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A PARTIAL SURVEY OF THE PRACTICES AND PROBLEMS IN THE HIRING OF NEGROES TO TEACH IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF WASHINGTON

A Thesis

Presented to

the Graduate Faculty

Central Washington State College

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

bу

Lila A. Hanson
June 1963

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APPROVED FOR THE GRADUATE FACULTY Virgil J. Olson, CHAIRMAN E. Odell Floyd Rodine Roy F. Ruebel

The writer wishes to gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of Dr. V. J. Olson and the graduate committee, the patience of her family, the interest of the State Board Against Discrimination, and the kindness and courage of the responding administrators.

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CHAPTER I

THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THE TERMS USED

Racial desegregation of public education has been a major national goal since the Supreme Court decision almost a decade ago that the "separate but equal" doctrine is unconstitutional. The painful and complex problems of public education in the southern United States, the <u>de facto</u> segregation in cities of the West and North due to segregated housing in urban centers, and the spectacular entry of Negroes into all-white southern universities have all commanded a great deal of national attention and concern. But one step in the achievement of racially integrated public education has had little exploration: that of the integration of teachers on the public school level.

I. THE PROBLEM

It is the purpose of this survey to investigate the practices and problems in the hiring of Negroes to teach in the public schools of Washington State. A 1949 state law makes it illegal to prevent or refuse employment to any person for reasons of race, creed, color or national origin; and establishes a state agency, the Washington State Board Against Discrimination, to administer this law. It states:

...practices of discrimination against any of its inhabitants because of race, creed, color or national

origin are a matter of state concern, that such discrimination threatens not only the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants but menaces the institutions and foundation of a free democratic state. A state agency is herein created with powers with respect to elimination and prevention of discrimination in employment, in places of public resort, accommodation or amusement, and in publicly assisted housing because of race, creed, color or national origin; and the Board established hereunder is hereby given jurisdiction and power for such purposes. (28)

This study, therefore, need not concern itself with questions of whether Negroes should or should not be hired as public school teachers or with specific instances in which the law may or may not have been violated. Rather it will be the purpose of this study to describe the practices as they exist in 1961 and 1962 in this state, to establish some statistical information as to numbers and locations of Negro teachers, and to outline some of the problems encountered or anticipated in the hiring of Negroes to teach in the public schools.

Anti-discrimination agencies and educational groups have shown much interest in this survey because a policy of omitting mention of race in some traditional records has resulted in a lack of information about the employment of Negro teachers in this state. One measure of the scarcity of information in this area may be found in the fact that the State Office of Public Instruction, the Washington Education Association, and the State Board Against Discrimination are all unable to give an estimate of the number of Negro teachers in Washington in 1961-1962. Providing information, not only

for today, but to use in the future in gauging the growth and success of various policies may be a chief value of this study.

II. DEFINITION OF THE TERMS

The word "Negro" will be used to describe any person thought by the community to be a member of the Negro race.

No biological distinctions will be necessary as this question deals with problems of discrimination and it is on community recognition, right or wrong, that discrimination occurs. A "Negro teacher" shall be defined as any person thought to be Negro and certified by the state of Washington as qualified to teach in the public schools.

"Public schools" shall refer to the regular, local, tax-supported school districts established to serve their localities with kindergarten through grade twelve. State-supported institutions and private schools will be considered separately and briefly, and institutions of higher education, both public and private, shall be deemed beyond the scope of this study except as they contribute information as training schools for teacher-candidates. This survey will restrict itself to the practices involved in the actual hiring or placement procedure, and will not attempt to judge teaching success subsequent to employment. Certified Negro staff members will all be considered "teachers" for purposes of

this study although they may be administrators, coaches, counsellors, or serve in some other certified positions in their schools.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Following this brief introduction, the next chapters will review the literature available on this topic. Some information solicited from selected educational and antidiscrimination groups will also be presented in an attempt to provide an historical background in an area about which there is little published material. Policies and resolutions of organizations related to the hiring of Negro teachers will also be presented.

Once this background is established, a description of the methods of inquiry will be provided. The decision to use the mailed questionnaire technique, formulation of the questionnaires, a description of the groups queried, the follow up techniques and the response to the various surveys will be discussed. The results of the questionnaires will then be presented and a summary of the findings will follow. Although this is primarily a descriptive survey, some conclusions suggested by the results will be noted and questions for further study will be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

With the larger problems of integration of pupils occupying the attention of the South, and the increasing housing segregation and its attendent segregation of city schools claiming the interest of the urban North and West, few studies or publications have taken notice of the progress or the problems of introduction of Negro staff members into predominately white school districts. This review of the literature will discuss the topic generally and nationally and then focus on the history and special aspects of this process in Washington State. Included in the chapter will be a discussion of official positions taken by antidiscrimination groups and educational organizations. The limitations of the literature and of previous studies will also be pointed out.

I. LITERATURE ON THE TOPIC NATIONALLY

Studies and literature on the integration of faculty in predominately white school districts are rare although the problem has commanded some attention in border states and recently integrated areas. Superintendent Carl F. Hansen of the Washington, D. C., public schools reports on personnel policies following the 1954 decision of the school board that

teacher appointments, assignments, and promotions be on merit only. He states that desegregation had not resulted in a lowering of standards but acknowledges several problems that still exist (15:12-15). A far less encouraging report comes from Illinois where a suit is being brought in federal court by two Negro teachers who charge they were fired because of their race when the Mound City High School merged its white and Negro units. The school student body is integrated but its faculty is all-white despite the fact that Negro parents protested when all the Negro teachers received notice of dismissal and a citizen's committee petitioned the board for an integrated faculty (13).

A National Education Association publication, Studies of Educational Problems Involved in School Integration, lists 115 studies of educational problems in school integration but the bulk of these deal with problems in southern and border states or with some other aspects than integration of faculty. One of these, however, is a study by Marie D. Rivers at the University of Michigan which contains information on acceptance of Negro teachers who are among the first employed in predominately white schools in the North. Rivers obtained data from visits and interviews with school administrators and with 176 white and Negro teachers in thirteen cities of four non-Southern states. The results of this study showed:

... that faculty integration in the thirteen cities had been successful and credited the high criteria

used by school administrators for selecting the 88 Negro teachers with the success. Administrators, white co-workers, and white students accepted these Negro teachers; a small percentage of parents reacted unfavorably at the outset, but they changed after they had experienced faculty integration. Rivers concluded that community groups determined the social acceptance of Negro teachers and that the major issues of faculty integration lie within the act of employing Negro teachers for a white community and are not those of the Negro teacher's inefficiency or lack of preparation (30:11).

Another study done in a predominately white school district which includes information on integration of staff comes from a lay advisory committee to the Berkeley, California, school district. This group published a report in which they recommended that:

The Board of Education reconsider their present policy of not placing Negro teachers in predominately white schools unless requested or until there was a nucleus of Negro children. We feel it would be a definite aid in improving interracial relationships if qualified Negro teachers were placed in predominately white schools, as well as the fusion and predominately Negro schools (3:11).

A second school district interested in improving interracial relationships by hiring Negro teachers was one in Wright County, Iowa, which hired Richard Adams, the "first Negro in town" as a speech therapist so their kids "could get to know a Negro" (14:114).

An Illinois legislator, Paul Simon, member of the educational committee of Illinois House of Representatives, in an article published in <u>The Christian Century</u> in 1957 comments on hiring of teachers from minority groups by citing

several anecdotal references to Negro, Oriental, and other minority group teachers in the middle states (33). Deploring the waste of teaching talent, he chronicles the efforts of these teachers to find employment and describes how they ultimately end up in jobs outside of education. He tells about "Bob" who after 73 refusals enlisted in the army and "Janet" who was excellent in music education but took an office job after many refusals of teaching employment, etc. "States which have declared discrimination in employment illegal have the best record in integrating faculties," he says and mentions New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Washington, and California as states where considerable progress can be noted.

One of the questions often posed in discussing the effects of Southern integration is whether the displaced Negro teachers will find employment in the North. The answer, according to a <u>US News and World Report</u> article printed in 1954, is "no!" "In the North, protests from white parents tend to drive Negro teachers out of the schools to which their children go," the article states. The same report gives the ratio of white to Negro teachers in some non-Southern states. Figures for the Pacific Northwest states show Oregon with 12,213 white teachers and 30 Negro teachers, Idaho with no Negro teachers and 5,001 white teachers, and Washington with 17,234 white teachers and 34 Negro teachers based on 1950 census reports (38:37).

With this brief review of information on the topic nationally, attention will now be called to studies and literature available on the hiring of Negroes in Washington.

II. LITERATURE ON THE TOPIC IN WASHINGTON STATE

The number of Negroes residing in the state of Washington has risen sharply in the last twenty years. The three federal censuses of 1920, 1930, and 1940 showed the non-white population holding steady at about 6,000 to 7,000 persons (34:88). The wartime migrations of defense workers brought the Negro population of the state to 30,000 at the time of the 1950 census (34:91). By 1960 there were 49,000 Negroes living in the state (39).

Information on the hiring of Negro teachers in this state begins after 1945 when the first Negro teacher was hired and when the fair employment practices law and State Board Against Discrimination was established. The first knowledge of employment of a Negro teacher comes in a letter from the Seattle Urban League which states:

The Seattle Urban League began working with the Seattle Public Schools in the early 1940's attempting to persuade them to hire non-white teachers. Prior to that time, there was little sentiment regarding the hiring of persons regardless of race. Thus, the first Negro teacher was hired in 1947. This we must point out, resulted after long and careful consultation with the Seattle Public Schools by the Urban League (27).

The State Office of Public Instruction and the Board Against Discrimination are unable to furnish information about the

first Negro teachers or the first districts to hire Negro teachers but indicate they believe Seattle or Tacoma may have been the first districts to do so (4, 16).

As a source of information about the practices of hiring Negro teachers the State Office of Public Instruction proved to be a disappointment due to the fact that:

It has been, and is, the policy of the office to avoid reference to race in record keeping as well as in evaluation and processing of applications for teaching certificates. Because of this we have no records that could give us information of an accurate nature regarding the situation in the state some years ago (4).

Similarly disappointing as a source of information was the Washington Education Association, the leading professional organization for teachers in this state. This group conducted a search of their files for the past fifteen years and discovered the first action regarding the integration of faculty was taken by their Department of Classroom Teachers at the 1956 spring convention at which time they passed a resolution endorsing fair employment practices in education and passed the following resolution:

that the State Department of Classroom Teachers set up a committee to study any and all discriminatory practices occurring in public schools—in the classroom and in the administration of personnel (31).

In answer to a request for results of this proposed study, the WEA reported that:

the committee formed as a result of the resolution you quoted, took a different approach than that which

was suggested at the 1956 business meeting. The officers at that time established a committee on International Understanding and developed a positive program of distribution of materials in this field..... This procedure was followed apparently because of the difficulty in obtaining significant information about discriminatory practices in classrooms and with professional personnel (37).

The Washington State Board Against Discrimination has offered assistance and information at many stages of this study. Their purpose, as stated in the opening chapter of this paper, is to administer the Law Against Discrimination. a portion of which includes the laws against discrimination in employment. As such this agency plays an important role in setting policies to be followed in the placement of teachers. The Board consists of five members, an executive secretary, and a professional and clerical staff to carry out the functions of the Board and the provisions of the Law Against Discrimination. The Board itself does not enforce the law but rather administers it with actual enforcement left to the courts. The Board does receive, initiate, and investigate complaints in the areas of employment, public accommodation, and publicly assisted housing. Following the investigation of a complaint where reasonable cause exists for believing an unfair practice is being committed, the Board attempts by conference, conciliation, and persuasion to remove the unfair practice. Failing this and further attempts to resolve the complaint, the entire case is certified to the Chairman of the Board for a public hearing.

After this hearing by a tribunal of three, a cease and desist order is issued or an order dismissing the complaint is issued. These decisions of the public hearing tribunal may be appealed to the courts for final modification, revocation or enforcement (41:1-6).

Some examples of the workings of this complaint procedure may be seen in Figure 1 which describes two cases of unfair employment claims in education (22). These are actual cases and the names of the people and districts involved are available in the Board's files as public documents but their use at this time does not seem pertinent to the study.

