DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 054 248 24 UD 011 724

AUTHOR Palmer, James M.
TITLE Mississippi School Districts: Factors in the Disestablishment of Dual Systems. Final Report.
INSTITUTION Mississippi State Univ., State College. Social Science Research Center.
SPONS AGENCY National Center for Educational Research and Development (DHEW/CE), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO BR-0-0-056
PUB DATE Jun 71
GRANT OEG-4-7-0017
NOTE 139p.

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS County School Systems, Dejure Segregation, *Integration Effects, *Integration Methods, Integration Plans, Measurement Techniques, *Models, Racial Integration, Research Methodology, School Community Relationship, School Districts, *School Integration, Southern Schools, Statistical Analysis
IDENTIFIERS *Mississippi

ABSTRACT

This research is basically a search for a model to explain why some districts achieved a higher degree of desegregation than others in their efforts to disestablish the dual system. The population studied consists of all of the school districts in Mississippi, and the unit of analysis was the local school district. Three types of variables were conceptualized and measures developed: school, community, and desegregation. Desegregation was the focus of the study and therefore the dependent variable. However, no effort was made to determine cause and effect. The measures of the variables were drawn from both primary and secondary sources and were gathered on the 147 districts. Primary data were obtained from district superintendents by use of a questionnaire which contained 47 items. There was a 95 percent response rate. Secondary data were gathered mainly from publications by the State Department of Education, records of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and Publications of the U.S. Census Bureau. Field theory provided the theoretical framework through which the desegregation process was viewed in the school and the community. However, its use was limited in that the complexity of the subject and the lack of related studies make it difficult to utilize a general theory at the basic level of analysis demanded by the data at this stage in the research of the desegregation process. (Author/JM)

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SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH CENTER

MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Factors in the Disestablishment of Dual Systems

James M. Palmer

Report No. 40
August 1971

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PREFACE

"School desegregation is accomplished, now let's get on with the job of educating the children," a superintendent remarked. This study has tried to document and analyze the process of desegregation in Mississippi with the hope that it will facilitate "getting on with the job of educating the children."

This publication is a reproduction of the substantive section of the final report of a research project funded by a regional research grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Project No. 0-D-056) and conducted under the auspicies of the Social Science Research Center of Mississippi State University. In essence it constitutes the author's doctoral dissertation which was directed by Research Professor Harold F. Kaufman.

I am deeply indebted to the many who have made contributions to this finished product. These have been thanked by name in my dissertation; therefore, I shall refrain from repeating these names here.

James M. Palmer

State College, Mississippi
August, 1971

The project presented or reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The opinions expressed herein, however, do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U.S. Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the U.S. Office of Education should be inferred.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Social Problem

The major social issue facing the South today is, according to some, the relationship of the races in the struggle for equality (Rossi, 1964: 126).

Strategies Toward Equality

While the famous "Brown" decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 and the Civil Rights Acts a decade later have done much to guarantee the Negro his rights, the securing of those privileges the rights guaranteed has been hard won by strategies of the Negro people who have pressed for them in community after community. Sometimes with the aid of the law, sometimes without it and often in violation of it, they have pressed forward seeking new status and a new social order based on equality.

Voter registration has been a major strategy for the attainment of those rights and privileges. But many Southern Negroes are still not registered and this process seems all too slow to the more militant.

But rides, marches, sit-ins, lie-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts, pickets are among the many strategies employed. The desegregation of transportation systems, hotels, motels, eating establishments and other facilities, while having symbolic value, has left white-black interaction patterns virtually unchanged, particularly in the rural areas and small towns (Rustin, 1965:25). In the South 41.6 percent of the Negroes live in the rural area and in Mississippi, the focus of this particular study, 68 percent are rural (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1961: 617, 666). Until 1968 racial integration had to a large degree been something rural folk were acquainted with only via the mass media.

Public school desegregation, moving since 1954 at a pace which was indeed "deliberate," began to move at an accelerated speed after 1968. Today a large percent of the school districts of the South have some degree of desegregation. In Mississippi all 150 school districts are in essence desegregated. Desegregation is in fact a reality now, even in the rural areas.

This strategy, which could hardly have been affected on the local level without federal intervention, has perhaps done more to alter the interaction patterns of the South than all the other strategies combined. Negro abolitionist Frederick Douglass argued this point as early as 1859, viewing the integration of the races in the schools as more important to the Negro's cause than suffrage. He based his argument on the prolonged contact of a large number of Negro and white children on equal terms who later become the "people of the state" (Weinberg, 1964:4).

School Desegregation, Consequences

The pursuit of equality by way of the desegregation of the public schools has not been without problems. Conflict, violence and property damage have occurred. Long and repeated litigation accompanied by both devious resistance and blatant defiance became commonplace. The strengthening of states-rights sentiments and the emergence of third parties tended to bring shifts in the balance of power in the two national parties. Public education has been disrupted. In many areas whites have fled the public schools and private schools have developed.

Southern schools have been desegregated. Many are optimistic over the outcome. Others shake their heads in hopeless dispair. Many whites are coming to accept it (Alston and Knapp, 1971:11-14), many blacks are beginning to question its value (Solomon, 1970:131-147). Little really is known and perhaps it is too early to tell what the results will be. One can, however, look at the process of desegregation itself. This is what this study attempts to do.

Review of Literature

Scope and Limitations

Meyer Weinberg in 1967 (1967b) published a bibliography on school integration which contained 3,100 references. This was revised in 1970 to include 10,000 references and is by no means exhaustive. This illustrates the extensiveness of desegregation literature. Not all of the studies are of the same degree of value, nor are all of them relevant to the present study.

Only by limiting the literature to that which treated the process of school desegregation and factors related to that process was it possible to handle such a plethora of material. More specifically the limitation on the related factors were such that only factors which could be classified as either school or community variables would be considered. This limitation grew out of the research problem which will be stated later.

Nature of Relevant Studies

A large proportion of the literature deals with the effects of desegregation upon the acheivements and aspirations of school children. However, only a few studies deal with the process of desegregation and fewer still locate that process within a community context. Where the dependent variable is desegregation, as it is in this study, the researchers generally operationalized it in terms of whether their unit of analysis did or did not have Negro and white children attending school together. If only one Negro child attended a white school it was considered desegregated. This simple measure pervades the literature.

Studies relevant to this thesis might be classified into those studies which are descriptive of the degree of desegregation, those that deal with resistance to desegregation, and those that attempt to understand the process itself. Most of the data used in these studies are either highly general state or regional level data or are limited to a single or a few select districts which are better characterized as case studies.

A number of authors have attempted to assess the research done on school desegregation. Suchman and Williams (1958) attempted to set forth propositions and suggestions for research. Coleman (1960) synthesized the predictions of social scientists made during the period of 1950 to 1955 relative to the desegregation process. Rossi (1964) pointed to new directions for race relations research in the decade of the sixties. Weinberg (1965) reviewed the research on school desegregation. He also attempted an appraisal of desegregation research in 1968 and revised his publication in 1970. A more general review was attempted in 1968 by Yinger (1968) that covered minority and race relation studies. While these reviews include a wide range of studies no indication of any state-wide survey of the desegregation process was included. Both Rossi (1964: 126) and Weinberg (1970:1) lament the fact that research has not kept up with the pace of desegregation.

Descriptive Studies

Two benchmark studies are Equality of Educational Opportunity (Coleman, et al., 1966) and Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967a). Other studies of a fact finding variety include studies by the Southern Education Reporting Service (1967); Leeson (1970); and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967b). Other descriptive studies tended to be subjective or historical (Caliver, 1956; Shoemaker, 1957; Moreland, 1963; Muse, 1964; Sarratt, 1966; Seeley, 1967; Havinghurst, 1967; Mack, 1968; and Winn, 1970).

A rather large body of literature has developed around the resistance to desegregation and may be classified as basically descriptive studies. Among these are studies by Fleming (1956); Muse (1956); Nabrit (1956); Martin (1957); Harlan (1958); Vander Zanden (1958); Gates (1964); and Powledge (1967). A number of studies on this topic are analytical in design; these are listed below.

Analytical studies

Analytical studies may be divided into two types: theoretical and empirical. While no theory of school desegregation has been advanced a number of theoretical approaches have been suggested. Yinger (1968) reveals a rather wide range of interpretations of the integrating process. Blumer (1956) and Tumin (1966) both suggest a process interpretation. Frazier (1962) writes with an interactionist approach, while Crain (1969), Crain and Street (1966), Kimbrough (1964) and Bendiner (1969) see

desegregation from the standpoint of political power. The bulk of the analytical studies are empirical with little effort made toward orienting the study to a body of theory.

A number of different independent variables emerge from the literature with many different measures of these variables. Some of the more important measures are lifted up along with the findings.

Race seems to be the most important variable related to the desegregation process. Allport (1958:227) had noted that prejudice was positively related to the relative density of the minority group population. Earlier Key (1949:5) had declared that density of the Negro population was a major factor in white supremacy. Hauser (1966:71) asserts that not only size but the rate of growth, the distribution and composition of the Negro population influence integration. Vanfossen (1968:40) found the percent nonwhite of the population to be more highly correlated negatively with the degree of integration than any other variable used ($r = -.78$). Findings relative to the percent Negro of the population appeared consistent in all of the other studies examined, for example: Williams and Ryan (1954), Blalock (1957), Heer (1959), Pettigrew (1965), U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967a), and Harris (1968). Only one study raised questions relative to the importance of the percent Negro of the population. Lewis and Hill (1956:116) maintain that there are "too many exceptions" for the measure to be reliable. It is, they contend, "but one of many factors whose weights vary from situation to situation as they appear in different combinations." In addition to percent Negro, Williams and Ryan (1954) saw the presence of other "minority" racial or cultural groups in an area as facilitating the desegregation process.

A number of other demographic and ecological factors have been related to desegregation (Frazier, 1962; Rossi, 1964; Hauser, 1966). Tumin (1958: 55) examined age of individuals as a factor and concluded that it was "inconsequential as a factor in attitudes toward Negroes." Using a measure of the number of children he found that "childlessness and a large number of children (four or more) seem to be related positively to resistance to desegregation" (1958:79). However, he felt that education, occupation and income were more important. Size of the community was considered in one study as second in importance to percent Negro in terms of the amount of change necessary to accomplish desegregation (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967a:140). The larger the community the greater the change. Pettigrew (1957:683), Tumin (1958:75), Bullock (1959:207), and Pettigrew and Cramer (1959:61) all found urbanism to be positively related to favorable attitudes toward Negroes and/or the desegregation process. However, Tumin (1958:78) concluded that industrialization, a concomitant process of urbanization, or rather exposure to it, was not worth further examination.

Socioeconomic characteristics of the population have also come under scrutiny. Tumin (1958:63) and Vanfossen (1968:42) found income or wealth to be positively related to the attitude toward Negroes and/or the degree of desegregation. Vanfossen (1968:43) also found that the "correlation between integration and median income for nonwhites is among the highest found ... of all the variables measured." When she examined nonwhite income as a percentage of white income related to integration the

correlation was greatly increased. Heer (1959:592) had also observed this relationship. This is in line with Allport's (1958:226) conclusion that an exploitative advantage tends to make for prejudice. Tumin (1958: 70) found the prestige of occupations to be positively related to favorable attitudes toward the Negro. Occupation has tended to be treated more as a dependent variable than as an independent one. It is found to be highly related to education and percent Negro (Turner, 1953:51; Blalock, 1957: 679). Allport (1958:233) listed ignorance as one of the causes of prejudice. Tumin (1958:55) discovered a positive relationship between degree of education and a more favorable attitude toward Negroes. However, Vanfossen (1958:42) found no significant relationship between the degree of integration and the median years of schooling for whites.

Religion was examined by only one researcher located in the review. Tumin (1958:66) demonstrated that any relationship between religion and desegregation was ambiguous if it existed.

Rossi (1964:129) concluded that communities differed according to their political composition and that this would be one factor in how that community approached desegregation. However, this measure seems to have been largely overlooked in empirical studies.

A number of psychological and cultural measures were employed. Allport (1958:233) suggested the role that legend and tradition would play in developing and reinforcing prejudice. Pettigrew (1957:683) and Vanfossen (1968:40-41) suggest that a sense of threat may be the underlying variable related to a high density of Negroes in the population. Wey and Corey (1959:19-20) suggest that desegregation progresses according to the understanding of the majority group as to how desegregation will benefit them. Glenn (1970:420) views the threat of the loss of public schools as sufficient to bring whites to accept desegregation. Attitudes toward the schools and school leadership were seen as important by Williams and Ryan (1954:239-240).

What appears strange is that little research has been done on characteristics of the schools themselves. The so called "Coleman Report" (Coleman, et al. , 1966) and U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' study, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967a), tapped a number of school characteristics. However, these variables were related to pupil achievement rather than to the desegregation process. Williams and Ryan (1954: 239-240) suggest that organization and financing of the school system will be related to desegregation. No empirical studies were found that employed these types of variables. Variables related to the school in that they bridged school and community have received more attention. The roles of school leadership, superintendents, trustees, principals, and teachers were seen as being important to the desegregation process by Crain and Street (1966:67), Ernatt (1966:17), and Winn (1970:5). Fisher (1966:501) saw the concept of the neighborhood school when held by a community as a deterrent to desegregation.

A rather wide range of community characteristics have been employed in the study of the desegregation process in addition to those mentioned above. The type of leadership roles exerted by officials and other influentials in both the local community and at the state level appeared

to be crucial (Williams and Ryan, 1954:239-240; Blumer, 1956:142; Wey and Corey, 1959:44; Rossi, 1964:129; Dentlez, 1966:476; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967a:154).

Related to the above is the presence of organized group actions. Where local groups were able to unite, however loosely, in an effort to bring about desegregation, the process seems to have been less difficult according to the following authors: Williams and Ryan (1954:239-240), Wey and Corey (1959:3-7), and Winn (1970:5). Likewise where opposition groups also united chances of conflict were increased and delay in desegregation was maximized.

Willaims and Ryan (1954:239-240) along with Wey and Corey (1959:17) contend that where a community had undergone prior desegregation experiences the process of desegregating the schools was facilitated. The process is also facilitated when all the schools in a district are desegregated and adjacent districts are likewise desegregated at the same time (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967a:154).

Communication between the school and the community, between community groups and especially between the races was seen as important in a number of studies (Williams and Ryan, 1954:239-240; Wey and Corey, 1959:3-7; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967a:154; Winn, 1970:5). Allport (1958:233) had earlier pointed out the relationship between barriers to communication and prejudice. Related to communication is the role of the mass media. Tumin (1958:60) found that "the greater the exposure to the mass media the more favorable the attitude th the Negro." Several studies, among them Wey and Corey (1959:36-42) and Winn (1970:5), saw the role of the press as being highly significant in the desegregation process.

Theoretical Orientation

Lack of Theoretical Orientation

As was mentioned earlier most of the studies reviewed did not attempt to related school desegregation to any general theory. Vanfossen (1968: 39-40) sets forth nine theoretical positions which had been employed by other writers. These are in essence little more than specific hypotheses. Perhaps the fullest articulation of a theoretical position is that of Crain (1969:376-385) who argues for a "political style which overrides the actual formal governmental structure to produce a school board which then takes actions appropriate to the style." It is this "political style" that determines the success of school desegregation. However, this appears to be reductionistic and is only applicable where the community is free to exercise local initiative.

Implicit in all of the studies is the fact that explanations lie primarily outside the school. The wide range of variables that have been found to be related to the desegregation process seem to call for what Yinger (1965) has called a "field theory of behavior." At least it calls for analysis at a number of different levels.

A Field Theory

A related theoretical position posited by Kaufman (1959b) and elaborated by Wilkinson (1970) would appear to be highly relevant to this study. It provides not only a field approach as explicated by Yinger (1965) but a theory of social fields by which the community, the school and the other institutions may be conceptually related. As Wilkinson (1970:314) maintains, it provides us with a "non-deterministic view focusing upon the dynamics of emergence." A local society will be organized into many social fields representing various institutional interests. Community exists when these fields are coordinated through a process which is itself a social field (Wilkinson, 1970:318). Many social fields exist within the community but never become a part of it according to Kaufman (1959b: 14). It is only as action within a particular institutional-interest field becomes relevant to the community that it is a part of the interactional community or the community field.

To a large degree the school can be seen as a social field that only occasionally merges into the community field. Extra-curricular activities-particularly sports; a bond issue; the election of a superintendent or board member; a case of immorality on the part of a faculty member; the burning of a school building; a fight in the schoolhouse; or other such events from time to time focus the attention of the community upon the school and interaction within the social field of the school suddenly becomes community relevant. These happenings act much as vectors would in a magnetic field to rearrange the interaction patterns of the community actors and associations.

The Brown decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the subsequent enforcement proceedings by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Justice and national opinion may be seen as outside forces serving as vectors to drastically alter the patterns of interaction of both the school and community fields.

The essence of the community field lies in coordination of actions both locally and in terms of relationships to the larger society and the ability to be selective as to the inputs from the larger society in order to maximize good for the local society. However, some forces from the larger society like "acts of God" cannot be controlled. School desegregation, as well as the whole social process of racial integration appears to be an external force such that local initiative is greatly mitigated. Organized efforts to resist desegregation have proved to be only a delaying tactic. The essence of community in these instances lies not in the ability to be selective but rather in the ability to cope with the rapid changes demanded by such forces in the structure of the social fields within the local society. The ability to cope with such external forces and the way which the community goes about the process of desegregating will be determined by differential characteristics of the communities. This formed the underlying assumption upon which this study was based.

Field theory then provided the theoretical framework through which the desegregation process was viewed in the school and the community. It provided organization of the variables, it suggested appropriate data to be collected related to four levels of analysis.[1] It guided the analysis of the data. Admittedly its role has been more as a frame of reference, rather than the source of testable hypotheses.

Research Problem

Earlier studies of school desegregation based on border state data were concerned largely with predicting what would occur in the deep-South states as the Supreme Court's decision was implemented among them. Coleman (1960) summarized such predictions made during 1950 and 1955. Few could really anticipate the strategies of implementation that would be employed, nor at that time the impact of the Civil Rights Act a decade later. The tenor of the earlier studies assumed a more or less voluntary compliance process. However, Crain (1969:376) discovered "... little resemblance between school integration in a northern [sic] city and court-ordered desegregation in a southern [sic] city." In other words, Northern cities were free to deal with forces within, while Southern cities largely had to contend with forces without.

This present study which focuses upon school desegregation in Mississippi was conducted "after the fact." Although the study was conceived and designed prior to the massive drives by federal agencies in the spring and fall of 1970, the field work was for the most part conducted after tha dual system was disestablished and desegregation was virtually accomplished.

It is the Southern scene to which this study addresses itself, more particularly to Mississippi. Mississippi has not only the highest ratio of blacks to whites of any state but also the greatest diversity, with counties ranging from 75 percent Negro to 95 percent white (see Map 1, p. 9). Recognizing the importance attached to the percent Negro in the literature and realizing the need to hold cultural factors as nearly constant as possible, Mississippi was seen to provide an excellent laboratory and point of beginning for the study and understanding of school-community relationships and change within the context of a changing school structure.

School districts differed greatly in their approaches to dis-establishment, and these approaches probably had varying degrees of impact upon the quality of education afforded within the system. The fact that the disestablishment of dual school systems, black and white, designed to solve problems of racial inequality in education has given birth to a number of other social and educational problems has been reported by many school administrators. Some have questioned the

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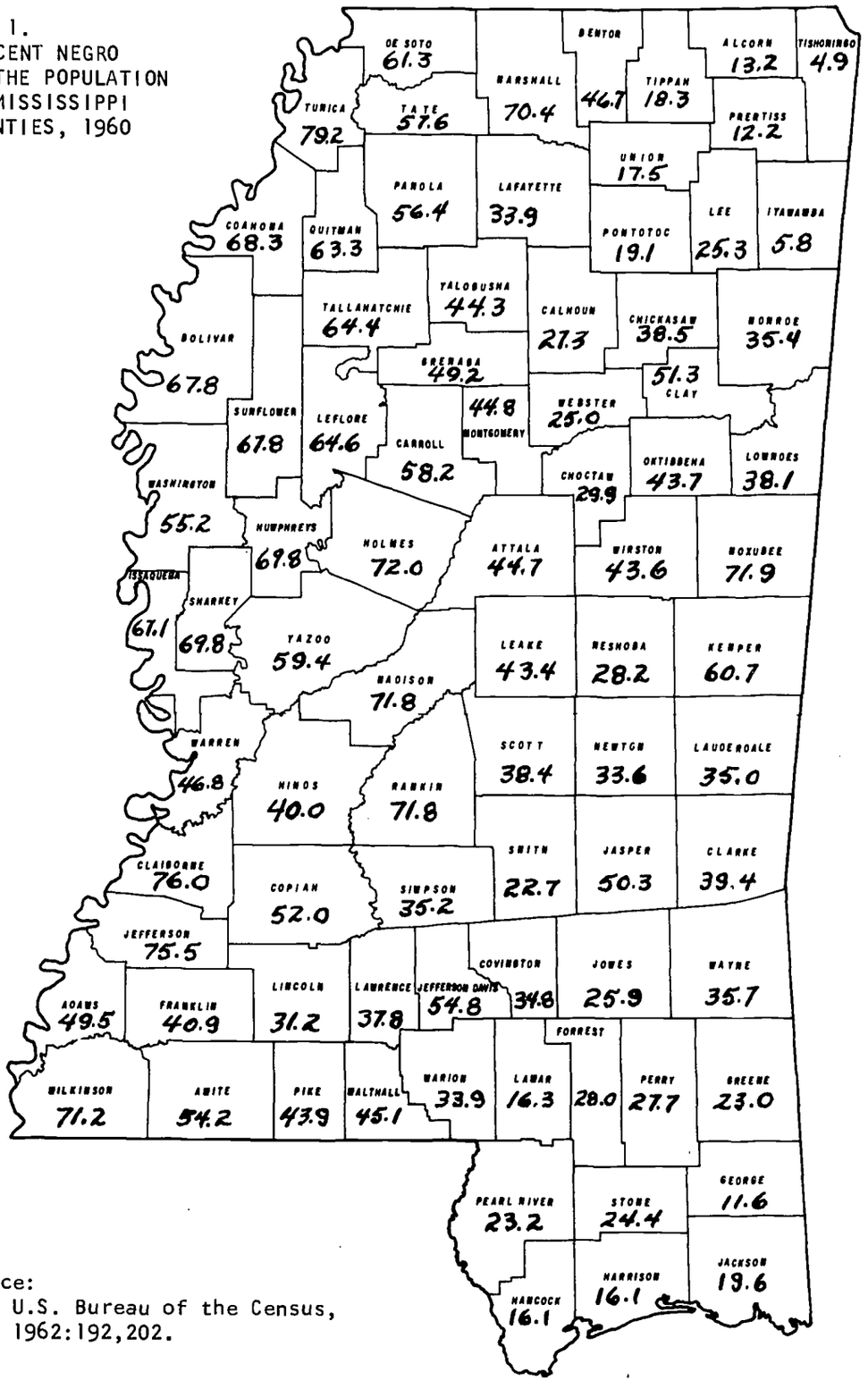
[1] Demographic and ecological, cultural, social and psychological.

MAP 1.
PERCENT NEGRO
OF THE POPULATION
OF MISSISSIPPI
COUNTIES, 1960



Source:
U.S. Bureau of the Census,
1962:192,202.

possibility of "quality education" within the context of such rapid structural change. There seems to be a frantic search for innovations to cope with the many problems, and administrators are tempted to try "anything that might help." A need exists for research to determine factors which facilitate an orderly transition from the dual to a unitary system and the development and/or application of innovations to achieve and maintain an adequate educational system.

Prediction then is not a basic purpose of this study. Rather the study seeks understanding as to why the various school districts went about the desegregating process as they did and achieved varying degrees of desegregation. It asks, what factors were related to the ways and degrees to which desegregation was accomplished?

Research Objectives

Recognizing that the law required the disestablishment of dual school systems, the overall objective of the study was to discover factors that contribute to the various approaches to the creation of unitary systems and the different degrees of desegregation. This demanded the identification of relevant school and community factors in the disestablishment process.

Four specific objectives are noted:

1. To gather and analyze selected school data in 147 school districts in Mississippi.[2]
2. To identify factors in the respective communities that are related to the disestablishment of the school system of that community.
3. To determine the stage of the disestablishment process achieved by each district as of September 1970, and to develop a "typology of disestablishment."
4. To identify and describe those school and community factors that are most highly correlated with a type of disestablishment that provides for the creation of a unitary school system.

Significance of Research

This study makes no attempt to argue the "goodness" or "badness" of racially integrated education, nor does it attempt to measure the impact of such education upon the pupils, black or white. Its sole concern is the sociological process itself and those factors related to it. Frazier (1962:621) stated, "It is the relations of the desegregation process to social organization that is of primary interest to sociologists." He maintained (1962:608-609) that much more attention had been given to the "historical, political and especially social-psychological aspects" than had been given to the "sociological aspects of the problem." Schermerhorn

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[2]There are 150 school districts in the State. Three are omitted from the analysis phase of this study (infra, p. 13).

(1967:237) makes the same contention but in a broader context. Rossi (1964:126) urged research in this area because of the "fleeting character of each month's events and moods." He saw a change from a "period in which prejudice was the focus of concern to a period in which the political management of formal equality is at the center of attention." He argues that "race relations under the conditions of very rapid social change in which legal institutions, social movements, and dramatic public events play major roles has yet to be studied." He further contends that "as the pace of change in race relations stepped up in the past few years the volume of social science research has declined during the same period." Crain (1969:5) states that there has been "little systematic research on the politics of school integration." Weinberg (1970:1) also maintains that "scholars now lag behind reality" in research on school desegregation. Obviously there is a need for the present study in terms of its contribution to the body of knowledge relative to the process of racial integration and social change.

