R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 015 953 UD 002 123

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY--SUMMARY.
OFFICE OF EDUCATION (DHEW), WASHINGTON, D.C.
REPORT NUMBER OE-38000 PUB DATE 2 JUL 66
EDRS PRICE MF $0.25 HC-$1.64 39P.

DESCRIPTORS- *EQUAL EDUCATION, *ETHNIC GROUPS, *NEGROES, *PUBLIC SCHOOLS, *SCHOOL SEGREGATION, ACHIEVEMENT, ACHIEVEMENT TESTS, CAUCASIAN STUDENTS, *EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, EDUCATIONAL POLICY, HIGHER EDUCATION, MOTIVATION, NEGRO TEACHERS, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, SCHOOL INTEGRATION, STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, STUDENT ENROLLMENT, TABLES (DATA), TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS,

THIS SUMMARY BRIEFLY DISCUSSES THE FINDINGS REPORTED IN "EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY" (ED 012 275), A NATIONAL SURVEY OF THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN ORDERED IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964. GENERALLY FOLLOWING THE FORMAT OF THE ORIGINAL REPORT, THE SUMMARY DETAILS THE DEGREE OF SEGREGATION OF MINORITY GROUP PUPILS AND TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOLS AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENT, AS MEASURED BY ACHIEVEMENT TESTS, AND THE KINDS OF SCHOOLS THEY ATTEND. THE SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS WHICH ARE ASSESSED INCLUDE CURRICULUMS, SCHOOL FACILITIES SUCH AS TEXTBOOKS, LABORATORIES, AND LIBRARIES, SUCH ACADEMIC PRACTICES AS TESTING FOR APTITUDE AND ACHIEVEMENT, AND THE PERSONAL, SOCIAL, AND ACADEMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS. ALSO DISCUSSED ARE THE ACADEMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND RACIAL PREFERENCES OF FUTURE TEACHERS, NEGRO HIGHER EDUCATION, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND DROPOUTS AMONG WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS, AND THE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION ON ACHIEVEMENT. SEVERAL CASE STUDIES OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION ARE PRESENTED. TABULATED DATA ARE REPORTED THROUGHOUT THE SUMMARY. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE AS CATALOG NO-FS-5.238--38000 FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS, U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., 20402, FOR $0.30. (LG)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

OE—38000

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Summary

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
John W. Gardner, *Secretary*
OFFICE OF EDUCATION, Harold Howe II, *Commissioner*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE
THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

The attached report is submitted in response to Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

SEC. 402. The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia.

The survey requested in this legislation has been conducted. Its major findings will be found in brief form in the summary section of this report. For those desiring more detailed information, a comprehensive presentation is provided in the eight sections of the full report. The full report also describes in detail the survey design and procedures and the types of tests used; it contains copies of the questionnaires administered to superintendents, principals, teachers, and students as part of the study.

In carrying out the survey, attention was paid to six racial and ethnic groups: Negroes, American Indians, Oriental Americans, Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States, Mexican Americans, and whites other than Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans often called "majority" or simply "white." These terms of identification are not used in the anthropological sense, but reflect social categories by which people in the United States identify themselves and are identified by others.

Stated in broadest terms, the survey addressed itself to four major questions.

The first is the extent to which the racial and ethnic groups are segregated from one another in the public schools.

The second question is whether the schools offer equal educational opportunities in terms of a number of other criteria which are regarded as good indicators of educational quality. The attempt to answer this elusive question involves describing many characteristics of the schools.

Some of these are tangible, such as numbers of laboratories, textbooks, libraries, and the like. Some have to do with the curriculums offered—academic, commercial, vocational—and with academic practices such as the administering of aptitude and achievement tests and "tracking" by presumed ability. Other of these aspects are less tangible. They include the characteristics of the teachers found in the schools—such things as their education, amount of teaching experience, salary level, verbal ability, and indications of attitudes. The characteristics of the student bodies are also assessed, so far as is possible within the framework of the study, so that some rough descriptions can be made of the socioeconomic backgrounds of the students, the education of their parents, and the attitudes the pupils have toward themselves and their ability to affect their own destinies, as well as their academic aspirations.

Only partial information about equality or inequality of opportunity for education can be obtained by looking at the above characteristics, which might be termed the schools' input. It is necessary to look also at their output—the results they produce. The third major question, then, is addressed to how much the students learn as measured by their performance on standardized achievement tests.

Fourth is the attempt to discern possible relationships between students' achievement, on the one hand, and the kinds of schools they attend on the other.

My staff members and the consultants who have assisted them on this project do not regard the survey findings as the last word on the lack of equal educational opportunities in the United States. But they do believe that sufficient care has gone into this survey and into the interpretation of its results to make the findings useful to those who are concerned with public education in the United States.

The report does not include any recommendations of what policies or programs should be mounted by Federal, State, or local government agencies in order to improve educational opportunity in the light of the findings. In the months ahead, the U.S. Office of Education will use its own staff and seek the help of advisors to determine how it can use the results of the survey to enhance the educational opportunities of all citizens of the United States. We encourage other public and private groups to do likewise, and we will gladly cooperate with others who are seeking constructive courses of action based on the survey reported here.

HAROLD HOWE II,
U.S. Commissioner of Education.

JULY 2, 1966.

Contents

The Survey

In view of the fundamental significance of educational opportunity to many important social issues today, Congress requested the survey of educational opportunity reported in this document. The survey is, of course, only one small part of extensive and varied activities which numerous institutions and persons are pursuing in an effort to understand the critical factors relating to the education of minority children and hence to build a sound basis for recommendations for improving their education. Probably the main contribution of the survey to this large and long range effort will be in the fact that for the first time there is made available a comprehensive collection of data gathered on consistent specifications throughout the whole Nation.

Some brief analyses of the data have been made by the Office of Education in the few months available since the data were collected in the latter part of 1965. The results of this effort to determine some of the more immediate implications of the data are included in this report. A small staff in the Office of Education will carry out a continuing program of analysis. More importantly, the data will be made available to research workers everywhere so that they can perform their own analyses and can apply the data to their own special areas of investigation.

The survey was carried out by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the U.S. Office of Education. In addition to its own staff, the Center used the services of outside consultants and contractors. James Coleman of Johns Hopkins University had major responsibility for the design, administration, and analysis of the survey. Ernest Campbell of Vanderbilt University shared this responsibility, and particularly had major responsibility for the college surveys. Staff members of the Center assigned full time to the survey were Mrs. Carol Hobson, James McPartland, Frederic Weinfeld, and Robert York. Staff members assigned part time to the survey included Gordon Adams, Richard Barr, L. Bischoff, O. Jean Brandes, Keith Brunell, Marjorie Chandler, George J. Collins, Abraham Frankel, Jacqueline Gleason, Forrest Harrison, Eugene Higgins, Harry Lester, Francis Nassetta, Hazel Poole, Bronson Price, James K. Rocks, Frank L. Schick, Samuel Schloss, Ivan Seibert, Ellease Thompson, Edward Zabrowski, and Judith Zinter.

The Educational Testing Service of Princeton, N.J., was the contractor for the major public school survey under the direction of Robert J. Solomon and Joseph L. Boyd. It provided existing published tests for use in the survey and carried out the administration of these tests and of special questionnaires developed by the Center staff. Albert E. Beaton of Educational Testing Service conducted the computer analysis in accordance with specifications supplied by the staff of the Center.

Florida State University was the contractor for the nonenrollment study carried out by Charles Nam, Lewis Rhodes, and Robert Herriott. The Bureau of the Census administered this survey as part of its October 1965 Current Population Survey and processed the data.

Raymond W. Mack of Northwestern University directed the team of sociologists who did the case studies of education for minorities in the 10 American cities. The members of this team were Troy Duster, Michael Aiken, N. J. Demerath III, Margaret Long, Ruth Simms Hamilton, Herbert R. Barringer, Rosalind J. Dworkin, John Pease, Bonnie Remsberg, and A. G. Dworkin. G. W. Foster of the University of Wisconsin directed the team of lawyers who did case studies of the legal and political problems of *de facto* segregation in seven American cities. The members of this team were William G. Buss, Jr., John E. Coons, William Cohen, Ira Michael Heyman, Ralph Reisner, John Kaplan, and Robert H. Marden.

Other persons outside the Office of Education who contributed to the report were David Armor, Phillips Cutright, James Fennessey, Jeanette Hopkins, Nancy Karweit, Jimmer Leonard. John Tukey of Princeton University provided consulting assistance in the design of the regression analysis.

An advisory committee assisted in the design of the study and in developing procedures for carrying it out. The committee did not participate in the analysis of the data or the preparation of the final report. Its members were:

James E. Allen, Jr., New York State Commissioner of Education.
Anne Anastasi, Fordham University.
Vincent J. Browne, Howard University.
Benjamin E. Carmichael, Superintendent of Chattanooga Schools.
John B. Carroll, Harvard University.
Otis Dudley Duncan, University of Michigan.
Warren G. Findley, University of Georgia.
Edmund W. Gordon, Yeshiva University.
David A. Goslin, Russell Sage Foundation.
Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of D.C. Public Schools.
James A. Hazlett, Superintendent of Kansas City Schools.
Theron A. Johnson, New York State Department of Education.
Sidney P. Marland, Superintendent of Pittsburgh Schools.
James M. Nabrit, President of Howard University.
Thomas F. Pettigrew, Harvard University.
Clinton C. Trillingham, Superintendent of Los Angeles County Schools.
Warren T. White, Superintendent of Dallas Public Schools.
Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk University.

A large number of educators were consulted informally in the early stages of the design of the survey; no attempt will be made to list them here. At the same time, representatives of a number of organizations were consulted, particularly, Leroy Clark, John W. Davis, and June Shagaloff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Carl Rachlin, and Marvin Rich of the Congress of Racial Equality; Max Birnbaum, Lawrence Bloomgarden, and Isaiah Terman of the American Jewish Committee; Otis Finley, and Mahlon Puryear of the National Urban League; Harold Braverman of the Anti-Defamation League; Randolph Blackwell of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rudy Ramos of the American G.I. Forum of the United States, Paul M. Deac of the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, and Elizabeth R. Cole of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

By far the largest contribution to the survey resulted from the cooperative support and hard work of many hundreds of school officials at every level of education and almost 20,000 school teachers who administered the survey questionnaires in their classrooms throughout the Nation.

The Office of Education will make all the data gathered by this survey available to research workers. It must be done in the form of tabulations or statistics. No information can be revealed about an individual pupil, teacher, local or State school administrator, local or State school system.

ALEXANDER M. MOOD,
Assistant Commissioner
for Educational Statistics.

Summary Report

Segregation in the Public Schools

The great majority of American children attend schools that are largely segregated—that is, where almost all of their fellow students are of the same racial background as they are. Among minority groups, Negroes are by far the most segregated. Taking all groups, however, white children are most segregated. Almost 80 percent of all white pupils in 1st grade and 12th grade attend schools that are from 90 percent to 100 percent white. And 97 percent at grade 1, and 99 percent at grade 12. attend schools that are 50 percent or more white.

For Negro pupils, segregation is more nearly complete in the South (as it is for whites also), but it is extensive also in all the other regions where the Negro population is concentrated: the urban North, Midwest, and West.

More than 65 percent of all Negro pupils in the 1st grade attend schools that are between 90 and 100 percent Negro. And 87 percent at grade 1, and 66 percent at grade 12, attend schools that are 50 percent or more Negro. In the South, most students attend schools that are 100 percent white or Negro.

The same pattern of segregation holds, though not quite so strongly, for the teachers of Negro and white students. For the Nation as a whole the average Negro elementary pupil attends a school in which 65 percent of the teachers are Negro; the average white elementary pupil attends a school in which 97 percent of the teachers are white. White teachers are more predominant at the secondary level, where the corresponding figures are 59 and 97 percent. The racial matching of teachers is most pronounced in the South, where by tradition it has been complete. On a nationwide basis, in cases where the races of pupils and teachers are not matched, the trend is all in one direction: white teachers teach Negro children but Negro teachers seldom teach white children; just as, in the schools, integration consists primarily of a minority of Negro pupils in predominantly white schools but almost never of a few whites in largely Negro schools.

In its desegregation decision of 1954, the Supreme Court held that separate schools for Negro and white children are inherently unequal. This survey finds that, when measured by that yardstick, American public education remains largely unequal in most regions of the country, including all those where Negroes form any significant proportion of the population. Obviously, however, that is not the only yardstick. The next section of the summary describes other characteristics by means of which equality of educational opportunity may be appraised.

