The History of Desegregation in San Francisco Schools

Sept. 11, 2020

Presenter:

- Rand Quinn: University of Pennsylvania

Discussants:

- **Michelle Jacques-Menegaz**: Coordinator for the Parent Advisory Council to the Board of Education, San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD)
- **Rachel Norton**: Commissioner, San Francisco Board of Education and Chair of the Board's Ad Hoc Committee on Student Assignment
- **Danielle Uttley**: Family Education Integration Specialist, English Learner Programs/ Services; District English Learner Advisory Committee (DELAC) Liaison, SFUSD

Facilitator:

- Laura Wentworth: Stanford-SFUSD Partnership

Interpretation from SFUSD

by Sunny Kwok and Margarita Millar

Google Meet phone number for Chinese: 1 219-281-4773, PIN: 511 471 480#

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Co-Hosts

- Stanford University Graduate School of Education
- UC Berkeley Graduate School of Education

In support of partner districts:

- San Francisco Unified School District
- Oakland Unified School District

Objective and Agenda

Objective: SFUSD community members learn about the history of desegregation and student assignment in San Francisco, discuss lessons learned from past student assignment systems, and consider the implications for our current policy development.

Agenda:

- Why discuss the history of student assignment in SFUSD?
- Presentation by Rand Quinn, Associate Professor at the University of Pennsylvania and author of *Class Action:* Desegregation and Diversity in San Francisco Schools
- Panel discussion
- Audience Q&A
- Quick feedback survey and closing

Why Discuss the History of Student Assignment in SFUSD?

- SFUSD is currently revisiting its policy for how elementary school students are assigned to schools, and the San Francisco Board of Education will vote on a new policy on December 8, 2020.
- This speaker series will help infuse policy discussions with additional evidence and facilitate a public dialogue around these complex issues related to SFUSD's student assignment policy.
- In today's conversation, we'll learn about SFUSD's past student assignment systems and consider the implications for our current policy development.

Desegregation and Student Assignment Policy in San Francisco

"separate but equal"



Educational opportunity is a "a right which must be made available to all on equal terms"

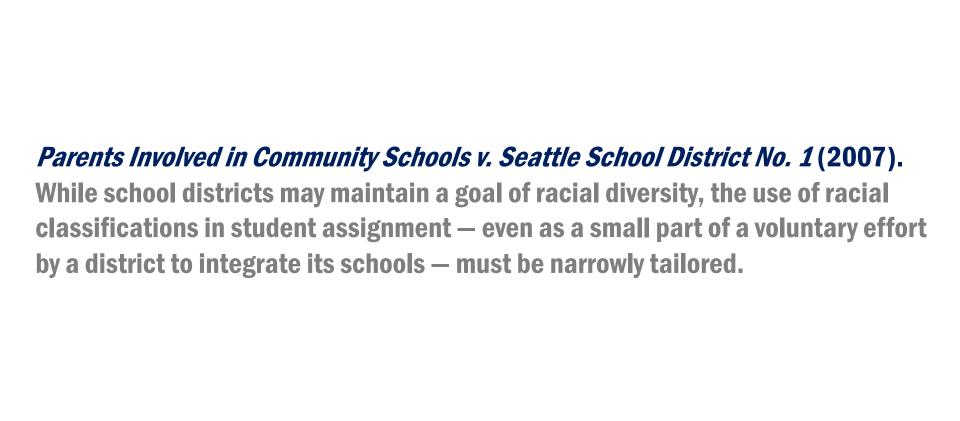




CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) members demanding desegregation, August 10, 1962. San Francisco Examiner (Sacco). Fang family San Francisco examiner photograph archive negative files, BANC PIC 2006.029:137869.05.02--NEG, box 1391. © The Regents of the University of California, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



GORE (Congress of Racial Equality) members demanding desegregation, September 20, 1971. San Francisco Examiner (Doherty). Fang family San Francisco examiner photograph archive negative files, BANC PIC 2006.029:140795_N_02_15—NEG, box 1517. © The Regents of the University of California, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



