0.5	3.4	0.0	0.7
	1970	9.0	42.1	42.6	6.1	0.2	0.0
	1971	8.4	41.1	42.1	7.6	0.0	0.8
	1972	9.2	38.9	44.0	6.9	0.0	1.0
Altadena	1969	5.9	62.0	28.4	3.0	0.0	0.7
	1970	8.3	50.0	38.7	2.1	0.3	0.6
	1971	9.8	46.0	41.5	1.9	0.5	0.3
	1972	9.7	45.5	41.9	1.9	0.5	0.5
Audubon	1969	4.9	27.8	63.5	3.6	0.0	0.2
	1970	4.7	51.2	39.7	3.5	0.2	0.7
	1971	7.7	48.0	40.2	3.5	0.4	0.2
	1972	7.2	47.4	41.5	3.3	0.4	0.2
Burbank	1969	4.4	92.8	2.0	0.8	0.0	0.0
	1970	4.6	57.8	36.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
	1971	6.8	47.5	44.1	1.2	0.2	0.2
	1972	7.4	50.3	40.9	1.0	0.2	0.2
Cleveland	1969	1.1	1.3	97.4	0.2	0.0	0.0
	1970	3.4	52.3	41.3	2.7	0.0	0.3
	1971	3.4	48.6	44.7	2.8	0.0	0.5
	1972	3.4	47.0	46.4	2.3	0.3	0.6
Don Benito	1969	2.1	93.0	4.0	0.7	0.0	0.2
	1970	6.1	48.1	44.2	1.3	0.0	0.3
	1971	5.3	47.8	45.2	1.2	0.0	0.5
	1972	5.1	47.1	46.2	1.0	0.0	0.6
Edison	1969	6.5	29.4	59.4	3.2	0.6	0.9
	1970	4.5	51.6	39.2	4.3	0.0	0.4
	1971	5.1	46.9	42.5	4.3	0.0	1.2
	1972	5.3	45.1	44.4	4.1	0.0	1.1
Field	1969	10.3	86.2	1.3	2.2	0.0	0.0
	1970	5.5	56.4	35.6	2.3	0.0	0.2
	1971	8.3	55.1	34.2	2.2	0.0	0.2
	1972	8.6	53.1	36.2	2.1	0.0	0.0
Franklin	1969	5.2	8.9	82.7	2.7	0.5	0.0
	1970	8.2	41.4	45.4	4.1	0.2	0.7
	1971	10.6	36.8	49.5	2.9	0.0	0.2
	1972	10.6	34.9	51.4	2.9	0.0	0.2
Garfield- Arroyo	1969	36.1	45.8	15.8	1.4	0.6	0.3
	1970	30.5	46.6	21.4	1.1	0.0	0.4
	1971	36.2	45.4	14.2	1.0	0.7	2.5
	1972	37.6	45.4	13.7	1.1	0.7	1.5

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG STUDENTS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL
DISTRICT FROM THE YEAR PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION THROUGH THE
MIDDLE OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE
PASADENA PLAN

School	Year	Spanish Surname %	Anglo- Caucasian %	Negro %	Oriental %	American Indian %	Other Nonwhite %
Hale	1969	5.2	80.3	9.6	2.6	0.2	2.1
	1970	9.6	58.3	28.6	2.3	0.6	0.6
	1971	12.9	44.3	38.6	2.5	0.4	1.3
	1972	12.5	45.7	37.8	2.5	0.0	1.5
Hamilton	1969	21.4	70.9	0.5	2.7	0.0	4.5
	1970	18.5	48.9	29.3	1.1	0.6	1.6
	1971	15.1	42.5	37.7	2.0	0.7	2.0
	1972	15.1	42.2	38.4	2.0	0.3	2.0
Jackson	1969	4.0	4.5	82.4	8.5	0.0	0.6
	1970	15.6	45.3	32.2	5.2	0.4	1.3
	1971	16.4	42.0	34.4	6.0	0.2	1.0
	1972	17.3	41.6	34.3	5.9	0.2	0.7
Jefferson	1969	23.7	64.3	5.5	2.9	0.5	3.1
	1970	25.3	42.9	26.5	3.0	0.7	1.6
	1971	30.6	39.7	23.2	3.0	0.9	2.6
	1972	31.4	38.2	23.9	2.8	0.9	2.8
Lincoln	1969	9.9	5.0	83.9	1.0	0.2	0.0
	1970	14.8	41.0	42.5	1.3	0.0	0.4
	1971	14.7	39.0	43.9	1.2	0.0	1.2
	1972	16.2	38.6	43.0	1.2	0.0	1.0
Linda Vista	1969	3.4	92.6	0.6	3.4	0.0	0.0
	1970	1.1	58.3	32.6	7.4	0.0	0.6
	1971	3.5	66.7	21.3	8.5	0.0	0.0
	1972	3.7	66.2	21.3	8.8	0.0	0.0
Loma Alta	1969	3.9	58.2	35.0	2.0	0.2	0.7
	1970	4.3	50.7	42.8	1.9	0.0	0.3
	1971	5.1	41.1	51.9	1.6	0.0	0.3
	1972	5.1	41.0	52.0	1.6	0.0	0.3
Longfellow	1969	15.1	69.7	11.7	3.3	0.2	0.0
	1970	11.5	52.0	32.3	3.2	0.4	0.6
	1971	11.6	49.4	36.2	2.2	0.3	0.3
	1972	11.4	49.7	35.9	2.1	0.5	0.4
Madison	1969	16.5	17.3	63.8	1.3	0.2	0.9
	1970	22.1	44.3	29.6	1.3	0.3	2.4
	1971	22.7	41.2	32.3	1.9	0.0	1.9
	1972	24.5	39.9	32.1	1.7	0.0	1.8
McKinley	1969	20.2	63.1	11.3	2.5	0.0	2.9
	1970	21.6	51.5	20.8	4.8	0.4	0.9
	1971	23.4	41.0	29.7	5.0	0.0	0.9
	1972	25.6	39.6	28.7	4.8	0.0	1.3