The Schools and Their Characteristics

The school environment of a child consists of many elements, ranging from the desk he sits at to the child who sits next to him, and including the teacher who stands at the front of his class. A statistical survey can give only fragmentary evidence of this environment.

Great collections of numbers such as are found in these pages—totals and averages and percentages—blur and obscure rather than sharpen and illuminate the range of variation they represent. If one reads, for example, that the average annual income per person in the State of Maryland is $3,000, there is a tendency to picture an average person living in moderate circumstances in a middle-class neighborhood holding an ordinary job. But that number represents at the upper end millionaires, and at the lower end the unemployed, the pensioners, the charwomen. Thus the $3,000 average income should somehow bring to mind the tycoon and the tramp, the showcase and the shack, as well as the average man in the average house.

So, too, in reading these statistics on education, one must picture the child whose school has every conceivable facility that is believed to enhance the educational process, whose teachers may be particularly gifted and well educated, and whose

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FIGURE 1

WHITE PUPILS—ALL REGIONS
GRADE 1

PERCENT OF WHITE STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS OF DIFFERING RACIAL COMPOSITION

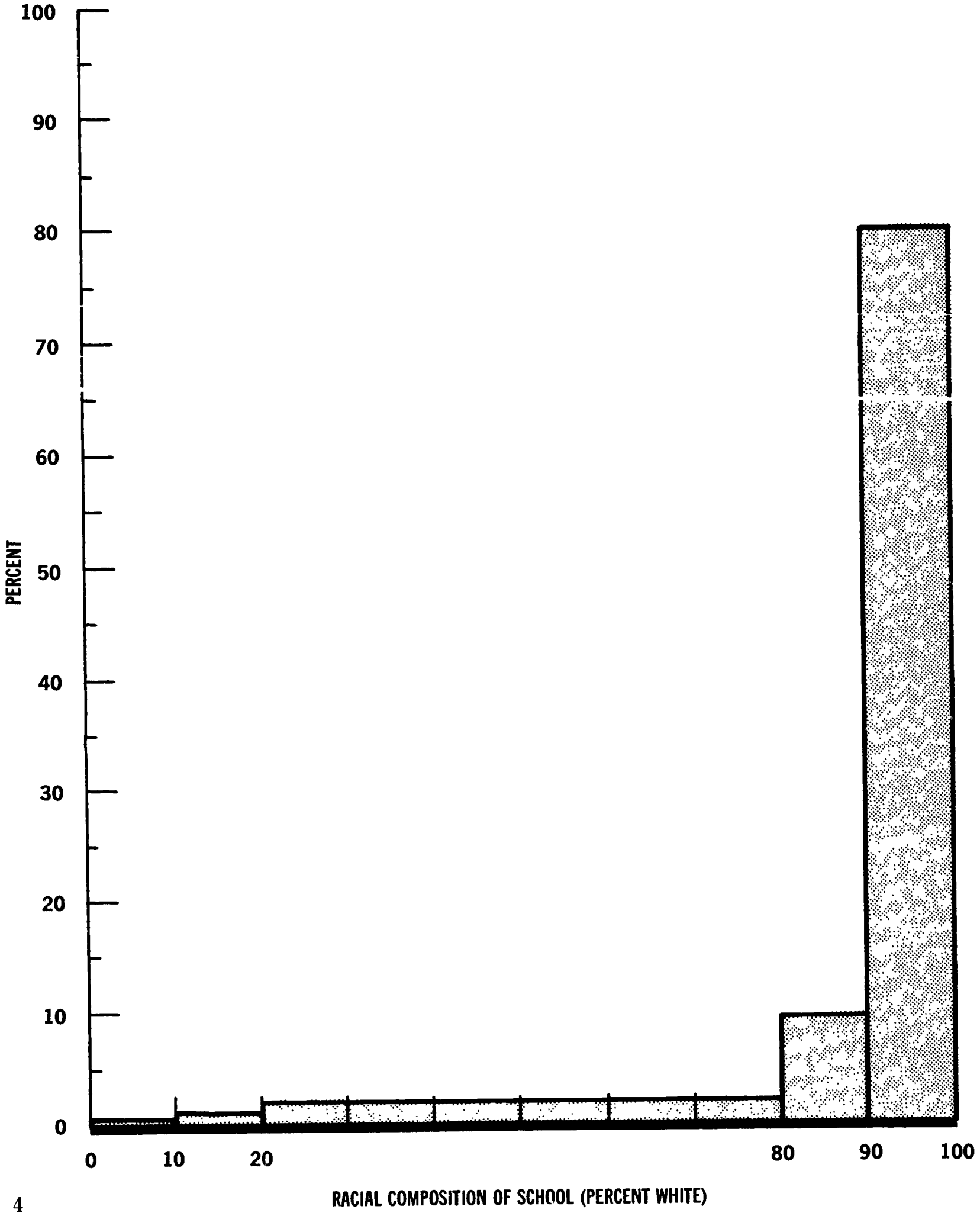


FIGURE 2

NEGRO PUPILS—ALL REGIONS
GRADE 1

PERCENT OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS OF DIFFERING RACIAL COMPOSITION

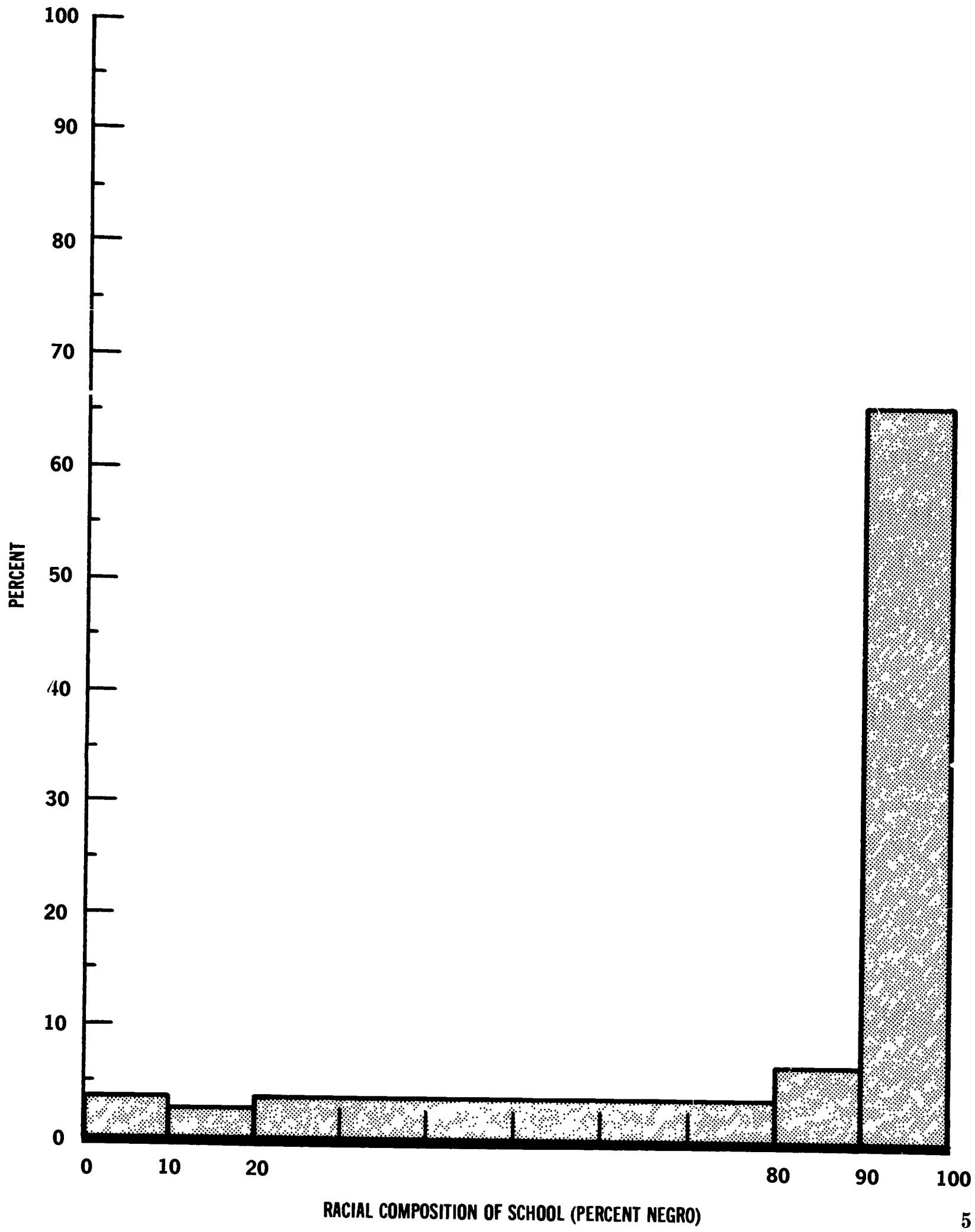


FIGURE 3

WHITE PUPILS—ALL REGIONS
GRADE 12

PERCENT OF WHITE STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS OF DIFFERING RACIAL COMPOSITION

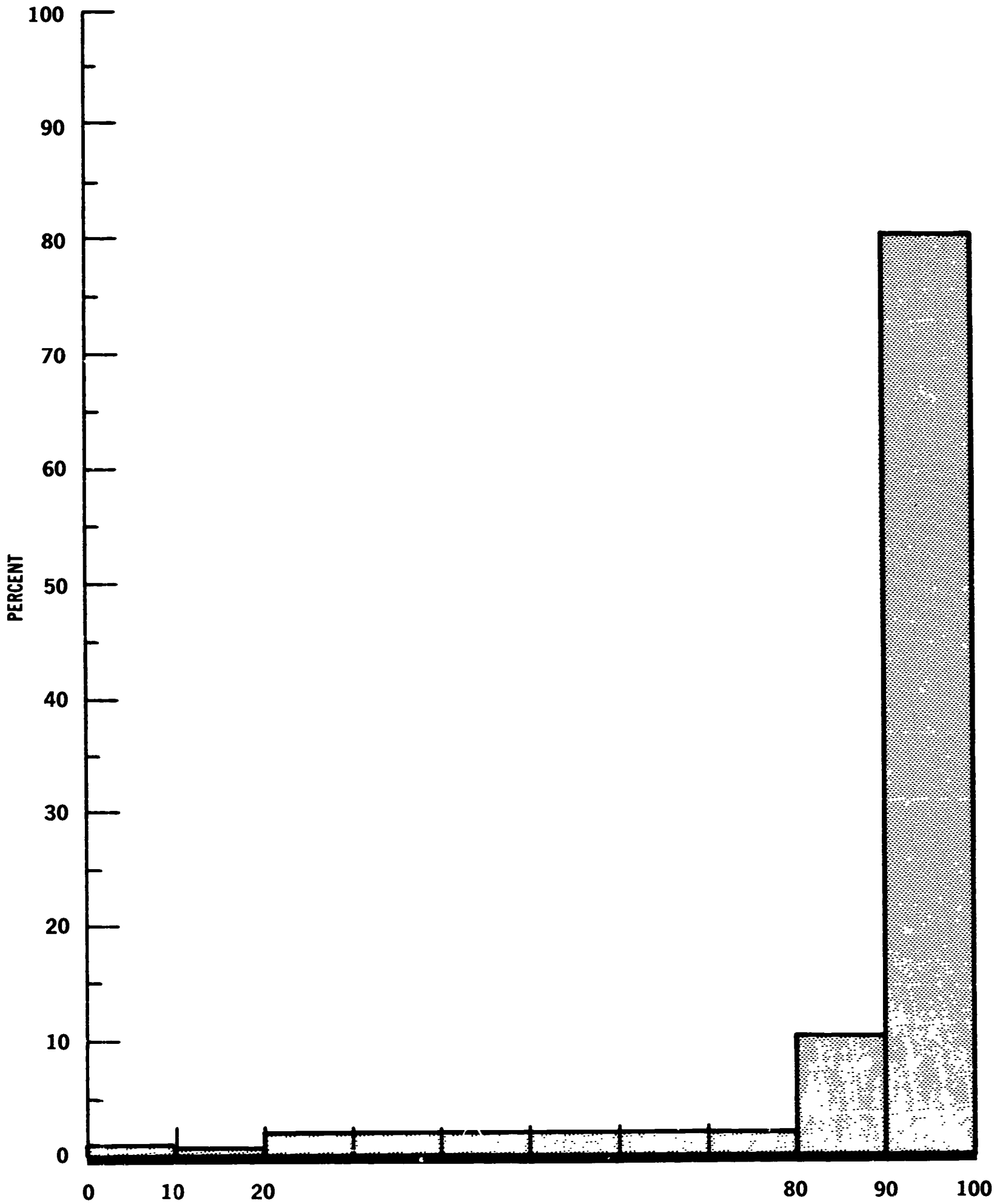
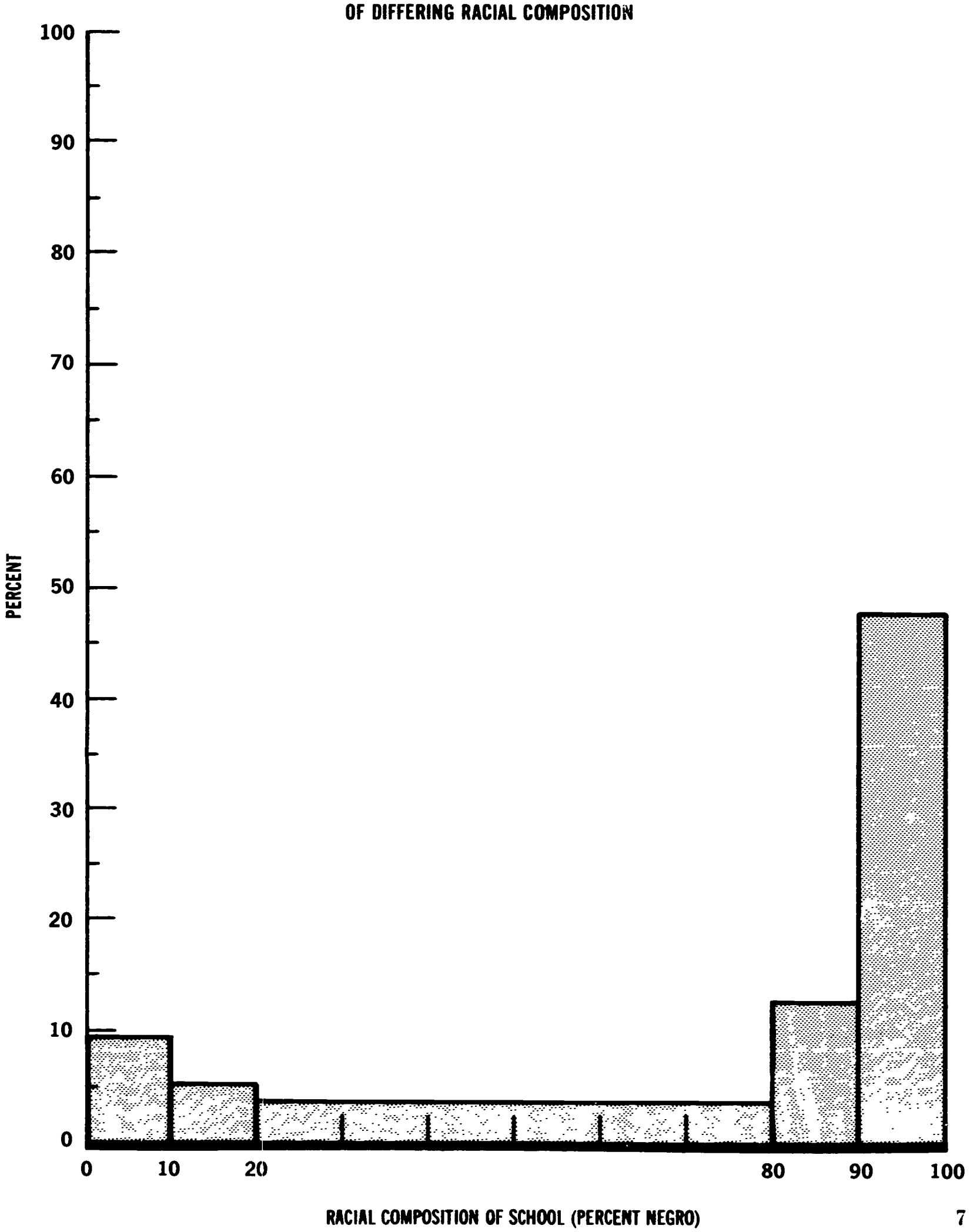


FIGURE 4

NEGRO PUPILS—ALL REGIONS
GRADE 12

PERCENT OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS OF DIFFERING RACIAL COMPOSITION



home and total neighborhood are themselves powerful contributors to his education and growth. And one must picture the child in a dismal tenement area who may come hungry to an ancient, dirty building that is badly ventilated, poorly lighted, overcrowded, understaffed, and without sufficient textbooks.

Statistics, too, must deal with one thing at a time, and cumulative effects tend to be lost in them. Having a teacher without a college degree indicates an element of disadvantage, but in the concrete situation, a child may be taught by a teacher who is not only without a degree but who has grown up and received his schooling in the local community, who has never been out of the State, who has a 10th grade vocabulary, and who shares the local community's attitudes.

One must also be aware of the relative importance of a certain kind of thing to a certain kind of person. Just as a loaf of bread means more to a starving man than to a sated one, so one very fine textbook or, better, one very able teacher, may mean far more to a deprived child than to one who already has several of both.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that in cases where Negroes in the South receive unequal treatment, the significance in terms of actual numbers of individuals involved is very great, since 54 percent of the Negro population of school-going age, or approximately 3,200,000 children, live in that region.

All of the findings reported in this section of the summary are based on responses to questionnaires filled out by public school teachers, principals, district school superintendents, and pupils. The data were gathered in September and October of 1965 from 4,000 public schools. All teachers, principals, and district superintendents in these schools participated, as did all pupils in the 3d, 6th, 9th, and 12th grades. First grade pupils in half the schools participated. More than 645,000 pupils in all were involved in the survey. About 30 percent of the schools selected for the survey did not participate; an analysis of the nonparticipating schools indicated that their inclusion would not have significantly altered the results of the survey. The participation rates were: in the metropolitan North and West 72 percent, metropolitan South and Southwest 65 percent, nonmetropolitan North and West 82 percent, nonmetropolitan South and Southwest 61 percent.

All the statistics on the physical facilities of the schools and the academic and extracurricular programs are based on information provided by the teachers and administrators. They also provided information about their own education, experience, and philosophy of education, and described as they see them the socioeconomic characteristics of the neighborhoods served by their schools.

The statistics having to do with the pupils' personal socioeconomic background, level of education of their parents, and certain items in their homes (such as encyclopedias, daily newspapers, etc.) are based on pupil responses to questionnaires. The pupils also answered questions about their academic aspirations and their attitudes toward staying in school.

All personal and school data were confidential and for statistical purposes only; the questionnaires were collected without the names or other personal identification of the respondents.

Data for Negro and white children are classified by whether the schools are in metropolitan areas or not. The definition of a metropolitan area is the one commonly used by Government agencies: a city of over 50,000 inhabitants including its suburbs. All other schools in small cities, towns, or rural areas are referred to as nonmetropolitan schools.

Finally, for most tables, data for Negro and white children are classified by geographical regions. For metropolitan schools there are usually five regions defined as follows:

Northeast—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia. (Using 1960 census data, this region contains about 16 percent of all Negro children in the Nation and 20 percent of all white children age 5 to 19.)

Midwest—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota (containing 16 percent of Negro and 19 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

