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# EMPLOYMENT OF CERTIFICATED PERSONNEL OF ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS IN STOCKTON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1947 TO 1962

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the School of Education

The University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by Stanley Earl Sandelius August 1963

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#### CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM, DEFINITIONS OF TERMS, AND DESCRIPTION
OF THE STOCKTON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

#### Introduction

Upon application of the first Negro teacher for a position in the Stockton Unified School District in 1947, the district undertook the development of a policy for "... the employment and placement of certificated personnel on the basis of education, ability, and morality without regard to race or color."1

#### The Problem

The two main purposes of this study were to document the events leading to the establishment of the nondiscriminatory employment policy for certificated personnel from ethnic minority groups in the Stockton Unified School District and the subsequent practices which have developed since the adoption of the policy in 1947.

#### Additional Purposes

Additional purposes were five-fold: (1) to make an objective investigation of the employment and placement

<sup>1</sup>Board Minutes, Stockton Unified School District, September 23, 1946.

practices in Stockton of certificated personnel from selected ethnic minority groups from 1947 to 1962, (2) to determine the number of certificated persons employed from the selected ethnic minority groups for certain years within the period of the survey, (3) to determine the total number of certificated persons from the selected groups employed for 1962 and to ascertain their present assignment, (4) to obtain the opinions from selected persons related to the field of study regarding changes in practices in the employment of certificated persons from the selected groups during the period of the study, and finally (5) to obtain the opinions of these same selected persons regarding any future problems related to the employment and placement of ethnic minority teachers in Stockton.

#### Justification of the Study

Over the years one school district after another in California has adopted policies for employing certificated personnel on the basis of professional qualifications and personal fitness regardless of race or national origin. The adoption of these nondiscriminatory policies by the various school districts in the state indicated a forward

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, <u>Annual Report.</u> (Sacramento: Commission on Discrimination in <u>Teacher Employment</u>, California State Department of Education, <u>December 31</u>, 1959), p. 8. (Mimeographed).

step in the direction of equal employment opportunity for all teachers.

The authorization by the State Board of Education in September of 1957 for the establishment of a Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment with its subsequent appointment on May 8, 1958, indicated an endeavor at the State level to eliminate discrimination in the employment of certificated personnel.<sup>3</sup>

As a further indication of the widespread interest in the development of policies and practices of equal employment rights based on qualification and personal fitness, the following California organizations have taken a public stand supporting and encouraging the work of the Commission on the Discrimination in Teacher Employment: California Association of School Administrators, California Association of Secondary Administrators, California Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, California Educational Placement Association, California Elementary School Administrators Association, State Federation of Teachers, and the California Teachers Association.

<sup>3&</sup>lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. i.

<sup>4</sup>Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, Toward Equal Employment Opportunity (Second Annual Report. Sacramento: Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, California State Department of Education, June 1961), pp. 12-14.

This study of the development of nondiscriminatory employment and placement practices in the Stockton Unified School District, one of the first school districts in California to adopt such policies, was an attempt to document the efforts of that community to provide equal employment possibilities for certificated persons from ethnic minorities. 5

#### Definition of Terms

The following terms as used in the thesis are defined as follows:

<u>Discrimination</u>. "Differential treatment accorded individuals who are considered as belonging in a particular category or group. Discrimination is overt behavior while prejudice refers to subjective feelings."

Ethnic group. A human group held together by a cultural homogeneity, often possessing distinctive folkways and mores and a strong feeling of belonging to the group. Members are considered part of the group by themselves as well as by those outside of the group.

<sup>5</sup>Andrew P. Hill, personal interview, April 17, 1962.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Brewton P. Berry, <u>Race and Ethnic Relations</u> (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), p. 27.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-54.

Minority. A group of people which is singled out from the others in the society and accorded differential treatment. B Divested of all statistical meaning, it is a group looked upon with discrimination.

Mixed race. Non-white persons of mixed racial parentage that are classified according to the race of the non-white parent, and mixtures of non-white races that are classified according to the race of the father. 10

Negro. The social definition which takes preference over both the biological and the legal definitions and is accepted throughout the United States is that a Negro is any person who has any known trace of Negro ancestry. 11

Oriental. This term was used in referring to persons of the Oriental race. For the purposes of this report, the specific reference was made to those of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, or Korean ancestry.

Science of Man in the World Crisis, Mischa Titiev, editor (New York: Holt Company, 1954), p. 347.

<sup>9</sup>Berry, op. cit., p. 51.

Population: 1960, General Social and Economical Characteristics (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 11.

<sup>11</sup>Berry, <u>op</u>. <u>cit.</u>, p. 30.

<u>Policies.</u> Written rules and regulations adopted by school boards and other governing bodies.

<u>Practices</u>. As differentiated from policies, this reference was used to identify methods of operations not specifically governed by written policies.

<u>Prejudice</u>. A feeling or attitude based upon a faulty generalization which may be directed toward an entire group or an individual because he is a member of the group. 12

Race. A sub-group of people having a definite combination of physical characteristics of genetic origin which serves in varying degree to distinguish it from other sub-groups. As a rule the sub-group inhabits or did inhabit a specific geographical region. 13

Racial group. A group whose members have distinctive common hereditary physical characteristics. 14 Members are ascribed a particular status in the society and are often excluded from full participation in the life of the society.

<sup>12</sup>Gordon Wallport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 9.

of Man in the World Crisis, Mischa Titiev, editor (New York: Holt Company, 1954), p. 49.

<sup>14</sup>Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions (Washington: Social Science Research Council, 1947), p. 42.

They may or may not have an unique culture, language, religion, value system, and customs that are different from other groups in the society. 15

Spanish-speaking people. This reference was made to the large ethnic group of Spanish-speaking people including the native Spanish-Americans and the Mexican immigrants and their descendants, the Mexican-Americans. The term Mexican-American is often used to refer to the broad group; however, a clear distinction does exist between Spanish-Americans and the more recent arrivals, the Mexican-Americans, so that the all-encompassing term Spanish-speaking people is becoming more widely used. 16

#### Limitations of the Study

For the purposes of this study the period of time chosen was from 1947, the date of the inception of the non-discriminatory employment policy in the Stockton Unified School District, through 1962.

Because of the large number of new teachers employed each year during the fifteen years under study and considering the length of time necessary to investigate each individual case, it was decided to conduct the survey at certain

<sup>15</sup>Berry, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Luke Ebersole, American Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955), p. 69.

intervals; namely, the school years of 1947-48, 1950-51, 1955-56, and 1961-62. While this does not give a totally complete survey of the fifteen year period, it does illustrate the general trend of the employment and placement practices from the inception of the nondiscriminatory employment policy to the present time.

Certain limitations were placed on the study by the difficulty of classifying the persons studied in the various categories. Application forms differed for the period under study. In the early years the applicant was required to indicate his race. This requirement was removed from the Stockton application form several years before the 1959 Fair Employment Practices Act specifically prohibited the inclusion of any discriminatory questions in application forms. 17

It was therefore necessary in cases which did not specify race to attempt identification as nearly as possible on the basis of a photograph of the applicant if one was included in the personnel folder. In some instances direct questioning of the staff in the personnel department made available the desired information. In cases of further doubt, the principal of the school in which the person had been placed was questioned directly.

<sup>17</sup>Clark H. Boggess, Director of Personnel, Stockton Unified School District, personal interview, December 19, 1961.

Although these methods of identification were not infallible, they were the best that could be devised under the circumstances and were considered reasonably reliable for the purposes of this study.

#### Description of the Stockton Unified School District

At the time Andrew P. Hill, then Superintendent of Stockton Unified School District, was developing the fair employment policy in 1947, Stockton, California, was largely an agricultural center with just a few fairly good sized industries directly related to its centralized valley location and the inland port which accommodates ocean-going vessels. 18

Agriculture still is the major function of the area immediately surrounding Stockton; however, the importance of industry has grown remarkedly over the years. 19

The growth in population has kept pace with the industrial growth. The increase in the population within the city limits for the past three decades as revealed by the latest Census Report has been from 54,714 in 1940 to 70,853 in 1950 and 86,321 in 1960.<sup>20</sup> Of the 1960 figure.

<sup>18&</sup>quot;The Stockton Story" (Stockton: Industrial Department of the Greater Stockton Chamber of Commerce, 1962), p. 1. (Mimeographed).

<sup>19&</sup>lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1960. Number of Inhabitants, California (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 6-30.

15.8 per cent were classified as non-white. This did not include the Spanish-speaking people since the Census Bureau discontinued their inclusion in the non-white classification after the 1940 census when an organization of Spanish-speaking people objected to the classification. These figures are not representative of the population affecting the schools since the Stockton school system serves several unincorporated county areas in close proximity in which considerable growth has taken place. The total population of the Stockton area, including the unincorporated suburbs, was 200,750 in 1950 and 249,989 in 1960.<sup>22</sup> No figures are available for 1940.

The residential pattern that has developed over the years has undergone various changes as some older sections became less desirable and newer sections were built.

The local newspaper separates the classified advertisements for property into two broad areas, north or south of Main Street. Until just a few years ago it was further divided into areas east and west of Wilson Way. The south-of-Main Street and east-of-Wilson Way areas were the less expensive sale and rental property.

<sup>21</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 11.

<sup>22</sup>United States Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1960. Number of Inhabitants, California (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 6-30.

It was into these latter two areas that most of the racial minorities settled generally because of comparatively low incomes. This has developed, historically and currently in Stockton, a degree of residential segregation based for the most part on a financial situation.

There is no segregation in any manner by race or religion by the Stockton public schools. 23 The residential pattern which is completely outside of the jurisdiction of the schools has in effect developed a degree of segregation in that school boundaries in Stockton have been established by the board of education with two pupil-concerned goals in mind: (1) proximity of the school to the home so that whenever possible children may attend the school nearest their home for many obvious reasons of convenience to the children and family, and (2) the safety factors affecting the routes which children would have to follow in order to get to and from school and home. In some very unusual instances the safety factor takes precedence over the distance factor. Whenever possible, natural boundaries such as highways and waterways have been employed to separate the individual attendance areas.

There are instances when other aspects beyond the control of the school district superseded these two primary

<sup>23</sup>Nolan D. Pulliam, Superintendent of Stockton Unified School District, personal interview, March 2, 1962.

factors in establishing boundaries, such as a temporarily over-crowded condition in one school and an abundance of room in a near-by school, or an unsafe condition in a particular school which would necessitate a boundary change often temporary in nature until the situation could be corrected or altered. <sup>24</sup>

The number of schools in Stockton has increased from twenty-four in 1947 with a total enrollment of 15,317 pupils<sup>25</sup> to forty-four schools in 1962 with a total enrollment of approximately 34,000. The annual budget adopted for 1962-63 was \$15,622,704. There were 489 teachers employed in the Stockton schools in 1947<sup>27</sup> compared with 1251 in 1962.

Matters dealing with school personnel have changed considerably during the years. Individual personnel folders for employees were established in 1941. Before that records of employees were kept in folders according to the department in which employed. 28 Individual salary folders for

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Andrew P. Hill, "Report on the Employment of Teachers from Minority Groups" (Stockton: Stockton Unified School District, 1947), p. 12. (Mimeographed.)

<sup>26</sup> Stockton [California] Record, August 8, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>Hill, log. cit.

<sup>28</sup> Department of Personnel Services, "Ten Year Report" (Stockton: Stockton Unified School District, 1951). (Mimeographed.)

each certificated employee were started when the district adopted the single salary schedule in 1945.<sup>29</sup> With the growth of the district and the expansion of personnel matters, a Director of Personnel was employed in 1953. An assistant, designated as Personnel Technician, was employed five years later to work directly with non-certificated employees.<sup>30</sup>

Since 1947 the Stockton schools have experienced two major revisions of its organizational grade patterns. In 1947 the organization was kindergarten through the eighth grade, four years of high school, and two years of junior college. This was identified as the (8-4-2) pattern. Later it was altered to the (6-4-4) pattern of six years of elementary school, four of junior high school, and a combination of two years of senior high school with two of junior college. Then it was modified to the present (6-3-3-2) pattern with six years of elementary school, three years each of junior and senior high school, and two years of junior college.

Remarkable growth and changes have indeed been characteristic of the City of Stockton and its school system over the past twenty years. Every indication points toward a continual pattern of growth and change.

<sup>29&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>. 30<sub>Ibid</sub>.

### CHAPTER II

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Considerable reference material can be found dealing with the broad aspects of discrimination of ethnic minorities in regards to problems of housing, educational opportunities, social participation, and employment opportunities in general. However, there has been much less written specifically concerning discrimination in employment and placement policies and practices of teachers from ethnic minorities in California.

#### The California Situation

The reference material that was available at the time of this study relating in any way directly to the problem was mainly in the form of reports and bulletins from individual school districts in California and from the California Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment.

Perhaps one of the earliest reports made in the area of employment policies for teachers from ethnic minorities in California was that presented to the Board of Education of the Stockton Unified School District in 1947 by Andrew P. Hill, who was then the superintendent of schools of the district. 1

Andrew P. Hill, "Report on the Employment of Teachers from Minority Groups" (Stockton: Stockton Unified School District, 1947). (Mimeographed.)

Having been directed by the board of education upon the application of the first Negro teacher for a position in the Stockton schools, Hill made a survey of thirty large districts in California that were considered somewhat comparable to the Stockton district to determine which districts had employed teachers from ethnic minorities and the aspects of their acceptance in the community. A more complete review of Hill's survey which constitutes much of the basis of this report is included in Chapter III.

The first annual report in 1959 from the California State Department of Education Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment reviewed the legal provisions of the Fair Employment Practices Act in California which was enacted in September of 1959 establishing a new and distinct commission in California to deal with discrimination in employment in general. Included in the activities of the Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment for 1959 were two important surveys. The first of these was "A Study of Employment Practices for Certificated Personnel from Certain Ethnic Groups in California Public Schools."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, <u>Annual Report</u>. (Sacramento: Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, California State Department of Education, December 31, 1959), p. 10. (Mimeographed.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup><u>Ibid</u>., pp. 13-15.

The study revealed the general aspects of the situation for the state as a whole in 1959. Questionnaires were sent to 983 districts with a response of 72 per cent. Of the districts replying, 42 per cent reported that during the previous ten years they had not employed teachers from the four ethnic minorities studied, namely Chinese, Japanese, Negro, or Spanish-speaking. In the 413 districts employing teachers from these minority groups, Spanish-speaking persons were employed in the greatest number of districts while Negroes were employed in the least number of districts. The survey did not attempt to ascertain the total number of teachers of ethnic minorities employed in the various districts.

The study revealed that most of the teachers from ethnic minorities were employed because they represented the best available candidates. A few were hired because the districts desired representation of ethnic minorities on their staffs. Two districts reported that community pressure was the deciding factor for their employment.

The usual method of obtaining candidates from ethnic minorities was reported to be through placement offices or by direct application. Some were employed on recommendations of other superintendents. A few districts obtained candidates through their own special recruitment program.

The survey indicated that in most districts preparations for introducing teachers from ethnic minorities to the community were the same as for any other member of the professional staff.

To the respondents of the questionnaire, Negro teachers posed the greatest problem in regard to assignments of the four ethnic groups, while Japanese teachers created the least difficulty.

In assigning personnel from ethnic minorities, most employing officials reported that no special factors determined the placement although some indicated the applicant had certain qualifications needed in a particular school. Others reported that principals in the individual schools indicated a preference for the assignments. In a few instances the preference of the applicant determined the placement. In some schools the number of pupils with the same ethnic extraction was the deciding factor in the placement of Negro and Spanish-speaking teachers.

The second study reported in the Commission's first annual report was in two parts. The first dealt with the type of personal information required for certificated personnel in completing application forms prior to employment. The purpose was to identify potentially discriminatory

<sup>4&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 22.

aspects of the application forms as related to teachers from ethnic minorities.

The survey identified as potentially discriminatory inquiries that were related to race or color, religion, or national origin or place of birth. It also pointed out that the pre-employment requirement of a photograph of the applicant could be considered as being potentially discriminatory to the applicant with certain visible ethnic characteristics.

The survey had been initiated before the Fair Employment Practices Act had been put into effect, and the districts that reported having these potentially discriminating inquiries included in their application forms have since undertaken revisions to eliminate them.

The second part of this survey was a compilation of written policy statements from districts indicating that selection of certificated personnel was based on professional and personal qualifications regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. 5

In June of 1961 the Commission made its second annual report to the California State Board of Education in which it reviewed the Statements of Principles drafted in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See Appendix C, p. 114, Examples of District Policies of Nondiscrimination in California.

conference sponsored by the Commission on May 5, 1960. The conference was attended by representatives from the California Association of School Administrators, California Association of School Personnel Administrators, California Association of Secondary School Administrators, California Education Placement Association, California School Boards Association, California State Federation of Teachers, and the California Teachers Association.

The principles agreed upon at the conference were as follows:

- 1. The education profession should utilize all its available human resources.
- Certificated personnel should be hired on the basis of professional qualifications and personal fitness without regard to race, religion, or national origin.
- 3. The education profession has a responsibility for making its members and the community aware of the value of non-discriminatory employment practices.

It was interesting to note the number of complaints based on race that had been referred to the Commission decreased from sixteen in 1958-59 to seven in 1960-61. Those

<sup>6</sup>Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, Toward Equal Employment Opportunity (Second Annual Report. Sacramento: Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, California State Department of Education, June 1961), p. 4.

<sup>7&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 4-5.

based on age decreased from four to one for the same period. There was only one complaint based on religion in 1958-59 and none in 1960-61. Other complaints, not identified, increased from five to nine for the period.

Included in the report were two case studies illustrating discriminatory practices relating to interviews for employment of two Negro teachers and five case studies of Negro teachers who were successfully employed in several California districts which previously had no Negro teachers. No case studies were reported dealing with teachers from other ethnic minorities.

The report also included statements of policies dealing with nondiscriminatory employment practices developed by various California professional educational organizations.

In a bulletin, prepared by a sixteen-member citizen advisory committee appointed by the board of education of the Berkeley (California) Unified School District on June 10, 1958, was a report of a study of interracial problems affecting education in the district. 10

<sup>8&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 7. 9<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 12-14.

<sup>10&</sup>quot;Interracial Problems and Their Effect on Education in the Public Schools of Berkeley, California," Report to the Board of Education by an Advisory Committee of Citizens (Berkeley: Unified School District, October 19, 1959), p. 16.

One recommendation of the committee was that the board of education follow strictly a policy of employing the best qualified teachers and placing them in schools regardless of race. Also recommended was the reconsideration of the policy of not placing Negro teachers in a predominately white school unless requested or until a sufficient nucleus of Negro children existed in the school.