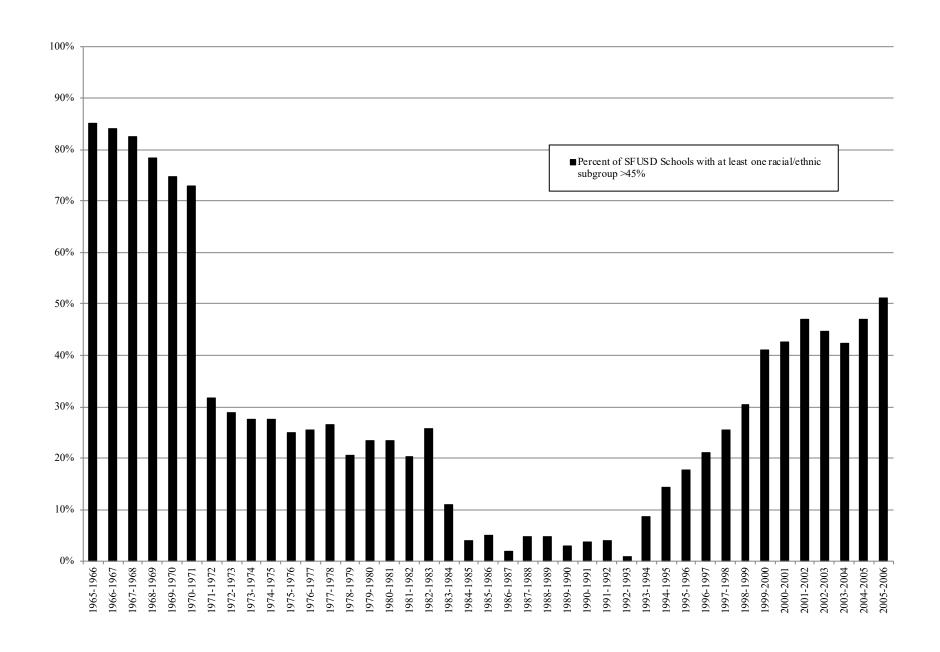
Trends in School Segregation

Competing Ideas for Student Assignment Policy

Neighborhood Schools

School Choice

Equal Opportunity





San Francisco Chronicle

June 25, 1970

The city is "behind such places as Mississippi and Texas in offering equal educational opportunity to Black students. We intend to change that and to insure that San Francisco again becomes a progressive city"

Charles Belle SF NAACP

The Senate got into a squabble about Senate ethics as it voted, 81 to 10, to repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution that led to escalation of

A Federal suit accused the Fire Department of discriminat-

ing against blacks.

The NAACP filed a suit de-

manding "immediate and total de-segregation" of San Francisco's 102 elementary schools.

Senator Mansfield, responding to the President's economic mes-sage, charged air. Nixon has allowed the Nation to slip into a

The doctor shortage could be nded by cutting time in special-zed hospital training, the new AMA president said.

Suspected cop-killer Joe Wesley Johnson escaped from General

Hospital last year when his guard went to the bathroom.

New U.S. proposals for the Mid-east reportedly call for 12-mile demilitarized zones along the Suez anal and a three-month cease-

Inside World diplomatic figures beganto arrive here for the 25th anniver-sary of the signing of the U.N. Charter. Page 2.

Architect Lawrence Halprin joined the festivities at the dedi-cation of a Portland civic audito-

may not come up with a compro-mise State budget urtil Monday, the day before the submission rium forecourt. Page 3. A Federal inspection disclosed conditions of terrible filth in and deadline. Page 10. The State Senate passed a bill designed to help control populaand around a number of meat

packing companies. Page 3. The safety of teachers is threat-ened by disruptive students in many city schools, a report said.

ease. Page 11. Negotiations with Japan for vol-untary textile export restrictions.

TOP OF THE NEWS

there for school busing. Page 4.

A joint conference committee

tion and to reduce venereal dis-

Mansfield

Says U.S. in

Mike Mansfield, Senate

majority leader, said ves-

n a recession and he

blamed this economic

plight on the Nixon Administration's "distorted"

allocation of resources. particularly its outlays for the Indochina War.

Replying on national tel-evision to Mr. Nixon's eco-

nomic message of last

week. Mansfield declared

"We are using our re

CAMPAIGN

Mansfield using free

twin themes of the war and

School Superintendent Robert Jenkins said he is sorry the NAACP filed its desegregation suit against city schools. Page 4.

President Nixon watched as Elliot Richardson was sworn in as Secretary of Health, Educa-tion and Welfare, Page 13. Eight elergymen from Rich-mond district urgently asked Mayor Alioto to back up the plan

Vice President Agnew said some Senators are trying to hamstring the President while he is trying to protect Americans in Vietnam.

Reporter Michael Morrow, a freed prisoner, tells about the kind of men who fight on the other side in Indochina. Page 14.

Communist forces again at-tacked the provincial capital of Kompong Speu but were repulsed by the Cambodian army. Page 14.

broke down in Washington.

insure random selection, will be held July 1 in the Commerce De-partment auditorium. Page 14. The Pentagon confirmed that U.S. planes are involved in the air strikes deep inside Cambodia.