South—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia (containing 27 percent of Negro and 14 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

Southwest—Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas (containing 4 percent of Negro and 3 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

West—Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming (containing 4 percent of Negro and 11 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

The nonmetropolitan schools are usually classified into only three regions:

South—as above (containing 27 percent of Negro and 14 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

Southwest—as above (containing 4 percent of Negro and 2 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

North and West—all States not in the South and Southwest (containing 2 percent of Negro and 17 percent of white children age 5 to 19).

Data for minority groups other than Negroes are presented only on a nationwide basis because there were not sufficient cases to warrant a breakdown by regions.

Facilities

The two tables which follow (table 1, for elementary schools, and table 2 for secondary) list certain school characteristics and the percentages of pupils of the various races who are enrolled in schools which have those characteristics. Where specified by "average" the figures represent actual numbers rather than percentages. Reading from left to right, percentages or averages are given on a nationwide basis for the six groups; then comparisons between Negro and white access to the various facilities are made on the basis of regional and metropolitan-nonmetropolitan breakdowns.

Thus, in table 1, it will be seen that for the Nation as a whole white children attend elementary schools with a smaller average number of pupils per room (29) than do any of the minorities (which range from 30 to 33). Farther to the right are the regional breakdowns for whites and Negroes, and it can be seen that in some regions the nationwide pattern is reversed: in the nonmetropolitan North and West and Southwest for example, there is a smaller average number of pupils per room for Negroes than for whites.

The same item on table 2 shows that secondary school whites have a smaller average number of pupils per room than minorities, except Indians. Looking at the regional breakdown, however, one finds much more striking differences than the national average would suggest: in the metropolitan Midwest, for example, the average Negro has 54 pupils per room—probably reflecting considerable frequency of double sessions—compared with 33 per room for whites. (Nationally, at the high school level the average white has one teacher for every 22 students and the average Negro has one for every 26 students.)

It is thus apparent that the tables must be studied carefully, with special attention paid to the regional breakdowns, which often provide more meaningful information than do the nationwide averages. Such careful study will reveal that there is not a wholly consistent pattern—that is, minorities are not at a disadvantage in every item listed—but that there are nevertheless some definite and systematic directions of differences. Nationally, Negro pupils have fewer of some of the facilities that seem most related to academic achievement: they have less access to physics, chemistry, and language laboratories; there are fewer books per pupil in their libraries; their textbooks are less often in sufficient supply. To the extent that physical facilities are important to learning, such items appear to be more relevant than some others, such as cafeterias, in which minority groups are at an advantage.

Usually greater than the majority-minority differences, however, are the regional differences. Table 2, for example, shows that 95 percent of Negro and 80 percent of white high school students in the metropolitan Far West attend schools with language laboratories, compared with 48 percent and 72 percent respectively, in the metropolitan South, in spite of the fact that a higher percentage of Southern schools are less than 20 years old.

Finally, it must always be remembered that these statistics reveal only majority-minority average differences and regional average differences; they do not show the extreme differences that would be found by comparing one school with another.

Programs

Tables 3 and 4 summarize some of the survey findings about the school curriculum, administration, and extracurricular activities. The tables are organized in the same way as tables 1 and 2 and should be studied in the same way, again with particular attention to regional differences.

The pattern that emerges from study of these tables is similar to that from tables 1 and 2. Just as minority groups tend to have less access to physical facilities that seem to be related to

Table 1.—Percent (except where average specified) of pupils in elementary schools having the school characteristic named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Age of main building:																						
Less than 20 yrs.	59	57	66	61	63	60	48	54	72	34	73	40	31	59	28	63	77	75	52	89	76	80
20 to 40 yrs.	18	18	20	20	17	20	35	13	21	43	17	28	23	23	18	18	11	20	27	10	14	9
At least 40 yrs.	22	24	13	18	18	18	17	32	4	20	9	29	43	18	53	18	12	4	21	1	7	7
Average pupils per room	33	31	30	33	32	29	25	28	34	26	21	31	33	30	34	30	30	31	39	26	37	31
Auditorium	20	31	18	21	27	19	3	5	16	40	14	19	56	40	27	10	20	21	11	1	47	12
Cafeteria	39	43	38	30	38	37	41	33	46	64	47	54	41	45	24	22	34	32	48	38	34	14
Gymnasium	19	27	20	14	15	21	9	8	15	31	15	21	46	49	36	19	6	5	13	17	0	8
Infirmary	59	62	64	77	71	68	52	52	49	44	38	39	74	90	74	79	81	76	59	48	93	96
Full-time librarian	22	31	22	24	30	22	4	13	32	22	5	11	46	43	22	15	38	50	11	12	19	13
Free textbooks	80	82	80	85	84	75	73	56	70	73	99	98	100	98	72	54	84	82	83	65	98	100
School has sufficient number of textbooks	90	87	91	93	84	96	97	99	76	94	97	96	90	97	97	99	74	98	82	84	95	90
Texts under 4 yrs. old	66	68	60	52	67	61	66	51	60	60	47	85	57	56	67	59	71	91	76	53	77	77
Central school library	69	71	72	83	73	72	44	58	74	77	48	75	83	89	57	70	79	69	59	33	81	95
Free lunch program	64	73	66	52	74	59	61	50	87	94	83	70	50	43	42	48	90	85	74	82	65	47