Vose (1967:150) argues from a more pragmatic stance. He sees the need for such research "if government policy is to be well-informed." Its pragmatic value may also be seen in terms of school policy and program. In the midst of changing structures the school serves as a primary agent of socialization in the community and is called upon to socialize the children in a social structure which may not yet be visible, though no doubt emergent. At the same time amidst all this change school administrators and teachers are demanded to preserve "quality education." Identification of community factors which facilitate the disestablishment process will have practical programmatic value for those communities undergoing the development of a unitary school system. Curriculum developers and others involved in development of innovative educational techniques could also profit from an understanding of the factors related to the disestablishment process. A third public, for which the study should have pragmatic value, would be private citizens of all ethnic groups and voluntary organizations involved in the change process. Concerned parent groups, civic organizations, and private foundations would be included in this last public.

The findings of this study might well be of great value not only in the South but throughout the nation as school systems grapple with the problems of inequality in the education of the various ethnic groups. It is hoped that the findings will point the directions for further theoretical conceptualizations and the development of research hypotheses. This study may well serve as a model for other state studies.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The four basic objectives set forth in Chapter I contain an implicit research design. It calls for a survey rather than for case studies. It suggests the exploration of factors rather than the testing of hypotheses. It indicates the construction of typologies and the correlation of relevant variables.

Research Design

Nature of the Study

This study could be labeled exploratory because of the absence of similar state-wide studies based on empirical data. This may well be due to the fact that only recently was the emotional climate of the area amiable to such studies, and second, only recently was there a sufficient amount of disestablishment taking place to warrant such a study (Weinberg, 1970:5). But the study goes beyond that of an exploratory study. The methodologies used are classification, description and analysis.

While it is an ex post facto study of desegregation and represents basically a cross-sectional analysis focusing upon the fall semester, 1970, it is longitudinal in that it looks historically at desegregation as an unfolding process and attempts to determine what happened at various stages through historical studies, through item analysis of the newspapers and through items on a questionnaire (for a copy of the questionnaire see Appendix II, pp. 109-119).

Unit of Analysis and Population

The unit of analysis is the local school district. This includes four types: county districts, consolidated districts, municipal separate districts and special municipal separate districts. The basic differences in these four types of districts lie in the method of finance, method of electing officials, and the type of area served (see Map 2, p. 13). School districts differ also in that they contain one or more attendance centers. "Attendance center" and "school" are used synonymously in this thesis.

The population to be studied consists of all of the school districts in Mississippi. This study, however, includes only 147 of the 150 Mississippi school districts.[1] Three were excluded from the study. Two of the three are new, having come into existence during the summer of 1970 and were desegregated from the outset. They had no history of a

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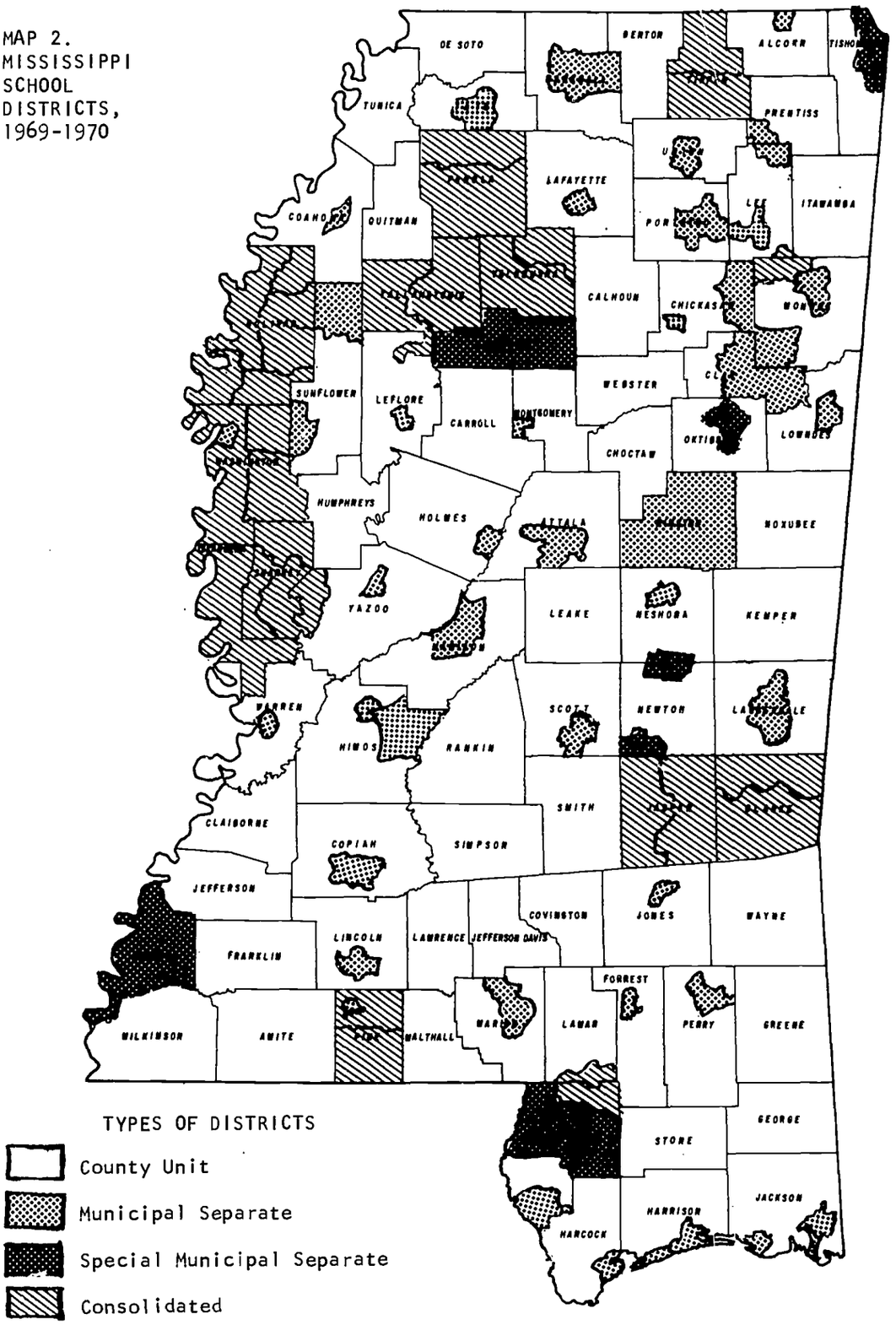
[1] In the descriptive phase of the study all 150 districts are reported on; in the analysis phase only the 147 are used.

MAP 2.
MISSISSIPPI
SCHOOL
DISTRICTS,
1969-1970



TYPES OF DISTRICTS

- County Unit
- Municipal Separate
- Special Municipal Separate
- Consolidated

desegrating process, except as a part of the parent district. The third district is an all-black district that has historically served an all-black community. It was considered atypical since it had not undergone the desegregation process, therefore, it was not included.

For all practical purposes the study includes the total population rather than simply a sample of the population. Generalizations then are limited to the degree that any school district in the South or nation may be similar to a school district in Mississippi and has experienced the same external influences. Only then could inferences be made as to the relevance of findings in this study for that district.

A number of factors led to the selection of Mississippi as the locus of the study. Three have already been suggested: the high percentage black of the state's population, the diversity of percent black among the counties (see Map 1, p. 9), and a relatively homogeneous cultural configuration. Perhaps an additional factor was that Mississippi was considered to be the "hardest nut to crack" as one federal official expressed it. The location of the researcher's institutional affiliation in Mississippi played no small part in the decision inasmuch as it was convenient to do the study there.

Types of Variables

Variables used in the study were selected from the review of literature, suggested by the theoretical frame of reference, or derived from the researcher's knowledge of the subject. The variables were classified into three groups: school, community and desegregation variables. Some variables are used for descriptive purposes, others for analysis.

The desegregation process is the focus of the study and therefore it constitutes the dependent variable. Desegregation variables at the conceptual level included: (1) the desegregation process, (2) the degree of desegregation, (3) the degree of disruptive change, (4) the degree of opposition to desegregation, (5) the degree of willingness of the school board to comply and (6) the use of innovations to cope with educational problems stemming from desegregation. Each of these variables were measured empirically in a number of different ways. In all, thirty different measures of the dependent variables were used. These measures along with measures of the independent variables will be made explicit later.

The school and community variables constitute independent variables. They are considered independent inasmuch as they are thought to be logically prior to desegregation. The terms independent and dependent are used rather loosely since no effort is made to determine cause and effect in this study. Rather, relationships are sought.

Six school variables at the conceptual level with seventeen empirical measures were employed. The variables were: (1) type of

administrative unit, (2) size of the school district, (3) school leadership, (4) personnel inputs, (5) economic inputs, and (6) relation of superintendent and school board.

Ten community variables at the conceptual level were used with thirty-eight empirical measures. The ten variables were: (1) size of the community, (2) rural or urban status, (3) racial composition, (4) socioeconomic status, (5) political stability, (6) organizational involvement, (7) community support of public education, (8) community control over school board, (9) channels of communication, and (10) exposure to desegregation other than that of the schools.

Types of Data and Methods of Collection

Data were gathered at the school district level for the 147 districts. Some data, however, are included which are descriptive at the state level in which all 150 districts are included. The data may be classified as primary and secondary. The types of data and the methods of gathering the data are set forth below. However, because of the large number of measures, the operational procedures of those measures utilized in the analysis will be explicated at the time the particular measure is introduced.

Primary Data

Primary data were obtained from the district superintendents by use of a questionnaire. The questionnaire contained forty-seven items, most of which were of the fixed-alternative variety and were pre-coded. (For a copy of the questionnaire see Appendix II, pp. 109-119). Two methods of distribution were employed. Realizing the sensitive nature of the subject matter, the researcher sought legitimization for the study by gaining entree to the superintendents through their association.[2] The researcher was allowed to present the study at the annual banquet of school superintendents in October of 1970 and to distribute the questionnaires to those superintendents present. Fifty were distributed in this manner. The following day the superintendents who were not present were mailed the questionnaire with a cover letter informing them of the distribution at the banquet and expressing regret that they had not been present. Both groups were asked to return the questionnaires in the self-addressed, stamped envelope which was included.

There was a 95 percent response rate. Only eight of the 147 superintendents refused to cooperate. Two of these were new on the job and felt themselves not qualified to answer the questions. All 147

[2]The Mississippi Association of School Superintendents held its meeting in conjunction with Mississippi Association of School Administrators, October 19, 20, 1970 at Jackson, Mississippi.

were retained in the study inasmuch as some of the data could be obtained through other sources and data from secondary sources would also be used. Questionnaire items on these eight for which information could not be secured were treated simply as "no information." This was justified in light of the high response rate.

Two follow up letters, a post card and phone calls were utilized to stimulate the returns. Since all of the returns were within a relatively short period of time (eight weeks) and a N of 147 is relatively small no analysis of differences in responses related to time of return was attempted. However, it was noted that the method of distribution did not seem to influence the response rate or time of return.

Secondary Data

Secondary data were gathered from four major sources: publications by the State Department of Education, records of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare,[3] records of the Mississippi Educational Services Center located at Mississippi State University, and 1960 U.S. Census Bureau publications. Two other sources were Mississippi Statistical Abstract (Division of Research, 1970), a bulletin published by the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station (Bryan, 1966), and a bulletin published by the Social Science Research Center (Kaufman, 1959a). A content analysis of the Jackson Daily News[4] from January 1, 1954 until the present was conducted for relevant data. The vertical files developed by Miss Willie D. Haisell of the Mitchell Memorial Library at Mississippi State University consisting of clippings from many Mississippi newspapers, dailies and weeklies, were examined. Two files were especially relevant: "Desegregation of Public Schools" and "Private Schools."

Data Processing and Statistical Procedures

Coding and Tabulation

Most of the questionnaire items were precoded using unweighted numbers to indicate a particular type of response. Some items were basically dichotomous, in that they required a "yes" or "no" response with a "don't know" category provided. Some items were scale items using in the main a Lickert-type five point scale, i.e., strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree. While the scales could be justified on the basis of logical validity, a pretest was used on three known groups, two through personal interviews and the other by mail. Each scale was discussed with the interviewed superintendent after he

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[3]Unedited records were provided, therefore discripancies may appear between figures in this study and published final reports by HEW.

[4]Hereinafter referred to as JDN.

had completed the questionnaire. The respondent who was pre-tested by mail was asked to comment upon each item. Some minimal revision was done as a result of the pretest, primarily in terms of clarification.

In determining codes for the secondary data, real value items were ranked, natural breaks observed and then categories from 0-9 were established with the value ranges as nearly even as possible. Qualitative data were assigned categories based upon the researcher's knowledge of the data.

The data once coded were tabulated and IBM cards were punched for computer manipulation. Later interval level data were punched onto IBM cards in their original values for additional statistical analysis.

Statistical Procedures and Use of Computer

The first statistical analysis was the frequency count and the frequency distributions for all variables. This was accomplished through the use of the computer. These statistics formed the basis for description and the development of tentative interpretations of the data.

Second, a simple cross tabulation of pairs of select variables that provided frequency distributions and percentages for columns, rows and cells was conducted via a computer program. This aided in conceptual formulation and helped the researcher get a feel for the data in terms of the process.

Latent structure analysis (Lazarsfeld and Henry, 1968) was employed in an attempt to develop typologies of desegregation that could serve as a composite measure of the dependent variable. This typology was to have been based upon the willingness of the districts to desegregate or their resistance to desegregation. Computations on the model were done mainly by a calculator with assistance from the computer.[5] Two different latent structure models were employed: the dichotomous and the tricotomous models. This will be discussed later along with the failure of these models to prove useful (infra, p. 74).

It became necessary to redesign the statistical procedures during the course of the research process. In order to understand the failure of the latent structure models to produce latent classes it became necessary to measure the degree of correlation among the various dependent variables used in the model. The Pearson's product moment correlation statistic was chosen and zero-order correlations were calculated on a select number of variables by means of the computer.

The discoveries stemming from the lack of significant correlations among the zero-order correlations led the author to return to hand sorting of the data in order to visually observe what was happening in

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[5]The author is extremely indebted to Dr. Charles M. Butler of the Business and Data Process Department, Mississippi State University, for his help with and computations for these models.

the districts under various aspects of the desegregation process. In essence then the major conclusions of this study are drawn from the lack of correlations indicated by the statistical models used and the rather obvious correlations that may be observed in a number of simple tables developed during the latter stages of the analysis process.

Plan of Analysis

Desegregation is a process and therefore to be understood it must be seen in the historical context. In Chapter III a historical narrative will be provided. Reaching back into Reconstruction days for its foundation, the presentation will principally focus upon the period from January 1, 1954, just prior to the Supreme Court's famed "Brown" decision, until the present. The progress of desegregation will be charted and the resistance to its progress will be discussed. The private school movement will be analyzed as a strategy of resistance.

Chapter IV will discuss in detail desegregation as it now exists. It will set desegregation in the context of social change and document the degree to which it existed in the fall of 1970. It will discuss local support of desegregation and analyze factors related to the lack of violence during the desegregation process.

Efforts to develop typologies of desegregation will be elaborated upon in Chapter V and the failure of such efforts analyzed. Mississippi desegregation as a new phenomenon will be explicated and a measure of its degree validated.

Chapter VI will discuss the lack of correlation between the variables found important in the literature and Mississippi desegregation in 1970 and 1971. An explanatory model will be developed and its utility demonstrated.

Chapter VII will be a summary of the conclusions. It will elaborate upon the implications of the study for future research and policy.

CHAPTER III

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN MISSISSIPPI

To properly understand the dual school system and the opposition to its disestablishment, it is necessary to trace its historical development. As will be shown both the opposition to its disestablishment and the seeds of the disestablishment process are found within the dual system itself.

Birth of the Dual School System

Separate

The first school for Negroes in Mississippi was identified by Wilson (1947:37-38) as having been established at Corinth shortly after the Union troops occupied the town in 1862. Northern reformers who moved into the South following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 found a free population of blacks most of whom were illiterate. There emerged to meet this crisis that came to be known as the "freedmen's schools." It was through this system of schools that the Negroes as a group received their first formal education. These schools were the enterprise of a combination of church and non-sectarian philanthrophy (Bullock, 1967:19). Just one month before the Civil War came to an end, an act creating the Freedmen's Bureau was passed by Congress and the President launched a program to provide for the "foundations of education" for the Negroes of the South (Bullock, 1967:23). Bullock (1967:23) asserts that the protection of federal troops "remained long enough for the freedmen's school system to become an institutional fact." A black school system had emerged.

This new system existed along side of an inefficient white school system that had been spawned in the state just prior to the Civil War and which had been seriously weakened by the economic and manpower drain of the war. Bullock (1967:37) states:

> The many Negroes who had been attending the freedmen's schools had inspired a creative type concern for the white children whom they had begun to leave behind.

Wilson (1947:38) contends that it was the freedmen's schools that "furnished the basis for the public school system" of the state.

The 1865 Constitutional Convention of Mississippi, convened under the Johnson Plan of Reconstruction, made no effort to modify the education article of the earlier convention. It made no provision for the education of Negroes, neither did it oppose such education (Bullock, 1967:41-42). However, education for the blacks was urged by the teachers' association of Mississippi in 1866 and some legislators urged that they be given fair treatment (Bullock, 1967:51). On the other hand, Mississippi provided the model that other states were to follow in adopting the so-called

"Black Codes" which defined the status of the Negro only slightly higher than their status as slaves. A wave of anti-Negro sentiment followed the aboption of the "Black Codes" which seriously jeopardized the freedmen's schools and resulted in the closing of some (Bullock, 1967:38-39).

This lack of responsiveness to the Negro's need and the perpetuation of the "old South" led Congress to reject the Johnson Plan and institute its own plan of reconstruction which demanded, among other things, new state governments which meant new constitutional conventions. Ashmore (1954:7) claims, "one of the first objectives of these Reconstruction governments was to establish systems of public education." The "Black and Tan" Convention of 1869 adopted an education article "establishing a uniform system of public schools for all children between the ages of five and twenty-one years" (Wilson, 1947:39). While other states hotly debated compulsory school attendance and mixed schools, the Mississippi Convention for the most part avoided the issue. A motion to provide for separate schools for the races was, however, made and promptly voted down due to the influence of Negro representatives (Bullock, 1967:50), yet mixed schools did not ensue. Ashmore (1954:7) states that only three Southern states attempted mixed schools; Mississippi was not one of them. The feeling was rather pervasive that the education of the Negro was the responsibility of the Federal Government and Northern philanthropists. The schools sponsored by the Freedmen's Bureau carried the burden and since its responsibility was only for the Negro, the schools were segregated schools. Ashmore (1954: 9) writes, "Out of that unsettled era [Reconstruction] emerged the rudiments of the public education system which still serves the South, and the traditions that have kept it segregated through the years."

Atticus G. Haywood, a Methodist minister and one of the most liberal thinkers of the South on race during the reconstruction period, argued for separate schools because he saw that the South would accept no other system, "right or wrong, wise or foolish, this is a fact" (as quoted by Rubin, 1959:xxii). As Reconstruction drew to a close separate schools were universal in the South and the Negro remained largely uneducated. Rubin (1959:xxii) contends that seven out of every ten Negroes ten years old or older were illiterate in 1880.

The Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1890, now in the hands of Southern whites, adopted Section 207, "Separate schools, shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races" (as quoted by Wilson, 1947:36). Dual systems existed by fiat. De facto became de jure to employ the modern terms. The state's dual system was born but there were by no means identical twins.

Separate but Unequal

The Plessy doctrine of 1896 notwithstanding, little equality has ever been found between the schools for the two races in Mississippi. The Honorable A.A. Kincannon wrote at the turn of the century, "It will be readily admitted by every white man in Mississippi that our public school system is designed primarily for the welfare of the white children of the state, and incidentally, for the negro [sic] children" (quoted by

Rowan, 1903:14). The above statement was from private correspondence from Kincannon to Rowan and was used by Rowan in his efforts to amend the Constitution of 1890 so that taxes collected from the whites would be used to support white schools and taxes collected from the Negroes would be used to support their schools (Rowan, 1903:1). The sentiment toward the education of blacks at that period is reflected in another letter used by Rowan. Judge J.A.P. Cambell, whom Rowan (1903:24) calls "the ablest jurist Mississippi has produced," wrote:

> Our Constitutional Convention 1890 , which did nothing of real value to exclude negro [sic] votes except to prescribe an educational qualification, committed the astounding folly of enjoining upon the legislature the maintenance of common schools for negroes [sic] as well as whites, whereby we are annually preparing probably more negroes [sic] than whites to overleap the feeble barriers between them and the ballot box... .

Hill writes in the introduction to Builders of Goodwill (Smith: 1950:xi), "In 1910 there were in the South few enough champions of public education for whites and fewer still who believed Negroes could or should be educated." He concludes that "There was no way 'to make' the influential people provide better schools for Negroes..." Another inequity can be seen in a statement by Wilson (1947:41): "... up to 1917, the general public had done very little in making provision for high school instruction for Negroes in Mississippi." In 1922 the state superintendent of education warned that the construction of Negro classrooms in Warren County, though paid for by the General Education Board of New York, should not be publicized since some individuals and groups might oppose it. An injunction was obtained to stop the construction, but it came too late (Smith, 1950:123-125). In 1925 the Mississippi Survey Commission published a report on public education in Mississippi. It states (1925:325):

> It is an accepted fact [underlining added for emphasis] that while the two races have some necessities in common there are also certain marked differences of culture and inheritance which must exert an influence in determining the best educational policies for the respective races.

This argument was advanced to justify the inequality in levels of instruction and curriculum offerings.

With the emergence of the civil rights movement after World War II there developed within the South a tendency to ignore and to deny inequality. Psychological defensive mechanisms were developed. A type of mass hypocrisy emerged, whereby Southerners were able to claim "We treat the Negroes better than they do up North!" Congressman John Bell Williams, just prior to the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court, said, "there is not now and never has been anything remotely resembling friction between the races in Mississippi" (as quoted by JDN, 5/13/54:1). Here and there, new Negro school buildings were pointed to with pride by whites who exclaimed, "Why, they've got a better building than our children have, and they don't pay taxes!" The separation of the whites and Negroes reinforced this delusion. Most whites had no idea of the difference in course offerings, facilities, equipment, teacher qualifications, economic inputs and other differences that existed between the

schools for the two races. Few cared. Differences in Negro educational achievement and performance were attributed to Negro inferiority which only strengthened the core value of white supremacy upon which the dual system was based.

A few simple measures will serve to illustrate the existence of inequality. Much more documentation could be put forward, but in light of the straight forward measures explicated here, they would be superfluous.

While admittedly economic inputs are but a crude measure of educational outputs, they do provide an excellent point of comparison for understanding equality or the lack of it between Negro and white education. In 1940, Mississippi expended $41.71 per white pupil and only $7.24 per Negro pupil. The Negro expenditure was only 17 percent of that of the white. In 1952, Mississippi expended $117.43 per white pupil and $37.27 per Negro pupil. The Negro expenditure was now 30 percent of that of the white (as given by Ashmore, 1954:153). While this might be called progress by some it cannot be called equality.

Ashmore (1954:158) states, "By 1952, the gap between the average number of years of college training received by white and Negro teachers in the South had been virtually closed." However, an analysis of the table from which this conclusion was drawn reveals that Mississippi was indeed a deviant case. In 1940 white teachers in Mississippi had 3.5 years of college training while Negro teachers had only 1.5, a difference of 2.0 years on the average. In 1952, white teachers had an average of 3.7 while Negro teachers had an average of 1.9, a difference of 1.8. The gap had not closed appreciably for Mississippi teachers even though it had for all other Southern states.

Any measure one cares to use, whether salary of classroom teachers, number of days in the school year, difference between enrollment and attendance, number of volumes in the library, conditions of buildings, or whatever, they all point to inequality between Negro and white schools.

Such inequality was justified by Southerners on the basis of one or two factors, The first, similar to the report of the Survey Commission mentioned earlier (supra, p.21), is that the Negro is intellectually inferior and therefore better education would be to no avail. The second, similar to the contention of Rowan mentioned earlier (supra, p.21), was that Negroes did not pay taxes and they should be glad of what the whites gave them.

When the 1953-54 school year opened few could guess that before the pupils could sing the end of the school year ditty, "no more reading, no more 'riting, no more 'rithmetic, no more beatings with the hickory stick," the Supreme Court would have ruled that "separate is inherently unequal." The word inherently is almost meaningless in light of the manifest inequality that existed in the racially separate schools of Mississippi at the time of the statement. A few statistics drawn from publications of the Division of Administration and Finance of the

Mississippi State Department of Education, Public Schools for White Children (1954b:1) and Public Schools for Negro Children (1954a:1) will document that inequality (note Table 1).

Table 1. Selected Statistics of White and Negro Public Schools in Mississippi, 1953-54

Item	White		Negro		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Enrollment	272,769	50.5	267,388	49.5	540,157	100
ADA*	237,579	52.5	214,649	47.5	452,228	100
Number of Elementary Schools	927	28.5	2,328	71.5	3,255	100
One-Teacher Schools	48	4.4	1,040	95.6	1,088	100
Two-Teacher Schools	80	15.4	439	84.6	519	100
Three-Teacher Schools	101	36.9	173	63.1	274	100
Number of High Schools	438	62.6	276	37.4	714	100
Total Number of Schools	1,365	34.4	2,604	65.6	3,969	100

*ADA (Average Daily Attendance).
Source: Division of Administration and Finance (1954a, 1954b).

Almost an equal number of pupils of both races were enrolled in the schools of Mississippi in the 1954-54 term. There were 267,388 Negroes and 272,769 whites, a difference of only 4,381. However, the ADA,[1] average daily attendance figure, for Negroes is some 23,000 lower than for whites. Throughout most of this period Mississippi had a compulsory school attendance law.[2] However, little effort was made to see that Negro children enrolled or that they attended.

One is immediately struck by the large descrepancy shown in Table 1 between the number of white elementary schools and that of the Negro schools. As will be shown later a higher percentage of the Negro pupils

[1]ADA is standard abbreviation for average daily attendance and is used by school officials in determining allocation of State funds to the districts.

