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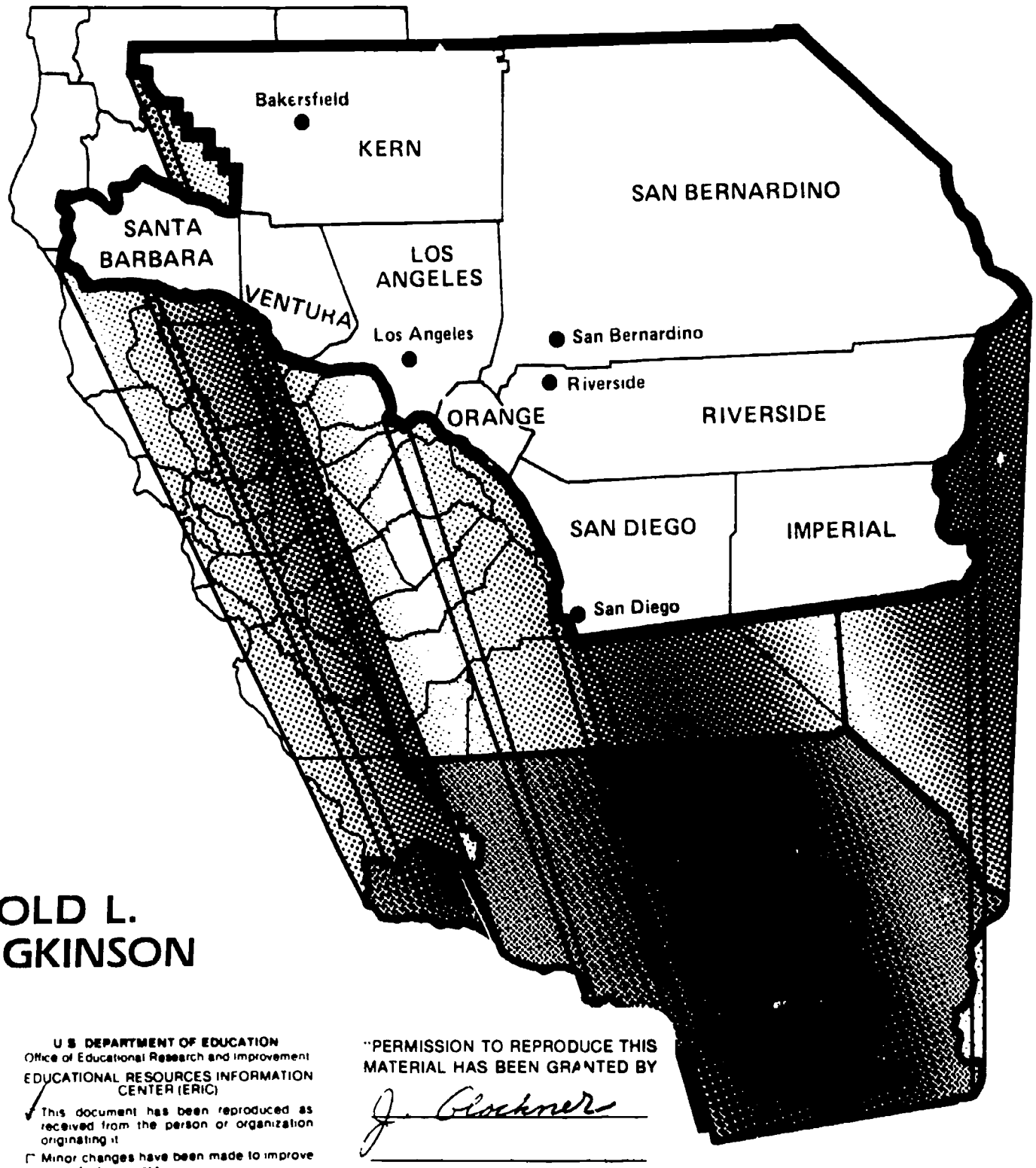
ABSTRACT

A demographic, economic, and educational profile of southern California is provided in this report. A review of population, economic, and educational trends indicates that the region is characterized by a diverse economy, population, and work force; the growth of "edge cities"; pressing environmental and social problems; and increasing economic development. A recommendation is made for giving priority to restoring the region's basic functions in education, the environment, and infrastructure. Twelve tables, two charts, and three maps are included. (12 references) (LMI)

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE REGION AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM



BY
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However, errors of fact or interpretation remain the responsibility of the author.

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA:
THE REGION AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—THE REGION AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In June, 1986, this author completed a demographic analysis of the State of California for the ARCO Foundation. While the analysis was complicated, there were an abundance of data comparing states, and any number of studies on California. However, in mid-1989 a second challenge came from ARCO: a study of *Southern* California! This sort of assignment creates nervous breakdowns. Like the "Sun Belt," the "Heartland," or "Dixie," nobody knows exactly where it is. Even if you come up with an arbitrary definition of Southern California's location, it is universally regarded as being incomparable, wherever it is. We are therefore studying an area that cannot be located and cannot be compared, which, to put it mildly, adds some risk to the assignment. In addition, there is a widely held notion that any analysis of Southern California should be laid back and superficial (apparently to blend in with the residents) with just enough content for a five second sound bite on the evening news.

This report rejects all of the above. While somewhat arbitrary, our cover shows Southern California—the counties of Santa Barbara, Kern, San Bernardino, Riverside, Imperial, San Diego, Orange, Ventura and Los Angeles. (One of the things that makes California possible is the small number of counties, rather well financed and professionally run. California has 55, Kentucky has 120.) What really matters is not counties but metropolitan areas. Another look at our cover will show the large number of "hyphenated metros" which are simply metropolitan areas that have run into each other, creating larger entities in the process. The future of Southern California will have a lot to do with *how and where* these metro areas run into each other, as we shall see.

In addition, the stereotypes about the "Two Californias" need a lot of revision—for example, as of September, 1989, people in the Los Angeles metropolitan area were more likely to have attended graduate school, while San Franciscans watch more Christian broadcasting on TV! Thirty-seven percent of Los Angeles workers are professionals or managers, compared to only 30 percent in San Francisco. Nordstrom stores, who ought to know, send their more colorful clothing to Southern California stores, while more sedate styles head to the northern part of the state. Actually, there is more diversity in *both* northern and southern California than the stereotypes reveal. And one of our conclusions, that Sacramento-Fresno is becoming the new "growth corridor" for the beginning of the next Century, will add a third dimension to the current "two Californias" debate.

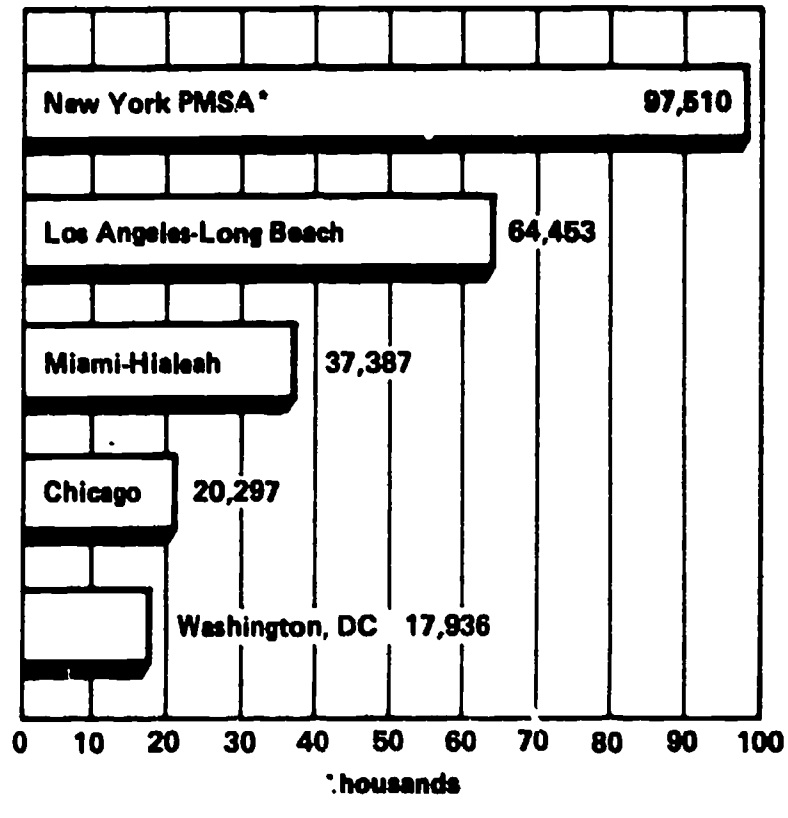
State Demographic Update

Since the first California report was completed by the author, we have about three years of new information which we will review briefly (see Table 1 page 2).