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG STUDENTS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL
DISTRICT FROM THE YEAR PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION THROUGH THE
MIDDLE OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE
PASADENA PLAN

School	Year	Spanish Surname %	Anglo- Caucasian %	Negro %	Oriental %	American Indian %	Other Nonwhite %
Noyes	1969	1.0	96.2	0.6	1.6	0.0	0.6
	1970	5.1	51.6	39.4	2.9	0.0	1.0
	1971	4.4	49.2	42.8	3.4	0.0	0.2
	1972	5.0	48.5	42.7	3.1	0.0	0.7
San Rafael	1969	0.4	98.1	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0
	1970	4.4	53.7	37.8	2.5	0.0	1.6
	1971	4.7	49.7	42.4	3.2	0.0	0.0
	1972	3.9	48.2	45.0	2.9	0.0	0.0
Sierra Madre	1969	5.6	94.1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
	1970	8.0	53.0	34.8	2.1	0.0	2.1
	1971	9.1	51.6	36.1	2.6	0.0	0.6
	1972	8.8	52.6	35.3	2.7	0.0	0.6
Sierra Mesa	1969	4.6	93.6	0.0	1.1	0.5	0.2
	1970	3.6	50.7	43.2	2.3	0.0	0.2
	1971	4.5	50.4	43.5	1.4	0.0	0.2
	1972	3.7	48.0	46.3	1.6	0.2	0.2
Washington	1969	3.7	2.4	91.5	1.4	0.0	1.0
	1970	1.7	52.2	44.8	1.2	0.0	0.1
	1971	2.5	50.6	45.4	1.2	0.3	0.0
	1972	2.3	50.3	45.6	1.2	0.1	0.5
Webster	1969	4.6	92.4	1.5	0.9	0.3	0.3
	1970	6.5	53.8	32.9	1.8	0.1	4.9
	1971	7.6	57.1	32.5	2.3	0.0	0.5
	1972	7.6	57.3	32.5	2.1	0.0	0.5
Willard	1969	10.2	86.4	0.2	1.3	0.0	1.9
	1970	12.9	46.8	38.0	1.5	0.0	0.8
	1971	16.3	46.2	35.8	1.4	0.2	0.1
	1972	16.3	44.8	37.2	1.3	0.2	0.2
Totals Grades K-6	1966	7.1	62.0	27.5	2.5	0.0	0.9
	1967	7.4	59.7	29.8	2.4	0.1	0.6
	1968	8.4	56.6	31.6	2.5	0.1	0.8
	1969	9.2	54.4	33.1	2.3	0.2	0.8
Grades K-3	1970	10.8	49.2	36.0	3.6	0.1	1.3
	1971	12.8	46.6	36.9	2.7	0.2	0.8
	1972	12.8	46.0	37.6	2.6	0.2	0.8
Grades 4-6	1970	9.7	50.2	36.7	2.5	0.2	0.7
	1971	10.5	45.9	40.2	2.5	0.2	0.7
	1972	10.8	45.4	40.5	2.4	0.2	0.7

^aRacial distribution figures for 1966, 1967, and 1968 were included in the 1969 distribution for purposes of comparison, and they are included within this study for the same purposes.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG STUDENTS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL
DISTRICT FROM THE YEAR PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION THROUGH THE
MIDDLE OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE
PASADENA PLAN