In addition to their regulatory activities in the complaint procedure, the Board attempts to improve civil rights in the state through an educational program involving speaking engagements, radio and television appearances and spot announcements, literature, official letters and news releases.

The Law Against Discrimination and the regulations adopted by the Board comprise the legal framework within which the employment of teachers takes place. This statute applies to all subdivisions of government including school districts which hire teachers. It defines as an unfair practice refusing to hire, discharging, or discriminating in compensation because of age, race, creed, color or national

E-69 Miss J. W. vs. "A" School District Filed August, 1951

Miss W. alleges that she had been told in a telephone conversation with the Superintendent that there was a vacancy for a first grade teacher and he urged her to come out to make a personal application. Upon arriving at the Superintendent's office, however, she charges he told her that he could not offer her anything. charged discrimination because of her race. Miss W. is a Negro. Investigation resulted in a finding of "reasonable cause for believing that a discriminatory practice had been committed" and, after conferences with the school board and administrators. Miss W. was employed as a primary teacher. At the end of her first year's employment she was re-hired. Miss W. was the first Negro teacher to be employed in the "A" district and it was with serious misgivings that the Superintendent agreed to her acceptance; however, because she was so successful, more Negroes and other non-white teachers followed in quick succession and today there are many such teachers doing a good job in the school of the district.

E-171 Mr. T. H. vs "C" Public Schools

Filed May, 1954

Mr. H, a Negro teacher, applied in "C" Schools for a position in the junior high school. He was not offered a position and he filed a complaint charging the Superintendent with racial discrimination. Investigation revealed that Mr. H. had been offered a position as substitute teacher but that he had declined the offer because of the uncertainty of enough work to provide him and his family an adequate income. The investigator learned that it is not uncommon for beginning teachers in the "C" Schools to be offered substitute teaching. A finding of "no reasonable cause" was made.

FIGURE 1

SUMMATIONS OF SAMPLE COMPLAINTS MADE TO THE STATE BOARD AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

origin as well as the use of any form of application or inquiry in connection with employment which in any way expresses any limitation, specification, or discrimination as to age, race, creed, color or national origin unless based upon a bona fide occupational qualification (29). In 1961, the Board adopted a regulation prohibiting the use of photographs prior to employment. This regulation applies to teachers and all other employees (16). In September of 1962 the Board adopted a Pre-Employment Inquiry Guide to help employers understand the Law Against Discrimination (42). This guide states that the philosophy behind the law is this: that questions of race, creed, color or national origin should not be asked in oral interview or on an application form even if no intent to discriminate is involved.

The findings of the Board in its 1960 annual report show that Washington Negroes encounter employment discrimination more frequently than members of other non-white minority groups. All fifty-nine employment complaints filed in 1960 on the basis of race and color were filed by Negroes (41:7). None of these involved complaints against the public schools. In 1961, twenty-eight employment complaints charging discrimination due to race and color were filed, all by Negroes of which two were against the public schools. In 1962, forty-two of these complaints were filed, forty by Negroes, of which one was against a public school district (23).

While there are no studies dealing with employment in education for Negroes in this state there has been work done on racial problems and job opportunities. Freedom to Work, by Dr. Stanley Smith, reviews the efforts to enact the fair employment practices legislation which resulted in our Law Against Discrimination. This data, compiled in graduate work at Washington State University, was published in thesis form in 1953 and in book form in 1955 (34). Prior to passage of the Law Against Discrimination, a study by the Institute of Labor Economics at the University of Washington substantiated that inequality of opportunity existed in Seattle particularly with regard to Negroes (19).

A study of the impact of minority groups on the Seattle school system published in 1960 contains information about the teaching staff by ethnic backgrounds (32). In 1957 when this study was made there were 3,088 teachers in the Seattle School District of which sixty-eight were Negro and forty-nine were other non-Caucasians. Of these Negro teachers forty-nine taught in elementary schools, fourteen in junior highs and five in high schools (32:115, 118).

In the fall of 1962 the Seattle School District employed a total of 147 Negro teachers and seventy-five other non-white teachers in its total of 3,522 teachers. The Negro teachers are assigned as follows: elementary school, ninety-five; junior highs, twenty-nine; and high schools, twenty-three (12).

The Census Board study on impact of minority groups also points out that the dispersal of non-white teachers is much wider than the distribution of non-white pupils in the Seattle System (32:118). The Seattle Urban League concurrs in this observation on the wide distribution of non-white faculty in Seattle:

From the very beginning, the Seattle Urban League encouraged the local school administration to assign teachers where they are needed and not place them immediately in the Central part of the city where most non-whites live. Therefore, the result is that there are more non-white teachers employed outside the Central Area. The majority of the teachers...work in schools where there are no non-white students (27).

Another recent assessment of the problem on a statewide basis is found in a report of Sam W. Tarshis, vicechairman of the Washington State Advisory Committee to the
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (36). Primarily concerned
with the increased "ghettoizing" in housing and its attendent
problems, this report cites Yakima "where a deepening social
problem among the city's non-white youth has become strikingly
evident." Mentioning that most of the Negroes in high school
in Yakima attend Davis High School, the report also points
out that there is only one Negro teacher in Yakima even
though the Negro population is estimated at between 1,800
and 2,000. Other cities mentioned where housing segregation
is becoming serious are Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, and the
Tri-Cities area where "it may be said that the total Negro

population of the tri-cities is centered in the ghetto area of East Pasco..." (36).

The 1960 U. S. Census of Population contains some state-wide statistical information on ethnic backgrounds of teachers (39). This census lists the total number of teachers in the state in 1960 as 25,703 (39:49C, 162). This data includes all teachers classified as elementary and secondary teachers, not just public school teachers. The total number of Negro teachers given is 115 and other non-white teachers total 152. Grouping all non-white teachers together, this census reports 230 are located in urban areas; 37 in rural, non-farm areas; and none in rural, farm areas (39:49C, 109). For 1960 the standard metropolitan statistical areas of Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma employed a total of 103 Negro teachers--67 at Seattle, none in Spokane, and 36 in Tacoma (39:49C).

Besides the literature and studies available on employment of Negro teachers in Washington and in the nation, there have been a number of resolutions and actions taken by various educational and anti-discrimination groups which would be of interest to this study.

III. LITERATURE FROM SELECTED EDUCATIONAL AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATORY AGENCIES

The actions and official positions of educational and anti-discrimination groups has an influence on the hiring of

Negro teachers and since this information cannot be reached through the usual library sources, personnal correspondence was conducted by the writer to find out what recognition of the problem and what action has been taken by these groups. Using Patterson's Educational Directory as a source for names of educational groups, and a list of inter-group relations agencies supplied by the Board Against Discrimination as a source for names of anti-discrimination groups, letters were sent requesting the "official position of your organization" on this question.

The largest and most influential educational group. the National Education Association, has been criticized for its lack of forthrightness on issues involving segregation. In an article in School and Society in 1959, William W. Brinkman charges that the "NEA will hardly earn national respect by pussyfooting on the segregation issue" (8:364). He describes attempts during the annual meeting in July to get a strong resolution on integration but pointed out that the resolution passed stated that "all problems of integration in our schools are capable of solutions at the state and local level by citizens of intelligence, saneness and reasonableness..." Southern delegates wanted nothing stronger "since they would lose leadership in their local area." The Southern affiliates of the NEA continue to be divided into segregated teacher units, Brickman reported. Continuing his criticism, he states:

Southern professors and clergyman are as subject to pressure as the schoolmen. Nonetheless, their organizations expressed their views with forthrightness whereas the NEA members stated their convictions in a half-hearted, weak-kneed manner (8:364).

The 1961 statement of platform and resolutions of the NEA shows concern that public education not be disrupted; assures support of democratic principles, protection of individual rights, and promotion of respect for the law; and commends and "recognizes that Americans of good will in every state are seeking, within the areas possible for them, to support the integrity of public education and the principles to which the NEA is devoted" (25:61). Regarding the integration of teachers the NEA platform lists as one of the goals of the Association that "selection, promotion, and payment of teachers be on a professional basis with no discrimination because of race, color, residence, economic or marital status, sex, religion, or political beliefs" (25:51).

In the state of Washington, the NEA affiliated Washington Education Association has passed several resolutions on the problems of integrating teachers. A resolution by the Department of Classroom Teachers of the WEA in 1956 states:

...that school administrators disregard race, religion, or national origin when hiring qualified personnel--in line with the decision of the United States Supreme Court on integration in public schools and with our Washington State fair employment practices law (31).

In 1957, the WEA Representative Assembly passed this resolution:

That, in view of the fact that our nation is in a position of world-wide importance where our actions are heeded as well as our words, the education of our children in public schools should be provided without restriction based on race, color, or creed (25).

The following year the Department of Classroom Teachers passed essentially the same resolution and again in 1959 but this time omitted the words "national origin." Also in 1959, the NEA Representative Assembly approved this resolution:

That WEA pledge its wholehearted support of the principles of a professional salary schedule as approved by the NEA...permit no discrimination as to grade or subject taught, creed, race, sex, or marital status or number of dependents (25).

The American Association of School Administrators in their 1962 platform and resolutions, also show concern with the disruption of education in the segregation battles of the South. They state:

The Association firmly believes that no social, economic, or governmental problem is so grave...as to justify the destruction or serious impairment of the institution of free public education in any state (5).

The AASA makes no specific comments on integration of faculty but does call for "calm judgment, tolerant understanding, careful planning, and concerted effort by lay citizens as well as by educational leaders" in solving the problems of school segregation (5).

The National Association of Teacher's Agencies reports that their agency "is only interested in the placement of

the best teacher for a particular position and...the question of integration or lack of integration has never been discussed" (6).

An interesting group commenting on this problem is the American Teachers Association, which from its literature seems to be an association of Southern Negro teachers. Their motto is "equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher" (18). Their executive secretary in a lengthy statement says that integration for its own sake is meaningless; that all Americans are obligated by our ideology of individual liberty, rights, and privileges; and that positive steps must be taken to insure equality of opportunity for students and teachers.

The American Federation of Teachers in a pamphlet on Recent Major Litigation Concerning Integration, includes as AFT conclusions and recommendations the statements that "until all American school districts are integrated there is work to be accomplished," and "that complete integration of all phases of life is the final goal" (24).

A number of educational associations have taken no formal position on the problem. Some have policies prohibiting stands on controversial topics. The Washington State School Directors' Association has not taken an official position because they feel the law is clear and that local boards seem to understand their powers and obligations

clearly (35). Other groups which replied that they have no official positions on integration of faculty are: The National Society for the Study of Education, Inland Empire Education Association, National School Boards Association, The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, American Sociological Association and the American Council on Education.

Anti-discrimination groups are, by definition, opposed to discriminatory policies and their official positions are stated forthrightfully. The Seattle Urban League states:

In brief, our official position is that we support and encourage the hiring of teachers on the basis of ability and qualifications regardless of race (27).

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith comments that an integrated staff is more realistic:

...we believe completely in the efficacy of an integrated teaching staff provided that the people responsible for hiring use a merit standard which applies equally to every applicant. This would apply to every individual without regard to any considerations of race, religion or national origin. Furthermore, knowing this will lead to an integrated staff in fact, I can further state that we thoroughly believe in the efficiency of such a staff's operation...we believe that an integrated faculty more realistically represents America than one which is not so integrated and therefore, the teaching of this staff is more representative and effective (20).

From the Christian Friends for Racial Equality in Seattle comes the statement that "...we are for integration of faculty in the public schools and elsewhere" (11). The American Friends Service Committee in Seattle adds that

"in our work in school desegregation we have been very strongly concerned with the integration of faculty as an important element in the desegregation of the facility" (9). The Seattle Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples states:

The official position of the NAACP as it relates to the integration of faculty in public schools is stated in one of its goals in the field of education as follows: "To insure the full integration of teachers with regard to hiring, placement, and promotion" (17).

Concurring with this is the Washington Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. which says:

The position of the National Conference of Christians and Jews is that persons should be hired on the basis of personal qualifications and ability for any job, rather than on the basis of race, religion or national origin, (26).

From this review of the official positions of some influential groups, it can be seen that the antidiscriminatory groups are unanimous in their opinion that equality of opportunity in the teaching field is essential. Educational groups concurr to varying degrees.