With a projected population of 33 million for the year 2000 (about a decade away now), California continues to be the giant of states, pulling away from New York, now stable at 17.9 million. However, New York still has the largest black adult population at 1.9 million. In addition, in 1987, more immigrants planned to live in New York City than in any other metro, even though California leads among the *states*. The ranks are interesting, showing that immigration in 1987 was spread widely in U.S. cities (see Chart below).

While the percentage of elderly is small, California's size means we have to respect the number of *people* over age 65-about 2.8 million. The major retirement centers in

Number of Immigrants, 1987



*Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area.
Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Table 1
CALIFORNIA PROFILE AND STATE RANK

Population, 1988	28,168,000	1st
Population Increase, 1980-88	+19.0%	6th
Population Projection, 2000	33,500,000	1st
Population Over Age 65	10.6%	40th
Population in Metro Areas	95.7%	2nd
Black Population Over Age 18	1,576,000	2nd
Hispanic Population Over Age 18	4,514,000	1st
Birth Rate per 1,000 Women, 1986	17.9	6th
Births to Teenage Mothers, 1986	10.9	28th
Births to Unmarried Women, 1986	26.5	11th
MD's per 100,000 Population	240	5th
Hospital Daily Room Costs, 1988	$364	1st
Change in School Enrollments, 1980-86	+6.3%	6th (U.S. down 2.8%)
Teacher Salary, 1988	$33,159	4th
Per Pupil Spending, 1988	$,994	25th
Change in Crime Rate, 1985-87	+2%	43rd (U.S. up 6.5%)
Violent Crimes Per 1,000 Population, 1987	918	3rd (U.S. 609)
Percent of the Population Voting, 1988	47.4%	37th
Federal Defense Funds, 1987	$37 Bill.	1st
Change in Housing Starts, 1985-87	−13.3%	34th (U.S. down 10.2%)
Miles of Travel Per Road Mile	1,227	4th (after HI,NJ,MD)
Disposable Income Per Capita	$15,138	6th (after CT,NJ,MA,AK,NH)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1989.

California are in Southern California. The high birth rate is due to the youthful average age in the state, as well as to the large nonwhite population. (It is important to remember that black fertility rates are declining in the nation as well as in California, due partially to the increase in black middle-class membership during the late seventies and eighties, as middle class people have fewer children.) It is *very* important to keep in mind that *one of four children who come into California schools was born outside of marriage*. There are no simple explanations for this, although blacks and Hispanics contribute disproportionately to the figure. It is astonishing that there are virtually no good studies on the educational effects of being born out of wedlock.

The health indicators are good, especially the very low infant death rate, and the number of doctors per 100,000 population. (Doctors live in metro areas, as do the people of California, making it more likely that there will be a doctor within a few minutes of your home.) However, health care in California is the most expensive in the nation, in terms of the daily cost of a hospital room.

For some inexplicable reason, California's very high crime growth rate actually declined a little between 1985-87, when the nation's crime rate went up 6.5 percent! However, the growth rate is still one of the highest in the nation, especially for violent crime. The state housed 82,000 prisoners in 1989, in prisons that are at 168 percent of capacity. Although the state has budgeted $3.2 billion for

new prison construction, the predicted increase in prisoners, to 136,640 in 1994, will send the system back to square one.

If only those dollars could be used for schools in Southern California! Given the fact that 80 percent of prisoners are high school dropouts, California's best prison strategy would be *to increase the percentage of youth who graduate from high school.* The correlation between prisoners and school dropouts is higher than that between smoking and lung cancer. Indeed, the most startling number in recent years comes from the California Achievement Council—a black male child born in California in 1988 is *three* times as likely to be murdered as he is to be admitted to the University of California (U.C.). Even given the high selectivity of U.C., it is a devastating figure which leaps out at you and will not go away. It also explains why graduating from high school is such a vital necessity for California's nonwhite (we can no longer call them "minority") children.

Finally, it is very handy to have a $37 billion check sent v the federal defense establishment to California each ar, for smoothing out wrinkles in the state budget! The California economy remains exceedingly well diversified, allowing it to ride out recessions very well, although New York State does a little better in some respects. Although all Californians complain about their overused highways, the fact is that a number of other states have more cars on every mile of road than does California. (A *major* California problem is the increasing number of miles of neglected, pot-holed, garbage strewn freeways, once the most immaculate in the nation. Air quality is starting to match the road quality.)

The fact that California was 45th in the number of Social Security recipients and second in welfare recipients in 1987 reflects the issue of poverty among the younger adult population, especially women raising children by themselves. According to the Washington, D.C.-based Population Reference Bureau, the number of children age 0-18 in poverty in California increased from 1,014,000 in 1980 to 1,586,700 in 1987, while children being raised by a single parent increased from 1,488,000 to 1,741,000 in the same years. There is a very large overlap between these two sets of children, as the average income for a married couple with children in 1988 was $36,206 in the U.S., while a single mother with children had an income of only $11,299, which is very close to the poverty level. (Remember that being an average, many single mothers with children had incomes *below* $11,299. Over fifteen million children in the nation were living with a single parent in 1988.)

The "Two Kinds of West Coast People"

Our cover, although noble in intent, is misleading, as it bases its numbers on *counties*, within which population density can vary greatly. Oddly enough, we can learn more from a night satellite picture than from the Census about how people are "arranged." The picture below shows how people are distributed in the West, and reveals a common set of "tire tracks" about 100 miles apart, all the way from San Diego to Seattle. This picture confirms that people like to live very near the ocean, or very near the mountains. (Our central California corridor, Sacramento-Fresno, also can be seen very clearly.) This fact needs to be kept in mind, as it is independent of state, county or metro lines (see Map below).

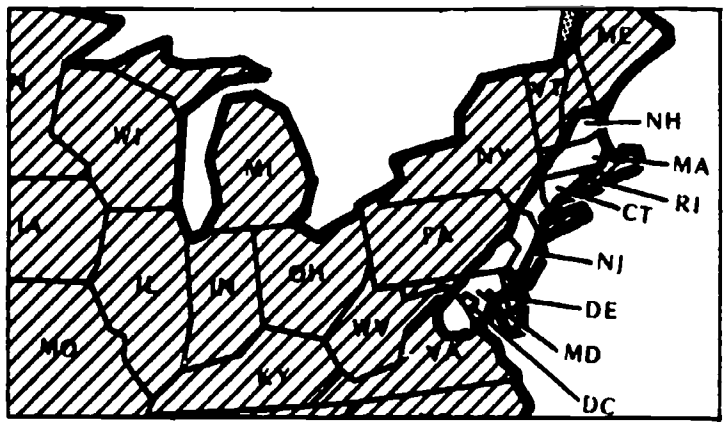
U.S.A. at Night

Source: Adapted from National Aeronautics Space Administration

Getting a Focus on Southern California

To begin with, Southern California is a large population concentration of about 15 million, but it is totally dwarfed by the "BosWash" population corridor of 42.5 million people, one sixth of the U.S. population, living on 1.2 percent of the nation's land (see Map below).

"BOSWASH"



The four giant "cities" making up this monster are New York-Philadelphia (27.8 million), Boston-Providence (6.2 million), Washington-Baltimore (6.1 million) and Harrisburg-York (1 million), leaving about 1 million who are not a part of any of the four. Virtually *everyone* living in the area above lives in one of the four "cities." Populations in the West, even city populations, are much less dense than in the East. (Japan has a population density of 1,000 people per square mile, New Jersey has 1,027.) California's density of 177 people per square mile is no contest with New Jersey or any of the mid-Atlantic states. However, the California coastal region is quite dense, as our satellite picture indicated. We have already seen that immigration is rather evenly distributed throughout the nation's cities. Even in terms of per capita income, the eastern states dominate (see Table 2 below).

Table 2
Top Ten, Per Capita Income States, 1988

Connecticut	$22,761
New Jersey	$21,882
Massachusetts	$20,701
Alaska	$19,514
Maryland	$19,314
New York	$19,299
New Hampshire	$19,016
California	$18,855
Delaware	$17,699
Virginia	$17,640

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, April 1989.

While California is a very large state, it is really not a *mega state*, in that it still has much in common with other states. It is more useful to think of California as a card-carrying member of the United States. Indeed, the American population is actually very heavily concentrated. Nine states contain *half* of the population of the nation, as Table 3 next page explains. If we compare these nine (containing 126 million of our 245 million population) we see that they are three of our fastest-growing states (California, Texas and Florida) and six of our slowest-growing ones.

These nine states have half of the bowling balls, half the toothpaste, half the shoes—and half the *votes*, a fact not lost on America's politicians! They also have half the schools, teachers and children. But in one important respect, they are very different. Let's look at our "Big Nine" states in Table 4 on page 6 in terms of predicted minority children (people under age 18).

