DOCUMENT RESUME

ABSTRACT
        This report presents the preliminary findings of a
research project designed to investigate the ways local school
systems in the North deal with de facto school segregation. The
communities chosen for the investigation are those 95 cities in the
Permanent Community Sample of the National Opinion Research Center
(NORC) which are non-Southern and had a black population of at least
3,000 in 1960. NORC interviewers conducted a series of 19 elite
interviews with local politicians, government officials, school
system personnel, civic leaders, and civil rights leaders. The design
and methodology was such that the interviewees were treated as
informants giving information about the city rather than as
respondents giving information about themselves. The report focuses
primarily on the decision-making processes revolving around the first
major demand for the improvement of education for Negroes.
Descriptive analyses of the demands presented to the school systems
and the responses of the latter to these demands are presented. The
decision of many school systems to initiate a busing program is
further analyzed, and some of the correlates of this decision are
discussed. Included among these correlates are the general liberalism
of the school board, levels of controversy in a city, and the general
level of civil rights activity in a city. (Author/RJ)

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN THE NORTH:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Report No. 86

OEG-2-7-061610-0207

BR. 6-1610-05

By

David J. Kirby

With the assistance of:

Hank Becker

Robert Crain

Robert Harris

Laura Morlock

October 1970

The Johns Hopkins University

Baltimore, Maryland

ABSTRACT


This report presents the preliminary findings of a research
project designed to investigate the ways local school systems in the
North deal with de facto school segregation and the problems arising
from it.  The communities chosen as the focus of this research are
those ninety-five cities in the National Opinion Research Center's
Permanent Community Sample which are "non-southern" and which had a
black population of at least 3,000 in 1960.  Within each of the sample
cities NORC interviewers conducted a series of eighteen elite inter-
views with local politicians, government officials, school system
personnel, civic leaders, and civil rights leaders.  An important
feature of the design and methodology is the fact that these inter-
viewees were treated as informants who would give us information about
the city rather than as respondents who would give us information
about themselves.

The report focuses primarily on the decision-making processes
revolving around the first major demand for the improvement of educa-
tion for Negroes.  A descriptive analysis of both the demands presented
to the school systems and the responses of the school systems to these
demands is presented.  The decision of many school systems to initiate
a busing program is singled out for further analysis, and some of the
correlates of this decision are discussed.  Included among these
correlates are the general liberalism of the school board, levels of
controversy in a city, and the general level of civil rights activity
in a city.

## Introduction

Since 1960 northern cities have faced the problem of how to deal with de facto school segregation. In cities like Washington, D. C., the problem is overwhelming. Ninety-three and a half per cent of the public school system's students are Negro, and less than 1 per cent of them attend schools which are more than 50 per cent white. In other cities, like St. Paul, Minnesota, the problem seems more manageable at first glance. Only 5.8 per cent of St. Paul's public school students are black, and 87.6 per cent of them attend schools which are predominantly white. However, both St. Paul and Washington, D. C. have been faced with demands from civil rights groups to end de facto segregation in the schools, and both have had to respond to those demands.

This report presents the preliminary findings from research designed to investigate the ways local school systems in the North deal with de facto segregation and the problems arising from it. The research program, funded by the Carnegie Corporation, assumed the existence of variation between communities in the way the politics of desegregation is carried out. Furthermore, we assumed that this variation was not idiosyncratic, but was related to other characteristics of cities. In the broadest sense, the purpose of this study was to understand how political systems deal with their political problems. In a narrower sense, it was concerned with the political problems local school systems confront as a result of de facto segregation.

## Sample and Data Collection

The communities which were chosen as the focus of the research are
those ninety-five cities in the National Opinion Research Center's
Permanent Community Sample which are "non-southern", and which in 1960
had a Negro population of at least 3,000.  (See Appendix A.)  The
Permanent Community Sample is a national probability sample of all
American cities which had a population of 50,000 or more in 1960, and
is stratified by size.  It includes all cities of 150,000 population or
more; 76 per cent of the cities from 100,000-149,999; 56 per cent of the
cities from 75,000-99,999; and 40 per cent of the cities from 50,000-
74,999.

For the purposes of this research "non-southern" includes all
cities in the West, North Central, and Northeast census regions
(excluding Alaska, Hawaii, and territorial possessions) as defined by
the U.S. Bureau of the Census, and those cities in the South census
region which desegregated their public school systems immediately after
the 1954 Brown decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.  That is, those
southern cities which ceased maintaining de jure segregated school
systems immediately after the Brown decision are treated here as "non-
southern."

Because the research was concerned primarily with school deseg-
regation and the political activity surrounding this phenomenon, the
sample was limited to those cities from the Permanent Community Sample
where there was some probability of the issue of school desegregation

2

arising, namely cities with a black population large enough to have one
or more segregated schools. It was estimated that the minimum number
of blacks in a population needed to produce at least one segregated
elementary school in a city was 3,000. Consequently, the additional
restriction that each city have a black population of at least 3,000
was placed on the sample.

Table 1 shows for each size category the number of cities in the
United States having a 1960 population of 50,000 or more; the sampling
percentage of the Permanent Community Sample; the number of northern
cities in the United States (as we have defined northern); and the per
cent of all northern cities in the United States which were sampled for
this research. The restrictions of location and racial composition
resulted in a final sample of ninety-five cities, which was further
reduced to ninety-three when circumstances made it impossible to begin
field work in two cities -- Oakland and Boston.

---

Insert Table 1 about here

---

Excluding those northern cities in the Permanent Community Sample
which had fewer than 3,000 blacks meant that sixty-one cities were
eliminated, each having a population of 250,000 or less. Fifty-seven
of these sixty-one cities had a population of 150,000 or less; sixteen
ranged in population from 75,000 to 99,999; and thirty-one ranged from
50,000 to 74,999. Moreover, twenty-two (35 per cent) were "central

3

cities" and forty-one (65 per cent) were "suburban" communities. A city
was considered "suburban" if it was located within thirty-five miles of
another city with a population two or more times as large. The largest
city in an area was considered the "central city." The net effect,
therefore, of applying the racial composition criterion to the
Permanent Community Sample was to eliminate many smaller and suburban
communities. Thirty-seven (61.6 per cent) of the cities eliminated
for the aforementioned reason were suburbs of one of the thirteen largest
cities in the northern United States. However, sixteen cities in the
final sample of ninety-one (17.6 per cent) were also suburbs of these
same thirteen cities (see Table 2). Therefore, while the number of
northern suburban cities was reduced by limiting the sample to those
cities with more than 3,000 blacks, such cities were by no means
completely eliminated.

_____

Insert Table 2 about here
_____

In summary, 60 per cent of all northern cities in the Permanent
Community Sample, and 37 per cent of all northern cities in the entire
United States are included in our final sample. As Table 3 shows, this
represents 77.6 per cent of the total population of northern cities in
the Permanent Community Sample. While they are neither a randomly
selected nor statistically representative sample of all northern U.S.

4

cities, these ninety-three cities do represent the universe of all
northern U.S. cities with a population of 250,000 or more, and they are
a fairly representative sample of all northern cities of 50,000 or more
which contain at least 3,000 Negroes.  Although suburban communities
are slightly under-represented, it is not in any way evident that the
final sample otherwise differs radically from any stratified random
sample of all northern U.S. cities that might be drawn.  Therefore, we
consider these ninety-three cities to be a representative sample of
"big cities" in the northern United States.