IV. LIMITATIONS OF PREVIOUS STUDIES AND LITERATURE

The literature supplies information concerning the legal aspects and the stated goals of different groups, but except for some information on the Seattle School District, very little of a statistical nature is known. The total numbers of Negroes teaching in our public schools, their

geographic distributions, problems and difficulties they may have encountered, and the climate in various localities which would or would not ease adjustment of prospective Negro staff members are yet to be discovered.

CHAPTER III

THE METHOD OF INQUIRY: THE QUESTIONNAIRES

With this review of the literature pointing to the need for study in this area, a descriptive survey to provide broad, statistical information as well as to ascertain some of the current practices and anticipated problems in the hiring of Negro teachers was undertaken. The mailed question-naire technique was decided upon as the best means to acquire comprehensive information in the absence of records of race.

It was felt that all groups involved in the hiring of teachers could contribute valuable data. The primary source of information would be the public school administrators who hire teachers or recommend teachers to their school boards for employment. As a supplement to the information given by this group, a brief questionnaire to private schools and state institutions was planned. Also playing an important role in the hiring of teachers are the placement directors of the colleges and universities of the state who offer teacher candidates for employment through their placement bureaus. An examination of these groups of respondents, the formulation of their questionnaires, and the responses to the surveys will be discussed in this chapter.

I. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

The Questionnaire Recipients

The group to be queried by the public school district questionnaire would consist of the chief administrator for each of the 410 public school districts listed in the Washington Educational Directory, 1961-1962. In most cases these would be superintendents although some smaller districts would have their questionnaires completed by principals or head teachers. The very large districts might have their responses handled by administrative assistants to the superintendent. These respondents constitute an intelligent group, experienced in the answering of questionnaires, and knowledgeable about their schools and communities. These administrators would also serve as able representatives from each community in describing the probable reaction of their districts to Negro staff members.

The Formulation of the Questionnaire

As is often the case when the literature provides an inadequate background, formulation of the questions for the survey was difficult. An accumulation of lists of questions of all sorts on the problem was kept and revised at frequent intervals. Discussion of general topics to be explored was held with two school administrators, a placement director, the executive secretary of the Board Against Discrimination, and the graduate committee members for this study.

Following these discussions, a pre-study was made submitting questions in a general form to six public school administrators in Kittitas County. Receiving and answering this mimeographed pre-study survey were administrators of one first class district, four second class districts, and one third class district in the county. The pre-study questionnaire asked the administrators to comment on the following: desirable amount of identification of respondents, the definitions of the terms, statistical information called for, information about past experiences with Negro teachers or applicants, various problems anticipated if a Negro joined the staff, desirable personal factors about potential Negro teachers, listing of names and addresses of Negro teachers and suggestions and comments in general. Questions were loosely constructed with lots of room for unlimited response and set within ruled lines. Immediately below this "sample" question, the cooperating administrators were asked to comment on the question as to content and clearness, and asked to give suggestions for ways to improve the question in its final form. Figure 2 contains an example of a question from the pre-study.

Throughout the paper the classification of school districts cited in the <u>Washington Educational Directory</u> will be used. This directory lists 50 districts as First Class School Districts and designates all others having high schools as Second Class Districts and the remaining districts as Third Class (40:83).

FIGURE 2

SAMPLE QUESTION FROM THE PRE-STUDY FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

After reviewing the pre-study results the questions were reworded incorporating many of the suggestions received and the form and wording of the questionnaire was made final. Before the questionnaire was sent to be printed, this same pre-study group was asked to complete the finished questionnaire and comment again.

One criticism that the pre-study and pretesting brought out was that the length of the questionnaire might tend to discourage response. Investigation showed that by using a multilith process, the six pages of questions could be condensed to both sides of two pages. In this way most of the information could be gathered without discouraging the respondent with a great bulk of paper. The result was a neat and attractive questionnaire with the cost of printing saved in the reduced postage required.

Attention was paid constantly throughout the formulation of this questionnaire to the problem of eliciting a high response. The question of racial discrimination is a delicate one and it was feared that the respondent faced with several questions about this matter might find it more "comfortable" to set the questionnaire aside and forget to reply. Also, the laws prohibiting questions of race on some records might leave administrators confused as to the legality and ethics of their cooperation in the survey. Further, for the descriptive portions of this survey to have

merit, it was necessary to obtain an adequate and even response from every classification of school district and every geographic area of the state.

To help assuage some of the fears of administrators in answering frankly and freely the questions asked, letters of support for the study were solicited from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Board Against Discrimination, and the Washington Education Association. Mr. Louis Bruno, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Mr. Malcolm B. Higgins. Executive Secretary of the State Board Against Discrimination, responded with letters suggesting that administrators feel free to cooperate with the study. Mr. Joe A. Chandler, Executive Secretary of the Washington Education Association, replied that his organization assists students through their research department but does not endorse individual thesis questionnaires (10). The letters from Bruno and Higgins were multilithed together on a single letter-sized page and mailed with all the questionnaires to help elicit an adequate response.2

This concern with the rate of response also resulted in the exclusion of some questions which might have resulted in hostility toward the survey. Care was taken not to ask administrators to "incriminate" themselves. Extra definition

²See Appendix A

and care in wording of the questionnaire and cover letters was necessary to reassure administrators that this was a responsible study being done carefully and of value to education and the cause of racial equality. A copy of the finished questionnaire may be found in Appendix B.

Response to the Questionnaire

Of the 410 school districts receiving questionnaires, three districts reported recent consolidations or school closures, leaving a group of 407 possible respondents. Of this number 365 replied to the questionnaire for a 89.7 per cent response. In addition, five questionnaires were returned after final tabulation but as these did not contain any serious deviations from the already tabulated results they were not included in the findings.

To achieve this high rate of response on such a delicate subject required careful and persistant follow-up techniques. The first mailing of questionnaires was done in April of 1962 and returned 235 responses or 57.7 per cent. Two weeks later follow-up letters were mailed to all non-respondents. This procedure brought in an additional 94 answers to bring the total response at this time to 329 school districts for a percentage of 80.8. Response from third class districts to the initial mailing indicated that these small, country schools felt inadequate to answer the

entire questionnaire and so a second, briefer questionnaire containing key questions was mailed to them in this follow-up procedure. First and second class districts received copies of the original questionnaire with some questions marked for omission.

A third mailing was sent to all schools still nonresponding and this elicited an additional 36 responses to
bring the total to 365 or 89.7 per cent. This total response
shows an even distribution among geographic regions with 184
responses from public school districts in Western Washington
and 181 from Eastern Washington schools. The response was
also distributed evenly among the different district
classifications with 47 of the 50 first class districts
replying for 94 per cent return; 186 of the 211 second class
district or 88.15 per cent response; and 132 of 146 or 90.4
per cent of the third class districts answering. This high
rate of response, the evenness of its distribution, and the
intelligence and integrity of the respondents tend to
validate the questionnaire results.

Special problems existed in obtaining response from some larger school systems. The Seattle School District, while anxious to cooperate in the survey, did not have the desired information available until Fall of 1962, when they completed and returned their questionnaire. In the Tacoma

³See Appendix B

Public Schools, a racial problem not related to teacher employment interferred with their response to the survey and so this important district is not included in many of the findings. After several contacts with the district, a letter from the Pierce County prosecuting attorney brought this information:

We are in receipt of your letter of October 15, 1962 and as I represent Tacoma School District No. 10, it is my opinion that any information concerning your questionnaire would not be acting in the best interest of the school district at this time. Therefore, Tacoma School District No. 10 will not be on your list of participating districts (7).

Although not able to respond to the questionnaire, the Tacoma district was able to supply us with the number of Negro teachers in their system during a phone conversation held later as were the other two non-responding first class districts, Shoreline of King County and Franklin Pierce of Pierce County (21, 2, 1).

II. THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS QUESTIONNAIRE

Although this study is primarily concerned with the hiring of Negroes to teach in the public schools, a short inquiry was made to private schools in the state. There had been some indications that Negroes were hired in private schools in localities that did not have Negro teachers in their public schools. Due to the small number of Negroes teaching in private schools, this survey neither supported

nor contradicted that assumption but it did help complete the picture of the practices in the employment of Negro teachers in this state.

In the spring of 1962 a one-paged, mimeographed questionnaire was distributed to 211 private schools listed in the Washington Educational Directory 1961-1962 (40). This questionnaire asked for the total numbers of pupils and teachers of all races; the total numbers of Negro pupils and teachers; and for names, mailing addresses, assignments, and length of service for their Negro staff members. Response to this questionnaire was 88 per cent with 185 of the 211 schools returning the information requested. No follow-up procedures were employed as the percentage and distribution of the response was sufficient to validate this brief survey.

This same questionnaire with the words "state institution" substituted for "private school" was sent to the administrators of nine state institutions listed in the same educational directory (40) to obtain the same brief information desired of the private schools. All of these institutions responded although one returned the questionnaire unanswered and another reported their school closed at that time.

⁴See Appendix C

III. THE PLACEMENT DIRECTORS QUESTIONNAIRE

The Questionnaire Recipients

Another group of educators having considerable information of value to the study of the practices and problems in the hiring of Negro teachers consists of the placement directors of fifteen colleges and universities of the state⁵ as listed in the <u>Washington Educational Directory 1961-1962</u> (40).

The Formulation of the Questionnaire

The formulation of the teacher placement director questionnaire, like that for public school districts, involved the listing of many questions with frequent revisions and additions. A formal pretesting program was not carried out due to the small number of the recipient group and the difficulty in obtaining a pretesting sample, however, during each step in the formulation of this survey, consultations were held with Mr. Earling J. Oakland, placement director at Central Washington State College. Mr. Oakland provided much assistance and many suggestions which

⁵Washington State University, University of Washington, Central Washington State College, Eastern Washington State College, Western Washington State College, Gonzaga University, Holy Names College, Pacific Lutheran University, St. Martin's College, Seattle Pacific College, Seattle University, University of Puget Sound, Walla Walla College, Whitman College, and Whitworth College.

were incorporated into the final questionnaire. Also assisting with the pre-study for this survey was Mr. Higgins of the State Board Against Discrimination.

This questionnaire consists of four pages of mimeographed questions concerning placement procedures for all races and for Negro teachers, opinions on policies regarding placement of Negro teachers, an assessment of personal and assignment factors as they relate to ease of placement, some statistical information as to number of Negro candidates, and opinions on the amount of discrimination, if any, and suggestions for improvement of the situation. To allow for more freedom of response, these questionnaires were to be returned unsigned and anonymous.

Response to the Questionnaire

Of the fifteen placement officers receiving this questionnaire, six responded in detail, six others explained that their institutions had no Negro graduates in education and therefore no experience with the matter, one reported that "none of our placement records show an individual's race" and therefore he could not respond, one indicated he would send his answer as soon as he could, and one question—naire elicited no response at all. It is felt that the total

⁵See Appendix D

response to this questionnaire is sufficient to validate the results of this survey. The six institutions having no Negro teacher-candidates had replied in a responsible and informative manner and can thus be considered respondents.

Furthermore, although the returns are unsigned and anonymous, through an analysis of postmarks, totals of candidates, and follow-up techniques it is apparent that the six institutions which replied in detail include three of the five statesupported institutions and two of the three colleges of education. Thus the questionnaire commanded an 80 per cent response including a sufficient proportion of the institutions involved in the placement of teaching candidates.

IV. SOME PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

Although the response to the questionnaires was very good, some disappointments and limitations of the study were encountered.

A survey of experiences and opinions of Negro teachers would have been valuable to this study and was planned but it soon became obvious that the formulation of a mailing list for such a survey would be very difficult. Since no listings by race were available, questions were included in the public school district questionnaire and in the one sent to private schools and to special state institutions asking for names and addresses of Negroes currently on their teaching staffs.

Several schools pointed out that they had a policy of refusing to release specialized lists of their teachers, and others simply supplied other information called for and failed to respond to the request for names and addresses. Some names of Negro teachers were obtained but as they represented only a small part of the total and as their geographic distribution was not representative of the areas where most Negro teachers found employment, it was decided not to make use of this list. When the difficulties in obtaining a mailing list are overcome, an investigation conducted among Negro teachers would make an interesting area for further study.