In just 21 short years from 1989, six of our Big Nine states will have to deal with a tough question—what do we call "minorities" when they are more than half of the population? (Tom Payzant, Superintendent of San Diego Schools, has a fascinating staff memo on the topic already.) The term "minority majority" will feed the latent paranoia of any number of Caucasians in positions of power. The question remains, however. California will have to deal with it, but so will New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois and New Jersey! In 1990, these *six* states will contain 24,591,000 of the 64,031,000 (38 percent) youth in the nation.

This concentration of population into only nine states creates major policy problems for the nation. Given this rapidly increasing ethnic diversity of school age children in the nation, what does this say to Maine, whose youth population will be 3.1 percent minority in the year 2010? The proper context for California, then, is as one of nine states that have half of the nation's people, one of three of these states that are expanding rapidly in total population, and one of six of these in which nonwhites will represent the most significant group for educators.

As California's youth population increases from 7,581,000 in 1990 to 8,520,000 in 2010, *eighty percent of this growth will be in the southern half of the state*. In fact, Los Angeles County already enrolls one-third of all the school children in California. Chart A next page indicates in spectacular fashion which counties will see enrollment increases between 1987—1992.

These high predicted growth rates are really nothing but a continuation of the metro growth rates that took place between 1970 and 1982. Table 5 on page 6 shows the metro areas ranked by the number of people added and the growth percentage.

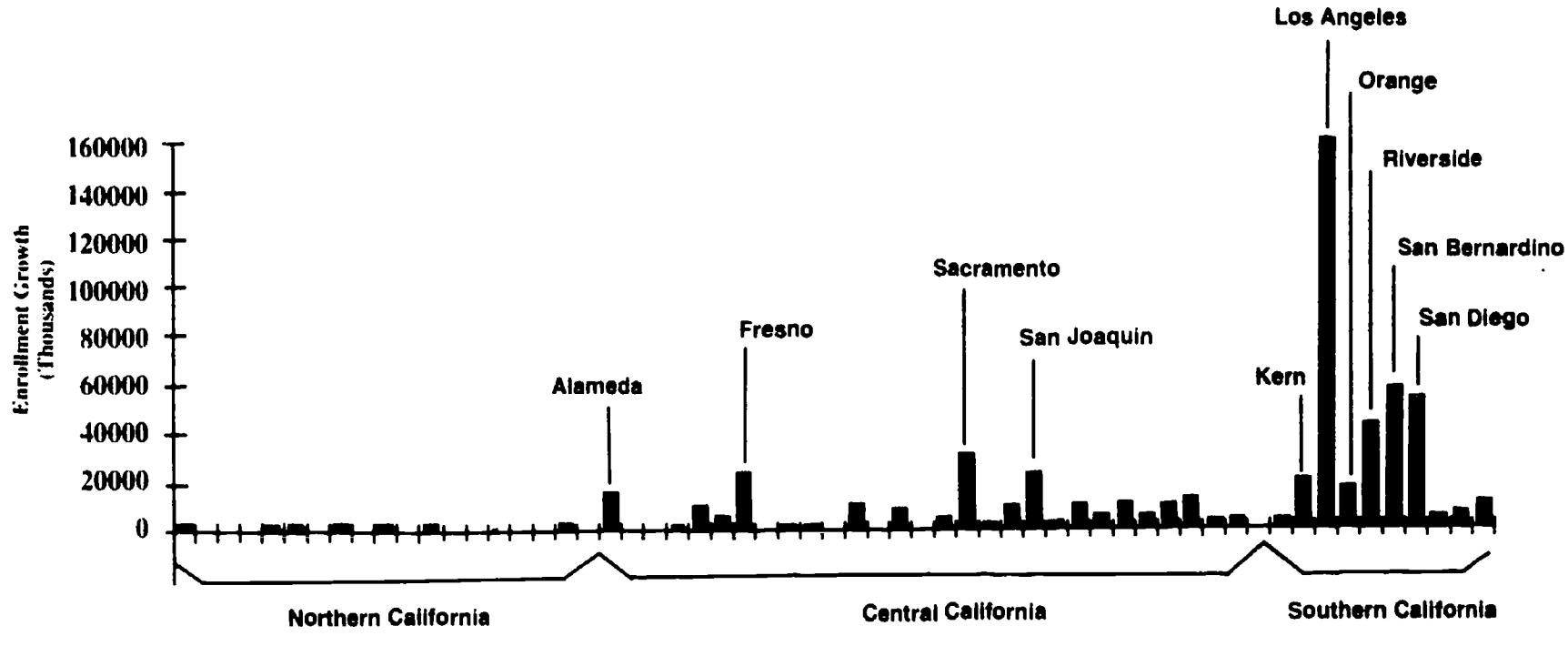
The curious thing is that from 1970-82, California school enrollments were *declining* by 12.3 percent overall, with declines at elementary and secondary grades, and in all parts of the state. It is *very* hard to deal with a major increase right after a major decline. Just when most Californians became aware that all was not well in their schools

Table 3
Nine Largest States, 1988

	Size	Growth, 1980-88	Growth Rank
1. California	28,168,000	+19.0%	6th
2. New York	17,898,000	+ 1.9%	40th
3. Texas	16,780,000	+17.9%	7th
4. Florida	12,377,000	+27.0%	4th
5. Pennsylvania	12,027,000	+ 1.4%	44th
6. Illinois	11,544,000	+ 1.0%	45th
7. Ohio	10,872,000	+ 0.7%	46th
8. Michigan	9,300,000	+ 0.4%	47th
9. New Jersey	7,720,000	+ 4.8%	30th
Total	126,686,000		

Source: *American Demographics*. May 1989.

Chart A
Projected Enrollment Increases by County, 1987–1992



Source: PACE analysis of California Department of Finance data.

Table 4
Number of Minority Children Predicted, 1990, 2000 and 2010

	1990	2000	2010	Change in Total Children, 1990—2010
U.S. Minority Children	30.7%	34.0%	38.2%	− 2.2%
California	46.4%	51.4%	56.9%	+12.4%
New York	39.9%	45.8%	52.8%	− 9.0%
Texas	47.1%	51.9%	56.9%	+ 7.0%
Florida	46.4%	48.6%	53.4%	+16.5%
Pennsylvania	15.4%	16.7%	18.7%	−18.3%
Illinois	32.7%	36.8%	41.7%	−11.4%
Ohio	16.7%	18.6%	20.8%	−15.6%
Michigan	22.8%	25.5%	29.2%	−14.2%
New Jersey	36.6%	40.2%	45.7%	+ 4.0%

Source: *American Demographics*. May 1989.

Table 5
Metro Areas Ranked by Number of People Added Between 1970-1982

Los Angeles—Long Beach	+ 6.2%
San Francisco—Oakland	+ 4.5%
Anaheim—Santa Ana	+36.0%
San Diego	+37.1%
Riverside—San Bernardino	+36.8%
San Jose	+21.6%
Chico	+41.1%
Santa Cruz	+51.8%
Modesto	+36.7%
Santa Rosa	+46.3%
Bakersfield	+22.1%
Salinas—Seaside—Monterey	+17.4%

Source: *L.A. 2000: A City for the Future*. 1989.

(about 1985, as a guess), the demographics began to make it even more difficult to do anything about it! With a pupil-teacher ratio of 23.1 to 1 in 1982 (the national average was 18.9) giving it the largest classes in the nation, this wealthy state was only able to change it to 22.9 to 1 in 1988, still ranked last. It is almost impossible to hire more teachers and build schools to reduce the student-teacher ratio when you're also hiring teachers and building schools just to stay even with the explosive growth in students in Southern California.

As we have seen, most of the current and anticipated student growth is in Southern California. One would assume that *local* tax revenues would be increased to solve these growth problems, as that is where the growth is. However, in California, in 1987, 7.3 percent of education revenues came from federal sources, 68.5 percent from the state, and only 24.2 percent from local taxes. Given all the other burdens of state government in California, how sympathetic was Sacramento in helping Southern California deal

with its school enrollment increases? The answer for 1980-87 would have to be underwhelming, even though in 1989 state support for public education in general has become a higher state priority. Specifically, Proposition 98 has for the first time stabilized and increased the amount of state monies for public education.

However, the fact remains that to reduce California's classes down to the national average, even with no increase in students, would cost in the neighborhood of $5 billion. Four of the (hypothetical) $5 billion would be spent in Southern California. Just to stay even as the school enrollment moves from 4.4 million.in 1987 to 5.6 million in 1996 will require 42,000 more teachers and classrooms, 21,000 new schools and about $7 billion in *new* money, again the vast majority of it spent in Southern California.