---

Insert Table 3 about here

---

Within each of the sample cities, National Opinion Research Center
interviewers conducted a series of eighteen interviews.  These included
interviews with persons in the following positions:

1. City editor of a major local newspaper
2. 1955 school board member
3. Mayor or his administrative assistant
4. Political leader of the party opposite the Mayor
5. A major civic leader in the community
6. An informed civil rights leader in the community
7. Superintendent of schools
8. PTA president
9. A "moderate" civil rights leader knowledgeable about city
   schools in 1963
10. A "moderate" civil rights leader knowledgeable about city
    schools in 1968
11. A "militant" civil rights leader
12. A black politician
13. A black businessman
14. A current member of the school board who is black

15. A current member of the school board who is knowl-
edgeable about the desegregation issues in the city
16. A current school board member who is knowledgeable
about school board elections or appointments
17. A current school board member who is knowledgeable
about city school finances
18. A member of the school superintendent's staff

An additional self-administered questionnaire was completed by a member

of a local newspaper staff whose area of special interest or assignment

was education or schools, bringing the total number of different

questionnaires administered to nineteen.  Respondents did not receive

the same questionnaire or questions, although some questions were common

to all interviews.  In essence, the project proposed to interview a

city, and the interview was divided among nineteen different parts of

that city.

Respondents were interviewed in three "waves," with each wave

supplying information and names used in formulating questions and

identifying respondents for the next.  The first wave consisted of the

education reporter questionnaire and provided general description of

and information about the major school desegregation issues in the

city, the actors involved in these issues, the characteristics of the

city's political system, and the characteristics of the school system

and administration.  The second wave of interviews (#1-6) dealt with

such factors as the most important problems and controversies facing

the city since 1960 (not necessarily with regard to race or school

desegregation); the people most influencial in the city and in the

resolution of the city's problems; a recent mayoral election; changes

in the characteristics and style of school board operation and

recruitment since 1955; information on civic leaders and organizations; and the identification of and information about the local civil rights movement, organizations, and leaders. Respondents in the third and final wave (#7-18) were questioned in greater detail about the response of the school system, civil rights organizations, the political system, and the general public to the city's major school desegregation issue or demand; the recruitment of school board members; the recruitment, political behavior, and career of the Superintendent of Schools; the general financial backing given the school system in terms of budgetary, tax and bond support by the political system, civic elite, and the general public; the recruitment practices of civil rights organizations; the attitudes and ideologies of civil rights leaders (leaders in the black community); and school system statistical data.

The education reporters received their questionnaires by mail in November of 1967. Upon their completion, and after a preliminary analysis and the extraction of material to be used in succeeding interviews, the second wave of questionnaires was administered beginning in April of 1968. The third wave began in July, 1968 and continued through May of 1969. Table 4 shows the response rate for each of the nineteen questionnaires. The education reporter and superintendent of schools were the most difficult interviews to obtain, but even in these two cases, 85 per cent of the questionnaires were completed. This excellent response rate is partially due to the fact that each questionnaire could be answered by any one of several persons in a city. While the research is, in the abstract, a sample survey, there are

7

important differences between a survey of individuals and a survey of
cities, which influenced the design of this study. Since information
must come from a number of different sources in each community, the
"questionnaire" was written in such a way as to make optimal use of
the variety of sources. We were primarily interested in procuring
information about a city and its decision-making process, and assumed
that any one of several civic leaders or civil rights leaders, for
example, could provide us with the necessary information. Consequently,
the interviewers were provided with the names of several potential
respondents for each questionnaire, and if the first choice could not
or would not cooperate, we attempted to interview the second choice.
In most cases, our first choice did cooperate, but the important fact
is that we were treating the interviewees as informants rather than
respondents.[1] Therefore, no one person was crucial to our design, and
no one person's refusal to cooperate was very damaging.

---

Insert Table 4 about here

---

One final point should be made about the sample and data collection.
We experienced problems with the interviewers after completion of the
first two waves of questionnaires both in Long Beach, California, and
Tucson, Arizona. Because we were unable to find and train two new

---

[1]Even though the methodology and design of the study distinguish
between informant and respondent, this report uses the two terms
interchangeably.

interviewers in the time available, Long Beach and Tucson were dropped

from the sample after the second wave. Consequently, the total sample

size for the first and second waves is ninety-three, and it is ninety-

one for the third wave.

In summary, these nineteen questionnaires administered in the

ninety-three cities totaled approximately 350 pages of questions and

produced more than 15,000 computer columns of raw data for each sample

city. The resulting data bank represents the product of four man

years on the research design and questionnaire construction, not to

mention the time spent interviewing. This report presents and comments

upon some preliminary findings from the research just described. We

shall address ourselves to three sets of questions.

1. How can we describe the range and distribution of school
   desegregation decisions in the urban North?

2. What attitudes do community leaders in the urban North hold
   toward integration?

3. What are the causes, or correlates, of a city's decision to
   initiate busing as a desegregation action?


The Demand for Northern School Desegregation

We cannot at this time provide a complete descriptive account of

the entire course of school desegregation in each of our cities although

we hope to be able to comment on this in future reports. In this report

we will focus primarily on the decision-making processes revolving

around the first major demand for the improvement of education for

Negroes in each city. The questionnaire sent to the education reporters

provided us with the basic data on the first major demand. This respon-
dent was asked to give us a factual account of two or three issues or
events, or series of events, in his city since 1960, including the first
major demand for the improvement of education for Negroes. Specifically,
he was asked,

> Since 1960, what was the first major public demand for the
> improvement of education for Negroes made to the public
> school system? By this we mean the first demand which had
> ʀ broad base of support and the public backing of at least
> one of the two important civil rights groups in the city
> ıt that time.

Where we did not receive a completed education reporter questionnaire,
the same question was given to the city editor. Similarly, when the
city editor was unable to document a first major demand, the question
was given to the 1963 educational civil rights leader respondent. If
none of these three respondents was able to recall a first major demand,
the city was coded as having none.

To give the reader a flavor for the kinds of issues and events we
are studying, several of the first major demands are given below.

> Buffalo, N. Y. -- In the winter of 1964 the NAACP demanded that
> school board integrate the new Woodlawn Junior High School when
> it opened.

> Hamilton, Ohio -- In April of 1968, a committee of concerned
> citizens in the second and fourth wards demanded that the school
> board reappoint a teacher who had been fired, hire more black
> professionals in the schools, hire a black principal at the
> Harrison School, incorporate black studies in the curriculum,
> assist black students in finding employment, and generally
> upgrade black education.

> Portland, Oregon -- In October of 1962 the Portland Citizens
> Committee on Racial Imbalance asked the school board to reduce
> overcrowding at 99 per cent black Westinghouse High School.

> Sacramento, Calif. -- In August of 1963 the NAACP demanded that
> the school board solve the problem of de facto school segregation.

10

Waterbury, Conn. -- During the summer of 1965 the Federation for
Our Rights demanded that the school board redraw school boundaries
so that Negroes would be evenly distributed throughout three
high schools.

In general, the first major demands indicated a growing concern by local

civil rights groups over de facto segregation, and they usually included

a desire for integration as the best solution. Table 5 shows that in

more than three-fourths of the eighty cities where demands on the

school board have been made, the first major demand called for some form

of student integration. The first major demand in a few cities sought

the integration of faculties and administration, and there were other

scattered demands for the upgrading of existing black schools, improve-

ment of curriculum, and the construction of new schools. But by far

the most common thrust of the first demands was for general student

integration.

---

Insert Table 5 about here

---

We also know several other things about the first major demand.

Table 6 shows that the civil rights groups presenting these demands to

the school boards were, for the most part, local branches of the

established and traditional civil rights groups in the country: the

NAACP, CORE, and the Urban League.

---

Insert Table 6 about here

---

Most of the demands were made in the early and middle 1960's.
Table 7 indicates that about 60 per cent of the first major demands
occurred prior to 1965. Furthermore, the demands were primarily city-
wide in scope. Forty-eight per cent advocated changes that would
affect the entire city school system, and another 31 per cent of the
demands were concerned with more than one of the city's schools. (See
Table 8.) Finally, Tables 9 and 10 show that while the demands were
only slightly more oriented toward immediate action rather than broader
policy changes, this was very much dependent on when the first major
demand took place. Those demands which occurred from 1960 to 1963 were
much more likely to have been concerned with a change in school board
policy than were those demands which were made after 1963. Sixty-
eight per cent of the first major demands made prior to 1964 advocated
a change in school board policy, while only 31 per cent of the demands
made after 1963 were primarily concerned with broad policy changes.