Page 15. A survey of several key cities shows racial barriers are firmly in place and hopes for racial peace and progress are evaporating. Page 16

A new draft lottery, designed to

Nearly 300 of America's leading scientists have asked the Presi-dent to pull all troops out of Indochina within a year. Page 18.

Syria claimed its forces killed or wounded 175 Israelis during a raid on the Golan Heights; Israel said it suffered only eight wounded. Page 19.

An "open house" will be held on July 26 so the public can see

The Giants lost, 5-4, to Cinnati, and the Athletics beat Kansas City, 5-1. Page 53.

Dean Martin's caddy, 21-year-old Barry Jacckel, won his first-round match in the State Amateur Championship at Pebble Beach.

An attempt is being made to match deposed Cassius Clay and Joe Frazier for the heavyweight title this September, Page 53.

Weather

Bay Area: Fair today except for morning and evening clouds and fog. High, near 60, low, in the 50s. Page 43.

San Francisco Chronicle

FINAL

106th Year

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1970

10 CENTS GArfield 1-111

Action by NAACP

S.F. Schools Sued On Desegregation

Bold Plan

For Doctors

By David Perlman

Science Correspondent

City Sued-'Fireman Hiring Bias'

San Francisco employs some 1800 firemen, Only four are black.

In contrast, there are 143 black firemen among the 1124 in Atlanta, Ga., and 283 out of 2900 in Philadelphia.

The disconcerting comparison, based on a survey by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was cited in a lawsuit filed yesterday in Federal Court here that charged the Fire Department with discriminatory hiring practices.

The action - taken in be half-of the NAACP, the West-ern Addition Community Or-ganization and the Mexican-American Political Association — seeks a preliminary injunction against tests used by San Francisco's Civil

Chicago TRRELEVANT'

idney Wolinsky, a director The new president of of the city's Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation which filed the suit. told a spiral morphosphere and a start work of the city's elementary. School officials contended to the control of the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror and the control of the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror and the control of the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror and the control of the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror and the control of the country of the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror and the control of the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror in the said. In the country, Man a sie'eld addit is mirror in the said that the country is a sie'eld and the said is mirror in the country, Man a sie'el

The charges brought a vo-

Demand for Immediate Measures

By Ron Moskowits

A suit demanding "im mediate and complete depriorities are still deter egregation" of San Fransegregation" of San Fran-mined largely by yesterday's cisco's 102 elementary fear and fallacies." schools was filed here yes- National security, the Monterday by the NAACP. tana Democrat insisted, de

Hearing was set for 2 pm. on July 30 by Fed-eral District Judge Stanley A. Weigel on the request for a preliminary injunc-AMA Chief's tion that would:

· Prevent the Board of Education from dropping its plans to start the Richmond District Elementary Schools Complex this fall.

Mansfield, was speaking for Democrats in both Houses and his thesis is killed by to be the centerpiece of

Complex this fall.

• Force the Board to implement the Park South Ele-the congressional elections this fall. It ties together the

the same time. we same time.

• Require the board to prepare immediately a plan to desegregate pupils, faculties, and administrators in the correlation of the co

the city's Neighborhood the American Medical Associated as of the city's elementary The country, Mansfield schools. School officials contended that the official policy of the "whether the term is used or

climb a ladder or drive a fire bedside truck."

Also, according to the complaint, the Fire Department's physical test "carries very claim of the whole thing adds up to a "viciously discriminatory hir in g system" that keeps the city room getting the best firement groups the strong groups the best firement of the groups and the whole the city room getting the best firement of the groups and the strong petting the best firement of the groups and the strong petting the best firement of the groups and the strong petting the best firement of the groups and the strong petting the best firement of the groups and the strong petting petting the strong petting petting petting petting petting the st costs and higher interest

> **How Slaying Suspect** "The things that should be

See Back Page

Nixon Backers Upstage Doves on Tonkin Repeal A Recession



His War s Over

A tired soldier of the First Cavalry Division lugged his gear to a heli-copter landing area at a firebase in Cambodia. His unit of the division departure, there are 9000 U.S. ground troops left in Cambodia, according to the U.S. Command. For other developments in the Cambodian fighting, see Page 14.

Report From Lebanon

for a peaceful settlement leaves th

U.S. Mideast Peace Plan

beirut provide for the repatriation pected to amounce the US.

New American proposals an refugees. It reportedly tonal jet aircraft to Israel.