[2]It was repealed in 1964.

were enrolled in the elementary grades than was true of white pupils. This does not, however, account for this difference. The difference is easily explained when one notes the number of one, two, and three-teacher schools. A process of consolidation of schools had been underway primarily among the white schools. Only 3.5 percent of the total number of white schools were one-teacher schools, whereas 39.9 percent of the total number of Negro schools were one-teacher schools. Sixty-three percent of all Negro schools were either one, two, or three-teacher schools. These types of schools only constituted 16.7 percent of the total number of white schools.

While the Negro elementary schools greatly outnumbered the white elementary schools, the Negro high schools were less in number that were the white high schools. Perhaps consolidation had occurred here. Lest one think so, they should be cautioned by Wilson's statement quoted earlier (supra, p. 21) about the lack of interest on the part of the general public in high school education for Negroes prior to 1917. High school enrollment figures for the two races were unavailable, but a comparison of ADA figures sheds light on the matter. ADA for white high schools was 66,762 or 28.1 percent of the total ADA for whites. ADA for Negro high schools was 23,730 or 11.1 percent of the total ADA for Negroes. There was a difference of 17 percent between the percent of the whites in high school and the percent of the Negroes in high school. Average ADA of white high schools was 152, while the average ADA of Negro high school was eighty-six. The smallest ADA of any white school in grades 7-12 was seventeen with only 14 percent of the schools having an ADA of less than fifty. ADA in the Negro schools ranged as low as two and three with 39.5 percent of the schools having an ADA of less than fifty. Actually 18.8 percent of the Negro high school had less than twenty-five in ADA. Quality education, however defined, can hardly be offered in high schools with that small an attendance. The evidence here points not to consolidation of Negro high schools but lack of provision.

Accreditation is considered a measure of a school's ability to provide an adequate education for its students. A comparison of the accreditation of white and Negro schools demonstrates again the inequality that existed. There were a total of 476 accredited white schools in the state in 1954. This represented 34.8 percent of the white schools. Unfortunately, the report does not list the number of accredited Negro schools. However, it does list the number that were rated "approved" or better. There were 339 schools so rated. This represented only 13 percent of the total number of Negro schools. The 339 schools also included public, private and those in junior and senior colleges. The actual number of public schools that were "approved" is indeterminate. Therefore the actual percentage was less than 13 percent. Not only was the degree of rating less for the Negro schools than for the whites but the percent certified at the various levels was considerably less.

Such inequility could hardly be overcome in a short period of time and was not likely to ever be overcome given the cultural milieu of Mississippi. Yet, there were those who made a belated effort to make the two systems equal.

A Belated Effort Toward Equal

In December of 1953, Governor Hugh White outlined to the State Legislature in special session what came to be known as the "School Equalization Program." This program was "designed to lift low education standards for both races and simultaneously keep segregation" (JDN, 1/6/54: 1). The article went on to say, "The special session turned the state's education system upside down in rebuilding a program for equal but seaprate schools for the races." Implicit in these statements is the fact that the schools were not equal. The Speaker of the House, Walter Sillers, made the fact explicit, "The cost to equalize will be high because in the past we actually have not maintained a dual system of schools, financially. We have maintained a white system and left the Negro schools to go with meager attention" (JDN, 3/10/54:1).

The equalization program initially called for fifty million dollars. While the legislators were willing to create a State Educational Finance Commission, and to authorize reorganization of the school districts, the authorization of the money was another matter. The session, predicted not to be "unduly long," dragged on from December until the end of April before the money was finally appropriated. Controversy reigned over the money, and just what it would accomplish. Thurgood Marshall had warned that Negroes wanted more than equal facilities (JDN, 1/23/54:1). Senator Earl Evans of Canton, Mississippi argued that "the program as proposed will not equlize facilities and opportunities between the races..." He further stated, "The proposed program is in no way an equalization program. It in no way protects us from the action of Federal Courts" (JDN, 3/2/54: 6). Many legislators argued that they should wait until the Supreme Court decided on the "Brown" case before they spent such large sums of money on school construction. Several efforts were made to deter the program or to postpone it for two to three years. There seemed to be an extreme reluctance to expend money that would not guarantee a continued separation of the races. Sillers stated that when he appointed House members to the education study committee the attack in the Supreme Court was on "failure to meet equal facilities." He contended that he would not have established the committee had he known that segregation would become the issue or that the Supreme Court might abolish segregation. He supported a return to the old school law prior to the establishment of the equalization program (JDN, 3/24/54:1).

Many Southerners and Mississippians clung to hope that "equal" facilities would prevent desegregation. Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Mississippi, Delta-Democrat-Times stated (as quoted in JDN, 4/9/54: Section 2:3):

> If our local schools are fully equalized and if the Supreme Court outlaws segregation, I think that choice as well as local attitudes and pressures will result in the continuation by common consent of the present separate system.

Examples were freely offered as to how well separate systems worked. An article in the Jackson Daily News stated that the Jackson, Mississippi school system "does provide a fair example of a dual system which operates with harmonious and beneficial results to all involved" (JDN, 1/18/54:5).

It would appear that just as the desegregation of the public schools was a strategy on the part of Negroes involved in the civil rights movement to secure equality and thus improve their status in the American society, so did "separate but equal" with a new emphasis on the "equal" become a strategy of Southern legislators, school administrators and interested citizens' groups to maintain the Southern social order and "way of life".

Resistance to the Disestablishment of the Dual School System

Anticipatory Resistance

Throughout this period in the shadow of an impending Supreme Court decision other efforts were being undertaken to keep the schools separate by race - equal or not. Joel Blass of Stone County introduced a bill "to make it illegal for commongling [sic] of the races in Mississippi schools." He based his bill on the belief that police powers, reserved by the states, gave the state the authority to have such a law no matter what decision the Supreme Court rendered on school desegregation (JDN, 1/6/54:1). In January of 1954 the House passed, by a 93-0 vote, a measure to continue segregation in the schools and " 'to resist by all lawful means' any attempt to tear down racial barriers in the state's public school system" (JDN, 1/19/54:1). In February of 1954, a bill was passed to "authorize school trustees to assign pupils to schools." A journalist commented, "This is one of the bills designed to insure that segregation in the school system will be maintained" (JDN, 2/25/54:1). This was seen as "an escape route if the U.S. Supreme Court rules racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional." One representative is quoted as saying the bill would "give us six to ten more years of segregation (JDN, 2/26/54:1). A bill was also introduced to "abolish public schools and replace them with privately operated schools with the state providing tuition fees" (JDN, 2/26/54:1). This proposal, while adopted in the House, was defeated in the Senate.

By April of 1954 the South and Mississippi had steeled itself against what had become by now a rather forgone conclusion on the part of many - the Supreme Court would strike down school segregation. John Bell Williams, then in the U.S. Senate, declared, "the South will never submit to integration" (JDN, 4/5/54:3). The Jackson Daily News headlined, "Dixie in No Mood to Accept End of School Segregation Meekly. If Decision is Against Segregation, Uproar will be Heard Throughout Land" (JDN, 4/9/54: Section 2:3). The following quote from an editorial (JDN, 4/8/54:12) is a rather perceptive comment on the tenor of feeling in Mississippi at the time and was also rather prophetic:

> White families of means would attempt to find private schools for their children and would resist bond issues and taxation adequate to the maintenance of the public school systems. The ultimate outcome would be attempts to evade the Court decision by every device possible, the neglect of public education itself until the situation was clarified, and the probable appearance of Federal aid to education, accompanied by Federal supervision, as a move compelled by the circumstances.

The Supreme Court ruling did not come as a surprise to Mississippi lawmakers or other knowledgeable people. It had been anticipated by a number of other actions that pointed the direction in which the court was moving (Shoemaker, 1957:1). Just prior to its decision in the "Brown" case the Court had indicated its position in a case involving the rights of a Mexican-American in Texas to be tried by his peers. The Jackson Daily News (5/3/54:1) carried the headline "Opinion Today Indicates School Segregation Out Under 14th Amendment," even though Chief Justice Warren did not mention the school case in his brief on the Texas case. The main problem in passing the School Equilization Program was the opposition on the part of those who anticipated such a ruling from the Supreme Court. Congressman Williams stated on April 5, "The South will never submit to integration," (JDN, 4/5/54:3). Utah's governor had made a prediction of the Supreme Court's action a few days before (JDN, 4/2/54: 1). As early as March 26, Governor White of Mississippi had stated that he was "not optimistic about the courts pending decision" (JDN, 3/26/54:1).

Uproar Over the Land

While the decision was anticipated it was not accepted. The Jackson Daily News, "Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper," gave almost the whole front page to articles about the decision in its issue of Monday, May 17, 1954. The tone of every article was defiance. Bold type, front page headlines cried out "Sillers says, 'Abolish Public Schools';" "Will not Obey Supreme Court--Eastland"; Gartin Says Negroes Want Separate Schools"; "Decision may Cause Most Radical Upheaval in South Since Reconstruction Days." Senator Eastland is quoted as saying "a state has the police power to take those steps necessary to prevent discord and riot. We will take whatever steps necessary to retain segregation in our schools." Lieutenant Governor Gartin is quoted as saying, "Every effort will be made to continue to have separate but equal facilities." Gartin, it is reported, went on to say "he was convinced Mississippians would obligate themselves to methods that will insure continued segregation."

"The darkest and most tragic day in the administration of American Justice" is what the Brookhaven Leader-Times called May 17, 1954 (as quoted in JDN, 5/25/54:4). "Separate is inherently unequal" the Supreme Court had ruled on that day and in so doing had struck down the 1896 "Plessy Doctrine" as well as section 207 of the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 which had provided that "Separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races." Most other Southern states had similar constitutional provisions which had now been ruled invalid. The reaction over the South among politicians, school officials and a white public was almost universally the same: bewilderment, anger and frustration. Reaction among blacks ranged from jubilance to bewilderment. As Congressman Williams had predicted, there was an "uproar over the land" (JDN, 4/9/54: Section 2:3).

No editorial appeared in the Jackson Daily News on "that darkest day." However, the next day (5/18/54:1) a front page editorial appeared entitled "Bloodstains on White Marble Steps." Three sentences from that editorial tap its spirit and the spirit of the time for whites at least.

> Even though it was delivered by unanimous vote of the nine members of the nation's highest tribunal, Mississippi cannot and will not try to abide by such a decision... .
>
> Mississippi will never consent to placing white and Negro children in the same public schools... .
>
> Every possible human efforts will be made to prevent it from happening.

NEVER! Out of all the uproar one word emerged over and over again, never. A journalist commented (JDN, 5/22/54:1), "Not a voice among state and legislative leaders suggested obeying the decision. The problem, all agree, is how best to dodge it." However, Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Mississippi, Delta Democrat Times wrote, "If ever a region asked for such a decision the South did through its shocking ... disobedience to its own state constitutions which specify that separate systems must be equal" (as quoted in JDN, 5/19/54: Section 2:12).

What is strangely absent from the two day uproar (the third day no mention of school desegregation appeared on the front page of the Jackson Daily News) was Negro reactions from Negroes themselves. Many of the articles quoted whites stating positions for Negroes. Lieutenant Governor Gartin was quoted (JDN, 5/17/54:1) as saying, "I do not believe that the majority of Negroes in Mississippi want to go to white schools." An editorial (JDN, 5/19/54:8) reflected the same type of thinking: "an overwhelming majority of the Negro parents in Mississippi do not want their children to attend white schools." The editorial, which was four columns wide and the entire length of the page, was given over to establishing this point.[3]

After the shock of the initial pronouncement with the accompanying uproar, the South settled back to wait and see. The Court had decided to wait until after October 1, to hand down its implementation order. It invited the states that had de jure segregation to file briefs with the court by that time. The news of the decision quickly slipped from the front page of the Jackson Daily News to page 14 on the third day after the momentous occasion. News reappeared on the front page of the Jackson Daily News from time to time as sone dramatic event created a new focus, but the uproar, for the time being at least, quickly subsided.

Strategies of Resistance

In Tactics of Delay

Over a year after its famous "Brown" decision, the Supreme Court handed down its implementing decision on May 31, 1955 in which it requested school districts to move towards desegregation "with all

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[3]State leaders clung to this belief throughout the process of desegregation. It is still verbalized by many whites in 1971, even though desegregation has been virtually achieved.

deliberate speed." However, the Supreme Court certainly did not envision the extent of Southern recalcitrance nor just how deliberate that speed would be. School administrators were told to desegregate, but not told how, or how much, or how soon. The lower courts often took opposing positions to each other. The process of appeals itself allowed undue delays and uncertainty. Out of all the uncertainty there emerged a "wait and see" if not a "wait until we are made" attitude on the part of many.

Southern leaders set out to be "deliberate." Even while declaring Never! they prepared for the inevitable.

Such is reflected by their statements prior to the court decision outlawing desegregation. When the "Assignment Plan"[4] was introduced into the Mississippi Legislature, one senator remarked it will "give us six to ten more years of segregation," (JDN, 2/26/54:1). A reporter stated (JDN, 4/18/54:1):

> Some members of the State Legislature are hoping that should the high court rule against the dual system, it at least would call for gradual elimination of segregated classrooms so the state could proceed in a careful and orderly manner of by-passing the court edict.

Prior to the Supreme Court decision and in anticipation of it, a special educational committee had been established. The committee was established because of the "possibility that the U.S. Supreme Court might outlaw segregation ..." (JDN, 4/12/54:2). Known as the Who's Who Committee, it was set up "to seek ways to dodge any adverse decision" of the Supreme Court. "The advisory committee was directed by the legislature to find ways to maintain segregation in Mississippi's public schools, regardless of the Court's decision" (JDN, 5/17/54:1).

Actions and speeches that followed the Supreme Court's "Brown" decision indicate the Southern white's determination to be "deliberate." Two days after the Court rendered its "adverse" verdict, the Governor appointed eight members to the twenty-five member Who's Who Committee and charged it to meet "shortly" (JDN, 5/17/54:14). The Attorney General of Georgia, Eugene Cook, called a meeting to discuss "common strategy in side-stepping the U.S. Supreme Court's decision that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional." Mississippi's Attorney General, J. P. Coleman attended (JDN, 5/20/54:2). Coleman announced that he would refuse to file a brief at the Supreme Court's request, arguing that "the Supreme Court has no jurisdiction to render a decree against Mississippi as long as the state stays out of the case" (JDN, 5/20/54:2). One unidentified state official was quoted as saying that various methods could be used to maintain segregation "50 to 75 years" (JDN, 5/22/54:1). Congressman Williams framed a bill to make "separate but equal" a part of the United States Constitution (JDN, 5/23/54:10). Referring to the "Assignment Plan" being adopted by the State Legislature, Attorney General Coleman maintained,

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[4]A plan whereby children would be assigned to attend attendance centers by the local board obstensibly on bases other than color but where such assignments would still preserve segregation.

"red tape of legal procedures set up by the bill, which becomes effective July 1, could postpone final decision on a single case for years ... Negroes couldn't wade out of red tape for many years" (JDN, 6/5/54:1). The bill was seen as providing ways to preserve racial segregation other than through segregation by color.

Two additional comments reflect the confidence of Mississippi leaders in their ability to maintain segregation for some time. The first is by journalist Fredrick Sullen (JDN, 5/24/54:5):

> For the fifty-eight years the mandate of the Supreme Court was on the books, declaring that separate school facilities must be equal [sic]. This was never enforced. How much harder it will be if they try to enforce this more recent provision.

The second is from an editorial (JDN, 5/25/54:3):

> it [the Supreme Court] will have to establish by additional orders a police power of enormous proportions in order to enforce this ruling which violates the customs and sacred traditions of a people.

A paradox is apparent in the protestations of state leadership. NEVER! is translated as "sometime in the future." It seems to lose its sense of absoluteness in the strategy of delay.

In response to a questionnaire item[5] only nine superintendents reported that their first plan resulted in complete desegregation. Fourteen reported having no integration at all under their first plan and 121 reported only token integration. Table 2 shows that most of the districts were able to resist major desegregation until the fall of 1969 or later.

In Court Litigations

Resistance can also be seen in the number of times school districts came under court orders or were acted upon by HEW. Table 3 indicates the number of court actions against the districts and Table 4 provides a summary of actions taken against school districts by HEW to defer or cut off funds. Of the forty-four which were terminated, sixteen returned to compliance voluntarily but twenty-eight went under court order. Of the forty-two that were only deferred, sixteen voluntarily returned to compliance prior to termination or court order. Twenty districts went under court order while still on deferral before HEW could take actions to terminate funds. Four districts against which HEW took no action ended up under court order.

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[5] Item II B, Appendix II, p. 110.

Table 2. Stages of Desegregation of Mississippi School Districts

Dates	Districts with Stages of Desegregation	
	First Effort	Major Desegregation
1964-1965	57	3
1966	40	4
1967	18	3
1968	13	9
1969 (Spring)	0	3
1969 (Fall)	2	30
1970 (Spring)	0	31
1970 (Fall)	8	60
No information	9	4
Total	147	147

Source: Questionnaire Items II F,G., Appendix II, p. III.

Table 3. Number of Court Actions Against Mississippi School Districts, 1967-1970

Number of Court Actions	Districts	
	Number	Percent
None	41	28
Once	27	18
Twice	17	12
Three times	10	7
4-9	34	23
10-14	5	3
15 or more	4	3
No information	9	6
Total	147	100

Source: Questionnaire Item II E, Appendix II, p. III.

Table 4. Actions by HEW Against Mississippi School Districts that had Voluntarily Complied at Some Time, 1964-1970

Type of Actions	Number of Districts[a]
Declared not eligible	5
Deferred because they did not sign 441-B[b]	14
Deferred at the time of signing 441-B	24
Deferred sometime after signing 441-B	42
Deferred more than once	3
Deferred and then terminated	44

[a]Districts may be included more than once as categories are not mutually exclusive.

[b]441-B is an HEW Form stating intention to comply.

Source: Records of John O. Ethridge, Information and Advisory Officer, Mississippi Department of Education.

In Teachers' and Administrators' Resignations

Many teachers and some school administrators found themselves unable or unwilling to cope with the desegregated classroom. They resigned rather than teach or work in biracial schools. Table 5 shows the number of school districts whose superintendents reported via the questionnaire that some administrators and/or teachers resigned because of desegregation. The number of districts that had white teachers who resigned from the public schools was also found to be rather highly correlated with the emergence of the private schools. Ninety-seven percent of the districts which had white teachers to resign because of desegregation also had related private schools. It would appear that the availability of teaching positions in the private schools may have helped to induce white teachers to resign. Administrators were less likely to resign.

In Revolt of Parent Teacher Association's

The National PTA supported the desegregation of the schools. Their literature and promotion angered many parents, teachers, and officials of the local chapters of the PTA. Talk of breaking with the parent body could be heard in many local meetings across the state. The State Congress of the PTA reported, "Very few PTA's actually broke off from

the state and therefore national branch of the Congress,"[6] although admittedly it was difficult to tell in the period of turmoil caused by shifting use of attendance centers and reorganization of chapters. The refusal of the Negro and white state PTA Congresses to merge along with the rejection by the Mississippi Education Association (white) of a proposal to merge with the Mississippi Teachers Association (black) made the problem much more difficult. In response to a questionnaire item[7] thirty-seven school superintendents (26 percent of those that had local chapters) reported that there had been disassociation of local chapters in their district. Forty-nine superintendents did not provide any information. Fifty-nine reported no local chapters broke off from the parent body. Of the thirty-seven that did report disassociation, six said only a few did, four reported many did, twelve reported most did, and fifteen reported all did.

Table 5. Mississippi School Districts that had Administrators and/or Teachers Resign Because of School Desegregation

	Number of Districts					
	Administrators		White Teachers		Negro Teachers	
Action	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Resignations	17	12	70	48	24	16
No resignations	121	82	67	46	85	58
No information	9	6	10	6	38	26
Total	147	100	147	100	147	100

Source: Questionnaire Items IV F, G, and H, Appendix II, p. 117.

In the Newspapers

The role of the news media has been lifted up as playing an important role in desegregation (Tumin, 1958:60; Wey and Corey, 1959:36-37, 42; Winn, 1970:5). The questionnaire asked the superintendents to rate the local newspaper on a five point Likert-type scale as to the editorial policy of the paper toward school desegregation prior to its occurance. Table 6 provides the results.

The largest percent of the papers were neutral. When they did take a position it was much more likely to have been in opposition to desegregation. One superintendent in a personal interview reported that he and the editor had agreed that nothing would appear in the paper about school desegregation until the board was ready to announce a plan of desegregation, and then it would be for "information only."

[6]From personal correspondence of Barbara B. Staus, Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers dated October 12, 1970.

[7]Item IIIR, Appendix II, p. 116.

Table 6. Editorial Policy of Local Newspapers Toward Desegregation of Schools in Mississippi as Perceived by School Superintendents

Editorial Policy Towards Desegregation	District School Superintendents	
	Number*	Percent
Strongly opposed	29	20
Mildly opposed	18	12
Neutral	54	37
Mildly supportive	9	6
Strongly supportive	10	7
No information	27	18
Total	147	100

*While the categories are mutually exclusive as far as school districts are concerned, they are not for the local papers. More than one superintendent may be rating the same paper.

Source: Questionnaire Item III H, Appendix II, p. 114.

In Extra-School Voluntary Organizations

A number of organizations existed within the state that were committed to the preservation of "the Southern way of life" and thus segregation in the schools. The superintendents were asked in the questionnaire to identify such groups operating in their district. The number of such organizations identified by the superintendents was surprisingly small. However, sixty-two superintendents (42 percent) did not respond, making it difficult to really know the extent of such activity. Only thirty-nine superintendents reported some number of such organizations in their districts: twenty-six reported only one; nine reported two; three reported three; and one reported four. No superintendent reported more than four. Forty-six said that there were no such organizations. Table 7 provides the frequency with which certain organizations were reported. Other groups that were identified were private schools (2), Citizens for Local Control of Education (2), and one superintendent reported the entire white community.

In the Failure of Bond Issues

Many had predicted that whites would not financially support desegregated schools and that bond issues were doomed to fail. Superintendents were asked to identify recent bond issues that passed or failed.[8]

[8]Questionnaire item, IV J, Appendix II, p. 118.

They identified fifty-two bond issues from 1964 to 1970 of which twenty-one failed. Fifteen superintendents did not report. Only 130 superintendents (two less) responded to a second question which related the bond issues that failed to desegregation.[9] Nine superintendents reported that the bond issues in their districts failed because of white's unhappiness over desegregation.

Table 7. Organizations that Opposed Desegregation in the Various School Districts of Mississippi

Name of Organization	Number of Superintendents who Identified Organization as Present in the District
"Informal" citizens group (white)	13
Citizens Council (white)	12
Ku Klux Klan	10
Focus (Freedom of Choice in the U.S.)	7
"Informal" citizens group (Negro)	4
Americans for the Preservation of the White Race	2
John Birch Society	2
Local PTA	1

Source: Questionnaire Item, IV E, Appendix II, p. 117.

In the Actions of Parents and Other Citizens

Four questions were included on the questionnaire to tap the degree of resistance to certain aspects of desegregation on the part of the parents.[10] The first two related to white parents, the last two to Negro parents.

The first question related to the opposition by whites to Negroes entering white schools. Eight response categories were provided. Forty superintendents reported no opposition was manifested. Eighty-two maintained that verbal opposition occurred. Sixty-nine of these

[9]Questionnaire item, IV K, Appendix II, p. 118.

[10]Questionnaire item, IV A, B, C, and D, Appendix II, pp. 116-117.

eighty-two (84 percent) maintained that this was the only form in which opposition was manifested. Twenty-four superintendents reported receiving threats. Fourteen checked that angry parents assembled at the schools but made no attempt to block Negroes entering. Only two reported violence, and only two reported property damage. Eight superintendents did not provide information.

The second question related to the opposition by whites to white children being assigned to formerly all-Negro schools. The superintendents were asked to rate this opposition on a five point Likert-type scale relative to the opposition experienced when Negro children entered white schools. Ten did not provide information. Thirty-two stated that white children were not assigned to formerly all-Negro schools. Thirteen checked that there was no opposition. This leaves ninety-one superintendents that rated the degree of opposition. Thirty-two of these said it was "much greater." Thirty-nine checked that it was "greater." Sixteen indicated that it was the "same." Two said it was "less" while two said it was "much less." The greater percent indicated that whites tended to oppose sending their children to Negro schools more than bringing Negro children into white schools.

The third question relates to the closing of Negro schools or the loss of identity of Negro schools. It taps the degree of opposition by Negroes, opposition that was often mistaken by whites to be Negro opposition to desegregation per se. Thirteen superintendents did not provide information. Fifty-five maintained that no Negro schools lost their identity or were closed. The majority of the rest, fifty-six, reported that the Negroes accepted the decision. Nineteen checked that the Negroes resented the decion but did nothing to oppose it. Only four reported overt acts on the part of Negroes to prevent the closing of Negro schools or their loss of identity.

The fourth question tapped the same dimension as the third but attempted to ascertain more specific information about forms of resentment and protest on the part of the Negro community. Eighteen superintendents did not provide any information. Fifty-three superintendents reported no types of protest were made. Sixteen checked informal protest made by parents. Seven reported that formal protests were made by parent groups or organized Negro groups. Five indicated non-violent overt forms of protest such as boycotts, walkouts, or pickets. No superintendents reported receiving threats or any violence or property damage on the part of the Negroes. Eight reported that Negroes brought legal action against the district. While Negroes did in various ways protest the closing of the Negro schools or the loss of identity of their schools, their protest was not as great as white protest over desegregation.

In White Flight and the Private Schools

Reacting to the Supreme Court's famous 1954 "Brown" decision and especially to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, prophets of doom foretold the demise of public schools in the South. Six states immediately adopted

plans for state-wide private school systems,[11] others provided grants and loans to children in private schools. With this legitimization private schools, characteristic of the Northeast, began to blossom over the South like daisies. In 1964, alone, the state of Mississippi granted 23 charters to private educational foundations.

As desegregation progressed white flight began. In the words of news columnist Kilpatrick (1970:611) it was "back to segregation by order of the courts." The term "resegregation" was coined to describe the phenomena.

The public unitary system would indeed be unitary - all black - or so it seemed. A white private system would emerge, it was contended, that would parallel a black public system. Since Mississippi does not have a compulsory school attendance law, some parents, both black and white are keeping their children out of school. White parents, it would appear, have in the most part enrolled them in private schools.