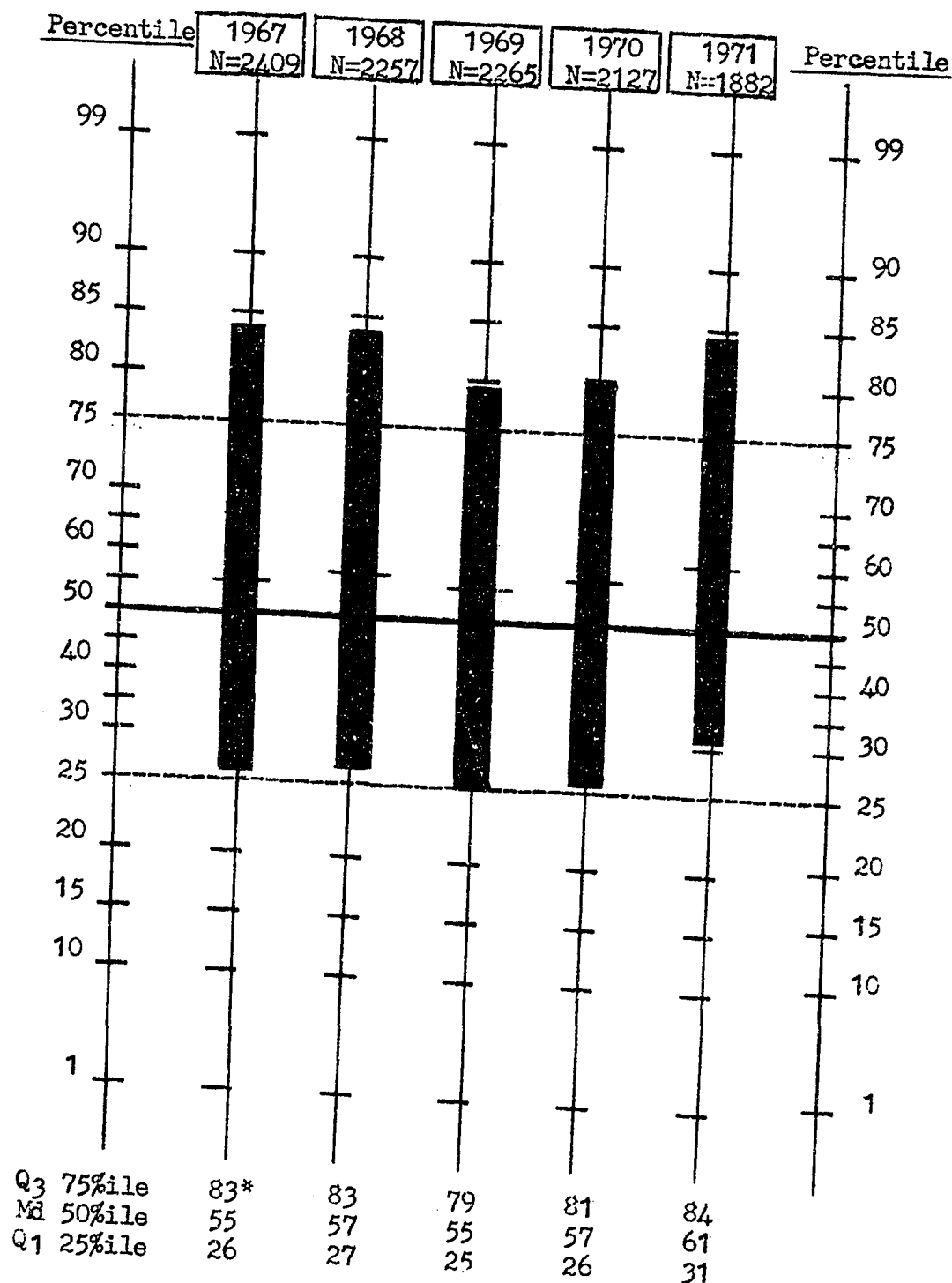
School	Year	Spanish Surname %	Anglo- Caucasian %	Negro %	Oriental %	American Indian %	Other Nonwhite %
Eliot	1969	4.2	60.4	32.7	2.2	0.3	0.2
	1970	6.0	54.9	35.8	1.6	0.5	1.2
	1971	5.9	50.2	41.1	2.2	0.2	0.4
	1972	6.0	49.3	41.8	2.2	0.2	0.5
McKinley	1969	14.4	57.5	23.7	3.9	0.2	0.3
	1970	11.3	53.4	28.6	4.9	0.5	1.3
	1971	11.5	49.8	32.4	4.0	0.0	2.3
	1972	11.8	49.5	32.4	4.0	0.0	2.3
Washington	1969	4.1	51.9	87.9	5.8	0.0	0.3
	1970	4.3	52.5	38.3	3.0	0.3	1.6
	1971	4.0	49.6	43.1	1.9	0.1	1.3
	1972	4.5	49.3	43.0	1.8	0.0	1.4
Wilson	1969	9.1	88.8	0.4	1.1	0.0	0.6
	1970	11.2	56.8	28.7	2.4	0.1	0.8
	1971	14.6	51.8	30.2	2.3	0.2	0.9
	1972	14.7	51.2	30.3	2.5	0.4	0.9
Blair	1969	12.3	58.4	24.1	4.2	0.0	1.0
	1970	12.3	57.9	24.2	4.3	0.3	1.0
	1971	12.5	59.4	23.1	4.2	0.1	0.7
	1972	12.9	59.4	22.4	4.4	0.1	0.8
Muir	1969	6.7	48.0	37.1	7.5	0.0	0.7
	1970	5.7	50.2	36.7	6.2	0.0	1.2
	1971	5.0	49.9	38.3	6.1	0.0	0.7
	1972	5.0	48.7	39.3	6.4	0.0	0.6
Pasadena	1969	4.2	81.6	12.1	1.2	0.0	0.9
	1970	6.9	67.1	22.7	1.5	0.5	1.3
	1971	9.0	59.3	28.7	1.9	0.2	0.9
	1972	8.9	59.6	28.3	2.0	0.2	1.0
Totals Grades 7-12	1969	7.1	62.8	26.4	3.1	0.1	0.5
	1970	7.9	58.2	29.1	3.3	0.3	1.2
	1971	8.7	54.4	32.5	3.3	0.1	1.0
	1972	8.8	54.1	32.6	3.3	0.2	1.0
DISTRICT TOTAL	1969	8.2	58.3	30.0	2.7	0.1	0.7
	1970	9.2	53.7	32.8	2.9	0.3	1.1
	1971	10.3	50.3	35.5	2.9	0.2	0.8
	1972	10.5	49.7	35.8	2.9	0.2	0.9

Sources: Department of Research, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena, Calif., October, 1969), pp. 1-10; Department of Research, Planning and Development, Racial and Ethnic Distribution (Pasadena, Calif., October 1, 1970, and October 8, 1971), pp. 1-8, 1-4.

APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL DATA RELATED TO THE COMPARATIVE TEST RESULTS ACHIEVED
BY STUDENTS WITHIN THE PASADENA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT PRIOR
TO AND DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE PASADENA PLAN