Deve the foundation of palestine of the sale of additional personnel of the provided of the provided for the provided

Procedure In Senate Criticized

Washington

The Senate voted yesterday to repeal the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution. once interpreted as the statutory equivalent of a declaration of war in Viet-

action, by a vote of \$1 to 10, is minimal since the Nixon Administration has stated that it is not relying on the resolution, enacted at the request of President Johnson, as authority for current policies in Indo-

But the vote may have marked a turning point in the increasingly acerbic bicker-ing in the Senate over the

Supporters of the Administration had seized the intiative from the Democratic leadership by moving to re-peal the resolution and they threatened similar tactics against other amendments on Vietnam offered by Sep-

ate doves. SANCTION

The Tonkin Gulf resolution, which was often referred to by Mr. Johnson as congressional sanction for stepping up the war in Vietnam, was speedily passed in August, 1964, after two American destroyers reportedly came un-der attack by North Viet-namese PT-boats.

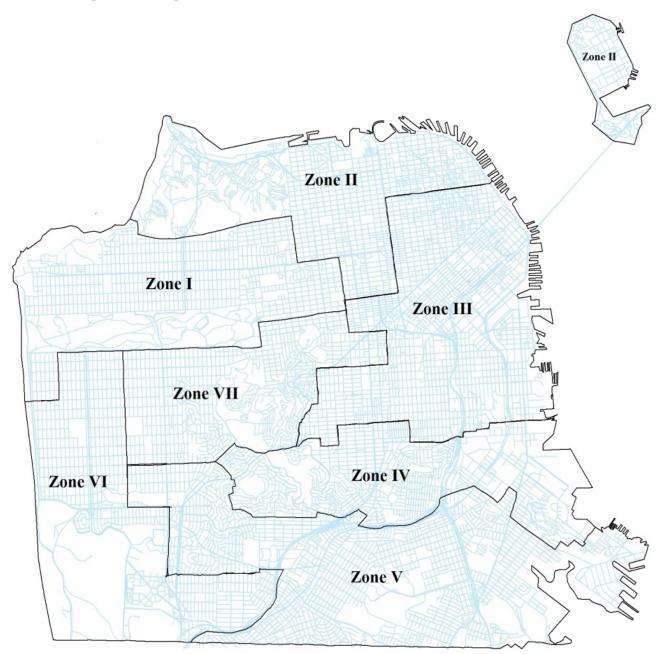
The resolution gave con gressional support to the President's determination to take all necessary measures" to prevent further avgression in southeast Asia.

The action on the resolu tion, which had been adopted with two dissenting votes. was taken by the Senate with almost equal speed after two days of perfunctory debate. Behind the decision, which must be concurred in by the

Johnson v. SFUSD

"The ratio of Black children to White children will then be and thereafter continue to be substantially the same in each school."

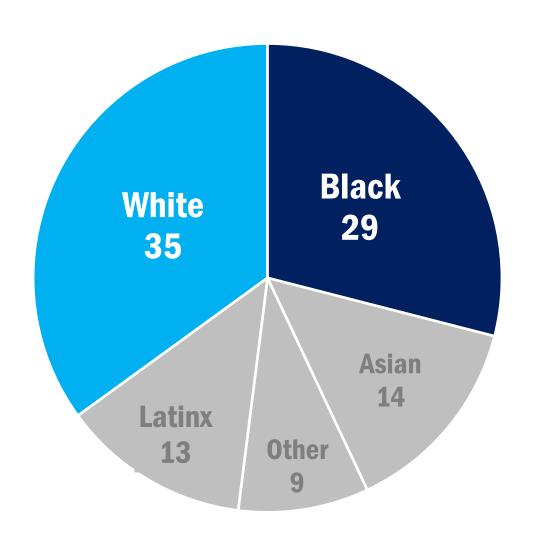
Horseshoe Plan (1971)



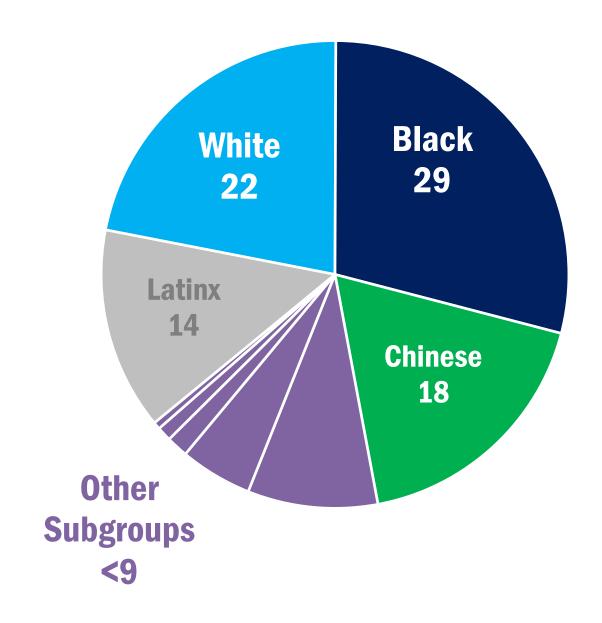
Minimum and maximum percentage of school enrollment, 1971