While white flight and the private school movement may be thought of in one sense as resistance to social change, it is, on the other hand, a retreat from resistance to school desegregation. It should be noted that while it resists one type of social change, racial mixing, it is itself a form of social change. While no direct measure of white flight is available, three measures are fairly good indicators of the phenomenon: the decline in enrollment from 1969 to 1970, the increase in percent black for the districts, and the growth of private schools.

The decline in public school enrollment from 1969 to 1970 was 41,163. A drop of 6,450 was recorded for the previous year. For a decline in enrollment from 1969-1970 for each district see the Appendix I Table, pp. 100-108. Table 8 shows that an increase in percent Negro has occurred in most of the school districts in the state. The greatest increase occurred in districts that were already majority-black in 1968. This increase is probably to a large degree the result of whites leaving the public schools. It is interesting to note that only three districts changed from minority-black status in 1968 to majority-black in 1970. These three districts all had better than 45 percent black in 1968. Map 3, p. 38 shows the majority black districts.

Miller (1957:4) wrote, "Private, i.e., nonpublic, education has long held an important place in the scheme of American education." However, in the South, and Mississippi in particular, private schools have not been a major factor in education since the emergence of the state-wide public school systems for the two races. In 1960, Mississippi had less than five percent of its school children in private schools (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b:S47). Lovejoy, in 1963, listed in his Prep School Guide (1963:74) only 12 private and parochial schools in the state. In 1964 there were only three non-sectarian private schools in operation. Today there are 236 private schools in Mississippi (see Table 9).

Fichter (1958:428-429) classified private schools into parochial, characterized by religion, and private schools, characterized by social class. The recent Southern phenomenon does not fit Fichter's simple dichotomy. The so-called "segregation academies" are not the expensive

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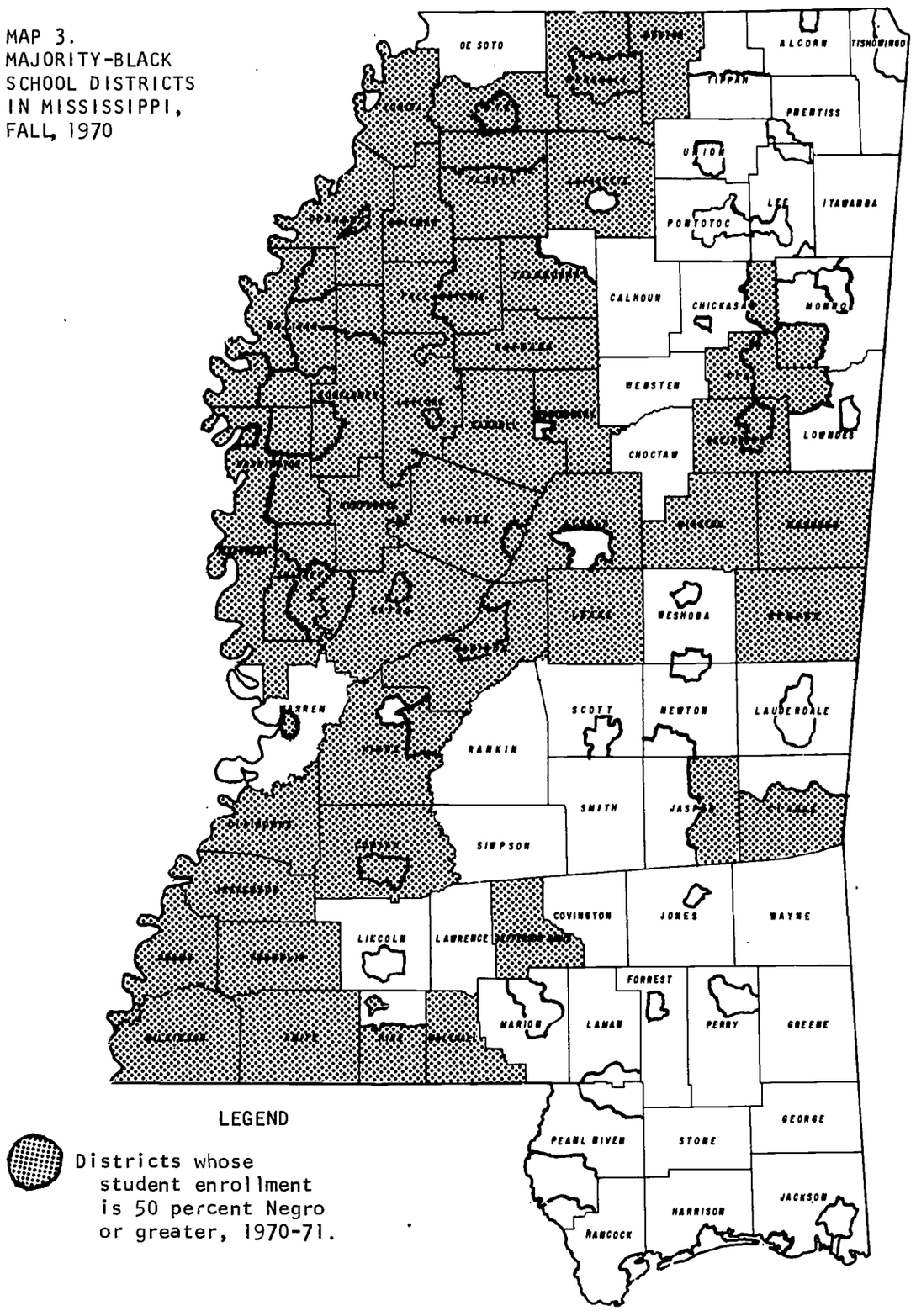
[11]Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia. The Mississippi House passed such a bill but it was defeated in the Senate (JDN, 4/7/54:1).

MAP 3.
MAJORITY-BLACK
SCHOOL DISTRICTS
IN MISSISSIPPI,
FALL, 1970



LEGEND

Districts whose student enrollment is 50 percent Negro or greater, 1970-71.

preparatory schools that Fichter described nor are they free from religious influences. The right to "pray in school" is as much a shibboleth of the movement as the right to "choose one's own company" even though the basic rationale is segregation.

Table 8. Change in Percent Negro from 1968 to 1970 in Mississippi School Districts

Percent Negro of 1968 District Enrollment	Number of Districts with Degrees of Change in % Negro				
	Decrease in % Negro	0-.9% Increase	1-9% Increase	10-30% Increase	Total
1 to 49%	21	15	30	6	72
50 to 100%	6	2	24	33	65
Total	27	17	54	39	137

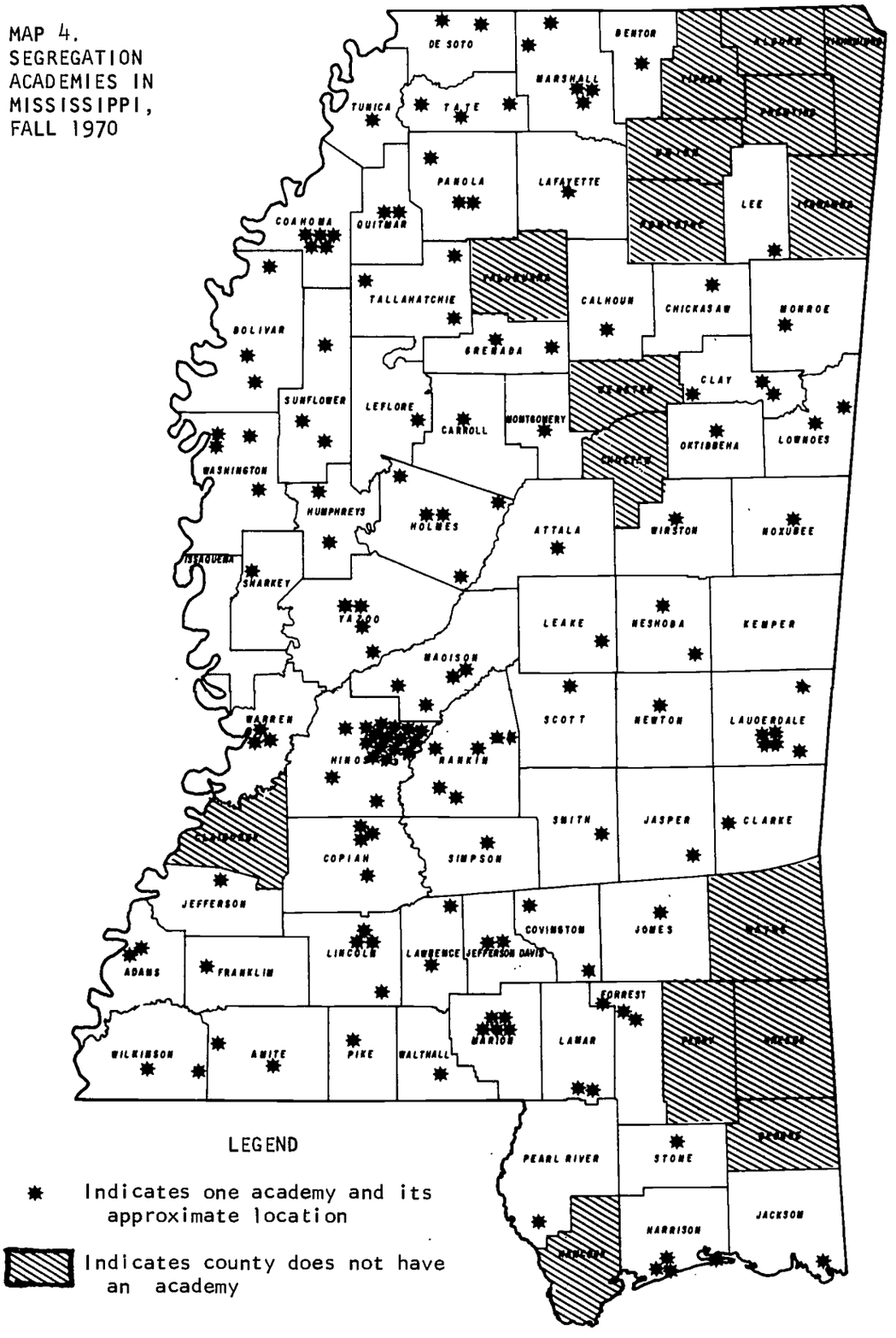
Source: Computed from records supplied by John O. Ethridge, Information and Advisory Office, State Department of Education and from HEW Forms 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

In discussing the Southern private school movement it is necessary to separate the truly parochial type from the newer private and religious enterprises. Fifty-three Catholic schools, six Episcopal and two Presbyterian schools in the state meet Fichter's criteria and differ from the segregation academies in that they have strong policies against discrimination. They also differ by showing a decline in enrollment. For example, in 1964 there were 56 Catholic schools with an enrollment of 16,222. By 1970 the enrollment had declined to 13, 264 and three schools had closed - all of this at a time when segregation academies were booming.

From 1964 to 1970, Mississippi granted 158 charters to private educational foundations, not to mention the many "church schools." While not every foundation became functional, approximately 163 segregation academies were operating in 1970 in sixty-six counties (Note Map 4, p. 40) with as estimated enrollment of 53,809 (see Table 9). In 1966[12] there were reported only 23,586 children enrolled in all the private schools in Mississippi. The greatest enrollment gains in the private schools were during the fall of 1969 and the spring and fall of 1970

[12]The first year for which reliable figures are available.

MAP 4.
SEGREGATION
ACADEMIES IN
MISSISSIPPI,
FALL 1970



(see Table 10). Even though the growth has been phenomenal, all of the private schools in the state account for only 11.8 percent of the total number of school children in Mississippi, with segregation academies enrolling only 8.8 percent.

Table 9. Private Schools and Segregation Academies in Mississippi as of September, 1970

Type of School	Total Number of Private Schools		Segregation Academies	
	Number	Enrollment	Number	Enrollment
Non-Church Related	135	46,881	132[a]	46,268
Catholic	53	13,436	[b]	
Episcopal	6	1,674	[b]	
Presbyterian	5	1,117	3[b]	823
Baptist	13	3,879	13	3,879
Other Faiths	8	840	8	867
Non-classifiable	7	1,972	7	1,972
State and Federal Supported Non-Public	9	2,220	[c]	
TOTALS	236	72,019	163	53,809

[a]Two all-Negro schools and one predominantly Negro are omitted.

[b]Catholic, Episcopalian, and two Presbyterian schools have been omitted because they have strong anti-discrimination policies.

[c]State and federally supported non-public schools such as schools for blind, deaf, Indians, special education, etc., have also been omitted.

Source: List of private schools compiled by author, enrollments projected from incomplete reports gathered by the Mississippi State Department of Education.

Table 10. Enrollment Gains in Private Schools in Mississippi, 1966-1970*

Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Gain	
			Number	%
1966-67	121	23,586	X	X
1967-68	129	24,227	641	2.7
1968-69	138	22,093	-2,134	-8.8
1969-70	188	46,981	24,888	112.6
1970 (estimate)	236	72,019	25,038	53.2

*1966-1969 figures taken from Nonpublic Schools, State Department of Education, Division of Administration and Finance, Jackson, Mississippi for respective years. 1970 estimate based on 86 percent of the schools reporting and a projection of the category means for the others.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN MISSISSIPPI

The concept "disestablishment" is a special case of "desegregation" and desegregation is a broader concept than "mixing of the races" as these terms are used in this thesis. Integretion is not considered a synonym for desegregation. All of these terms have been left undefined until now. This chapter will provide the working definitions. It will show disestablishment as a process of social change. It will discuss and document the degree of desegregation as of fall, 1970 and attempt to explain how this was accomplished. It will analyze the lack of violence in the process of disestablishment.

Disestablishment Defined

Undefined by the Courts

Unfortunately, the courts in requiring a unitary system did not define a unitary system. When was a system unitary? Was racial balance necessary among the schools? Henderson (1969:8), Chief of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, stated, "Generally speaking, when one enters any school in the district for observation purposes, he would be unable to determine if the school had previously been all Negro or all white." Racial balance was obviously to be the yardstick in measuring "unitary" and a tool in effecting disestablishment.

Lieftenant Governor Charles L. Sullivan attempted to establish a state definition of a unitary school system. Legislation which he introduced in February of 1970, would require "Mississippi schools to operate under a unitary system..." He defined a unitary system to be "a system exactly like the systems now being operated in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and California" (JDN, 2/13/70:1). This bill guaranteed not racial mixing but freedom of choice which had been struck down by the courts. Sullivan's concept of "unitary" was administratively unified. His bill called for substantially the same organization as was achieved in district reorganization under the School Equilization Plan in 1956. It did not call for disestablishment: it only redefined the status quo.

A Sociological Definition

Disestablishment is considered in this thesis as a special case of desegregation. Weinberg (1970:2) defined desegregation as "the abolition of social practices that bar equal access to opportunity or bar equal access to the 'mainstream of American life.' " Desegregation can be accomplished in a number of ways. Using Weinberg's definition of desegregation, disestablishment can be seen both as growing out of the desegregation process and as one way of effecting desegregation.

Disestablishment is the administrative process whereby segregated schools (a social practice that bars equal access to opportunity) are abolished and non-segregated attendance patterns are established. It includes the decision to desegregate; the administrative planning and policy-making necessary to effect desegregation; the carrying out of those policies in terms of reassignment of the use of attendance centers; pupil, faculty and administrative transfers; and curriculum changes. It would also include innovations to assure equal access to opportunity for all pupils. Disestablishment is but one of the means whereby desegregation can occur. It is the major process open to the school system. The two terms, disestablishment and desegregation, will for the most part be used synonymously in this study.

Integration is still another process, it is not a synonym for desegregation although it has been popularly used in this manner. The present writer reserves "intergration" for a more specialized definition. Weinberg (1970:3) defines integration as "the realization of equal opportunity by deliberate cooperation and without regard to racial or social barriers." Integration can hardly be achieved for a heterogeneous population - it is achieved by them. On the other hand, desegregation can be accomplished for a population.

Since this study makes no attempt to measure integration the term is not used. However, it does appear in several quotes. In these it is obvious that the one quoted is using integration as "mixing of races" which is one aspect of desegregation and one outcome of disestablishment.

Disestablishment as Social Change

Disestablishment of dual systems, i.e., school desegregation, is disruption of social organization and the emergence of new organizational forms. It is both a violation of certain social values and norms and the restructuring of them. It is an alteration of the pattern of ethnic interaction and the development of new patterns. It is a recognition of "social evils" and an effort to achieve equality. It is the rejection of local values for more idealistic and widely held values. It is a community and school in turmoil and in search of a "better way." It is a type of rapid social change growing out of a particular social problem, race relations, related to a single institution, education, occurring both within the spacial and interactional community.

A Strategy for Social Change

At the very heart of sociological theory stands one major generalizing idea, social organization. Organization is both a process and a result of a process.

Process is change. Prior to the Civil War there was virtually no public education in the South and laws forbade the education of the Negroes. During the social upheaval of the Reconstruction the tenor of all emergent social organization was to become racially separate.

Structures of segregation emerged as a part of the social process: segregated transportation, segregated eating, segregated housing, and among other things, segregated schooling.

Cultural and social factors interacted to reinforce segregation. A value system spawned by slavery and often undergirded with religious sanction had given birth to the concept of white supremacy. The mores of the people, their folkways and their laws based not on the constitution of the country which granted equality to all men but upon the regional value system of the South demanded separate and carefully regulated patterns of social interaction between the races. White supremacy was not limited to the South, but has been nationally a rather widely held general value. It is, however, more specific and pervasive in the South.

But historically no social order has been found to be perfect or static. The segregation of the races reinforced by segregated schools led to separation and isolation, which in turn led to suspicion and hostility. It also led to a large proportion of the population with an inferior education, a second-class citizenry, a loss of economic output, and an underemployment of human resource. The South, both black and white, suffered; the blacks perhaps suffered the most.

School desegregation, or what has come to be known as "Our Childrens' Burden," (Mack, 1968) is a strategy for social change. Many have decried the manipulation of children for this purpose, claiming it a problem that adults won't face, but one that we expect children to solve. But careful reflection will indicate the sociological necessity of such a strategy if change is to occur.

The school played a major role in perpetuating this division of the races and the subordination of blacks (Weinberg, 1967:87-91). The school is an institution of the community. In many aspects it has replaced the family. It becomes, so often, the center around which most of the social life of the community occurs. It is largely controlled by the community. There is a dynamic relationship between the school and the community. A segregated school system reinforces a segregated community. Thus there are in effect two communities instead of one, a black community and a white community. Therefore change in the segregated structure of the school, it would appear, would result in changes in the structure of the community. On the other hand, the changes would not be as likely to occur in the community without a change in the socializing agent, the school. Desegregated education, it is argued (Weinberg, 1970:378-379), prepares the children for accepting each other in the integrated situations found in other institutional areas of life, particularly in the world of work. Furthermore it provides the black child with a better education to compete in the job market and in social life. Education is generally considered to be one of the major channels of social mobility in our society. It is argued by civil rights advocates that racially integrated schools will help to unify the community and to place the Negro in the mainstream of community life rather than isolating him in his sub-community.

What is happening in the schools of Mississippi, the South, and in the nation is social change. Furthermore, it is to a large degree "planned change."

The Process of Disestablishment

Voluntarism and Court Orders

The editor of the Tupelo Journal had written rather perceptibly (as quoted in JDN, 5/24/54:3):

> For almost certainly it will be in the pocketbook, rather than in the court-room, that Mississippi first comes face to face with the high court's ban on segregation.

He predicted that the Federal Government would appropriate monies for school construction and the dire need for such funds in the South would speed up the process of desegregation. Such was the case.

Federal funds for state-wide public school systems reach back as far as 1917 with grants for vocational education programs. More recently public schools enjoyed financial support from the Federal Government in form of the school lunch program begun in 1946 and the National Defense Education Act in 1958. However, in the 1959-60 school year only 4.4 percent of the support of local schools over the nation was derived from federal sources. The passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Public Law 89-10, of 1965, and as amended by Public Law 89-750, more than doubled the Federal Government's share in the support of local schools. Titles I, II, III, IV and V of this act are designed to meet specific educational needs at the local levels. The Federal Aid to Impacted Areas Act, Public Law 874, passed by the 81st Congress also increased substantially the share of federal funds in local schools (Advisory Commission, 1969:37-44). These funding programs played a strategic part in the desegregation of the schools. They were begun at a time when freedom of choice was allowed and enforcement was lax which made compliance fairly easy for the school districts. By the 1966-67 school year a little better than 18 percent of the total cost of public schools in Mississippi was contributed by the Federal Government, an amount which totaled $38,222,659.75 (Division of Administration and Finance, 1967:43-44). Once the programs were begun school districts found it rather difficult to curtail them when threat of loss of funds occurred. This fact provided in some cases and effective tool by which to prod compliance.

Many school districts thought that by not accepting federal funds they could evade desegregating their schools and a number of districts in Mississippi refused federal aid. However, Title IV of the Civil Rights Act gave the Justice Department the right to act against any school district where there was a complaint of discrimination.

Although federal money was to play an important role in the desegregation process it was a federal court order that brought about the first school desegregation.[1] Mississippi was the last state to see

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[1]Unless otherwise noted the following data are taken from HEW records and other information supplied by Mr. John O. Ethridge, Information and Advisory Officer, State Department of Education or else are from general knowledge of the events.

Negro children attending classes with whites. A federal judge ordered four districts in the state to submit desegregation plans by July of 1964 and to begin disestablishment of dual systems by the fall. On August 31, 1964 sixteen Negro first-graders enrolled in four schools in Biloxi, Mississippi without any incident. The two-column story which was only three-fourths of the page long, topped by a four-column header, is a sharp contrast to the full page devoted to the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court ten years prior. NEVER had become strangely muted. Only two other districts, Jackson Separate and Leake County, experienced desegregation that fall. Thirty-nine Negroes were enrolled in the capitol city schools and one Negro child enrolled at Carthage in Leake County. None were enrolled at Clarksdale Separate, the other district under court order. Efforts were made at Meridian, Canton, and Marks but Negro pupils were turned away because these districts were not under court orders.

Fifty-six Negroes now attended school with whites. Ten years of no progress were over. However, another six years would pass before the dual system would come to an end.

During 1965 federal funds became available through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and many districts applied, submitting voluntary plans in order to receive the assistance. These plans were all based on freedom of choice. No effort was made to bring an end to segregation. In fact, evidence seems to indicate that negative sanctions were applied to Negroes who considered applying to white schools (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967b:47-69). Another sixteen districts came under court order during that year making a total of twenty. A news journalist reported 1,750 or .6 percent of the Negro children were in white schools in 1965 (Tupelo Journal, 1/16/67:1). The State Superintendent of Education, J. M. Tubb, had reported that all but eleven of the 149 districts were in compliance (Commercial Appeal, 12/29/65:1). He went on to state that complete desegregation was expected either by court order or voluntary compliance when the 1967-68 school year opened. It should be noted that by complete compliance he meant that every district would have a freedom of choice plan. It did not, however, mean that every district would be desegregated.

During March of 1966 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare sent to those districts receiving federal money but not under court order a HEW Form 441-B to be signed indicating their intentions to voluntarily comply. By the end of the 1966-67 school year in June, fifty-three of the districts had signed 441-B. However, only thirteen of these would continuously remain in voluntary compliance. Twelve of the fifty-three complying districts were later deferred but then returned to voluntary compliance. Seven were terminated, funds were cut off, before they voluntarily returned to compliance. Twenty-one of the fifty-three districts which voluntarily complied ended up under court order. Of those forty that were deferred, terminated or court ordered thriteen lost their compliance status within a year after signing the HEW form. Only nine out of the forty voluntarily returned to compliance before the massive drives of the fall of 1969 and 1970 following the "Alexander" decision of the Supreme Court. Seven of the forty went under court order prior to the "Alexander" decision. The other twenty-four did not come back into compliance either voluntarily or under

court order until after the "Alexander" decision produced a concerted effort of HEW and the Justice Department to put an end to all segregation in the schools. Two districts that originally had voluntary plans but did not sign 441-B were deferred in June of 1966.

The 1966-67 school year opened with fifty-five districts not in compliance, thirty-seven were under court order and fifty-seven had signed HEW 441-B.[2] There were 185 desegregated schools with 8,300 Negroes attending school with whites according to one estimate[3] (Southern Education Reporting Service, 1967:20). Thirty-two additional districts signed 441-B by the end of the 1966-67 school year, making a total of eighty-five that had signed. However, twenty-five of these new signers were not approved and were immediately deferred. Eight of these later achieved compliance status voluntarily but the other seventeen eventually went under court order. Out of the original seven that were approved during the 1966-67 school year only two remained in voluntary compliance. One of the seven was deferred and then voluntarily complied. The other four came under court order. Another twelve districts which did not sign 441-B but which had been receiving federal funds were deferred. Two of these later voluntarily complied. The others were court ordered. During the summer of 1966 and the 1966-67 school year twenty-two new districts came under court order increasing the total of forty-two.

By June of 1967, only seven districts remained to be dealt with. Five had been ruled not eligible for funds back in January of 1965. Two of these were later to seek voluntary compliance status, the other three were to be court ordered. Two counties were left untouched by HEW officials. One was to come under court order in February of 1968, the other not until October of 1969.

The summer of 1967 and the 1967-68 school year were filled with cases of deferral, termination and court orders mostly of those districts that had formerly had voluntary plans or else signed 441-B and for some reason no longer qualified as being in compliance. Seventy-three districts came under HEW or Justice Department action in this one year period. Only one of these was a completely new action.

While no figures were located for the 1967-68 school year the estimate for 1968-69 shows considerable increase in desegregation. There were 13,839 Negro children or 7.1 percent in white shcools (Meridian Star, 11/2/69:1). The summer of 1968 and the 1968-69 school year like the previous year were filled with litigation hammering away at what seemed an impossible task, the disestablishment of the dual system.

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[2]This is a total of 149 districts. The number of districts varied from the 150 originally created under reorganization. It returned to 150 in the summer of 1970.

[3]Actual figures are hard to obtain inasmuch as the State Department of Education ceased keeping records by race in 1964. Various reports show different figures.