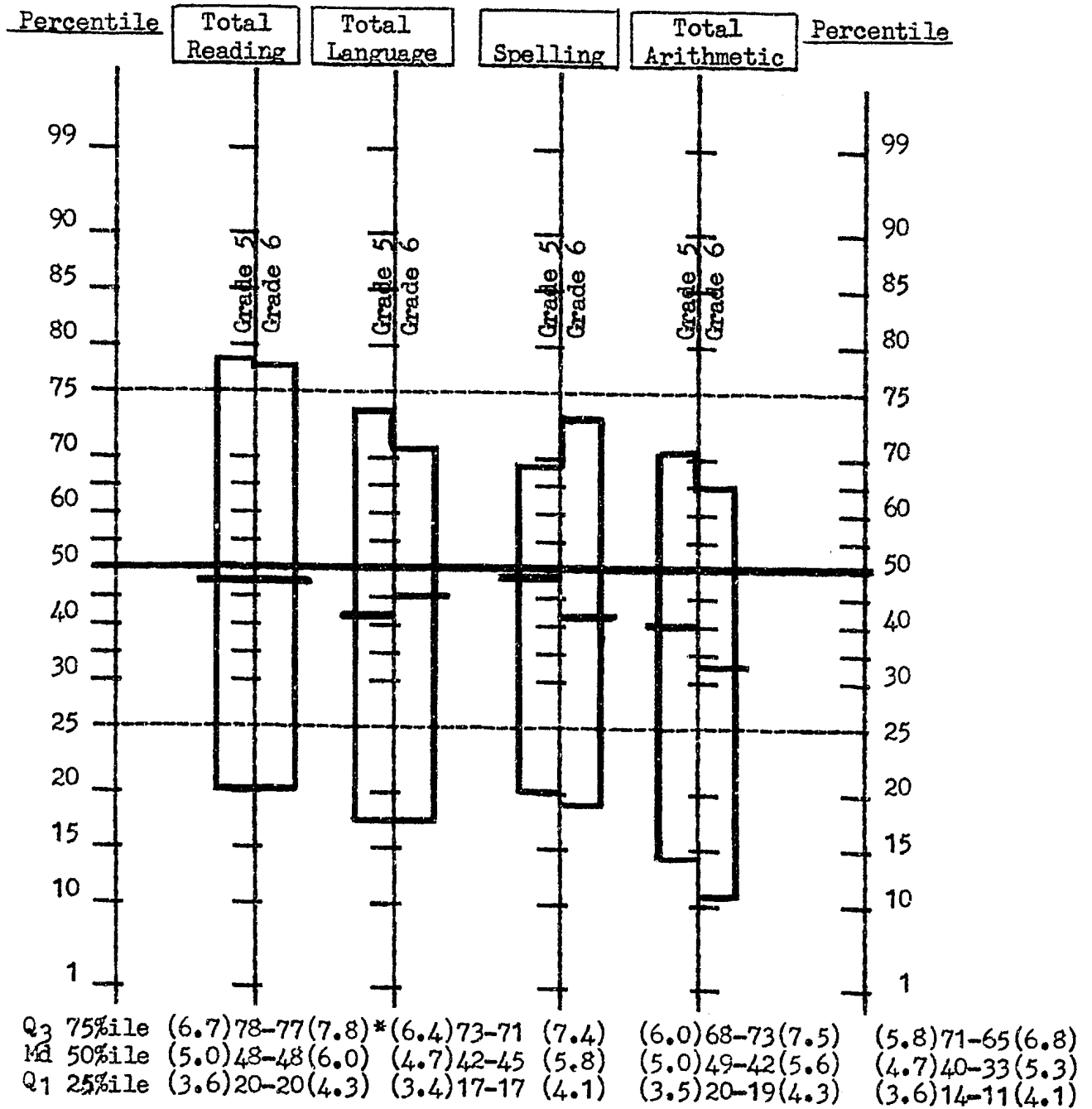
GRADE 1

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON METROPOLITAN READINESS TESTS IN
OCTOBER 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970 AND 1971

*Percentile Ranks based on the Publisher's National Norms. The two dotted lines indicate the Publisher's 75th and 25th percentiles. Solid line at 50th percentile indicates National Median or Norm.

GRADE 6

COMPARISON OF GRADE 5 PERFORMANCE WITH GRADE 6 PERFORMANCE ON THE
 COMPREHENSIVE TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS BY PUPILS EXPOSED TO SCHOOL
 IN PASADENA FROM GRADE 1



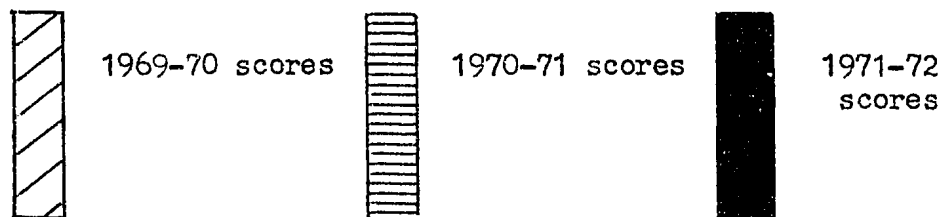
*Grade Equivalents based on Publisher's National Norms.

EXPLANATION OF IDENTIFYING DESIGNS FOR COMPARATIVE TEST RESULTS SHOWN
 WITHIN THE REMAINING PORTIONS OF APPENDIX B FOR 1969-70, 1970-71,
 AND 1971-72

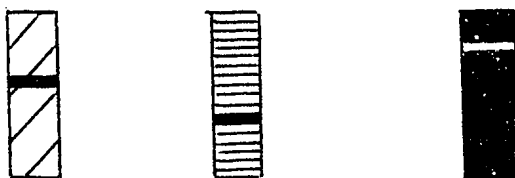
The remaining charts within Appendix B compare test results attained by students within the Pasadena Unified School District over the past three years. As stated earlier, valid comparisons with test data prior to 1969-70 cannot be made, since the present test battery used by the school district was not adopted prior to the 1969-70 school year.

Scores for each area are shown in clusters of three. The scores appear in chronological order, reading from left to right. The first (or left-hand) column indicates the 1969-70 score, the second (or middle) column represents 1970-71 results, and the third (or right-hand) column denotes scores attained in 1971-72. The numerical designations at the bottom of each column are ranked similarly. Thus median scores of 45-42-38 in grade four reading, for example, indicate that the average fourth grade student in Pasadena scored at the 45th percentile nationally on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills in 1969-70, at the 42nd percentile nationally in 1970-71, and at the 38th percentile nationally in 1971-72.

An identifying design format is used to illustrate score ranges for each year. This format is consistently used throughout the remaining portions of Appendix B as follows:



The pronounced lines across each column represent the median point within the scoring range which that column depicts. These median lines are black for 1969-70 and 1970-71 and white for 1971-72. The design format is included below with sample median lines.