---

Insert Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 about here

---

In summary, the events with which we are concerned in this report
revolve around the first major demands for the improvement of education
for Negroes made in the ninety-three sample cities. In general, we
found these demands to be oriented toward integration of students rather
than toward the improvement of existing black schools, and to have been
made in the early and middle 1960's by more traditional and moderate

12

civil rights groups. We are not addressing ourselves to the total

civil rights activity surrounding the school desegregation issue in any

city, and this report should be read with that fact firmly in mind.

It is the first major demand, and the reactions of various actors in

the school systems to those demands with which we are concerned.


## School System Responses to the First Major Demand

Remembering that we are concerned only with what could be a small

portion of the total civil rights activity involving the school system,

our next task is to analyze just what the school systems did in response

to the demands presented to them. Much of the data presented in this

section comes from the education reporter questionnaire. For example,

this respondent was asked, "During the three months after this

first major demand was made, what was the first reaction of the

school system? Was it a policy statement, or some specific action, or

did they do nothing during these three months?" Table 11 shows that the

immediate response for 23 per cent of the cities was to do nothing at

all. The only action another 51 per cent of the school systems took

was either to issue a statement or appoint a committee to study the

problem and report back to the school board. It was only the remaining

26 per cent of the school systems who took some kind of action.


Insert Table 11 about here


13

The fact that a large percentage of systems reacted by doing nothing or at most appointing a committee to study the problem suggests two hypotheses. The first is that school systems were basically unaware that the problems presented to them existed, or if they were aware, chose to ignore them. School systems did not anticipate the demands, and therefore, were unable to respond to them. On the other hand, by placing the problem in the hands of an official committee, the school system could both legitimize the demand and demonstrate the school system's concern about it. They were not committing the schools to any particular remedy, and they were leaving most of their options open. The first hypothesis suggests that school boards and administrators are reactors instead of initiators, while the second indicates that they have some political savvy. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and we should be able to test both of them with further analysis of the data.

The overall responses by school systems to the first major demands, as given to us by the education reporter, are shown in Table 12. By overall response we mean any action taken by the school system in response to the first major demand from the time the demand was first presented until it was settled or died out. Only 7 per cent of the cities failed to take any of the actions listed, and it is possible that those systems took other kinds of actions not listed on the forced choice question. Because a school system could take more than one response to a single demand, the percentages in Table 12 do not total

14

100. It should be emphasized here that we are not talking about the number of children or schools desegregated. Rather, we are talking about gross indications of the school system's response and commitments to desegregation.

---

Insert Table 12 about here

---

## The Decision to Bus

The act of busing students in order to achieve integrated schools has often been considered the most radical alternative available to a school system. Although it may have the same effect on a school district's racial distribution as would redrawing school attendance boundaries or closing a segregated school, busing is thought by many to be the epitome of "forced integration." It can arouse enormous amount of controversy and hostility among certain segments of the population, especially lower and working class whites. Therefore, the decision of a school board to initiate or expand a busing program in order to integrate the schools can be most significant, both in terms of its potential political consequences and in terms of its effect on the school budget.

We cannot say exactly how much busing took place in any one city, or just what the busing accomplished, but Table 13 shows that those cities which bused to integrate were also more likely to initiate other

significant desegregation actions. Taking into account four other
desegregation actions a school system could use, we considered building
an educational park and closing a segregated school to be more positive
commitments to school desegregation than either open enrollment or
boundary changes. Similarly, we felt that a school system employing
both open enrollment and boundary changes was taking a bigger step than
the school system using just one or the other. With these assumptions
in mind, Table 13 shows that school systems which bused to integrate
were much more likely either to close a segregated school or build an
educational park than were those systems which bused to reduce over-
crowding or did not bus at all. Similarly, busing to integrate was
never a solitary action. It was always accompanied by some other step.

---

Insert Table 13 about here

---

Table 14 shows that whether or not a city bused is also a good
predictor of whether or not it integrated one or more all-white
elementary schools. Sixty-eight per cent of those cities which bused
claim to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school,
while only 38 per cent of those cities not busing claim to have done so.
This suggests that busing is a very important step in the desegregation
process. Some cities seem to have integrated white elementary schools
without using it, but most have not.

---

Insert Table 14 about here

---

16

Although the data suggest that cities who bused in response to
the first major demand were more likely to have complemented it with
other significant actions, and were more likely to have integrated at
least one all-white elementary school, we cannot say how many children
were affected by the actions described above. We can conclude,
however, that busing is not the radical action it is sometimes pictured
to be. Sixty-one per cent of the cities presented with demands to
improve the education of Negroes included some form of busing in their
response. Furthermore, 39 per cent claimed they did so specifically
to integrate the schools, not just to reduce overcrowding.

On the other hand, the busing is essentially one way -- from
black schools to white schools. Table 15 and 16 show that school
administrators claim to have integrated many more previously all-white
elementary schools than previously all-black schools. Controlling for
the fact that some school administrators refused to acknowledge that
their city had any all-white or all-black schools, 60 per cent claimed
to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school since
1963, while only 27 per cent claimed to have integrated at least one
all-black elementary school. If white as well as black children were
being bused we would expect these percentages to be more nearly equal.

---

Insert Tables 15 and 16 about here

---

Furthermore, most black students still attend predominantly black
schools. Utilizing data provided by the U.S. Department of Health,

17

Education, and Welfare, we were able to compute for the forty-three largest school districts in our sample the percentage of Negro students attending schools which are more than 50 per cent black. This distribution is shown in Table 17. Almost three-fourths of the forty-three cities have more than 70 per cent of their black students attending schools which are predominantly Negro. This lends further support to the contention that the busing programs initiated in response to the first major demands are both small and stress the transfer of black students rather than white students.

---

Insert Table 17 about here

---

Of course the size of the Negro population in a school district is a major factor preventing integration. Figure 1 demonstrates that the higher the number of Negro students in a city's public school system, the lower the percentage of Negroes in predominantly white schools. For most of the big city ghettos, less than 10 per cent of the blacks are integrated into majority white schools. New York City is an exception, where 19.7 per cent of the blacks are integrated.

---

Insert Figure 1 about here

---

An additional factor, although related to the size of the Negro school population, is residential segregation, a basic cause of de facto

18

school segregation. Even if Negroes constitute only a small percentage
of a city's school population, segregated housing patterns can place
those blacks in neighborhood schools which themselves then become just
as segregated. We would expect that the correlation between a measure
of residential segregation (such as the Tauber Index) and the percentage
of Negroes attending predominantly white schools in a city is highly
negative. The more segregated the residential patterns in a city, the
less likely are Negroes to attend majority white schools. Hypotheses
such as this will be examined more closely in future reports.

In summary, while we can point out that some desegregation has
taken place in response to what we have called the first major demand,
it is very difficult to say how much. While more than 60 per cent of
our sample cities which experienced a demand for improved Negro education
initiated some kind of busing program, the vast majority of Negro
students remain in majority black schools. Demands have been presented
and responses have been made, but the effects of both are negligible --
at least in terms of the number of blacks attending schools with whites.


## Attitudes toward Integration

We have already seen that the civil rights groups who made the
first major demands favored integration. Eighty-one per cent of the
demands asked in some way or another for an end to segregated schools.
Although there were also demands for the upgrading of black schools and
the inclusion of black studies in curricula, by far the biggest emphasis

19

of the demands was for integration. Furthermore, our data suggest that even though more recent demands on school systems may be less oriented toward integration and more oriented toward the improvement of black schools, the former is still encouraged by many civil rights leaders. Perhaps it is the reasons that blacks want integrated schools that have changed.