The fall of 1969 opened with perhaps as many as 60,000 Negroes attending school with whites (Minor, 1970:31). This represented approximately 20 percent. Each year had shown a substantial increase, but the process seemed to some all too slow.

Freedom of Choice Fails

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights reported (1967b:45-69) that "Free choice plans are favored overwhelmingly by the 1,787 school districts [in the South] desegregating under voluntary plans." It also reported "The majority of districts desegregating under court order also are employing freedom of choice." Because this plan so predominated in the area of greatest resistance to desegregation the Commission decided to investigate it. They found six obstacles to the exercise of free choice: (1) intimidation by violence, (2) economic coercion, (3) harassment by white students, (4) conduct of school and other public officials, (5) the effect of poverty, and (6) inadequate court orders. The Commission recommended (1967b:94-96) six steps to the Department of HEW which ineffect would wipe out freedom of choice. Many Negroes voices from the very beginning had decried freedom of choice as a viable plan for disestablishment in a society where the blacks were still seeking freedom.

On May 27, 1968 three freedom of choice plans were struck down by the Supreme Court in three other Southern states. While the decision was couched in cautious language, school officials over the South heard the death knell of the dual system in the words of the court decree. The implication of the fact that freedom of choice might be on it way out hit Mississippians forcibly in October of 1968. The Meridian Star (10/6/68:1) reflects the issue: "The future of the controversial "freedom of choice" plan for school desegregation over a wide segment of Mississippi may hinge on outcome of a federal court hearing which opens here [Jackson] Monday." Throughout the winter and spring school officials and parents waited for what they by now were sure would come. They were surprised, however, in May when a three-judge federal court panel upheld the freedom of choice plan (Commercial Appeal, 5/14/69:1). However, this decision was soon appealed to the 5th Circuit Court which had knocked down similar plans in Louisiana (Meridian Star, 6/8/69:1).

One year later, October 29, 1969, NEVER! became NOW! as the Supreme Court ruled in Alexander vs. Holmes, "every school district must terminate dual school systems at once and ... operate now and hereafter only unitary schools" (Minor, 1970:31-32). Freedom of choice was no longer permissible, it had failed to disestablish the dual system.

The spring session of the 1960-70 school year and the fall session of the 1970-71 school year were periods of tumult in the "little red schoolhouses" of Mississippi, the big ones too, as the districts developed plans to disestablish. By the opening of the fall of 1970 disestablishment was an accomplished fact.

The Degree of Disestablishment

Disestablished Districts

All of Mississippi's school districts have disestablished their dual systems and only two are not desegregated to some degree.[4] These are all-black districts: one has historically served an all-black community; the other resulted from resegregation (see Appendix I Table, pp. 100-108). There are twenty-eight other districts that still have some all-black schools and fifteen districts that have some all-white schools. Only three of these districts have both all-black and all-white schools. Districts that still have some all-Negro schools tend to have a relatively high percent Negro enrollment, ranging from 34 percent to 100 percent. Twenty-three of the twenty-seven districts are majority-black districts. Ten are districts that are more than 90 percent black and two are all-black. Districts that still have all-white schools tend to have a relatively low percent Negro enrollment, ranging from 5 percent Negro up to 43 percent Negro. Ten of the fifteen districts have less than 20 percent Negro and three have less than 10 percent. Those three districts that had both all-Negro and all-white were in a middle range of percent Negro enrollment: 48, 59, and 67 percent. The relationship of the segregated schools to percent Negro of the district's enrollment suggest that the problem to some degree at least is one of logistics, i.e., the physical problem of shifting children to obtain racial balance.

While no effort is made to determine the degree to which segregation may exist within the school, focusing upon the schools which are still segregated in that they do not have both black and white students may help in grasping the picture of the degree of disestablishment in Mississippi. Table II provides statistics on segregated schools in the state.

One might conclude from Table II that considerable segregation at the district level still remains in the state. On the other hand, out of the 967 attendance centers in the state, only eighty-nine of them are not desegregated. This represents only 9 percent of all the schools. Fifty-eight are in majority-black districts. Forty-two are in districts that have 75 percent or more Negro pupils. Five of these schools are in all-black districts.

Children in Desegregated Situations

Actually, 93 percent of all public school children in Mississippi are attending desegregated schools. Eighty-nine percent of the Negro children and 97 percent of the white children are in racially integrated

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[4]Not desegregated in that they do not have both white and black children attending school together. They are, however, legally desegregated and are considered to be a "unitary system."

situations. The 185,270 Negro children who attend school in the seventy-one majority-Negro districts and constitute 73 percent of all the children in those districts are less likely to be in desegregated situations since the bulk of the segregated schools are there. In these districts the Negro children are less likely to enjoy what has been called the "Coleman Report Effect"[5] (Vose, 1967:144).

Table 11. Degree of Remaining School Segregation in Mississippi Schools as of September, 1970

Type of Segregation	Number of Districts	Number of Schools	Enrollment			
			Negro		White	
			Number	% of Race[a]	Number	% of Race[a]
All-Negro Schools	30	63[b]	30,054	11	-	-
All-White Schools	15	26	-	-	6,882	3
Schools That Have a Higher % Negro Than Total % Negro for Their District	141	486	175,968	65	89,921	35
Schools That Have 10% or More Higher % Negro Than Total % Negro for Their District	69	210	83,613	31	21,320	8

[a]Indicates percent of the total state enrollment for the respective race in that situation.

[b]Five of these schools are in the two all-Negro districts

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1; 102-1, 1970.

Support of the Disestablishment of the Dual School System

In the face of the degree of resistance to disestablishment documented earlier (supra, p.26) one would wonder how school superintendents and boards who are responsible to the local population could have

[5]The increase in achievement on the part of Negro children when placed in desegregated situations where the Negroes constitute a relatively small percent of the class has been called the "Coleman Report Effect" because Coleman, et al (1966:331) first observed the condition.

effected desegregation particularly without a court order. Without some support from the white and Negro communities it would have been virtually impossible.

Support for public education even though it was desegregated arose as the public schools were perceived to be threatened. Though the Governor over television in January of 1970 advocated both public and private schools and even parents' rights to withdraw their children from school, most state leaders were pleading for the saving of the public school system. Volunteer groups whose purpose was to save the public schools sprang up over the state. One state-wide organization emerged known as "Mississippians for Public Education!" On the local scene groups known as "Local citizens for the support of Public Schools" were founded. Many civic groups as well as church groups (infra, pp. 56-57) responded to the threat of the loss of public schools and offered their support (Minor, 1970:33-35). Glenn (1970:420) observed this phenomenon to be rather widespread. Though many predicted the complete destruction of the public schools as whites would flee and withdraw support, only one district in the state became all black. This, perhaps, is to a large degree due to the support from these volunteer groups.

Through Community Leaders

Local leaders thus affirmed by their actions that while desegregation might not be desirable, it was nevertheless expedient. The superintendents were asked, "To what degree did community leaders (sometimes referred to as the 'power structure') support the superintendent and school board in their efforts to comply or desegregate?"[6] A five point Likert-type scale was provided for them to check ranging from strong opposition to strong support. Twenty-two did not provide information. Nine reported mild opposition. Community leaders took a neutral position in eighteen districts the superintendents indicated. The majority, however, stated that community leaders supported their efforts. Forty rated them as providing mild support. Forty-eight claimed strong support on the part of the community leadership.

Through the Parent Teacher Associations

Perhaps one of the major supports for any school program or activity comes from the Parent Teacher Association. The superintendents were asked whether the white and Negro PTA's supported them in their efforts to comply with the disestablishment decree of the Court. Table 12 shows the responses of the superintendents.

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[6]Questionnaire Item III G, Appendix II, p. 114.

Table 12. Support of School Desegregation in Mississippi by Local PTA's

	School Districts with PTA's			
	White		Negro	
Support	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	80	54	78	53
No	18	12	15	10
No PTA's	9	6	9	6
No Information	40	28	45	31
Total	147	100	147	100

Source: Questionnaire Items, III O, P, Appendix II, p. 116.

The majority of the superintendents reported that both white and Negro PTA's in their district supported their efforts. The ratios between support and non-support for white and Negro PTA's are about the same. More superintendents said they did not know or else failed to provide information on the Negro PTA's than on the white PTA's.

One of the major ways that a PTA could help to support the superintendent and school board would have been to sponsor biracial meetings prior to the desegregation of the schools. Thirty-three superintendents did not respond to the question of whether the PTA's sponsored biracial meetings. Eight stated they did not have PTA organizations. Seventy reported that the PTA's in their district did not sponsor biracial meetings. However, there were thirty-six superintendents who indicated that their PTA's did.

Through Extra-School Voluntary Organizations

There were two distinct types of voluntary organizations in the community supporting desegregation. The first type not only supported it but promoted it. These would be organizations with a vested interest in the process such as National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, etc. Superintendents may have viewed these as conflict groups rather than support groups at least in the early stages of the process. The second type would be civic, fraternal and religious groups that would support the school officials because of an interest in the larger community and public education.

Superintendents were asked to identify the various groups in their district "with the purpose of bringing about the desegregation of the schools." Sixty-two did not respond and forty-six reported no such groups. Twenty-six superintendents reported only one group. Nine

reported having two groups. Three identified three groups. Only one identified four; no superintendent identified more than four. A list of possible groups was provided to help remind the superintendents and aid in identification. Table 13 provides the frequency of these groups being identified as present in a district.

Table 13. Groups with the Purpose of Bringing about Desegregation in Mississippi School Districts

Type and Name of Groups	Number of Superintendents that Identified the Group as Present in their District
I. Civil Rights	
NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)	54
North Mississippi Legal Defense Fund	20
The Delta Ministry	12
SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)	6
NEA (National Education Association)	5
CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	4
SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee)	2
Urban League	1
II. School-Related Groups	
"Concerned" Negro parents	41
Local Negro PTA's	40
"Concerned" White parents	23
Local White PTA's	22
Local MTA (Negro)	17
Local MEA (white)	12
Biracial group of "Concerned" parents	9
III. Community Groups	
"Informal" citizens group (Negro)	50
"Informal" citizens group (white)	31
City Council	14
"Informal" citizens group (biracial)	13
County supervisors	8
Black coalition or caucas	2

Source: Questionnaire Item, III D, Appendix II, p. 112.

In addition to the groups in Table 13 a number of other groups were identified: MACE (unidentified); Justice Department; Local School Board; Legal Aid; Teachers and Local Black Leaders; Department of

Health, Education and Welfare; Freedom Democrats; Black Citizens for Better Education in Clay Co.; Head Start; Monroe County Board of Education; Merged Local Teachers Association; Tombigbee Human Relations Council; McComb Bi-racial Committee; McComb Enterprise Journal; McComb Ministerial Association; Federal Courts; Education Committee; and Community Relations Committee. No one identified either the Black Muslim or the Black Panthers as being present.

The superintendents were asked, "What civic, fraternal, or religious organizations were supportive of the superintendent and school board efforts to comply in that they did one or more of the following: appointed educational committees, held discussion groups, sponsored informational programs, or publicly expressed support?" Only thirty-six superintendents did not reply. Twenty-four said that no community groups supported them in their efforts to comply. Thirteen identified one group. Thirteen identified two groups. Eleven identified three. Nine identified four. Eight identified five. Eight identified six. Three identified seven and twenty-two identified eight or more. Of the three types of community groups the civic groups tended to be identified more often as being in support than were the fraternal or the religious groups. Table 14 provides the frequency of the various groups identified by the superintendents. Three superintendents wrote in that the Christian people of the community were supportive. No other groups were identified.

Through the Newspapers

The editorial policy of the newspapers toward desegregation prior to the desegregation of the local public schools has already been discussed (supra, p. 33). The superintendents were also asked, "To what degree did the editorial policy of the major newspaper (the one that carries the most district school news) support the superintendent and school board in their efforts to comply or desegregate?" A five point Likert-type scale was provided ranging from strong opposition to strong support. Eighteen superintendents did not respond. The majority of the superintendents reported that the newspapers supported them. Table 15 provides the distribution.

Eighty-three percent of the superintendents stated[7] that the newspapers were willing to print articles about desegregation exactly as the superintendent presented them. Three said some articles were refused. Six reported that the newspapers printed revised editions of their articles. There were none who reported that they had all articles refused. Seven admitted that they had not submitted any.

General coverage of news relative to racial incidents varied considerably.[8] Twelve superintendents did not respond to the question.

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[7]Questionnaire Item III J, Appendix II, p. 115.

[8]Questionnaire Item III K, Appendix II, p. 115.

Seventy-nine reported no racial incidents occurred. Of the remaining fifty-six superintendents, eighteen stated that most incidents went unreported, ten stated the newspapers arbitrarily chose what to report, eleven indicated that there was selectivity in what was reported, and seventeen said that almost all incidents were covered. Practically the same responses were given relative to radio coverage of racial incidents.

Table 14. Civic, Fraternal and Religious Groups that Supported District School Officials in their Efforts to Comply with Desegregation in Mississippi

Type and Name of Group	Number of Superintendents that Identified the Group as Being Supportive
I. Civic	
Lions	59
Chamber of Commerce	55
Rotary	51
Jaycees (Junior Chamber of Commerce)	33
Civitans	29
Kiwanis	21
American Legion	13
Garden Club	10
CDF (Community Development Foundation)	5
Exchange Club	3
Junior Auxilary	3
II. Fraternal Organizations	
Masons	8
V.F.W.	5
Elks	3
Moose	3
WOW (Woodmen of the World)	2
Knights of Columbus	1
Odd Fellows	1
III. Religious (White Churches)	
Baptist	34
Methodist	33
Presbyterian	25
Catholic	15
Episcopalian	11
Church of God	10
Assembly of God	6
Jewish	4
Lutheran	4
Nazarene	3
Disciples of Christ	2
7th Day Adventists	2
Christian Scientists	1
Latter Day Saints	1

Source: Questionnaire Item, III F, Appendix II, p. 113.

Table 15. Responses to the Degree of Support of the Editorial Policy of Local Newspapers Toward School Officials Involved in Desegregation in Mississippi

Degree of Support	Number of Superintendents Responding	
	Number	Percent
Strong opposition	9	6
Mild opposition	4	3
Neutral	28	19
Mild support	30	20
Strong support	58	40
No information	18	12
	147	100

Source: Questionnaire Item, III H, Appendix II, p. 114.

Through the Negro Community

Some evidence of Negro support has already been indicated in terms of the Negro PTA's (supra, pp. 52-53) and the extra-school voluntary organizations (supra, pp. 53-54). Support of the Negro community can be implied by the relative lack of opposition to the fact that disestablishment proceeded largely in terms of the white power structure's plan and largely to the advantage of whites. Negro children were primarily the ones who had to transfer and Negro schools were generally the ones to close or lose their identity (infra. pp. 72-74).

An avenue of support that many Negroes wished for but never materialized in many communities was participation in the policy and decision-making process. A number of questionnaire items attempted to tap the degree to which they were able to do so.[9] The first was whether the district made use of a biracial advisory committee and if so at what stage did the committee function. Eleven superintendents did not respond. Seventy-one (48 percent) said they did not use a biracial committee. Fourteen superintendents reported using a biracial committee. Fourteen superintendents reported using a biracial committee in the beginning, prior to any desegregation in the district. Twenty-nine reported that they began using a biracial advisory committee after the

[9] Items III A, B and C, Appendix II, pp. 111-112.

first desegregation but before major desegregation occurred. Twenty-one reported using such a committee but only after major desegregation. After 1968, the courts required some districts to have a biracial committee.

How the committee came to be formed and how its membership was derived would seem to indicate something as to its representativeness of the Negro community and of the responsiveness of the board to the committee's suggestions. Twenty-nine superintendents reported that the committee was formed in their district as the result of a court order directing them to do so. Six said the committee developed on its own. Four said community leaders suggested it. One superintendent said it originated from some source other than the above, but not from the board. Thirty superintendents reported that the formation of the committee was at the request of the superintendent and board. Eleven did not respond. In response to the question as to how membership on the committee was obtained only eleven failed to answer. Three said volunteers were used. Twenty-two reported that representative groups elected the committee members. Eight said "community leaders" appointed them. Two claimed that city officials appointed them. Twenty-three said their committees were appointed by the superintendent and the school board. Five reported that committees were already in existence and these were used. Seven indicated other means without specifying them.

A rather interesting phenomenon occurred relative to the degree that the school board utilized the biracial committee.[10] On the previous questions the number of superintendents that stated they did not have a biracial committee had remained rather constant: 71, 66, 67. There was enough leeway in the "no information" category to explain the discrepencies. However, in response to this fourth question which appeared among questions related to the superintendent's and school board's actions, ninety-four maintained that they did not have such a committee and a larger number also failed to respond, fifteen as compared to eleven. Of those that did respond and admitted having a committee, two said the committee was never consulted, six said the board heard the committee's reports but ignored their recommendations, twenty-nine stated the board adopted some of the committee's recommendations, and five indicated that the board was highly dependent upon the committee. It would appear that only a small percent of the school boards really provided an avenue of participation and support for the leadership of the Negro community.

The one place where the Negro community could make the greatest contribution to the policy and decision making process of the schools was in membership of the school board itself. Only eighteen of the superintendents reported that their school board was biracial.[11] Ten failed to respond, but they are unlikely to have had Negro school board members. In the light of the fact that seventy-one of the school districts have a majority-black student body this is under-representation.

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[10]Questionnaire Item V E, Appendix II, p. 119.

[11]Questionnaire Item V A, Appendix II, p. 118.

An Analysis of the Peaceful Disestablishment of the Dual School System

Radical, rapid social change seldom occurs easily. It is usually accompanied by some degree of conflict and a period of social maladjustment. A social process is dynamic, new social structures in time emerge out of social change to meet the new emergent needs. Old structures have either disappeared or are too institutionalized to cope with change. During this period of rapid change social positions are indeterminate and social roles are undefined. Mixtures of old and new expectations of behavior are often contradictory. Some individuals find themselves normless relative to a particular situation and their behavior takes on an almost non-rational pattern.

Relative Lack of Violence

The editor of the Jackson Daily News had predicted "Blood stains on white marble steps" (JDN, 5/18/54:1). Blood was shed over the land as Negroes pursued their civil rights. Blood was shed in Mississippi as other institutional areas were desegregated. However, the desegregation of public schools in the state proceeded with relative calm and virtually no blood was shed. Calm had accompanied the first desegregation at Biloxi, Jackson and Carthage in 1964. A news reporter characterized it as an "atmosphere of resignation" (JDN, 8/31/64:1). Repeatedly news reporters, columnists and governmental figures all reported surprise as to the generally peaceful way in which desegregation was being accomplished in the state. Crain (1969:371) commented, "school desegregation in the South is so tame as to be uninteresting."

This does not mean there was no tension, nor does it mean there was no violence. A cross was burned in Durant in front of the Mayor's home in September of 1965. A Negro high school was partially burned in Holmes County that summer which led to protest marches. Negro school children were roughed up, and a man mistaken for a news reporter was badly beaten in Grenada as school opened there in September of 1968. The State Highway Patrol had to be called out to quell the disturbance and protect the Negro school children Tear gas was used to break up a group of rock-throwing, window-breaking rioters in Tunica County in March of 1969. A boycott of a Tunica County school by Negroes and marches had led to mass arrest of Negroes which had angered the blacks. A high school was burned at Maben rather than have an integrated faculty in February of 1970. Each of these incidents was in areas where Negroes constituted a rather high percent of the population and where tensions would be expected to be high.

However, forty school superintendents in the state, in response to the writer's questionnaire, reported that there had been no apparent opposition to Negroes entering schools in their district.[12] Sixty-nine stated that the only manifestations of opposition were verbal. Only

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[12]Questionnaire Item IV A, Appendix II, p. 116.

thirteen reported receiving threats on themselves and their family. Only ten reported angry parents assembled at the schools but these, they stated, made no attempt to block Negroes entering. Only two reported violence occasioned by Negroes entering the white shcools. Only four listed property damage. Three listed other types of opposition and six did not respond to the question.

In some areas whites boycotted classes for a while in protest to the Negroes' presence in the school. In other places Negroes boycotted classes in protest to the closing of a Negro school or the loss of identity of their school, or some other policy related to desegregation. But for the most part the boycotts were peaceful even though tempers flared and tension mounted.

The relative lack of violence in school desegregation in Mississippi, cannot be explained by any one factor. The discussion that follows is based upon insights on the part of the writer with a minimal amount of documentation and are offered as highly general suggestions, tentative hypotheses that are based on observations of the data. Some were also suggested by other researchers encountered in the review of literature.

Some Observations

Before attempting to explicate some of the more important factors which seem to have contributed to the lack of violence, observations of a cognitive nature could be made. There is often a radical difference in one's behavior and his stated opinions and attitudes. Mississippians and other Southerners loudly proclaimed what they would do if those "blankety-blank niggers enter out schools," but few made good their threats. Two reasons might be tendered as possible explanations for this difference between stated intentions and behavior other than a change in attitude *per se*.

First, fear and anxiety over the consequences of an act or a series of acts are usually greater than the consequences themselves. In other words, violence failed to materialize in many instances where it was predicted because the prediction was made on the basis of free-floating anxiety rather than on the objective reality of the situation. Statements relative to intended actions were based upon anxiety and fear of the anticipated consequences rather than the actual occurrance. In other words, they were of the "if, then" variety. A configuration of events was imagined which included among other things blacks using filthy language, picking fights, molesting white girls--dire consequences as the whites saw them--and intentions to act were predicated on this mind-set. When these things did not materialize, the necessary stimuli for action were not present and there was no occasion to act. In those instances when the mental configuration to some degree was approximated by reality and thus appropriate stimuli were present, whites did tend to act out their stated intentions.

A second reason is that such statements of intended violence were ritualistic in nature, offered more as moral support than for actual intentions. The individual was able to reinforce his own self-image and the self-image of the group by declaring himself as a "protector" of the Southern way of life."

They were intended to convey identification and dedication rather than real actions. The South steeped in its religious "revivalism" and its fraternal lodge oaths is given to ritualistic expressions of loyalty and dedication that seldom parallel actual behavior.

Having made the two observations above we turn now to factors that may have either brought about a change in attitudes on the part of whites, or simply prevented the development of hostilities to the point of explosion. Alston and Knapp (1971:11-15) contend that an attitude change did occur from 1965 to 1969.

The Aspect of Time and Related Factors

Time may well be one of the most important variables. Mississippi was the last state to remove its racial barriers, the last state to see Negro children enter white classrooms. Other states had already undergone desegregation. Never, while still a watchword, had been effectively shattered. White Mississippians in general and state leaders in particular could take some pride and maintain some sense of dignity in the fact that they were last - "We held out until the end." As quoted earlier, a columnist commenting on the desegregation at Biloxi in 1964 had observed "an atmosphere of resignation." A sense of inevitableness set in as Mississippi saw the battle of other states as well as their own become simply acts of futility instead of strategies for avoidance.

Not only the time at which the first desegregation occurred, but the time between the first desegregation in 1964 and the "Alexander vs. Holmes" decision in 1969 that spelled the end of the dual system is important. Fourteen school superintendents reported that their first desegregation plan resulted in no mixing of the races at all. One hundred twenty-one superintendents reported that their first plan resulted in only a token number of Negro children entering white schools. Only those districts that came under court order after freedom of choice was struck down had mass desegregation as a result of their first plan. This time delay, this laxity in enforcement, provided a time for adjustment on the part of the white community to the idea of Negroes in their schools and their children attending formerly Negro schools.

Time then is really defined as laxity and delay in enforcing the Supreme Court's decree. Two specific instances have been cited where time was a crucial factor. As other factors are explicated time will also be seen as relative to these as a contributing variable.

Early Desegregation

Models of desegregation, within the state and without, provided evidence that the mixing of races could be accomplished smoothly. Models of successful desegregation encouraged others to effect a smooth transition. Having such a contrast in the percent Negro of the population from county to county in the state, there were amply cases, particularly in counties with a low percent Negro population, where desegregation moved smoothly at an early date. This factor is extremely important relative to the additional factor of federal monies.

Federal Funds

Federal funds were offered to the districts through a variety of programs (supra, pp. 46-47). These funds were desperately needed and benefited both black and white. Many school districts became highly dependent upon these federal monies which had been accepted under the relatively innocuous freedom of choice desegregation plan. Failure to comply when this plan was ruled invalid meant loss of those funds. Wey and Corey (1957:19-20) had suggested that desegregation would progress as the majority group understood how desegregation would benefit them. Fifteen districts in the state voluntarily desegregated and remained in compliance serving as models of smooth transition. Thirty-one districts that had volunteered to desegregated when threatened with a cut-off of funds or when funds were cut-off returned to compliance voluntarily. Only twenty-five of those that filed acceptable voluntary compliance forms ended up under court orders. Thirty-one percent of the then 148 districts in the state complied voluntarily. Time is again a vital factor in the development of successful models and the adjustment of the districts from token to full desegregation. Later in the process the Emergency School Assistance Program likewise aided a smooth transition. Whites angered by the tremendous cost of reorganization and relocation of pupils were able to dispell their resentment in statements such as "the Federal Government caused the problem so let them pay for it."

Efforts Toward Equality

The state School Equalization Program was also a time-related factor that may have contributed to the relative ease of desegregation. Many actions have been noted to have unintentional consequences. A number of such consequences, some positive for school desegregation, can be noted growing out of the School Equlization Program.

Speaker of the House Sillers raised a pertinent point when he referred to the problem of putting Mississippi schools under one system if the Supreme Court abolished segregation as "the 64 dollar question and the jigsaw puzzle of the day" (JDN, 3/10/54:1). In 1954 Mississippi had 2,094 school districts; 809 of these districts were white, the balance were Negro. The problem the federal courts would have faced in dealing with such a large number of districts and effecting mixing of schools in racially separate administrative districts would have been overwhelming. In the reorganization of the school districts as a part of the equalization plan this large number was reduced to 150 (Naylor and Crain, 1965:9). Administratively these were unitary districts for no longer were there white districts and Negro districts, there were just districts. These districts contained all-white and all-Negro schools, the only exception being a district which served an all-Negro community.