A problem arose in the testing of the truthfulness of replies given by the various respondents. No built-in tests or trick questions were included in the questionnaires. The questionnaires were, however, carefully worded to avoid presenting questions which would elicit biased or shaded answers. In some returns, suspicion of less-than-straight-forward answers is aroused but none of them contain answers in conflict with already known facts. Since these question-naires were voluntary with no penalties involved or implied in answering truthfully and since the integrity and intelligence of the responding group is so high, the responses can and should be taken at their face value, keeping in mind that an occasional reply may contain a

"halo" effect. In any event, any bias given would probably be in showing more tolerance and equality of opportunity rather than less.

In the quanitative report, this study will be limited to the use of simple figures. Since the surveys were conducted among every member of the groups polled, there is no need for testing of statistics as occurs when the question-naires are presented to a sample group only. Every set of figures represents the response of administrators involved in the hiring of teachers and is, therefore, significant. Simple percentages, raw figures, and frequency distributions will be the statistical devices used in presenting the results of the research.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

Questionnaires were sent to three different groups involved in the hiring of Negro teachers in Washington state: the public school district administrators, the private schools, and the college placement directors. This chapter will present the results of the data obtained. The bulk of this information has been supplied by the public school administrators who serve as hiring agents for their districts and as a knowledgeable representative for each locality in the state. Following the presentation of this data, short reviews of the private school survey and of the opinions of placement directors will be included.

I. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS

As previously noted, there was a return of 89.7 per cent on the questionnaire mailed to the superintendent or highest ranking administrator of every public school district. Response was evenly distributed geographically and among the different district classifications as discussed in Chapter III. Several totals will show uneven response to some questions since follow-up questionnaires omitted some sections.

Summary of the Questionnaire

The public school district questionnaire was divided into several sections: general racial information, specific information from districts which do and from districts which do not now hire Negro teachers, community description, personal and assignment factors, and probable reaction of the community and schools. A summary of the data obtained by each section of the questionnaire follows.

General racial information. Some general statistical information was desired to show approximate sizes and racial make-up of communities and schools responding to this study. Tables I and II show the distribution of the responding districts by approximate population of their districts for all races and for Negroes.

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT POPULATION,
ALL RACES

Population, all races	Districts
250,000 and over 25,000 to 249,999 10,000 to 24,999 2,500 to 9,999 1,000 to 2,499 999 and less no response	1 21 38 74 64 91

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT POPULATION, NEGRO

Population, Negro	Districts
2,500 and over 1,000 to 2,499 250 to 999 50 to 249 10 to 49 1 to 9 none no response	0 3 4 10 34 55 176 15

From these tables we see that about two thirds of the districts have populations of under 10,000 and either no Negro population or less than 50 Negroes in their communities. Tables III and IV show that most of the respondents have between 50 and 5,000 students of all races and over two thirds of them have no Negro pupils.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF PUPILS, ALL RACES

Number of pupils, all races	Districts	
100,000 and over	1	
25,000 to 99,999	2	
5,000 to 24,999	28	
1,000 to 4,999	70	
250 to 999	113	
50 to 249	85	
1 to 49	63	
no response	3	

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF PUPILS, NEGRO

Number of pupils, Negro	Districts	
500 and over 100 to 499 25 to 99 5 to 24 1 to 4 none no response	1* 6 6 21 56 255 20	

*Seattle would be in this grouping also, but did not respond to this question.

Similarly, over two thirds of the districts responding to the survey have less than 50 teachers of all races. Only 19 districts report currently employed Negro teachers. Telephone conversations with the three non-responding first class districts (1, 2, 21) disclosed another two districts hiring Negro teachers for a total of 21 of the 407 public school districts in the state. Tables V and VI show the distribution of districts in terms of the numbers of teachers.

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF TEACHERS, ALL RACES

Number of teachers, all races	Districts
1,000 and over 500 to 999 100 to 499 50 to 99 15 to 49 5 to 14 1 to 4 no response	4 6 53 31 112 52 95 12

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF TEACHERS, NEGRO

Number of tea	chers, Negro	Districts
100 and 50 to 25 to 10 to 5 to 1 to non no resp	99 49 24 9 4	1 0 0 1* 4** 13 325 21

^{*}plus non-responding Tacoma

While the primary concern of this paper is with the Negro composition of the schools and community, some information about other races is included. Seventy districts indicated they had significant minority groups other than Negro in their communities. Table VII shows the minority groups listed as significant by the superintendents. Following Negroes, Indians are the next numerous minority group. Forty-five districts reported significant Indian populations, thirteen cited Mexican or Spanish-American populations and Japanese populations were indicated as significant in ten districts.

In regard to the varying degrees of discrimination that might be shown minority groups in employment as teachers, the respondents were asked to comment on the statement of the Board Against Discrimination that "Washington Negroes

^{**}plus non-responding Shoreline

NAMES OF MINORITY GROUPS OTHER THAN NEGRO LISTED AS SIGNIFICANT IN THEIR DISTRICTS BY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Name of Group	Number of di As only minority	
Indian	36	9
Mexican and Spanish American	9	6
Japanese	4	6
Philippino	2	4
White	2	1
Italian	1	3
Business and Professional	1	0
Chinese	0	1
Slav	0	1
Scandinavian	0	1
Korean	0	1
Puerto Rican	0	1
Croatian	. 0	1
Finnish	0	1

encounter employment discrimination more frequently than members of other minority groups..." (41:7). Agreeing that this would be true in hiring teachers for their localities were 116 administrators, 119 thought this would not be true in their districts, 21 didn't know, 29 gave no response, and 11 gave some other answer. In the seventy districts which listed other minority groups, thirty-seven felt the statement would be true in their locality, twenty-two said it would not, two did not respond and nine answered with a question-mark.

Some specific information. Districts which do not currently hire Negro teachers were asked about recent experiences with Negro teacher applications and about the length of time since they had hired Negro teachers. Districts recently and presently employing Negro teachers were polled for specific information about their experiences with Negro staff members.

Among districts not now employing Negro teachers, fourteen had employed Negroes in the past. Cheney hired a Negro teacher the year before this study; Puyallup, Lacamas, Bainbridge, Bremerton, and Nassele-Grays River Valley employed a Negro teacher two years ago; Mead and Richland, three years ago; Medical Lake, four years ago; Selah, seven years ago; Central Kitsap, nine years ago; Stevenson, 10 years ago; and Mill A and Taholah, number of years ago not given.

Most of the districts have never hired Negro teachers and have not received applications from teachers known to be Negro. Among those districts not now hiring Negro teachers but receiving applications from them, eleven districts received more than two applications and sixty-five received two or less in the last two years. The eleven receiving over two applications from persons known to be Negro are Toppenish, Bellingham, Tenino, Cheney, Everett, Puyallup, Tacoma, Mercer Island, Federal Way, Quinault, and Crescent. With 14 districts reporting Negro teachers in the past, and 76 districts reporting some applications from Negro teachers, there remains 254 districts with no contacts with Negro teachers.

Twenty-six districts with recent experience with Negro staff members were able to supply some specific information based on their experiences. Table VIII summarizes these responses. Most of the districts report no special advantages or difficulties due to employing a Negro staff member. The seven districts citing difficulties connected with their employment of a Negro, list the areas of difficulty as "finding suitable housing" in five cases, "poor relationship with parents of pupils" in four cases, "social activities" in one district and two districts mention personality problems of the Negro teacher in "unstableness and undependability" and "not paying his bills."

TABLE VIII

RESPONSES OF DISTRICTS PRESENTLY OR RECENTLY HIRING NEGRO

TEACHERS TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCES

QUESTION	Yes	No	Other	no response
Have you felt there were special advantages in hiring a Negro teacher?	8	14	1	2
Have you experienced any difficulty due to having a Negro staff member?	7	18	0	1
Have you lost a Negro teacher due to problems of race?	2	24	0	1
Did the district list Negro teachers currently employed as to mailing address, assignment, and number of years at their present employment?*	12	2	2	4

^{*}This question was eliminated from follow-up letters as it became obvious that the mailing list would be impossible to complete due to stated policies against releasing this type of information in some key districts.

Community descriptions. The respondents were presented with some statements describing community experience or attitudes toward the hiring of Negro teachers and were asked to check each statement that was wholly accurate for their situations. Some statements were checked and then qualified by the respondents. A summary of the response to this section of the survey is given in Table IX. This section reinforces the idea that most Washington public school districts have little experience with Negroes in education. It is interesting to note that only 76 of the 365 districts, or 20 per cent were able to say they would anticipate no problems or difficulties in hiring a Negro teacher for their schools.

Personal and assignment factors. It was thought that some personal factors about the Negro teacher himself or the assignment he was seeking might create or alleviate some problems in his employment. Administrators were asked to comment on age, sex, and marital status of the prospective Negro teacher and on the grade level and subject matter of his assignment as it might affect success or failure for a Negro teacher in the local district. Response to this section was poorer than any other and care should be taken not to infer too much from the response to these questions. Of a total of 365 respondents, 82 were permitted to omit this

TABLE IX

STATEMENTS OF COMMUNITY SITUATIONS DESCRIBED AS WHOLLY ACCURATE FOR THEIR SCHOOL DISTRICT BY RESPONDENTS

Statement	Number of districts indicating state-ment wholly accurate	Number of districts qualifying statement
Our community has had no experi with Negroes. None live in our community, there are none in the schools and we have never rece application from Negro teacher candidates.	r he	26
We have a sizeable Negro popular and have over ten Negro student our public schools each year.		1
We are a quiet, peace-loving community and while we believe equality of opportunity we premot to disrupt our good relation with the community by hiring a teacher just in case any problem should arise.	fer ons Negro	5
We have some groups antagonists to our schools and question the wisdom of hiring a Negro teacher for our schools.	e	1
We would anticipate no problems difficulties in hiring a Negro teacher for our schools.	5 or 72	4
We have a unique situation in to the hiring of Negro teachers		0

^{*} Seven districts list large populations of recently emigrated Southerners, two districts report a preference for Indians if they hired a minority group teacher due to large Indian populations, three mention the success of non-Negro minority group teachers in their district, sixteen mention the small number of Negroes or of applications from well-qualified Negroes, and two insist their first Negro teachers would have to be very superior.

section on follow-up questionnaires, 93 other districts made no response to this section, 29 considered none of the factors important, 18 indicated they couldn't answer or didn't know, and 8 districts expressed criticism of the section. Answering this section completely or partially were 164 districts, including 28 first class districts, 78 second class districts, and 29 third class districts. Ten of the districts responding to this section are school systems which presently hire Negro teachers. Keeping in mind then that 164 districts supplied the answers in the form of completely answering, partially answering, or indicating all were unimportant, Table X indicates the findings of this section in attempting to describe some personal factors and their affect on success of a Negro teacher in the local district.

TABLE X

AGE, SEX, AND MARITAL STATUS FACTORS WHICH WOULD MAKE A NEGRO
TEACHER MOST SUCCESSFUL IN LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Age	Districts	Sex	Districts	Marital Status	Districts
younger older unimportant don't know no response	88 1	male female unimportant both ???* no response	24 3 111 1 1	married single unimportant no response	

^{*}respondent indicated he did not understand the question.

Table XI summarizes the grade level and subject matter of assignment which would make a Negro teacher most successful and which would be least desirable for Negro teachers in the local school district. Although there are few responses it is interesting to note that the elementary grades are most preferred for Negro staff members and that mathematics and science are the most desirable subject assignments and physical education, social science, and home economics are least desirable of subject matter assignments.

TABLE XI

GRADE LEVEL AND SUBJECT MATTER OF ASSIGNMENT WHICH WOULD MAKE
A NEGRO TEACHER MOST SUCCESSFUL OR LEAST SUCCESSFUL IN THE
LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT

Assignment factors	Most desirable	Least desirable
Grade Level: primary intermediate junior high senior high unimportant no response	36 31 13 12 87 10	16 6 21 31 45 37
Subject Matter: language arts social science mathematics and science business education ind. arts and home econo (physical education) boys' physical educatio girls' physical educati other unimportant no response	9 9 17 6 mics 2 - n 3	3 12 0 1 16* 22 0 3 7 55 45

^{*} Fourteen of these were for home economics only.