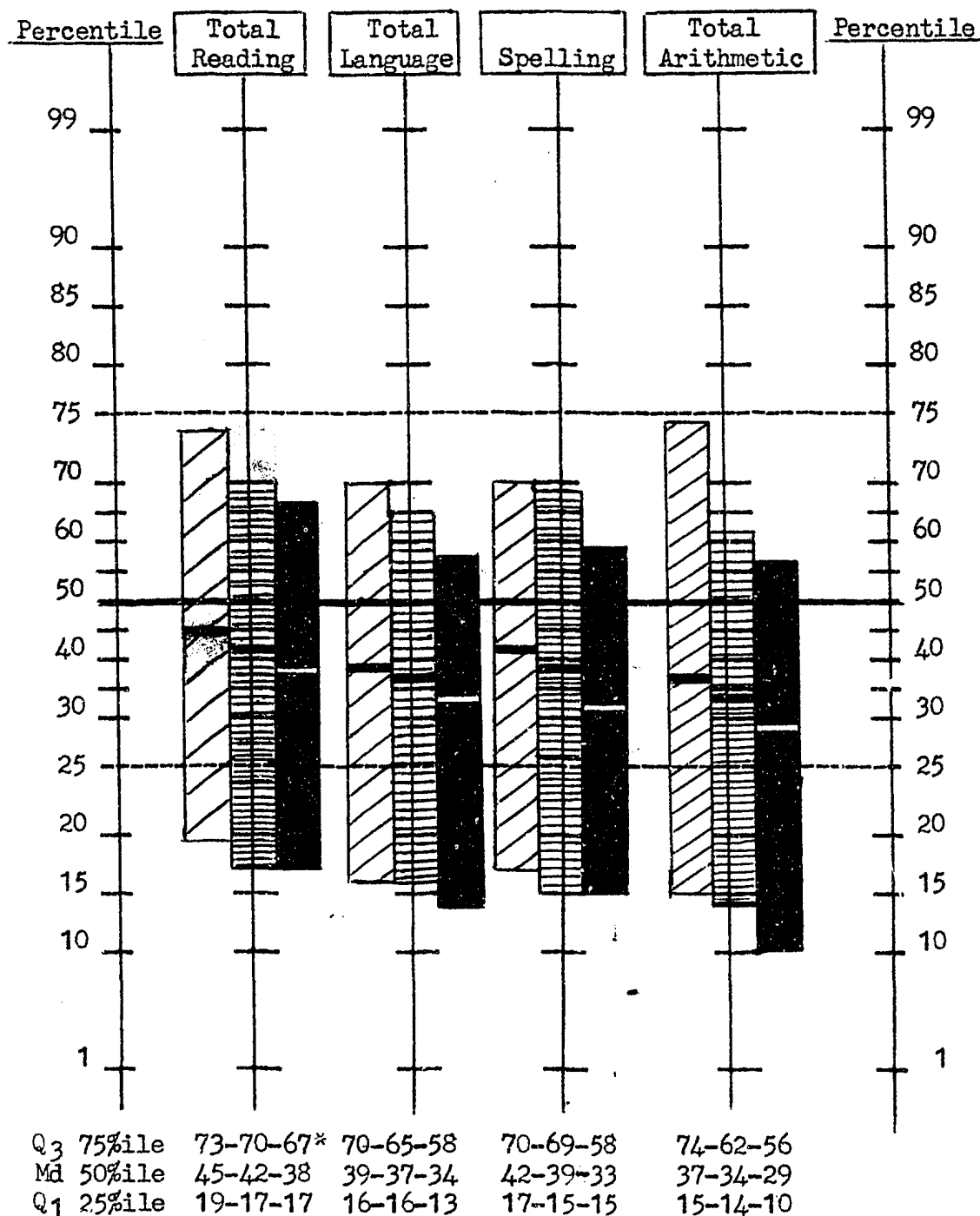
The tests used for comparison are the Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills, the Iowa Tests of Educational Development, and the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests. Each test is nationally normed, and the percentile ranks given are based on national norms provided by the test publisher. The 75th and 25th percentile points used by the publisher are indicated by dotted lines within each test comparison, and a solid line at the 50th percentile point denotes the national median or norm. This explanation is included at the bottom of the chart which appears on the following page, but it is excluded from subsequent charts to avoid needless repetition.

All material within Appendix B is drawn from the same single reference. To circumvent the need for repetitive citations on all subsequent pages, this source is cited below.

Department of Planning, Research and Development, Results of Fall 1971 Testing Program for the Pasadena Unified School District, Research Report No. 71/72-03 (Pasadena, Calif.: Pasadena Unified School District, February, 1972), pp. 11, 22-29.

GRADE 4

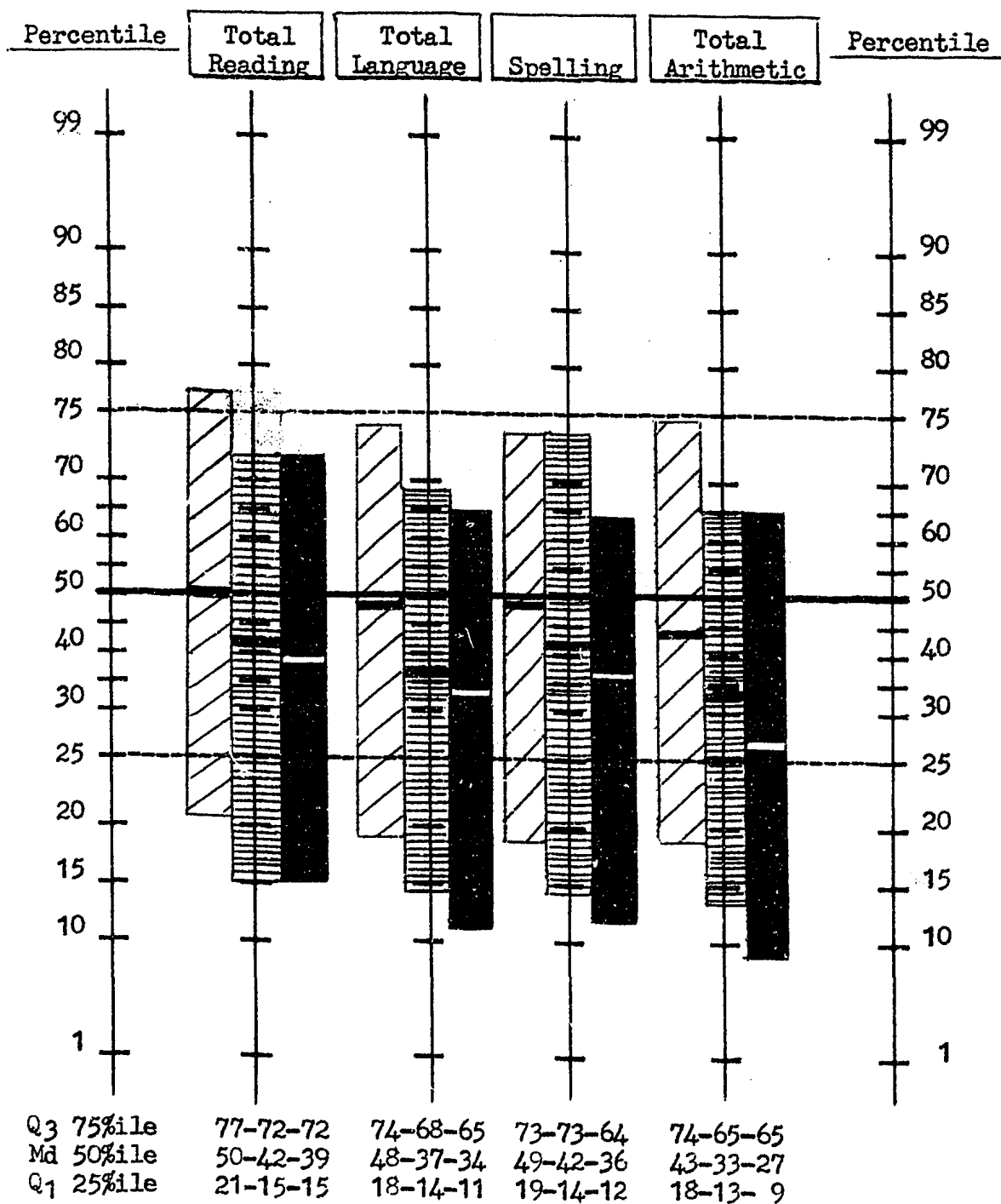
PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TESTS OF BASIC
SKILLS, 1969-70, 1970-71 AND 1971-72