Table 2.—Percent (except where average specified) of pupils in secondary schools having the school characteristic named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Age of main building:																						
Less than 20 yrs.	48	40	49	41	60	53	64	35	79	52	76	44	18	64	33	43	74	84	76	43	53	79
20 to 40 yrs.	40	31	35	32	26	29	15	26	13	33	22	46	41	20	38	37	18	14	16	56	46	19
At least 40 yrs.	11	28	15	26	12	18	21	38	3	15	3	10	40	15	29	20	3	0	6	1	2	3
Average pupils per room	32	33	29	32	34	31	27	30	35	28	22	20	35	28	54	33	30	34	28	42	31	30
Auditorium	57	68	49	66	49	46	32	27	21	36	56	68	77	72	51	44	49	40	67	57	72	45
Cafeteria	72	80	74	81	72	65	55	41	65	78	78	97	88	73	55	54	77	97	75	63	77	79
Gymnasium	78	88	70	83	64	74	51	52	38	63	71	71	90	90	75	76	52	80	70	77	99	95
Shop with power tools	96	88	96	98	89	96	97	96	85	90	88	91	67	97	99	100	89	90	92	97	100	100
Biology laboratory	95	84	96	96	93	94	99	87	85	88	93	96	83	94	100	99	95	100	100	97	100	100
Chemistry laboratory	96	94	99	99	94	98	98	97	85	91	92	95	99	99	100	100	94	100	100	97	100	100
Physics laboratory	90	83	90	97	80	94	80	90	63	83	74	93	92	99	94	96	83	100	96	97	76	100
Language laboratory	57	45	58	75	49	56	32	24	17	32	38	19	47	79	68	57	48	72	69	97	95	80
Infirmary	65	77	77	69	70	75	47	56	53	45	23	47	96	99	70	83	83	83	74	85	71	87
Full-time librarian	84	93	85	98	87	83	53	58	69	76	67	61	97	99	99	94	96	99	71	63	100	99
Free textbooks	74	79	78	88	70	62	42	53	51	43	94	92	98	91	67	39	58	34	98	97	99	86
Sufficient number of textbooks	92	89	90	96	85	95	99	99	79	91	97	100	94	99	98	100	69	97	94	57	96	96
Texts under 4 yrs. old	58	68	65	55	61	62	77	56	64	54	73	66	55	59	51	67	56	65	99	82	59	67
Average library books per pupil	8.1	6.2	6.4	5.7	4.6	5.8	4.5	6.3	4.0	6.1	8.1	14.8	3.8	5.3	3.5	4.8	4.5	5.7	5.6	3.7	6.5	6.3
Free lunch program	66	80	63	75	74	62	58	54	89	88	61	82	66	52	74	63	79	79	89	52	47	54

Table 3.—Percent of pupils in elementary schools having the characteristic named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Regionally accredited schools	21	27	25	22	27	28	38	29	16	22	59	39	34	24	52	49	21	35	42	23	22	9
Music teacher	31	34	41	33	24	35	22	43	26	17	37	42	34	49	38	32	21	17	23	61	9	13
Remedial reading teacher	41	45	35	41	39	39	37	46	15	11	12	26	73	58	60	17	28	31	18	29	66	70
Accelerated curriculum	34	32	42	37	29	40	47	26	28	24	32	13	34	47	21	28	19	41	34	76	43	73
Low IQ classes	43	44	44	56	54	48	54	48	30	29	47	25	60	51	73	45	48	33	63	66	77	75
Speech impairment classes	41	44	42	58	41	51	34	49	13	11	27	22	59	73	86	67	20	41	34	23	86	82
Use of intelligence test	93	77	90	95	88	95	85	93	80	91	92	90	73	91	97	99	92	100	97	98	98	99
Assignment practice other than area or open	6	11	9	5	12	6	6	1	27	20	26	2	7	4	1	2	12	22	0	0	4	1
Use of tracking	37	47	40	34	44	36	36	28	38	25	38	23	66	50	40	38	45	35	50	48	36	40
Teachers having tenure	68	68	69	79	70	64	70	64	34	49	7	36	100	98	94	76	51	58	64	39	92	90
Principal salary $9,000 and above	51	52	56	69	51	51	45	34	12	12	22	36	95	86	92	72	30	26	35	14	98	99
School newspaper	23	29	35	37	28	29	39	43	25	26	8	6	28	31	31	24	29	27	22	11	31	31
Boys interscholastic athletics	55	44	51	47	41	43	71	62	51	51	59	72	22	22	43	46	38	22	43	54	34	22
Girls interscholastic athletics	35	29	36	32	26	26	37	35	39	38	40	44	19	14	17	17	2	6	29	43	25	18
Band	71	63	64	76	66	72	82	81	39	40	54	76	67	73	77	86	66	85	52	33	95	94
Drama club	26	37	32	33	38	29	43	33	50	31	25	25	34	32	36	29	35	23	33	2	37	36
Debate team	6	4	4	7	5	4	0	3	14	6	10	6	1	3	0	0	3	6	16	8	0	2

Table 4.—Percent of pupils in secondary schools having the characteristic named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Regionally accredited schools	77	78	71	86	68	76	69	65	40	59	30	62	74	74	75	86	72	81	92	86	100	100
Music teacher, full-time	84	94	88	96	85	88	87	87	65	61	85	77	95	97	96	96	87	100	91	82	99	97
College prep. curriculum	95	90	96	98	88	96	98	95	74	92	81	83	93	99	99	100	87	100	89	82	100	100
Vocational curriculum	56	50	55	68	56	55	49	64	51	62	52	34	42	35	60	60	58	21	89	80	65	65
Remedial reading teacher	57	76	55	81	53	52	35	32	24	20	4	9	81	66	62	57	46	65	63	62	100	97
Accelerated curriculum	67	60	66	80	61	66	42	46	46	58	25	25	60	82	64	78	72	81	87	55	74	73
Low IQ classes	54	56	50	85	54	49	44	47	23	20	46	12	75	62	86	59	37	34	64	14	98	98
Speech impairment classes	28	58	28	51	21	31	18	33	10	6	1	11	43	44	48	42	0	10	14	3	45	57
Use of intelligence test	91	57	84	86	80	89	87	93	83	90	97	100	59	87	86	86	78	100	94	75	89	92
Assignment practice other than area or open	4	20	9	3	19	4	5	0	32	14	2	0	14	5	0	0	36	9	4	0	0	0
Use of tracking	79	88	79	85	75	74	41	48	55	57	21	24	94	92	74	90	80	80	92	82	99	98
Teachers having tenure	65	86	71	85	61	72	47	73	33	41	2	3	100	98	97	83	50	79	24	15	96	88
Principal's salary $9,000 and above	73	89	73	91	66	72	54	64	31	37	59	63	99	99	76	91	61	46	86	18	100	100
School newspaper	89	95	86	97	80	89	71	72	50	81	67	71	95	93	99	97	87	100	66	94	100	100
Boys interscholastic athletics	94	90	98	99	95	98	99	99	97	100	96	93	80	95	100	97	93	100	95	100	100	100
Girls interscholastic athletics	58	33	59	37	57	54	32	32	80	69	39	81	51	60	50	43	45	80	89	97	38	35
Band	92	88	92	98	91	95	90	97	80	76	84	81	92	97	100	100	93	100	99	100	100	100
Drama club	95	93	89	92	92	93	75	91	87	75	91	88	92	88	93	99	94	94	100	97	100	100
Debate team	51	32	46	50	39	52	43	48	27	36	80	67	27	46	49	69	42	58	68	63	37	48

academic achievement, so too they have less access to curricular and extracurricular programs that would seem to have such a relationship.

Secondary school Negro students are less likely to attend schools that are regionally accredited; this is particularly pronounced in the South. Negro and Puerto Rican pupils have less access to college preparatory curriculums and to accelerated curriculums; Puerto Ricans have less access to vocational curriculums as well. Less intelligence testing is done in the schools attended by Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Finally, white students in general have more access to a more fully developed program of extracurricular activities, in particular those which might be related to academic matters (debate teams, for example, and student newspapers).

Again, regional differences are striking. For example, 100 percent of Negro high school students and 97 percent of whites in the metropolitan Far West attend schools having a remedial reading teacher (this does not mean, of course, that every student uses the services of that teacher, but simply that he has access to them) compared with 46 and 65 percent, respectively, in the metropolitan South—and 4 and 9 percent in the nonmetropolitan Southwest.

Principals and teachers

The following tables (5, 6a, and 6b) list some characteristics of principals and teachers. On table 5, figures, given for the whole Nation of all minorities and then by region for Negro and white, refer to the percentages of students who attend schools having principals with the listed characteristics. Thus, line 1 shows that 1 percent of white elementary pupils attend a school with a Negro principal, and that 56 percent of Negro children attend a school with a Negro principal.

Tables 6a and 6b (referring to teachers' characteristics) must be read differently. The figures refer to the percentage of teachers having a specified characteristic in the schools attended by the "average" pupil of the various groups. Thus, line 1 on table 6a: the average white student goes to an elementary school where 40 percent of the teachers spent most of their lives in the same city, town, or county; the average Negro pupil goes to a school where 53 percent of the teachers have lived in the same locality most of their lives.

Both tables list other characteristics which offer rough indications of teacher quality, including the types of colleges attended, years of teaching experience, salary, educational level of mother, and a score on a 30-word vocabulary test. The average Negro pupil attends a school where a greater percentage of the teachers appears to be somewhat less able, as measured by these indicators, than those in the schools attended by the average white student.

Other items on these tables reveal certain teacher attitudes. Thus, the average white pupil attends a school where 51 percent of the white teachers would not choose to move to another school, whereas the average Negro attends a school where 46 percent would not choose to move.

Student body characteristics

Tables 7 and 8 present data about certain characteristics of the student bodies attending various schools. These tables must be read the same as those immediately preceding. Looking at the sixth item on table 7, one should read: the average white high school student attends a school in which 82 percent of his classmates report that there are encyclopedias in their homes. This does not means that 82 percent of all white pupils have encyclopedias at home, although obviously that would be approximately true. In short, these tables attempt to describe the characteristics of the student bodies with which the "average" white or minority student goes to school.

Clear differences are found on these items. The average Negro has fewer classmates whose mothers graduated from high school; his classmates more frequently are members of large rather than small families they are less often enrolled in a college preparatory curriculum, they have taken a smaller number of courses in English, mathematics, foreign language, and science.

On most items, the other minority groups fall between Negroes and whites, but closer to whites, in the extent to which each characteristic is typical of their classmates.

Again, there are substantial variations in the magnitude of the differences, with the difference usually being greater in the Southern States.

Achievement in the Public Schools

The schools bear many responsibilities. Among the most important is the teaching of certain intellectual skills such as reading, writing, calculating, and problem-solving. One way of assessing the educational opportunity offered by the schools is to measure how well they perform this task.

Table 5.—Percent of pupils in elementary and secondary schools having principals with characteristics named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Elementary schools:																						
Negro principal	16	27	11	12	56	1	13	0	86	2	69	1	9	1	28	0	94	2	64	0	3	0
Majority principal	79	71	80	77	39	95	79	90	7	91	24	97	86	97	69	94	1	97	29	100	95	99
Principal at least M.A	85	84	77	86	84	80	69	69	65	64	86	91	98	90	98	92	83	74	95	85	96	94
Principal would keep neighborhood school despite racial imbalance	62	52	58	52	45	65	58	67	39	67	58	67	38	53	61	80	48	71	78	67	29	53
Principal approves compensatory education	66	68	61	70	72	59	63	60	61	46	52	58	76	64	82	63	67	46	75	52	92	76
Principal would deliberately mix faculty for:																						
Pupils mostly minority	40	48	38	47	48	43	31	44	41	43	43	35	56	37	51	40	43	44	52	45	61	57
Pupils mixed	34	46	31	42	44	35	46	40	37	35	35	26	50	32	50	34	40	28	46	23	52	42
Pupils almost all majority	17	30	15	25	35	14	19	13	29	3	18	3	48	18	42	15	34	7	33	1	41	37
Secondary schools:																						
Negro principal	9	12	7	3	61	1	8	0	85	0	68	0	22	0	36	4	97	0	82	0	10	0
Majority principal	89	81	91	76	37	95	79	87	10	94	25	98	75	99	64	95	3	100	18	100	90	99
Principal at least M.A	91	97	94	94	96	93	89	85	92	90	90	90	97	97	100	100	97	93	94	86	100	100
Principal would keep neighborhood school despite racial imbalance	49	37	50	33	32	56	54	49	41	73	27	52	25	53	48	55	18	91	80	64	14	28
Principal approves compensatory education	80	83	73	94	78	71	73	59	66	55	81	49	75	79	71	79	80	57	100	80	100	100
Principal would deliberately mix faculty for:																						
Pupils mostly minority	56	47	61	70	54	58	50	53	41	49	57	43	41	50	46	71	53	42	85	86	92	65
Pupils mixed	35	41	45	57	46	40	40	39	36	19	37	7	37	37	18	56	57	32	47	46	82	55
Pupils almost all majority	22	32	23	43	39	14	17	9	23	1	32	1	35	20	14	29	48	0	70	1	78	26