Probable Community and School Reactions. The final section of the public school district questionnaire asks superintendents to comment on some possible areas of difficulty concerning the employment of Negro teachers in their community. Questions were asked about housing, other employment, social and commercial facilities, and the reaction of various components of the school system to a Negro teacher. Response to this section was moderate with 59 districts making no response to any of the ten questions in this section and some of the districts answering follow-up questionnaires that did not require answers to some of these questions. The findings of the first two questions concerning housing, are summarized in Table XII. Suitable housing would be available readily and anywhere in the district in most cases, but over 100 districts would expect some form of restriction in finding housing for prospective Negro teachers.

TABLE XII

AVAILABILITY AND LOCATION OF HOUSING FOR NEGRO TEACHERS
IN LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Suitable housing for a Negro teacher in our community is:	dist:	ricts	Housing for a Negro teacher in the community is available:
readily available slightly restricted restricted isn't any don't know other answer ??? no response	75 58 43 16 76 92	90 50 1 5 12 4 7 102	anywhere in district in certain areas in colored sections isn't any don't know other answer ???

Respondents expect Negro teachers and their families to encounter similar problems in finding other types of employment in the local school districts. Table XIII shows the situation for Negro teachers seeking summer employment in the district and for employment for other members of a Negro teacher's family. As with the case of housing, some of the statements were qualified to include the observation that housing and other employments were a problem for teachers of all races in their districts.

TABLE XIII

AVAILABILITY OF OTHER EMPLOYMENT FOR NEGRO TEACHERS AND
THEIR FAMILIES IN THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

A Negro teacher seeking suitable summertime employment will:		ricts	Members of a Negro teacher's family seeking suitable employment will:	
easily find it have difficulty be unable to find it ??? isn't any don't know other answer no response	48 102 10 12 - 14 3	12 10 2 12	easily find it have difficulty be unable to find it ??? isn't any don't know other answer no response	

Availability of social clubs and commercial entertainments and public facilities for Negro staff members in the various districts is shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

ACCESSIBILITY OF SOCIAL CLUBS, COMMERCIAL AND PUBLIC FACILITIES TO NEGRO STAFF MEMBERS IN LOCAL DISTRICTS

Negro teachers and their families interested in joining social clubs and activities will find themselves:	dist	ricts	Commercial entertainments and public facilities will:
welcome admitted excluded ??? isn't any don't know other answer no response	32 71 23 15 3 4 4 93	46 99 3 10 5 11 1	be open to Negro teachers be unavailable to Negroes ??? isn't any

This next table presents one of the most interesting questions of the entire study. Administrators were asked for the probable reaction of their school board to the hiring of Negro teachers. Since state law directs that there be no discrimination in employment, the second choice, "My school board will hire a Negro teacher on the same basis as any teacher," is the lawful response. Yet this described the situation in less than one third of the public school districts. Five administrators even felt their boards would refuse to hire a Negro teacher, 94 felt they would hesitate, and 26 districts indicated their boards would hire only a superior Negro candidate. Thus the total of districts indicating a hesitancy to hire Negroes because of their race is 125 of

the 365 responding districts. Only 108 indicated they would hire on the same basis or would not hesitate to hire a Negro teacher (this question was phrased differently on the third class district follow-up questionnaire and 15 of these districts replied they would not hesitate to hire Negro teachers). Table XV summarizes these answers for all districts and by district classification.

TABLE XV

PROBABLE REACTIONS OF THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS TO THE HIRING
OF NEGRO TEACHERS FOR THEIR DISTRICT

	Districts			
My school board will:	total	lst	2nd	3rd
		class	class	class
welcome the opportunity to hire a Negro hire a Negro teacher on same basis as not hesitate to hire a Negro teacher hire a Negro teacher only if superior hesitate to hire a Negro teacher refuse to hire a Negro teacher ??? don't know no response		30 -	2 45 17 50 3 8 11 50	0 17 15* 2 42 1 3 13

*On third class district follow-up questionnaires only.

The final three questions of the survey are about the reactions of the faculty, students, and community to a Negro teacher on the staff. Table XVI shows that most districts feel a Negro teacher will be accepted although a total of 56 districts indicate resentment might be forthcoming.

PROBABLE REACTION TO A NEGRO TEACHER OF FACULTY, STUDENTS,
AND COMMUNITY IN THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Responses	all districts faculty students community			
welcome a Negro teacher accept a Negro teacher resent a Negro teacher ??? don't know other answer no response	42	26	11	
	132	134	121	
	10	12	34	
	5	11	15	
	18	26	25	
	2	3	2	
	93	90	94	

Unsolicited responses. In addition to the answers to specific questions, much unsolicited information was included by school district respondents. Qualifying their answers to one or more of the questions were 107 districts and another 114 districts added general comments. Of the latter, 20 were directed at the questionnaire itself; five were complimentary and fifteen gave reasons why the district would not respond to the survey. These reasons were "school closing" in three cases, "no experience" in eight cases, "no time to answer" from two superintendents and one case where they were "unconvinced of the merit of the study" and another which felt it "not in the best interests of the district to respond."

The general comments could be divided into two groups; those adding additional information about reactions and experiences of their districts or neighboring districts with

Negroes or other minority group members, and another, those indicating problems in answering all or parts of the questionnaire due to their limited enrollment or experience with Negroes. Twelve districts pointed out that they feel it would be unwise to hire Negroes in all-white communities either because there is "no reason to do so" or that Negro teachers would "be happier elsewhere." Many other districts in indicating they had no Negro population and therefore no concern with this problem implied agreement with them.

This then concludes the simple summary of the findings of this questionnaire but before discussion turns to the other surveys of this study, a look at some of this same information organized in other ways might prove valuable.

Discussion of Districts Hiring Negro Teachers

The twenty-one districts known to hire Negro teachers (there may be more since 39 of the 407 districts in the state made no reply to the survey) are listed in Table XVII which also shows their county, and number of teachers, Negro teachers, and Negro pupils. Most of these districts are in counties with large Negro populations but as seen in Table XVIII not all counties with large numbers or significant percentages of Negroes employ Negro teachers.

All but a few of the Negro teachers in the state are located in the Puget Sound counties as shown in Table XIX.

TABLE XVII

PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS HIRING NEGRO TEACHERS, 1961-1962

Name of District	County	Teachers	Negro Teachers	Negro Pupils
Aberdeen	Grays Harbor	260	1	6
Auburn	King	241	1	4
Bellevue	King	598	8	100
Clover Park	Pierce	500	8	300
Edmonds	Snohomish	670	3	few
Highline	King	1,056	10	15
Kent	King	267	1	24
Moses Lake	Grant	304	6	40
Olympia	Thurston	265	1	3
Orting	Pierce	25	1	0
Pasco	Franklin	335	1	600
Rainier	Thurston	15	1	0
Renton	King	438	4	75
Seattle	King	3,944	154	no response
Shoreline*	King		5	
South Central	King	103	1	4
Spokane	Spokane	1,620	5	unknown
Tacoma*	Pierce		18	
Vancouver	Clark	525	3	110
Vashon	King	56	1	5
White River	Pierce	83	2	unknown

^{*}These districts did not respond to the questionnaire but supplied this information during telephone conversations (1, 2, 21).

TABLE XVIII

COUNTIES WITH SIGNIFICANT* NEGRO POPULATIONS
AND NUMBER OF NEGRO TEACHERS IN THEIR
PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

County	Negro Population	Negro Percentage of total Population	Negro Public School Teachers
Benton	296	•47	0
Clark	440	•46	3
Franklin	1,230	5.26	1
Grant	832	1.79	6
Island	204	1.03	0
King	27,805	2.97	185
Kitsap	1,243	1.50	0
Pierce	10,520	3.20	29
Snohomish	456	•26	3
Spokane	2,993	1.07	5
Walla Walla	380	•90	0
Yakima	1,626	1.12	0

^{*} Only counties with 250 Negroes or 1 per cent of their population Negro are listed here. In addition to these counties, Grays Harbor has one Negro teacher and 39 Negroes and Thurston has two Negro teachers and 68 Negroes.

^{**} Negro population figures are from the 1960 Census (39:49B, 75-77).

TABLE XIX

NUMBERS OF NEGRO TEACHERS BY GEOGRAPHIC AREAS AND COUNTIES

Geographic Area	County	Negro teachers	Number of dis- tricts hiring Negro teachers
Pacific Counties:	Grays Harbor	1	1
Puget Sound Counties:	King* Pierce* Thurston Snohomish	219 185 29 2	16 9 4 2 1
Northwest Counties:		none	
Southwest Counties:	Clark	3	1
Northeast Counties:		none	
Central Counties:	Grant	6	1
Southeast and Spokane Counties:	Spokane	5	1
South Central Counties:	Franklin	1	1

^{*} Includes non-responding Shoreline in King County and Tacoma in Pierce County.

TABLE XX

MAJOR CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND NUMBERS OF NEGRO TEACHERS IN THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Cities over 20,000*	population (rounded to 500s)	Number of Negro teachers in district**
Aberdeen-Hoquiam	29,000	1
Bellingham	34,500	none
Bremerton	29,000	none
Everett	40,000	none
Longview	23,000	none
Seattle	557,000	154
Spokane	182,000	5
Tacoma	148,000	18
Tri-Cities Pasco, Kennewick, R	52,000 ichland	1
Vancouver	32,000	3
Walla Walla	24,500	none
Yakima	43,000	none

^{*} Taken from 1960 Census (39:49B, 23-24).

^{**} Some city school districts do not encompass the entire city population.

Table XX shows that, although the large city districts and their suburban districts hire almost all of the Negro teachers currently employed, almost half of the cities over 20,000 population employ no Negroes in their public schools.

Seattle is the largest school district in the state both in size and in numbers of Negroes employed. Of the 235 Negro public school teachers in the state, 154 or 74 per cent are employed by this metropolitan district. Even without this large concentration of Negro teachers in the Seattle system, King County would still lead the counties of this state as an employer of Negro teachers.

With one-fifth of the Negro population of the state, the counties of Eastern Washington hire only one-twentieth of the Negro teachers. Three districts in the eastern part of the state hire Negroes as opposed to eighteen districts in Western Washington. Grouped by district classification, fifteen of the districts hiring Negro teachers are first class districts and six are second class. The third class districts report no Negro teachers presently employed.

Schools hiring Negro teachers and responding to the survey supplied the following information. Only one of the districts had population in excess of 250,000, ten fell in the 25,000 to 249,999 group, three had 10,000 to 24,999, three had 2,500 to 9,999 and one had 999 or less. One district made no response to this question.

Eleven of the nineteen districts responded that they did not have minority groups other than Negroes in their districts, six districts replied that they did, one question-marked this point, and one failed to respond. Asked if they expected Negroes to encounter discrimination more frequently than members of other minority groups in seeking teaching employment in their districts, they responded with a unanimous "no" although one district replied "don't know" and three did not respond. This is in contrast to the full group of respondents who divided equally in answer to this question.

In describing their communities, fourteen of these districts indicated they would expect no problems in the hiring of Negro staff members, four described themselves as having sizeable Negro populations, and two districts felt their situation was unique. These were White River which hired minority group teachers in their special education program at the Rainier School (see page 74) and the Rainier School District in Thurston County which reports receiving "comments" from a minority of the population.

The districts hiring Negro teachers regarded the personal factors of age, sex, and marital status and the assignment factors of grade level and subject matter of no importance to the hiring or the success of Negro teachers. Likewise, they expected their school boards to hire a Negro teacher on the same basis as any teacher.

After this look at districts which hire Negro teachers it might prove valuable to re-examine the state by geographic regions to complete our summary of the findings of the public school district questionnaire.

Description of the State by Geographic Areas

The following tables, XXI through XXVIII, summarize some information about the practices in the hiring of Negro teachers by geographic regions.

Some of the factors to be included are total population, Negro population, Negro and non-white percentages, major cities, number and classification of school districts, numbers of teachers of all races and of Negro teachers, numbers of districts hesitating to hire Negroes, number of districts recently receiving application from Negroes, and the number of districts not responding to this survey in every county.

Besides the survey information, 1960 Census figures will be given for county and city population and for percentages of non-whites (39:49B, 23-24), for Negro population (39:49B, 75-77), and for total number of teachers (39:49C, 162-165).