When 430 black civil rights leaders in our ninety-three cities were asked, "Will Negroes learn more in integrated schools?" 88 per cent of the 374 who responded said yes. However, almost two-thirds of those believing Negroes benefit academically from integration saw the cause to be the better books, teachers, and equipment found in white schools. (See table 18.) Another third felt that blacks who go to school with whites feel less inferior, and as a result are more motivated to learn. A final 6 per cent thought that students in integrated schools work harder, and therefore, the teacher can cover material more rapidly. In general, these black respondents seem to argue that integration per se does not benefit Negro achievement, but that the ancillary benefits of better equipment and teachers are what really count. If this inter- pretation of their feelings is correct, we would expect that the lack of "reverse busing" (i.e., the transfer of white children to inner city schools) in most cities does not bother today's civil rights leaders. If it is black pride, better equipment, and qualified teachers that are the keys to improved Negro academic performance, then busing white students to the ghetto is basically irrelevant.

Insert Table 18 about here

20

The hypothesis that black leaders support school integration primarily because of the resulting academic benefits that accrue to Negro students is further refuted by the data in Table 19. Only 23 per cent considered increased Negro academic performance a most important reason for integrating the schools. Instead, black support seems to stem from moral and social reasons. Integrated schools are most important because "It is morally wrong to segregate students" and "Negroes and whites need the opportunity to become accustomed to each other so that they will not become prejudiced." This suggests that black leaders think school integration is more useful in combating white prejudices and discrimination than in raising Negro academic performance.

Insert Table 19 about here

The fact that the black civil rights leaders seem to consider better equipment and facilities to be a major factor associated with improved Negro achievement is somewhat inconsistent with our finding that demands for the upgrading of Negro schools and the improvement of facilities and teachers were not stressed in the first major demands. (See Table 5.) There are several possible interpretations for this difference, any or all of which might be true.

First, while black civil rights leaders may have firmly believed in the importance and necessity of integration at the time of the first major demand, their belief in the importance of black pride and black

21

consciousness may be stronger at the present time. The increasingly
frequent demand by civil rights groups for community control of schools
is an indication that this attitude change has taken place among
blacks. The attitude change might also reflect the resolution of
cognitive dissonance. Since the belief in and demand for integrated
schools has produced few results, black leaders may have convinced them-
selves that it is not integration that matters anyway. Finally, black
leaders may think that even though it is equipment and facilities that
are important, it is unrealistic to think that black communities can,
or that white communities will, provide the needed resources to upgrade
black schools. Therefore, the only way to make these resources
available to Negroes is to send black students to the white schools that
have them already. In this sense, integration is only a means to attain
better facilities, not an end in and of itself.

School board and superintendents all express a firm commitment to
integrated education. Table 20 shows that more than 70 per cent of each
of the four school board respondents and the superintendents disagreed
with the statement that, "There is no reason to believe that Negroes
will learn more in integrated schools." We do not know why they believe
this, but we think it indicates a strong belief in integration.

---

Insert Table 20 about here

---

Further support for this hypothesis is given in Tables 21 to 23.
Two members of the school board in each city were asked to give their

22

opinions of the positions of all school board members, the mayor and
the school superintendent on a hypothetical integration program which
involved special integration efforts, such as busing or altering the
grade organization. Each of our two responding school board members
rated every other member of the board on a scale from 1 (most favorable
to integration) to 5 (least favorable). Every board member's two
ratings were averaged into a single score, and the median for the
entire board was taken as the board's final score. Table 23 shows that
70 per cent of the school boards were considered slightly or strongly
in favor of special integration efforts. Almost 80 per cent of the
superintendents were thought to be in favor of such efforts, and even
though the mayors were rated less favorably than either the super-
intendents or school boards, more than one-half were scored as slightly
or strongly in favor of special integration efforts. These latter tables
suggest that superintendents and school boards are not only overwhelming
in favor of integrated schools, but that they are also willing to under-
take special efforts in order to achieve them.

Insert Tables 21, 22 and 23 about here

In summary, although both black and white community leaders
support statements advocating school integration, the reasons behind
that support probably vary. Both may agree that integration has a moral
value but we hypothesize that black leaders support school integration
in part because they consider it the only immediately feasible

23

way to supply Negro students with adequate teachers and equipment.
White leaders may additionally consider integration valuable because
they think sitting next to whites somehow causes Negroes to learn more.
(Such an opinion is supported by data from the Coleman Report.[1]) On
the basis of the analysis done thus far, it is difficult to clearly
distinguish the reasons different groups support school integration.
However, the fact remains that integrated education is still endorsed
by many leaders, both black and white, in our big cities today.


## Correlates of a School System's Decision to Bus

The final section of this report will look at some of the
correlates of a school system's decision to undertake busing as a
response to the first major demand. We have already seen that busing
is not the radical action that many have considered it to be. Sixty-
one per cent of the cities initiated some form of busing as a result of
the first major demand. On the other hand, busing often requires a
large outlay of monetary and political capital; costs the school system
may not be willing to pay. This section will look at a few differences
between the 61 per cent of the cities and school systems who did bus
and the 39 per cent who did not. Controversy -- Controversy scores
were developed for each city by summing the responses of the city editor,
political leader, and major civic leader to a question asking them to
rate eleven issues in the city on a scale from one (little controversy)

---

[1]James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity
(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966). See also Racial
Isolation in the Public Schools, A Report of the U. S. Commission on
Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).

24

to four (much controversy). Included among these eleven issues were "Controversy over education" and "Controversy over race relations." The final distribution of scores for each issue and for the total of all issues was trichotomized and crosstabulated with the decision to bus.

Table 24 shows that a school system's decision to bus was positively related to the amount of reported controversy in a city. However, the table also suggests that controversy did not influence a board's decision to bus as a response to the first major demand as much as it n.ight have affected it's overall decision to bus. High controversy over education and race relations is more strongly asso- ciated with a city ever having bused than it is with having bused in response to the first major demand. This suggests two related possibilities. First, controversy and pressure may not have influenced the school boards' response to the first major demand as much as might be expected. Second, school systems could have been forced to bus because of a buildup in controversy brought about by any delay on their part. That is, the longer a school board waited to initiate busing, the more controversy developed, and the greater pressure there was to bus. Civil Rights Activity -- This interpretation is further supported when we look at the relationship between busing and the Mass Activity Index in Table 25. The Mass Activity Index is a measure based on the extent to which a city has experienced economic and school boycotts, demonstrations, and sit-ins since 1960. A high score indicates that a

25

city has had more such civil rights activity and a low score indicates
less activity relative to other cities. Although a school system's
decision to bus is positively related to this measure, the association
is stronger for those cities which bused sometime after the first
major demand than it is for those cities who used busing as a response
to the first major demand.

---

Insert Tables 24 and 25 about here

---

## School Board Liberalism

Each of the four school board respondents in the study was asked
to fill in a thirty-five item "agree-disagree" attitude questionnaire
similar to the one used by Robert Crain in an earlier study of school
desegregation.[1] A general "liberal-conservative" attitude scale was
constructed by means of a weighted summated rating procedure using
sixteen of the items. (See Appendix B.) An unweighted average of the
four school board member scores on this scale was used as the final
school board liberalism measure.

Although "liberal" and "conservative" are often loaded words, we
will use these terms to help describe the responses to these scales.
The basis for distinguishing the two positions is the conception each
embodies of the relationship between man and society, or social structure.

---

[1]Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Chicago:
Aldine Publishing Company, 1968).

26

On the one hand, society can be justified or defended by attitudes and ideology. Here, the duty of man is to adjust and conform to the structure and its institutions. On the other hand, society can be judged critically in terms of its consequences for the welfare of man; that welfare, of course, being defined by ideology and attitudes.

"Conservative" attitudes and ideologies are those that tend to define man's situation in terms that defend the status quo. They emphasize the importance and value of existing social arrangements, and the necessity of man's adjusting to them. "Liberal" attitudes, on the other hand, tend to justify and advocate changing the social structure or some aspect of it. Liberals generally feel that man should reshape and mold his environment when he is constrained by it, rather than try to adjust to the environment as the conservative would have him do. In using these terms to describe the general attitude of a school board we do not mean to imply a "rightness" or a "wrongness" to any position or attitude. The terms are used to distinguish general approaches advocated to achieve the goals both liberals and conservatives espouse; namely, the maximum opportunity for all persons to develop their potential.