It was of interest to note that the committee also recommended that teachers be encouraged to take special courses to improve their skills in dealing with racial and social problems. 11

Wilson C. Riles, Consultant in Certificated Employment Practices, California State Department of Education, has stated that one of the most important aspects of eliminating discrimination of teachers from ethnic minorities is that children are afforded the opportunity of relating to status persons of their own as well as those from other ethnic groups. This would provide the possibility for the development of attitudes of greater tolerance. 12

In connection with this supposition, the experimentation done by Lewis and Biber of how Negro children reacted to

ll<sub>Tbid</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, Second Annual Report, op. cit., p. v.

pictures of white and Negro teachers was of particular interest. 13 The children were asked to give their reaction to pictures of pleasant and unpleasant appearing white and Negro teachers. No preference between Negro and white teachers was evident in the group of children that had previous experience with Negro teachers; however, the children without experience with Negro teachers preferred the white teachers predominately. In both groups the pleasant appearing teachers were preferred to the unpleasant appearing ones with little regard to color.

In 1956 Benjamin Sacks, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in San Rafael, California, made a study of the attitudes of a group of elementary school administrators toward ethnic minorities. 14 He found, in several instances, a double set of standards existed in terms of expressed feelings and in actual practices relating to members of ethnic minorities. In several cases he discovered a feeling that the group being discriminated against was considered to be at fault. These persons were of the opinion that if it were

<sup>13</sup>c. Lewis and B. Biber, "Reaction of Negro Children toward Negro and White Teachers," <u>Journal of Experimental Education</u>, 20:97-104, May 5, 1951.

<sup>14</sup>Benjamin M. Sacks, "Investigation of Attitudes Towards Minorities and Race on the Part of Selected Elementary School Administrators," Educational Administration and Supervision, 1956, pp. 29-45.

not for characteristics prevalent within the minority of which the majority must be wary, the discrimination would not exist.

Among other administrators he felt the explanation of using the educational approach to solving problems of discrimination was a vague mechanistic device to provide a protective shelter by acknowledging an attempt at a solution.

In Sacks' opinion the paternalistic approach to providing solutions to discrimination was more undesirable than outright rejection from the point of view of the administrator. To Sacks, paternalism seems to involve an unconscious mechanism by which the individual is satisfied that he is performing along acceptable democratic lines. 15

After interviewing fourteen California elementary school administrators, Sacks found that of the sample as many had racial prejudices as did not. He felt that this situation presented basic problems of personal conflict for the administrator that would reflect on the total performance of his duties. If he were in a group with ideals similar to his own, few conflicts would arise, but if he were in a group with opposing ideals, there could be many conflicts. 16

<sup>15&</sup>lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 43.

<sup>16&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

In Sacks' opinion the problem for educational administration is not only to determine what attitudes are commensurate with educational leadership in a democracy, but also how to develop or foster them. 17

In regards to ways of lessening feelings of prejudice toward ethnic minorities there seem to be several theories ranging from direct frontal attacks against discriminating practices to the pacifistic approach of letting problem situations work themselves out with as little outside interference as possible. 18

#### Discrimination of Ethnic Minorities in General

Simpson and Yinger indicate that there is a growing trend toward more legislation to prevent discrimination. 19
The shortage of available workers created by expanded defense industries during World War II created a situation in which many persons from ethnic minorities were offered jobs that previously were not open to them. The percentage of Negroes in skilled industrial jobs rose from 4.4 in 1940 to 7.3 in 1944.

By executive order on June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt established the Federal Fair Employment Practices

<sup>17&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 43. 18<u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>19</sup>George E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, <u>Racial and Cultural Minorities</u> (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1958), pp. 393-448.

Committee to eliminate discrimination in employment of workers in defense industries or in government positions. It was not designed to eliminate prejudice but only to remove economic barriers created by prejudice, and to offer protection against discrimination in hiring and upgrading. However, the South successfully filibustered against renewal of the Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee, and it was dropped in June 1946.<sup>20</sup>

President Truman re-established the committee by executive order in July of 1948, only to have it abolished by President Eisenhower in January 1955 when he created a five-man committee to investigate discriminatory practices. This committee reported directly to the President rather than to the Civil Service Commission. 21

New York was the first state, on July 1, 1945, to establish a state Fair Employment Practice Commission. It has served as a model for other states and cities. By 1958, sixteen states and thirty-six cities had Fair Employment Practice laws (California's Fair Employment Practices Act was enacted in 1959).<sup>22</sup>

An article in the <u>United Nations Review</u> noted that the International Labor Organization feels that there has

<sup>20&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 443. 21<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 444-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, First Annual Report, op. cit., p. 10.

been a definite trend throughout the world toward greater employment opportunities since 1944.<sup>23</sup> The feeling is that this reflects an evolution in public opinion, but it has been facilitated by a more favorable employment situation in that more jobs are available and in general the economic situation is improved. The International Labor Organization is working toward greater acceptance of the fundamental principle that each individual has a right to equality of opportunity and treatment in employment matters and that it is morally wrong to take any action which limits this right because of race, sex, language, political opinion, national or social origin. It recommends that governments establish nondiscriminatory policies in employment of any person paid with government funds directly or indirectly in any government project.

The Negro situation. Holley, a Negro educator, feels that tolerance cannot be legislated and that enforcement of non-segregation laws that cause friction will react disastrously if resentment is aroused toward the Negro. 24

<sup>23&</sup>quot;Equal Employment Opportunity," <u>United Nations</u> Review, 4:4-5, July, 1957.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Winthrop Holley, You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top (New York: The William Frederick Press, Pamphlet Distributing Company, 1948), pp. 210-12.

This would appear to be the case as Ford illustrates the reaction in some sections of the South in which Negro teachers have felt an adverse reaction in employment practices since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. desegregating schools. 25 Many have had to sign affidavits before they were offered contracts, indicating that they did not believe in segregation of schools. In some instances their contracts were renewed every thirty days depending upon their conduct. Since some of these teachers had held previous contracts for as long as twenty years, it was obvious that the stipulation was based on their attitudes toward integration. In one instance a Negro high school principal did not have his contract renewed after he had earned a master's degree because it placed him higher on the salary schedule than a white colleague who did not have the advanced degree. The county refused to pay a Negro more than a white person in a comparable position. 26

Ford asserts that this kind of discrimination has caused many Negro teachers to conceal their feelings about integration for fear of losing their jobs.

Simon is of the opinion that in many communities it is more a matter of lethargy than a policy of discrimination

<sup>25&</sup>lt;sub>N</sub>. A. Ford, "Consider the Negro Teacher," New Republic, April 15, 1957, pp. 14-15.

<sup>26&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 15.

that teachers from minority groups are not employed.<sup>27</sup> He cited as an example the efforts of a group of parents in one community in Illinois to locate top teaching candidates from minority groups in colleges and to encourage them to apply for positions in the community. They followed the board actions to see if they were given fair consideration. This they did without any attempt of forcing integration. When a teacher from a minority group was employed, they offered assistance where they could in finding housing and arranging social contacts.

In the same state, the Illinois Teacher Placement Association compiled a list of districts that indicated a willingness to employ teachers from minorities and encouraged these teachers to apply for positions in these districts. The association began this service when it was discovered that many competent teachers from minorities were taking jobs other than teaching because they were unable to find teaching positions in spite of an acute shortage of teachers. 28

Morris points to the teacher shortage as being a national problem, adding that it is a national obligation to utilize every means of recruiting competent teachers.<sup>29</sup> It

<sup>27</sup>P. Simon, "Let's Integrate Our Teachers," Christian Century, February 20, 1957, pp. 230-32.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29&</sup>lt;sub>M.</sub> H. Morris, "Integrated Schools Means Teachers, Too," Phi Delta Kappan, June 1958, pp. 405-6.

is his opinion that integrating Negro teachers is not only a moral obligation but it has a distinct bearing on national survival and that the future depends upon the quality of education at all levels.

Morris has found that a large proportion of Negro college graduates select teaching as a profession because there is more opportunity for employment than in other professions in spite of the discrimination experienced. While only 20 per cent of all college graduates select teaching as a profession, 60 per cent of the college trained Negroes make this selection.

Spanish-speaking people. Considerable attention has been directed to problems of discrimination of Negroes because of rather obvious reasons. First of all they represent the largest ethnic group in the United States, and secondly, the situation in the South in regard to the integration of public schools with all its resultant problems and ramifications has been repeatedly brought to public attention; however, Ebersole reminds us that discrimination of Spanish-speaking people has also been a long-standing problem of many years. 30

<sup>30</sup> Luke Ebersole, American Society (New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 58-89.

As pointed out above, Ebersole makes a distinction between the Spanish-Americans and the Mexican-Americans, the former being descendants of the early Spanish settlers in the original Spanish territories in North America, while the latter are the descendants of the immigrants from Mexico. It is his belief that there is generally more discrimination shown towards the latter group and that discrimination exists between the two groups. The Spanish-Americans have set themselves apart from the Mexican-Americans with resultant discrimination very much in evidence toward them.

speaking people in the United States because the Census Bureau after the 1940 census no longer listed this group in a separate category; however, Simpson and Yinger, writing in 1958, estimated that there were then about two and a half million persons of Mexican descent in the United States with about half this number living in Texas. 31 In many instances the education of the Spanish-speaking children presented many problems to the schools because of the language barrier and poor attendance pattern, the latter being the result of the itinerant nature of the employment of their parents. Because of this language problem, segregated schools existed for many years in the Southwest and in California, thus

<sup>31</sup> Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 641.

reinforcing the discrimination of the group. It was not until 1946-47 that segregation of Spanish-speaking children was ruled illegal by the courts in California. In 1948, Texas followed California's example by ruling against segregation of Spanish-speaking children.

The realization that Spanish-speaking children become more adept in the use of English by being in classrooms with English speaking children eliminated the rationalization for segregation on the basis of a language handicap.<sup>32</sup>

Simpson and Yinger are of the opinion that the legal rulings against segregation of Spanish-speaking children in the schools have accelerated the process of integration.<sup>33</sup> Whether the implication is that integration has been accelerated in general or just in the schools is not made clear.

The Oriental situation. Ebersole draws attention to the fact that Orientals constitute the third largest ethnic group in the United States. 34 Within this group, the largest sub-groups are Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. In many cities they are segregated into what is commonly referred to as Chinatowns. Often these Chinatowns, although

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, p. 642. <sup>33</sup><u>Ibid.</u>

<sup>34</sup>Ebersole, op. cit., p. 69.

they are the center of Chinese culture, are not selfsufficient. In many instances, the homes of the Orientals
are scattered throughout urban areas. San Francisco and
Los Angeles are the first and third largest Chinese centers
in the United States. New York City is the second largest
center.

Before the second world war 88.5 per cent of the Japanese in the United States lived in the three Pacific states with 73.8 per cent in California. The Los Angeles area had the largest concentration with 29.1 per cent.

In Ebersole's opinion, discrimination against the Japanese was largely responsible for their retention of family ties and traditions. The Japanese-American war accentuated the prejudices and discrimination. They were economically boycotted, some lost their jobs, others were forced out of their homes. Shortly after the war began in 1941, all the Japanese living in the Pacific states were evacuated to isolated relocation centers until the end of the war in 1945.35

When the war was over, most of the Japanese returned to their homes. For a while they faced strong resistance to their return, but, as many writers indicated, this was soon broken down largely because of the influence of the

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

outstanding war records of many Japanese-Americans fighting for the United States. The resistance was also diminished by the public shame for the relocation program which many felt had been carried out without real cause. Severe losses were suffered by many of the Japanese by the relocation program changing the entire mode of life for many. Ebersole states that for the most part the Japanese have returned to the relatively isolated position in American society of not being accepted by the dominant group. 36

It is Bradford Smith's impression that the Japanese relocation program was our worst wartime mistake and quotes Justice Frank Murphy as saying, "The Japanese evacuation was one of the most sweeping and complete deprivations of Constitutional rights in the history of this nation." 37

In speaking of the racial prejudice that preceded the Japanese relocation, Smith quotes Earl Warren, then the Attorney General of California, as saying, "The Japanese situation could be the Achilles Heel of the entire civildefense effort. . . . When dealing with the Caucasian race, we have methods that will test the loyalty of them." 38

<sup>36&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

<sup>37</sup>Bradford Smith, "Education of Earl Warren," The Nation, October 11, 1958, pp. 206-8.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

It was pointed out that the Japanese had settled under strategic power lines and near major oil fields, but it was forgotten that they were the only tenants who for years had been willing to expend the effort to farm this marginal land. It was also forgotten in the fear generated by the war that they had farmed areas near factories and airfields for years before the factories and airfields were built.

Going back into the history of discrimination of Orientals, McKensie points out that more Oriental migration has been to the Pacific countries and North and South America than to Europe. 39 In the early days of California, the Chinese were sought after for cheap labor for building railroads and working in the gold fields and salmon canneries; however, when employment became more competitive, agitation grew for exclusion of Orientals. In 1882 California passed the Chinese Exclusion Law and extended it to the Japanese in 1907. The feelings toward Orientals continued to grow until enough pressure was brought to bear to include in the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 a clause to exclude aliens not eligible for citizenship. The arguments in favor of this clause were that Orientals represented unfair labor competition and were culturally and racially

<sup>39</sup>R. D. McKensie, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), II, 490-94.

unable to be assimilated. The act marked a seventy-five year trend of agitation against Oriental immigration. 40

McKensie makes an interesting comment on this type of discriminatory agitation. It had its origin in local conflicts that resulted in local restrictive legislation spreading then to the state and finally the national level, and as it became more widespread in scope, it became more aggressive in nature. 41

Filipinos were later subjected to similar restrictive legislative action based again mainly on the argument of unfair labor competition.<sup>42</sup>

McKensie comments that Orientals experience their greatest difficulties in the area of employment. He feels that they are mainly restricted to employment within their own racial group; however, the labor situation concerning Filipinos in agriculture and the fishing canneries which employ a large segment of this group would not seem to substantiate this. Perhaps the observation was made outside of this particular consideration.

Pertinent newspaper articles. From time to time articles have appeared in the newspapers on various aspects of discrimination of teachers. The Resolutions Committee of the National Education Association at a convention in

<sup>40&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>. 41<sub>Ibid</sub>. 42<sub>Ibid</sub>.

Portland, Oregon, in 1956, two years after the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation, urged a strong stand against integration on the basis that both white and Negro teachers in the South were losing their jobs because of the ruling and also for expressing pro-integration sentiments. 43

At the convention Myron Lieberman offered a substitute resolution on desegregation calling for the N. E. A. to condemn ". . . as unethical and unprofessional, the practice of employing teachers on a racial or religious basis." His resolution would also consider any educator unethical who knowingly offered or accepted a position available by reason of racial or religious discrimination.44

Reporting on discrimination of teachers from minority groups in California, former State Superintendent Roy E. Simpson indicated that there was still considerable difficulty being experienced on the part of some teachers in finding positions outside of the large metropolitan areas. 45

Another article reported Simpson as indicating that discrimination of employment of teachers from minority groups was at a minimum in California; however, some teachers,

<sup>43</sup> Stockton [California] Record, July 5, 1956, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, February 8, 1962.

especially Negroes, had difficulty finding employment in certain districts.46

Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President of the United States and chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, in a message prepared for Brother-hood Week stated that the United States could not afford the waste of its most valuable resource, human ability, by racial prejudice and intolerance. 47 He added that each citizen must be able to work and advance regardless of his color, religion, or ancestral origins.

At the November 14, 1961, meeting of the Foothill Society of Ethical Culture in Pasadena, California, Walter Shatford, member and past president of the Pasadena Board of Education, stated that he believed Negro teachers in Pasadena were not given equal consideration for assignments. 48 In answer to a question from the audience, Shatford indicated that it was a policy of the board to give Negroes special consideration as Negroes and not as individual teachers.

Another panelist, Zane Meckler, secretary of the education committee of the Community Relations Conference of Southern California, stated that true integration was

<sup>46</sup>The Sacramento Bee, February 7, 1962.

<sup>47</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, February 12, 1962, p. 47.

<sup>48</sup> Pasadena [California] Independent, November 15, 1961.

possible only through exposure of different groups to each other. He added that it was his belief that this could be most readily accomplished in the schools since it was more difficult to do so in housing, churches, and employment. 49 Shatford agreed that the housing situation was largely responsible for de facto segregation in the Pasadena schools.

On November 25, 1961, the Pasadena Independent published a news report from Robert E. Jenkins, Superintendent of the Pasadena School District, clarifying what he felt were misunderstandings concerning the school district's employment policy. 50

He pointed out that the district operated under a policy of employing the best person for the job regardless of race, color, or creed. Jenkins added that each assignment to the various schools is made with the greatest of care to meet the specific need of the school, grade or subject area, and that every effort is being made to assign Negro teachers and those of other minority groups throughout the district.

He went on to say that Negro teachers are assigned in about one-half of the district's thirty-seven schools and that ethnic minority teachers are represented on the staffs

<sup>49&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup><u>Ibid</u>., November 25, 1961.

of two-thirds of the schools. One of the five assistant principals in the junior high schools was a Negro and had been selected because he was the best person for the job.

Jenkins indicated that Pasadena has had the distinction of being one of the outstanding leaders in California in the field of anti-discrimination in personnel matters.

Although not directly relating his comments to the racial discrimination of teachers, Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, affirmed his opposition to segregation in any form. 51 However, he added that he was opposed to using the schools to solve racial problems that were primarily the problems of housing. In his opinion, there would be little advantage to changing the function of the neighborhood schools by arbitrarily setting up a ratio of the number of pupils from various races and transporting them to various sections of a town in order to produce integration.

### Conclusion

By comparison to some sections of America, California has not experienced the intensity of discrimination toward ethnic minority groups; however, there have been very

<sup>51</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, March 14, 1963, p. 7.

specific and at times, widespread instances of discriminatory action against particular minority groups. Community as well as state legislative action in California during the past two decades has made noticeable gains in combating discriminatory practices. The enactment of the Fair Employment Practices Act and the establishment of the Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment has focused attention throughout the state on perhaps the most important problem of discrimination of ethnic minority groups, the problem of equal opportunity in employment.

#### CHAPTER III

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE NONDISCRIMINATORY EMPLOYMENT POLICY

The events leading to the establishment of the nondiscriminatory employment policy in Stockton and its subsequent adoption by the board of education have been assimilated from a record of the minutes of the board meetings for 1946 and 1947. In addition interviews were held with persons directly and indirectly related to its development.

### Review of the Stockton Board of Education Minutes

During the summer preceding the opening of the schools in 1946, the Stockton Unified School District received its first application from a Negro teacher. The applicant had a Bachelor of Science degree with a major in elementary education and a minor in French from Tuskegee Institute, a Negro college in Alabama. In addition, she had six years of experience, four teaching foreign languages in high school and two in a first grade. Her application led to the development of the nondiscriminatory employment policy for certificated personnel in Stockton.