Table 6a.—For the elementary schools attended by the average white and minority pupil—percent of teachers with characteristic named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Percent teachers who spent most of life in present city, town, or county	37	54	35	39	53	40	34	40	54	55	40	31	64	51	55	39	69	37	35	18	24	24
Average teacher verbal score	22	22	22	23	20	23	23	24	17	22	20	22	22	23	22	23	19	23	21	24	22	24
Percent teachers majored in academic subjects	19	18	17	21	17	16	16	18	12	14	16	22	19	17	17	15	18	16	9	7	23	22
Percent teachers who attended college not offering graduate degrees	39	41	37	32	53	37	48	38	63	47	44	30	45	38	39	40	72	46	44	26	22	21
Percent teachers who attended college with white students enrolled	79	70	85	83	39	97	81	99	9	97	28	93	73	97	75	97	7	95	43	98	82	96
Average education level of teacher's mother (score)	3.7	3.5	3.7	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.5	2.9	3.5	3.6	3.7	3 6	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.5	4.2	3.8	3.8	4.1	4.2
Average highest degree earned	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.0	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.0	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.1
Average teacher years experience	13	12	12	12	13	12	12	13	14	16	14	13	11	11	11	11	14	10	13	11	11	10
Average teacher salary ($1,000's)	5.9	6.0	6.1	6.6	6.0	6.0	5.8	5.7	4.7	5.0	5.5	5.4	7.2	7.1	7.0	6.5	5.2	5.0	5.9	5.1	7.8	7.3
Average pupils per teacher	30	30	30	28	20	28	26	25	32	27	23	26	27	26	29	28	28	30	30	42	30	31
Percent teachers would not choose to move to another school	58	57	59	59	55	65	56	60	49	73	57	64	53	64	49	63	61	76	63	59	55	66
Percent teachers plan to continue until retirement	44	42	41	39	45	37	42	35	50	51	57	55	31	32	34	31	51	34	48	46	41	34
Percent teachers prefer white pupils	27	21	26	20	7	37	22	32	6	57	10	45	8	18	12	3[illegible]	1	57	12	48	8	31
Percent teachers approved compensatory education	56	59	56	64	61	56	55	56	55	47	53	44	69	66	65	55	59	49	56	54	73	66

Table 6b.—For the secondary schools attended by the average white and minority pupil—percent of teachers with characteristic named at left

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Percent teachers who spent most of life in present city, town, or county	31	55	31	36	41	34	20	23	38	48	35	28	62	49	34	31	52	41	37	19	22	25
Average teacher verbal score	23	22	23	23	21	23	23	24	19	23	22	24	22	23	22	23	21	23	21	24	23	24
Percent teachers majored in academic subjects	37	40	39	40	38	40	39	36	37	35	30	32	40	46	35	41	42	41	25	36	38	41
Percent teachers who attended college not offering graduate degrees	26	27	27	20	44	31	33	31	52	44	32	17	25	29	38	34	64	42	42	22	16	13
Percent teachers who attended college with white students enrolled	90	86	92	86	44	48	90	99	15	99	31	98	85	98	75	97	8	97	29	99	90	95
Average education level of teacher's mother (score)	3.8	3.5	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.6	3.8	3.3	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.8	3.8	4.3	3.4	3.7	4.1	4.0
Average highest degree earned	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.5
Average teacher years experience	11	11	10	11	11	10	9	10	10	12	11	11	12	11	11	10	12	8	11	9	11	11
Average teacher salary ($1,000's)	6.8	7.6	6.8	7.7	6.4	6.6	6.0	6.3	4.9	5.2	5.6	5.8	7.8	7.6	7.2	7.2	5.5	5.4	6.1	5.5	8.8	8.3
Average pupils per teacher	23	22	23	24	26	22	20	20	30	25	20	21	24	20	25	24	26	25	25	26	23	23
Percent teachers would not choose to move to another school	49	48	48	48	46	51	39	42	42	59	48	63	51	55	45	49	50	62	55	51	42	47
Percent teachers plan to continue until retirement	36	41	34	40	38	33	25	28	35	36	43	43	44	38	37	31	36	23	37	30	44	41
Percent teachers prefer white pupils	26	13	24	13	8	32	28	28	8	58	15	48	8	14	11	31	2	52	7	38	10	21
Percent teachers approve compensatory education	61	67	60	68	66	60	55	62	60	49	59	50	72	67	67	58	67	54	67	49	72	70

Table 7.—For the average minority or white pupil, the percent of fellow pupils with the specified characteristics

Characteristic	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Elementary schools:																						
Mostly white classmates last year	59	52	66	63	19	89	59	91	17	91	19	72	33	87	26	91	7	91	27	91	20	86
All white teachers last year	75	68	77	74	53	88	71	89	53	87	57	84	60	89	52	88	49	89	51	89	52	85
Encyclopedia in home	62	57	64	70	54	75	62	72	36	65	48	64	71	84	60	80	51	80	57	72	64	83
Secondary schools:																						
Mostly white classmates last year	72	56	72	57	10	91	77	96	12	94	23	88	41	90	40	89	4	95	14	96	35	81
All white teachers last year	73	57	75	57	25	89	79	93	11	93	23	90	44	84	45	88	3	92	16	95	46	79
Encyclopedia in home	77	76	75	82	69	82	76	78	52	75	66	75	82	87	80	86	67	88	73	83	78	83
Mother high school graduate or more	49	47	50	53	40	58	51	58	23	45	44	48	51	63	49	63	37	58	41	49	53	65
Taking college preparatory course	36	38	35	41	32	41	29	35	22	33	28	32	39	53	43	46	34	44	29	31	34	46
Taking some vocational course	27	30	28	32	27	23	22	24	23	20	25	20	30	20	28	25	27	16	37	38	35	30
2½ yrs. or more of science	36	38	38	38	39	42	41	41	41	38	47	39	43	55	32	38	43	43	42	31	26	34
1½ yrs. or more of language	37	41	35	43	35	40	29	30	25	26	19	23	49	60	36	44	38	44	34	23	37	50
3½ yrs. or more of English	77	73	80	76	69	83	68	78	66	89	75	84	79	91	73	79	67	89	71	87	62	72
2½ yrs. or more of math	47	45	44	47	44	49	40	39	43	46	50	52	47	63	41	50	46	55	58	45	37	47

Table 8.—For the average minority or white pupil, the percent of fellow pupils with the specified characteristics

Characteristics	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Mother not reared in city	45	33	44	33	45	42	58	50	64	65	53	61	25	19	35	32	45	42	48	60	34	33
Real father at home	77	71	75	84	64	83	80	84	65	84	64	85	67	83	70	84	58	84	55	84	62	74
Real mother at home	90	88	90	89	85	92	90	92	82	93	82	94	88	92	90	92	83	92	83	94	86	88
5 or more brothers and sisters	28	27	30	27	44	20	30	24	56	23	54	23	25	15	34	19	48	13	47	17	36	21
Mother expects best in class	48	49	45	42	62	43	47	39	71	55	67	54	50	41	49	38	69	49	71	51	53	41
Parents daily discuss school	47	46	44	42	49	47	44	44	51	51	52	54	50	52	44	45	53	53	51	43	43	44
Father expects at least college graduation	38	34	35	37	38	37	36	32	33	37	39	44	33	39	36	38	39	44	45	45	37	40
Mother expects at least college graduation	41	39	39	41	44	41	41	35	42	40	48	45	38	42	43	41	48	45	52	50	43	44
Parents attend PTA	36	38	34	37	51	37	36	40	59	37	50	34	43	37	45	36	61	44	42	26	36	30
Parents read to child regularly before he started school	25	28	24	24	30	26	26	24	30	25	32	23	32	31	27	27	33	29	31	21	26	27

Table 9.—Nationwide median test scores for first- and twelfth-grade pupils

Test	Racial or ethnic group					
	Puerto Ricans	Indian-Americans	Mexican-Americans	Oriental-Americans	Negro	Majority
First grade:						
Nonverbal	45.8	53.0	50.1	56.6	43.4	54.1
Verbal	44.9	47.8	46.5	51.6	45.4	53.2
Twelfth grade:						
Nonverbal	43.3	47.1	45.0	51.6	40.9	52.0
Verbal	43.1	43.7	43.8	49.6	40.9	52.1
Reading	42.6	44.3	44.2	48.8	42.2	51.9
Mathematics	43.7	45.9	45.5	51.3	41.8	51.8
General information	41.7	44.7	43.3	49.0	40.6	52.2
Average of the 5 tests	43.1	45.1	44.4	50.1	41.1	52.0

Standard achievement tests are available to measure these skills, and several such tests were administered in this survey to pupils at grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12.

These tests do not measure intelligence, nor attitudes, nor qualities of character. Furthermore, they are not, nor are they intended to be, "culture-free." Quite the reverse: they are culture-bound. What they measure are the skills which are among the most important in our society for getting a good job and moving up to a better one, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world. Consequently, a pupil's test results at the end of public school provide a good measure of the range of opportunities open to him as he finishes school—a wide range of choice of jobs or colleges if these skills are very high; a very narrow range that includes only the most menial jobs if these skills are very low.

Table 9 gives an overall illustration of the test results for the various groups by tabulating nationwide median scores (the score which divides the group in half) for 1st-grade and 12th-grade pupils on the tests used in those grades. For example, half of the white 12th-grade pupils had scores above 52 on the nonverbal test and half had scores below 52. (Scores on each test at each grade level were standardized so that the average over the national sample equaled 50 and the standard deviation equaled 10. This means that for all pupils in the Nation, about 16 percent would score below 40 and about 16 percent above 60.)

With some exceptions—notably Oriental Americans—the average minority pupil scores distinctly lower on these tests at every level than the average white pupil. The minority pupils' scores are as much as one standard deviation below the majority pupils' scores in the first grade. At the 12th grade, results of tests in the same verbal and nonverbal skills show that, in every case, the minority scores are *farther below* the majority than are the 1st graders. For some groups, the relative decline is negligible; for others, it is large.

Furthermore, a constant difference in standard deviations over the various grades represents an increasing difference in grade level gap. For example, Negroes in the metropolitan Northeast are about 1.1 standard deviations below whites in the same region at grades 6, 9, and 12. But at grade 6 this represents 1.6 years behind, at grade 9, 2.4 years, and at grade 12, 3.3 years. Thus, by this measure, the deficiency in achievement is progressively greater for the minority pupils at progressively higher grade levels.

For most minority groups, then, and most particularly the Negro, schools provide no opportunity at all for them to overcome this initial deficiency; in fact, they fall farther behind the white majority in the development of several skills which are critical to making a living and participating fully in modern society. Whatever may be the combination of nonschool factors—poverty, community attitudes, low educational level of parents—which put minority children at a disadvantage in verbal and nonverbal skills when they enter the first grade, the fact is the schools have not overcome it.

Some points should be borne in mind in reading the table. First, the differences shown should not obscure the fact that some minority children perform better than many white children. A difference of one standard deviation in median scores means that about 84 percent of the children in the

lower group are below the median of the majority students—but 50 percent of the white children are themselves below that median as well.

A second point of qualification concerns regional differences. By grade 12, both white and Negro students in the South score below their counterparts—white and Negro—in the North. In addition, Southern Negroes score farther below Southern whites than Northern Negroes score below Northern whites. The consequences of this pattern can be illustrated by the fact that the 12th grade Negro in the nonmetropolitan South is 0.8 standard deviation below—or in terms of years, 1.9 years behind—the Negro in the metropolitan Northeast, though at grade 1 there is no such regional difference.

Finally, the test scores at grade 12 obviously do not take account of those pupils who have left school before reaching the senior year. In the metropolitan North and West, 20 percent of the Negroes of ages 16 and 17 are not enrolled in school, a higher dropout percentage than in either the metropolitan or nonmetropolitan South. If it is the case that some or many of the Northern dropouts performed poorly when they were in school, the Negro achievement in the North may be artificially elevated because some of those who achieved more poorly have left school.

Relation of Achievement to School Characteristics

If 100 students within a school take a certain test, there is likely to be great variation in their scores. One student may score 97 percent, another 13; several may score 78 percent. This represents variability in achievement *within* the particular school.

It is possible, however, to compute the average of the scores made by the students within that school and to compare it with the average score, or achievement, of pupils within another school, or many other schools. These comparisons then represent variations *between schools*.