Table 26 shows that liberal school boards were much more likely than conservative boards to use busing as a response to the first major demand. Furthermore, school board liberalism seems to have been a more important factor influencing the decision to use busing as a first major demand response than it was in any later decision to bus. The

27

gamma coefficients between liberal attitude scores and busing are much higher for the first major demand period than they are for the period after the first major demand.

---

Insert Table 26 about here

---

In summary, the attitudes of school board members seem to be a better predictor of whether or not the school system bused in response to the first major demand than either the amount of controversy in the city or the amount of civil rights activity. School board liberalism correlates +.82 with having bused in response to the first major demand, while controversy and civil rights activity correlate only +.36 and +.18 respectively. This suggests that civil rights protests, demonstrations, and pressures had less to do with a school board's decision to introduce busing than did the attitudes the school board members brought with them to their positions. On the other hand, controversy and civil rights activity did seem to influence the school boards in the long run. The gamma coefficients were higher between controversy, civil rights activity, and school systems who bused after the first major demand than they were between controversy, civil rights activity, and school systems who bused in response to the first major demand.

28

## Summary and Conclusions

Although we have analyzed only a small portion of our data, the material presented in this report reveal several interesting patterns. First, thirteen of the ninety-three cities in our sample seem to have experienced no major demand for the improvement of Negro education. Given the pervasiveness and intensity of the civil rights and black power movements since 1960, we find this puzzling. Five of the thirteen cities without a first major demand are located in the Far West and have less than 5 per cent Negro in their populations. Eight of the cities have less than 7 per cent Negro and seven are in the Far West. However, neither being located in the Far West nor having a small Negro population seem to be a good explanation for the lack of a major demand. Twelve, of the nineteen cities in the Far West census region, did experience demands, as did such cities as Minneapolis, St. Paul, Des Moines, and Tacoma -- each with a black population of less than five per cent. It is possible that these cities may have done something to ward off any possible demonstrations and demands on the part of civil rights groups. However, our data indicate that Pasadena was the only city to initiate any kind of desegregation action without first being presented with a demand for it. Further analysis of the data should provide more insight into why these cities have experienced no demands.

In the eighty cities where demands for improved Negro education have been presented, we saw that the first demand usually asked for

29

integrated schools. Even though earlier demands were more oriented toward a change in school board policy while later demands were more concerned with immediate action, in both cases integration was seen as the key. General support for integrated schools was also suggested by the overwhelming agreement among black and white community leaders that Negroes learn more in integrated schools. We hypothesized that although both blacks and whites support integration, the reasons for this support vary. Blacks may support integration primarily because it means better facilities and equipment for Negro students, while whites view integrated schools more as an end in themselves. On the basis of the data available for this report, this hypothesis above must be treated as extremely tentative, and we will want to test and develop it as we analyze the data further.

We have focused our initial analysis of school system responses to the first major demand on the decision to bus. Almost two-thirds of the cities initiated some kind of busing program, and we hypothesized that the earlier this decision was made the more likely it was due to the liberal attitudes of the school board members rather than from the pressures resulting from civil rights activity and controversy. Although busing or not busing is an easily codified response, the actual decisions to desegregate, and the ultimate range of responses made are much more complex. Busing is only one of many options available to a school system, and in many cases it may not have been the most important response. Further analysis of the data will enable

30

us to develop more complete and comprehensive measures of the school

system's actions, both in response to the first major demand and over

a longer period of time.

Our discussion took into account only a few of the factors that

seem to effect both the extent and process of school desegregation in

a city. While school board liberalism, controversy, and civil rights

activity seem to be related to a school system's response to demands

for improved Negro education, they tell only a small part of the total

story. Demographic characteristics, political styles of cities, the

organization and influence of civil rights organizations, school board

recruitment processes, and other school board characteristics are

additional factors that will have to be taken into account before the

processes of school desegregation can be completely understood.

Finally, our preliminary analysis suggests that the effects of the

actions taken by school systems in response to the first major demand

have been minimal. Most black students still attend predominantly

Negro schools, and while cities which bused are more likely than cities

which did not bus to claim to have integrated at least one elementary

school, most of the busing was evidently from black schools to white

schools. The school boards in our cities agreed that integrated

education is a good thing, but neither the boards nor parents seem

willing to transfer white children to inner city schools in order to

achieve that integration. More than twice as many school systems claim

to have integrated at least one previously all-white elementary school

31

as claim to have integrated a previously all-black elementary school.
Future analysis of the data will include a more accurate assessment
of the effect of school desegregation actions.

## TABLE 1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION COMPARING CITIES IN THE PERMANENT COMMUNITY SAMPLE AND RESEARCH SAMPLE IN TERMS OF POPULATION SIZE, LOCATION, AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

| City Population | Universe: Total number U.S. Cities 50,000+ | PCS Sampling Percentage | Number of Cities in PCS | Number of "Northern" Cities in PCS | Number of "Northern" Cities with 3000+ Blacks in PCS | Number of "Northern" Cities in U. S. | Number of "Northern" Cities with 3000+ Blacks in Research Sample | Per Cent of all "Northern" U.S. Cities in Research Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1,000,000 or more | 5 | 100% | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 100.0% |
| 500 - 999,999 | 16 | 100% | 16 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 91.7% |
| 250 - 499,999 | 30 | 100% | 30 | 21 | 21 | 30 | 20 | 66.7% |
| 150 - 249,999 | 30 | 100% | 30 | 20 | 16 | 30 | 16 | 53.4% |
| 100 - 149,999 | 49 | 76% | 37 | 28 | 18 | 34 | 18 | 52.9% |
| 75 - 99,999 | 61 | 56% | 35 | 28 | 12 | 49 | 12 | 24.5% |
| 50 - 74,999 | 121 | 40% | 47 | 42 | 11 | 91 | 11 | 12.1% |
| Total | 312 | | 200 | 156 | 95 | 251 | 93 | 37.1% |

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF "SUBURBAN" AND "CENTRAL CITIES" IN PERMANENT COMMUNITY
SAMPLE, IN THE RESEARCH SAMPLE, AND AMONG THOSE CITIES ELIMINATED
(NORTHERN CITIES)

| Total City Population (1960) | Permanent Community Sample | | Research Sample | | Eliminated | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Suburb | Central City | Suburb | Central City | Suburb | Central City |
| 1,000,000+ | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 999,999 - 500,000 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 1 |
| 499,999 - 250,000 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 19 | 0 | 1 |
| 249,999 - 150,000 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 4 |
| 149,999 - 100,000 | 10 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 5 | 5 |
| 99,999 - 75,000 | 17 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 7 |
| 74,999 - 50,000 | 31 | 11 | 4 | 7 | 27 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 59 | 97 | 18 | 75 | 41 | 22 |

TABLE 3

COMBINED POPULATIONS OF ALL LARGE "NORTHERN" CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH THE POPULATIONS OF THOSE CITIES USED IN THE PERMANENT COMMUNITY SAMPLE AND THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

| City Population | Total Population of ALL U. S. "North-ern" Cities in size category | Total Population of ALL "Northern" Cities in PCS in size category | Total Population of ALL "Northern" Cities in Research Sample by size category | Per Cent of Total "Northern" Popula-tion in Research sample | Per Cent of PCS "Northern" Popula-tion in Research sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1,000,000 or more | 17,484,059 | 17,484,059 | 17,484,059 | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| 500 - 999,999 | 8,277,845 | 8,277,845 | 7,580,648 | 91.6% | 91.6% |
| 250 - 499,999 | 7,640,336 | 7,640,336 | 7,272,788 | 95.2% | 95.2% |
| 150 - 249,999 | 3,717,220 | 3,717,220 | 2,995,735 | 80.6% | 80.6% |
| 100 - 149,999 | 3,977,815 | 3,273,890 | 2,170,023 | 54.6% | 66.3% |
| 75 - 99,999 | 4,207,973 | 2,410,667 | 1,045,723 | 24.9% | 43.4% |
| 50 - 74,999 | 5,536,730 | 2,547,933 | 899,176 | 16.2% | 35.3% |
| Total | 50,841.978 | 45,351,950 | 39,437,792 | | 87.0% |