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Edward T. Henry, first Negro teacher employed in Stockton, personal interview, January 4, 1962.

Members of the board at the time the application was made were Carlton J. Hironymous, chairman, Earl M. Bashor, Mrs. Arthur Isaacson, Cecil W. Rehnert, and Mrs. Archie Toal.

The first reference in the board minutes was on September 23, 1946, when Superintendent Andrew P. Hill alerted the board to the fact that a Negro teacher had applied for a position in the Stockton schools. He felt the need for the establishment of a board policy for handling such an application. The matter was postponed until a later meeting for a more complete discussion.

The October 8, 1946, minutes indicated that the subject was again on the agenda. At this time Hill reported in greater detail the circumstances of the application. He explained that four days prior to the opening of school in September a Negro had applied for a teaching position. She had been asked to complete an application form, but he had held the application until the board could formulate a definite policy regarding the employment of "colored" teachers.

With this introduction to the situation, there followed considerable discussion including a plea by Reverend Andrew Juvinall of the Clay Street Methodist Church for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Minutes of the Board of Education, Stockton Unified School District, September 23, 1946.

board to give fair consideration to the employment of Negro teachers. He spoke also on behalf of minority groups in general.

The board instructed the superintendent to notify the applicant that it was within her rights to complete her application and to submit her references, transcript record of educational preparation, and verification of teaching experience. The superintendent was also directed to contact immediately all the cities in California of the approximate size of Stockton or larger to ascertain the circumstances that prevailed in their districts before Negro teachers were employed. He was to find out, if possible, what preparations were made in their school neighborhoods and with their school personnel for the introduction of Negro teachers. He was further directed to prepare a report of the Negro enrollment in each of the Stockton schools for the next board meeting.<sup>3</sup>

# Study of Employment Policies for Ethnic Minority Teachers by Andrew P. Hill

With specific directives from the board, Hill prepared a questionnaire which he sent on October 14, 1946, to thirty

<sup>3 &</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, October 8, 1946.

districts in California that were somewhat comparable in size to Stockton.4

Of the thirty questionnaires distributed, Hill received twenty replies. In analyzing these returns, Hill found the following practices were somewhat general in most of the districts at that time:

 Selection of teachers was generally based upon a Civil Service Examination regardless of the applicant's race.

2. The districts that employed Negro teachers did so generally after the percentage of Negroes in the community reached from 6 to 9 per cent or when an individual school had 50 per cent or more of its enrollment represented by Negro children.

3. No attempt was made to maintain a ratio between the number of Negro teachers and the total

number of Negro pupils.

4. Very few districts in California had received applications from Negro teachers prior to 1938; however, one district with over 12,000 average daily attendance reported it had received its first application from a Negro teacher in 1894.

5. Negroes represented the largest number of teachers from ethnic minorities employed at that time.

6. Most protests against Negro teachers originated from white American parents.5

Employed in the twenty districts which responded to the questionnaire in 1946 were forty Negro teachers, five

<sup>4</sup>Andrew P. Hill, "Report on the Employment of Teachers from Minority Groups" (Stockton: Stockton Unified School District, 1947). (Mimeographed.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, p. 1.

Chinese, three Spanish-speaking, and five teachers from other minority groups.

Hill found at the time of his survey that some communities had not progressed as much as Stockton had in dealing with the issues of minority groups. One community reported that property restrictions kept Negroes from living in the area. Several reported that Negroes and some other races were segregated from white pupils in the first eight grades. Several other communities had disguised segregation in that Negro pupils were "transferred" to certain schools where minority groups were enrolled.

Two communities reported that Negro teachers were discouraged in applying for positions by pointing out to them that a considerable number of residents in the community came from the southern states. 7

Some of these communities that did not approach the same level as Stockton did in dealing with minority group issues, however, recommend steps to liberalize treatment of minority groups. One such recommendation was the formation of junior high schools at the seventh grade level on an unsegregated basis, the assumption being that segregation would be continued below the seventh grade. Another

<sup>6&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>. 7<sub>Ibid</sub>., p. 2.

suggestion was to begin immediately in kindergarten or first grade and progressively eliminate segregation in all the grades. Still another suggestion was that individuals not be transferred out of their residential area unless it benefitted them educationally.

The survey revealed various steps that were taken by districts that employed ethnic minority teachers in introducing them to the community. In general they were employed first as nursery school teachers or as teachers in the adult Usually they were allowed to substitute education division. in the district before being given a full-time position. Particular attention was placed on the selection of highly qualified and talented persons. They were given assignments in schools where the P. T. A. would be certain to welcome them and where the teaching staff had been selected on the basis of its willingness to work with them. Negro leaders in the community were solicited for their help in introducing Negro teachers. Special preparatory work was done with the parents of the community in which the assignment was Teachers from certain minority groups were offered positions after persons from that minority group became recognized and accepted leaders within the community, such as lawyers, engineers, chemists, doctors, et cetera. 9

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 9 Ibid.

In the preparation of the report for the board, Hill found that the following conditions existed in the community that gave evidence to the supposition that Stockton was "... culturally and democratically ready to accord minority groups fair treatment."10

- 1. Some of the labor unions had already accepted minority groups on the same basis as other members.
- 2. The schools did not have segregation of pupils by race or color.
- 3. Members of minority groups had attained minor leadership positions in a number of Stockton industries.
- 4. The city employees were not segregated as to race or color.
- 5. Members of minority groups were accepted by the local P. T. A. organizations where they had become working members and, in at least one instance, president of a school unit.
- 6. The community had supported workshops and institutes dealing with the problems of minority groups.
- 7. The Community Council had repeatedly recommended that the needs of minority groups be given more attention.
- 8. Tully Knoles, President of the College of the Pacific, had consistently provided leadership at the college for fair treatment of minority groups.
- 9. The board of education had employed Jewish,
  Mexican, and two Hawaiians by exchange
  teaching positions, without parental protest.
- 10. Ethnic persons were accepted members of business men's service clubs.
- 11. Ethnic persons were recognized professionally in the community.
- 12. The International Club and the Inter-racial Council which dealt with minority groups had

<sup>10&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>., p. 3.

been supported by the community for a number of reare

of years.

13. A resolution had been passed voluntarily by a group of teachers offering to teach on a faculty with a Negro teacher. This resolution had been reached without prior knowledge of the superintendent. 11

The report included a review of the historical aspects of America's struggle for freedom and equality from the earliest beginnings, through the adoption of the Constitution and the Civil War to the present time. 12

Included in Hill's report was a brief discussion of scientific data presented to refute certain beliefs in racial superiority. 13 The aspect of a particular race having superior mental ability over others was clarified by pointing out the fact that educational experience can affect the mental ability of a group, as indicated by a comparison of the results from intelligence tests administered to inductees in the army dring the second world war. The evidence indicated that when educational experiences were more generally equal, there did not appear to be a significant difference between the intelligence test results of one race over another. 14

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 12 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, p. 5. <sup>14</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, p. 6.

Concluding the report with the point that it was a Christian duty as well as a moral obligation to accord all persons fair treatment regardless of race or color, Hill made the following recommendations to the board:

> That teachers for this school system be employed on the basis of education and morality, and 1. without regard to race or color.

That the superintendent and his staff continue 2.

to examine and recommend teachers as heretofore. That the superintendent is herewith instructed 3. to use care and discretion in placing teachers from minority groups, so as to insure as fair an opportunity for them as local conditions will permit.

That the superintendent is herewith permitted 4. to take a poll of elementary teachers for the purpose of ascertaining those who would be willing to teach on a faculty with a teacher

of another race or color.
That the Stockton P. T. A. Council be asked to include the matter of the treatment of minority groups as a part of their study program. 15

In accord with one of the directives of the board, Hill included in one of the appendices a report of the number of Negro pupils enrolled in each of the Stockton schools on October 16, 1946, 16 At the elementary school level there were 741 Negro pupils out of a total of 11,141, or slightly over 6 per cent. There were 161 Negro pupils out of a total of 4,176 pupils at the high school level, or slightly under 4 per cent. Of the total enrollment of 15,317 pupils at both levels, there were 902 Negro pupils or slightly under 6 per cent.

<sup>15&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>. 16<sub>Ibid</sub>., p. 13.

The entire report was presented to the board of education at the January 16, 1947, meeting. A lengthy discussion followed; however, a decision as to the recommendations was not reached, for the matter was again postponed to a future meeting. 17

The minutes of the February 18, 1947, meeting indicated that the superintendent's report on the employment of teachers from minority groups was again considered by the board. Rehnert made the motion, seconded by Toal and passed unanimously by the board, that the recommendations of the superintendent be accepted as part of the operational policies of the Stockton Unified School District provided that the applicants met all of the district's requirements.

Reverend B. C. Goodwin of the Ebenezer African

Methodist Church was in attendance at the meeting and praised
the board for its action, commenting that it would lift the
morale of every Negro youth in the community. 19

The final reference to the employment of teachers from minority groups was made in the minutes of the board meeting on February 25, 1947, when Hill asked Rehnert for a clarification of his motion of February eighteenth. 20

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of board meeting, op. cit., January 16, 1947.

<sup>18 &</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, February 19, 1947. 19 <u>Ibid</u>.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., February 25, 1947.

Rehnert indicated that the manner in which he had put the motion left it to the discretion of the superintendent to carry out the recommendation as he saw fit.

#### Employment of First Negro Teacher in Stockton

An interview with the first Negro applicant for a teaching position in Stockton brought into focus some interesting details regarding the formation of the nondiscriminatory employment policy in the district.<sup>21</sup>

At the time of Mrs. Henry's arrival in Stockton on July 19, 1946, she was married to Ruben Smith of Stockton, from whom she was later divorced. In 1957 she married Reverend Edward T. Henry. This background information is included to clarify the reference to Mrs. Henry as being the first Negro teacher employed in Stockton when the records report her name as Mrs. Smith.

As indicated earlier, Mrs. Henry had six years of teaching experience prior to her arrival in Stockton. She had been advised to major in elementary education rather than foreign languages because of the greater opportunity for employment. However, at the time of her graduation, there was a teaching position available in her home state of South Carolina for a foreign language teacher in a small

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Mrs. Edward T. Henry, personal interviews, January 4, 1962, and April 5, 1962.

Negro high school. With a minor in French and an interest in languages, she applied for and obtained the position. She remained in this capacity in South Carolina for four years, and then taught a first grade in Georgia for two years before coming to California.

Two or three weeks after her arrival in Stockton, she went to the Personnel Department of the Stockton Unified School District to inquire about the necessary procedures to obtain certification to teach in California and also the possibility of obtaining a teaching position in one of Stockton's high schools. She was informed that applications for high school teaching were made directly to the principals and that positions were filled only upon their recommendations. Since she did not know any of the principals, she felt it would be futile to apply to them for a position.

Shortly before school was scheduled to open in September an article in the local newspaper indicated an urgent need for substitute teachers to augment the staff of regular elementary teachers. Mrs. Henry made an appointment with Miss Carrie E. Bowman, Coordinator of Primary Education, to apply for a position as a substitute teacher. When Miss Bowman learned that Mrs. Henry was a college graduate with teaching experience and had successfully passed the National Teachers Examination, she indicated that there were still several elementary school positions unfilled and offered her

an application to complete. Mrs. Henry was told to report the following Monday for the induction program for beginning teachers; however, on Monday, Miss Bowman called Mrs. Henry into her office and told her she would have to rescind her offer of employment. After talking with the superintendent she had learned that the district had not established a policy governing the employment of teachers from ethnic minority groups. The superintendent felt that certain factions in the community might object to the employment of a Negro teacher and that it would be unwise to offer Mrs. Henry a contract until the board of education had an opportunity to study the situation and to formulate a definite policy.

Mrs. Henry reported that she was obviously quite dejected by the reversal of the offer for employment. She felt that the situation as it had occurred in Stockton was more discriminatory than it would have been in the South, for there she would have known very definitely whether her application would be accepted or not.

In an attempt to ascertain what her best course of action would be to obtain a teaching position, Mrs. Henry wrote letters of inquiry to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro Women's Club outlining the situation as it existed in Stockton. As a result of these letters, she met with Reverend Juvinall, who later spoke on behalf of minority groups at the meeting when

the board of education discussed the development of a policy relating to the employment of teachers from minority groups. She met also with Mrs. Potts, local president of the N.A.A.C.P., Mrs. Parker, representative of the Negro Women's Club, and Reverend Williams.

Not long after this an article appeared in the local paper indicating that the board of education was in the process of conducting a study related to the employment of teachers from ethnic minority groups, the outcome of which would be the formulation of a policy for the employment of certificated personnel in the Stockton schools.

Late in April or early in May of 1947, several months after the board of education had established the nondiscriminatory employment policy, Mrs. Henry was called to the superintendent's office for an interview, at which time an offer of employment was made, as well as an attempt to clarify with her the fact that her letters to the N.A.A.C.P. and the Negro Women's Club had no bearing on the offer of a teaching position. She was advised of the probability of some demonstration against her on the part of a few people in the community and that her best course of action would be to remain calm in the face of it and to try not to let such things disturb her.

A number of articles appeared in the local paper commenting on the unique position Mrs. Henry held as the

first Negro teacher employed in Stockton. She indicated that one article reported that she had received the highest score of the applicants taking the Stockton teachers' examination that year. In relating this fact, Mrs. Henry pointed out that she was made aware of this only by reading the account in the paper and that no other reference to the test was made by any one in the school department. She felt that it had been utilized simply as a means to gain greater acceptance of her in the community.

Mrs. Henry reported that her first assignment in Stockton was a primary grade in the Monroe School in the southeast section of town. The teaching principal, Mrs. Iva Capps, had indicated a desire to have her on the teaching staff which consisted at that time of the teaching principal and three teachers.

Contrary to anticipated difficulties related to her acceptance, Mrs. Henry reported that not one incident occurred to her knowledge that indicated she was not accepted and given complete status as a member of the professional staff in the community. The nearest thing that might have been interpreted as non-acceptance in the fifteen years that she had been teaching in Stockton was a complaint from a Caucasian parent that she had been unfair in her dealings with his child; however, she has felt that there may have

been discriminatory complaints made about her from time to time to the principals with whom she worked that were never reported to her.

### Interviews with Persons Connected with the

### Policy Development

The interviews with Andrew P. Hill and Mrs. Homer S. Toms are reported in detail because of their importance in documenting the developmental aspects of the nondiscriminatory employment policy.

Mrs. Homer S. Toms, Secretary to the Superintendent, Stockton Unified School District. 22 Mrs. Homer S. Toms was Superintendent Hill's secretary at the time the nondiscriminatory employment policy was formulated. She continued as secretary for Nolan D. Pulliam who succeeded Hill. In this capacity Mrs. Toms was responsible for recording the minutes of the board meetings. To the best of her knowledge nothing ever came before the board regarding certificated personnel from minority groups since the formation of the policy in 1947. No reference was ever made to specific persons from minority groups when the board passed on their employment. With the exception of very obvious names such as Oriental

<sup>22</sup>Mrs. Homer S. Toms, personal interview, December 20, 1961.

or Spanish there would never have been any means of identification from the lists presented to the board for their approval.

Andrew P. Hill, Superintendent of Stockton Unified School District, 1943-1950.<sup>23</sup> Hill recalled that he had been aware of the issues related to minority groups in Stockton at the time of his appointment to the superintendency in 1943. He knew eventually the district would need to recognize ethnic minority teachers and employ them in the district, since the community was comprised of a heterogeneous population with many minority groups and especially a rapidly increasing Negro segment.

An incident occurred in the early 1940's in Stockton that made a marked impression upon a small group of civic minded citizens. The city manager employed an outstanding city planning organization, Bartholomew and Company from Chicago, to make a complete survey of Stockton's cultural life, the industries and businesses, the recreational facilities, and the educational system. The report from the survey thoroughly impressed Hill with its forward-looking aspects and long-range planning for improvements; however, the City Council was not prepared for it and all of its

<sup>23</sup> Andrew P. Hill, personal interviews, July 19, 1956, and April 17, 1962.

ramifications. The Council would not accept the firm's recommendations, and in Hill's words ". . . it was smothered and soon forgotten." Only a few mimeographed copies of the report were produced, and one of these eventually found its way to Hill.

This incident led to the formation of an organization called the Stockton Youth Council comprised of civic minded citizens and representatives from the city and county.

Meetings were held in the Congregational Church, and a few youth centers were formed which operated for several years. It was not long before the Council became involved in the study of racial issues in Stockton to determine ways of developing greater acceptance of the increasing members of minority groups.

As a member of the Council, Hill was in a position to bring to its attention a growing racial problem that was developing in the eastern section of the city in the Roosevelt and Elmwood elementary school attendance areas. A significantly large number of Negro families that had come to Stockton shortly before and during the war had settled in the Roosevelt area. They were not a part of the old established Negro population in Stockton, but were, for the most part, recent arrivals from the South. They brought with them their own ministers and seemed determined to establish a separate segment of their own in the community.

Racial issues stemming mainly from discipline problems began occurring with increased frequency at Roosevelt. Hill was called to the school several times to mediate in the disputes. In a number of cases he found the incidents originated with the parents of Caucasian pupils who encouraged their children to instigate trouble with the Negro pupils in the hope that the Negro children would be withdrawn from the school if the problems continued. At one point a group of Negro parents in the Roosevelt district made a request of Hill to establish a segregated school for the Negro pupils in the area. In meetings with the parents at Roosevelt School, Hill made it clear that there had never been segregated schools in Stockton and that he had no intention of establishing them. He further indicated that it was imperative that they work towards a solution of their problems in the interest of their children.

In the adjoining school east of the Roosevelt School there existed another unique situation directly related to the problem at Roosevelt. This area around the Elmwood Elementary School had been settled primarily by families of a rather low socio-economic level from the South. The subdividers of the property had established an all-white restriction clause in the purchase contracts. For the most part the residents in this area were openly hostile to Negro integration.

As the population in the Roosevelt area increased, it soon became evident to Hill that eventually it would be necessary to make certain boundary changes in the attendance areas of the two schools. Possible some Negro pupils would be included in the transfers to Elmwood to relieve the overcrowded condition at Roosevelt, where there were double sessions and classes being held in the basements and in the auditorium.

With existing conditions in the residential area at Elmwood, Hill was certain there would be strong resistance to the proposal to change the attendance boundaries. Working through the Youth Council, Hill formulated a program to develop greater civic pride on the part of the Elmwood residents, feeling that a change in this respect would bring about a change in attitudes towards greater acceptance of minority groups.