Not only do the students in Southern California become more numerous, they become more ethnically diverse. (San Francisco schools are also increasing in diversity, heavily Asian, but not in total numbers as is Southern California.) This argues that the smallest class sizes should be in Southern California, as there are more immigrant children, more children who do not speak English, and more children in poverty. Although this is an educated guess, it appears that classes are actually *larger* in Southern California elementary schools than in the remainder of the state.

As Southern California absorbs most of the state's student growth, its classes will inevitably get even larger, unless the state engages in some heroic and differential funding. It is very frustrating that there are so few analyses of the social service needs of *Southern* California. Even the otherwise excellent *Conditions of Children in California* draws a blank on this crucial aspect—most of their numbers are assumed to be applicable evenly throughout the state, when the facts suggest otherwise.

Before pulling our analysis of Southern California's schools together, we need to look at the environment surrounding the schools, both by county and by metro area. First, a brief look at a few typical counties in Southern California.

ORANGE COUNTY

Here is one of the prime examples of one Southern California pattern of "maturing" counties—slow *population* growth and very rapid *job* growth. While the number of people grew from 1,932,709 in 1980 to 2,181,661 in 1987, that's slow compared to jobs, which grew faster than all but five counties in the U.S. Orange County ranks 10th in per capita income and 7th in college-educated adults. Income is high because of the very few young and very few old people—almost everyone is concentrated in the peak earning years. In 1984, the population density was an astonishing 2,654 people per square mile. To go with the density and income, housing costs in Orange County are now the second highest in the nation, right behind San Francisco. As Orange County grows in jobs, Riverside County grows in *people*. Jobs and people do not "grow" in proximity to each other in California, creating a continuing transportation crisis, as people try to get from their new home to their new job.

Generally speaking, there have been three "Oranges." Before 1950, it was an area of (real) orange groves, beaches, truck farms selling vegetables and quite rural in nature. During the 1950s and the 1960s, (thanks to that engineering miracle of its time, the Santa Ana Freeway) it became a bedroom for Los Angeles, a rough equivalent of Levittown in the East. The history of Southern California since World War II has been moving from L.A. to Orange County, to Riverside and San Bernardino, ever searching for cheaper housing, in the early years enduring the long commute to the job in L.A.

But the third Orange is definitely not suburban. The economy is very autonomous—only 10 percent of the income in the county is earned outside of it, by commuters to L.A. and elsewhere. (Incidentally, the commute time *within* Orange is now equal to what it used to be to L.A., which explains the large number of cars with phones, fax machines, computers and coffee pots in Orange, as well as throughout Southern California.) The umbilical cord is truly cut when the county establishes fine restaurants and cultural centers of its own, as Orange County has done. Now there are *no* reasons for going to L.A!

The new Orange economy is export-related, with a heavy component of manufacturing, business, financial and computer services, and "tech-rec," covering a variety of mid to high technology and an astonishing variety of recreational facilities covering berry farms, convention centers and Disneyland. There are still fortunes to be made here, especially for the three land companies who own 118,000 acres of this prime real estate. The rapidly burgeoning John Wayne airport, with its statue of a smiling John Wayne preparing to draw his six-shooter, is perhaps the best symbol of this "New West" county in which 31 percent of the households had incomes over $50,000 in 1987, compared to 19 percent for California as a whole. (Orange will carry a very small part of the increase in student enrollment through 1992.)

IMPERIAL COUNTY

If one is looking for contrast, here it is! Unlike Orange County, Imperial County, with 114,375 people estimated by C.A.C.I. in 1989, spreads them out across 4,173 square miles (that's a density of 25 people per square mile, compared to Orange's 2,715). Imperial had the lowest money income of any county in California—$7,170 in 1985, as well as the highest unemployment rate (23.9 percent in 1986). It also has the highest percentage of its income from agriculture of any county in the state, at 31 percent. (Yet Fresno is far ahead in *sales* of agricultural produce.) Imperial's population is 54 percent white, 2.6 percent black and 43.4 percent "other"—almost all Hispanic, according to C.A.C.I.'s 1989 updates, while the state's adult population is 62 percent white, 21.6 percent Hispanic and 7.5 percent black in 1988, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's estimates.

Every county in Southern California has a "major city" except for Imperial. (Brawley would be the only candidate.) About 50 percent of the adults have completed high school, about nine percent have 16 years of education, far below the California average. School enrollments were 26,114 in 1987. Its 41,227 workers in 1986 represents a *12 percent* decline. No other California county even comes close. The 9,400 unemployed are probably the same group represented in the decline in workers. (In some counties, workers who lose jobs move away to where the jobs are. That does not seem to be the major pattern in Imperial.) The county has a relatively small number of farms, but about 35 percent of them are over 500 acres, and should be very profitable—half of the farms have over $100,000 a year in sales, the highest percentage in the state. (Granted that's *sales, not profit.)*

This county is almost entirely dependent upon irrigation, and the most expensive agricultural irrigation at that, considering how far the water has to be transported. It is a county with a lot of poor and unemployed people, lots of migrant workers, and a large number of wealthy farm owners. What's missing is what has made modern California—"high tech," services and a rapidly growing middle class.

KERN COUNTY

To some extent, Kern County is as atypical on the North as Imperial is on the Southeast, except that Bakersfield is *the* city. Kern had a population of 494,000 in 1986, making it the 95th largest county in the nation. That's up from 403,000 in 1980, an increase of 91,000, or 22 percent, while the state was growing 14 percent. Kern County is 76.2 percent white, according to C.A.C.I., 5.2 percent black and 18.6 percent "other"—Hispanic, presumably.

School enrollments in the county are up from 81,000 in 1980 to 100,000 in 1987, although Kern is well behind the state averages in terms of the percentage of adults who have finished high school, and those with a college degree. Money income per capita in 1985 was $9,543, below the $11,885 figure for California. However, Kern leads the state in number of acres of land in cultivation, around 3.1 million. A large number of these are big farms, over 500 acres. However, agriculture is only about $350 million of the county's total earnings of about $3.9 billion, a little under 10 percent, while Imperial is one-third agriculture. Botn manufacturing and retail sales are important in Kern. In addition, $1.6 billion in federal grants comes to Kern, and the value of construction authorized by building permits is a very high $587 million in 1986, split equally between residential and nonresidential construction. Kern also has a thriving retail economy, generating over $2 billion in sales.

Bakersfield is responsible for some of this economic success, being the 109th largest city in the country in 1986 at 150,000 people, up 42 percent from 1980. Bakersfield is also a metropolitan area, including the city as well as the 355,000 who live outside the city limits, making it the 72nd largest metro in 1987, a small city in a rather large metro. Unlike its county, Bakersfield has 73 percent of its adults who are high school graduates, right at the state average, and 17.5 percent of who are college graduates, much better than the county as a whole.

CENTRAL CALIFORNIA—WATCH SACRAMENTO!

Before turning to Southern California metro areas, a word needs to be said about the area of California which is most likely to increase in growth rates in the future. Most of the bets are going to *central* California, from Sacramento to Fresno. This is due primarily to rapidly increasing congestion in the coastal areas, high pollution rates and very expensive cost of living rates, especially housing. *Sacramento, with job gains of two percent annually through 2000, is the most rapidly growing metro area in California, and the second fastest in the nation, right behind Las Vegas.* In fact, Sacramento's population growth rate from 1980-1986 was greater than that of any California city, including San Diego, L.A., San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Long Beach, Anaheim or Riverside. This fact seems to have been ignored by the planners for Southern California, if not for the state as a whole.

Fresno, with slower growth rates, nevertheless will anchor the southern end of this new "growth corridor" during the next 11 years. Even without passage, the presence of slow-growth initiatives last November was handwriting on the wall for Southern California, and the establishment of the San Diego County Growth Review Board is now a fact. This all means slower growth in Southern California, while cheap land and relatively well-educated workers will make the Sacramento-Fresno corridor much more appealing for the businesses that create the jobs that create the cars that create the housing construction that creates the schools...at the end of the stream is congestion, pollution and outrageously high living costs.

Now we can look at where "the action is" in terms of Southern California—the dominant metro areas of Anaheim, Los Angeles-Long Beach, Oxnard-Ventura, Riverside-San Bernardino and San Diego.

ANAHEIM: Mickey Mouse Meets Star Wars*

In Orange County south of Los Angeles, the Anaheim—Santa Ana area has been one of the nation's most rapidly growing areas for two decades. A number of cities now make up the metro—Anaheim, Santa Ana, Garden Grove, Huntington Beach and Newport Beach. Since the 1950's, when it was a bedroom of L.A., the metro area has become increasingly independent, especially in terms of its export-based economy and job structure, diversified enough to include both tourism (Disneyland et. al.) and defense-related high tech manufacturing, in almost equal doses. (Disneyland's 7,500 workers are exceeded in the metro area only by McDonnell Douglas with 8,000 workers and Rockwell International with 7,900.) The problem with tourism as an industry is that it

*Title taken from *METRO INSIGHTS*

creates a large number of poorly paid jobs, many of them minimum wage, and performed usually by women, immigrants and minorities, and especially, combinations of these three. (The jobs are maids, janitors, security, waiters and waitresses and clerks.)