TABLE 4

RESPONSE RATES FOR EACH QUESTIONNAIRE

| Wave 1 | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Education Reporter (self-administered) | 86 |

| Wave 2 | |
|---|---|
| City Editor | 100 |
| 1955 School Board Respondent | 99 |
| Mayor or his administrative assistant | 99 |
| Political leader from opposite party of mayor | 100 |
| Major civic leader | 99 |
| Civil Rights Informant | 98 |

| Wave 3 | |
|---|---|
| Superintendent of Schools | 85 |
| City or regional PTA president | 100 |
| 1963 Educational Civil Rights Leader | 100 |
| 1968 Educational Civil Rights Leader | 99 |
| Black school board member | 97 |
| Election/Appointment specialist on school board | 98 |
| School Board finance specialist | 98 |
| School Board desegregation specialist | 96 |
| Militant civil rights leader | 99 |
| Black Political Leader | 97 |
| Black Civic Leader | 97 |
| Member of Superintendent's Staff | 95 |

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FIRST MAJOR DEMANDS
BY PRIMARY CONCERN OF THE DEMAND

| Integration of Students | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Integration; end segregation (general) | 54 |
| Re-draw school boundaries | 15 |
| Open enrollment | 6 |
| Bus for integration | 3 |
| Build an educational park | 1 |
| Close a segregated school | 1 |
| Integrate extra-curricular activities | 1 |

| Integration of Faculty or Administration | |
|---|---|
| Hire more Negro teachers or administrators | 5 |
| Integrate the faculty or administrative staff | 1 |
| Put more Negroes on the school board | 1 |

| Other | |
|---|---|
| Upgrade existing black schools | 3 |
| Build new neighborhood schools | 3 |
| Improve curriculum | 3 |
| Reduce overcrowding | 1 |
| Other | 3 |
| TOTAL | 101[a] |

Base N          80
No FMD cities   13
Total           93

[a]Differs from 100 per cent because of rounding.

37

TABLE 6

ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS PRESENTING
THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Local branch of a national civil rights organization (NAACP, CORE, Urban League) | 63 |
| City-wide civil rights organization, or coalitions of local groups | 16 |
| Neighborhood, school, or church based civil rights groups | 11 |
| Local or state government official and agencies | 6 |
| Other | 4 |
| Total | 100 |
|  | N=80 |

Base N    80
No FMD    13
Total     93

TABLE 7

YEAR IN WHICH FIRST MAJOR DEMAND
IS REPORTED TO HAVE OCCURRED

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| 1960 | 4 |
| 1961 | 8 |
| 1962 | 9 |
| 1963 | 24 |
| 1964 | 14 |
| 1965 | 17 |
| 1966 | 9 |
| 1967 | 13 |
| 1968 | 3 |
| Total | 101[a] |
| N | 78 |
| Base N | 78 |
| No FMD | 13 |
| Missing Data | 2 |
| Total | 93 |

[a]Differs from 100 per cent because of rounding

TABLE 8

TARGET OF FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

| One school | 21 |
|---|---|
| Several schools | 31 |
| E.ntire school system | 48 |
| Total | 100 |
| Base N | 80 |
| Cities with no FMD | 13 |
| Total | 93 |

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST MAJOR DEMAND, BY
WHETHER THE DEMAND WANTED IMMEDIATE ACTION
OR A LONG RUN POLICY CHANGE BY SCHOOL BOARD

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| First major demand advocated change in school board policy | 43 |
| First major demand advocated immediate action in some area | 57 |
|  | 100 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Base N | 80 |
| Cities with no FMD | 13 |
| Total | 93 |

TABLE 10[1]

ASSOCIATION OF THE YEAR OF THE FIRST MAJOR
DEMAND WITH WHETHER OR NOT THE DEMAND WAS
CONCERNED WITH IMMEDIATE ACTION OR A LONGER
RANGE POLICY CHANGE

| Year of Demand | Concern of Demand | |
|---|---|---|
|  | Policy | Action |
| 1960-1963 | 68% | 31% |
| 1964-1967 | 32% | 69% |
|  | 100 | 100 |
|  | N=28 | N=39 |
|  | Q=+.65 | |

---

[1]Part of the differences in "policy-action" concerns of the first
major demand over time may be due to the ability of respondents to re-
member specific details better for more recent events. The degree to
which this is true reduces the true relationship between the variables.

TABLE 11


CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS' IMMEDIATE
RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMANDS, AS
REPORTED BY THE EDUCATION REPORTER RESPONDENT


|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Issued a statement or appointed a committee to study and report on the demand | 51 |
| Took some kind of action | 26 |
| Did nothing | 23 |
| Total | 100 |
|  | (N=70) |


| | |
|---|---|
| Base N | 70 |
| No FMD cities | 13 |
| Missing data | 10 |
| Total | 93 |

TABLE 12

ACTIONS TAKEN BY SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN RESPONSE
TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND BETWEEN THE TIME
THE DEMAND WAS FIRST MADE AND WHEN IT
FINALLY DIED OUT OR WAS SETTLED

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Initiated or expanded compensatory education program | 51 |
| Asked for a report from the school administration | 45 |
| Initiated or expanded open enrollment | 41 |
| Appointed a committee to study the demand | 39 |
| Re-drew school boundaries | 31 |
| Buil: a new school | 25 |
| Closed a segregated school | 12 |
| Both bused to integrate and for overcrowding | 12 |
| Bused for overcrowding only | 11 |
| Bused to integrate only | 9 |
| None of these | 7 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Base N | 65 |
| Cities with no FMD | 13 |
| Missing data cities | 15 |
| Total | 93 |

# TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DECISION TO BUS AND OTHER ACTIONS TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

| | Built Ed. Park Closed Seg. School | Both Open Enroll, and Boundary Chng. | Either Open Enroll, or Boundary Change | None of these | Missing Data Cities |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bus to Integrate | Albany<br>Bridgeport<br>Buffalo<br>Lansing<br>New York<br>Niagara Falls<br>Pittsburgh<br>Providence<br>Riverside<br>St. Paul<br>San Bernadino<br>Seattle<br>Springfield, Mass.<br>Stamford<br>Syracuse | Hartford<br>Newark<br>Portland | Des Moines<br>New Haven<br>Omaha<br>Racine<br>Rochester<br>Sacramento<br>St. Louis<br>Tacoma | | Ann Arbor<br>Berkeley<br>Camden<br>E. Orange<br>Minneapolis |
| Bus for Overcrowd | Erie<br>Lexington | Baltimore<br>Dayton<br>Denver<br>Detroit | E. St. Louis<br>Ft. Wayne<br>Gary<br>Kansas City, Mo.<br>Los Angeles<br>Waterbury<br>Wichita | Cleveland<br>Grand Rapids<br>San Francisco | Toledo<br>Washington |
| Neither | | Jersey City | Charleston, W.V.<br>Chicago<br>Kansas City, Kan.<br>Milwaukee<br>Passaic<br>Saginaw<br>Tulsa<br>Utica<br>Waukegan<br>Wilmington | Akron<br>Lima<br>Long Beach<br>Muncie<br>Oklahoma City<br>South Bend<br>Waterloo | Hamilton<br>Louisville<br>Philadelphia<br>Rockford<br>Youngstown |

CITIES WITH NO FIRST MAJOR DEMAND:
Albuquerque   Flint   Phoenix   Trenton   Yonkers
Cambridge   Las Vegas   Santa Monica   Tucson
Colorado Springs   Pasadena   Springfield, Ill.   Warren