When one sees that the average score on a verbal achievement test in School X is 55 and in School Y is 72, the natural question to ask is: What accounts for the difference?

There are many factors that in combination account for the difference. This analysis concentrates on one cluster of those factors. It attempts to describe what relationship the school's characteristics themselves (libraries, for example, and teachers and laboratories and so on) seem to have to the achievement of majority and minority groups (separately for each group on a nationwide basis, and also for Negro and white pupils in the North and South).

The first finding is that the schools are remarkably similar in the effect they have on the achievement of their pupils when the socioeconomic background of the students is taken into account. It is known that socioeconomic factors bear a strong relation to academic achievement. When these factors are statistically controlled, however, it appears that differences between schools account for only a small fraction of differences in pupil achievement.

The schools *do* differ, however, in the degree of impact they have on the various racial and ethnic groups. The average white student's achievement is less affected by the strength or weakness of his school's facilities, curricula, and teachers than is the average minority pupil's. To put it another way, the achievement of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils. Thus, 20 percent of the achievement of Negroes in the South is associated with the particular schools they go to, whereas only 10 percent of the achievement of whites in the South is. Except for Oriental Americans, this general result is found for all minorities.

The conclusion can then be drawn that improving the school of a minority pupil will increase his achievement more than will improving the school of a white child increase his. Similarly, the average minority pupil's achievement will suffer more in a school of low quality than will the average white pupil's. In short, whites, and to a lesser extent Oriental Americans, are less affected one way or the other by the quality of their schools than are minority pupils. This indicates that it is for the most disadvantaged children that improvements in school quality will make the most difference in achievement.

All of these results suggest the next question: What are the school characteristics that account for most variation in achievement? In other words, what factors in the school are most important in affecting achievement?

It appears that variations in the facilities and curriculums of the schools account for relatively little variation in pupil achievement insofar as this is measured by standard tests. Again, it is

for majority whites that the variations make the least difference; for minorities, they make somewhat more difference. Among the facilities that show some relationship to achievement are several for which minority pupils' schools are less well equipped relative to whites. For example, the existence of science laboratories showed a small but consistent relationship to achievement, and table 2 shows that minorities, especially Negroes, are in schools with fewer of these laboratories.

The quality of teachers shows a stronger relationship to pupil achievement. Furthermore, it is progressively greater at higher grades, indicating a cumulative impact of the qualities of teachers in a school on the pupils' achievement. Again, teacher quality is more important for minority pupil achievement than for that of the majority.

It should be noted that many characteristics of teachers were not measured in this survey; therefore, the results are not at all conclusive regarding the specific characteristics of teachers that are most important. Among those measured in the survey, however, those that bear the highest relationship to pupil achievement are first, the teacher's score on the verbal skills test, and then his educational background—both his own level of education and that of his parents. On both of these measures, the level of teachers of minority students, especially Negroes, is lower.

Finally, it appears that a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school. Only crude measures of these variables were used (principally the proportion of pupils with encyclopedias in the home and the proportion planning to go to college). Analysis indicates, however, that children from a given family background, when put in schools of different social composition, will achieve at quite different levels. This effect is again less for white pupils than for any minority group other than Orientals. Thus, if a white pupil from a home that is strongly and effectively supportive of education is put in a school where most pupils do not come from such homes, his achievement will be little different than if he were in a school composed of others like himself. But if a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase.

This general result, taken together with the earlier examinations of school differences, has important implications for equality of educational opportunity. For the earlier tables show that the principal way in which the school environments of Negroes and whites differ is in the composition of their student bodies, and it turns out that the composition of the student bodies has a strong relationship to the achievement of Negro and other minority pupils.

* * * * * * *

This analysis has concentrated on the educational opportunities offered by the schools in terms of their student body composition, facilities, curriculums, and teachers. This emphasis, while entirely appropriate as a response to the legislation calling for the survey, nevertheless neglects important factors in the variability between individual pupils within the same school; this variability is roughly four times as large as the variability between schools. For example, a pupil attitude factor, which appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the "school" factors together, is the extent to which an individual feels that he has some control over his own destiny. Data on items related to this attitude are shown in table 10 along with data on other attitudes and aspirations. The responses of pupils to questions in the survey show that minority pupils, except for Orientals, have far less conviction than whites that they can affect their own environments and futures. When they do, however, their achievement is higher than that of whites who lack that conviction.

Furthermore, while this characteristic shows little relationship to most school factors, it is related, for Negroes, to the proportion of whites in the schools. Those Negroes in schools with a higher proportion of whites have a greater sense of control. Thus such attitudes, which are largely a consequence of a person's experience in the larger society, are not independent of his experience in school.

Other Surveys and Studies

A number of studies were carried out by the Office of Education in addition to the major survey of public elementary and secondary schools. Some of these were quite extensive investigations with book-length final reports; certain of them will be published in full as appendixes to the main report. There will be other appendixes containing more detailed analyses of the public school data than could be included in the main report. Still other appendixes will contain detailed tabulation

Table 10.—Percent of twelfth-grade pupils having certain attitudes and aspirations

Item	Whole Nation						Nonmetropolitan						Metropolitan									
	M-A	PR	I-A	O-A	Neg	Maj	North and West		South		Southwest		Northeast		Midwest		South		Southwest		West	
							Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj	Neg	Maj
Do anything to stay in school	37	35	36	44	46	45	43	44	49	50	46	50	47	47	44	43	48	54	50	47	35	44
Desires to be best in class	35	36	38	46	58	33	48	35	69	46	68	48	48	36	48	33	63	45	70	45	50	35
3 or more hours per day study outside of school	22	21	17	42	31	23	26	21	32	23	36	23	33	27	27	19	33	27	33	22	27	23
No willful absence	59	53	60	76	76	66	72	65	84	75	86	73	68	61	73	66	78	69	77	69	64	56
Read at least 1 book last summer	69	72	73	74	80	75	76	74	83	73	82	75	81	79	75	74	83	73	80	72	76	75
Desires to finish college	43	43	42	46	46	45	43	38	42	41	51	47	43	49	46	47	52	52	57	45	42	51
Definitely planning to attend college next year	26	26	27	53	34	40	22	35	30	35	41	50	31	46	33	37	35	41	43	40	48	55
Have read a college catalog	46	45	50	70	54	61	51	57	49	50	54	64	59	73	55	59	57	67	59	63	54	65
Have consulted college officials	22	25	26	33	25	37	26	33	22	38	23	38	32	46	25	35	24	44	26	30	25	30
Believes self to be brighter than average	31	37	31	51	40	49	41	48	42	45	44	51	37	48	36	50	40	48	46	51	43	56
"I just can't learn"	38	37	44	38	27	39	31	39	24	37	21	35	29	39	34	40	23	37	25	39	28	38
"I would do better if teacher didn't go so fast"	28	31	26	26	21	24	23	23	22	25	19	24	22	22	22	24	20	24	19	25	20	25
"Luck more important than work"	11	19	11	8	11	4	14	4	15	4	14	4	9	4	9	4	10	4	11	4	10	4
"When I try, something or somebody stops me"	23	30	27	18	22	14	24	14	22	16	26	14	21	13	23	15	19	14	23	13	21	12
"People like me don't have much of a chance"	12	19	14	9	12	6	15	6	11	6	11	5	12	5	13	6	10	6	11	4	13	6
Expect professional career	18	21	21	43	27	37	26	34	25	31	26	38	31	46	31	37	27	37	28	37	22	38

of the data gathered in the survey so that research workers will have easy access to them.

Opportunity in Institutions of Higher Education

The largely segregated system of higher education in the South has made comparison between colleges attended mainly by Negro students and mainly by majority students easy in that region. Elsewhere it has not been possible in the past to make comparison between educational opportunities because of the general policy in Federal and State agencies of not collecting data on race. In the fall of 1965, however, the Office of Education reversed this policy as a result of the interest of many agencies and organizations in the progress of minority pupils in gaining access to higher education. The racial composition of freshmen of all degree-seeking students was obtained from nearly all of the colleges and universities in the Nation.

These racial compositions have been cross-tabulated against a variety of characteristics of the institutions in the report itself. Here we present only three such cross-tabulations which relate particularly to the overall quality of the institutions. First, there are presented three tables (11, 12, 13), showing the distribution of Negro students in number and by percentages over eight regions of the Nation. Over half of all Negro college students attend the largely segregated institutions in the South and Southwest. About 4.6 percent of all college students are Negro.

Following the three distribution tables are three cross-tabulations showing, respectively: student-faculty ratio, percent of faculty with earned doctorate, and average faculty salary. Looking at table 14, the upper column headings classify the institution by percent of Negro students in the total enrollment; for each of these the next column headings show the number of such institutions in the category at the left of the table and the average number of students per faculty member; the average is weighted (abbreviated in table head "Wtd. avg.") by the number of students in an institution, so that large colleges have large influence on the average. For example, the numbers 8 and 22 in the top line of the 0 percent column mean that there were 8 institutions in the North Atlantic region with no Negro students, and that there were on the average 22 students per faculty member in these 8 institutions. The bottom line shows that whereas the bulk of the institutions (1104 in the 0–2 percent column) have on the average 20 students per faculty member, those with predominantly Negro enrollment (the 96 in the 50–100 percent column) have on the average 16 students per faculty member. Table 15 provides the same categories of information on the percent of faculty with Ph. D. degree. Negro students are proportionally in colleges with lower proportions of Ph. D. faculty (bottom line of table 15) this is generally but not always true in the various regions.

Table 16 shows the average annual salary in dollars for faculty members in the same format as before. Negro students are in colleges with substantially lower faculty salaries. The institutions in the South and Southwest generally pay lower salaries than those in other regions, and the colleges serving primarily the Negro students are at the bottom of this low scale.

Other findings of the study are that—(1) in every region Negro students are more likely to enter the State College system than the State University system, and further they are a smaller proportion of the student body of universities than any other category of public institutions of higher education, (2) Negro students are more frequently found in institutions which have a high dropout rate, (3) they attend mainly institutions with low tuition cost, (4) they tend to major in engineering, agriculture, education, social work, social science, and nursing.

Future teachers

Since a number of investigations of teacher qualification in the past few years have indicated that teachers of Negro children are less qualified than those who teach primarily majority children, this survey investigated whether there might be some promise that the situation may be changed by college students now preparing to become teachers. To this end, questionnaire and achievement test data were secured from about 17,000 college freshmen and 5,500 college seniors in 32 teacher training colleges in 18 States that in 1960 included over 90 percent of the Nation's Negro population. Some of the findings of this survey are:

1. At both the freshman and senior levels, future teachers are very similar to students in their

Table 11.—Estimated number of college students by race and region

	New England	Mideast	Great Lakes	Plains	South	Southwest	Rocky Mountains	Far West	Total
Majority	313, 514	781, 112	821, 999	375, 043	778, 472	434, 005	175, 000	552, 153	4, 232, 098
Negro	2, 216	30, 226	30, 870	8, 500	101, 648	20, 620	1, 605	11, 631	207, 316
Other minority	1, 538	6, 542	10, 822	2, 885	4, 996	7, 012	1, 968	16, 092	51, 855
Total	317, 268	817, 880	863, 691	386, 428	885, 116	461, 637	179, 373	579, 876	4, 491, 269

Table 12.—Percent distribution of college students by race across region

	New England	Mideast	Great Lakes	Plains	South	Southwest	Rocky Mountains	Far West	Total
Majority	7. 41	18. 46	19. 42	8. 86	18. 39	10. 26	4. 15	13. 05	100
Negro	1. 07	14. 58	14. 89	4. 10	49. 03	9. 95	. 77	5. 61	100
Other minority	2. 97	12. 62	20. 87	5. 56	9. 63	13. 52	3. 80	31. 03	100

Table 13.—Percent distribution of college students by race within region

	New England	Mideast	Great Lakes	Plains	South	Southwest	Rocky Mountains	Far West
Majority	98. 82	95. 50	95. 17	97. 05	87. 95	94. 01	98. 01	95. 22
Negro	. 69	3. 70	3. 57	2. 20	11. 48	4. 47	. 89	2. 00
Other minority	. 48	. 80	1. 25	. 75	. 56	1. 52	1. 10	2. 78
Total	99. 99	100. 00	99. 99	100. 00	99. 99	100. 00	100. 00	100. 00