Meetings were held at the Elmwood School to encourage an improvement program for the area. With the help of the city gardener, Victor Anderson, free trees were obtained to help beautify the area which for the most part was devoid of any such beautification. Within a few years the entire character of the neighborhood changed. However, when boundary changes were made to reduce the enrollment at Roosevelt, circumstances were such that no Negro children were included in the transfers to Elmwood. Eventually a major highway was

constructed between the two schools which formed a natural boundary across which the Negro families did not move.

Because of this no Negro children have attended Elmwood, except as an emergency measure during one year when a number of children were transported from Roosevelt to Elmwood to alleviate an overcrowded condition at Roosevelt.

Hill reported that another area that was experiencing rapid changes in the character of its school population was the one around the Monroe Elementary School. Before the second world war the residents were predominately Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican. A small number of Negroes who had lived there for years were also in the area. At one time there were no white children at all living in the attendance area served by the Monroe School. During the war, when the Japanese were relocated to an area outside of California for security purposes, Negroes and low socioeconomic Caucasian families moved into the area in large numbers. It has always been a highly heterogeneous population area.

Hill emphasized that all of these factors served as an example of the great changes that were occurring in Stockton. Business and industry was growing, new people were moving into Stockton in great numbers, and residential areas were rapidly changing in character. He pointed out that these changes were happening up and down the state and

that this was the main factor that he felt was responsible for the change in attitudes towards greater acceptance of minority groups in general and was largely responsible for the acceptance of the nondiscriminatory employment policy for teachers. Although Stockton was one of the pioneers in this movement, other cities were taking steps in the same direction. Los Angeles, with its extremely large minority population, was used repeatedly as an example of what was being accomplished in the area of employment of ethnic minority teachers.

Hill was of the opinion that the board's acceptance of the nondiscriminatory employment policy was due to the fact that its presentation came at a very favorable time. Stockton's size had remained rather stable for many years. The situation for the most part had been static, and people in general were quite content with the status quo. Then the picture changed rather rapidly just as it did in many other areas in the state. The community adjusted to these changes and was ready to accept other changes related to the rapid growth of the city and the population changes.

The board's approval of the nondiscriminatory employment policy had been unanimous. The only criteria the board set for the superintendent was that he select the highest qualified teachers available for the Stockton schools. As a further example of its confidence in his

judgment, the board informed the superintendent that he need not report the employment of ethnic minority teachers; however, Hill indicated that in his judgment it would be wise for the board to be aware of such appointments in the event of a reaction in the community.

Hill emphasized that the first Negro teacher in Stockton was selected with considerable care. Her educational preparation for teaching was above the level of many of the elementary school teachers in Stockton at the time. She was well qualified from the standpoint of teaching experience. She was a mature, poised, and well-groomed person. In addition she had a pleasant, friendly personality. She was in every respect well-qualified to be assured of meeting with a high degree of success in her assignment.

In explaining her first assignment at the Monroe Elementary School, Hill stated the small size of the school was important. There were just three teachers and a teaching principal on the staff. Secondly, the heterogeneous composition of the area indicated a reasonable degree of acceptance in the school community. Finally, the principal was willing to accept an ethnic minority teacher on the staff.

Hill listed these three factors as the basis for the assignments of all the ethnic minority teachers employed during his term. First of all the principal's acceptance

was of primary importance. Secondly, the staff's willingness to work with the teacher and cooperate to give her every opportunity to succeed, and finally the school community's degree of readiness to accept the teacher to work with its children. Basically, Hill added, these were the criteria used for the assignment of any teacher regardless of race or ethnic background in order to provide the teacher with the utmost opportunity to succeed in her assignment; however, the person making the assignments would have to keep in mind the overall balance in the staff in order to provide an educational opportunity of a high degree of quality in every school.

It had been suggested that Hill had instigated the movement to employ ethnic minority teachers because he would be in a position to utilize a source that had previously been unavailable in recruiting teachers for vacancies in the Stockton schools; however, Hill categorically denied this as being any part of his thinking in developing the recommendation. He further indicated that obtaining qualified teachers was not a problem in Stockton in the years preceding the recommendation. Neither was he heading a crusade movement to employ the teachers to further the cause of a particular minority group. It was, he asserted, his sole intention to provide equal employment rights to all groups of teachers simply because it was democratically and morally right to

do so. The circumstances that existed at the time were providential in accomplishing that purpose.

A secondary effect of the policy, however, did establish the right of the superintendent and his professional staff to make the selection of teachers to be employed in the district and to assign them to schools on the basis of providing the best educational opportunity to the children. He explained that this had not been an established practice prior to the formation of the policy.

In regard to future problems related to the employment of ethnic teachers in Stockton, Hill felt that difficulties would be very unlikely to occur if the selection of teachers were very carefully made and if proper discretion were exercised in their assignments. It was Hill's opinion that the two most important criteria for the selection of all teachers was their educational qualifications to teach and their willingness to expend the necessary effort to accomplish the job for which they were hired. He emphasized that every school district must retain its professional responsibility of selecting teachers on the basis of educational preparation and qualifications to perform adequately in the classroom situation, and the surest way to undo the progress that had been made in employing ethnic teachers would be to employ unqualified applicants simply because of pressure from organizations outside of the school.

#### Conclusion

The development of the nondiscriminatory employment policy for teachers in Stockton is notable because it represents a pioneering effort in public school personnel procedures that predates much of what has been done to provide an equal employment opportunity for teachers from ethnic minority groups in California.

It is further notable because it represents primarily the efforts of one person, Andrew P. Hill, who not only had the democratic attitude to envision the need for action in this area but also the ability to garner the varied community and intellectual forces necessary to present his ideas in such a convincing manner that they won the approval of the board of education, the school district staff, and the community at large. Various circumstances played important roles in the policy development and its subsequent implementation; however, the leadership demonstrated by Hill was unique.

#### CHAPTER IV

## INTERVIEWS WITH OTHER PERSONS CONCERNED WITH THE NONDISCRIMINATORY EMPLOYMENT POLICY

In collecting the necessary data to document the establishment of the nondiscriminatory employment policy and its usage in the years since its adoption, the following individuals were interviewed for either their interest in the development of the policy and the part they had in providing a favorable community climate for its acceptance, or for their role in implementing the policy:

> Clark H. Boggess, Director of Personnel since 1953. Iva Capps, retired elementary school principal of the school in which the first Negro teacher was assigned in Stockton.

Edward S. Esser, retired Coordinator of Intermediate and Upper Grade Fundamentals.

J. Marc Jantzen, Dean of the School of Education, University of the Pacific.

Harold S. Jacoby, Professor of Sociology, University of the Pacific.

Nolan D. Pulliam, Superintendent, 1951-1963. Donald R. Sheldon, Associate Superintendent, 1951-1963, and Superintendent since April, 1963.

With the exception of Jantzen and Jacoby from the University of the Pacific, all of the people interviewed were connected with the Stockton Unified School District. The list could well have been expanded to include many others who were concerned with the policy; however, for the purposes of this study, it is fairly representative of the

people who were interested and involved in the policy development and implementation.

The summarization of the interviews is in two parts. The first is a condensation of the pertinent aspects of the individual interviews. The second is intended as a general overview and compilation of the combined interviews following the outline of the interview questionnaire. A copy of the questionnaire as well as the complete interviews are included in the appendix. 1

#### Summarization of Individual Interviews

Clark H. Boggess, Director of Personnel.

Awareness of Issue: At time of arrival, 1953, policy and practice well established.

Points of Interest: Selection carefully made to eliminate unqualified teachers.

Factors Influencing Assignments: Acceptance in community. Reasonable certainty of success on the job.

Preparation for Assignment: Placement in summer school program preceding regular assignment if acceptance questionable.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance increased throughout district.

Major Problems: Acceptance in schools with no ethnic minority pupils enrolled. Interference in personnel matters from minority group organizations.

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix E. p. 135, Questionnaire for Personal Interviews, and Appendix F, p. 136, Personal Interviews.

Future Problems: Acceptance in Caucasian neighborhoods. Cooperation with minority group organizations. Maintenance of balanced staff.

Suggestions: Continuation of assignments throughout district gradually. Creation of positive attitudes toward minority groups. Continuation of careful selection and elimination of teachers regardless of race.

Iva B. Capps, Retired Elementary School Principal.

Awareness of Issue: At time of first assignment of Negro teacher.

Points of Interest: Acceptance good from outset. Success established precedence for future assignments.

Factors Influencing Assignment: Acceptance in small school, heterogeneous neighborhood, large percentage of ethnic minority pupils.

Preparation for Assignment: No awareness of formal preparation.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance complete in some schools. Assignments spreading to other schools.

Major Problems: Recruitment of high caliber teachers.

Future Problems: Acceptance established in all schools in the district.

Suggestions: Development of cooperation and support from ethnic minority group organizations for administrative policies of recruitment, assignment, and dismissal.

Edward S. Esser, Retired Elementary Supervisor.

Awareness of Issue: Shortly before adoption of policy.

Points of Interest: Suggestion from district teachers to employ Negro teachers for guidance in working with Negro pupils.

Factors Influencing Assignments: Acceptance by principal and staff. Reasonable certainty of meeting

success. Assignment first in small school with enrollment of heterogeneous nature. Assignment in pairs if possible.

Preparation for Assignment: Development of acceptance on part of principal, staff, and community.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance by more professional and lay people.

Major Problems: Anticipation of resistance and development of ways to cope with it.

Future Problems: Development of acceptance in all schools regardless of composition of enrollment.

Suggestions: Continuation of readiness approach for assignments through board members, staff, and parents. Continuation of gradualism in making assignments.

Andrew P. Hill. Former Superintendent of Schools.

Awareness of Issue: At time of appointment, 1943, realization that circumstances opportune for acceptance of nondiscriminatory employment policy.

Points of Interest: Variations in total population, minority groups, residential patterns. Relocation of Japanese. Obligation of schools to develop greater human understandings.

Factors Influencing Assignments: Acceptance by principal, staff, and neighborhood. Assignment first in small school, heterogeneous enrollment. Assessment of teacher's special abilities and/or talents. Reasonable certainty of meeting success.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance increased in areas where prejudice formerly pronounced.

Major Problems: Acceptance in specific neighborhoods. Selection of qualified teachers. Retention of administrative responsibilities in personnel matters.

Future Problems: Selection and assignment of ethnic minority teachers. Interference with administrative procedures related to personnel by pressure groups.

Suggestions: Retention of administrative responsibilities. Selection of highly qualified teachers on basis of merit. Continuation of careful assignments.

J. Marc Jantzen, Dean of the School of Education, University of the Pacific.

Awareness of the Issue: During time of policy development, 1947.

Points of Interest: Acceptance of ethnic minority student teachers in Stockton schools improved.

Factors Influencing Assignments: No information.

company transfer at the attribute. Where is not religible to keeping it into himself and the

Preparation for Assignments: Awareness of survey of school districts and polling of faculties as to acceptance.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance by more principals and teachers. Acceptance of more ethnic minority student teachers in Stockton schools. Increase in number of teacher candidates from ethnic minorities.

Major Problems: Provision for adequate housing for professional people from minority groups.

Future Problems: Acceptance of ethnic teachers in residential areas commensurate with their professional status. Assignment in all schools regardless of enrollment composition.

Suggestions: Endorsement by educational organizations of adequate housing for ethnic minority teachers. Endorsement by individual faculties for assignment of ethnic minority teachers to all schools. Prohibition of ratios or quotas of teachers on the basis of ethnic enrollment. Elimination of race as a factor in balancing school staffs. Employment of all teachers on basis of merit regardless of race.

Harold S. Jacoby, Professor of Sociology, University of the Pacific.

Awareness of Issue: During time of policy development in 1947.

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Points of Interest: Support or rejection of policy not widespread in the community. Favorable or passive community feeling toward policy. Successful beginning made subsequent employment possible. Objection evident mainly in regard to residence of ethnic minority teachers. Noticably small percentage of failures due, possibly, to careful selection.

Factors Influencing Assignments: No information.

Preparation for Assignments: Development of general acceptance of people and cultures. Careful preparation of policy statement. Acceptance by board of education and professional staff. Acceptance in individual schools.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance increased at all levels of education from elementary to college.

Major Problems: Acceptance by opinion-forming segment of community. Provision for adequate housing.

Future Problems: Availability of adequate housing.

Suggestions: Publication of successful residential integration. Avoidance of using schools to force residential integration. Advancement of qualified ethnic minority teachers to administrative and supervisorial positions.

### Nolan D. Pulliam. Superintendent of Schools.

Awareness of Issue: At time of arrival in 1951.
Acceptance well established. Attitude favorable on part of board of education and professional staff.

Points of Interest: Maintenance of primary responsibility, welfare of children. Avoidance of schools becoming main integrating instrument in community. Incidental integration should be role of the school.

Factors Influencing Assignment: Assignments made on same basis as all teachers, understanding of children, reasonable possibility of success, preparation for the position. Judgment of principal relied upon considerably.

<u>Donald R. Sheldon</u>, Associate Superintendent, Superintendent since April 1963.

Awareness of Issue: At time of arrival, 1951, employment practice well established.

Points of Interest: Acceptance extended throughout district, few ethnic minority teachers in 1951, number grew steadily. Recruitment made because of heterogeneous population. Selection carefully made. Failures few because of selection.

Factors Influencing Assignments: Acceptance by principal and community primary concern. Avoidance of concentration in individual schools, staff balance.

Preparation for Assignments: Acceptance established, no special preparation necessary in most cases now. Utilization of summer school program to assess acceptance.

Observed Changes in Attitudes: Acceptance extended throughout district.

Major Problems: Recruitment of highly qualified teachers to insure continued acceptance.

Future Problems: Extension of assignment throughout district. Interference in administrative decisions from outside organizations. Maintenance of balanced staffs in individual schools.

Suggestions: Selection of all teachers on equal basis. Avoidance of special consideration to minority groups. Avoidance of making issue of minority aspect. Accordance of equal opportunity for advancement.

### Summarization and Overview of the Combined Interviews

Awareness of the issue. With one exception, all of the people interviewed who were living in Stockton at the time were aware of the development of the policy early in 1947. Newspaper reports made public knowledge of the action taken by the board of education and the subsequent employment

of the first Negro teacher. The established fact that ethnic teachers were employed in various schools caused those arriving after 1947 to be immediately aware of the situation.

Points of interest. A number of changes taking place in Stockton as a result of the population growth produced a climate in which acceptance of the policy was made possible. As a result of the immigration, there were substantial changes in residential patterns. The business, industrial, and social life of the community was undergoing changes and expansion. These multiplicity of circumstances were causative factors to favorable acceptance of a change in employment practices in the public schools.

Directly related was a plea from teachers for guidance in dealing with the educational problems of the increased number of ethnic minority pupils. Development of techniques to best help these pupils seemed to the teachers to come most naturally from ethnic minority teachers who would have a better understanding of the needs of the children.

One person indicated that there was no widespread effort in the community to either further or discourage the employment of ethnic minority teachers. Placement of the first teachers was very carefully made in areas where acceptance was assured.

Two of the ten persons interviewed commented on the importance of the early successes that established acceptance and precedence for future employment possibilities.

It is interesting to note that two of the superintendents during whose tenure the policy has been in operation in Stockton agreed on several basic aspects of the philosophy of nondiscriminatory employment rights. These are discussed later in the summary. However, they were diametrically opposed on one basic point. Superintendent Hill, who was responsible for the development of the fair employment policy, held the belief that it was the responsibility of the schools to provide leadership wherever possible in all aspects of community life. One of these is the furthering of greater human understandings. Integration within the professional staff of the schools was, he felt, one means of increasing that understanding in addition to fulfilling a basic moral obligation to all human beings.

On the other hand Superintendent Pulliam, while adhering personally to this philosophy, felt very strongly about the limitations of the role the schools should assume in this respect. It was his belief that the school's primary responsibility is to the welfare of the pupils it serves and should not permit itself to deviate to unrelated aspects of community activities unless involvement should occur incidentally or accidentally in the normal proceedings of school

activities and within the prescribed boundaries of its policies. Much could be said in favor of both of these points of view.

One of the persons interviewed at the university level noted the marked increase in the number of teacher candidates from minority groups since the adoption of the fair employment policy in Stockton as a result of greater acceptance of ethnic minority student teachers in the Stockton schools and increased local employment opportunities.

Factors influencing assignments. In the early period following the adoption of the nondiscriminatory employment policy, considerably more deliberation was made prior to the assignment of an ethnic minority teacher to a school in order to assure acceptance. As years passed, with more and more of these teachers employed, the number of schools increased in which they could be placed with a reasonable assurance of success. The original concern for acceptance diminished. At first the smaller schools with a heterogeneous racial enrollment were considered the most likely situations in which success would be assured. Gradually assignments were extended to include schools of all sizes and types of enrollments; however, the majority of ethnic minority teachers in Stockton teach in schools serving a heterogeneous racial enrollment.

Whereas most of the people interviewed stated that assignments of ethnic teachers should be made on the same basis as for all teachers, there were certain qualifying viewpoints expressed. A reasonable certainty of meeting with success in the assignment was of prime concern, along with an understanding of the pupils with whom the teacher would be working.

Acceptance of the teacher by the principal of the school and the community was mentioned by four of the persons interviewed as being one of the most important concerns in the assignment.

Two people felt a concern for maintenance of a balanced staff in the assignments of ethnic minority teachers so that no one school would develop a concentration of these teachers.

Superintendent Pulliam asserted that no specific effort was made to assign teachers to schools where the same ethnic pupils were enrolled. He added that the judgment of the principal was relied upon heavily in making assignments because of his more complete knowledge of the immediate community his school served.

<u>Preparations for assignments</u>. While acceptance was being developed in the years immediately following the adoption of the nondiscriminatory employment policy, a great

deal of preparation was made in the schools and the community for the assignments of ethnic minority teachers. The early integrations were made slowly and cautiously to insure their success.

During Hill's tenure as superintendent he reported much time and effort was expended in developing an attitude of tolerance in particular schools. In one instance an indirect approach was used to build an attitude of acceptance through a concentrated effort to effect an improvement in the physical appearance of the neighborhood so that the residents would develop a feeling of pride in their area. Thus they experienced one kind of change that might possibly influence their consideration of other changes.

The fact that polls were taken of the teaching staffs in several schools to determine their willingness to work with an ethnic minority teacher was mentioned by several people interviewed about the early days of the policy implementation. The parent teacher associations in the schools in which assignments were being considered were solicited for their support and cooperation in the venture.

After the early successes of integrating teachers, the precedence for acceptance was established so that less and less special preparation for new assignments was necessary. Three administrators who are largely responsible for recruitment and assignment of teachers reported that no

special preparations are now necessary when a teacher is assigned to a school unless it is in an area of questionable acceptance, such as a school in which no ethnic minority teachers had formerly taught or in which there were few or no ethnic minority pupils.