*Percentile Ranks based on the Publisher's National Norms. The two dotted lines indicate the Publisher's 75th and 25th percentiles. Solid line at 50th%ile indicates National Median or Norm.

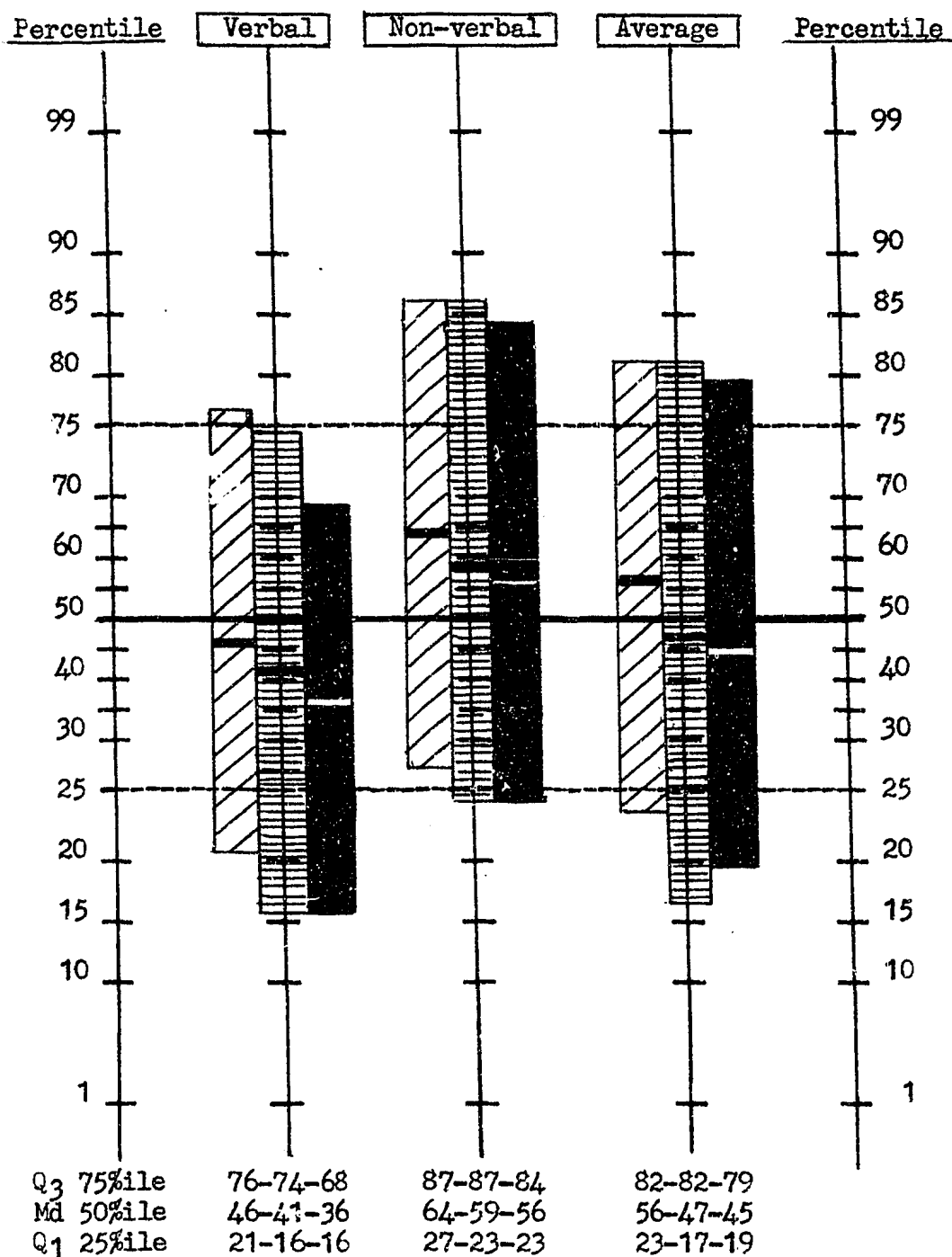
GRADE 6

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS, 1969-70, 1970-71, AND 1971-72