The second positive contribution is seen in the equalization process itself. The procedures of the program required school boards to "prepare and submit to the Commission the 'Long Range Plan of Providing Equal Facilities' for the children in the district" (Naylor and Cain, 1965:13). While the word equal might be challenged, and whether the facilities were ever made equal might likewise be challenged, the fact must not be overlooked that great strides forward were made.

A state survey in 1951 had shown 1,409 one-room schools and 439 schools housed in non-publicly owned buildings (Naylor and Cain, 1965:8). Most of these schools were Negro. As was pointed out earlier (supra, p.23), in 1954 there were 1,040 one-teacher Negro schools as opposed to 48 one-teacher white schools, a rather clear indication as to who occupied most of the 1,409 one-room school buildings.

By 1967 the State Educational Finance Commission reported (1967: 48) that more than 65 percent of the state's school children were in classrooms constructed after World War II. The more than 3,800 attendance centers that existed in 1951 had been reduced to 1,042 by 1965. But even more significant is the fact that the 1,409 one-room schools found in the 1951 survey had by 1965 been reduced to 13 (Naylor and Cain, 1965:22). From 1955 to the end of 1969 the State Educational Finance Commission (1969) allocated $130,232,925.09 for new construction. Almost $75,000,000.00 of this was for new construction of Negro schools and classrooms. A little more than $54,000,000.00 was for white schools. Approximately $2,000,000.00 was for schools whose racial composition could not be identified or for auxillary educational structures (State Educational Finance Commission, 1969).

This accelarated construction, while it was designed to avoid desegregation and while it perhaps delayed the process, helped to improve educational standards both for the blacks and whites. Without additional and much needed classrooms, desegregation could hardly have been accomplished. Although some relatively new, formerly all-Negro schools now stand idle over the state because the white power structure refused to send white children to "nigger" buildings, many districts have effectively utilized these new structures in their desegregation plan. Without them it would have been impossible logistically as well as from the standpoint of the dominant value structure to have effected complete racial mixing.

These new facilities were more acceptable to whites. For example, a survey of parents of school children in Starkville, Mississippi, prior to school desegregation revealed that 76 percent of the white parents stated that they would not be willing to send their children to a school formerly occupied by Negroes. However when the desegregation plan was put into effect using the better, formerly Negro facilities only a small percent opted to leave the public school system rather than to send their children to these schools (Palmer, 1970:8).

A third positive consequence, not as easily documented but just as real, is that the equalization program tended to make people aware of the fact that the schools were not equal. On the other hand, the erection of a new all-Negro school in some instances may have caused resentment on the part of whites whose facilities may not have been as modern as they desired. Thus, the new all-Negro school could become a justification for segregation. "They've got a better school than we have!" Nevertheless, the program brought an awareness on the part of the many that the schools were unequal.

Redefinition of the Negro's Role

Redefinition of the Negro's role is another factor in which the time dimension was vital. The Negro in Mississippi prior to 1954 had extremely low status. His social position and his roles were rigidly defined by the white community. Social change as was mentioned earlier called for a redefinition of the role. White Mississippians saw via television not "Sambo" but educated Negroes with obvious social graces hobnobbing with the President of the United States and other important people. They saw not roles of demeanor but behavior based on equality. They viewed movies such as "In the Heat of the Night" and "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner." They watched TV plots such as "I Spy," "Room 222," and "Mission Impossible" where Negroes were cast in roles for different from "Amos and Andy." They listened to popular music such as "Everything is Beautiful" on their radios. They thrilled to black athletes in such popular contact sports as basketball and football. They had time to get used to "seeing black skin," a vision that helped to soften the effect of seeing black skin in a white classroom.

Dissipation of Hostilities

Prior Violence

Violence in other institutional areas both within the state and outside the state and violence relative to the desegregation of schools in nearby areas acted as a buffer to violence in Mississippi's school desegregation and tended to dissipate hostilities. A number of authors (Williams and Ryan, 1954:239-240; Wey and Corey, 1959:17) had pointed out that districts underwent desegregation much more smoothly where prior desegregating experiences acted as a shock absorber. The murder of Negro leaders and civil rights workers-Medger Evers at Jackson in 1962; the brutal murder of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia in the summer of 1964; and then later the fire bomb death of Vernon Dahmer in 1966, at Hattiesberg - shocked the people of the state. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy in November of 1963; of Martin Luther King in 1968; and Robert F. Kennedy the same year tended to create nation-wide revulsion for violence. Detroit, Watts, and Newark in the summers of 1965 and 1966 also had an impact.

Mississippi's own bloody confrontation with violence at the University of Mississippi as James Meridith attempted to enroll there in 1962 demonstrated the senselessness of such action (Minor, 1970:33). The earlier experience of public school desegregation at Little Rock, Arkansas and the later experience at Lamar, South Carolina helped to create a climate in the state of "Let's not let it happen here."

Mississippi being the last state to desegregate and considered the "hardest" had the eyes of the world focused upon its efforts to desegregate. The people of the state tended to be self-conscious and manifested an attitude of "Let's show them."

This spirit of "Let's not let it happen here," and "Let's show them," could be heard expressed in many Mississippi communities. It is apparent that time is also a contributing factor in the development of such a spirit in reaction to situations that occurred earlier.

Projection of Blame

The tendency to blame the Federal Government and outside agitators acted as a safety valve to vent pent up hostilities on the part of Mississippi whites. Two factors come into play here.

The first factor is the preservation of self image. "We don't want it but we were forced to do it." A posture that the South has assumed since the Civil War was assumed once again. The brief emergence of the spirit "Save your confederate money boys, the South shall rise again" spearheaded by George Wallace and others soon gave way to a sense of hopelessness in the face of federal power and national and world sentiment.

The second factor is that of paternalism. Prior to and immediately after the Supreme Court's decision Southern leaders in general and Mississippians in particular (supra, p. 28) maintained that the Negroes did not want to go to schools with the whites. Begun as a defense of segregation, it became a facilitator of smooth transition. So consistently did whites hold to this viewpoint that any unrest manifested on the part of the black community was quickly identitied as resulting from outside agitators. Killian and Smith (1960:253-257) point out that often the leadership in the Negro community is not from the outside but since it is a new leadership structure it appeared to the whites as if these new, "unknown to the white" leaders were "outsiders." Paternalistic statements could be read in editorials and heard in most every community as the schools underwent a transition in the desegregation process: "The Negroes of our community don't want this any more than we do, they are being made to do it just like we are - so let's try to be understanding." There was some feeling that "we can handle the situation within the schools." This is reflected by the within-school segregation by classes that occurred over much of the state.

State Leaders

The role of state leaders played an important part in the relative lack of violence. This statement must appear strange in the light of inflammatory statements issued by them in the national and local press and on television. One factor has already been stated (supra, pp. 29-30). That is that state leadership for the most part, withdrew from the actual battle. No governor stood on the "little red schoolhouse" steps as the desegregation of elementary and secondary schools began in 1964, as had Governor Barnett at Ole Miss in 1962. When in 1965, legislators wanted Governor Johnson to call a special session of the Legislature to forbid local school districts from complying with desegregation orders, he refused to do so. Likewise in 1970, when pressure was put on Governor Williams to close the public schools rather than allow massive desegregation, he refused to do so. Both he and the local board had the power to close the schools if necessary to maintain order. His refusal to do so probably aided local boards to refuse also. By their inaction confrontation was avoided. Negro leaders had predicted that many of the local boards would close the schools (Meridian Star, 11/1/69:1). Had this occurred hostilities might have errupted.

This is not to imply that state leaders were not involved in resisting desegregation. They continued to create an uproar, mainly political in nature, but they left the local boards free to act.

A second related factor is that state leadership served to dissipate hostility in their multi-million dollar drive to carry the fight to the rest of the nation, "to give them a taste of their own medicine." Southern whites took comfort in the fact that others would have to "suffer with them." It tended to take their minds off the fact that desegregation was becoming a reality. Some even clung to the hope that such action would in time reverse the desegregation process.

Private Schools

While private schools were not unique to Mississippi, they found their greatest development within the state (supra. pp.36-42), a fact that also acted to dissipate hostilities and thus prevent violence. The development of private schools was not a commercial venture as the schools were voluntary community actions. The very people who would be expected to react violently to Negroes entering the white schools were busy repairing, remodeling and painting quarters for a private school. Such actions proudly announced their intentions to "preserve the Southern way of life" and their willingness to make a sacrifice to "integrity." Retreat rather than attack became defined as the more acceptable form of social action in the situation. Withdrawal, "white flight," may have served to prevent white "fight" as hostilities were sublimated. Noteworthy is the fact that private schools developed in greater proportion in those sections of the state with a higher percent Negro where desegregation had been considered to be more likely to result in conflict.

The Contribution of the Negro Community

Up to this point the discussion has focused upon things the white community did that helped to curb violence. Perhaps, this is because it was from the whites that violence was most expected. However, the situational cues that would have produced violence depended to a large degree upon the blacks. In the earlier stages of desegregation under the freedom of choice plans relatively few blacks pressed for transfers to white schools. It would be most difficult to explain all the reasons for this inactivity on the part of black. Fear of reprisals, lack of awareness, lack of organization and many other factors were probably present.[13] The point is, however, that few pressed for admittance and in some instances none did. This gave a time for adjustment. It helped the whites to vent hostility against HEW and those "communists" in the Supreme Court rather than commit acts of violence against Negroes.

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[13]The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967b:47-69) identified six factors. See discussion on "Freedom of Choice Fails" (supra, p.49).

A second factor within the Negro community was a perception of the openness of the structure gained through a rising sense of political power and increased participation. The state School Equalization Program for instance could not but help make the blacks aware of the potential power that they psssessed. The "Brown" decision, the Civil Rights Act, the work of HEW and the Justice Department, the voter registration drives, the victories won by Martin Luther King and others, the recognition of the Loyalist Democratic Party of the state, all gave promise of a better day for blacks. Blacks perceived an openness to the structure that whites would never admit. This perception afforded them a measure of patience in moments of frustration. To put it bluntly, for the most part, "they kept their cool."

Violence was not to any significant degree a part of the black Mississippi scene. The role of the black church in the state needs documentation, for from it came many of the leaders of the blacks. The more militant "outside" black organizations were unable to find much of a following. This is due largely to the emergence of local leadership that effectively dealt with the white power structure. Confrontations were kept to a minimum through communication - communication largely initiated by the blacks themselves.

Where confrontations occurred they were generally on a broader base than just the school issue. Instead of marching on the schoolhouse, the blacks tended to march on the courthouse and city hall. Instead of boycotting the classroom, they tended to boycott the economic enterprises. Their demands for desegregation of the public schools were included in a larger list of grievances. This tended to minimize trouble on the schoolyard. It also failed to provide the situational cues that would trigger white violence on the schoolhouse steps.

The factors listed and discussed above do not exhaust the population of relevant factors. They appear to the writer to be the more salient. Each needs further documentation. Each could well be the focus of an entire study. Some will be touched on again later in this thesis; others, however, will have to await some other effort.

CHAPTER V

EMPIRICAL MEASURES OF DESEGREGATION

Earlier it was stated that the yardstick by which disestablishment or a unitary system would be measured was racial balance (supra. p. 43). While the early decisions of the Supreme Court did not require such "mixing," later lower courts moved to the position and were upheld by the Supreme Court. The contention had been advanced that within a cultural milieu of white supremacy, racial balance could be accomplished fairly easily only where the percent Negro of the population was relatively small (Hauser, 1966:71; Lewis and Hill, 1956:116; Pettigrew, 1965:100; Vanfossen, 1968:46). But, in those areas where the Negroes constitute a majority the problem would be greater. While the Negroes have constituted a majority over the years in some counties of Mississippi their role has been rigidly defined as a "minority" people. The power of social control has always been in the hands of whites. School desegregation in the majority-black districts places whites, who still possessed an internalized value system which includes "white supremacy," if not in a "minority" role at least in a position untenable to their cultural values. While all the districts are disestablished by legal definition, the question logically arises as to what degree these districts have been able to desegregate relative to districts that have a low percent Negro. To answer this question as well as others that stem from the literature on desegregation, it is necessary to develop empirical measures of desegregation.

An Attempted Typology

With the degree of desegregation that existed in the state at the time of this present study it was impossible to use the simple measure used by earlier studies which had operationalized desegregation simply as to whether or not Negro children attended school with white children. The decision was therefore made to develop a typology of desegregation from variables which supposedly tapped the same dimension measured in the earlier studies, i.e., the willingness of school districts to desegregate. Three measures were developed which were felt to tap this dimension: compliance index, student desegregation index and faculty desegregation index. Two additional measures were developed: disruptive change index and identity loss index. While tapping slightly different dimensions than the first three, they were felt to be related to the desegregation process. All five indices were developed from records supplied by HEW and the Mississippi Department of Education.

Measures of Desegregation

The first measure, the compliance index, was operationalized so as to indicate whether the district complied voluntarily or was court ordered.

Forty-eight of the 147 districts (33 percent) voluntarily complied with the disestablishment decree of the Supreme Court and ninety-nine of the 147 districts (67 percent) went under court order. Only fifteen of those forty-eight that voluntarily complied remained in compliance without some punitive action from HEW. Therefore 90 percent of all the districts were either court ordered or threatened with possible loss of funds or suits. The importance of this fact will be made explicit later.

The second measure was a student desegregation index which determined degrees of desegregation. It was operationalized in terms of a standard deviation score derived from the variance of percent black among the attendance centers in each district (for the scores of each district see Appendix I Table, pp.100-108). Table 16 shows the frequency distribution of standard deviation scores for the districts. Two types of districts have a perfect score (.00). One is an all-Negro district, and six biracial districts have only one center each.[1]

It is rather difficult to set an arbitrary limit as to when a district has achieved racial balance (Fisher, 1966:496; Bolner, 1968:114; Vose, 1967: 144) since the age distributions of the two racial groups in the local population and the enrollment and drop-out rates of the two races may not coincide making racially balanced assignment of children to attendance centers that serve different grades and age levels impossible. Recognizing these facts, an arbitrary decision was made that standard deviation scores of 9.99 or less constituted a high level of desegregation and the higher scores represented a low level. A score of 9.99 or less means that at least 68 percent of the attendance centers of a district will be found to have a percent black that is within a range of less than 10 percent above or below the mean percent black for the district. For example, a district with 50 percent black and a score of 9.99 would have the majority of its attendance centers within the range of 40 to 60 percent black. The validity of this break will be shown later. Eighty-four districts (57 percent) have a high degree of desegregation.

An index of faculty desegregation was also developed. It was operationalized as the difference between the percent black of the faculty and percent black of the student body for the district.

The number of districts which had school administrators and either black or white teachers who resigned because of desegregation was noted earlier (supra, p. 32). In addition to this change in administration there may be noted the loss of positions by black teachers and administrators and the loss of status by black administrators. This present study did not include data on this latter factor in its research design. However, Clark and Ward (1970:6) state, "It appears that the state has lost about half of its visible Black [sic] leadership from the public schools, and that most Black [sic] children will now grow up in a visibly White-controlled [sic] world." The study (Clark and Ward, 1970:

[1]There are two all-Negro districts in the state, but only one is included in the study.

9-12) reveals that discrimination against black faculty members is evident both in hiring practices and in assignments.

Table 16. Distribution of the Standard Deviation Among Attendance Centers of Mississippi School Districts Based on Percent Negro of the Attendance Centers, 1970.

Categories of Standard Deviation Scores	Districts	
	Number	Percent
High Degree of Desegregation		
.00*	7	5
.01 - .99	14	9
1.00 - 4.99	34	23
5.00 - 9.99	29	20
Sub-total	84	57
Low Degree of Desegregation		
10.00 - 19.99	24	16
20.00 - 29.99	26	18
30.00 - 49.99	13	9
Sub-total	63	43
Grand Total	147	100

*Score occurs when there is only one attendance center or a 100 percent Negro district.

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

In a completely "fair" racial situation one would expect to find the percent Negro of the faculty approximately equal to the percent Negro of the student body. Table 17 reveals the degree to which faculties reflect the percent Negro of the student body.[2]

[2]The median faculty desegregation index score is 9.3. Since the closest category break established in the coding of the data is 9.9, which is only slightly higher, it was selected as the breaking point between low and high.

Table 17. Differences in Percent Negro for Faculty and Percent Negro for the Student Body of Mississippi School Districts, 1970

Percent Difference Between Percent Negro of Faculty and Students	Districts	
	Number	Percent
Low		
(-13.0 - (-0.1)*	7	5
0.1 - 0.9	3	2
1.0 - 4.9	17	12
5.0 - 9.9	46	31
Sub-total	73	50
High		
10.0 - 14.9	40	27
15.0 - 19.9	16	11
20.0 - 24.9	11	7
25.0 - 29.9	4	3
30.0 - 39.9	2	1
40.0 - 40.8	1	1
Sub-total	74	50
Grand Total	147	100

*A minus figure indicates that the percent Negro of the teachers is higher than the percent Negro of the student body.

Source: Computed from HEW Report Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

As may be noted, few of the districts approach the ideal in balanced racial ratios for faculty and students. One should keep in mind that the inequality in standards prior to desegregation tended to produce a situation where Negro teachers taught larger classes than white teachers. Therefore, their faculty to student ratio would have been smaller than that of the white faculty to student ratio from the beginning. Clark and Ward (1970:6) maintain that this discrepency has increased.

The distruptive change index measured the degree of change from 1968 to 1970 in the use of attendance centers by a district. For example, if a center served grades 1 through 6 in 1968 and only grades 1 and 2 in 1970, that center was said to have experienced disruptive change. Likewise if a center was closed or a new center build, change was experienced.

A list of the attendance centers of 1968 was obtained as well as a list for 1970. Both lists contained the grades served by the centers. A weight of one was assigned to each attendance center in 1970 which served grades different from which it served in 1968. A weight of one was therefore given to a center if no grades were reported. This could mean either the center was closed or that the name of the center was changed. A weight of one was given to new centers appearing on the 1970 list. These scores were totaled and then divided by the number of attendance centers on the 1968 list to get a composite index score for each district.

The index has three apparent weaknesses. It does not distinguish between degrees of change in the attendance centers, e.g., a center that had one less grade in 1970 than it did in 1968 received the same score as did a center that served a completely new set of grades in 1970 or one that was closed. The second is that a center that had changed its identity received a score of two. A weight of one was given to it if it was listed as serving no grades in 1970 and a weight of one was given if it was listed as a new school in 1970. There was no way to identify these new schools in relation to a possible previous identity. The third weakness is that it is insensitive to difference in the number of attendance centers per district.

The logic upon which the measure was based is that it measures what the patrons of the district perceive as disruption of their schools. Their children no longer go to the schools that they went to or that they expected them to go to, or that their older children went to. Table 18 shows the distribution of the districts relative to categories of index scores of disruptive change.[3] This measure as will be noted later turned out to be meaningless as a measure of desegregation, but it will be shown that it suggested a fruitful avenue of inquiry.

The identity loss index measures the degree to which Negro schools were closed or lost their identity as opposed to white schools. Schools were said to have lost their identity when their names were changed.

Attendance centers were identified as to their racial composition, whether Negro or white. Those centers on the 1970 list for which no enrollments were reported were noted and identified as to its former racial characteristic. Table 19 shows the results.

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[3]The median disruptive change index score was .714. Since a number of districts above and below the median had a score of .714, the break between high and low was set at .700. This break distinguished between .714 and the next lowest score and conserved the categories established in the coding of data.

Table 18. Distribution of Disruptive Change Index Scores for Mississippi School Districts, 1970

Categories of Index Scores	Districts	
	Number	Percent
Low		
.000	13	8
.001 - .299	18	13
.300 - .499	15	11
.500 - .699	27	18
Sub-total	73	50
High		
.700 - .899	22	15
.900 - 1.099	28	19
1.000 - 1.299	9	6
1.300 - 1.499	3	2
1.500 - 1.999	8	5
2.000	4	3
Sub-total	74	50
Grand Total	147	100

Source: Computed from Division of Administration and Finance (1969) and HEW Report Forms OS/CR 101-102, 1970.

Seventy-six districts closed or changed the identity of more Negro than white schools. This represents 52 percent of the districts. A total of 127 Negro schools were closed or lost their identity as contrasted to only fifty-seven white schools. The Negro communities tended then to experience more disruptive change of this type than did the white communities, a pattern that was observed in the earlier stages also as Negro children were sent to white schools rather than the reverse. While valuable as description, this measure also turned out to be meanlingless as a measure of desegregation. This fact will be demonstrated in the following discussion.

Table 19. Formerly All-Negro Schools Relative to Formerly All-White Schools That Were Closed or Lost Their Identity in Mississippi School Districts, 1970

Number and Type of Schools That Were Closed or Lost Identity	Districts	
	Number	Percent
None	43	29
Same Number of White and Negro Schools	8	5
More White than Negro Schools	20	14
More Negro than White Schools	76	52
	147	100

Source: Derived from Division of Education and Finance (1969); HEW Report Forms OS/CR 101-102, 1970; and Division of Administration and Finance (1968).

The Typology Fails

Using latent structure analysis (Lazarsfeld and Henry, 1968:17-45), an attempt was made to dichotomize the districts into latent classes, one which would include districts that indicated a tendency to completely desegregate and another which would include districts that indicated a tendency to resist desegregation. This model requires only three variables. Therefore, the first three indices which were considered to be most closely related to the dimension of the earlier studies were used. In latent structure analysis the variables have to be dichotomized and assigned a plus and minus. The manner of compliance index was assigned a plus if the district volunteered and a minus if it was court ordered. Scores of 9.99 or less in the student desegregation index were assigned a plus and higher scores a minus. The faculty desegregation index was assigned a plus for scores of 9.9 or less and a minus for higher scores. However, when computations were run the model indicated that the data were not amenable. There were no underlying dichotomous latent structures.

Still confident that the measures were both valid and related, the author moved to a trichotomous latent structure model (Lazarsfeld and Henry, 1968:46-70), thinking that polar types would emerge with a residual class in between. Since this model requires five variables, the two additional variables, disruptive change index and identity loss index, were plugged into the model. The disruptive change index was dichotomized so that scores of .700 or less were assigned a plus and higher scores were assigned a minus. The identity loss index was dichotomized so that districts that did not close or change the identity of any Negro schools, or else they closed or changed the identity of either the same number of schools for both races or more white than

Negro schools were assigned a plus. Those that closed or changed the identity of more Negro than white schools were assigned a minus. This model also indicated that the data were not amenable. There were no underlying trichotomous latent structures.

A New Direction

At this time some serious doubts were raised as to the dimensions tapped by the first three as well as the last two measures and as to whether they were related to each other at all.

Correlation Analysis

Another tack was called for. Using Pearson's product moment correlation, zero order correlations were computed for each possible pair of the five variables. The manner of compliance index and the identity loss index are both nominal level measures. Since this model required interval level data the dichotomies developed for the latent structure models were used. Voluntary compliance was assigned a value of zero and court order was assigned a value of one. The identity loss index was similarly treated with the closing or loss of more Negro schools than whites assigned the higher score. Table 20 gives the resultant coefficients for the five variables.

Table 20. Zero Order Correlation Coefficients for Five Measures of the Dependent Variable, Desegregation in Mississippi School Districts, 1970

Dependent Measures	Dependent Measures* 1	2	3	4	5
1. Compliance Index	-	.198	.189	.205	.013
2. Student Desegregation Index	-	-	.088	-.260	-.184
3. Faculty Desegregation Index	-	-	-	.197	.028
4. Disruptive Change Index	-	-	-	-	.139
5. Identity Loss Index	-	-	-	-	-

*Same measures as identified in rows.

Note: Significance at the .05 level requires an $r \geq .458$.

No Correlation

From the results obtained by the zero order correlations it became immediately apparent that the five dependent variables (Columns and

Rows 1-5) were not significantly related statistically. In fact the disruptive change index (Column 4) and the identity loss index (Column 5) manifested a negative direction to the student desegregation index (Row 2). This had not been expected.

It was now rather apparent why the latent structure models had failed to identity underlying latent structures.

A New Phenomenon

As noted earlier (supra p.8) Robert L. Crain wrote (1969:376), "... in terms of decision making, there is little resemblance between school integration in a northern [sic] city and court-ordered desegregation in a southern [sic] city." Up until this point the significance and applicability of this statement to the present research was lost upon the author. A reexamination of the correlation table, a rethinking of the underlying assumptions upon which the dependent measures were based and a reinvolvement with the data led to serendipitous findings (Merton, 1957:103-105).

Mississippi Desegregation is Different

First, desegregation in Mississippi was not the same phenomenon that earlier studies had examined (Crain, 1969:5). There was no desegregation in Mississippi until 1964 and then it occurred by court order. School districts that voluntarily desegregated following these early suits did so under a freedom of choice plan that, given the social climate of Mississippi, guaranteed little desegregation would take place. Fourteen superintendents reported no integration occurred under freedom of choice and 121 reported only token integration.[4]

In addition, federal monies which were sorely needed by the districts were offered in 1965 through a variety of programs. These monies became a powerful force to keep districts in compliance (supra, pp.46-47). No district voluntarily desegregated without these funds. After the freedom of choice plan was ruled invalid thirty-three of the forty-eight districts, that originally complied voluntarily under this plan returned to compliance only when the cutoff of funds was threatened. The majority (67 percent) of the 147 districts came under court order. Therefore, "voluntary" compliance in Mississippi in 1970-71 is not the same as the early voluntary compliance in the border states and in other areas of the nation that were effected before implementation of the Supreme Court order began.

Significance of Desegregation Plans

The second discovery was the significance of the type of desegregation plan. The negative direction of the relationships of the disruptive

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[4]Questionnaire Item II B, Appendix II, p. 110.

change index and the identity loss index with the student desegregation index raised a serious question as to what was being measured by the first two indices since it was assumed that they would have a positive relationship with the last measure. That is, it was assumed that districts which were resistant to desegregation would also tend to close more Negro schools or change their identity and also to create a greater amount of disruptive change. This assumption was now obviously not valid.

In seeking an explanation for these two measures, the author began to suspect that what was being measured, at least by the disruptive change index, was the result of the type of desegregation plan employed by the school districts. The type of desegregation plan had been largely ignored up until this point.