Such an example was the recent assignment of a Negro teacher to an elementary school in a predominately Caucasian neighborhood. A Negro teacher was assigned to teach in the summer program preceding the proposed assignment to assess the acceptance of an ethnic minority teacher in the neighbodhood. Also several Negro pupils were enrolled in a program for the academically accelerated students in the school during the summer. Since the district received only one parental complaint, it felt justified in proceeding with its plans for the placement of a Negro teacher who had been selected for her poise and ability as a teacher.

Observed changes in attitudes. All of the people interviewed commented on the increased acceptance of ethnic teachers over the sixteen-year period since the nondiscriminatory employment policy was adopted in 1947. Placements have broadened to include many more schools in the district and have expanded from the elementary school level in which the first placements were made to encompass every level through junior college.

One person observed the growth in social acceptance of ethnic minority teachers as evidenced by their increased interaction with others in informal social situations.

Superintendent Pulliam mentioned that greater general acceptance was noted by the fact that there are few if any objections to school boundary changes that affect the transfer of ethnic minority pupils. This, he felt, was partly due to the development of the junior high schools which brought together, at an earlier age level than senior high school, children from several different elementary schools of heterogeneous populations. The incidental interaction at a younger age level provided the opportunity for greater understanding through the process of natural integration.

Two persons commented on the increased acceptance of ethnic minority teachers by school administrators. This was observable at the university level by wider acceptance of ethnic minority student teachers in schools that previously had not accepted them.

Major problems. The majority of the people interviewed including mainly the school administrators felt that the most pressing problem confronting them has been the recruitment of qualified teachers. The concern has been for the selection of persons who would with reasonable certainty succeed in their assignments. Fear that failures would be

telescoped out of proportion and jeopardize the success of the plan for integrating teachers was uppermost in their thinking. Interference by minority group organizations in the dismissal of inadequate teachers also caused the school administrators to be especially careful in the selection of only those teachers for which there would be little doubt of the need for dismissal.

One administrator in charge of recruitment mentioned that he found it necessary to be extremely cautious in hiring teachers whose collegiate preparation may have been very limited, particularly if it had been in one of the several unaccredited southern colleges that were not able to offer sufficient preparation for teachers because of inadequate facilities.

A second major problem mentioned frequently was the development of acceptance in specific school neighborhoods, especially if there were few or no ethnic minority pupils in residence or if a long history of intolerance existed such as in neighborhoods which are predominately populated by southern white immigrants.

Two administrators mentioned as a problem, though perhaps not a major one, the interference by minority group organizations in personnel matters dealing with employment and dismissal of teachers.

At the university level, both persons interviewed commented on the inadequate provision of suitable housing for ethnic minority teachers in residential areas commensurate with their professional status. They felt that this was one of the major reasons why some highly qualified teachers were reluctant to accept positions in Stockton.

Future problems. Recruitment and selection of highly qualified teachers was high on the list of predicted problems. Here again the fear of jeopardizing the progress that had been made was uppermost in the minds of the school administrators. The feeling that success breeds success and failure breeds failure produced the concern for obtaining teachers that would be certain to succeed.

Linked with this was the prediction by several school administrators of problems created by the lack of understanding of and cooperation with administrative procedures in personnel matters by minority group organizations seeking to further individual gains for their constituents.

Real progress would be assured, they felt, only by mutual understanding and cooperation in carefully planned procedures dealing with personnel matters.

Development of acceptance in school neighborhoods in which ethnic minority teachers have not as yet been assigned or where known prejudice exists was mentioned frequently as

one of the problems that will have to be faced in the future and in which definite efforts will need to be expended to eliminate the problem.

Willingness of the community to recognize the need for providing housing for ethnic minority teachers on an acceptable level for professional people was also one of the major future problems predicted, since qualified teachers cannot be expected to be content to reside in substandard areas.

Suggestions. Included most frequently in the list of suggestions was the selection and assignment of all teachers on the basis of professional and personal qualifications for the individual positions.

Following this suggestion was the one for common dismissal practices for all teachers whose performance proved less than desirable or whose service to children was questioned.

Another suggestion directly related to this but developing the philosophy more explicitly was the consideration of all teachers on the same basis for supervisorial and administrative positions. However, one person cautioned against promotion of an ethnic minority teacher simply in order to have ethnic minority supervisors and administrators. Here again the aspect of professional and personal qualifications was considered the prime factor.

The development of genuine understanding of and cooperation with administrative policies and practices in personnel matters between the schools and minority group organizations was suggested in order to establish a respected working relationship and to further a carefully planned program for increasing better human understandings and tolerance.

In this respect three of the persons interviewed cautioned very strenuously against the establishment of any sort of ratios between the number of ethnic minority teachers employed and the number of ethnic minority pupils in individual schools. Uppermost in their minds was the fact that establishment of such ratios would obviously restrict ethnic minority teachers to assignment only to schools in which ethnic minority pupils were enrolled. In this respect it would circumvent the basic philosophy that greater understanding of other cultures and races is developed by personal interaction with people of various backgrounds.

#### <u>Conclusions</u>

Although Andrew P. Hill possessed the remarkable leadership qualities to develop the nondiscriminatory employment policy in Stockton, the interviews very definitely indicate that many people were influential in providing the necessary assistance in the community to assure its acceptance and success. Some individuals, completely apart

from the Stockton Unified School District, exercised a distinct influence in establishing a climate for acceptance. Certainly school personnel were a vital part of the implementation aspect following the adoption of the policy so that integration of teachers could be successfully initiated and extended throughout the district.

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#### CHAPTER V

# EMPLOYMENT AND PLACEMENT PRACTICES FOR ETHNIC MINORITY TEACHERS

# Number of Teachers by Ethnic Group and School Level, 1947-1962

One of the purposes of this investigation was to study the employment and placement practices related to ethnic minority teachers from the year the nondiscriminatory employment policy was adopted in Stockton in 1947 to 1962.

The school years of 1947-48, 1950-51, 1955-56, and 1961-62 were selected for intensive investigation to determine the trend of these practices. Individual personnel records were examined for 407 teachers employed at these intervals to determine the racial origin and the school level assignment. In cases in which the racial origin was not readily identifiable from the personnel file, an administrator in the school in which the teacher was assigned was contacted for the information.

Beginning with the 1950-51 school year, lists of the new teachers were available in the Personnel Department. The names of teachers offered contracts for 1947-48 had to be gleaned from the minutes of the board meetings for that year and then checked against those actually employed and assigned to schools from the individual school lists.

The data summarized in Table I are as follows:

- 1. One Negro teacher was employed at the elementary school level for the 1947-48 school year.
- 2. Two Oriental, one Negro, and one Spanishspeaking teacher were employed at the elementary school level for 1955-56.
- 3. One Oriental teacher was employed at the senior high school level for the same year.
- 4. Four Oriental and six Negro teachers were employed at the elementary school level in 1962.
- 5. Two Oriental, three Negro, and one Spanishspeaking teacher were employed at the junior high school level in 1962.
- 6. Two Negro and one Spanish-speaking teacher were employed at the senior high school level in 1962.
- 7. One Oriental and one Negro teacher were employed at the junior college level for the same year.

The data seem to indicate several trends. As might be expected, because of the greater number of elementary schools as compared to secondary schools in the district, there have been more ethnic minority teachers employed at the elementary school level. Secondly, gradually over the years an increased number of ethnic minority teachers were assigned positions in secondary schools following their acceptance in the elementary schools. Thirdly, Oriental teachers, as compared to Negro and Spanish-speaking teachers, were employed in greater number in the earlier years. Finally, of the three groups studied, fewer Spanish-speaking teachers were employed for the entire period.

NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED BY ETHNIC GROUP AT
EACH SCHOOL LEVEL FOR SELECTED YEARS,
STOCKTON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

		Mary ton April 10 are the language				
School Level	Cauca- sian	Negro	Orien- tal	Spanish- speaking	Total New Teachers	Total Teachers
1947-48 Junior College High School Elementary Totals	18 14 29 61	0 0 1	0000	0 0 0	62	**************************************
1950-51 Junior College High School Elementary Totals	14 46 38 98	0 0 1 1	0 0 2 2	9 6 7	102	
1955-56 Junior College Senior High Junior High Elementary Totals	8 17 9 28 62	0 0 0 1 1	0 1 0 4	0 0 0 1 1	69	1011
1961-62 Junior College Senior High Junior High Elementary Totals	13 21 39 79 152	1 2 3 6 12	1 0 2 4 7	0 1 1 0 2	173	1217
1962-63 Junior College Senior High Junior High Elementary Totals	14 21 32 62 120	0 0 2 2 2 4	0 2 0 5 7	0 0 0 0 0	**************************************	1251

#### Assignments, 1962

Table II summarizes the assignments in 1962, by grade level, of ethnic minority teachers in the Stockton elementary schools and, by school level, those in the secondary schools. In addition it shows the assignment of ethnic minority persons to administrative positions by school level.

At the elementary school level, ethnic minority teachers appeared to be assigned in fairly even numbers throughout the grades; however, the greatest number were in the fourth grade, and the next greatest number in the first grade. There appears to be somewhat of a trend to assign Oriental and Spanish-speaking teachers in the primary grades. It is interesting to note that in 1962 there were exactly the same number of Negro and Oriental elementary school teachers, while the number of Spanish-speaking teachers at this level was considerably fewer. The total number of ethnic minority teachers at this level, including those assigned to special education, was sixty.

At the secondary level there were more ethnic minority teachers assigned to the junior high schools, fewer at the senior high schools, and fewest at the junior college level. There were slightly more Negro teachers than Oriental and Spanish-speaking teachers at the secondary level. The latter two groups were about equal in number. The total

NUMBER OF ETHNIC MINORITY CERTIFICATED PERSONS BY SCHOOL LEVEL, STOCKTON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1962

		ľ	len	ien	tary	Gı	rades						
Ethnic Group	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	Special Education	Total Elementary				
Negro	2	5	2	4	6	3	5	0	27				
Oriental	2	5	5	5	5	2	1	2	27				
Spanish- speaking	_1	_1	2	0	_1	0	_0		, <u>6</u>				
Total Persons	5	11	9	9	12	5	6	3	60				
Total Position	18	- Inches	-		<del>) (        </del>	(eroplers set	<del>nama (Maridia Ago</del> ku)	<del>antines i mas en electricia paridir di gi pro tri condite di firete i fitti i pi</del>	552				

	Seco	ndary Level:	\$	
Ethnic Group	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	Total Secondary
Negro	14	3	0	1.7
Oriental	4	6	3	13
Spanish- speaking	_11_	3	0	14_
Total Persons	29	12	3	44
Total Positions	269	190	98	556

	Administrative	Administrative Positions						
Ethnic Group	Elementary	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College				
Negro	1	1	0	0				
Oriental	1	0	0	0				
Spanish- speaking	1	0		0				
Total Persons	3			0				
Total Positions	30	16	1.5	10				

number of ethnic minority teachers assigned to the secondary schools in 1962 was forty-four.

For this same year there was one each of Negro, Oriental, and Spanish-speaking elementary administrators and one Negro administrator at the junior high level. There were no ethnic minority administrators at the senior high or junior college level. The total number of ethnic minority certificated personnel in Stockton for 1962 was 108, sixty-three at the elementary level and forty-five at the secondary level.

### Current Assignment and Year Employed

Table III illustrates for 1962 the following information: The current school assignment of each certificated ethnic minority person in the district, the ethnic origin of each individual, and the year that the individual was employed in Stockton. It does not, however, attempt to show those teachers who were employed during the period of the study but who left the district prior to 1962.

The data clearly demonstrate several interesting facts. They show, for example, that a fairly large number of ethnic minority teachers who are currently employed in Stockton have been in the district five years or longer and that several have been employed for ten years or longer. The table shows that the first ethnic teacher employed after the

TABLE III

CURRENT ASSIGNMENT AND YEAR EMPLOYED OF ETHNIC MINORITY TEACHERS,

STOCKTON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1962\*

	Year Employed																
School	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	T
<u>lementary</u> ** Adams												0		0			
August***																	
Burbank										0				0	0		
El Dorado											0		`				
Elmwood		S								S				0			
Fair Oaks							N		N					S	NN	00	
Garfield								N					00	N	NN		
Grant					S				0								
Hazelton									0		0			00			
Hoover											SN				0		
Jackson													0		00		
Lafayette											N						
Lincoln													N				
McKinley	0		N									0			N		
Monroe (old)											0						
Monroe (new)								0									
Montezuma																N	
Roosevelt	N											N				N	

(Continued on page 93)

TABLE III (continued)

							Ye	ar E	mplo	yed							
School	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	T
Taft						± 100				N		,			,	00	3
Taylor					S				S		ON						4
Tyler										-3				0			1
Van Buren															NN		2
Victory									·					0	1		11
Washington													NN		N		3
Junior High Fremont						S					N		N	s	N	N	6
Hamilton												0	NN	N	N	N	6
Marshall					N			NN			ON	oss	N	ON	S		12
Stockton										SS		S					3
Webster														SSS			3
Senior High												ł			1		
Edison	<u> </u>					N				N						00	4
Franklin										0		00			N		4
Schneider						S									S		2
Stagg											0			S	S		3
Junior College	0												0		0		3
Totals***	3	1	1	0	3	3	1	Į.	4	7	12	10	11	17	19	10	107

<sup>\*</sup> Each letter represents one person: N-Negro, O-Oriental, S-Spanish-speaking.

<sup>\*\*</sup> There are no ethnic minority teachers currently assigned to the following elementary schools: Cleveland, Fillmore, Grunsky, Harrison, Jefferson, Madison, Nightingale, and Wilson.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>There is one Spanish-speaking teacher currently assigned at August School who was employed prior to 1947.

nondiscriminatory employment policy was approved is still teaching in the district, as are several others who were employed in the early years following its approval.

The table also illustrates graphically a fairly reasonable distribution of ethnic minority teachers throughout the district. Of the forty elementary and secondary schools, thirty-three have one or more ethnic teachers.

Finally, the table points out the fact that there appears to be a trend toward greater acceptance of ethnic minority teachers at the secondary level in the last few years as well as an increased acceptance at the elementary level, as illustrated by the larger number of these teachers at both levels in recent years, as well as a broader distribution throughout the district.

#### Conclusions

Placement of ethnic minority teachers in the early years after the adoption of the policy was mainly at the elementary school level and in relatively few schools, but gradually successful integration spread to all levels through the junior college and to almost every school in the district. In the area of administration, the elementary school level has also been the proving ground for ethnic minority persons in Stockton with a slight evidence of acceptance at the secondary level in the past few years. Teachers from

minority groups in Stockton tend to remain in the district as the length of tenure of many of these teachers seems to indicate.

#### CHAPTER VI

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

#### Development of the Nondiscriminatory

#### Employment Policy

Although the application of a Negro teacher for a position in Stockton in 1947 brought into focus the need for the establishment of a policy by the board of education covering the employment of ethnic teachers, other events had been occurring in the community and throughout the state which had a direct bearing on the acceptance of this nondiscriminatory employment policy.

Unusual population influxes were being experienced in almost every community throughout the state, Stockton included. People had been coming to California in great numbers for many reasons. The war years with the immense defense production centers in California added untold impetus to the immigration which included many people from ethnic minorities.

Along with other cities, Stockton experienced many changes brought on by the impact of this growth in population. The changing situation produced alterations in almost every phase of community life. The old status quo no longer

existed. The changes were self-evident and, for the most part, the community was ready to accept them.

Fortunately, Andrew P. Hill, Superintendent of Schools in Stockton from 1943 to 1951, was a person with unusual vision who realized that conditions as they existed at that time were opportune for the introduction of the nondiscriminatory employment policy. He had felt for several years prior to the proposal of the policy that such action was needed because of the increased ethnic population in the city. The application of a Negro teacher in 1947 simply served as the necessary impetus to bring the matter to immediate attention.

Introduction of the policy in Stockton was not a device to produce integration of ethnic teachers as such, nor was it conceived as a means of providing school children opportunities of relating to ethnic persons of certain status rank. It was instead Superintendent Hill's attempt, in his leadership role in the community, to formalize in policy form, a written statement guaranteeing an equal employment opportunity to all applicants for teaching positions based on educational preparation and personal qualifications for the job regardless of race or national origin, simply because it was morally and democratically the right thing to do.

#### Employment and Placement Practices

After approval of the policy and prior to the placement of the first Negro teacher in one of the Stockton schools, considerable preparation was made to introduce the teacher to the community. Parent-teacher associations and other community groups as well as recognized leaders in the community were enlisted to assist in the initial acceptance of ethnic minority teachers.

The selection of the first teacher was made on the basis of her educational background and teaching experience in addition to her high level of personal qualifications.

Other ethnic minority teachers employed in the early years of the policy were very carefully selected to be sure they also met these very high standards so that their success and acceptance could be reasonably assured, since these first appointments fairly well predicated succeeding appointments.

Considerable care was made in placing these teachers in schools in which they would meet with success and in which the staff and the community would accept them. The first appointments were usually made in the primary grades in small schools serving a racially heterogeneous community. The care and planning that surrounded these first appointments were rewarded with an unusually high degree of success. Acceptance of ethnic minority teachers through the years has extended to almost every school and grade level in the district.

Over the years several observable trends emerged in respect to the employment and placement of both teachers and administrators from ethnic minorities.

First, additional ethnic minority teachers were gradually employed, building success upon success as acceptance broadened out from school to school.

Secondly, the early assignments were made at the primary grade level and gradually extended through all of the elementary grades and eventually, after approximately five years, moved on into the secondary school level with the greater number at the junior high school level than at the senior high school level.

Thirdly, there were more Orientals employed in the earlier years of the policy than either Negroes or Spanish-speaking persons, but as the years passed the number of Negro teachers more nearly equaled that of the Oriental teachers. Over the entire period of the study fewer Spanish-speaking teachers were employed than either of the other two groups.

In the area of administration, another trend appeared. The elementary school level again had been the proving ground for acceptance of ethnic minority persons in Stockton with the appointment of first a Spanish-speaking administrator in 1956, then an Oriental in 1958 and a Negro in 1960. This trend moved into the junior high school level with the

appointment of a Negro in 1961. No ethnic minority administrators had been placed at the senior high school or junior college level by 1962.

A final observable trend has been in the gradual placement of ethnic minority teachers outside of schools with large enrollments of ethnic minority children. This was more noticeable in the last few years of the period under study. This expansion in placement practices has met with a high degree of success in the judgment of the administrators who have been in the position to make such an evaluation.

#### Personal Interviews with Persons Affected by the Policy

Emerging from the detailed summarization in Chapter IV of the personal interviews are a number of interesting facts. First, there was no strong reaction from the community at large either for or against the introduction of the policy, due to the general acceptance of change taking place in the community and to the careful preparations made by school officials.