Job growth rates are now declining, from 8.2 percent in 1984 to the 1988 level of 2.7 percent. High costs of living and some inland migration will reduce the job growth rate to something like one percent a year by the year 2000. Firms like Smith International, Allegan Eye Care and B.P. John Furniture are already moving to more economical locations. While housing permits are still high (22,000 in 1988) they are down from their 1986 peak, and will probably continue to decline based on interest rates and high prices. The economic problem is focussed on the lack of diversity in Anaheim's business sector, as both defense and tourism are singularly vulnerable in the event of changes in the national economy. However, the overall economic development of Anaheim is likely to remain strong, even as the rate of job growth declines.

Anaheim is both well-educated and white, in that many of L.A.'s white collar professionals moved to Anaheim in the 1970's to escape the congestion. Forty-five percent of Anaheim's workers have one or more years of college, compared to California's 40 percent. This keeps salaries and living costs high. However, in spending on infrastructure and social programs like education, Anaheim is among the lowest areas in Southern California, as most households are doing well economically, and the number of children per household is small. However, as time proceeds, the "declining middle" will mean more rich children, more poor children, and fewer in the middle for Anaheim.

Data from the State Department of Education, released in June, 1989, shows a statewide school drop out average for California of 22 percent (*tenth* graders who do not graduate on time as seniors). The rate for Orange County is 18 percent. Just for contrast, the official number from the Secretary of Education in Washington, D.C. was a 34 percent dropout rate for California in 1987, ranking it 42nd in graduation rate in the nation. (The federal government uses ninth grade as the base, but the state *ranks* remain the same.)

It seems clear that schools in the Anaheim area have not had to deal with the explosive growth in ethnic diversity that has characterised Los Angeles and San Diego. Increases in minority school participation have been gradual, and have been largely Hispanic and Asian students. The reason for this is that white populations have not yet left the schools in large numbers, as they have in many other locations.

Riverside—San Bernardino Metro Area

This metro area is to the eastern component of Los Angeles what Anaheim-Orange is to the south. Since 1982, population growth has averaged 5 percent a year, the fastest growing metro area in the nation. Riverside is still dependent on L.A., although the dependency is weakening in recent years. Unlike Anaheim with its tourism and defense manufacturing, Riverside has yet to develop its own niche in the Southern California economy. The geographical area of this metro is vast, but much of it is uninhabitable desert—at least so far. (Thirteen percent of California's land area is San Bernardino.) Growth rates could only be called explosive—50,000 housing permits in each of the last three years. It doesn't take long to reach 2 million people, the current level.

Because of the variety of the geography, many retirement and second homes are located here, especially around Palm Springs and the Joshua Tree recreation area. Business development has been particularly rapid around the Ontario airport, due to the relatively low land prices, as well as in Rancho Cucamonga, to a lesser degree. There may be a sense of "get it while you can" in this metro area, as the initiative on the November, 1988 ballot to restrict growth failed by about 40-60 percent, but left a clear handwriting on the wall.

The City of San Bernardino was 107,000 people in 1970, and contains 139,000 in 1986. Riverside went from 140,000 to 197,000 during the same period. Yet the *county* populations in 1987 were 930,000 for Riverside and 1,235,069 for San Bernardino, indicating the metro area's dominance. Unlike the state as a whole, this metro has a large population of young and old, with fewer people in their thirties—more than 21 percent of households are headed by someone over 64, while almost 25 percent of Riverside's total population is under age 16. Hispanic and Asian populations are growing rapidly, especially young persons.

While the school systems in this metro area will have to wrestle with growth and diversity in the future, it will not be the kind of instant "minority majority" growth which characterizes the changes in San Diego and Los Angeles schools. As one indicator, school dropout rates in Riverside County are about at the state average, in San Bernardino it's higher—28 percent drop out compared to the state average of 22.7 percent. That's high, but L.A. Unified loses *39 percent, Azuza and El Rancho lose 50 percent, which translates to a 65 percent* dropout rate when calculated by the U.S. Department of Education methods.

One of the major exports from this metro area is labor! The work force is not as well-educated as the state average, and moved to Riverside-San Bernardino because of low housing and living costs. They either commute very long distances or work in the lower paying, lower skilled jobs in the metro area. Although job growth is very rapid, it is heavily involved in exporting labor for jobs in *other* parts of Southern California, leaving aside the question of the nature of the *Riverside* economy and job structure. A good step is the development of the Southern California Rapid Transit System, running between the cities of San Bernardino and Riverside. Although this step is only a small one, it stands as a beacon for the rest of Southern California, terribly behind on rapid transport development. The temptations for continued growth will be severe for this metro, as they have the only unused land to the east of Los Angeles. But when one thinks of the problems

of water, transport, sewage, clean air and fragile desert ecologies, one wonders where development should stop in Southern California.

Oxnard-Ventura—Santa Barbara Metro Area

We will consider these two areas together, as they have some similarities in location and function. However, Santa Barbara is one county without a top 100 metro area. Although the Ventura Freeway links Santa Barbara with Los Angeles via Ventura, there is a sense in which Santa Barbara has no direct connection, economically and demographically, with Los Angeles. Southeastern expansion would be difficult, given the location of national forests in the two areas.

With 339,400 people in the county in 1986, Santa Barbara ranks 140th in population among U.S. counties, increasing about 40,000 from 1980-86. Its public schools enrolled 50,904 children in 1986-87, and 48,089 in 1980, putting it out of the heavy growth contingent of Southern California schools. Although the stereotypes suggest it is an area of wealthy retired people, the facts are that the percent of its population over age 65 is 12 percent, not that far off the state average of 10.3 percent. Orange, San Francisco, Marin, Contra Costa and San Mateo all have high per capita incomes. Santa Barbara is in many senses a "university town," with a minimal manufacturing economy and a healthy but not exorbitant retail trade. There are slightly more wealthy and a number of poor people here, slightly less of the young middle class that characterizes Southern California.

The Oxnard-Ventura metro area is northwest of Los Angeles County, bounded by the Pacific on the west, national forests on the north and east, and Los Angeles on the south. It can only expand in a southeasterly direction, moving toward L.A., and it has been doing exactly that, leaving its past as it does so. Agriculture, food processing and even oil-related ventures have declined, while defense related high tech manufacturing and business services are on the rise. As a result, although it is a small metro in total population, it ranked tenth in the nation in manufacturing growth between 1977 and 1987, and 14th in non-manufacturing growth for the same period. (However, it ranked 71st of the 100 metros in population at 638,000.)

Like some other California metros, it is growing in jobs even faster than in people. The oil crisis and problems in the computer industry since 1985 have lowered the population growth rate in the last three years. Rising housing costs in Ventura actually have made Riverside-San Bernardino comparatively more appealing for commuters. Nevertheless, the youthful and well-educated population in Ventura County has the 11th largest school enrollment in the state, at 109,831 students in 1987-88. (Santa Barbara is 21st with 48,163.) The 1987-88 enrollment is shown in Table 6.

Table 6
School Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, 1987–88

	Percent of Total Enrollment*	
	Ventura	Santa Barbara
Indian	0.7%	0.7%
Asian	3.1	2.7
Pacific Islander	0.2	2.7
Filipino	2.0	0.3
Hispanic	29.8	32.8
Black	2.8	3.8
White	61.4	58.0
Total	100.0	100.0

*Percentages may not add exactly because of rounding.
Source: *The Demographic and Education Conditions of Public Schools in Los Angeles County*. 1988–89.

San Diego Metro Area

Although 125 miles south of Los Angeles, San Diego's economy is nevertheless tied to that of Los Angeles in many ways, even though the distance gives San Diego more autonomy than other Southern California metro areas. The two characteristics that frame this metro are its exceptional deep water harbor (producing shipping and a vast naval presence) as well as proximity to Mexico (producing the very successful maquila manufacturing plants and tourism.)

From 1983-88, San Diego's employment growth was second only to Riverside of the Southern California metros. The population of the metro area exceeds 2.3 million. One of the most interesting developments in San Diego is the emergence of a biotech center in the northern part of the county, near the La Jolla campus of the University of California. (Named "bug valley" by some, this area has the potential for becoming the equivalent of Silicon Valley in San Jose.) Most of the Southern California metros tend to feed on Los Angeles for higher education, but San Diego has developed a number of university campuses, because of the commuting distance to L.A.

There is a general feeling in San Diego (as in Riverside) that growth needs some slowing, as seen in the creation of a county-wide growth review board. In 1986, 44,000 housing permits were issued, about 29,000 in 1988, and an estimated 22,000 by the year 2000. One of the problems is the tendency of everyone to live and work right next to the ocean, making densities within the county very irregular, and extending commute times to almost Los Angelean limits, as everyone is going through the same small space.