Disestablishment generally demanded some degree of change in the use of the attendance centers of the district other than simply change in their racial character. A number of plans emerged for accomplishing desegregation. In the early days most plans called for the moving of Negro children into white schools. This occurred principally under the freedom of choice plan. However, it left many all-black schools. Later children of both races were shuffled and as was pointed out (supra, p. 63) many Negro schools were closed rather than send white children to them.

The plans by which disestablishment took place bear various names and demand different degrees of change. One of the earliest plans following freedom of choice was "zoning." Zones were developed for the available and "usuable" elementary and secondary school buildings and all children in a particular zone attended the center designated for them in that zone regardless of race. While it guaranteed complete desegregation in the zone and generally less disruptive change in the use of buildings it had a number of drawbacks. Basically it was only a temporary measure as the process of resegregation usually occurred. A second plan was "consolidation" or the "educational park." Under this plan most or all of the former school buildings were abandoned and a new plant was constructed which housed all levels of public education and accommodated both races in a desegregated situation. The cost of such a plan made it fairly prohibitive except as a long range goal. It had rather limited use in the state, particularly as a total plan. The third was what came to be known as the "Princeton Plan" or "pairing." This plan called for the greatest amount of disruptive change. In this plan attendance centers were designated to serve specific grades and all the children of the district registered for a particular grade attended the center so designated. Large families might have children attending many different centers under this plan. Thus, transportation becomes a major problem with pairing. Some districts chose a combination plan consisting of pairing and zoning rather than a single plan.

The courts allowed all four types of plans. Sociologically, pairing and consolidation are the same and are treated in this study as one, since in both plans in any given year there is one and only one school in the district that any given child may attend regardless of his race or where he lives.

The degree of disruptive change was cross-tabulated with the three types of plans. Table 21 provides the frequency distributions of this cross-tabulation. Districts with pairing tended to score high on disruptive change while districts with zoning tend to score low. Districts with a combination of plans where most grades were paired scored similar to paired districts. Those districts where most grades were zoned were evenly divided among high and low.

Table 21. Disruptive Change Related to Type of Desegregation Plan Employed by Mississippi School Districts, 1970.

Disruptive Change Index Scores	Districts with Plan Chosen				
	Pairing	Combination		Zoning	Total
		Most Grades Paired	Most Grades Zoned		
Low					
.000 - .699	11	1	18	42	72
High					
.700 - 2.000	28	4	20	23	75
Total	39	5	38	65	147

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 1970.

The question was then asked, since the disruptive change index had been negatively related to the student desegregation index, would paired districts tend to have low student desegregation index scores thus having a high degree of desegregation? Table 22 shows the resulting frequency distribution of the cross-tabulation of these variables. It can be noted that every district that paired had a low score, under 9.99, and therefore a high degree of desegregation. Those that zoned tended to have a low degree of desegregation. Districts with a combination plan where most grades were paired scored like paired districts and where most grades were zoned scored like zoned districts.

Two things had happened. First, the original contention that a score of 9.99 represented high degree of desegregation while higher scores represented a low degree had been validated. This range of scores may be considered as complete desegregation since there is no way to reduce the score in a paired district as there is only one school in the district that any child can attend in any given year regardless of his race or where he lives. Variance is due to differences in age structures, enrollment rates and drop-out rates for the two races.

Second, it appeared that the desegregation plan employed might be the most significant single explanatory factor as to the difference in

degrees of desegregation between the districts since pairing guaranteed complete desegregation. However, it has limitations inasmuch as a large number of zoned districts achieved a high degree of desegregation. It also may well be that it is an intervening variable. Factors that influence the selection of the plan may also influence the degree of desegregation. Then too, some districts had no choice as to what plan they would utilize since the courts determined the plan to be used.[5] The idea that pairing would probably produce a higher degree of desegregation than zoning was not new to the author nor unique to him. But, its relevance to this study had been overlooked.

Table 22. Degree of Desegregation Achieved by Mississippi School Districts in 1970 Related to the Type of Desegregation Plan

Student Desegregation Index Scores	Districts with Plan Chosen				
	Pairing	Combination		Zoning	
		Most Grades Paired	Most Grades Zoned		Total
High Degree of Desegregation					
.00 - 9.99	39	4	15	26	84
Low Degree of Desegregation					
10.00 - up	0	1	23	39	63
Total	39	5	38	65	147

Source: Computed from HEW Forms 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

However, to stop at this explanation is to posit the degree of desegregation as simply an administrative problem and fails to examine the sociological aspects of the process. Two questions must be raised. First, why did districts employ a particular plan? Second, why did some districts achieve complete desegregation under zoning and a combination of plans that was basically zoning while others did not? These two questions will be answered in Chapter VI along with an analysis of other important variables.

[5]No measure of whether a particular plan was determined by the Courts was available. However, only fifty-four of the superintendents reported that they developed their desegregation plan without aid from HEW and/or the Courts (see Questionnaire item II D, Appendix II, p.110).

CHAPTER VI

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEGREE OF DESEGREGATION

In Chapter V it was demonstrated that the five measures of the desegregation process were not related to one another and questions were raised as to what some of the indices really measured. It was implied that the degree of desegregation was the major relevant variable and the type of desegregation plan was suggested to be highly related to the degree of desegregation. This chapter will examine all five dependent measures in relationship to a number of independent variables which were considered important in the literature. The analysis will then proceed to develop the conditions under which a district is more likely to have a high degree of desegregation or a low degree by explicating a theoretical model.

Desegregation and Selected Independent Variables

Mississippi desegregation in 1970, it was concluded, is not the same phenomenon as the desegregation which had been the focus of earlier studies. A question was therefore raised as to the relevance of the independent variables identified in the literature. Originally the research design had called for relating these variables to the typology of desegregation developed by latent structure analysis. Since latent structure models failed to yield a typology this plan of analysis had to be abandoned. Fourteen measures which seemed to be the most important independent variables and which were available at the interval level were correlated with the five dependent variables using the Pearson product moment correlation model. Table 23 provides the resultant coefficients.

Only the size of the district based on school district enrollment (Column 1) is significantly related statistically to the student desegregation index (Row 2). The positive direction of this relationship indicates that the larger the district in enrollment the larger was the student desegregation index score, thus the smaller the degree of desegregation. The importance of this relationship will be demonstrated later. No other independent variable was significantly related to the student desegregation index or to any other of the five dependent variables. Most significant is the lack of correlation between the two measures of percent nonwhite (Columns 8-9) with the student desegregation index (Row 2). This variable had been found to be the variable most highly correlated with desegregation in the earlier studies (supra, p. 4). Yet in this study the same statistic yielded an r = .000 by one measure and -.009 by another. Such low scores indicate no relationship existed. A scattergram plotted from the percent nonwhite of the population of the area served and the student desegregation index revealed that the low score was due to a lack of correlation rather than a possible curvilinear relationship between the variables.

A number of fairly high correlations, though not statistically significant should be noted. The population of the area served by the

Table 23. Zero Order Correlation Coefficients for Five Measures of the Dependent Variable, Desegregation in Mississippi School Districts, 1970, Related to Fourteen Independent Variables

Dependent Measures[a]		Independent Variables[b]													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	CI	.063	.095	.128	.147	.134	.058	-.237	.401	.455	.312	.335	.226	-.273	.395
2	SDI	.462	.362	.109	.424	-.247	-.101	-.004	.000	-.009	.195	.163	-.291	.082	-.061
3	FDI	.081	.258	.153	.100	.049	-.039	-.119	.426	.415	.426	.403	.127	-.398	.292
4	DCI	-.184	-.138	-.124	-.214	.283	.074	-.147	.392	.425	.143	.143	.392	-.234	.370
5	ILI	-.153	-.167	-.183	-.127	-.009	.002	-.037	-.055	-.031	-.128	-.095	.047	-.032	-.212

[a] 1 Compliance Index
2 Student Desegregation Index
3 Faculty Desegregation Index
4 Disruptive Change Index
5 Identity Loss Index

[b] 1 Size of District Enrollment, 1970
2 Salary of Superintendent
3 Average Expenditure per Pupil in ADA
4 Population of Area Served by the District
5 Percent Rural Farm Population of County
6 Index of Change from Agriculture to Manufacturing
7 Ratio of Employees in Manufacturing per 1000 in Population
8 Percent Nonwhite of Population of Area Served
9 Percent Nonwhite of Student Body of District
10 Equality of Opportunity Index
11 Education Differential Index
12 Percent Families with Less than $3,000
13 Percent Decline in School Enrollment, 1969-1970
14 Change in Percent Negro Enrollment, 1968-1970

NOTE: Significance at the .05 level requires an $r \geq .458$.

district (Column 4) and the student desegregation index (Row 2) produced a r = .424. This is no doubt an artifact of the correlation between population of the area served and size of district enrollment. These two independent variables produce an r = .898. The percent nonwhite of the population of the area served (Column 8) has an r = .426 when correlated with the faculty desegregation index (Row 3). It might also be noted that a second measure of percent nonwhite (Column 9) has an r = .415 when correlated with the faculty desegregation index (Row 3). It would appear that percent nonwhite to some degree determines the hiring practices of Negro faculty. The percent nonwhite of the student body (Column 9) has an r = .455 when correlated with the manner of compliance (Row 1). This suggests that those districts that had a higher percent Negro were more likely to come under court order. This same measure of percent nonwhite (Column 9) has an r = .425 when correlated with the disruptive change index (Row 4). It has already been shown that the distuptive change index to a large degree measures the type of desegregation plan. The index is also related to some degree, r = .370, to the change in percent Negro enrollment, 1969-70 (Column 14). This latter measure was found to have a statistically significant correlation with percent nonwhite, r = .549. Therefore the relationship between the disruptive change index and the percent nonwhite may be due to an increase in the percent Negro enrollment in those districts that had a high degree of disruptive change.

The lack of statistically significant correlation between almost all of the independent variables and the dependent measures indicates again that the phenomenon being studied is not the same as the focus of earlier studies. There is far too much agreement in the literature on the relevance of these variables to desegregation as it existed at that time and as it was measured to challenge their findings. One must therefore conclude that this present study was conducted under different conditions and therefore focuses upon a different phenomenon. This beings us to the second discovery posited in Chapter V, that the type of desegregation plan chosen by the district was highly significant.

A New Analytical Approach

In searching for an answer to why the districts chose a particular desegregation plan, provided they were free to choose, a number of variables considered important in the literature were examined. However, almost all failed to show significant correlation. For example, percent nonwhite and manner of compliance did not show significant correlation with the type of desegregation plan chosen. As you will recall from the correlation table (Table 23, p. 81), size in terms of enrollment was the only variable significantly related to the degree of desegregation. Size also appeared to be related to the type of desegregation plan (see Table 24). This suggested a new avenue of investigation.

Size as a significant variable related negatively to the degree of desegregation suggests that the relationship may be due to the fact that generally it is logistically more difficult to manage and manipulate large numbers than small numbers of any item, even black and white children. Could it be that ease and difficulty is the underlying

dimension of desegregation as it exists in 1970 in Mississippi rather than willingness or unwillingness which characterized earlier desegregation?

Table 24. Size of District Related to Type of Desegregation Plan Chosen by Mississippi School Districts, 1970

Size of District Enrollment	Districts with Plan Chosen				
	Pairing	Combination		Zoning	
		More Grades Paired	More Grades Zoned		Total
Small					
432 - 2,999	35	3	13	29	80
Large					
3,000 - up	4	2	25	36	67
Total	39	5	38	65	147

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

Once the concept difficulty[1] was entertained the author searched for other factors related to difficulty in desegregation. For example, a large geographic area such as a large county or city would be rather difficult to pair and more easily zoned. Likewise a district with a large number of attendance centers might be more difficult to pair and more easily zoned.

Difficulty Related To Choice of Desegregation Plan

The results of an analysis of the type of district related to plan chosen may be noted in Table 25.

The frequencies reveal that the bulk of the county districts which tend to be large in geographic area had chosen zoning while only a few city (separate) districts had done so. In Mississippi there are only a few large city districts, either in enrollment or area.

In order to test the concept "type of geographic area" districts were classified on a judgmental basis as to whether their territory was fairly compact with a central nucleus or whether it was dispersed with multi-nuclei.[2] Table 26 shows that a higher number of compact districts

[1]Difficulty here refers to dealing with physical and situational problems rather than the overcoming the resistance due to cultural and social factors.

[2]County districts were considered dispersed unless they had experienced consolidation of schools prior to 1968; consolidated and municipal districts were classified mostly on the basis of size of geographic area and dispersion of attendance centers.

chose pairing than any other single plan. Both types of combination plans include some pairing and some zoning. Generally the high schools are paired and lower grades zoned. Dispersed districts tended to select zoning.

Table 25. Type of Desegregation Plan Chosen by Mississippi School Districts Related to the Type of District

Type of District	Districts with Plan Chosen				
	Pairing	Combination		Zoning	
		More Grades Paired	More Grades Zoned		Total
County	7	0	11	50	68
Consolidated	12	1	6	8	27
Separate	20	4	21	7	52
Total	39	5	38	65	147

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

Table 26. Type of Desegregation Plan Chosen by Mississippi School Districts Related to Type of Geographic Area

Type of Geographic Area	Districts with Plan Chosen				
	Pairing	Combination		Zoning	
		Most Grades Paired	Most Grades Zoned		Total
Compact	31	4	20	3	58
Dispersed	8	1	18	62	89
Total	39	5	38	65	147

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

In order to pair large city districts or county districts divided by separate districts with dispersed attendance centers extensive bussing would have had to be done. The Supreme Court decree, until recently, did not require bussing in order to achieve racial balance, therefore the dispersed districts perferred zoning.

An additional factor that makes it difficult for a district to pair is the number of attendance centers, which is generally related to both size of enrollment and the degree of dispersment. When the number of attendance centers is greater than six it is extremely difficult to pair;[3] when it is greater than twelve it is impossible by definition.

It appears then that the type of district, its size and its geographic area and number of attendance centers all tend to influence the type of desegregation plan chosen. Recognizing that desegregation

[3]It approaches one grade per attendance center and multiplies the logistical problems.

in Mississippi was no longer arbitrary but mandatory, school boards were faced with coping with the difficulties that stemmed from the demographic and ecological character of the districts. A sense of inevitability had developed in both parents and administrators. Therefore cultural and social factors were now rather irrelevant to what desegregation plan a district chose.

Difficulty Related to Degree of Desegregation

The second of the two new research questions was, why did some districts achieve complete desegregation under zoning and a combination of zoning-pairing plans while others did not? It was shown in Table 22 (supra, p. 79) that pairing will result in complete desegregation. This is true by definition (supra, pp. 79, 81). However, zoning is less likely to result in complete desegregation since cultural and social factors can easily intervene. On the part of the school boards these factors would be manifested in gerrymandering the school districts to create some zones that were more favorable to whites. On the part of white parents cultural and social factors would be manifested in resegregation, or else in white flight to the private schools (Palmer, 1971: 3-4). These manifestations would more likely occur where white children were required to attend a formerly all-Negro school particularly if the school was located in a Negro neighborhood or if the percent Negro of the attendance center in their zone was higher than other zones or nearby districts. While no empirical measures were made of such actions by school boards, gerrymandering is known to have occurred. Examples of resegregation and white flight abound in the data. A number of studies have indicated the circumstances under which resegregation would occur (Stinchcombe, et al., 1969; Hall and Gentry, 1969; Bolner, 1968). Four basic types of resegregation may be identified: intra-school, and inter-school, inter-district, and extra-system.

Intra-school resegregation occurs within a desegregated school. It may result from policies on the part of the administration, or, more subtly, by actions of the staff and student body. Segregated classrooms within a desegregated school, whether arbitrarily done or achieved through some tracking system, carry the same stigma. Tracking systems are being used in most districts. Focusing on the district as the unit of analysis, this study has not attempted to document intra-school resegregation, however, some studies have shown that is was less than expected (U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1970:41-50).

Inter-school resegregation occurs when a desegregated school beings to return to a segregated status through a shift in racial balance between schools. One study (Stinchcombe, et al., 1969) noted a racial tipping point beyond which the process is accelerated. Changing residential patterns as a result of population shifts can cause resegregation over a period of time. Inter-school resegregation has also occurred within a single district where zoning was the desegregation plan as whites either moved or fictitiously took up residence in another section of town to prevent their children from attending a formerly all-Negro school or to permit them to attend a school with a more favorable racial balance.

Inter-district resegregation, like inter-school, occurs when white families either move or attempt to establish a fictitious residence. Many parents living in a county with a higher percent Negro than the local municipality, or vice versa, attempt to send their children to the other district. But the courts have blocked such inter-district transfers. Falsification of residence or movement into town has resulted. Inter-district resegregation may involve county lines. Many families in counties with a high percent black moved into nearby counties with a lower percentage or sent their children to board with relatives or friends to escape predominately Negro systems districts.

Extra-system resegregation occurs when parents take their children out of the public schools (see "In White Flight," pp. 36-37).

The effects of inter-school, inter-district and extra-system resegregation are the same -- a diminished degree of real desegregation at the district level. Under a pairing plan there is no opportunity for inter-school resegregation to occur, however both pairing and zoning may result in inter-district and extra-system resegregation resulting in an increase in the percent black of a district or the creation of an all-black district. Inter-school resegregation occurs in zoned districts and creates racial unbalanced schools within the district.

A New Conceptual Model

A new conceptual model, related to the findings already noted, was developed in an effort to explain differences in degrees of desegregation. Basically the new model says that if districts have small enrollments (less than 3,000) and/or only a few attendance centers (six or less) they will tend to achieve a rather high degree of desegregation. Conversely, districts with a large number of attendance centers (seven or more) and/or a large enrollment (3,000 or over) will tend to have a low degree of desegregation.[4] This model is obviously based on the concept of difficulty. Small enrollment generally indicates a small number of attendance centers and therefore less difficulty in effecting desegregation and less opportunity for resegregation.

Table 27 related both size in terms of district enrollment and the number of attendance centers to type of desegregation plan and degree of desegregation. The analysis will now focus upon this table.

Columns 1 and 2 bear out the relationship between pairing and a high degree of desegregation. In column 1, only one district out of the thirty-nine fails to conform to the basic premise of the conceptual

[4]The mean district enrollment for Mississippi in 1970 was 3,531. The median was 2,835. Three thousand was chosen as the breaking point since it fell between the mean and the median. This also conserved the category break established in coding the data.

Table 27. Size and Number of Attendance Centers in Mississippi School Districts Related to the Degree of Desegregation in 1970, Controlling on Type of Desegregation Plan

Size of District Enrollment	Number of Attendance Centers	Districts with Plan Chosen: Paired — Degree of Desegregation* H (1)	Paired — L (2)	Combination: More Grades Paired — H (3)	More Grades Paired — L (4)	Combination: More Grades Zoned — H (5)	More Grades Zoned — L (6)	Zoned — H (7)	Zoned — L (8)	Total
Small 432 - 2,999	1-2	22	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	24
	3-4	12	0	2	1	3	3	8	2	31
	5-6	1	0	0	0	3	2	5	6	17
	7-12	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	5	8
	12 up	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total		35	0	2	1	6	7	15	14	80
Large 3,000 - 12,000	1-2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	3-4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
	5-6	2	0	2	0	2	3	4	4	17
	7-12	1	0	0	0	3	9	4	14	31
	12 up	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	7	15
Sub-total		4	0	2	0	9	16	11	25	67
Total		39	0	4	1	15	23	26	39	147

*H = High degree of desegregation, .00 - 9.99;
L = Low degree of desegregation, 10.00 and up.

Source: Computed from HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970.

model. However, this district has only one attendance center above the limit set by the model and has only 410 students above the breaking point for size. Of course, pairing guarantees that it will have complete desegregation.

Columns 3 and 4 indicate again that districts with combination plans that have more grades paired than zoned more nearly achieved complete desegregation like paired districts. The district in column 4 that has a low score only has two grades zoned. One zone uses a former white school; the other uses a former Negro school. No white children are enrolled in the former Negro school. It appears resegregation has occurred in these grades. Otherwise, the district has perfect desegregation.

Our real interest is in columns 5 and 7. Forty-one districts that had more grades zoned or else all were zoned achieved complete desegregation. The model explains thirty of the forty-one. Only five districts in column 5 and the six in colums 7 that are both large and have a high number of attendance centers are not explained. Two of the large districts in column 5 with 7-12 attendance centers have just seven centers, one more than the limit of the model. They also have half of their grades paired and half zoned. Therefore, they may be reflecting the pairing pattern. The other three in column 5 along with the six in column 7 must be explained wholly outside the model.

Columns 6 and 8 reveal that while small size and/or few attendance centers may contribute to a high degree of desegregation, they are not sufficient conditions. Nineteen districts met both criteria and still did not achieve complete desegregation. Cultural and social factors are probably related here.

Other Intervening Factors

Two additional factors can help to explain those districts not explained by the model. Demographic and ecological factors, percent Negro of the population and the dispersion of the Negro population over the district, may aid desegregation or interact with the cultural and social factors of prejudice and discrimination so that they hinder complete desegregation when it would have otherwise been probable. The basic reason zoning fails to achieve a high degree of desegregation is the difficulty in establishing zone boundaries in such a way as to assure racial balance in each zone.

If the Negro population is dispersed over the entire district fairly evenly then racially balanced zoning is a relatively simple matter provided the school officials do not gerrymander the boundaries. On the other hand, the problem of de facto segregation may exist. If the bulk of the Negro population is concentrated in one or more localities on one side of the county or consolidated district, or located in a single ghetto in the city districts, it becomes very difficult to develop zone boundaries that will provide racial ratios similar enough to prevent resegregation from occurring. Unfortunately,

no measure is available of the dispersion of the Negro population. However, since zoning in the forty-one districts in columns 5 and 7 achieved a high level of desegregation without having to bus Negro or white children (something that white Southerners and most of the nation has objected to) from one zone to another, then it may be concluded that racial dispersion must be fairly even for these districts.

The percent Negro may also influence zoned districts to achieve complete desegregation. The relationship, however, is surprisingly different from that found in the literature. If the percent Negro of a district is extremely high or extremely low and the boundary zones are drawn so that each zone has approximately the same percent of both races, then the district may achieve a high degree of desegregation. For example, eight of the nine districts in column 5 and 7, not explained by the model, fall within extreme categories of percent black. Five of the districts fall within the range of 0-10 percent black. Three fall in the range of 90-100 percent black. However, the ninth district has 52 percent black. It might also be noted that the one small district in column 7 that has more than six attendance centers also falls within the 0-10 percent black range. When the percent Negro is low in the entire district little would be gained by prejudiced whites through changing zones. Even if they do, since the percentage is low, it will not alter the standard deviation score drastically. By the same logic the reverse is true, as the percent Negro gets extremely high, little advantage is gained by the few whites transferring. The few who do transfer do not alter drastically the standard deviation score.

However, white movement across zone lines to produce a supposed advantage for whites can drastically alter the standard deviation score where the districts have a middle-range percent black. Each of the seven small districts located in column 6 that had a combination plan with more grades zoned than paired and yet had a low degree of desegregation have a percent black that ranges from 11 to 89 percent. All fourteen of the small districts located in column 8 fall within the same range. Evidently the between range is more difficult to desegregate. Either gerrymandering or resegregation, resulting from prejudice, or both may have occurred in these twenty-one districts in columns 6 and 8.

What size of the districts in terms of enrollment and the number of attendance centers could not explain seems to be explained by dispersion of the Negro population and the percent of the population that was Negro. When certain conditions exist, such as a highly concentrated Negro population or a percent Negro in the middle range, it appears that cultural and social factors are likely to intervene to prevent complete desegregation under the zoning plan. Where the Negro population is dispersed and/or the percent Negro is extremely high or extremely low it appears that a district, even though it may be large and have many attendance centers, can achieve a high degree of desegregation under zoning. Additional research is needed on these variables.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This research has been basically a search for a model to explain why some districts achieved a higher degree of desegregation than others in their efforts to disestablish the dual system. This chapter will provide an overview of the thesis, explicate its findings and state the conclusions drawn. It will then proceed to generalizations of the findings and the implications of this study for theory, research and policy.

Summary

This study was conducted within the larger context of social change, social change which is the result of the Negro's struggle for equality. One strategy in this struggle, the unique focus of this thesis, was the desegregation of the public schools. The study analyzes desegregation from the first attempts at "integration" through the complete disestablishment of dual school systems in Mississippi.

The population studied consists of all of the school districts in Mississippi, and the unit of analysis was the local school district. Three of the 150 districts were excluded from the study. Two of the three are new, having come into existence during the summer of 1970 and were desegregated from the outset. The third district is an all-black district that has historically served an all-black community.

The overall objective of the study was to discover factors that were related to the various approaches to the creation of unitary school systems which resulted in different degrees of desegregation. This led to a search for an explanatory model. In order to achieve this objective, three types of variables were conceptualized and measures developed: school, community and desegregation. Desegregation was the focus of the study and therefore the dependent variable. However, the terms independent and dependent were used rather loosely inasmuch as no effort was made to determine cause and effect. Rather, relationships were sought.

The measures of the variables were drawn from both primary and secondary sources and were gathered on the 147 districts. Primary data were obtained from district superintendents by use of a questionnaire which contained forty-seven items. There was a 95 percent response rate. Secondary data gathered mainly from publications by the State Department of Education, records of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and publications of the U.S. Census Bureau.

Field theory provided the theoretical framework through which the desegregation process was viewed in the school and the community. However, its use was limited in that the complexity of the subject and the lack of

related studies make it difficult to utilize a general theory at the basic level of analysis demanded by the data at this stage in the research of the desegregation process.

The thesis is basically an ex post facto study of desegregation and represents a cross-sectional analysis focusing upon the fall semester of 1970. However, an attempt was made to approach a longitudinal analysis in that this study looks historically at desegregation as an emergent process and attempts to understand its various stages. Three types of statistical analyses were employed. They include frequency and percent distributions on each variable and in cross tabulation of variables, latent structure analysis, and Pearson's product moment correlation. The computations of these statistical models were accomplished by use of a Univac computer.