Secondly, many teachers expressed a need for guidance with problems related to teaching ethnic minority children which could best be provided by employing ethnic minority teachers possessing a real understanding of the needs of these children.

Thirdly, the wisdom shown in careful selection and placement and the gradual introduction of ethnic minority teachers as acceptance was being established was evidenced by increased employment and broadened placement throughout the district at every level. This was further demonstrated at the university level by increased acceptance of ethnic minority student teachers and employment in greater numbers in Stockton of these teachers graduating from the local university.

Fourthly, the feeling on the part of many that the teachers were being accepted socially to a greater degree was evidenced by their participation in social activities both in and apart from their professional life.

Another interesting outgrowth of the personal interviews was the fact that the major problems related to the policy since its inception coincide remarkably with the predicted problems of the future. Foremost among these was the concern for recruiting highly qualified ethnic minority teachers coupled with the apprehension that poorly qualified teachers would jeopardize the progress that had been made in the establishment and growth of their acceptance throughout the community.

Related to this was the concern for the establishment of a cooperative understanding with minority group organizations in personnel matters dealing with the employment and dismissal of ethnic minority teachers. There was a strong indication of a need for the development of common understandings of the basic philosophy underlying the selection and retention of highly qualified persons for the leadership role the public school teacher has, regardless of his race or national origin. Relative to this was the abhorrence of formulas or ratios established for ethnic minority teachers to the number of ethnic minority pupils because of the limitations it would impose concerning the number and placement of the teachers. Apprehension on the part of administrators was noted as to the degree of understanding and cooperation of this general concept that could be developed in order that the progress that had been made could continue without undue interference from outside agencies.

High on the list of present and future problems was the concern for suitable housing for ethnic minority teachers on a comparable basis as other professional people in the community. Relegation, mainly, to sub-standard housing in undesirable areas was thought to be one of the main deterrents to the decision of some high caliber teachers considering employment in Stockton. However, it was noted that some progress had been made concerning this specific problem, particularly in recent years.

#### Conclusions

Stockton has the unique distinction of being among the pioneers in California in the development of a nondiscriminatory employment policy for the teachers in its public schools. The community was fortunate in having a superintendent of schools with far-sighted vision, courage in his convictions of what was morally and ethically right, and wisdom in organizing and executing his plans.

The leadership that has been displayed by the public school administrators since the adoption of the policy has been demonstrated by the increased number of ethnic minority teachers at every level of the school system and by the broadened acceptance throughout the district.

This leadership will continue to face the challenge of existing and future problems in developing adequate understanding of the basic concept of providing for the schools the highest qualified teachers with professional and personal qualifications required of teachers regardless of race or national origin. This expansion of understanding will need to be made in the community at large as well as with professional educational groups and minority group organizations.

Whereas the Stockton School District has provided the leadership in the area of equal employment, there still remains the unsolved problem of inadequate housing for ethnic minority persons of professional status. Even though

a few of these people have been fortunate in obtaining homes in residential areas commensurate with their professional status, the situation as it exists is not satisfactory and will need greater attention focused upon it by agencies other than the schools if professional people from ethnic minorities are to assume a complete role in the community.

#### Suggestions for Further Study

Since the main purpose of this study was to document the events leading to the establishment of the nondiscriminatory employment policy and the subsequent placement of ethnic minority teachers in Stockton, other related areas were, of necessity, not included. Some of these might possibly form the basis of further study related to the problems of ethnic minority teachers such as:

- 1. Nature of professional preparation and graduate work in a selected area.
- 2. Number of ethnic minority teachers who made professional preparation other than teaching but entered the teaching profession because of employment possibilities.
- 3. Number and school level of administrators.
- 4. Degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with teaching and/or assignment.
- 5. Degree of participation in community activities.
- 6. Aspects of housing problems.

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APPENDIXES

#### APPENDIX A

### EXTRACTS FROM THE CALIFORNIA EDUCATION CODE 1

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

Section 13277. The Legislature hereby declares that it is contrary to the interest of this State and of the people thereof for any person or persons charged by the governing board of any school district with the responsibility of interviewing and recommending persons for employment in positions requiring certification qualifications to fail or refuse to do so for reason of age or marital status of any applicant for such employment, except as otherwise provided in this code.

Section 363. The State Board of Education may, upon recommendation of the Director of Education, establish in the Department of Education a commission to assist and advise local school districts in problems relating to racial, religious or other discrimination in connection with the employment of certificated employees.

lEducation Code. (Sacramento: State of California Printing Division, 1961).

#### APPENDIX B

# EXTRACTS FROM THE CALIFORNIA <u>LABOR</u> <u>CODE</u>, FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES<sup>1</sup>

1410. Short title, California Fair Employment Practices Act.

1410. Legislative declaration. It is hereby declared as the public policy of this State that it is necessary to protect and safegard the right and opportunity of all persons to seek, obtain and hold employment without discrimination or abridgement on account of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestory.

It is recognized that the practice of denying employment opportunity and discrimination in the terms of employment for such reasons, foments domestic strife and unrest, deprives the State of the fullest utilization of its capacities for development and advancement, and substantially and adversely affects the interests of employees, employers, and the public in general.

This part shall be deemed an exercise of the police power of the State for the protection of the public welfare, prosperity, health, and peace of the people of the State of California. (Added Statutes. 1959, c. 121, p. 1999, 1.)

1412. Opportunity to seek, obtain and hold employment without discrimination as civil right. The opportunity to seek, obtain and hold employment without discrimination because of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestory is hereby recognized as and declared to be a civil right. (Added Stats. 1959, c. 121, p. 2000, l.)

(General personal rights, see Civil Code 43 et. seq. Inalienable rights, see Constitution Art. 1, Religious liberty, see Constitution Art. 1, 4.)

1414. State Fair Employment Practices Commission. (Added Stats. 1959, c. 121, p. 2000, l.) Five members

Labor Code (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1961), Cumulative Pocket Part, Vol. 44, Sections 1-3699.

appointed by the governor with the approval of the Senate for four-year alternative term.

- 1419. Powers and duties of the commission. . . . f. To receive, investigate and pass upon complaints alleging discrimination in employment. g. To hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, examine under oath, subpoena materials.
- an unlawful employment practices. It shall be an unlawful employment practice, unless based upon a bona fide occupational qualification, or except where based upon applicable security regulations established by the United States or the State of California: (a) refuse to hire, discharge, or discriminate in compensation or terms, conditions or privileges of employment. (b) labor organizations to exclude, expel or restrict or to provide second class or segrated [sic] membership or discriminate in any way. (c) print or circulate any discriminatory publication or use any form of application for employment or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment which expresses directly or indirectly any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestory. (d) to discharge or discriminate against any person because he has opposed any practices forbidden under this act or because he has filed a complaint or testified or assisted in any proceedings under the act. (e) for any person to aid, abet, incite, compel, or coerce the doing of any of the acts forbidden under this part, or to attempt to do so.

#### APPENDIX C

## EXAMPLES OF DISTRICT POLICIES OF NONDISCRIMINATION IN CALIFORNIA 1

Castro Valley Elementary School District. "It shall be the aim of the Board of Trustees to employ teachers on the basis of evidence of high professional qualifications and personal fitness, regardless of race, color or religious belief."

El Monte Union High School District. "No applicant shall be discriminated against because of race, color, belief, age, residence, or economic or marital status."

Lafayette Elementary School District. "Race shall not be considered in the employing of district personnel."

Los Angeles Unified School District. "Only the best qualified candidates shall serve the school system. All promotions shall be on the basis of merit. There shall be no discrimination toward candidates or employees because of race, color, religion, political opinions, sex, age, or marital status."

Pittsburg Unified School District. "In accordance with the policy of the California State Education Code race, color, religious creed, national origin, age or marital status shall not be a bar to recommendation for employment."

Richmond Elementary School District. "The selection of teachers for nomination to the Governing Boards shall be on the basis of substantial evidence of professional qualifications and personal fitness. This evidence shall contain, on forms provided by the Richmond Schools, a written application for the position sought. So far as is practicable, the submitted evidence shall be both objective and capable of comparative evaluation. It shall be considered on its merits without respect to race, color, or creed."

Annual Report. (Sacramento: Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment, Teacher Employment, California State Department of Education, December 31, 1959), p. 8. (Mimeographed.)

Santa Barbara Elementary School District. "Selection and recommendation for tenure are on the basis of merit and professional competence only. Residence, religion, sex, race, and marital status are not factors to be considered in employment or recommendation for tenure."

Stockton Unified School District. "Selection and Appointment: Teachers shall be selected for service in the Stockton Unified School District solely on the basis of their professional qualifications. Each applicant for a teaching position shall be considered on evidence of professional qualifications and personal fitness and shall not be judged because of race, color or creed."

#### APPENDIX D

## REPORT ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF TEACHERS

### FROM MINORITY GROUPS

Stockton Unified School District
January 1947

#### BACKGROUND

This inquiry has been undertaken at the direction of the Board of Education because of the application of a Negro teacher just before school opened last fall. Her application was received, and has since been partially completed, and her further consideration for employment awaits the announcement of a definite policy by the Board of Education.

Before acting, the Board directed the Superintendent of Schools to check present practice in California, and to ascertain the exact number of Negro pupils in each of our public schools. The results, together with the recommendation of the Superintendent are presented herewith.

#### NEGRO PUPILS IN STOCKTON SCHOOLS

Table I, enumerates the number of Negro children enrolled in our several schools as of October 16, 1946. The colored children are segregated as to sex, and the total school enrollment is also given. These statistics may be summed up as follows:

Out of 15,321 pupils in our elementary and high school grades, 902 or a little less than 6% are Negro. The per cent of Negro children in the elementary schools is a little above 6%, while those in our high schools represent but 4% of the high school population.

The largest proportions of Negro children are found in Franklin Elementary, 33%; Monroe Primary, 30%; Roosevelt Elementary, 27%; and Bungalow Primary 25%. Six of our twenty-one elementary schools have no Negro children enrolled, and the balance, not listed above, have enroll-ments varying from 12% to less than 1%.

#### CALIFORNIA PRACTICE AS REVEALED BY OUR QUESTIONNAIRE

A copy of the questionnaire sent out to 30 California School Systems is appended hereto. Replies from 20 districts only were received. A principal visiting in California from another northern state, saw the questionnaire and answered it. It is regrettable that the respondents did not carefully fill in all portions of the questionnaire. However, some of the practices in some California communities are revealed; some general conclusions can be drawn, and some excellent procedures have been suggested.

#### The following general practices are evident:

- 1. Teachers, whether colored or not, are selected by Civil Service Examination and not because of their color.
- 2. In general, Negro teachers have not been employed until their percentage in the community reached from 6 to 9 per cent, or until they represented half or more of the population of a single school.
- 3. In general, the number of colored teachers employed has not been held to the ratio that colored pupils bears to the entire school attendance.
- 4. Not many California school systems received applications from Negro teachers prior to 1938, i.e. the problem is a recent one here.
- 5. The reports as we have received them, indicate that, considering other minority groups, Negroes are employed in the greatest number.
- 6. Those who are most likely to protest against Negro teachers are white, American parents.

## The questionnaire indicates great differences in community practices.

All school systems do not face the issues growing out of minority problems, from the same social or democratic practices:

- Some communities are behind Stockton in this respect, as:

   (a) One reports that property restrictions keep Negroes out.
  - (b) Several segregate Negroes or some other races, from whites, for the first eight grades.
  - (c) Several "transfer" Negroes to certain schools in the city where minority groups are enrolled. This is segregation in disguise.

- (d) Two report that Negro teacher applicants have been successfully discouraged by calling their attention to the large number of residents in the community who come from southern United States.
- 2. It is interesting to note, that some of the communities referred to in (1) above, have recommended steps for liberalizing their treatment of minority groups, as follows:

(a) Start junior high schools at the 7th grade level, and transfer all minority group pupils from the segregated school into these schools and operate them on an unsegregated basis.

(b) Start now in the kindergarten or first grade and accept pupils of all races in all schools.

(c) Transfer pupils out of their own residential area only when the transfer will improve the educational opportunities of that particular pupil.

(d) Hold more interschool activities so pupils of various racial and color groups can get acquainted.

3. Cities that approximate the democratic understandings and practices now prevailing in Stockton, list some of the steps they have taken in the process of getting teachers from minority or colored groups accepted:

(a) They have employed them as nursery school teachers or as adult teachers.

(b) They have let them substitute first.

(c) They have selected only those who are highly qualified and talented.

(d) They have placed them in schools where the P.T.A. has made them welcome and a working part of their organization.

(e) They have placed them with a selected group of white teachers.

(f) They have solicited the aid of local Negro leaders.

g) They have worked with the parents of the neighborhood in which the assignment is to be made.

(h) As the minority group has produced recognized accepted leaders in the community (lawyers, engineers, chemists, doctors, etc.,), teaching positions have been made available to properly prepared persons.

(1) One city reports having several Negro principals, and points out that they give leadership to a mixed faculty.

(j) Another superintendent remarks that teachers from minority groups are cooperative, often have

deeper human understandings, and have on a number of occasions, made real contributions to curriculum building and to teaching practices.

#### IS STOCKTON CULTURALLY AND DEMOCRATICALLY READY TO ACCORD

#### MINORITY GROUPS FAIR TREATMENT?

- 1. Some of our labor unions have accepted minority groups on an equal footing with other members.
- 2. Our public schools do not segregate children because of race or color.
- 3. In a number of our industries, minority group members have arisen to positions of minor leadership, where they are accepted and successfully direct the work of others.
- 4. Stockton City employees are not segregated as to race or color.
- 5. Local Parent-Teacher groups have welcomed members of minority groups, and have made them working members. On at least one occasion, a member of a minority group was a P.T.A. president.
- 6. Institutes and Workshops dealing with minority groups and their problems have been held in the community.
- 7. The Community Council has consistently recommended that more attention to minority group needs be given.
- 8. The College of the Pacific, under the leadership of its then president, Dr. Tully Knoles, has consistently advocated fair treatment for minority groups.
- 9. The School Board has employed members of the following minority groups: Jewish, Mexican, and by exchange, two Hawaiians. Parents have not protested.
- 10. Our business men's service clubs have given membership to persons belonging to minority groups.
- 11. In a number of areas, particularly medicine, members of minority groups have been accepted professionally in the community.
- 12. Over a period of years our community has supported two clubs dealing with minority groups, the International Club and the Inter-Racial Council.
- 13. At least one group of teachers has voluntarily, and without previous knowledge of the superintendent, passed a resolution offering to teach on a faculty with a colored teacher.

#### OUR PROBLEM IN ITS WIDER ASPECTS

1. Our forefathers fought a war of liberation from Great Britain. We were then a desperate minority struggling

to preserve our right to equal treatment under the law. But some of the English couldn't conceive of "The House of Commons . rule by the common man. would suffer severely in tone and respectability if uncouth colonials were permitted to take seats. Colonial rabble rousers would disgust members of Parliament with their low antics. . . . Would our morals be safe under Virginia Legislators? . . . would our church be in no danger from bumpkin senators? . . . they're a mongrel breed of Irish, Scotch and Germans, leavened with convicts and outcasts. . . . The colonies were acquired with no other view than to be a convenience to us. . . The very word COLONY implies DEPEND-ENCY. . . Have we erected the colonies to be our masters? . . . These saucy Americans need to be taught humility and obedience . . . their principles of liberty and political equality (can't work) and might overthrow the established order in Great Britain."\*

Are we, in our attitudes toward Negroes, adopting in our day, the feelings of superiority which made it so easy for the English to depreciate us as human beings, resort to name-calling, and in the end lose their greatest colonial possession?

- 2. Having broken with England on the issue of "the natural rights of man," the colonists adopted a constitution which announced these rights and the "preservation of liberty for ourselves and our posterity."
- 3. A few generations ago, we fought a civil war, first to preserve our unity and secondly, to preserve the rights of individuals without regard to race, color or creed. The latter was the issue that made Abraham Lincoln a national hero and a martyr. It was men and women like Louisa M. Alcott, Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, William E. Channing, Horace Greeley, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Julia Ward Howe, James Russell Lowell, Theodore Parker, Wendell Philips, and Walt Whitman who worked and argued for equality. What would Lincoln and these champions of democracy say if they faced our problem?
- 4. Since the Civil War we have fought two world wars, each for the preservation of human liberties. In all of

<sup>\*</sup>Miller, John C., "Origins of the American Revolution," Little, Brown & Company, Boston, N. Y., 1943, Chapter IX.

our wars, educational and political writers have tried to make the common man understand what he was fighting for. In our last war we drafted men regardless of race, color or social standing, and thousands of women volunteered. These persons have completed their part of the bargain, and it now remains for society to see that these wars for liberty and democracy have not been fought in vain.

On this issue Colonel Evans Carlson, of our Marine Corps, has warned that "we are a nation of minority groups . . . we cannot condone discrimination, . . . our only salvation lies in the practice and promotion of unity."

Mr. Eric Johnston, erstwhile president of the National Chamber of Commerce cautions us that "Race hatred and group intolerance simply do not jibe with any of the formulas of freedom so dear to the American heart. To the extent they are allowed to flourish, they threaten to change the American Dream into another European nightmare."

It would be trite to again quote Presidents Wilson, Roosevelt and Truman on these issues. Suffice to say that each in turn has warned us with respect to a genuine unity of our American people; to the need to cultivate the science of human relationships.

Political scientists, philosophers, educators, sociologists and now those representing the field of pure science, have all warned us that we must make our democracy real and genuine; we must share it in accord with our stated principles, or some other nation, such as Russia, will.

As a matter of national policy then, and as a matter of moral obligation, aside from a consideration of our ultimate life and safety, or the ease with which our community may accept a Negro teacher, the appraisal of a colored teacher applicant with respect only to her moral character, personal cleanliness, education, and teaching ability without regard to color, seems to be an obligation.

#### SCIENCE AND RACIAL SUPERIORITY

All great thinkers have pointed out that the extent to which an individual is really educated or cultured is the

extent to which that person has been willing to ascertain facts and to then readjust his thinking in accord with the known truth.

Every human being is equipped with the ability to react emotionally. He is fit for leadership only when he controls these emotions and does not allow them to become excited or uncontrollable on the basis of prejudice, part of the truth only, heresay [sic] or even custom or folk ways.

In connection with our present problem therefore, we need to know what evidence science gives us with respect to the superiority of certain so-called races or of people by virtue of the color of their skin.

For many years, "white" men have considered themselves superior to the yellow, red, brown or black "races." Within the white "race" itself, there has also been the belief of some that "Aryans" or "Nordics" are superior to the Jewish or the Armenian races, or other white groups. What is a race?