In addition, living costs in San Diego are extremely high for both housing and energy. Future growth will have to move east, as there is no room left on the coast. There are *real* water problems in this expansion, as the Colorado River water has already been diverted to Arizona's rapid growth areas, leaving much less for San Diego and other

Southern California locations. (One can only speculate as to why California allowed this to happen.) The San Diego positives include a young, well-educated population, a sense of entrepreneurship, low unemployment, one of the ten deep water ports in the world, the maquila program and a diversified economy.

San Diego Unified Schools have declined in enrollment from 118,000 in 1967 to 108,000 in 1987, but are now in the process of expansion, and expect to add 45,000 students to their total by the year 2000. At the same time, white students have declined from 76 to 44 percent of the total, a loss of 32 percent. Black, Hispanic and Asian students are each about 18 percent, totalling 54 percent if you think about it that way! (Superintendent Payzant thinks there are better ways of framing the discussion.)

San Diego, along with Jefferson County in Kentucky, has been working proof that voluntary desegregation plans can work. The hidden issue in desegregation is class, not race, and in both plans, middle-class schools are a major part of the mix. In addition, San Diego has proceeded on a rather low-key but effective program of restructuring individual schools, including a collective bargaining agreement of the district and the San Diego Teachers Association to work together to restructure the schools.

Los Angeles Metro Area

We are clearly saving the most complex for the last. The Los Angeles—Long Beach metro area involves more than 70 incorporated cities like Pasadena and Beverly Hills. More than 8.5 million people live here, and while growth will continue, the growth *rate* will taper off, as more people move to somewhat less congested neighboring counties. At 4.2 million workers, L.A. has the largest work force in the nation, and that only includes residents of the metro area, leaving out those hardy souls who commute into L.A. from neighboring counties, taking their wealth with them as they flee to the suburbs. (In 1987, about $13 billion in wages and salaries were generated in L.A. by nonresidents. This trend will continue, as relatively affluent workers will leave the city limits. For the same reason, a smaller number of households in L.A. have children than in the average metro area.)

The economy is as diverse as the work force, insuring a fair degree of immunity from major recession shocks. Defense contracts, especially in manufacturing, have boosted the high wage part of the manufacturing economy, through firms like Northrop, McDonnell Douglas, TRW and Garrett Research, hiring 96,000 workers, mostly at high wage rates. There is also a low wage component of manufacturing, especially the "underground" that provides workers for the apparel industry and other low-tech manufacture. However, the major growth in workers has come in business services, trade, health and education services and financial services. To feed this need for training and skills, over 75 institutions of higher education are located in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metro area. The education level of the L.A. resident workers is below the state average, but this is primarily because of well-educated commuters who do not live in the metro area.

The L.A. tax base spends heavily for health care and public welfare, but surprisingly enough, the L.A. metro ranks fourth from the bottom of the 100 largest metros in per capita expenditures on highways. (This may be due to the large amount of highway building by California in the fifties and sixties, with little more than maintenance at present, while other metros today are constructing many major new highways. One cannot help but feel that this deterioration of what was the best highway system in the world has more than a little to do with the passage of Proposition 13. The L.A. metro is well poised for the next Century in terms of shipping anything anywhere by boat or air.

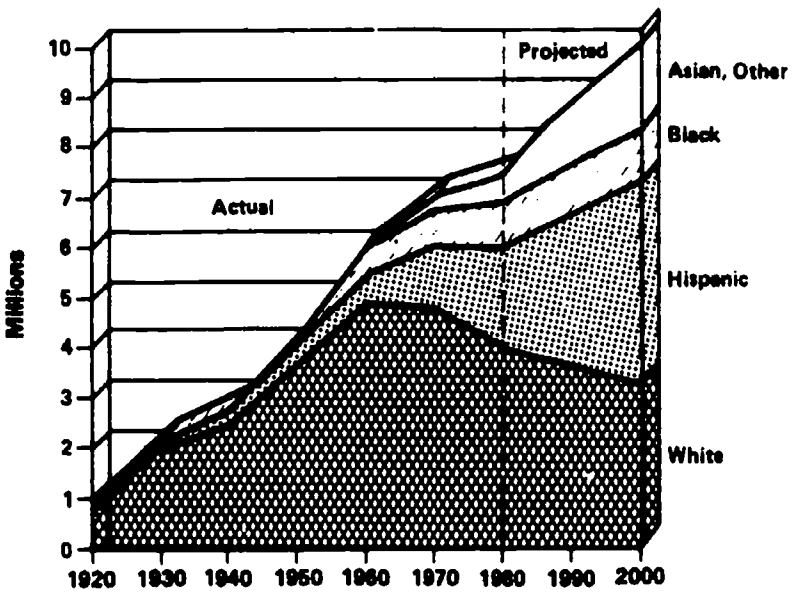
However, for the eight million plus who must get around the metro area, the dependency on the private car is overwhelming. Much of the metro is actually rather low density, when compared with the BosWash corridor. BosWash is an area replete with rail and subway systems, cabs you can hail on the street, commuter airlines and comparatively efficient bus systems, possible only when the densities are high enough to support, use and help to pay for the variety.

As in many sections of New York, one can tell who has lived there like rings on a tree—the Brooklyn shop owned by an German, then a Pole, then a Czech, then an Italian, then a black, then a Hispanic, and now a Cambodian, tells the American story of successful absorption of immigrant groups. A journey of 30 miles down Atlantic Boulevard in L.A., from Alhambra to Long Beach will take you down the entire immigration history of Southern California, from the Asian communities in formerly European-Anglo Alhambra, to Monterey Park, now 35 percent Hispanic and 40 percent Asian, on through East Los Angeles, no longer the center of blue-collar European immigrants and workers from the American South (but in the past had a major Ku Klux Klan chapter), now very Mexican and Asian, to formerly black Lynwood, now in transition to Mexican populations, to end in the black neighborhoods of North Long Beach and the Anglo resident and shopping areas of Long Beach. This journey of 30 miles takes you through 60 years of diversity.

Los Angeles *County* will grow to about 10 million people by the year 2000 (now only a decade away) but by that time the diversity which now moves through the schools will also characterize all county residents, with 40.7 percent Hispanic, 32.4 percent white, 16.8 percent Asian, and 10.1 percent black. (Asians have already passed the black population.) Chart B on page 12 indicates this shift.

In the Pundit Press are two views of L.A.—one, the vibrant City of Tomorrow, the Big Orange, taking the financial leadership away from New York as the nation begins to point toward Asia and less toward Europe. The

Chart B
Population Trends and Projections by Race and Ethnicity, Los Angeles County



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census; projections by Los Angeles County Department of Health Services.

second view is of a prematurely gray city, overextended for the last three decades, decaying in its infrastructure, whose citizens want services but refuse to pay taxes, who like the present but think the future will not be good, whose businesses and citizens are moving rapidly to the suburbs or out of the state, whose schools are failing to prepare an increasingly diverse student body, etc. The odd thing is that the best view of L.A. is to combine *both* of these perspectives, if we want to think about schools or almost anything else.

The Los Angeles metro schools are more complex than any *state*, in terms of contrary trends and student diversity. In addition to L.A. Unified, there are at least 44 other school districts in Los Angeles! Dropout rates released in June, 1989 show an incredible range, from 2.7 percent in Palos Verdes to *50.2* percent in El Rancho. (This is the percentage of tenth graders who do not graduate on time.) L.A. Unified had a dropout rate of 39 percent. Assuming the rate is evenly distributed, we can add 13 percent to that number to arrive at the "standard" national number, based on ninth graders who do not graduate, for a total of *52* percent of ninth graders who do not graduate on time from L.A. Unified. This rate is considerably higher than that of some other big urban school systems like New York, Chicago, Dade County (FL) and Detroit. (However, given the transience of big city school populations, the numbers are never exact and need to be interpreted with caution.)

In 1987-88, Los Angeles County enrolled 1,316,054 students, whose racial and ethnic characteristics are shown in Table 7.

Table 7
Racial and Ethnic Composition of L.A. County's School Enrollment, 1987–1988

	Percent of Total Enrollment
American Indian/Alaskan	0.3%
Asian	8.1%
Pacific Island	0.5%
Filipino	1.8%
Hispanic	46.7%
Black	13.8%
White	28.9%
Total	100.0%

Source: *The Demographic and Education Conditions of Public Schools in Los Angeles County*, 1988–89.

If we look at the *number* of students in L.A. County in 1988 who had difficulty speaking English, that turns out to be 293,850, out of 1,316,054 total students. However, the real issue is the number of languages children *do* speak who come to L.A. County schools (see Table 8 below).