TABLE XXI
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE PACIFIC COUNTIES

J	efferso	n Pacific	Clallum	Grays Harbor	Mason
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-whit	9,639 16 0.16 e 4.0	14,674 15 0.10 1.6	30,022 45 0.15 4.2	54,465 39 0.07 2.0	16,251 5 0.03 2.5
Major City if over 10,000	none	none	Port Angeles 12,653	Aberdeer	n none
School districts	<u>5</u>	11	<u>6</u>	21	10
first class second class third class	0 3 2	0 6 5	1 4 1	2 7 12	0 4 6
Number of Teachers No. Negro Teachers	119 0	204 0	305 0	437 1	192 0
No. of districts that would hesitate to hire Negroes	. 1	3	2	4	6
No. of districts with recent applications from Negroe	s l	2	1	8	0
Districts not responding to this questionnaire	none	<pre>Illwaco, North River, (too late)*</pre>		Carlisle McLeary, Wishkah Valley	-

^{*}District responded, but not in time for final tabulation.

TABLE XXII
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE PUGET SOUND COUNTIES

		to the electrical transfer of the second popular to			
	Kitsap	Thurston	Pierce	King	Snohomish
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-white	84,176 1,243 1.5 3.6	55,049 68 0.12 1.3		935,014 27,805 2.97 4.0	172,199 456 0.26 1.0
Major city, if over B				Seattle 557,087	
School districts	5	<u>13</u>	<u>23</u>	23	<u>19</u>
first class second class third class	3 2 0	2 5 6	4 10 9	11 9 3	5 7 7
Number of teachers No. Negro teachers	739 0	638 2	2,868 29	7,446 185	1,593 3
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	1	3	7	5	5
No. of districts with recent applications from Negroes	3	4	3	10	5
Districts not responding	none	Rochester	Tacoma, Tacoma, DuPont- Ft. Lewi Frankli Pierce	ls Ln,	e Index, Monroe

TABLE XXIII
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE NORTHWEST COUNTIES

	Whatcom	San Juan	Island	Skagit
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-white	70,317 57 0.08 2.1	2,872 0 0.6	19,638 204 1.03 2.2	51,350 68 0.13 1.5
Major city, if over 10,000	Bellingham 34,688	none	none	none
School Districts	2	<u>6</u>	3	7
first class second class third class	1 6 2	0 3 3	1 2 0	3 3 1
Number of teachers No. of Negro teachers	746 0	12 0	152 0	480 0
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	3	5	2	1
No. of districts with recent appli-cations from Negroes	4	, 1	0	3
Districts not responding	Lynden, Mt. Baker (too late)	none	none	none

TABLE XXIV
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE SOUTHWEST COUNTIES

	Wahkiakum	Lewis	Cowlitz	Clark	Skamania
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-whit	4 0.11	41,858 26 0.06 0.4	131		5,207 0.2
Major city, if over 10,000	none	none		Vancouver 32,464	none
School Districts	2	15	9	10	6
first class second class third class	0 1 1	11 11 3	2 4 3	2 5 3	0 5 1
Number of teachers No. Negro teachers	38 0	504 0	567 0	799 3	55 0
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	1	6	4	1	2
No. of districts with recent applications from Negroes	s 1	1	1	1	0
Districts not responding	none	Adna Vader	•	Washougal	Mt. Pleasant

TABLE XXV
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE NORTHEAST COUNTIES

	Okanogan	Ferry	Stevens	Pend Oreille
Population Negro population Precentage Negro Percentage non-white	25,520 25 0.09 8.3	3,889 3 0.06 18.2	17,884 14 0.08 4.7	6,914 2 0.03 2.5
Major City, if over 10,000	none	none	none	none
School Districts	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	26	4
first class second class third class	0 10 3	0 2 4	0 8 18	0 4 0
Number of teachers No. Negro teachers	338 0	36 0	185 0	55 0
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	3	3	6	2
No. of districts with recent applications from Negroes	o	3	0	0
Districts not responding	Omak, Okanogan	none	12 Mile, Colville, Onion Creek (too late)	Cucisk

TABLE XXVI
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE CENTRAL COUNTIES

	Chelan	Kittitas	Douglas	Grant	Lincoln	Adams
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-white	40,744 35 0.08 0.5	36 0 . 12	14,890 18 0.12 0.5	46,477 832 1.79 3.2	10,919 8 0.07 0.08	47 0.4
Major city, if vover 10,000	Venatchee 16,726		none	Moses Lake 11,299	none	none
School Districts	12	11	I	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	5
first class second class third class	1 6 5	1 4 6	0 4 3	1 9 3	0 8 2	0 4 1
Number of teachers No. Negro teachers	435 0	237 0	111 0	436 6	159 0	153 0
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	2	1	3	3	3	3
No. of districts with recent appli-cations from Negroes	1	2	4	4	2	3
Districts not responding	Manson, Winton	Thorp (too la	Mansfie te)		Harring ne Long l Cresto	Lake,

SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE SOUTHEAST AND SPOKANE COUNTIES

TABLE XXVII

	Spokane	Whitman	Columbia	Garfield	Asotin
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-white		24	2 0.04	2,976 1 0.03	
Major city, if over 10,000	Spokane 181,608		none	none	none
School Districts	<u> 16</u>	20	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	3
first class second class third class	2 9 5	1 11 8	0 1 3	0 1 0	0 3 0
Number of teachers No. Negro teachers	2,403 5	308 0	36 0	28 0	102 0
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	3	5	0	0	2
No. of districts with recent applications from Negroes	s 4	4	1	0	1
Districts not responding	Riverside East Valley (too late	Pine City St. John	у,	none	none

TABLE XXVIII
SUMMARY OF SELECTED FACTORS FOR THE SOUTH CENTRAL COUNTIES

	Yakima	Klickitat	Benton	Franklin	Walla Walla
Population Negro population Percentage Negro Percentage non-white	145,112 1,626 1.12 4.3	13,455 6 0.05 2.1	62,070 296 0.47 0.9	23,342 1,230 5.26 5.8	
Major city, if over 10,000	Yakima 43,284	none	Richland 23,548	Pasco 14,522	Walla Walla 24,536
School Districts	19	13	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	8
first class second class third class	2 13 4	0 8 5	2 3 1	1 2 3	1 4 3
Number of teachers No. Negro teachers	1,357 0	160 0	648 0	295 1	327 0
No. of districts that hesitate to hire Negroes	6	7	4	1	3
No. of districts with recent applications from Negroes	10	2	1	0	1
Districts not responding	Moxee Mabtor		none	none	none

State Institutions

Before attention turns to the results of the private school survey, and the placement director survey, brief mention will be made of the state supported special institutions. As shown in Table XXIX, the only state institution hiring Negro teachers is the Rainier School at Buckley whose Negro teachers have been included in this survey as part of the White River School District. State institutions play a negligible role in the hiring of Negro teachers in the state.

TABLE XXIX

TOTAL AND NEGRO ENROLLMENT AND STAFF AT SCHOOLS
AT WASHINGTON STATE INSTITUTIONS

The change of the state of the	Wat		and the state of t		
	Stude	ents	Tead	chers	
Institution	Total •	Negro	Total	- Negro)
Cedar Creek Forestry Camp Green Hill School Lakeland Village Maple Lane School Rainier School State School for Blind	150 350 190 687 124	15 3 17 12 2	school 8 14 20 17 31 19	0 0 2 0	time)
State School for Deaf State Penitentiary State Reformatory	283 (return 240 240 2,024	rned ques no response 51	54 stionnain 6	re unans 0 —— 2	swered)

II. THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The brief questionnaire sent to the 211 private schools in the state disclosed that only seven Negro teachers were employed out of a total of 1,859 private school teachers. Only 52 of the 185 schools responding had Negro pupils and the total number of Negro pupils in private schools is 582 out of 53,297 pupils.

Characteristics of Private Schools Hiring Negroes

Five of the six private schools which hired Negro teachers had Negro pupils also. Four of the six were Catholic schools, one was a Seventh Day Adventist school, and one was a college campus school. Three of the schools hiring Negro teachers were in cities where Negroes also teach in the public schools. The other three were in cities where Negroes are not presently employed on public school staffs (Bellingham, Yakima, and Walla Walla). It is interesting to note that there are only two Negro teachers in private schools in Seattle although the public schools there hire most of the Negro teachers in the state. These teachers are employed at the SDA Church school, in which all twenty-one pupils are also Negro.

Five of the seven Negroes employed in private schools are women. Three are in their first year of service at their

present schools, two others have less than three years in service and the couple at the SDA School have been there four and seven years. Their assignments are as follows: second grade, primary grades, third grade, seventh grade, eighth grade, teacher-principal, and supervisor of French program combined with teaching at the nearby college.

Other Results of the Survey

This survey also received some interesting unsolicited comments. Twenty-three respondents mentioned that there were none or few Negroes in their community or parish and that none had applied either as students or teachers. Eight expressed a desire to hire a Negro teacher, or mentioned that color was no hindrance to employment. Four described success with teachers of the Negro race. Some comments described their attitudes or that of their religion or community to the hiring of Negro teachers. Some of the most interesting follow:

As for the priesthood and sisterhood, these are open to Negro candidates who are intellectually and morally qualified....

- ... Negro parents are well accepted in PTA etc. and we have no problem in the school but it was a fine, well-educated Negro woman who advised me not to have a Negro teacher.
- ...the Board of Trustees and I are in complete agreement on our policy: the judgment of candidates on the basis of their character, ability, and record and not on the basis of their race, color, religion, or national origin. To my sorrow we have been unable to interest any qualified Negro students in the school, and as far as I can remember I have never had an application for a position from a Negro teacher.

May I suggest that you write to the superintendent of the Seventh Day Adventist Church Schools in regard to our policies concerning treatment of different races. I can assure you that we do not advocate segregation but....

We have a Seventh Day Adventist School for Negroes, under Negro teachers at the address below: Spruce Street SDA Church School, Seattle. Washington.

Concerning the policies of the Seventh Day Adventist
Schools as mentioned in the last two statements, some followup was done although it is far beyond the scope of this
paper to delve into racial-religious matter. The Spruce
Street School did respond that they had two Negro teachers
and twenty-one Negro students with no teachers or students
of other races. In commenting on this arrangement, M. J.
Perry, Superintendent, Department of Education of the
Washington Conference of Seventh Day Adventists explains:

Inasmuch as our church (colored) has a considerable number of children of eligible church school age, we naturally encourage this church, as well as our others, to operate their own church schools and to supply education needs for their children. Obviously, then, since this church is all colored it would be on the part of wisdom to staff the school with colored personnel.

It is therefore primarily on that basis that we operate the colored school in the colored church. Some of their children prefer to attend our white school at Seattle Junior Academy, and others go elsewhere, since it is not a requirement that their own children attend their own school as operated by their own church.

Throughout the state and in other Seattle SDA Schools,
Negro students are included as part of predominately white
student bodies.

III. THE TEACHER PLACEMENT DIRECTORS

In addition to the information obtained from the public school districts and the private schools, the teacher placement directors of the colleges and universities of the state supplied much information of value to this study. As stated on pages 36 and 37, the questionnaire to placement directors had a return of twelve out of fifteen, although six directors indicated they had no experience with the problem and did not have Negro teacher candidates at their institutions. The other six directors responded to the questionnaire in detail.

Observations About Discrimination

These six respondents were unanimous in indicating they felt Negro teacher-candidates do not have the same variety of districts and assignments from which to choose as do Caucasians. At the same time three of the directors stated that they felt Negroes share equal employment opportunities with Caucasians, two felt they did not, and one responded with a question mark. One director indicated that Negro candidates require more interviews and special consideration in obtaining placement; four felt they did not; and one director failed to respond to this question. Three of the placement officers thought Negro candidates blamed discrimination for some placement failures due in reality to other causes, two felt they did not, and one director answered with a question mark.

Prohibition of Application Photographs

The directors were unanimous also in their answers to questions about the recent policies of the State Board Against Discrimination in removing questions of race from the credentials and eliminating the use of application photographs. All six officials said they thought this policy did not result in more interviews for Negro candidates and that school superintendents did not, in their opinion, approve of this policy. In response to the question, "What are your feelings in regard to the effectiveness of this policy?", the following answers were given:

Causes employers to use institutional interview facilities more than before.

Photos are used for identification purposes and are extremely helpful. Never have been used for discriminatory purposes in this area.

I resent it. It does <u>nothing</u> to reduce discrimination. It has resulted in a <u>requirement</u> of an interview, which makes the job of campus interviewer much more difficult because it denies him a means of identifying applicants when reviewing the papers at hiring time. (italics are respondents)

Not sure the inconvenience justified the results accomplished.