	Districtwide	Minimum (for every school)	Maximum (for every school)	
White	35	20	50	
Black	29	14	44	
Asian	14	=	29	
Latinx	13	-	28	
Other	9	-	24	

Largest Subgroups: Black and White Students (1971)



Changing student demographics (1977)



Every school must also enroll Chinese students (1977)

	Districtwide	Minimum (for every school)	Maximum (for every school)
White	22	7	37
Black	29	14	44
Chinese	18	3	33
Latinx	14	-	29
5 Add'l Subgroup	s <9	_	<24

Educational Redesign

Robert Alioto, Superintendent

"At the foundation of Educational Redesign is the district's commitment to integration [...] assigning students of diverse racial groups to create multicultural communities within schools."

Desegregating San Francisco Schools

Racial & Ethnic Subgroups

District Demographics, 1987 (percent)

Schools must have. . .

Representation from at least FOUR of nine racial and ethnic subgroups

Subgroup enrollments:

Regular Schools ≤45% Special Admission Schools ≤ 40%

(1000000)
1. Chinese
2. Black 20.0
3. Latino
4. White 14.8
5. Filipino
6. Korean
7. Japanese
8. American Indian 0.6
9. "Other"12.2

Margery Levy, Desegregation Officer

The Court should "not permit the SFUSD to maintain all non-white schools... To me, this in no way is in the spirit of... system-wide desegregation."

Joe Hall, SFNAACP

Educational Redesign "denied Black children their constitutional right to a desegregated [system] and equal educational opportunity [...] it was merely a part of the sad history of the educational neglect of Black children."



Treasure Island PTA president Gene Mattingly addressing parents angry over Educational Redesign, December 29, 1977, San Francisco Examiner (Southard). Fang family San Francisco examiner photograph archive negative files, BANC PIC 2006.029:144680.04.12--NEG, box 1722. © The Regents of the University of California, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



San Francisco Sun-Reporter

September 14, 1983

"We always have to trade off and our children are not happy where they are going. Whites don't want to come here, and we can't care less. But now they are forcing us to their schools."

Sylvester Brown

Bayview-Hunters Point Coordinating Educational Committee & Coalition

A NEWS JOURNAL DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OF SERVICE TO THE ENTIRE BAY AREA

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Wednesday, September 14, 1963

The Fight To Re-Open Drew

By Amelia Ashley-Ward

(USPS 526-500)

Volume 39 Number 36

A group of angry parents and concerned citizens claimed victory this week for unofficially forcing the re-opening of Charles Drew School in Bayview Hunters Point.

After three days of intense protesting and blocking buses that were to take children to distant schools in the city, the group succeeded Monday and Tuesday in getting the children off the bus and into classrooms inside, where some 50 students were taught by six instructors.

The protestors, led by Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church, Espinola Jactson, Shirley Jones, Essie Webb and Beatrice Dunbar, were able to get support from other community people and parents in their effort to stop the bussing and fight the closure of the school.

Drew's closure has forced some 300 students to be

At a meeting held Monday, a group calling itself the Bayview Hunter's Point Coordinating Educational Committee and Coalition vowed to continue blocking the buses

The group is calling for "two way bussing" in which they say other children outside the community will come in and keep the Bayview-Hunter's Point schools from closing

"We always have to trade off and our children are not happy where they are going," said a fiery Sylvester Brown, "Whites don't want to come here, and we can't care less. But now they are forcing us to their schools."

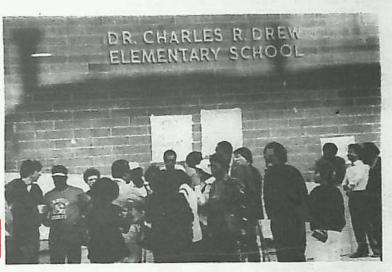
Drew School, which was closed when a negotiated consent decree settled the NAACP's (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) long standing lawsuit against the San Francisco Unified School District. The suit charged that the school district provided a segregated educational program and that those most effected by it were Black children from the Bayview-Hunter's Point

Rev. Williams said be hoped the Board of Education would reconsider the decision at its Tuesday meeting and officially reopen Drew School, "We'll be there," Webb

Protestors view Drew School as a positive symbol in their. community. Drew having been the first school in the city to be named after a black man. Drew is also fairly new, having been built 10 years ago. Prior to Drew's closure. seven other schools in the community have been shut

"We want our children to get a real education in a real neighborhood," Brown maintained. "We're turning into a ghost town, All of our schools and businesses are closing." Also on the group's list of demands is the right to send their children to any public school in the city.