Scientists point out first what race is not. Language and race are not synonymous. Negroes in the Americas speak English, Spanish, French or Portuguese, according to where they reside. The term Aryan is a language term. It includes the Sanskrit of ancient India and the languages of ancient Persia, and it is frequently used now days to include the above, and German, French, English, Latin, Greek, Armenian and Slavic. No matter how it is used, it is a language term involving a large number of races or race mixtures.

If we take culture, that is the behavior of man in a learned way, we see that it is totally unrelated to race or color of skin. In the history of the world the following "races" or countries (and this is by no means a complete list), have led the world in culture: Persia, Greece, Rome, the Moors, the French, the English, etc. In no case do these terms describe a pure race. Races as such, are not consistently aggressors or non-aggressors. Of late years, the Viking people, once the world's most warlike have become a peaceful race; and the Japanese, once a peaceful, non-aggressive race, have become warlike. Scientists conclude, therefore, race and culture are not the same thing. The "race" may remain pretty much the same, and the behavior change.

Scientists also note that human races are not species, in the strict biological sense. Physical characteristics,

color, shape of head, stature, color and form of hair, eyes, blood groups, these and many other measures have been put against races. While general groups such as Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid represent a long history of anatomical specialization, there are dark whites and light Negroids, etc. The more we narrow down our specialization, the less people we include. Thus we may say that all Swedes are light skinned. But not all are. If we add blue eyes, light hair, tallness, and narrow headedness, we cut out many more. If this describes the typical Swede, we can now go to Sardinia and find some people, presumably of another racial heritage, that fit our description.

So we must conclude that physical characteristics do not specify a race. All of us know that race and nation are not synonymous.

Now what about superiority? At one time we thought the size of the brain was important. But many morons have large brains and the great Steinmetz has a very small one. The mental age of the whites in the army was 13.1; that of Negroes 10.4. The overlap is but 12%. But where Negroes have been educated for a few generations they appear to develop in mental stature. Thus the southern Negro with an IQ of about 75 may be compared with the Los Angeles Negro, where the average is 104.7, higher than the Stockton average. Before the war we kidded ourselves into thinking that the Japanese were copyists only—lacked imagination—could not originate. It cost a good many American lives and a lot of money to find out that we were wrong.

We are forced to conclude that, (1) racial purity simply does not exist, (2) all humans are people and are not biologically different, (3) all races have the inborn ability to develop if but given a chance, (4) racial groups cannot be tabbed as "imitative" or "warlike," and lastly, there is no such a thing as a superior race.

Further investigation would uncover the fact that custom, once established, persists with most people. Climate affects our energy and our inclinations. But where racial groups live together, education, properly conceived, can break down racial mores and unite a group to the point where suspicion, name-calling and prejudice can be eliminated.

#### CHRISTIANITY

The brotherhood of man, in its highest concept, was preached by Christ. The moral obligation of man towards his

fellow man is a basic tenet. The command that the brother-hood of man be preached to "all nations" and "into all the world . . . to every creature" is reiterated time and again. It seems to me, therefore, that the fair treatment of all persons, regardless of race or color is a Christian duty as well as a moral obligation.

#### RECOMMENDATION

Because the Board of Education represents educational leadership for this community, and because the facts pertinent to the issue at hand involve, first, basic democratic principles, whose recognition is necessary for the preservation of our democracy and for the success of world peace, and second, Christian principles, representing the very essence of our religious beliefs, and third, moral concepts, whose denial would involve a denial of reason itself, and lastly, many elements of heresy, tradition, attitude, and prejudice which public education should be concerned to combat, and because I believe this community is now cultured enough to accept teachers from minority groups, regardless of race or color, if due care in assignment is taken, I recommend that this Board of Education adopt the following policies:

1. That teachers for this school system be employed on the basis of education, ability and morality, and without regard to race or color.

2. That the superintendent and his staff continue to examine and recommend teachers as heretofore, and

3. That the superintendent is herewith instructed to use care and discretion in placing teachers from minority groups, so as to insure as fair an opportunity for them as local conditions will permit,

4. That the Superintendent is herewith permitted to take a poll of elementary teachers for the purpose of ascertaining those who would be willing to teach on a faculty with a teacher of another race or color.

5. That the Stockton P.T.A. Council be asked to include the matter of the treatment of minority groups as a part of their study program.

Respectfully submitted,

Andrew P. Hill Superintendent of Schools

#### Appended to this report please find: Note:

- A copy of the questionnaire sent California city school systems.
- A copy of the resolution received from a group of teachers.
- A brief bibliography. Table I, Negro pupils in Stockton Schools.

#### To the Superintendent:

The Stockton Unified School District has received its first application from a Negro who desires appointment as a teacher. As superintendent of schools, I have been asked to write a number of California cities with regard to their present practices. The answers will be kept entirely confidential. We hope, therefore, that you will feel free to acquaint us with your present practices.

aco	uaint us with your present practices.
1.	What was the approximate date of your first application from a Negro desiring placement as a teacher?
2.	Please list the approximate number of teachers you now employ opposite the minority racial groups listed below:  Negro Chinese Mexican
3.	Others (Please name) What criteria have been the bases for the appointment of Negroes as teachers? a. What per cent of Negro population in the school? b. What per cent of Negro population of total
	population?  c. Do you employ Negroes only up to the proportion their population bears to the total population?  d. Others
4.	What preparation for the reception of a Negro teacher do you make among the school faculty and the community?
5.	Have your Negro teachers remained in reasonable emotional adjustment?
6.	Are Negro children willing and ready to accept Negro teachers?
7.	Are white children willing and ready to accept Negro teachers?

					t of Negro	
har	re been	receiv	ed, fro	m whom d	o protests	arise?_
-						
<u>,</u>						
	and the second second	MM TEMPS 1	COLOR TA	CO NO CONTRACTOR	protests?	

Andrew P. Hill Superintendent of Schools

EMPLOYMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS IN CERTAIN CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS Compiled from Answers to a Questionnaire Sent out October 14, 1946

City		Date of	Minori	ty Gro Now Em	up Tea ployed	chers	Per Cent
chool #	A.D.A. over	First Negro Application	Negro	Chi- nese	<del></del>	Others	of Negroes in School
1	9,000	August 1946	1	0	0	0	20%
2	9,000	1941	3	0	0	O	9.4%
3	10,000		0	0	0	0	
4	8,000		0.5	0	0	· 10 · 10	$\frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2$
5	12,000	1943	7	5 2	2	0	Small
6		1939	0	0	0	0	5.6%
7	12,000	1945	2*	0	0	0	.005%
8			T ( O' 11	0	1**	0	
9	12,000	1894	0	0	0	3	
10	7,000	r i ja seemaa ka ja ja sa	0	0	0	0	12%#
11	12,000	1938	7	0	0	O	70% (3% Japanese)
12	12,000	Long Ago	2	0	0	0	3%
1.3	10,000	May 1946	0	0	0	0	i konstan <b>Ali</b> ina ili sasa sa Tanggaran
14	8,000	1944	1##	O	0	0	tara atronò i vi
15	8,000		0	0	0	2	5%
16	12,000	1925	17	o	0	Ó	# <b>*</b> *
17	12,000			77	0	0	
18		y restriction			roes f	rom livi	ng in city.
19	This wa Sugge inter	s a county.	Publish n kinde ties.	ed bul rgarte Warns	letin n or that t	on inter junior hi ransfers	group relation gh. Recommend s should be for
20			o	0	1	0	

<sup>\*</sup> Adult division only. Working in negro housing project.

\*\* Teaches spanish to adults.

# One school is 70% Negro.

## In nursery school.

### The southern white population would rebel.

## EMPLOYMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS (continued)

City		Criteria Used in					
School	White Parents	Negro Parents	White Children	Negro Children	White Tchrs.	Empl	oying roes
1	A few		A few			c.s.	Exam
2	Some	Some					
3							
4							
5	Some					C.S.	Exam
6							
7							
8							
9						c.s.	Exam
10							
11		•					
12	X		Not Generally	Some		C.S.	Exam
13						C.S.	Exam
14							
15		÷					
16	x			Some			
17	x						
18	(See pa	ge 128)					
19	(See pa						
20							

## EMPLOYMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS (concluded)

City School #	Has Negro Tchr. been Adjusted Emotionally	How Have You Answered Protests?	What Helped Most to Get Negro Teachers Accepted?
1	Yes	Teacher's Work	Negro P.T.A. Membership
2	production of starty		
4			
5	Yes		Substituted First
6 7	Yes		
8			
9 10			
11	in the second se	Democracy, not	Picked White Teachers Faculty Teas Educated the Public
12		Discrimination	Made no Preparation
13 14		SHOW AND A	Conferred with Local Negro Leaders
15			Selection of Highly
16	Not All		Talented Teachers
17	e de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la co	•	(4 · C)
18	(See page 12	28)	
19	(See page 12	28)	
50			

#### RESOLUTION

Motion: Recommendation to the Board of Education that we as teachers in the Stockton Unified School System would welcome members of racial and minority groups as fellow faculty members.

Eleanor McCann

Alden H. Smith

Elizabeth M. Humbargar

John Gemma

Reul L. Fick

John M. Fanucchi

Ethelyn E. Wood

Coke Wood

Lorraine Knoles

J. Carroll O'Neill

Lena B. Knox

Anne L. Harris

Alma G. Decker

Charlotte Spalteholz

Marie Louise DeCarli

J. Russell Bodley

Beulah L. Watson

Marjorie E. Pease

Dorris E. Hoenisch

Richard H. Reynolds

Frank W. Clancy

Roena Miller

Doris Jacobson

Marie Allen

Ellen DeRuchie

Vera Cobb Cass

A. P. Abright

V. E. Rotsch

Allen Waldo

Mrs. Fick

W. R. Fitts

P. C. Garlington

James R. Wilson

H. J. Snook

John R. Arnold

# A Brief Bibliography of References Dealing With CULTURAL AND RACIAL PROBLEMS

#### January 1947

- 1. Benedict, Ruth and Ellis, Mildred. Race and Cultural Relations. America's Answer to the Myth of a Master Race. National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1942. 60 pages.
- 2. Trillingham, Dr. C. C. and others. The Schools

  Responsibility For The Improvement of Intergroup
  Relations. A Statement of Policy and A Program of Action. Office of County Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles, California, 1945. 31 pages.
- 3. Young, Sarah. Education for Cultural Unity.
  Seventeenth Yearbook, California Elementary School Principals Association, 1945.

Table I.

NEGRO PUPILS IN STOCKTON SCHOOLS

October 16, 1946

School	Total Enroll- ment	Negro Girls	Negro Boys	Total Negro Children	Per Cent of Enrollment Negroes Are	Remarks
August	600	0	0	ø	0	
Bungalow	104	12	14	26	25	From Edisor Villa
L. Burbank	478	10	17	27	6	
El Dorado	951	0	0	O	orientain <b>o</b> s y in	description of
Elmwood	476	0	0	0	Ó	
Fair Oaks	732	33	42	75	10	
Franklin	164	32	23	55	33	
Grant	201	1	0	1	0	
L. Grunsky	569	0	0	0		n sin in in. Tantan panda
Hazelton	575	52	46	98	1 (11) (12) (13) (13) (13) (13) (13) (13) (13) (13	ti Africa
Jackson	764	13	12	25		
Jefferson	873	5	4	9		ranger (
Jr. Trade	139	4	12	16	12	
Lafayette	396	9	10	19	<b>.</b> 	
Lincoln	318	19	15	34	<b>11</b>	22 from Roosevelt
McKinley	637	12	19	31	5 5	
Monroe	168	27	24	51	30	
Roosevelt	822	124	112	236	27	
Victory	754	1	3	4	o	

Table I (continued)

School	Total Enroll- ment		egro Girl			o Enroll	ment
Weber-17 9 (178)	673		14	20	n mant <b>34</b> 0	5 (From Rivervi Housin	.ew
W. Wilson	727	1 1	0	<b>0</b>	Ų.	Ü	
Specials	20	-	0	0	0	0	*********
TOTAL ELEMENTARY	11,141		368	373	741	6+	
Edison High	785		25	31	56		
Schneider High	211	1.	7	12	19	9	
Stockton High	3,180		49	37	86		
TOTAL HIGH	4,176		81	80	161	4-	
TOTAL ALL	15,317		449	453	902	6-	
Total full-time e Total full-time h	lementary	tes	cher	8	310 L79		
TOOUT TATE-OTHE !		T CE		quipule:	<u>.73</u> .89		

#### APPENDIX E

#### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

- I. Date of interview.
- II. Person being interviewed.
- III. Position.
  - IV. Do you recall when the question of employing teachers from minority groups became an item of awareness to you in connection with the Stockton schools?
    - V. Do you recall any points of interest concerning the employment of the first teachers from minority groups in Stockton; i.e., public or professional concern?
  - VI. What factors influenced the assignment of teachers from minority groups in Stockton?
- VII. Were any special preparations made in the school or the community for the assignments?
- VIII. Describe the changes in attitudes on the part of the community and/or educators toward teachers from minority groups in Stockton.
  - IX. What have been the major problems as you see them in the employment and placement of teachers from minority groups in Stockton?
    - X. What do you feel are the future problems related to the employment and placement of teachers from minority groups in Stockton?
  - XI. What suggestions would you offer in relation to these future problems?

#### APPENDIX F

#### PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

## Clark H. Boggess, Administrative Assistant in Charge 1 of Personnel, S.U.S.D., since 1953

Having arrived in Stockton six years after the establishment of the nondiscriminatory employment policy, Boggess found the acceptance of ethnic teachers was an established fact. He recalled that the first incident related to an ethnic teacher occurred a few years later when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People intervened on behalf of a Negro applicant. The district had denied her employment on the basis of insufficient collegiate preparation. After three years of additional college work, she completed the requirement for a credential and reapplied for a position. Her chances of succeeding in teaching seemed doubtful, but the district felt obligated to give her an opportunity in the classroom situation. The doubts proved well-founded, and she was dismissed at the termination of the customary one-year contract. Again the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People intervened on her behalf but supported the district's action when it was appraised of her deficiencies.

Boggess was not in the district at the time the first ethnic teachers were employed, and therefore, could not comment on their assignments. He pointed out that since his arrival assignments of all teachers had been based mainly on two things. First, their educational qualifications for the particular position, and secondly a reasonable certainty of succeeding in the assignment. In the case of ethnic teachers the degree of readiness of a particular school area for the acceptance of an ethnic teacher would be a consideration that would need to be made in relation to the latter aspect.

During the time Boggess had been in the district, he reported that there had been just one situation where particular preparations had been made for the assignment of an ethnic teacher. This was in regard to the assignment of a

<sup>1</sup>Clark H. Boggess, personal interviews, December 19, 1961, and April 18, 1962.

Negro teacher to a regular fifth grade class for the 1961-62 year at Hoover Elementary School in a Caucasian neighboorhood in the Country Club district. In the way of preparation, a Negro teacher had been placed in the summer school program at the Hoover School the summer preceding the assignment. In addition, several Negro pupils of exceptionally high ability were enrolled in a special enrichment program being conducted in the summer program at Hoover. The experiment met with no resistance; therefore, it seemed reasonable to expect that an assignment of an ethnic teacher to the regular school program could be attempted. Only one parental protest was made to Boggess regarding the assignment. Subsequently, this parent's child was not placed in the class on the basis of the protest, because Boggess could see no reasonable excuse for pressing the issue with the possible development of a public protest that might result in general resistance to the assignment.

This particular teacher had been selected for the first assignment of a Negro teacher to a Caucasian neighborhood on the basis of her exceptional ability, Boggess reported, and the placement had proved highly successful.

In regard to changes in attitudes toward ethnic teachers in the community, Boggess felt that the very fact that each year additional ethnic teachers had been employed in the district was a verification of the growth of acceptance. He added that he had not been aware of a single incident of a member of the professional staff expressing disapproval of an ethnic teacher.

Boggess felt that the major problem relating to future employment of ethnic teachers was in gaining acceptance in all attendance areas of the community. He estimated that this would, of necessity, be a gradual process that could not be imprudently hurried because of the danger of undoing the progress that had been very carefully accomplished over the years.

He added that two other factors of employing ethnic teachers, particularly Negroes, were of concern to him in his position as Director of Personnel. The first of these was the inferior preparation of many of the graduates from some of the small, poorly equipped Negro colleges in the South. Secondly, he was concerned about the number of ethnic teachers that were being concentrated in special education fields working with mentally retarded and physically handicapped children. He felt that this situation had resulted in the fact that ethnic teachers were generally more readily

accepted by the parents of these children because they were so grateful for a program for their children they seldom protested the assignment of an ethnic teacher. Also the acute shortage of teachers for special education had created such a demand that teachers from out-of-state could readily obtain a provisional credential to teach special education classes and be assured of almost certain employment.

Boggess concluded that since minority groups are asking the majority to forget they are members of minority groups, there would be little danger of future problems if they themselves could forget they were members of minority groups. In his opinion ethnic teachers would accomplish more for the minority groups if they devoted their efforts to their professional activities and avoided utilizing their membership in a minority group as a means for achieving general acceptance.

#### Mrs. Iva B. Capps, Retired Principal of the Elementary School where the First Two Negro Teachers in Stockton were Assigned

Mrs. Capps recalled the fact that Stockton had employed an ethnic teacher before the issue of employing Negro teachers was introduced in 1947. A Spanish-speaking teacher was employed at the Roosevelt Elementary School in 1945. She was transferred to the Garfield School when it was opened in 1948 and experienced considerable rejection from a number of teachers there. The following year she was transferred to Elmwood School, where she was more readily accepted.

Mrs. Capps was not personally aware of any movement to prepare the schools for the acceptance of Negro teachers until after the nondiscriminatory employment policy was established, although such preparation may well have been undertaken without her knowledge of it. At that time, there was no parent-teacher organization as such as Monroe, and she made no effort beforehand to alert the parents to the assignment of a Negro teacher in the school. She simply announced to the faculty that the assignment had been made.

She indicated that Mrs. Henry was exceptionally well received by the faculty and was included in all of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Iva B. Capps, personal interview, April 16, 1962.

school related social functions. At that time it was customary for the faculties in the small schools to be invited to the homes of the parents for dinners, and Mrs. Henry was always included in these invitations. Mrs. Capps emphasized that not a single incident occurred to indicate non-acceptance of Mrs. Henry.

At meetings and institutes, Mrs. Capps made a special effort to be with Mrs. Henry to observe the situations in respect to reactions on the part of teachers from other schools; however, Mrs. Henry appeared to be well-accepted wherever she went.