Table 8
Languages Spoken by Students in L.A. County Schools, 1988

Spanish	241,249
Vietnamese	6,462
Cantonese	5,888
Korean	7,133
Philipino	3,715
Portuguese	442
Mandarin	3,806
Japanese	2,176
Cambodian	6,200
Lao	805
Other	15,974
Total	293,850

Source: See source in Table 7.

To demonstrate the problem, let's look at the 71,606 certificated employees of the L.A. County school systems in 1988 (see Table 9 below).

Table 9
Racial Composition of Employees in L.A. County School System

American Indian	375
Asian	3,045
Pacific Island	65
Filipino	425
Hispanic	5,227
Black	7,094
White	55,375
Total	71,606

Source: See source in Table 7.

Our 241,000 Hispanic students with problems in speaking English will be assisted by 5,000 Hispanic teachers! If each Hispanic teacher ran a tutorial to help Hispanic students, each one would have 48 students, not exactly individual instruction. (In Texas, a similar situation was dealt with through a crash program of hiring people with Hispanic names, only to discover than 1/3rd of them were unable to speak Spanish.) Fortunately, the literature on language shift shows that through time and generations, the language problem tends to solve itself. (Spanish-only radio in L.A. has a listenership that averages almost 60 years old. The immigrant's children may have trouble with English, but *their* children seldom do. On the other hand, the rich cultural heritage that goes with that language is also usually lost on the third generation.)

By the year 2000, 34 percent of L.A. County Latinos will be under age 18, while only 18.1 percent of whites will be. However, *18.6 percent of whites will be over age 65* in that year, creating a dependency ratio of more than one older white person to each dependent white child. (In 1900 it was eight children to one person over age 65.) With 33.7 percent of blacks under age 18 in the year 2000, 34 percent of Latinos, 24 percent of Asians and 18.1 percent of whites, the white population becomes much older than the rest of the county. (One wonders how these young "minority" workers will feel about providing the benefits of a rapidly increasing white retired group.)

We can also look at access of various groups to the more than 72 institutions of higher education located in the county. Every year about 62,600 students graduate from L.A. County public schools. Table 10 below show the numbers who went to college in 1986.

Table 10
Number of H.S. Graduates from L.A. County Schools Going to College, 1986

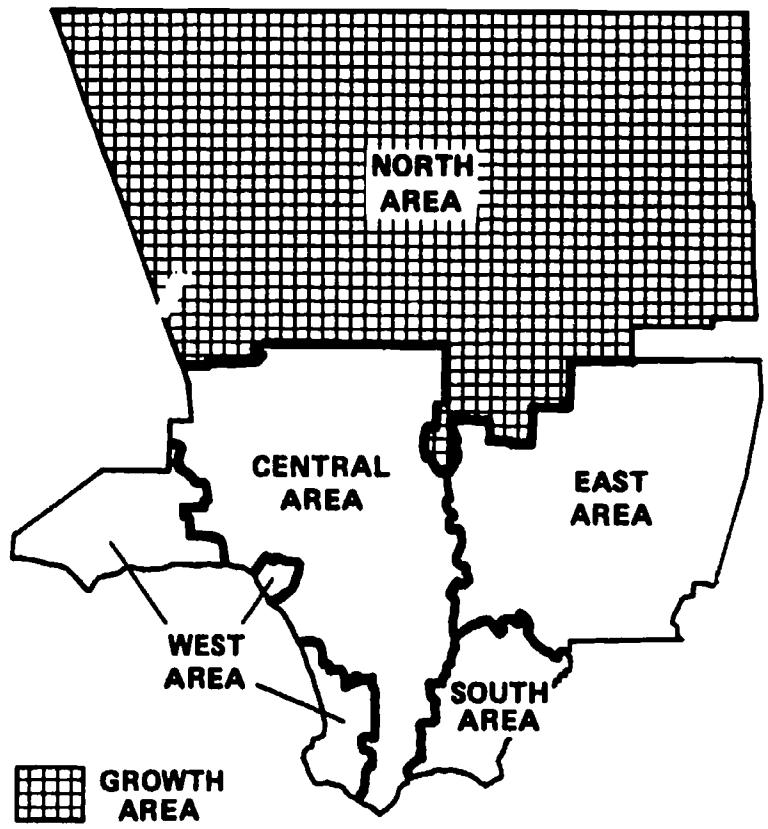
7,098 Latino freshmen	**(39 percent of Latino high school grads)**
15,000 white freshmen	**(54 percent of white high school grads)**
4,478 black freshmen	**(51 percent of black high school grads)**
4,326 Asian freshmen	**(67 percent of Asian high school grads)**

Source: *The Los Angeles County Latino Community Profile*, (draft), 1989.

While the rate for Hispanic college-goers is much too low, the data do suggest that access to higher education is an advantage of Los Angeles compared to other big cities. Unfortunately, the majority of L.A. high school grads enroll in L.A. community colleges—78 percent of Hispanics, 66 percent of whites, 75 percent of blacks and 39 percent of Asians. (In our previous California study, we pointed out the tendency of Asians to "level up" by going to the University of California or California State University campuses. Many Latinos, admissable to these campuses, nevertheless choose to attend community colleges, located near their families. This is a particularly important and sensitive issue for Southern California educators. Access to higher education is an essential part of mobility for *all* groups, including the white minority group now moving through the L.A. County schools!

From 1967 to 1986, L.A. County school systems have lost 65,000 students. However, if we make our unit of analysis 1981-87, we see a mixture of rapid gains and continued losses, depending on where the district is located. As one looks at the map below, one can look at growth by *sector*- eight of nine districts in the west showed declines, 13 of 35 in the east did (most of the rest were neutral or slow growth), and four of nine declined in the south. However, *fifteen of sixteen districts in the north showed gains (see map below).*

School Districts In Five Sub-areas of Los Angeles County



Source: *The Demographic and Education Conditions of Public Schools in Los Angeles County*, 1988–89.

In 1987-88, Palos Verdes Unified had 9,807 students of whom 48 were American Indian, 2,276 were Asian, 6 were Pacific Islanders, 87 Filipino, 232 Hispanic, 170 black and 6,988 white. El Rancho had 10,505 students of whom 9,485 were Hispanic, 56 Asian, 49 black and 782 white! Beverly Hills, on the other hand, had 4,056 whites out of 4,852 total students. It is this diversity within the vast L.A. County schools that is most important, and the thing that makes county policy formulation so difficult. These totals for L.A. County enrollments in 1987-88 do not show the

great variation across districts, but are interesting on their own (see Table 11 below).

Table 11
L.A. County School Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, 1987–88

American Indian	0.3%
Asian	8.1%
Pacific Islander	0.5%
Filipino	1.8%
Hispanic	46.7%
Black	13.8%
White	28.9%

Source: *The Demographic and Education Conditions of Public Schools in Los Angeles County*, 1988–89.

The future increases will be almost entirely Asian and Hispanic in the county as we have mentioned. Asians have already surpassed blacks in the total California population. The 1990 Census will produce some real free-for-alls in L.A. County on the redistricting issues! Both Anglo and black political office holders will have to prepare for an increase of Hispanic challenges in the future, while Asians, seldom a *political* majority, will become the most important swing vote in many elections.

Before we conclude this analysis, it might be helpful to get a larger picture of the changes that have taken place in some of the largest school districts in California since 1967 (see Table 12 below). Remember that some have increased enrollment during the 1980-87 period.

In terms of districts with the largest *numerical* increases in total students, not one California district was in the top 15 in Gary Orfield's data on the study of large shool districts, while 7 Florida districts were. Of the top 15 in Asian

Table 12

	Total Enrollment		
	1967	1986	Net Change
L.A. Unified	652,608	587,362	−10%
San Diego Unified	118,934	108,254	− 9%
Long Beach	73,029	65,010	−11%
Fresno	63,669	59,112	− 7%
Oakland	68,571	51,217	−25%
San Francisco	99,373	66,978	−33%

Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity

	White			Black		
	1967	1986	Net Change	1967	1986	Net Change
L.A. Unified	55%	18%	−37%	22%	18%	− 4%
San Diego Unified	76%	44%	−32%	11%	18%	+ 7%
San Francisco	42%	15%	−27%	26%	21%	− 5%
Long Beach	86%	38%	−48%	7%	18%	+11%
Fresno	70%	42%	−28%	9%	11%	+ 2%
Oakland	33%	10%	−23%	52%	62%	+10%

	Hispanic			Asian		
	1967	1986	Net Change	1967	1986	Net Change
L.A. Unified	20%	56%	+36%	4%	8%	+ 4%
San Diego Unified	10%	19%	+ 9%	2%	17%	+15%
San Francisco				18%	45%	+27%
Long Beach				2%	18%	+16%
Fresno				2%	14%	+12%
Oakland				5%	16%	+11%

Source: *Racial Change and Desegregation in Large School Districts*, Gary Orfield, 1988.

percent student gains, the top 5 were all California. Of the top 15 in Hispanic percent gains both L.A. and San Diego were represented, but Florida had three and Texas had two. (Dade County (FL) schools were 42% Hispanic in 1986.) Even though important increases are in store for some Southern California schools, the *major* increases occured during the late fifties and sixties. However, that was largely a white increase, compared to today and tomorrow's nonwhite increases.