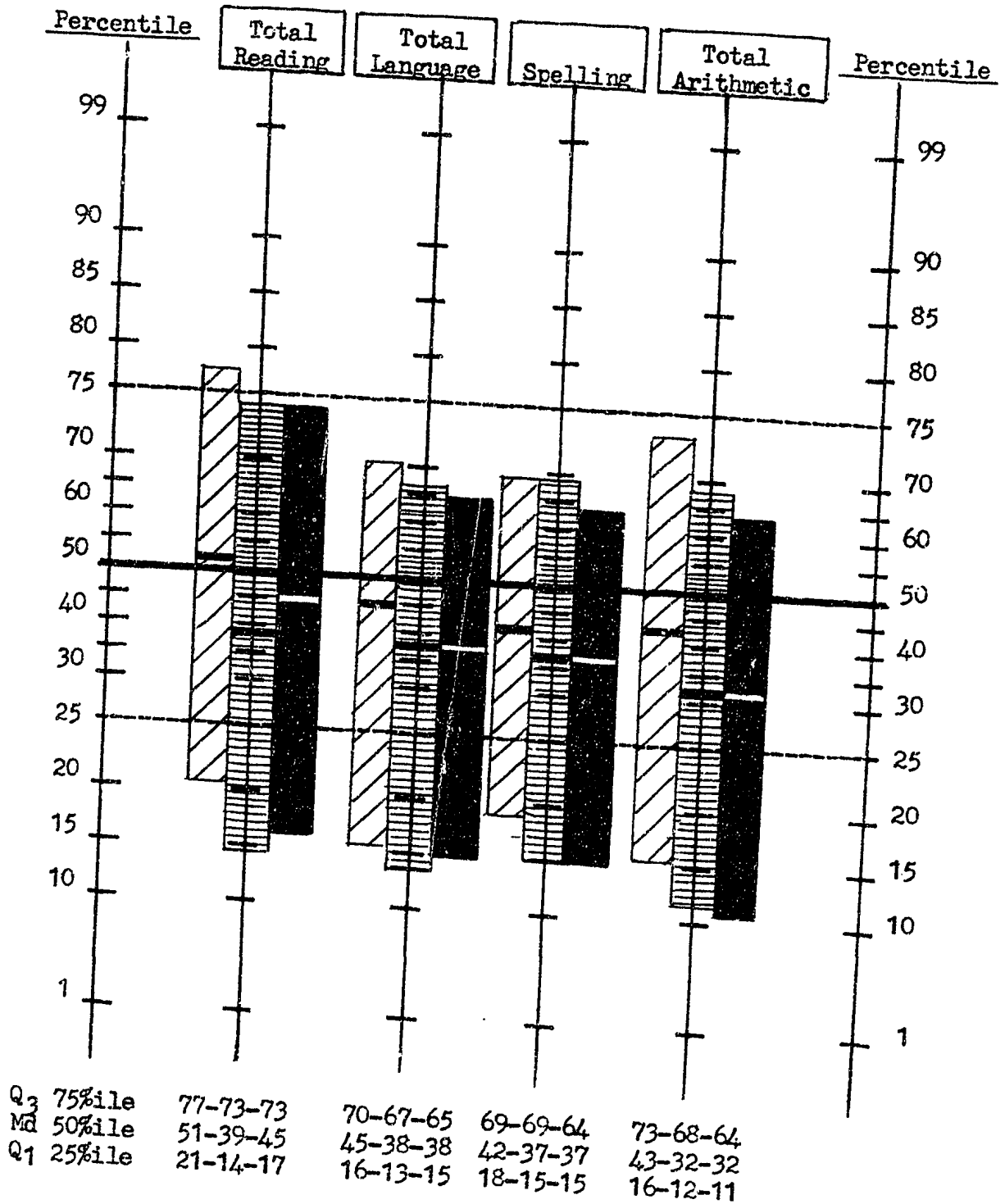
GRADE 6

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TESTS, 1969-70, 1970-71, AND 1971-72