Mrs. Capps indicated that she had been somewhat concerned with Mrs. Henry's assignment to a primary situation when much of her previous experience had been on the high school level; however, she did a very fine job as indicated by the evaluation records for the first two years that she taught at the Monroe School. In the first year she was rated as superior in seventeen out of thirty-six areas with the balance falling in the strong category. The evaluation record for the following year indicated nineteen superior areas and the remainder strong areas.

Mrs. Capps noted one rather interesting aspect regarding Mrs. Henry's attitude toward some of the Negro children in the school. She made no effort to conceal her feelings of superiority toward the Negro children she considered in a social class inferior to her own.

The second Negro teacher employed in Stockton was also assigned to the Monroe School. Thelma Bridges (Mrs. V. D.) first taught as a substitute but was given a regular assignment in February of 1942 to complete the year for a teacher who resigned because of illness. Mrs. Capps reported that she too, was an outstanding teacher and in some respects better qualified to teach on the primary level than Mrs. Henry had been. Mrs. Bridges was accorded the same degree of acceptance that Mrs. Henry received.

Mrs. Capps recalled only one incident of needing to recommend the dismissal of a Negro teacher in the schools of which she was principal. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was made cognizant of the teacher's deficiencies and supported her dismissal.

The investigator is aware of only one additional incident in which a Negro teacher in Stockton was dismissed on the basis of incompetency.

In regard to future problems related to the employment of ethnic teachers, Mrs. Capps felt there was a need to develop acceptance of ethnic teachers in areas other than those which have ethnic pupils, particularly the schools where there is a high concentration of pupils from the South who have traditionally rejected ethnic groups.

Another important problem will be the continued selection of ethnic teachers of high caliber. Related to this is the discovery and elimination of inferior teachers. In this respect Mrs. Capps felt that it will be of the utmost importance for organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P. to give complete support to the school administrators in this effort to select and retain only those teachers who are able to demonstrate a high degree of success in teaching.

## Mr. Edward S. Esser, Coordinator of Intermediate and Upper Grade Fundamentals

Esser recalled that he was first made aware of the question of employing teachers from minority groups in Stockton when teachers in the schools which had large enrollments of ethnic pupils suggested the possibility of employing ethnic teachers as resource people. The teachers offering the suggestion were concerned with the problems of the large number of Negro pupils that began arriving in Stockton in the late 1930's as a result of the cotton industry in the area. Their parents had been imported from the South to work in the cotton fields and to operate the cotton processing equipment that had been installed at the Port of Stockton. More Negro pupils were added to the increasing school population in the early 1940's as the ship-building industry in Stockton increased rapidly due to war production demands.

These teachers felt a deficiency in guidance techniques in dealing with Negro children with adjustment problems resulting from being transplanted into an entirely new environment from which they had been accustomed. The teachers also felt the need for guidance in dealing with the scholastic deficiencies that were the result of past educational experiences of many of the Negro pupils.

It was their belief that Negro teachers with a natural understanding of the problems which Negro pupils experienced

<sup>3</sup> Edward S. Esser, personal interview, April 8, 1962.

would be an invaluable resource to other teachers in improving their teaching techniques with Negro pupils. They also felt that Negro teachers would be of inestimable value as liaison persons between the schools and the parents of Negro children.

In Esser's opinion the guidance aspect for improving the educational opportunities for the Negro children in Stockton was the primary concern in suggesting the employment of Negro teachers. He indicated that there might have been another aspect to the situation that was of growing concern to the Stockton School District in that a shortage of qualified teachers to staff the schools was beginning to occur about that time. The situation was destined to become more and more acute as the population of Stockton increased. In the face of this shortage there were available many well-qualified teachers from minority groups whose abilities were not being utilized.

Esser was of the opinion that Superintendent Hill had been cognizant of the situation related to teachers from minority groups for some time before the school district received Mrs. Henry's application. He had been aware of an effort on Hill's part to develop an attitude of acceptance for Negro teachers on the part of the professional staff and in the community. He felt that it was being done for the two afore-mentioned reasons, to improve the educational opportunities for the steadily increasing number of Negro pupils in Stockton and to be able to draw on a heretofore unavailable source of qualified teachers to help meet the demands of a growing teacher shortage. Esser felt that Mrs. Henry's application served to precipitate the movement toward the formation of a definite policy.

Esser indicated that the selections and assignments of the first ethnic teachers were made with utmost care to insure their meeting with every opportunity for success. Teachers were sought who displayed very high ability and preferrably ones with an additional special talent in a particular area such as music or art. The staff of the school in which they were placed was canvassed to determine if it would accept a Negro teacher as a member of the staff. The teachers were advised to give special consideration to the Negro teacher, to be sure she was included in all of the school activities, especially social activities. They were cautioned against exploiting her in any way. In addition, meetings were held with the parent organization of the school to urge the acceptance of the Negro teacher.

At first the ethnic teachers were placed in very small schools with a heterogeneous school population because it was felt that they would receive a greater degree of acceptance. As more ethnic teachers were employed, they were assigned if possible to a school where an ethnic teacher was already assigned. First of all, acceptance would have been established in the school, and secondly, the teachers could form a closer companionship with each other.

Esser indicated that the superintendent advised the supervisorial staff to give special consideration to the limitations of ethnic teachers. The supervisors were to be especially alert to eliminating any deficiencies on the part of teachers who had received their education in any of the Negro colleges that, because of circumstances existing in the South, were inadequately equipped to prepare their students for teaching.

In Esser's opinion the major problems related to the employment of ethnic teachers in Stockton as experienced by a member of the supervisorial staff were the selection of highly talented persons and the related supervision to discern their limitations, if any, that might have resulted in inadequate collegiate preparation. He felt that the problems that were anticipated when the policy originated were for the most part theoretical, for the entire issue met with very little resistance. To his knowledge there had been absolutely no reluctance on the part of the professional staff for the acceptance of ethnic teachers.

In regard to changes in attitude on the part of the community since the policy was instigated in 1947, Esser felt that there had been adequate acceptance of the idea to introduce ethnic teachers into the Stockton schools for guidance purposes to deal with the problems related to Negro children. He was of the opinion that it would be no longer necessary to assign ethnic teachers only to schools that had ethnic children enrolled, and further that the assignments should now be made to any school in the district where the teachers would be qualified to teach in order to give other children the opportunity to become better acquainted with members of ethnic groups.

He indicated that he had been in perfect agreement with Hill's theory of the readiness approach through teachers, administrators, board members, and the community and with the careful, gradual introduction of ethnic teachers in the school system.

#### Dr. J. Marc Jantzen, Dean of the School of Education, University of Pacific, Stockton, since 1944

Jantzen indicated in the interview that he had been in a unique position to observe the development of the nondiscriminatory employment policy of ethnic teachers in Stockton and to watch the growth of their acceptance in the community. In his position in the nearest teacher-training institution, he was naturally very much interested in this development, but even more so, he was basically interested in the philosophy on which the policy was based in that it provided for the full utilization of human beings in their greatest capacity.

Jantzen reported that obviously there were many factors administratively and otherwise related to the selection and placement of ethnic teachers within the Stockton schools which were unknown to him; however, the tremendous changes in the attitude toward ethnic teachers on the part of administrators and teachers were very evident.

One evidence of this change that could very readily be assessed at the college level was the increase in the number of teacher candidates from all minority groups. In only one generation there had been a shift from an almost completely Caucasian group of teacher candidates to acceptance of candidates from every group on the basis of merit.

Another aspect that was evident by the increased number of placements of teacher candidates from minority groups in Stockton was the growth in acceptance of ethnic teachers by parents and pupils.

In Jantzen's opinion one of the greatest problems related to the employment of ethnic teachers has been and will continue to be in respect to adequate housing in keeping with their professional status. Progress has been made in this area, but it is still a matter of real concern for the teachers involved, particularly Negro teachers.

Another problem, Jantzen felt, was more widespread placement of ethnic teachers throughout the district. In this regard, the educational organizations in Stockton could add real impetus if the recommendation were made to this effect and if each school were to place itself on record as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Dr. J. Marc Jantzen, personal interview, April 19, 1962.

welcoming ethnic teachers on its staff. Further, these organizations could be of considerable assistance in solving the problem of adequate housing for ethnic teachers.

As to suggestions to future problems related to employment of ethnic teachers, Jantzen felt it would be unwise to set up quotas for the number of ethnic teachers employed on the basis of the enrollment of ethnic pupils. The fallacy of a quota basis would establish a kind of discrimination in itself in that the employment would therefore involve the racial factor rather than the factor of merit employment and would eliminate ethnic teachers from schools which did not have ethnic pupils enrolled. He also felt that the consideration of the ethnic teacher in balancing the staff in an individual school was not a reasonable one because it was also based on the racial aspect instead of the professional qualifications of the teachers. In this respect he felt there were not enough ethnic persons preparing for teaching to create a disproportionate number to become a matter of concern.

## Dr. Harold S. Jacoby, Professor of Sociology, 5 University of the Pacific

Jacoby recalled that he first became aware of the question of employing ethnic teachers in Stockton in 1947 when former Superintendent Hill was preparing the policy relating to their employment. He was a member of a group of professional educators that assisted in the preparation of certain aspects of the policy. He was dimly aware of the opinions that were held by people in the community; however, he recalled no particularly widespread movement either for or against the adoption of the policy.

After the preparation of the policy statement, Hill had submitted it to a number of educators for their reaction, and a poll had been taken of the faculty members of the school where the first Negro teacher was placed to ascertain their willingness toward having an ethnic teacher on the staff. Because of the original placement of the first Negro teacher in an area where acceptance was certain, there were no objections raised by the opinion-forming segment of the community. This same degree of acceptance might not have occurred if the first assignment had not been so carefully

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Harold S. Jacoby, personal interview, April 19, 1962.

made. Since the first assignments did meet with a high degree of success, there has been little opposition of any consequence to subsequent employment of ethnic teachers. If there have been any objections, they have not become public knowledge. For the most part the attitude of the community has either been favorable or passive. Because of this, the acceptance of ethnic teachers in Stockton has become an accomplished fact.

The only specific incident related to the employment of the first ethnic teachers that Jacoby remembered was in connection with the objections raised by some of the neighbors in the area in which one of these teachers had selected to live. However, the Council for Civic Unity was successful in counteracting the hostility created by the incident.

Jacoby felt that he was not in a position to be aware of problems related to the placement of ethnic teachers; however, he was certain that the number of cases of assignments that resulted in failures on the part of ethnic teachers had been very few since the adoption of the policy. The percentage of failures of ethnic teachers compared to other teachers who have failed has been notably less. This has undoubtedly been the result of careful selection and placement.

It was Jacoby's opinion that the most serious future problem related to the employment of qualified ethnic teachers would be community acceptance of the responsibility for making available to ethnic teachers adequate housing in residential areas commensurate with their professional standing. He pointed out that the problem exists mainly because of lethargy on the part of many people, since studies have shown that approximately 60 per cent of the people expressed disinterest in having a family from a minority group as a neighbor so long as they themselves did not become personally involved, while 20 per cent were opposed to the prospect and 20 per cent supported it. In this respect it is important that more examples of successful integration in relation to housing be made and that their success become more widely known throughout the community.

Jacoby felt that the Stockton School District had developed a good reputation for employing people on the basis of merit and that an unusually fine atmosphere for acceptance of minority groups existed in the district. He indicated that appointments of ethnic persons to administrative positions should be encouraged whenever a qualified person was available, but that it would be imprudent and unfair to

assign an administrative position to an ethnic person simply to have ethnic administrators. The appointment of ethnic administrators would need to be made as carefully or more so than the assignments of the first ethnic teachers were, in order to assure their successful acceptance. Jacoby advised against the schools becoming too much of a pressure group for furthering integration, feeling that it could be detrimental to the progress that has already been made if the district became overly ethnic-minded.

# Nolan D. Pulliam, Superintendent of Schools in Stockton, 1951-63

Pulliam reported that upon his arrival in Stockton in 1951, he had found among the members of the Board and the professional staff an atmosphere that was favorably inclined toward the employment of ethnic teachers provided they were professionally and personally qualified.

He recognized differing degrees of variability within the community in respect to the readiness to accept the assignments of ethnic teachers. Although statistics were never kept in Stockton in regard to the acceptance of ethnic teachers, willingness to accept the assignments of ethnic teachers appeared to fall in the following order: Orientals first, next Spanish-speaking persons, then Filipinos, and finally Negroes.

Pulliam pointed out that assignments of ethnic teachers have been made on the same basis as any other teacher in the district. The first concern of the district, in fairness to the persons selected, has been to guarantee them a reasonable opportunity of success. Their placement in the individual schools has been made on this basis so that no teacher has been given an assignment in which there is a possibility that he will not succeed.

Another concern of the district in making the assignment of any teacher has been that he have a background of understanding of the people with whom he would be working. Often the ethnic teacher can be of inestimable value in a school where ethnic pupils are enrolled because of this background of understanding that only he can possibly possess;

<sup>6</sup>Nolan D. Pulliam, personal interviews, March 2, 1962, and April 18, 1962.

however, Pulliam emphasized that there has been no specific effort to place ethnic teachers in schools where the same ethnic pupils were enrolled.

The main concern in addition to the afore-mentioned two has been the maintenance of a balanced staff in each school in regard to age, sex, and special interest or talents. He affirmed that it was an administrative responsibility to select teachers on the basis of providing well-balanced staffs in the individual schools in order to maintain an equal educational opportunity throughout the district. With this philosophy as the basis for selection and assignment of teachers, the district has rejected the suggestion from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to place Negro teachers throughout the district simply to hasten the integration process. Pulliam maintained that the school's primary obligation was to the welfare of the pupils, and that it could not permit itself to become an instrument of social attainment for a specific segment of the society. In his opinion the school's activities should be directly related to the instructional program.

In respect to particular preparations in the community for the assignment of ethnic teachers, Pulliam indicated that this became a matter of discussion with parent groups and the professional staff only in those areas where there would be a question of acceptance. The judgment of the principal with his thorough knowledge of the neighborhood community and the staff within his school was relied upon heavily in selecting teachers for the individual schools.

Pulliam felt that there were several indications of changes in attitudes toward ethnic teachers over the years both on the part of the public and professional staff. This was especially evident at informal gatherings of faculties and of members of the professional organizations. There seemed to be a complete degree of acceptance in the social activities of these groups.

In the community there has been much less concern on the part of parents of the advanced knowledge of assignments of ethnic teachers or of boundary changes in which children from minority groups were affected. Earlier there would have been many objections, especially in connection with transfers of ethnic pupils. Part of this greater acceptance has come about, Pulliam felt, by the addition of the junior high schools which have drawn pupils from several elementary attendance areas with a resultant intermingling of the children from different areas. Greater understanding and

acceptance of minority groups has descended from the senior high schools to the junior high school and is now being evidenced at the elementary level in regard to boundary changes affecting ethnic pupils.

There have been no major problems in Stockton regarding the placement of ethnic teachers. On the whole they have met with very fine success, and because of the precedent this has established, there is every indication that the future holds few possibilities of any difficulties in this area. There will undoubtedly be individual instances of hostility, Pulliam added, but there is little likelihood of group action in disfavor of an assignment of an ethnic teacher in any school in the district.

He predicted that progress in this area would continue provided the district proceded on the same basis as it has in regards to the assignment of all teachers. A real threat to this progress exists in any pressure to establish a definite ratio of ethnic pupils in the district. The danger of this philosophy lies in the fact that ethnic teachers would therefore tend to be excluded completely from schools in which there were no ethnic pupils enrolled. The only certain way to prevent this would be to continue the assignment of teachers on the basis of professional and personal qualifications for the individual position.

### Donald R. Sheldon, Associate Superintendent of Schools, 7 Stockton, 1951-1963

Sheldon reported he had been aware from the time of his arrival in 1951, that ethnic teachers were accepted in Stockton. There were relatively few then, but in each of the succeeding years additional teachers from all of the minority groups were added to the staff. He felt that since the population of Stockton was highly heterogeneous, teachers from all of the minority groups should be employed.

On this basis, a deliberate attempt had been made to obtain highly qualified teachers from minority groups for the Stockton schools. The teachers that had been employed were of exceptional caliber because the district had been in a position of being very selective of the persons who had

<sup>7</sup>Donald R. Sheldon, personal interview, April 17, 1962.

applied. The small percentage of failures among the ethnic teachers in Stockton was indicative of the care that had been used in their selection.

In Sheldon's opinion, the main factor influencing the assignment of ethnic teachers was their acceptance in the school by the principal and by the community. He recalled an incident in 1951, regarding the assignment of a Spanish-speaking teacher to an all-white school in an upper-middle class neighborhood. At first the principal had been very reluctant to accept the teacher because he felt there would be resistance from the parents; however, he agreed to a trial assignment of one month until another teacher could be found when he was appraised of the fact that the teacher was by far the best one available at the time. At the end of the month, the principal requested that the Spanish-speaking teacher be permitted to remain because he had been doing a fine job and had become so popular with the students and the parents. In addition the principal felt that the teacher had created an excellent image of Spanish-speaking people for the pupils who had few opportunities to come in contact with people of this minority group.

Since then this teacher has been elevated first to the position of a resource teacher, then to a vice principal-ship, and currently to a principalship of a large elementary school. In the current program for developing foreign language instruction in the elementary schools, he has served as a valuable resource person for the district. Sheldon indicated that it was his opinion that this person was completely accepted in his role as administrator by his associates and by the community.

Sheldon went on to say that since his arrival in Stockton the one case in which special preparation was made for the assignment of an ethnic teacher was in regard to a Negro teacher at the Hoover School. This was reviewed in detail in the report of the interview with Boggess, the Director of Personnel.8

Sheldon pointed out that the major problem related to the employment of ethnic teachers had been the district's concern with selecting only highly qualified candidates in order to be reasonably assured that they would succeed. Each success situation created an atmosphere of greater

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 136-37.

acceptance in the community to enable the district to continue employing ethnic teachers and to broaden their assignments throughout the district, while a failure situation had a tendency to hinder this progress. Also the aspect of dismissing an incompetent ethnic teacher with the resultant possibility of intervention from pressure groups which might question the dismissal simply because the teacher was a member of a minority group was an additional incentive to employ only those teachers who were reasonably certain to succeed.

In regard to future problems related to the employment of ethnic teachers, Sheldon felt the district should continue to be concerned with developing a well-balanced staff. Since a deliberate attempt had been made to employ representatives of each minority group, it would be imprudent to employ too high a percentage of any one minority group or of all the minority groups combined, lest an imbalance of the staff be created.

He concluded that the selection of ethnic teachers as well as all teachers should be made on the basis of obtaining the highest qualified teachers available, and that members of minority groups should not be accorded special consideration simply because of their membership in a minority. He felt that the minority aspect should not be made an issue, that greater amity would result from simply accepting everyone on the same basis.