The main issue, they claim, in their fight, is the fallure of the NAACP and school district properly to include them in the negotiating of the consent decree. "They can't act in



About 50 pretesters blocked a school bus on Tuesday in an Charles Drew Dementary School. The group, led by Erv. effort to stop the bussing of children in the Bayview Cecil Williams, succeeded in halting the bus and getting effort to stop the busning of children in the Bayview Hunters Point area and to try and force the reopening of

the children into classrooms in the school.

our behalf." Webb said angrily.

NAACP officials claim the consent decree is intended to provide quality education throughout San Francisco, and when Blacks benefit, everyone benefits."

An NAACP official, who asked not to be identified, stated that they are fighting to see that the burden of desegregation will not be placed on one group, as the decree states. He added that Drew was closed down because it had the most inferior educational program. "Our children can't qualify when they come out of inferor

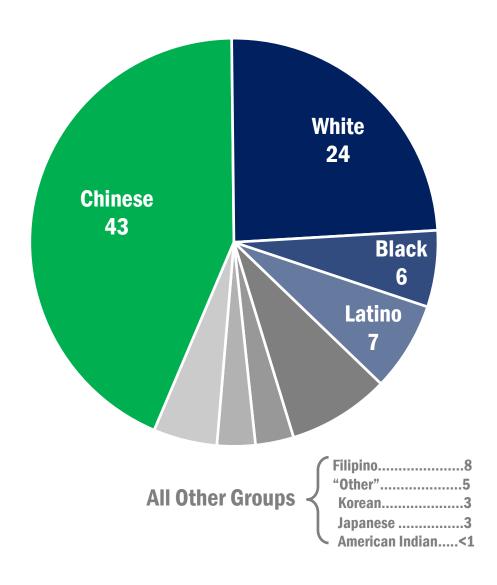
Meanwhile, representatives for the NAACP and the school district appeared Thursday before U.S. District Court Judge William Orrick, who handed down the decree last May, in response to a contempt-of-court action filed by the NAACP. The civil rights organization claims the school district is stalling on the desegregation plan. Orrick ordered both sides to submit to him questions relevant to a court-sanctioned consent decree to integrate the city's

Controversial NAACP Chairwoman Coming To Town

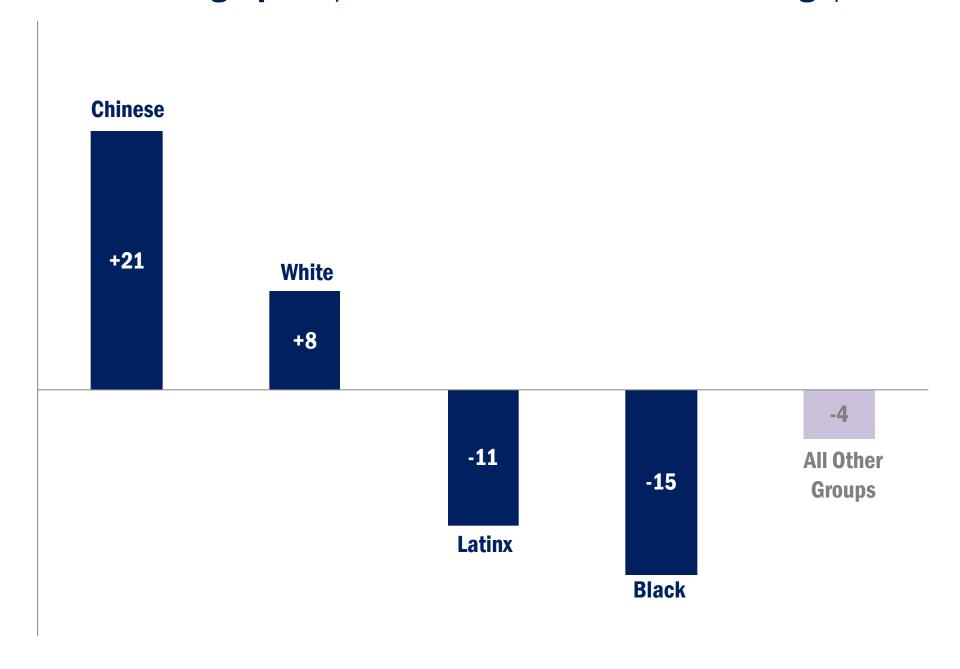
-See Page 2-



Lowell High School Student Enrollment, 1986



Student Demographics, Lowell vs. Districtwide Percentage, 1986



Chinese American Democratic Club Leslie Yee to Roland Quan

September 3, 1988

"I believe that the highest priority is for the Chinese community to get into the game. The deal over integration cannot be left to the NAACP"