Most school people use pictures for identification and not as a discriminatory tool.

Statistical and General Information

Only three of the six directors completing the questionnaire supplied the statistical information about the number of teaching candidates placed in 1961 and the

types of placement obtained. The three who did give this data reported 12 Negro teacher-candidates out of 2,433 candidates of all races. Of these, 1,563 received placement as did 9 Negroes. Eight of the Negroes and 1,332 candidates of all races were placed in public schools in the state; 12 candidates of all races and none of the Negroes went to private schools in the state and 31 candidates of all races as well as one Negro teacher-candidate received placement out of the state. Five directors answered a question asking for the numbers of Negro candidates for the last three years. They reported a total of 29 candidates in the past three years of which 8 were not placed in full-time teaching positions.

Asked about the possibility of some districts traditionally hiring or refusing to hire Negro teachers, the placement directors answered as follows:

Are there districts which hire the majority of Negro candidates? Yes 3, No 1, No response 2.

Are there districts which are not likely to hire Negro teachers? Yes 5, No 0, No response 1.

Do any of these last districts have large Negro populations? Yes O, No 5, No response 1.

In listing the most prominent districts which hire the majority of Negro candidates the directors mentioned Tacoma and Bremerton, Seattle twice, and "the larger cities." Areas not likely to hire Negro teachers are "rural, all

white communities" according to four directors, while one said "urban" and one director recalled that he had placed graduates in urban, suburban, and rural areas.

ment in the 1960 annual report of the Board Against
Discrimination which said "...Washington Negroes encounter
employment discrimination more frequently than members of
other minority groups..." Asked if they found this statement
true in the case of teacher employment, one of the directors
agreed but five disagreed with the statement. The following
reasons were given to explain why teacher employment
contradicted the statewide finding of the board:

The American Indian, I believe, is discriminated against to a much greater extent.

Need for good teachers.

We have so few.

Personal and Assignment Factors

Inquiring if factors about the Negro candidate might make a difference in ease of placement, the questionnaire asked about types of assignments sought and about personal factors which would make for easiest placement. The response of the directors indicated that the factors of age, sex, and marital status are the same for all races and not significant to our study. Primary and intermediate grades, language arts and mathematics and sciences were indicated as the easiest

assignments to obtain for teachers of all races and for Negroes. Social sciences and boys' physical education were reported to be the most difficult assignments to obtain, for all races and for Negroes.

All six directors felt the younger candidate of any race was more likely to obtain placement. Three indicated females were preferred and three checked sex as unimportant in teacher placement. Two directors said that married persons were easier to place while four thought marital status was unimportant. Five indicated that attractive appearance was an asset while one director felt appearance was not important in teacher placement. All six directors indicated that none of these factors was different for Negro candidates than for Caucasians.

Placement and Counselling Procedures

This questionnaire asked for information about the role of the director in the placement procedure both in the pre-placement counselling and in following up candidates who have failed to receive placement. Only one director indicated that Negro candidates receive any special counselling in regard to placement and that this consists of a limited contact by the placement director during the senior year. Several directors said that some limited and personal counselling was done upon request of the student. In answer to

a question about the nature of advice given and the handling of the counselling, the directors replied that it was done on an individual basis, often at the candidates request. Five placement directors felt some placement information given to Negro candidates early in their college years would be of value, not only to Negroes but to all students.

The responsibility for finding employment rests with the candidate himself in three institutions and is a joint responsibility of the candidate and the placement office in the other three. All six directors follow-up candidates of all races who have not received placement in order to determine the cause of failure. Most common reasons given for lack of success in obtaining employment are:

Candidate desires a certain position in a certain geographic area.

Lack of ability to teach.

Trained in an over-supplied field--poor personal presentation.

Being too choosy as to location and being prepared academically for an area for which there (are) few calls.

Too limited geographic demands. No desire or necessity to go to work at any job.

Usually something which represents the candidate's rationalization for his own shortcomings.

Four directors indicated there was an attempt made to followup Negro candidates who failed at placement. Reasons for failure among Negroes was the same as those given for failures among candidates of all races.

Suggestions for Insuring Equality of Opportunity

The final question of this survey asked the directors what steps they thought should be taken by all concerned to insure the fullest employment opportunities for Negro teacher-candidates. Two directors did not respond to this question. Here are the comments of the other four:

Better selection of candidates.

Because of our lack of numbers, I don't feel qualified to comment.

Good Progress has been made in the past ten years in the area of discrimination. I believe that the last thing we should do, at this point, is to create a furor and a fanfare about Negroes in education. School administrators will—and should—continue to employ the applicant who is best qualified. Any special campaign on behalf of or in opposition to a minority group will tend to upset the policy, and will not be to the advantage of the children in the public schools. This (the children) is the minority group which must be considered first! (Italics and parenthesis are the respondents.)

Make sure that they are equally well-educated and able to compete professionally.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Since this is a descriptive survey, the value of the study rests in its findings and not in any conclusions on a tested hypothesis. No definite results were anticipated, but the findings of the survey do suggest several generalizations about the hiring of Negro teachers for the public schools of Washington.

Some Conclusions

Discrimination against Negroes as teachers does exist in this state although it is suggested that Washington has a better record than many states and that, within the state, discrimination against Negroes is more pronounced in other areas of employment than in education. Yet over one-third of the school boards would show hesitancy in hiring Negro teachers and placement directors agree that Negroes do not have the same choices of assignment and localities as Caucasians. The Board Against Discrimination is active in ensuring racial equality of opportunity in teacher employment and the school administrators are sympathetic to these aims although they disapprove of some of the resulting policies, especially that prohibiting the use of application photographs.

The limited statistical information shows that the number of Negroes teaching in Washington schools had risen from 34 in 1950, to 115 in 1960, to a total of 242 reported by this survey for 1962. The acceleration of this figure may be due in part to comparing census figures with survey figures but the rapidity of the increase is a fact acknowledged by many. It may be due to any number of reasons: the increase in Negro population, fair employment practices and the work of anti-discrimination groups, more enlightened school administrations, encouragement of young Negro pupils when given the example of Negro teachers, or a shortage of teachers.

On the other hand, over two-thirds of the Washington districts have little or no experience with Negroes either as residents, pupils, or staff members. Comments from superintendents seem to indicate that they believe all-white communities should not be expected to hire Negro teachers. A corollary to this idea is that districts with Negro populations should be obligated to have Negro teachers. Interesting as this idea is, neither supposition is recognized by the Law Against Discrimination. All districts are under a legal requirement to consider Negroes on the same basis as any teacher regardless of the community situation.

Most Negro teachers, as demonstrated in Chapter IV, are employed in the larger cities of the state or in their

suburban areas and generally near centers of Negro population. However, not all such areas hire Negro teachers. Yakima, Walla Walla, and Everett are large cities with significant Negro populations but no history of Negro staff members and none in the public schools at the time of the study. Of the 407 districts in the state contacted in the course of this survey, only 21 reported Negroes currently employed as teachers. Seattle Public Schools are far and away the largest employer of Negro teachers with 154 of the 235 Negro public school teachers. Private schools contribute very little in the way of employment for Negro teachers with only seven Negro teachers employed in private schools in 1962.

Western Washington presents many more opportunities for placement of Negro teachers than the eastern part of the state. In Western Washington, 18 districts hire 223
Negro teachers, while 3 districts account for the 12 teachers hired in the public schools in Eastern Washington. With one-fifth of the Negro population, Eastern Washington hires only one-twentieth of the Negro teachers. The fact that 43 districts in Eastern Washington not now hiring Negro teachers have received recent applications from Negro teachers as opposed to 49 such districts in Western Washington, seems to rule out the idea that Negroes do not wish to teach in the eastern part of the state. It seems likely that the prejudice and conservatism in many Eastern Washington communities is the reason more of them do not.

Personal factors about the Negro teacher himself or about his subject matter preferences do not seem to have much bearing on whether he is hired or not, although a Negro teacher desiring wide mobility of placement might do well to prepare himself in the sciences and language arts where there is an undersupply of teachers, rather than in the over-supplied fields of social science and men's physical education.

Suggestions for Further Studies

The suggestions for further study prompted by this survey are legion. In the field of policy, an assessment of the role and effect of the Board Against Discrimination or of its policies, such as that prohibiting the use of application photographs would be an interesting study. A mailed survey to Negro teachers themselves would give information about the number of applications they must make to find employment, anecdotal experiences, assignment problems and much more of value. A starting point for such a survey might be to use the list of twenty-one districts hiring Negro teachers as compiled by this survey.

The question of the obligations of communities with large Negro populations to have Negro staff members would be an interesting one for further study. As part of this or as a separate study, an investigation into the effects of

Negro teachers on the goals and ambitions of their students of minority races might provide valuable information for policy guides. One wonders if the goals of Negro pupils in schools where there are Negro teachers are different from the goals of Negro pupils in schools where they see only the Negro janitors.

Comparison of this state with others and an analysis of the factors which account for differences in success in supplying equal employment opportunity for all its citizens would be a valuable study as would individual studies of any of the districts of this state, especially those which show special success or neglect in providing equal employment opportunity for Negro teachers.

In addition to providing a general description in regard to the hiring of Negro teachers in the public schools of Washington in 1962, it is in the area of encouraging further study and policy re-examination that the writer hopes the real value of this study will lie.



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APPENDIX A LETTERS OF ENDORSEMENT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



Washington State Board Against Discrimination

206 Capitol Park Bldg. Olympia. Washington

April 9. 1962

Superintendent of Public Instruction STATE OF WASHINGTON

Olympia

February 1, 1962

9

3

Mrs. Lila A. Hanson Route 2 Cle Elum. Washington

Dear Mrs. Hanson:

Your letter of January 21 relating to a study which you propose to undertake as partial satisfaction for the requirements of a Master's degree at Central Washington State College is acknowledged.

We are, of course, in sympathy with the enforcement of state law against discrimination, and in general with the study objectives as set forth in your communication.

For purposes of eliciting information and support from school administrators, you may assure the same that we favor objective evaluation of current Washington school district employment practices as these practices relate to our laws against race discrimination.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Bruno State Superintendent of Public Instruction Mrs. Lila A. Hanson Route 2 Cle Elum, Washington

Dear Mrs. Hanson:

This will confirm your visit to our office in Seattle on April 6th at which time you discussed with Mr. Mansfield and the writer your proposed questionnaires to be sent to school superintendents, teachers, non-academic employees and placement officers.

We understand that the information you are seeking will be incorporated in a thesis which you are writing in pursuit of your graduate studies at Central Washington State College.

The information you are seeking appears to be in keeping with that section of the Washington State Law Against Discrimination which provides for studies of "the problems of discrimination in all or specific fields of human relationships or in specific instances of discrimination because of race....". RCW 49.60.130

School officials and employees who furnish the information requested in your questionnaires will not be considered in violation of the letter or the spirit of the law against discrimination.

We will be interested in any conclusions you may reach as a result of your studies.

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm B. Higgins. Executive Secretary

MBH: jvm

Please note:

The signatures have been redacted due to security reasons

APPENDIX B

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRES

- I. The Mailed Questionnaire
- II. The Third Class District Follow-up

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL DISTRICTS

I. DEFINITIONS

- . A "Negro teacher" shall be defined in this study as any person generally recognized by the community as Negro or part-Negro and who has the requirements for teacher certification.
- The "you" and "your" in this questionnaire will be very impersonal and refer to the district and not to the respondent as an individual.
- . The word "suitable" when used in the study to describe housing, employment, etc. will mean as compared with or in relation to that which is acceptable for your non-Negro staff members.