43

TABLE 14


PER CENT OF CITIES WHO HAVE CLAIMED TO INTEGRATE
ONE OR MORE ALL-WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SINCE
1963 AS A RESULT OF SCHOOL BOARD POLICY, BY WHETHER
OR NOT THE CITY BUSED IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST
MAJOR DEMAND


| Number of Schools Integrated | Extent of Busing | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | No Busing | Busing to Integrate or Overcrowding | Busing to Integrate and Overcrowding |
| None | 62% | 56% | 17% |
| One or more | 38% | 44% | 83% |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | (N=16) | (N=19) | (N=18) |

Gamma = +.62

## TABLE 15

### EXTENT TO WHICH CITIES CLAIM TO HAVE
### INTEGRATED ALL-WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
### AS A RESULT OF SCHOOL BOARD ACTION

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Cities claiming to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school | 60 |
| Cities claiming to have integrated no all-white elementary schools | 40 |
|  | 100 |
|  | (N=52) |
| Number of cities claiming no all-white elementary schools | 3 |
| Missing data | 38 |
| Base N | 52 |
| Total | 93 |

## TABLE 16

### EXTENT TO WHICH CITIES CLAIM TO HAVE
### INTEGRATED AT LEAST ONE ALL-BLACK
### ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS A RESULT OF
### SCHOOL BOARD ACTION

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Cities claiming to have integrated at least one all-black elementary school | 27 |
| Cities claiming to have integrated no all-black elementary schools | 73 |
|  | 100 |
|  | (N=30) |
| Base N | 30 |
| Number of cities claiming no all-black elementary schools | 11 |
| Missing data/questionnaire | 53 |
| Total | 93 |

45

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES SHOWING PERCENTAGE
OF NEGROES IN CITY WHO ATTEND PREDOMINANTLY
NEGRO (50% OR MORE) SCHOOLS

| Per Cent Negroes Attending Schools 50%+ Black | Per Cent of Cities in Each Category |
|---|---|
| 0 - 10 | 0 |
| 11 - 20 | 5 |
| 21 - 30 | 5 |
| 31 - 40 | 0 |
| 41 - 50 | 5 |
| 51 - 60 | 9 |
| 61 - 70 | 5 |
| 71 - 80 | 30 |
| 81 - 90 | 21 |
| 91 - 100 | 21 |
| Total | 101 |
|  | (N=43) |

FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN
PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS
(50% or more white)
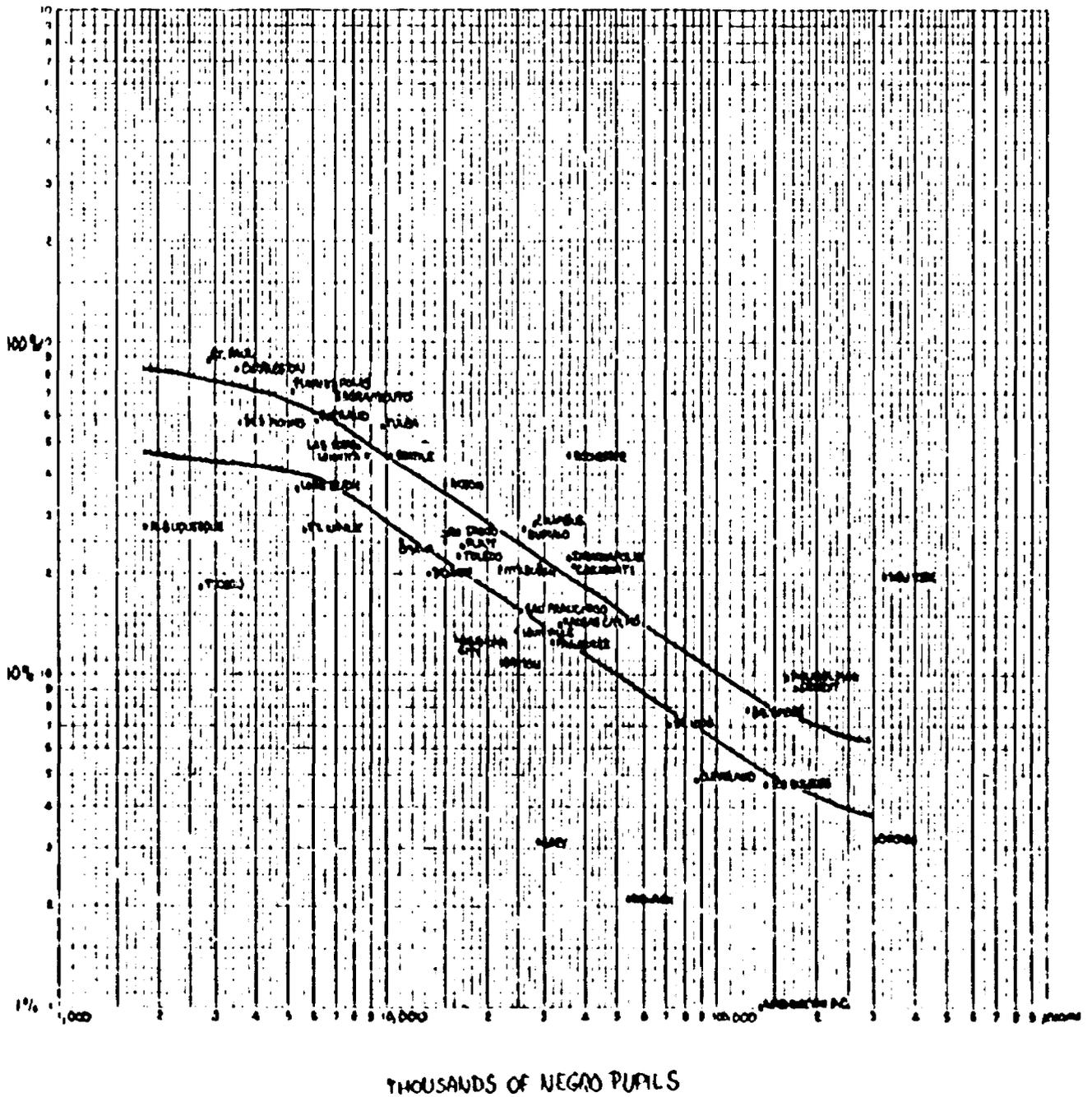


THOUSANDS OF NEGRO PUPILS

47

TABLE 18

REASONS GIVEN BY BLACK LEADERS WHY NEGROES
LEARN MORE IN INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

|  | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Schools that whites attend have better books, teachers, equipment, etc. | 64 |
| Blacks in school with whites feel less inferior and are motivated to learn better | 31 |
| Students in integrated schools work hard and the teacher doesn't have to go as slowly | 6 |
| Total | 101 |
|  | (N=308) |

TABLE 19

BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:
"WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON
WHY THE SCHOOLS SHOULD BE INTEGRATED?"