Dear Roland The . desegragation consent decree 15 up for review & renewal in 1989. I believe that the highest priority 15 For the Chinese Commonity to get into the game. The deal over integration can not be left Some Chinese organization, & for example CADC must sue the 3chool Board to get The proposed 40% limit,
the application of any ceiling limit
to Lowell, and the application
of ceiling limits to wallenberg & Burton,
are discriminatory as applied to the
Chinese. There is both a negative
impact and a negative purpose. The schools are being pressured by whitee to open up prestigious high schools for whites. Whites send their Kids to private schools and then, if they can go there. IF they can't get in, they stay in the private schools. This is peuposeful discrumination - Kicking chinese out to make room for whotes. Flate

California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives
University of California, Santa Barbara
CEMA 49, Box 3, Folder 8

The . desegregation consent decree

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Chinese American Democratic Club Leslie Yee to Roland Quan

September 3, 1988

"The schools are being pressured by whites to open up prestigious high schools for whites [...] This is purposeful discrimination. Kicking Chinese out to make room for whites."

get into the game. The deal over integration can not be left Some Chinese organization, & for example, CADC must see the 3chool Board to get The proposed 40% limit, the application of any ceiling limit to Lowell, and the application Chinese. There is both a negative impact and a regative purpose. The schools are being pressured by whitee open up prestigious high schools for whites. Whites send their Kids to private schools and then, if they can go there. IF they can't get in, they stay in the private schools. This is peuposeful discremination Kicking chance out to make room for whotes. Fealer California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives CEMA 49, Box 3, Folder 8

Dear Roland

University of California, Santa Barbara

Chinese American Democratic Club, memo c1988				
"Ethnic representation to achieve diversity in the student body at				
Lowell is desirable. Black and Hispanic representation at Lowell is	•			
extremely low and should be increased."				

Chinese for Affirmative Action

Fall 1993

"... CAA supports affirmative action efforts to increase the representation of African American and Hispanic students at Lowell."

CAA Newsletter

Ethnic Studies Library University of California, Berkeley

Fairness or Discontent: Lowell High Freshman

n recent years, Chinese applicants admitted to SF's highly-touted Lowell High School have had to achieve a higher cutoff score than white, other Asian, Filipino, and other non-white applicants. For the Fall 1993 freshman class, Chinese applicants had to score at least 61 points out of a possible total of 69 points to gain admission; whites and other Asians, 59 points.

This differential in cutoff scores has sparked complaints by Chinese applicants and their families of unfair treatment. Some have charged that white applicants are receiving special benefits that are not warranted. Others have cautioned that there is too much pressure exerted on Chinese applicants to outperform students of other racial groups.

Over two years ago, at its June, 1991 meeting, the CAA Board of Trustees voted to oppose the higher cutoff score imposed against Chinese applicants. CAA has urged the school district to explore the feasibility of establishing a pool of qualified applicants from these diverse racial groups and then admitting freshmen applicants to Lowell on a lottery basis. (In addition, CAA supports affirmative action efforts to increase the representation of African American and Hispanic students at Lowell.)

To quell the controversy over the selection of freshman students, SFUSD Superintendent Waldemar Rojas convened this fall the Lowell Admissions Review Committee to develop "simple, clear, and equitable" admission criteria. Members of the current Lowell school and alumni community, CAA, and Chinese American Democratic Club were active participants on this Review Committee.

The Review Committee debated several proposals: (a) make no changes in the

Of all fall 1993
applicants to Lowell, an astounding 78% attended either a private school or one of the six west side middle schools. 8th graders living in poor, east side neighborhoods faced real and perceived barriers in applying to Lowell.

current admission criteria; rather, focus on better academic preparation of applicants at the middle school and K-5 levels; (b) select a majority of freshman students based on standardized test score results; (c) challenge the Consent Decree's racial enrollment guidelines so that more Chinese students will be admitted to Lowell; establish a "raceblind" merit-based selection system; (d) combine a merit-based (ranking by grades and test scores) and affirmative action selection system (that would account for approximately 90% of all admittees) with a lottery system (for the remaining 10% of admittees) so that Lowell will be in compliance with the court-ordered Consent Decree.

A close analysis of application, admission and enrollment patterns indicated that the Lowell admission controversy is more than just a dispute over differential cutoff scores, depending on the applicant's racial background. Lowell and its reputation as an alternative academic high school favors applicants

who attend either private schools or one of the six public middle schools located on the west side of the City.