				II. PR	ACTICES			
FOR A	ALL DIS	TRICTS:						
	1.	School !	District nam	ne and numbe	r		Count	:y
	2.	number	of students	tion of dist al in the dist	l races	all racesall races.		Negro. Negro. Negro.
	3.		re significa	•	groups, other	than Negro,	in your distr	rict?
	4.		name them ar		escribe as to	approximate	number and acc	eptance
ne of C	Group	Approx. Number	Acceptano	ce by school	s and communit	y		
	5.	appears: frequent	: "Washi tly than mem	ngton Negro bers of oth ring teache	he Board Again es encounter e er minority gr rs for your di	mpløyment di coups". D	scrimination m	nore

B. 1	FOR DISTRIC	TS PRESENTLY NOT EMPLOYING NEGRO TE	ACHERS:	
	1.	To your knowledge, has your distriction of the second seco	ct ever hired a Negro teache	r?
	2.	If your answer is yes, how many yes	ers ago was this?	years ag
	3.	In the past year or two how many a knew to be Negroes?	oplications have you had from applications.	n teachers you
	FOR DISTRIC TEACHERS:	TS PRESENTLY EMPLOYING NEGRO TEACHER	RS OR WHO HAVE RECENTLY EMPLO	OYED NEGRO
	1.	Have you felt there were special acteacher on your staff? Yes		having a Negr
	2.	Have you experienced any difficulty teacher on your staff? Yes		having a Negr
		If yes, please place an X before the enced difficulty with your Negro states finding suitable housing finding summer employment or especial activities relationship with faculty and relationship with pupils relationship with parents of prelationship with community other other	taff members: employment for teacher's fami administration oupils	ily
eg.		Have you lost a Negro teacher due to Please list the Negro teachers currently		
Name		Mailing Address	Assignment	No. of year at your schools

III. PROBLEMS (all districts please respond)

DESCRIPTIONS OF SOME COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

)LJC/KIF I I ONJ	OF SOME COMMONTH CHARACTERISTICS		
olacing an X	ate the following statements which a in the space before the statement. you may find that none of them desc	You may w	ant to indicate more than one
1.	Our community has had no experience there are none in the schools and Negro teacher-candidates.	***	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
2.	We have a sizable Negro population public schools each year.	and have	over ten Negro students in our
3.	We are a quiet, peace-loving commu opportunity we prefer not to disru by hiring a Negro teacher just in	pt our good	d relations with the community
4.	We have some groups antagonistic thiring a Negro teacher while we armunity relationship.		
5.	We would anticipate no problems or our schools.	difficult	ies in hiring a Negro teacher for
6.	We have a unique situation in regadescribe this situation)	rd to the	niring of Negro teachers. (Pleas
ent he is gi	personal factors about the Negro te ven would create or alleviate probl preceding the factors which would m	ems for you	ır district. Please place an X
		4. (Grade Level assignment
 Neg 	ro teacher's age		primary
_	younger		intermediate
	older		junior high
	unimportant		senior high unimportant
2. Sex	of Negro teacher	5. 9	Subject matter assignment
	male female	J	language arts
-	unimportant		social science
_	unimpor cure		mathematics and science
3. Mar	rital status		business education
_	married		I.A. and home economics
	single		boys P. E.
-	unimportant		girls P. E.
			other unimportant
6. Whi	ch grade level assignment is least	desirable?	
7. Whi	ch subject matter assignments are 1	east desira	ıble?

C. SOME POSSIBLE AREAS OF DIFFICULTY

Please place	an X in t	he spac	e preceding	the ar	nswer w	hich makes	the follo	owing	state	men
most accurat	te for your	situat	ion. It is	unders	stood tl	hat these	answers an	re bas	ed on	yo
spontaneous	assessment	of the	situation	and do	not red	quire inve	estigation	into	each	are

1.	Suitable housing for a Negro teacher in our community is readily available. slightly restricted. restricted.
2.	Housing for a Negro teacher in the community is available anywhere in the district. available in certain areas of the district. available in colored sections only.
3.	A Negro teacher seeking suitable summertime employment in the district will easily find it. have difficulty finding it. be unable to find it.
4.	Members of a Negro teacher's family seeking suitable employment in the distribulit easily find it. have difficulty finding it. be unable to find it.
5.	Negro teachers and their families interested in joining social clubs and act ties will find themselves welcome. admitted. excluded.
6.	Commercial entertainments and public facilities will welcome our Negro staff members. be open to our Negro staff members. be unavailable to our Negro staff members.
7.	My school board will welcome the opportunity to hire a Negro teacher. hire a Negro teacher on the same basis as any teacher. hire a Negro teacher only if his qualifications are superior. hesitate to hire a Negro teacher. refuse to hire a Negro teacher.
8.	My faculty will welcome a Negro teacher to the staff. accept a Negro teacher on the staff. resent a Negro teacher on the staff.
9.	The students will welcome a Negro teacher. accept a Negro teacher. resent a Negro teacher.
10.	The community will welcome a Negro teacher. accept a Negro teacher. resent a Negro teacher.

Thank you.

Route 2 Cle Elum, Washington May 14, 1962

Dear Administrator or Head Teacher:

Comments:

Two weeks ago we mailed an extensive questionnaire to all school districts in Washington inquiring about practices and problems in the hiring of Negro teachers. Our project is going well and the returns on that questionnaire were very good.

Many of the returns from third class districts indicate that you felt some of the questions may not have pertained to your schools. To help complete our statewide picture of employment of Negro teachers we need a response from you. Even if your community is small and has had no experience with racial minorities this information is valuable to the study.

Therefore we are submitting a few of the most vital questions in the hope you will find time to answer. Your consideration of this request is appreciated.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Lila A. Hanson

Nam	ame of school	County
tot	otal number of students Numb	er of Negro students
tot		e and mailing address egro teachers:
Pro	rovide the answer which best describes your sit	uation:
1.	. We have had little or no experience with Neg community. (true or false?)	roes either in our schools or
2.	. To your knowledge has your district ever hir Yes No	ed a Negro teacher?
3.	. To your knowledge has your district ever had you knew to be Negro? Yes No	
4.	. Would your District hesitate to hire a Negro	teacher? Yes No

APPENDIX C
THE PRIVATE SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

Route 2 Cle Elum, Washington April 25, 1962

Dear Administrator:

As part of a Master's degree study at Central Washington State College, we are conducting a survey of some practices and problems in the hiring of Negro teachers for the public schools of Washington.

Although this problem does not concern private schools directly, we are interested in locating the number and mailing addresses of Negro teachers in this state. For this reason we are asking you to supply the following information and return it to us at your earliest convenience. Please respond even if you have no Negroes on your teaching staff.

We are enclosing copies of statements by Louis Bruno and Malcolm Higgins to reassure you that cooperation with this survey is also in the best interests of education and racial equality.

(Use back of this half page if you need more space.)

Your	consideration of	this request is appro	eciate	ed.	
	Please note:		Sin	cerely,	
	The signature has be	en redacted due to security	reaso	ns	
	,		(Mr	s.) Lila A. Hanson	
(Ret	urn this portion	only)			
1.	Name of school				
	Total number of s	tudents	1	Number of Negro stu	dents
	Total number of to	eachers	1	Number of Negro tea	chers
		Negro teachers by name he number of years the			
					Years at your
Name		Mailing Address	-	Assignment	school
	2				

APPENDIX D

THE PLACEMENT DIRECTOR QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PLACEMENT DIRECTORS

In this questionnaire we will define "Negro Teacher" as anyone generally recognized by the community to be either Negro or part-Negro and who has the requirements for teacher certification.

A "successful placement" will mean the signing and fulfilling of a contract to teach and shall not require your judgement of the success of the teaching done. When the phrases "ease of placement" or "easier placement" are used, they refer to quickness and smoothness of the placement procedure as compared to that of non-Negroes with similar qualifications.

Throughout this questionnaire, you are asked to compare opportunities for Negro candidates to those for equally qualified Caucasians so that race alone is the differentiating factor.

I.

A. Please supply the following information for the teaching year 1961-62:

	all rac	es Neg	TO
number of teacher candidates seeking placement			
number successfully placed		1.	
number placed in public schools in Washington			
number placed in private schools in Washington			
number placed in schools out of the state			

How	many were not placed in full-time teaching positions?
	II.
	there districts of our state which hire the majority of your Negro candies? Yes No
Ιf	yes, please list a few of the most prominent.
	Jos production or the most prominent.
••	you produce the not prominent.
	yes, presse rise a reward the most president.
Wit	chout specifically naming districts, are there some areas which are not sely to hire Negro teachers? Yes No
Wit lik If	hout specifically naming districts, are there some areas which are not

Some factors about the Negro teacher himself or about the teaching assignment he is seeking may make a difference in the ease of placement.

A. Please consider the following assignments and indicate your selections by placing an X in the square which follows. Mark as many as you think significant:

•			-		
	Easy to	obtain	1	Difficult	to obtain
Grade level of Assignment	all race	Negro	,	all races	Negro
primary			1		
			1. 1		
			T		
	///////////////////////////////////////	1//////		1111111111	(//////////////////////////////////////
academic classroom					
laboratory			1		
special education			1 1		, and the second
extra-curricular			LI		
other			1		
Subject matter field///////	((((((((((1111111	1	11/1/1////	111111111
language arts			1		
social sciences					
mathematics, science			1 1		
business education					
art and music					
I.A. and home ec.					
Boys PE					
Girls PE					
other					
	primary intermediate junior high senior high Type of teaching activity/// academic classroom laboratory special education extra-curricular other Subject matter field////// language arts social sciences mathematics, science business education art and music I.A. and home ec. Boys PE Girls PE	Grade level of Assignment primary intermediate junior high senior high Type of teaching activity//////////////////////////////////	Grade level of Assignment all races Negro primary intermediate junior high senior high Type of teaching activity//////////////////////////////////	Grade level of Assignment all races Negro primary intermediate junior high senior high Type of teaching activity//////////////////////////////////	Grade level of Assignment all races Negro primary intermediate junior high senior high Type of teaching activity//////////////////////////////////

B. Place an X in the blank preceding the personal factor which you feel is most likely to result in an easier placement:

	Age:		Sex:		Marital S	Status:	Appea	rance:	
	youn olde: unim		male female unimport	ant	single marrie unimpo	eđ	un	tractiv attract importa	ive
c.	1.	Are any candidat		wers diff	erent than	they would b	e for a	Caucas	ian
	2.	If yes, differen		agories a	nd for what	reason would	d the a	nswers	be

١.	Do you find this true in the case of teacher placement? Yes No
	If yes, in your opinion what are the reasons for this?
	If no, in your opinion, why does teacher employment contradict the statewide finding?
	v.
	Does your institution give any special counselling in regard to placement opportunities to Negro teacher-training candidates? Yes No
	opportunities to Negro teacher-training candidates? Yes . No
•	opportunities to Negro teacher-training candidates? Yes . No . If yes, what is the nature of the advice given and how is the counselling handled?
•	opportunities to Negro teacher-training candidates? Yes No If yes, what is the nature of the advice given and how is the counselling handled? Do you feel that some placement information given to Negro candidates early
he	opportunities to Negro teacher-training candidates? Yes No If yes, what is the nature of the advice given and how is the counselling handled? Do you feel that some placement information given to Negro candidates early in their college years would be of value? Yes No
in eg	Do you feel that some placement information given to Negro candidates early in their college years would be of value? Yes No VI. recent policies removing questions of race from the credentials and elimination placement of candidates.
he in eg:	opportunities to Negro teacher-training candidates? Yes No If yes, what is the nature of the advice given and how is the counselling handled? Do you feel that some placement information given to Negro candidates early in their college years would be of value? Yes No VI. recent policies removing questions of race from the credentials and eliminate the application photography may have made some changes in the placement of candidates. Do you think this policy results in more interviews for your Negro candidates.

VII.

Α.	Does the responsibility for finding employment rest with your office or with the teacher-candidate himself?
В.	Is there an attempt made by your office to follow up candidates of all races who have not received placement in order to determine the cause of failure? Yes No
C.	If yes, what are the most common reasons given for the lack of success in obtaining employment?
D.	Is there an attempt made to follow up Negro candidates who have failed to receive placement? Yes No
E.	If yes, what are the most common reasons given for the lack of success in obtaining employment for Negro candidates?
	VIII.
Α.	Do you feel Negroes share equal employment opportunities with Caucasian teacher candidates? Yes No
В.	Do you feel Negroes have the same variety of districts and assignments from which to choose? Yes No
c.	Do Negro candidates require more interviews or special consideration from your office in order to obtain placement? Yes No
D.	Do you feel Negro candidates blame racial discrimination for some placement failures which are in reality due to other causes? Yes No

IX.

What steps do you think should be taken (by educators, colleges, Negro candidates, anti-discrimination groups, government, the public etc.) to insure the fullest employment opportunities for Negro teacher candidates? (Use back of page for more space).