Putting It Together

In thinking about the area we call Southern California, we have touched on its major characteristics—a diverse economy mixing high tech defense manufacturing and the lower paying jobs of tourism, a large number of suburbs that have become autonomous "edge cities" with their own jobs and cultural centers, less dependent on Los Angeles than in the past, a very diverse population and work force, in which whites are becoming a minority group, as they already are in Southern California schools and in the world. (Whites are 18 percent of the world's population in 1988. Whites, including the author, have *great* difficulty in thinking of themselves as a minority group.)

Charles Dickens' line about the best and worst of times could have been made for Southern California. Problems of infrastructure simply must be addressed immediately, before bridges fall down and highways collapse, while people basically live in their cars. Pollution levels in all areas of the environment have reached emergency levels—many authorities have stated that a child born in the L.A. area will develop lung surface area 10-15 percent less than the same child born anywhere else. Crime rates, drug usage, gang warfare have all reached epidemic proportions.

On the other hand, the Big Orange is growing, and will continue to grow in the number of people, new businesses and jobs, and perhaps most important—venture capital. While the schools are not dealing effectively with increased diversity in the largest classes in the nation, there are encouraging signs that businesses and other organizations are getting serious about making schools in Southern California better.

The new "developed" world hegemony involves a newly organized Europe, a newly organized set of Asian competitors/collaborators, and the nations of our hemisphere. (The developing nations also represent some major long-term relationships, but are not developing economic viability very rapidly.) It is clear that L.A. can become one major broker for these three giant markets. (But New York is not going to go away—indeed, a very large percentage of all financial services to Asian businesses doing business in the U.S. are provided by New York City.)

The big problem for Southern California comes in doing both things simultaneously. In this case, the region has no choice—it *must* invest in repairing the damage done so far, and it must do so immediately, even with Proposition 13 still on the books. This attack on pollution, transportation and education can be assisted from Sacramento, but the action is in the Southern California region, and that should be the region to respond. Life is so interwoven in Southern California that Los Angeles City or County planning is not going to do—San Bernardino, Riverside, Orange, San Diego must all be involved in a regional planning strategy to rebuild the infrastructure, reduce pollution and improve educational systems *by 1994*. That seems to be about all the time there is before things truly crash.

To some extent, the task of becoming the Big Orange will take care of itself. Growth of people and jobs will continue, although their location in the region will shift. Asian and south central American trade and new ventures will continue, as will immigration and the maquila plants. Even if growth *rates* decline, growth will continue. There is enough work to do with burgeoning businesses in Asian, developing countries and the "United States of Europe" to keep *both* New York and L.A. going full tilt for decades to come.

Just as triage means that the doctor in a disaster must neglect those people too sick to pull through, so Southern California must neglect the task of becoming the Big Orange, as it will happen virtually automatically. (The Big Orange makes no sense as only the City of Los Angeles anyway—it is a *regional* idea, and must encompass San Diego, Ventura, San Bernardino, Orange and all the rest.) All attention, energy, finances and other resources must be bent to the task of restoring the region's basic functions in education, environment and infrastructure. If this is *not* accomplished, the question of becoming the Big Orange becomes as irrelevant as a question can possibly be. It must work in Southern California, as that is where we run out of continent.

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although Southern California has been difficult to isolate, it is clearly there, and the diagnosis of its problems and opportunities seems quite consistent. What follows is a small number of recommendations that should be helpful in helping the region attain its twin goals of quality of life and greatness (the Big Orange).

1. California was fourth in 1988, in teacher salaries and 25th in per pupil expenditures in that same year. Big increases in population in the Fifties and Sixties allowed California to be fooled into thinking that an increasing number of taxpayers could mean a *decrease in individual tax burden*. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, decreases in student enrollments in California allowed people to ignore the realities of funding per student. In 1989, it is clear that *Southern* California is entering a period of important new enrollment increases. It will need to be funded on a *pay a. you go* basis, probably not entirely from Sacramento, but from a regional commitment in Southern California.

2. While school enrollments increase, *prison* populations in California will increase even more rapidly, and more expensively per unit. (A prisoner costs the taxpayer about $20,000 a year on average, a college student about $3,400.) Eighty percent of prisoners are high school dropouts. California generates a higher percentage of high school dropouts than all but eight states. *The best long-term solution to California's rising prison costs is to increase the percentage of California children who graduate from high school.* The relationship between dropouts and prisoners is higher than the relationship between smoking and lung cancer.

3. A higher percentage of single-parent children, children in poverty, ethnic minorities, criminals, new businesses, dollars from the defense establishment, institutions of higher education, and virtually everything else exist in Southern California. Things are less dependent on Los Angeles than previously, and "edge cities" like San Bernardino, Anaheim, Irvine, etc., will continue to develop their own economies, arts centers and cultures.

   The Big Orange is actually an *orchard* of people, counties and metro areas, and needs to be orchestrated as such. The *region* needs a sense of identity to deal with the major problems of educational deficits, decaying infrastructure and intolerable pollution. Those three tasks come before all others. They must be completed by 1995, to avoid irrevocable damage to the region and state. If accomplished, the Big Orange idea will take care of itself, as population and job growth as well as venture capital and "venturing" as a way of life are inherent in the Southern California landscape.

4. In 2000, 18 percent of the white population of L.A. County will be over age 65. Similar rates will prevail among whites in California generally, while the active labor force becomes increasingly nonwhite, immigrant and young. Will these young workers be able to generate the kind of wages that will allow tax support for the older white population? The clear answer is no, if only 66 percent of California youth graduate from high school.

5. While access to college in Southern California is good, it seems to mean access to a *community college* rather than to the full set of California institutions. This issue needs to be investigated to ensure that equity is being maintained, along with high standards.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. While there will be growth in Southern California, the most rapid increase in growth rates in the state will be in the Sacramento-Fresno corridor.

2. Any look at Southern California will reveal a declining sense of allegiance to Los Angeles, with more bedroom suburbs becoming fully autonomous "edge cities" with their own jobs, houses, roads and art centers. However, for those who live *and work* in Anaheim, traffic delays can now be as long as in L.A. The car, with coffee pot, portable fax, telephone, laptop computer installed in a car seat is a symbol of Southern California's total neglect of mass transit and total commitment to the auto, regardless of the consequences. Air pollution could be licked tomorrow if Californians voluntarily limited themselves to one car per household, but this is not in the cards.

3. The Southern California economy is wonderfully diversified, enabling it to roll through recessions that would ruin other areas. Defense manufacturing and research and development contribute more than $30 billion annually to the Southern California economy, while tourism expands and business and financial services develop around the large export and retail markets. However, there seem to be more high and low paying jobs, with fewer in the middle range. This would be unfortunate, as the genius of the area is the ability of people to move into the middle class in one or at most, two generations.

4. After a decade of decline in enrollments, *Southern* California can expect major increases in public school enrollments to the year 2000. There will be *no* increase in white students and very little among black students, but large increases in Asian and Hispanic youth. Los Angeles and San Diego counties will see most of this diversity

5. The slow growth initiatives in 1988, even those that failed, signalled the handwriting on the wall for the region. People and job growth will continue, but at a slower rate. This is fortunate, as California's favorite strategy is to get the *next* group moving in to pay for *your* benefits, but now the group moving in will decline. That means that Southern California will have to clean up its environment, repair its infrastructure and improve its schools on a *pay as you go* basis. This is a radical idea, as Californians, being younger than the rest of us, have always imagined that they could get good roads, libraries and schools without paying taxes. They still believe this.

6. The notion that New York and Los Angeles are engaged in a battle to the death to see who will become the new "edge city," brokering with a newly developed European Common Market, with the Asian leadership and with our own hemispheric neighbors, seems silly. There is more than enough for both New York and Los Angeles to do in dealing with new opportunities in world markets, and neither one is about to go away. *Both* have bridges about to fall down, schools that fail to develop talent, highways that are full of potholes and garbage, minority youth who will need to get good training in order to generate the tax dollars that will pay for the retirement of the aging white populations, air and water that are not fit to breathe or drink, etc. Neither region can expect their state to bail them out—more regional and city initiatives will be necessary. Action on these issues will *have* to be completed by 1995 to avoid irrevocable harm to the people and environment of Southern California.