In the last school year, 42% of all public school 8th graders attended one of six middle schools located on the City's west side: AP Giannini, Aptos, Hoover, Lawton Alternative, Presidio, and Roosevelt. 58% attended schools on the City's east side, comprised of largely poor and immigrant communities including Chinatown.

In contrast, 66% of public school applicants for the fall 1993 Lowell freshman class attended one of the six middle schools located on the west side. 80% of white public school applicants attended these west side schools; 66%, Chinese; 95%, Japanese; 97%, Koreans; 65%, other

Of all fall 1993 applicants to Lowell, an astounding 78% attended either a private school or one of the six west side middle schools. 8th graders living in poor, east side neighborhoods faced real and perceived barriers in applying to Lowell.

Among the applicants who were admitted to Lowell, 76% enrolled in the fall 1993 freshman class. Notwithstanding affirmative action incentives for underrepresented minorities and a lower cutoff score for white applicants, the enrollment rate of Hispanic, African American and private school white applicants was below the 76% average.

High-achieving Hispanic and African American students tended not to enroll at Lowell, even if admitted. Some educators have observed that the Lowell school environment is hostile or unfriendly toward these students, thereby discouraging these students from

CONTLNUED ON PAGE 11





"Today we begin a new chapter in the journey toward a color-blind society that protects the rights of every individual and offers equal opportunity to all Californians."



San Francisco's student assignment system "demonstrates the perversity of the affirmative action mind-set."

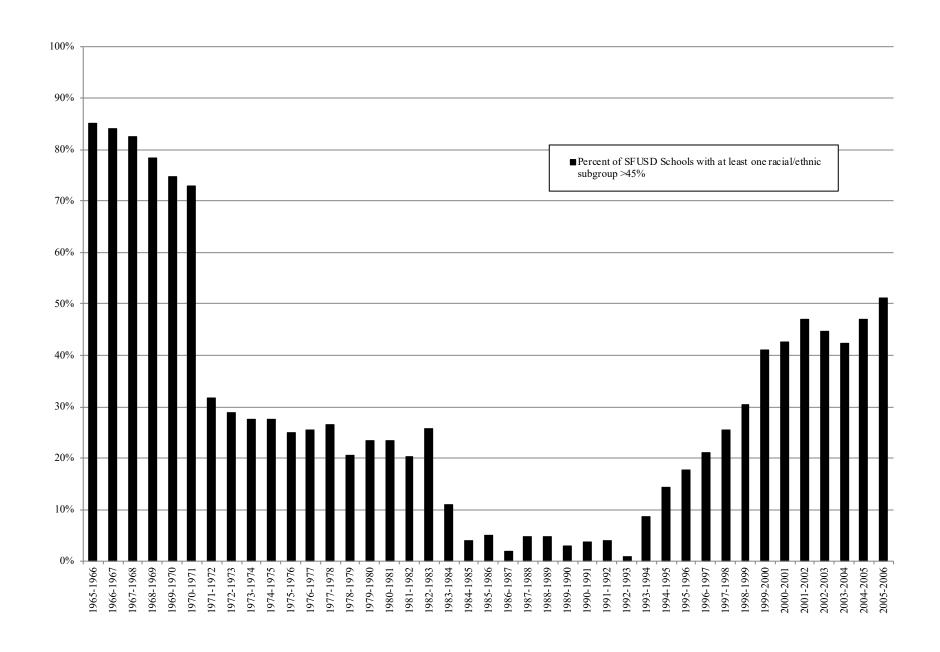
Roland Quan, CADC President

"Our group has never been for dismantling affirmative action and in fact we are supportive of affirmative action."

Roland Quan, CADC President

"... this case is about ending discrimination and not at all about ending affirmative action."





Thank you and Survey

- Thank you so much for attending
- Thank you to Stanford University GSE and UC Berkeley GSE
- Please sign up for other presentations:

https://bit.ly/SFUSDresearch

- Thursday, Sept. 17, 2020 4:00-5:00PM: Discussion of Research about School Integration
 - Prudence L. Carter (UC Berkeley)
 - Rucker Johnson (UC Berkeley)
 - sean f. reardon (Stanford)
 - Gary Yee (Director, District 4, Board of Education, Oakland Unified School District)
- o Monday, Sept. 21, 2020 3:00-4:00PM: Discussion of Research about School Choice
 - Damon Clark (UC Irvine)
 - Huriya Jabbar (University of Texas, Austin)
 - Paco Martorell (UC Davis)
 - Stevon Cook (Commissioner, Board of Education, San Francisco Unified School District)
- Please share your feedback by filling out this survey: https://bit.ly/SFUSDinput