Per Cent Answering

|  | Most Impt. | Very Impt. | Less Impt. | Not Impt. | Total | Base N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| "It is morally wrong to segregate students." | 53 | 18 | 15 | 14 | 100 | 376 |
| "Negroes and whites need the opportunity to become accustomed to each other so they will not be prejudiced." | 52 | 31 | 11 | / | 101 | 380 |
| "School integration will indicate to everyone that Negroes must be treated equally." | 30 | 29 | 19 | 22 | 100 | 372 |
| "Negroes learn more in integrated schools" | 23 | 35 | 19 | 23 | 100 | 364 |

48

TABLE 20

RESPONSES OF SUPERINTENDENT AND FOUR SCHOOL
BOARD MEMBERS TO THE STATEMENT: "THERE IS
NO REASON TO THINK THAT NEGROES WILL LEARN
MORE IN AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL."

|  | Per Cent | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Agree | Tend to Agree | Tend to Disagree | Disagree | Total |
| Superintendent (N=74) | 0 | 16 | 37 | 47 | 100 |
| Black School Board Member (N=84) | 6 | 8 | 30 | 56 | 100 |
| School Board Desegregation Spec. (N=81) | 9 | 19 | 38 | 35 | 101 |
| School Board Finance Spec. (N=82) | 10 | 18 | 33 | 39 | 100 |
| School Board Election/ Appointment Specialist (N=86) | 10 | 14 | 43 | 33 | 100 |

TABLE 21

POSITION OF SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT ON
HYPOTHETICAL SPECIAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS
ACCORDING TO TWO SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

| Per Cent Ranked | Black School Board Member | School Board Desegr. Spec. |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly in favor | 57 | 60 |
| Slightly in favor | 22 | 18 |
| Neither | 8 | 8 |
| Slightly opposed | 9 | 6 |
| Strongly opposed | 5 | 8 |
| Total | 101 (N=79) | 100 (N=78) |

TABLE 22

POSITION OF MAYOR ON HYPOTHETICAL
SPECIAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS ACCORDING
TO TWO SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

| Per Cent Ranking Mayor: | Black School Board Member | School Board Desegr. Spec. |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly in favor | 39 | 36 |
| Slightly in favor | 26 | 26 |
| Neither | 21 | 18 |
| Slightly opposed | 8 | 7 |
| Strongly opposed | 6 | 13 |
| Total | 100 (N=66) | 100 (N=61) |

TABLE 23

MEDIAN POSITION OF SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS
ON HYPOTHETICAL SPECIAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS

| Position | Per Cent of School Boards |
|---|---|
| 1.0 (Strongly in favor) | 26 |
| 1.5 | 15 |
| 2.0 (Slightly in favor) | 25 |
| 2.5 | 4 |
| 3.0 (Neither) | 10 |
| 3.5 | 4 |
| 4.0 (Slightly opposed) | 10 |
| 4.5 | 2 |
| 5.0 (Strongly opposed) | 3 |
| Total | 99[a] |
| | (N=93) |

[a]Differs from 100 per cent because of rounding

TABLE 24

GAMMA COEFFICIENTS SHOWING THE ASSOCIATION
BETWEEN CONTROVERSY SCORES, THE DECISION TO
BUS IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND,
AND WHETHER OR NOT THE CITY HAS EVER BUSED

| | School System Bused in Response to FMD | School System Bused in Response to FMD or Later |
|---|---|---|
| Controversy over education | +.23 | +.30 |
| Controversy over race relations | +.27 | +.41 |
| Total Controversy score | +.36 | +.36 |

TABLE 25

GAMMA COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN MASS CIVIL RIGHTS
ACTIVITY AND THE SCHOOL BOARD'S DECISION TO BUS

Association of Mass Civil Rights Activity with:

Busing in response to the First Major Demand.      +.18

Busing at any time.                                +.36

TABLE 26

GAMMA COEFFICIENTS SHOWING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
LIBERAL ATTITUDE SCORES OF SCHOOL BOARDS, THE
DECISION TO BUS IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND,
AND WHETHER OR NOT THE CITY HAS EVER BUSED

| | School System Bused in Response to FMD | School System Bused in Response to FMD or later |
|---|---|---|
| Race Liberalism | +.57 | +.25 |
| Total Liberalism | +.82 | +.50 |

APPENDIX A

Non-Southern Cities in the Permanent Community Sample
with at Least 3,000 Negroes

1. Akron, Ohio
2. Albany, N. Y.
3. Albuquerque, N. Mex.
4. Ann Arbor, Michigan
5. Baltimore, Maryland
6. Berkeley, Calif.
7. Boston, Mass.
8. Bridgeport, Conn.
9. Buffalo, N. Y.
10. Cambridge, Mass.
11. Camden, N. J.
12. Charleston, W. Va.
13. Chicago, Ill.
14. Cincinnati, Ohio
15. Cleveland, Ohio
16. Colorado Springs, Colo.
17. Columbus, Ohio
18. Dayton, Ohio
19. Denver, Colo.
20. Des Moines, Iowa
21. Detroit, Mich.
22. East Orange, N. J.
23. East St. Louis, Ill.
24. Erie, Pa.
25. Evansville, Ind.
26. Flint, Mich.
27. Fort Wayne, Ind.
28. Gary, Ind.
29. Grand Rapids, Mich.
30. Hamilton, Ohio
31. Hartford, Conn.
32. Indianapolis, Ind.
33. Jersey City, N. J.
34. Kansas City, Kans.
35. Kansas City, Mo.
36. Lansing, Mich.
37. Las Vegas, Nev.
38. Lexington, Ky.
39. Lima, Ohio
40. Long Beach, Calif.
41. Los Angeles, Calif.
42. Louisville, Ky.
43. Milwaukee, Wis.
44. Minneapolis, Minn.
45. Muncie, Ind.
46. Newark, N. J.
47. New Haven, Conn.

48. New York, N. Y.
49. Niagara Falls, N. Y.
50. Oakland, Calif.
51. Oklahoma City, Okla.
52. Omaha, Nebr.
53. Pasadena, Calif.
54. Passaic, N. J.
55. Paterson, N. J.
56. Peoria, Ill.
57. Philadelphia, Pa.
58. Phoenix, Ariz.
59. Pittsburgh, Pa.
60. Pontiac, Mich.
61. Portland, Oreg.
62. Providence, R. I.
63. Racine, Wis.
64. Riverside, Calif.
65. Rochester, N. Y.
66. Rockford, Ill.
67. Sacramento, Calif.
68. Saginaw, Mich.
69. St. Louis, Mo.
70. St. Paul, Minn.
71. San Bernadino, Calif.
72. San Diego, Calif.
73. San Francisco, Calif.
74. Santa Monica, Calif.
75. Seattle, Wash.
76. South Bend, Ind.
77. Springfield, Ill.
78. Springfield, Mass.
79. Stamford, Conn.
80. Syracuse, N. Y.
81. Tacoma, Wash.
82. Toledo, Ohio
83. Trenton, N. J.
84. Tucson, Ariz.
85. Tulsa, Okla.
86. Utica, N. Y.
87. Washington, D. C.
88. Warren, Ohio
89. Waterbury, Conn.
90. Waterloo, Iowa
91. Waukegan, Ill.
92. Wichita, Kans.
93. Wilmington, Del.
94. Yonkers, N. Y.
95. Youngstown, Ohio

A-1

# APPENDIX B

## Attitude Items Used in "School Board Liberalism" Scales

| Race Liberalism | "Liberal" Response |
|---|---|
| There is a problem with the civil rights movement because many Negroes are demanding privileges which whites do not have. | Disagree |
| There is no reason to think that Negroes will learn more in an integrated school. | Disagree |
| The federal and state government should establish agencies to help Negroes find housing outside the ghetto. | Agree |
| In many cases, Negro leaders have not been willing to make reasonable compromises on civil rights issues. | Disagree |
| The government has been too lenient in handling rioters. | Disagree |
| Most demonstrations have hurt the Negroes' cause as much as they have helped. | Disagree |

**Total Liberalism** (scale included the items listed above)

| | |
|---|---|
| Teachers should not have the right to strike. | Disagree |
| The government has the responsibility to see to it that all people, rich or poor, have adequate housing, medical care, and protection against unemployment. | Agree |
| In principal, federal aid to education jeopardizes state co. trol of education. | Disagree |
| The average home-owner is the most under represented person in American city politics. | Disagree |
| It would probably be a good thing if the U. S. government set up a National Health Service to provide low-cost medical care to people of all ages. | Agree |

B-1

| Total Liberalism (con't.) | "Liberal" Response |
|---|---|
| Government regulation of big industry is endangering our free enterprise system. | Disagree |
| Student draft resisters should be punished more severely than they have been. | Disagree |
| Expanding educational facilities can become so expensive that the resultant tax increases scare away industries that would otherwise come to this city. | Disagree |
| Demonstrations on college campuses are harming the American university. | Disagree |
| The federal government relies too much on intellectuals and academic research. | Disagree |

# END-1-14-71