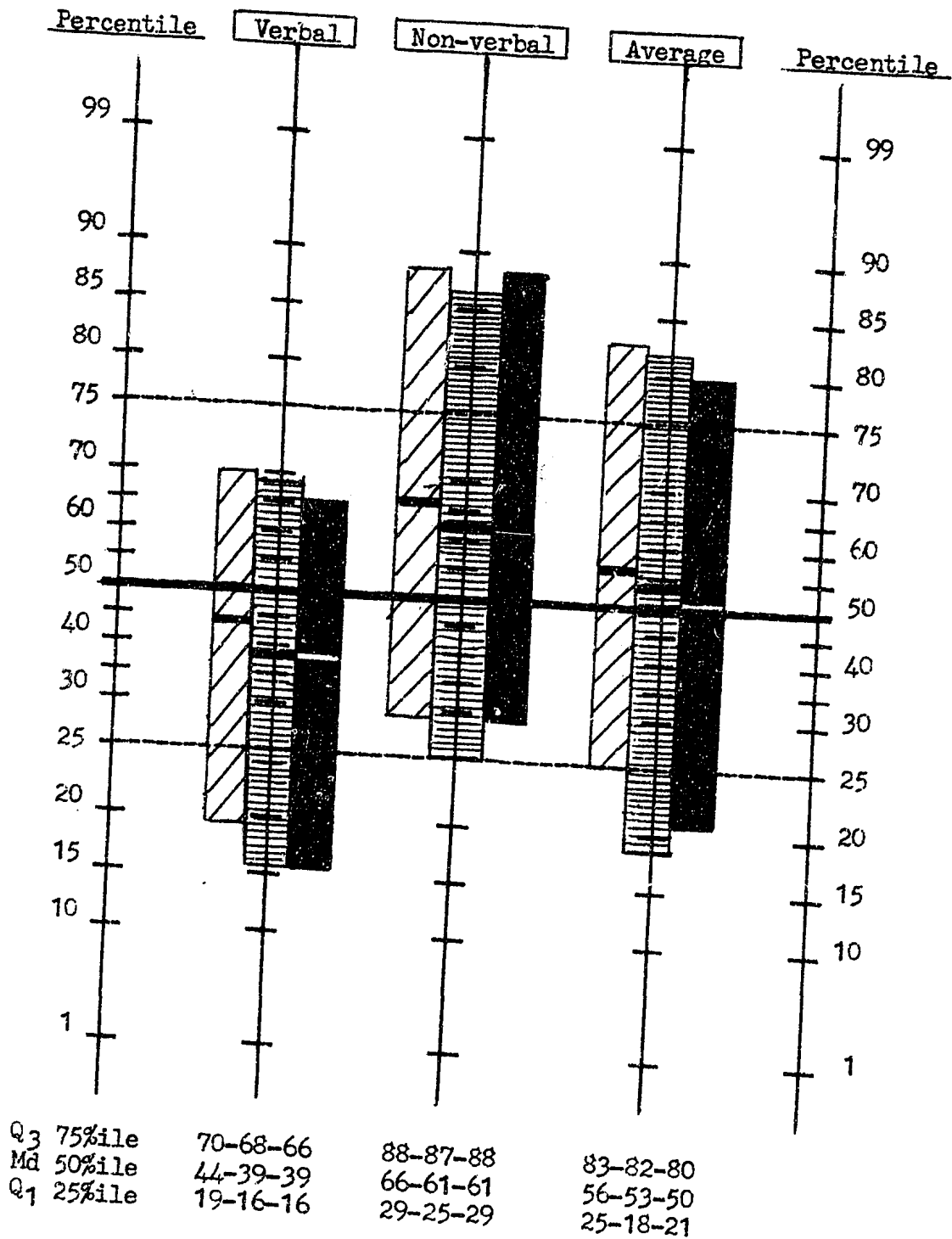
GRADE 8

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS, 1969-70, 1970-71, AND 1971-72



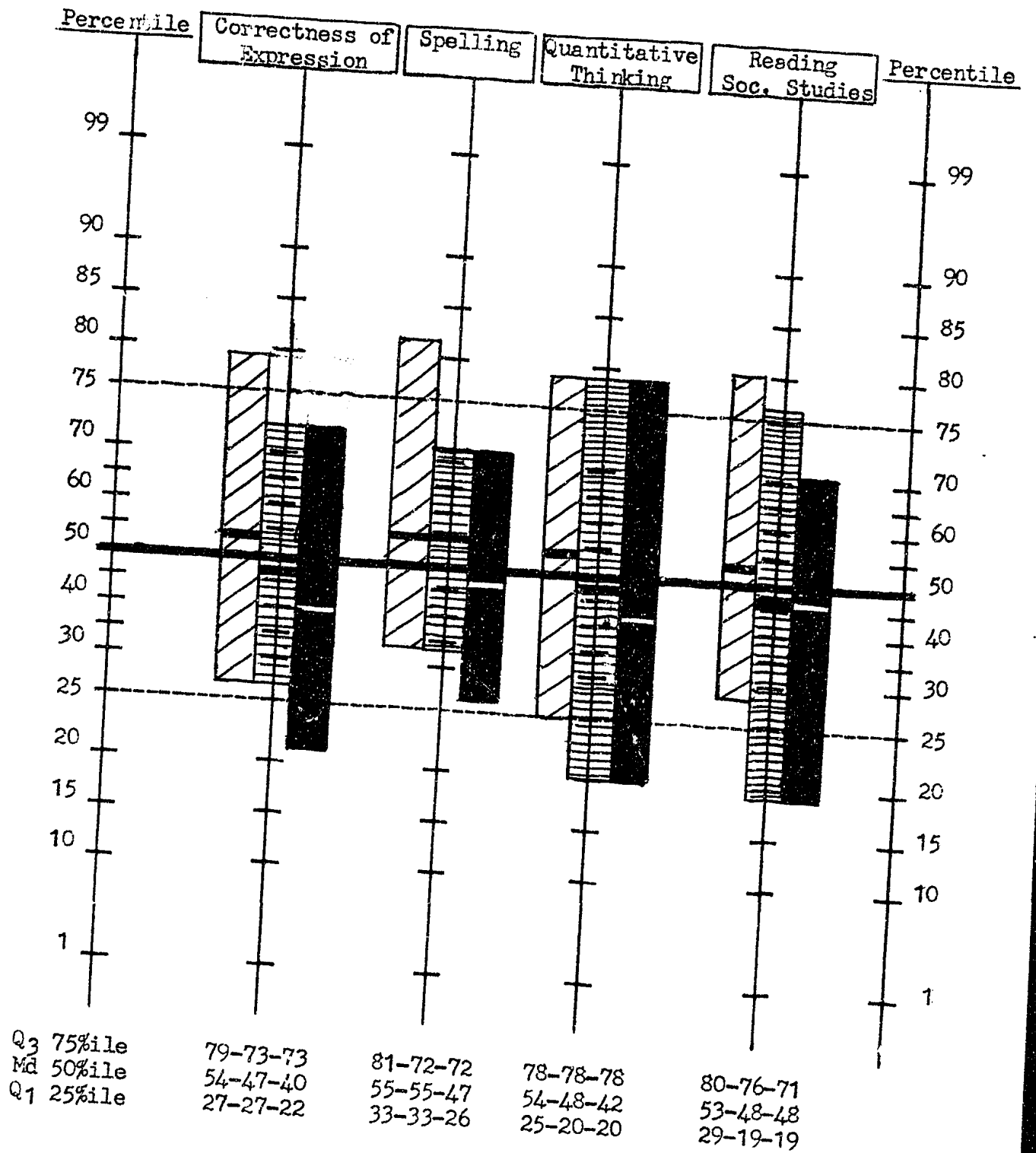
GRADE 8

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TESTS, 1969-70, 1970-71, AND 1971-72



GRADE 12

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE IOWA TESTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 1969-70, 1970-71, AND 1971-72



GRADE 12

PERFORMANCE BY PASADENA PUPILS ON THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TESTS, 1969-70, 1970-71, AND 1971-72