Table 14.—Student-faculty ratio

(1)	Negro enrollment											
	0 percent		0–2 percent		2–5 percent		5–10 percent		10–50 percent		50–100 percent	
	No. inst. (2)	Wtd. avg. (3)	No. inst. (4)	Wtd. avg. (5)	No. inst. (6)	Wtd. avg. (7)	No. inst. (8)	Wtd. avg. (9)	No. inst. (10)	Wtd. avg. (11)	No. inst. (12)	Wtd. avg. (13)
Public institutions:												
North Atlantic	8	22	64	21	15	23	5	21	2	69	6	16
Great Lakes and Plains	41	22	91	21	27	22	7	21	10	33	2	23
South	24	18	66	19	13	19	21	22	3	21	28	17
Southwest	3	26	46	23	24	27	8	28	------	------	3	20
Rocky Mountains and Far West	12	21	83	26	22	32	8	40	2	36	------	------
Private institutions:												
North Atlantic	70	12	265	20	58	16	11	25	14	13	2	11
Great Lakes and Plains	54	13	249	16	59	17	20	27	8	21	1	20
South	86	18	117	16	15	18	4	14	1	18	48	15
Southwest	9	19	33	18	10	18	1	22	------	------	6	16
Rocky Mountains and Far West	17	15	90	17	20	19	4	25	1	2	------	------
All public institutions	88	21	350	22	101	25	49	25	17	35	39	17
All private institutions	236	16	754	18	162	17	40	25	24	18	57	15
All institutions	324	18	1, 104	20	263	22	89	25	41	31	96	16

Table 15.—Percent faculty with earned doctorate

(1)	Negro enrollment											
	0 percent		0–2 percent		2–5 percent		5–10 percent		10–50 percent		50–100 percent	
	No. inst (2)	Wtd. avg. (3)	No. inst. (4)	Wtd. avg. (5)	No. inst. (6)	Wtd. avg. (7)	No. inst. (8)	Wtd. avg. (9)	No. inst. (10)	Wtd. avg. (11)	No. inst. (12)	Wtd. avg. (13)
Public institutions:												
North Atlantic	3	47	47	38	5	54	2	30	------	------	6	22
Great Lakes and Plains	2	46	49	41	12	28	2	23	2	42	2	34
South	12	29	49	30	12	32	3	26	1	17	18	19
Southwest	2	22	25	37	8	39	1	45	------	------	3	26
Rocky Mountains and Far West	4	37	32	40	2	27	1	32	------	------	------	------
Private institutions:												
North Atlantic	13	25	175	37	31	35	7	17	3	30	2	26
Great Lakes and Plains	10	32	179	30	35	26	6	23	4	29	1	27
South	31	32	78	32	12	23	2	28	1	33	28	29
Southwest	1	41	24	34	5	27	------	------	------	------	3	31
Rocky Mountains and Far West	8	22	67	38	15	35	3	25	------	------	------	------
All public institutions	23	36	202	37	39	35	9	28	3	34	29	21
All private institutions	63	30	523	34	98	31	18	20	8	30	34	29
All institutions	86	34	725	36	137	34	27	25	11	31	63	24

Table 16.—Average salary full professor through instructor

(1)	Negro enrollment											
	0 percent		0–2 percent		2–5 percent		5–10 percent		10–50 percent		50–100 percent	
	No. inst. (2)	Wtd. avg. (3)	No. inst. (4)	Wtd. avg. (5)	No. inst. (6)	Wtd. avg. (7)	No. inst. (8)	Wtd. avg. (9)	No. inst. (10)	Wtd. avg. (11)	No. inst (12)	Wtd. avg. (13)
Public institutions:												
North Atlantic	3	8, 577	38	8, 607	6	10, 601	2	11, 514	------	------	5	8, 152
Great Lakes and Plains	2	8, 268	43	8, 777	11	9, 417	2	8, 687	1	10, 005	2	8, 185
South	11	7, 296	45	7, 992	13	7, 838	3	6, 959	1	6, 784	19	6, 583
Southwest	2	7, 041	24	8, 176	7	7, 777	1	7, 41[illegible]	------	------	2	6, 806
Rocky Mountains and Far West	2	6, 436	28	8, 893	2	9, 641	------	------	------	------	------	------
Private institutions:												
North Atlantic	7	6, 513	156	8, 268	27	8, 867	6	8, 040	3	5, 947	1	8, 309
Great Lakes and Plains	7	6, 336	147	7, 781	30	7, 872	5	7, 145	4	7, 895	------	------
South	25	6, 421	63	7, 543	8	6, 340	3	6, 047	------	------	19	5, 974
Southwest	1	5, 816	23	6, 770	5	5, 784	------	------	------	------	2	5, 473
Rocky Mountains and Far West	1	5, 470	50	8, 448	9	7, 107	1	7, 302	------	------	------	------
All public institutions	20	7, 573	178	8, 491	39	9, 112	8	9, 248	2	8, 754	28	6, 824
All private institutions	41	6, 379	439	7, 964	79	8, 175	15	7, 640	7	7, 352	22	6, 652
All institutions	61	7, 165	617	8, 279	118	8, 756	23	8, 643	9	7, 795	50	6, 773

colleges who are following other career lines. (It should be remembered that these comparisons are limited to students in colleges that have a primary mission in the training of teachers, and is not, of course, a random sample of all colleges.)

2. Majority students being trained at the college level to enter teaching have a stronger preparation for college than have Negro students; that is, they had more courses in foreign languages, English, and mathematics, made better grades in high school, and more often were in the highest track in English.

3. Data from the senior students suggest that colleges do not narrow the gap in academic training between Negro and majority pupils; indeed, there is some evidence that the college curriculum increases this difference, at least in the South.

4. Substantial test score differences exist between Negro and white future teachers at both freshman and senior levels, with approximately 15 percent of Negroes exceeding the average score of majority students in the same region. (This figure varies considerably depending on the test, but in no case do as many as 25 percent of Negroes exceed the majority average.)

5. The test data indicate that the gap in test results widens in the South between the freshman and senior years. The significance of this finding lies in the fact that most Negro teachers are trained in the Southern States.

6. The preferences of future teachers for certain kinds of schools and certain kinds of pupils raise the question of the match between the expectations of teacher recruits and the characteristics of the employment opportunities.

The preferences of future teachers were also studied. Summarized in terms of market conditions, it seems apparent that far too many future teachers prefer to teach in an academic high school; that there is a far greater proportion of children of blue-collar workers than of teachers being produced who prefer to teach them; that there is a very substantial number of white teachers-in-training, even in the South, who prefer to teach in racially mixed schools; that very few future teachers of either race wish to teach in predominantly minority schools; and finally, that high-ability pupils are much more popular with future teachers than low-ability ones. The preferences of Negro future teachers are more compatible with the distribution of needs in the market than are those of the majority; too few of the latter, relative to the clientele requiring service, prefer blue-collar or low-ability children or prefer to teach in racially heterogeneous schools, or in special curriculum, vocational, or commercial schools. These data indicate that under the present organization of schools, relatively few of the best prepared future teachers will find their way into classrooms where they can offset some of the environmental disadvantage suffered by minority children.

School enrollment and dropouts

Another extensive study explored enrollment rates of children of various ages, races, and socioeconomic categories using 1960 census data. The study included also an investigation of school dropouts using the October 1965 Current Population Survey of the Bureau of the Census. This survey uses a carefully selected sample of 35,000 households. It was a large enough sample to justify reliable nationwide estimates for the Negro minority but not for other minorities. In this section the word "white" includes the Mexican American and Puerto Rican minorities.

According to the estimates of the Current Population Survey, approximately 6,960,000 persons of ages 16 and 17 were living in the United States in October 1965. Of this number 300,000 (5 percent) were enrolled in college, and therefore, were not considered by this Census Bureau study. Of the remaining, approximately 10 percent, or 681,000 youth of 16 and 17 had left school prior to completion of high school.

The bottom line of table 17 shows that about 17 percent of Negro adolescents (ages 16 and 17) have dropped out of school whereas the corresponding number for white adolescents is 9 percent. The following table 18 shows that most of this difference comes from differences outside the South; in the South the White and Negro nonenrollment rates are much the same.

Table 19 is directed to the question of whether the dropout rate is different for different socioeconomic levels. The data suggest that it is, for whereas the nonenrollment rate was 3 percent for those 16- and 17-year-olds from white-collar families, it was more than four times as large (13 percent) in the case of those from other than white-collar families (where the head of household

was in a blue-collar or farm occupation, unemployed, or not in the labor force at all). Furthermore, this difference in nonenrollment by parental occupation existed for both male and female, Negro and white adolescents.

The racial differences in the dropout rate are thus sharply reduced when socioeconomic factors are taken into account. Then the difference of 8 percentage points between all Negro and white adolescent dropouts becomes 1 percent for those in white-collar families, and 4 percent for those in other than white-collar families.

Table 20 breaks the data down by metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas as well as by South and non-South. The largest differences between Negro and white dropout rates are seen in the urban North and West; in the nonurban North and West there were too few Negro households in the sample to provide a reliable estimate. In the South there is the unexpected result that in the urban areas, white girls drop out at a greater rate than Negro girls, and in the nonurban area white boys drop out at a substantially greater rate than Negro boys.

Effects of integration on achievement

An education in integrated schools can be expected to have major effects on attitudes toward members of other racial groups. At its best, it can develop attitudes appropriate to the integrated society these students will live in; at its worst, it can create hostile camps of Negroes and whites in the same school. Thus there is more to "school integration" than merely putting Negroes and whites in the same building, and there may be more important consequences of integration than its effect on achievement.

Yet the analysis of school effects described earlier suggests that in the long run, integration should be expected to have a positive effect on Negro achievement as well. An analysis was carried out to examine the effects on achievement which might appear in the short run. This analysis of the test performance of Negro children in integrated schools indicates positive effects of integration, though rather small ones. Results for grades 6, 9, and 12 are given in table 21 for Negro pupils classified by the proportion of their classmates the previous year who were white. Comparing the averages in each row, in every case but one the highest average score is recorded for the Negro pupils where more than half of their classmates were white. But in reading the rows from left to right, the increase is small and often those Negro pupils in classes with only a few whites score lower than those in totally segregated classes.

Table 22 was constructed to observe whether there is any tendency for Negro pupils who have spent more years in integrated schools to exhibit higher average achievement. Those pupils who first entered integrated schools in the early grades record consistently higher scores than the other groups, although the differences are again small.

No account is taken in these tabulations of the fact that the various groups of pupils may have come from different backgrounds. When such account is taken by simple cross-tabulations on indicators of socioeconomic status, the performance in integrated schools and in schools integrated longer remains higher. Thus although the differences are small, and although the degree of integration within the school is not known, there is evident even in the short run an effect of school integration on the reading and mathematics achievement of Negro pupils.

Tabulations of this kind are, of course, the simplest possible devices for seeking such effects. It is possible that more elaborate analyses looking more carefully at the special characteristics of the Negro pupils, and at different degrees of integration within schools that have similar racial composition, may reveal a more definite effect. Such analyses are among those that will be presented in subsequent reports.

Case studies of school integration

As part of the survey, two sets of case studies of school integration were commissioned. These case studies examine the progress of integration in individual cities and towns, and illustrate problems that have arisen not only in these communities but in many others as well. The complete case studies are maintained on file at the Office of Education. In addition, publication of all or some of the reports by their authors will be carried out through commerical publishers.

In the main report, excerpts from these case studies are presented to illustrate certain recurrent problems. A paragraph which introduces each of these excerpts is given below, showing the kinds of problems covered.

Table 17.—Enrollment status of persons 16 and 17 years old not in college by sex and race, for the United States: October 1965

[Numbers in thousands. Figures are rounded to the nearest thousand without being adjusted to group totals, which are independently rounded]

Enrollment status	Total	Both sexes		Male		Female	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total not in college, 16–17 years	6,661	5,886	775	3,001	372	2,885	403
Enrolled:							
Private school	588	562	26	281	11	281	15
Public school	5,198	4,588	610	2,363	299	2,225	311
Not enrolled:							
High school graduate	194	183	11	66	2	117	9
Non-high-school graduate	681	553	128	291	60	262	68
Nonenrollment rate*	10	9	17	10	16	9	17

*Percent "not enrolled, non-high-school graduates" are of "total not in college, 16–17 years."

Table 18.—Enrollment status of persons 16 and 17 years old not in college by sex, race, and region of residence, for the United States: October 1965

[Numbers in thousands]

Enrollment status and region of residence	Total	Both sexes		Male		Female	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
SOUTH							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	2,141	1,676	465	847	238	829	227
Enrolled:							
Private school	108	89	19	45	11	44	8
Public school	1,666	1,297	369	669	195	628	174
Not enrolled:							
High school graduate	36	29	7	8	0	21	7
Non-high-school graduate	331	261	70	125	32	136	38
Nonenrollment rate*	15	16	15	15	13	16	17
NORTH AND WEST							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	4,520	4,210	310	2,154	134	2,056	176
Enrolled:							
Private school	480	473	7	236	0	237	7
Public school	3,532	3,291	241	1,694	104	1,597	137
Not enrolled:							
High school graduate	158	154	4	58	2	96	2
Non-high-school graduate	350	292	58	166	28	126	30
Nonenrollment rate*	8	7	19	8	21	6	17

*Percent "not enrolled, non-high-school graduates" are of "total not in college, 16–17 years."

Table 19.—Enrollment status of persons 16 and 17 years old by sex, race, and occupation of household head, for the United States: October 1965

[Numbers in thousands. Percent not shown where base is less than 50,000]

Enrollment status and occupation of household head	Total	Both sexes		Male		Female	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
WHITE COLLAR							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	2,065	2,017	48	1,081	31	936	17
Enrolled:							
Private school	275	257	18	135	11	122	7
Public school	1,680	1,654	26	893	18	762	8
Not enrolled:							
High school graduate	44	42	2	14	2	28	0
Non-high-school graduate	65	63	2	39	0	24	2
Nonenrollment rate*	3	3	4	4	----	3	----
NOT WHITE COLLAR							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	4,596	3,869	727	1,920	341	1,949	386
Enrolled:							
Private school	313	305	8	146	0	159	8
Public school	3,517	2,933	584	1,470	281	1,463	303
Not enrolled:							
High school graduate	150	141	9	52	0	89	9
Non-high-school graduate	616	490	126	252	660	238	66
Nonenrollment rate*	13	13	17	13	18	12	17

*Percent "not enrolled, non-high-school graduates" are of "total not in college, 16–17 years".

Table 20.—Nonenrollment rates of persons 16 and 17 years old not in college by sex, race, type of area, and region of residence, for the United States: October 1965

[Numbers in thousands. Percent not shown where base is less than 50,000]

Nonenrollment rate, type of area, and region of residence	Total	Both sexes		Male		Female	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Urbanized South:							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	715	545	170	295	95	250	75
Nonenrollment rate*	10	9	12	4	14	16	11
Urbanized North and West:							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	2,576	2,301	275	1,237	124	1,064	151
Nonenrollment rate*	8	6	20	7	23	6	17
Nonurbanized South:							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	1,426	1,131	295	552	143	579	152
Nonenrollment rate*	18	19	17	21	13	17	20
Nonurbanized North and West:							
Total not in college, 16–17 years	1,944	1,909	35	917	10	992	25
Nonenrollment rate*	8	8	----	9	----	7	----

*Percent "not enrolled, non-high-school graduates" are of "total not in college, 16–17 years."

Table 21.—Average test scores of Negro pupils

Grade	Region	Reading comprehension, proportion of white classmates last year				Math achievement, proportion of white classmates last year			
		None	Less than half	Half	More than half	None	Less than half	Half	More than half
12	Metropolitan Northeast	46.0	43.7	44.5	47.5	41.5	40.6	41.1	44.5
12	Metropolitan Midwest	46.4	43.2	44.0	46.7	43.8	42.6	42.9	44.8
9	Metropolitan Northeast	44.2	44.8	44.8	47.1	43.1	43.5	43.7	47.2
9	Metropolitan Midwest	45.3	45.2	45.3	46.4	44.4	44.3	44.1	46.6
6	Metropolitan Northeast	46.0	45.4	45.8	46.6	44.0	43.4	43.6	45.6
6	Metropolitan Midwest	46.0	44.7	44.9	45.1	43.8	42.8	42.9	44.1

Table 22.—Average test scores of Negro pupils

Grade	Region	First grade with majority pupils	Proportion of majority classmates last year				Total
			None	Less than half	Half	More than half	
9	Metropolitan Northeast	1, 2 or 3	45.9	46.7	46.9	48.1	46.8
		4, 5 or 6	45.2	43.3	44 4	44.4	44.8
		7, 8 or 9	43.5	42.9	44.6	45.0	44.0
		Never	43.2				43.2
9	Metropolitan Midwest	1, 2 or 3	45.4	46.6	46.4	48.6	46.7
		4, 5 or 6	44.4	44.1	45.3	46.7	44.5
		7, 8 or 9	44.4	43.4	43.3	45.2	43.7
		Never	46.5				46.5
12	Metropolitan Northeast	1, 2 or 3	40.8	43.6	45.2	48.6	46.2
		4, 5 or 6	46.7	45.1	44.9	46.7	45.6
		7, 8 or 9	42.2	43.5	43.8	49.7	48.2
		10, 11 or 12	42.2	41.1	43.2	46.6	44.1
		Never	40.9				40.9
12	Metropolitan Midwest	1, 2 or 3	47.4	44.3	45.6	48.3	46.7
		4, 5 or 6	46.1	43.0	43.5	46.4	45.4
		7, 8 or 9	46.6	40.8	42.3	45.6	45.3
		10, 11 or 12	44.8	39.5	43.5	44.9	44.3
		Never	47.2				47.2

Lack of racial information.—In certain communities, the lack of information as to the number of children of minority groups and of minority group teachers, their location and mobility, has made assessment of the equality of educational opportunity difficult. In one city, for example, after a free transfer plan was initiated, no records as to race of students were kept, thereby making any evaluation of the procedure subjective only. Superintendents, principals, and school boards sometimes respond by declaring racial records themselves to be a mark of discrimination.

A narrative of "the racial headcount problem" and the response to the search for a solution is given in the excerpt from the report on San Francisco.

Performance of minority group children.—One of the real handicaps to an effective assessment of equality of education for children of minority groups is the fact that few communities have given systematic testing and fewer still have evaluated the academic performance and attitudes of these children toward education. Yet quality of education is to be estimated as much by its consequences as by the records of the age of buildings and data on faculty-student ratio. A guide to cities now planning such assessment is a pupil profile conducted in Evanston, Ill.

In 1964, the Director of Research and Testing for District 65 gathered and analyzed data on "ability" and "achievement" for 136 Negro children who had been in continuous attendance at

either Central, Dewey, Foster, or Noyes school through the primary years. A group of 132 white children in continuous attendance for the same period at two white primary schools was compared. Seven different measures from kindergarten through seventh grade were correlated and combined by reducing all measures to stanines. The excerpt from the Evanston report examines in detail the performance of these two groups of children.

Compliance in a small community.—Many large metropolitan areas North and South are moving toward resegregation despite attempts by school boards and city administrations to reverse the trend. Racial housing concentration in large cities has reinforced neighborhood school patterns of racial isolation while, at the same time, many white families have moved to the suburbs and other families have taken their children out of the public school system, enrolling them instead in private and parochial schools. Small towns and medium-sized areas, North and South, on the other hand, are to some extent desegregating their schools.

In the Deep South, where there has been total school segregation for generations, there are signs of compliance within a number of school systems. The emphasis on open enrollment and freedom of choice plans, however, has tended to lead to token enrollment of Negroes in previously white schools. In school systems integrated at some grade levels but not at others, the choice of high school grades rather than elementary grades has tended further to cut down on the number of Negroes choosing to transfer because of the reluctance to take extra risks close to graduation.

The move toward compliance is described in the excerpt from the report on one small Mississippi town.

A voluntary transfer plan for racial balance in elementary schools.—The public schools are more rigidly segregated at the elementary level than in the higher grades. In the large cities, elementary schools have customarily made assignments in terms of neighborhood boundaries. Housing segregation has, therefore, tended to build a segregated elementary school system in most cities in the North and, increasingly, in the South as well, where *de facto* segregation is replacing *de jure* segregation.

Various communities have been struggling to find ways to achieve greater racial balance while retaining the neighborhood school. Bussing, pairing, redistricting, consolidation, and many other strategies have been tried. Many have failed; others have achieved at least partial success. In New Haven, Conn., considerable vigor has been applied to the problem: Whereas pairing was tried at the junior high level introducing compulsory integration, a voluntary transfer plan was implemented at the elementary level. Relief of overcrowding was given as the central intent of the transfer plan, but greater racial balance was achieved since it was the Negro schools that were overcrowded. With the provision of new school buildings, however, this indirect stimulus to desegregation will not be present. In New Haven the transfer plan was more effective than in many other communities because of commitment of school leadership, active solicitation of transfers by door-to-door visits, provision of transportation for those transferring, teacher cooperation, heterogeneous grouping in the classrooms, and other factors.

The original plan provided that a student could apply to any one of a cluster of several elementary schools within a designated "cluster district," and the application would be approved on the basis of availability of space, effect on racial balance and certain unspecified educational factors; that students "presently enrolled" at a particular school would be given priority; and that transportation would be provided where necessary.

Desegregation by redistricting at the junior high school level.—The junior high schools, customarily grades 7 to 9, have been the focus of considerable effort and tension in desegregation plans in many communities. With most areas clinging to the neighborhood school at the elementary level with resultant patterns of racial concentration, and with high schools already more integrated because of their lesser reliance upon neighborhood boundaries and their prior consolidation to achieve maximum resources, junior high schools have been a natural place to start desegregation plans. Like the elementary schools, they have in the past been assigned students on the basis of geography; but on the other hand, they tend to represent some degree of consolidation in that children from several elementary schools feed one junior high school. Further, parental pressures have been less severe for the maintenance of rigid neighborhood boundaries than at the elementary level.

Pairing of two junior high schools to achieve greater racial balance has been tried in a number of communities. Redistricting or redrawing the

boundaries of areas that feed the schools has been tried in other areas. In Berkeley, Calif., after considerable community tension and struggle, a plan was put into effect that desegregated all three junior high schools (one had been desegregated previously). All the ninth graders were sent to a single school, previously Negro, and the seventh- and eighth-graders were assigned to the other two schools. The new ninth grade school was given a new name to signal its new identity in the eyes of the community. The excerpt describes the period following initiation of this plan and the differential success of integration in the different schools.

A plan for racial balance at the high school level.—In a number of communities, students are assigned to high schools on the basis of area of residence and hence racial imbalance is continued. In Pasadena, Calif., a plan was initiated to redress this imbalance by opening places in the schools to allow the transfer of Negroes to the predominantly white high school. A measure of success was achieved but only after much resistance. Of interest particularly in this situation was the legal opinion that attempts to achieve racial balance were violations of the Constitution and that race could not be considered as a factor in school districting. Apparently previous racial concentration, aided by districting, had not been so regarded, yet attempts at desegregation were. The school board found its task made more difficult by such legal maneuvering. The excerpt describes the deliberations and controversy in the school board, and the impact of the court decision, which finally upheld the policy of transfers to achieve racial balance.

Segregation at a vocational school.—The Washburne Trade School in Chicago seems to be effectively segregated by virtue of the practices and customs of the trade unions, whose apprenticeship programs have been characterized by racial isolation. Washburne has presented the same picture since its founding in 1919 after the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act by Congress. That Act provides for the creation of apprenticeship programs in which skilled workers are trained both in school and on the job. For example, a young man who wishes to be certificated as a plumber may work at his job 4 days a week and attend a formal training program 1 day or more or evenings.

The apprenticeship programs are heavily financed and regulated by the Federal Government through the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In recent years the regulations have focused increasingly upon racial segregation within the union structures. One of the causes for this concern has been the rather discouraging racial pattern in the apprenticeship schools. Washburne seems to preserve that pattern. In 1960 an informal estimate showed that fewer than 1 percent of the 2,700 Washburne students were Negroes. Half of the apprenticeship programs conducted at the school had no Negroes whatsoever. This excerpt describes the state of racial segregation at Washburne and at Chicago's vocational schools.

Relation of a university to school desegregation.—Education is a continuum—from kindergarten through college—and increasingly public school desegregation plans are having an impact on colleges in the same area, particularly those colleges which are city or State supported. Free tuition, as in the New York City colleges, has no meaning for members of minority groups who have dropped out of school in high school and little meaning for those whose level of achievement is too low to permit work at the college level. A number of colleges, through summer tutorials and selective admittance of students whose grades would otherwise exclude them, are trying to redress this indirect form of racial imbalance.

In Newark, Del., the pressures for desegregation in the public schools have had an effect on the nearby University of Delaware indicated by the following excerpt:

> There are striking parallels in reactions to integration among Newark's civic agencies, school district, and the University of Delaware. Because the university plays such a large part in Newark's affairs, this excerpt examines its problems with school integration.

* * * * *

This section concludes the summary report on the survey; the summary report is the first section of the full report, and it is also printed separately for those who desire only an overview of the main findings of the survey. The full report contains a great deal of detailed data from which a small amount has been selected for this summary. It also contains a full description of the statistical analysis which explored the relationships between educational achievement and school characteristics.

U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE · 1966—O-223-185