Findings and Conclusions

Historical Analysis

The first of the analysis chapters consisted mainly of a historical narrative of the development of dual school systems in Mississippi and the disestablishment process. It traced the development of the dual system back to slavery days. The conclusion was drawn that the seeds of its own dissolution were sown into the dual system from its inception in that the two systems were never equal.

In the discussion of resistance to desegregation the conclusion was reached that resistance from the first was more of a delaying tactic than an outright defiance of the principle itself. The delaying tactic yielded to the influence of federally financed educational programs, which the districts sorely needed, and federal law suits against school district officials. The climate of national opinion, communicated via television, helped to break white resistance. Desegregation in Mississippi was finally accomplished with relative ease and little open hostility in spite of predictions to the contrary.

Three general factors were discussed as contributing to this relatively smooth transition from dual to unitary school systems. The first was time. This was seen in terms of the lateness of Mississippi desegregation and the time between token and complete desegregation. A number of factors were seen as being related to time, among them were: the development of model districts that had desegregated, the influence of federally sponsored and financed programs of education, the state equalization program, and the redefinition of the Negro's role by whites. The second general factor was identified as the dissipation of hostilities in other areas. Violence that occurred during the desegregation of other institutional areas served as a buffer to violence in school desegregation. The tendency to blame the Federal Government and the action of state leaders to take the desegregation fight to other areas also released tensions. The private school movement utilized energies and commanded interests that might have been potentials for conflict. The third factor is found in the Negro community. The contribution made by the Negro community was concluded to be significant in that there was a relative

lack of expressions of violence, a failure to provide the situational cues needed by whites to justify violence, and the pursuit of civil rights goals on a broader front than just the schools.

Disestablishment

Disestablishment of the dual school system was defined as a process whereby social practices were abolished which barred equal access to educational opportunities. The process was viewed as a strategy for social change -- a strategy for social mobility on the part of Negroes.

Social change tends to be met by resistance. A number of acts of resistance to desegregation were documented. They included tactics of delay, court litigations, resignations of administrators and teachers, newspaper editorials, voluntary organizations, failure of bond issues, parents' opposition, and white flight resulting in private schools. It was concluded that the school officials, even though court ordered, could not have effectively brought about desegregation in the face of such resistance without some degree of local support. In fact the maintenance of their positions depended upon this support. Support was documented on the part of local white leaders and the PTAs, through extra-school voluntary organizations, through the newspapers, and through the Negro community.

The degree of disestablishment was documented and it was concluded that every district had disestablished its dual systems as of the fall of 1970. Only unitary systems remained although two were all-black. However, different levels of racial balance existed. Sixty-three all-black schools and twenty-six all-white schools remained. There were distributed among forty-five districts with three districts having both types of segregated schools.

A typology of desegregation was attempted using latent structure analysis models with three measures and then later with five measures of the desegregation process. These measures included the way in which the district complied, the degree of student desegregation, the degree of faculty desegregation, a measure of disruptive change in the use of attendance centers and a measure of Negro schools that were closed or had their identity changed. The models failed to yield a typology of latent classes. The five measures were thought to tap the same dimension as measured in earlier studies of desegregation in other areas of the nation. This dimension was viewed as local initiative reflected in voluntary desegregation, i.e., without having to be court ordered.

In order to test the relationship of these variables and to understand why the statistical models had failed to produce latent classes, correlation analysis was performed on the five measures. The resultant coefficients revealed no statistically significant relationship existed among the five variables. They obviously were not valid measures of the same dimension.

The discovery led to a rethinking of the desegregation process in Mississippi as contrasted with desegregation of other areas at an earlier period and a reanalysis of the data. Out of this emerged the tentative hypothesis that desegregation in Mississippi from 1968 to 1970 was not the same phenomenon as that which had occurred earlier in other areas.

The cultural milieu of Mississippi is different from other areas outside of the South that underwent voluntary desegregation between 1954 and 1968. School districts in the border states as well as states more removed from the South with relatively low percent Negro of their populations were free to exercise local initiative, initiative that was manifested as a willingness to voluntarily desegregate.

They did not experience federal intervention in the way of financially assisted programs which were contingent upon compliance with desegregation or in the use of law suits to coerce districts to comply. However, in Mississippi federal force and monies, as well as the climate of national opinion, so impinged upon the communities and the local school officials that they were not free to exercise local initiative during the latter phase of desegregation. The cultural milieu of the state kept most districts from accomplishing more than token desegregation prior to the intense efforts of HEW and the Justice Department to compel compliance.

Having concluded that Mississippi desegregation was different from the phenomenon that most of the literature focused upon and having abandoned the attempts to develop a typology from the five variables, a search was conducted for a valid measure of desegregation. Disestablishment was accomplished but different degrees of desegregation still existed among the districts. A reexamination of the measure of degrees of desegregation led to the conclusion that it possessed face validity. The measure used was the standard deviation among the attendance centers of a district based upon the percent black of their enrollment. It basically was a measure of racial balance among the attendance centers of the district. The measure revealed that rather wide differences existed among the districts in terms of the degree to which they had achieved racial balance. Eighty-four districts were considered to have achieved a high level of desegregation (scores of 9.99 or less), while sixty-three had a low level of desegregation (scores of 10.00 or greater). The division between high and low was determined by use of the median and mean scores. This division was validated when it was discovered that every district that paired had a score of less than 9.99. This was defined as complete desegregation since there is no way to reduce the score in a paired district as there is only one attendance center in that district that any child may attend in any given year regardless of race or residence. Variance among the centers in a paired district is due to different age structures of the two races, different enrollment patterns, and different drop-out rates.

This finding led to the tenative conclusion that the type of desegregation plan might be the most important single variable to explain the differences in degrees of desegregation between the districts. Pairing guaranteed complete desegregation. Zoning, on the other hand,

was more likely to produce a lower degree of desegregation. Combination plans where both pairing and zoning were used tended to have a desegregation score similar to the plan they most nearly approximated. In other words, if they had more grades paired they tended to have a high degree of desegregation; if they had more grades zoned they tended to have a low degree of desegregation.

The question was then raised as to why a district chose a particular plan. Some districts were not free to choose as the courts determined the plan or adopted a plan developed by HEW rather than the school board plan. But even in these instances the question is still valid for the choice of plans had to be based on some criteria, whether objective or value oriented. Size was found to be highly related to the choice of desegregation plan. Small districts tended to be paired; large districts tended to be zoned. Three measures of size, enrollment, degree of dispersion of the area, and number of attendance centers, appeared to influence the type of desegregation plan selected. However, the type of plan was concluded to act as an intervening variable.

An Explanatory Model

The conclusion that the desegregation process in Mississippi from 1968 to 1970 was not the same phenomenon as early desegregation in other areas was supported when the variables found to be highly correlated with desegregation in earlier studies failed to show significant correlation with the degree of desegregation in Mississippi school districts. Only one variable located in the literature and used in this study proved to be statistically significant when related to desegregation. This was the size of the school district in terms of student enrollment. Small districts (below 3,000) tended to have a high degree of desegregation while large districts (over 3,000) tended to have a low degree of desegregation.

Based on this finding and the findings relative to the choice of desegregation plan a conceptual model was developed using two measures of size: student enrollment and number of attendance centers. Number of attendance centers is highly related to the degree of dispersion and the two measures were considered to measure the same thing, therefore only the number of attendance centers was used in the model. This choice was made because it is a more straightforward measure and therefore has face vaildity. It was discovered that the size of student enrollment and the number of attendance centers in a district, when related to the desegregation plan chosen by the district, explained the various degrees of desegregation achieved by 92 percent of the school districts in Mississippi. It was concluded that districts with less than 3,000 enrollments and/or six or less attendance centers would be able to achieve a high degree of desegregation (complete desegregation as defined in this study). Districts with more than six attendance centers and a student enrollment of 3,000 or better would not be likely to achieve a high degree of desegregation. Demographic and ecological variables had explained most of the differences in the degree of desegregation. It was, therefore, concluded that the degree of ease or difficulty rather

than willingness or unwillingness might be the most important conceptual variable in explaining the different degrees of desegregation accomplished by Mississippi school districts in 1970.

In seeking explanations for those districts that had a zoning plan and were not explained by the model, two additional demographic and ecological variables were examined in relation to cultural and social variables. The demographic variable was percent Negro of the population and the ecological variable was the residential dispersion of the Negro population over the district. The social variable is desegregation and the cultural variable is the value system of white supremacy. This analysis was drawn more from general observations than empirical measures.

The conclusion was drawn that the social fact of resegregation stimulated by the cultural norm of white supremacy tends to diminish desegregation. Four types of resegregation were identified: intra-school, inter-school, inter-district and extra-system. The first, intra-school, was not within the scope of this study. Inter-school resegregation, it was concluded, could not occur under pairing. However, under zoning, inter-school (within the district) resegregation would likely occur. Inter-district and extra-system resegregation could occur under either pairing or zoning. All led to a diminished degree of desegregation. Resegregation was seen as more likely to occur when white children were sent to formerly all-Negro schools or when the percent Negro in one zone or district was higher than an adjacent zone or nearby district. The concern of this analysis is with inter-school resegregation. It is the only type that can be reflected in the measure of desegregation employed in this study. It is the only one of the four types of resegregation that is unique to the zoning plan.

The question was raised as to the condition under which resegregation would most likely occur. An extremely high or extremely low percent Negro of the population and/or a wide residential dispersion of the Negro population over the district was noted to aid districts in achieving complete desegregation. On the other hand, a middle range of percent Negro of the population and/or a concentration of Negro residences so interacted with the cultural and social factors of prejudice and discrimination as to hinder zoned districts in achieving complete desegregation. For instance, unless the Negro population of a district was evenly dispersed over the district it was almost impossible to draw zone boundaries in a way so as to achieve racially balanced zones. Such a failure generally led to resegregation. Also, when the percent black of the population was between the first and last decile any movement by whites from one zone to another tended to accelerate resegregation and thus create low degrees of desegregation.

Findings in this study were more by serendipity than by intent. Perhaps this is generally true in studies that are basically exploratory in nature. The findings occurred in the main when the original research design failed to accomplish the research objectives and a new design was developed calling for search for a new explanatory model.

The population studied in this thesis was Mississippi school districts. Therefore, caution must be exercised in generalizing to

other school districts. However, inasmuch as school districts throughout the South have been desegregated largely by force and persuasion rather than through a voluntary process one might generalize these findings and conclusions to other Southern school districts with a similar cultural milieu.

Implications

A number of implications for research grow out of this thesis. This study has been a baseline approach, a first step. Other statewide studies are needed, studies that would attempt to replicate this research and go beyond it, studies that might enlarge upon the new conceptual model. A study focusing upon the process of change from early desegregation under freedom of choice to desegregation after 1968 under other plans is also needed.

Deviant case analysis of those cases not explained by the model is needed inasmuch as little data were available in this study to do more than suggest tentative hypothesis as to why they did not fit the model. A second profitable effort in case analysis would be to examine those fifteen districts that remained in voluntary compliance. Field theory would suggest that a style of leadership that exercised local initiative might be an explanatory factor as opposed to districts that succumbed to external intervention. Limitations of this thesis in terms of time and money have prohibited the pursuit of this question.

The private school movement has only been touched upon. The implications of this movement for the stratification structure of the South should be examined. Its disruptive effect upon the white community, its struggle for continued existence, and the change it undergoes in the next decade should be documented. Research is particularly needed in the effects of desegregation. Studies should be conducted of its effects upon white as well as black children in unitary majority-black school districts as contrasted with those children in unitary majority-white school districts. Research should be conducted on the effects it has upon the status of the Negro, changes in other institutional areas, and the reshaping of the power structure of the community.

The implications for research appear to be endless. The study touched on so many facets of the desegregation process, and then only superficially, that research questions may be raised relative to all of them.

Implications for policy demand that a value stance be explicated. Therefore, provided that complete desegregation, i.e., racial balance, is a desired goal, a number of policy implications may be made. First, two plans as defined by the courts will guarantee complete desegregation of those school children who remain in the public system: consolidation and pairing. These two plans, however, are extremely difficult to administer in other than small localities. The financial cost of consolidation and the impossibility of pairing where more than twelve attendance centers are needed, make both of these plans unfeasible in

some situations. Where zoning is used, efforts must be put forth to determine if gerrymandering of boundaries and inter-school and other types of resegregation by fictitious means have occurred. A yearly reorganization of zones may be necessary to combat this problem. A greater degree of involvement on the part of the black community in the educational decision-making process might help to protect against aberrant actions. Where the Negro population is highly concentrated rather than dispersed over a district and zoning is the only feasible plan, due to the size of the district and prohibitive cost of consolidation, then bussing of children from one zone to another becomes mandatory.

An entirely different question must be raised relative to the all-black and majority-black districts. If a fairly large number of whites are needed to maintain the interest and financial support of the white power structure and to guarantee increased levels of achievement for both Negro and white children as the "Coleman Report" concluded (Coleman, et al., 1966:330-331), then merger of districts with districts that have a lower percent black is demanded. Municipal separate or consolidated districts within the county could be merged with the county or even adjacent counties could be merged. Extensive bussing would be called for in this approach. But, in the Mississippi Delta even this plan would not be feasible because of the large territory such a district would have to cover to merge majority-black districts with districts that have a low percent black.

However, a serious question is raised by the all-black and majority-black school districts as to whether complete desegregation, i.e., racial balance in all the schools of a district or area, is the best goal. For example, local control of the schools where blacks have an important role in the decision-making may be more desirable than simply achieving racial balance and leaving the black community powerless to determine the destiny of its children relative to the educational process.

It could be that a serious effort to raise the quality of education through state and federally financed programs could induce more whites who fled the system to return and thus unify the community and increase the white to black ratio even though the district may still be majority-black.

Conclusion

The most signigicant conclusions that may be drawn from this study concerning disestablishment is that is was accomplished fairly easily and that the manner in which it was accomplished makes it a different phenomenon from earlier desegregation in other parts of the nation. An editorial cited earlier (supra, p.29) contended that the Supreme Court could not marshall a police force adequate to enforce its school desegregation decision. MacIver (1948:245-247) made three rather pertinent suggestions for the elimination of discrimination: first, that it should be prompted in the interest of national welfare and unity; second, it should be attacked on several fronts at once; and third, it should be a direct attack upon discrimination itself rather than on prejudice.

School desegregation in Mississippi was one of several strategies; it was a direct attack upon a total educational institution; and the banner was that it was in the national interest to provide equal rights for all citizens. Desegregation was accomplished in Mississippi schools without a massive display of police power mainly because it was dealt with at the local level and with institutionalized positions in the educational structure. Superintendents and school board members, when threatened with law suits and possible fines and impoisioment, capitualated in self-interst. When threatened with loss of funds and the sacrifice of an adequate educational program they capitulated through professional interest with the more-or-less conscious knowledge that law suits would follow. The action that brought an end to desegregation in Mississippi school districts was not against state political figures nor private citizens but against the institutional structure which had institutionalized patterns of discrimination.

Attitudes have to some degree changed on the part of whites in Mississippi, but not sufficiently to have guaranteed desegregation NOW! By legal statute and federal implementation of that statute, patterns of discrimination in Mississippi, at least in terms of where children attend school have been virtually eliminated.

The most significant conclusion that may be drawn relative to the degree of desegregation accomplished under the various plans of desegregation is that demographic and ecological variables are more powerful explanatory factors than are cultural and social factors. However, these latter do intervene under certain conditions to aid or hinder a district in achieving complete desegregation.

APPENDICES

Appendix I -- Table. Mississippi School Districts: Enrollment by Race for 1970-71, Measures of Desegregation, and Changes in Enrollment Characteristics Related to Desegregation

Districts[a]	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan[b]	CI[c]	SDI[d]	FDI[e]	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
ADAMS											
Natchez	17	5788	2453	8241	70.23	Z	CO	29.82	23.7	- 1960	13.6
ALCORN	8	372	3014	3386	10.99	Z	VC	6.41	5.8	169	11.0
Corinth	4	624	1787	2411	25.88	P	CO	2.58	4.3	- 134	2.8
AMITE	4	2493	342	2835	87.94	Z	CO	1.74	12.4	- 1109	23.7
ATTALA	5	1457	804	2261	64.44	Z	CO	21.23	12.1	- 413	10.3
Kosciusko	5	1099	1211	2310	47.58	P	CO	7.57	14.3	- 123	- 2.4
BENTON	5	1256	639	1895	66.28	Z	CO	34.16	25.4	- 234	15.4
BOLIVAR											
Bolivar # 1	6	2248	390	2638	85.22	C	CO	8.42	26.8	- 14	18.0
Bolivar # 2	3	1168	0	1168	100.00	P	CO	.00	15.4	- 159	17.6
Bolivar # 3	5	1710	124	1834	93.24	Z	CO	19.31	7.1	- 127	10.7
Bolivar # 4	7	2953	1817	4770	61.91	Z	CO	43.19	21.9	20	7.1
Bolivar # 5	2	1308	275	1583	82.63	P	CO	5.15	20.7	- 177	8.4
Bolivar # 6[f]	2	1547	0	1547	100.00	P	CO	.00	1.5	- 52	.0

[a]Districts are alphabetized by counties; some counties do not have a county unit.
[b]P = paired; C = combination; Z = zoned.
[c]Compliance Index; VC = Voluntary Compliance; CO = Court Order (supra, pp. 69-70).
[d]Student Desegregation Index (supra, pp. 69-70).
[e]Faculty Desegregation Index (supra, pp. 69-71).
[f]Not included in this study.

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
CALHOUN	6	1496	2059	3555	42.08	Z	CO	8.06	9.3	- 2	11.5
CARROLL	6	1617	362	1979	81.71	Z	CO	7.90	10.6	- 273	14.6
CHICKASAW	4	402	553	955	42.09	Z	VC	6.64	21.7	49	- 2.17
Houston	3	737	1228	1965	37.51	P	CO	5.46	5.4	- 111	24.5
Okolona	2	761	627	1388	54.83	P	CO	2.58	14.8	- 153	1.0
CHOCTAW	5	816	1105	1921	42.48	Z	CO	9.02	12.2	- 21	- 1.0
CLAIBORNE	3	2412	88	2500	96.48	P	VC	.91	3.9	- 385	10.6
CLARKE											
Enterprise	1	327	511	838	39.02	P	CO	.00	22.8	130	5.2
Quitman	3	1332	1266	2598	51.27	P	CO	3.99	8.8	- 384	3.9
CLAY	2	589	170	759	77.60	Z	CO	26.58	31.5	- 28	9.3
West Point	5	2240	1448	3688	60.74	P	CO	6.06	39.6	- 385	5.1
COAHOMA	13	4481	402	4883	91.77	C	CO	7.98	10.4	- 518	11.5
Clarksdale	11	3248	954	4202	77.30	Z	CO	19.20	21.9	- 1077	16.6
COPIAH	5	2106	1029	3135	67.18	C	CO	21.56	11.9	- 432	13.7
Hazlehurst	4	2084	444	2528	82.44	C	CO	13.15	12.2	- 663	10.2
COVINGTON	6	1642	1818	3460	47.46	Z	CO	26.66	8.4	- 133	2.3
DESOTO	11	4676	5604	10280	45.49	Z	VC	23.98	7.6	13	- 3.1
FORREST	10	933	3460	4393	21.24	C	CO	31.37	5.1	- 368	1.0
Hattiesburg	15	3518	4195	7713	45.61	Z	CO	38.59	13.9	- 264	1.0
FRANKLIN	3	1023	858	1881	54.39	P	CO	.24	7.1	- 325	4.5
GEORGE	6	499	2985	3484	14.32	C	VC	13.09	5.4	147	.2

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
GREENE	5	671	1713	2384	28.15	Z	VC	25.18	6.2	- 59	- .2
GRENADA											
Grenada	8	2709	1443	4152	65.25	C	CO	13.84	13.7	- 777	10.5
HANCOCK	5	213	1322	1535	13.88	C	VC	20.08	9.6	168	.5
Bay St. Louis	4	420	1635	2055	20.44	C	VC	5.16	7.6	131	- 1.4
HARRISON	13	2523	6077	8600	29.34	Z	CO	34.96	7.1	439	.6
Biloxi	14	1701	7430	9131	18.63	C	CO	29.72	5.2	- 135	1.1
Gulfport	17	2156	6763	8919	24.17	Z	VC	18.81	1.7	- 170	.5
Long Beach	5	134	3054	3188	4.20	Z	VC	2.62	.8	277	1.0
Pass Christian	3	713	870	1583	45.04	C	VC	7.75	11.7	129	2.3
HINDS	18	6743	3402	10145	66.47	Z	CO	37.81	15.9	- 3539	14.8
Jackson	55	18703	12055	30758	60.81	Z	CO	31.42	18.6	- 8486	14.6
Clinton[g]	4	415	2293	2708	15.32	P	?	.90	- 15.8		
HOLMES	9	5110	17	5127	99.67	Z	CO	1.00	.2	- 1334	13.6
Durant[h]	1	372	323	695	53.53	P	CO	.00	32.8		
HUMPHREYS	1	3649	645	4294	84.98	P	CO	.00	16.1	- 102	7.8
ISSAQUENA											
ITAWAMBA	10	226	3018	3244	6.97	Z	VC	8.58	2.3	55	.1
JACKSON	6	366	4641	5007	7.31	Z	VC	22.61	6.2	630	1.2
Moss Point	10	2996	3999	6995	42.83	C	CO	26.61	12.7	- 66	13.2

[g], [h]Not included in this study.

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
Ocean Springs	6	258	3285	3543	7.28	C	VC	4.09	3.6	299	- 3.2
Pascagoula	15	1066	6525	7591	14.04	C	VC	1.23	1.3	122	- 3.2
JASPER											
East Jasper	2	1708	100	1808	94.47	P	VC	2.84	15.0	- 459	16.5
West Jasper	3	908	1087	1995	45.51	Z	VC	17.90	6.7	- 190	3.5
JEFFERSON	3	2604	10	2614	99.62	P	VC	.12	40.8	- 381	12.9
JEFF. DAVIS	4	2200	1169	3369	65.30	Z	VC	4.75	13.7	- 336	5.6
JONES	13	1567	6299	7866	19.92	Z	VC	3.55	3.3	61	- 27.5
Laurel	10	2765	3033	5798	47.69	C	CO	41.52	10.8	- 332	2.4
KEMPER	4	1868	207	2075	90.02	Z	CO	4.99	11.6	- 730	17.3
LAFAYETTE	1	1161	974	2135	54.38	P	VC	.00	22.1	174	2.1
Oxford	4	1278	1516	2794	45.74	P	CO	2.18	12.6	- 346	- 1.1
LAMAR	6	265	2441	2706	9.79	Z	VC	7.26	1.4	- 2	- 8.8
Lumberton L.	2	362	717	1079	33.55	Z	VC	5.01	9.6	133	10.5
LAUDERDALE	5	1820	3169	4989	36.48	Z	CO	13.35	6.2	- 130	- 1.0
Meridian	18	4797	5288	10085	47.57	C	CO	14.16	12.8	- 768	10.2
LAWRENCE	7	1215	1756	2971	40.90	Z	CO	14.02	7.5	- 199	.4
LEAKE	7	2153	1657	3810	56.51	Z	CO	24.10	5.4	- 384	5.3
LEE	8	1593	3579	5172	30.80	Z	VC	16.46	18.8	130	2.1
Nettleton L.	2	479	877	1356	35.32	P	VC	3.70	10.3	66	- .7
Tupelo	11	1280	4428	5708	22.42	C	VC	20.73	- 2.3	- 5	- 2.1

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
LEFLORE	11	4933	876	5809	84.92	Z	CO	28.82	16.2	- 107	1.9
Greenwood	8	3042	1679	4721	64.44	C	CO	35.14	23.2	- 954	12.5
LINCOLN	5	871	1486	2357	36.95	C	CO	3.97	5.9	- 181	- 1.7
Brookhaven	6	1787	2035	3822	46.76	P	CO	3.96	6.0	- 215	4.7
LOWNDES	8	1879	1941	3820	49.19	Z	CO	28.69	8.0	76	3.8
Columbus	15	3972	5021	8993	44.17	C	VC	27.98	13.5	33	2.7
MADISON	11	3375	690	4065	83.03	Z	CO	29.32	16.3	- 473	10.9
Canton	5	3770	73	3843	98.10	C	CO	.89	15.2	- 1260	25.1
MARION	6	1320	1577	2897	45.56	C	CO	14.56	9.1	- 606	4.7
Columbia	4	874	1450	2324	37.61	P	CO	4.47	6.1	- 165	.0
MARSHALL	7	3373	1003	4376	77.08	Z	CO	23.67	5.5	- 186	3.2
Holly Springs	3	1827	286	2113	86.46	P	CO	1.10	16.3	- 361	14.1
MONROE	5	460	1890	2350	19.57	Z	VC	8.43	12.9	192	1.0
Aberdeen	7	1656	1153	2809	58.95	C	CO	38.02	12.9	- 280	2.2
Amory	4	633	1579	2212	28.62	C	VC	13.57	7.3	16	- 3.4
MONTGOMERY	4	1331	548	1879	70.84	Z	CO	8.86	15.5	- 169	4.1
Winona	2	757	819	1576	48.03	P	CO	2.99	14.1	- 168	3.5
NESHOBA	2	766	1405	2171	35.28	P	CO	.26	8.7	- 115	5.3
Philidelphia	2	564	831	1395	40.43	P	CO	8.46	13.1	- 41	5.1
NEWTON	8	627	1173	1800	34.83	Z	CO	12.87	5.2	- 167	2.4
Newton	1	808	826	1634	49.45	P	VC	.00	1.7	- 151	- 1.4

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
Union	1	267	623	890	30.00	P	CO	.00	12.5	52	7.5
NOXUBEE	5	3392	102	3494	97.08	C	CO	2.75	17.0	- 741	19.4
OKTIBBEHA	5	2152	637	2789	77.16	Z	CO	27.39	5.9	- 383	1.7
Starkville	7	1762	1648	3410	51.67	P	CO	3.72	28.7	- 866	6.0
PANOLA											
North Panola	7	2545	566	3111	81.81	C	VC	4.68	14.3	- 346	5.9
South Panola	4	2384	1860	4244	56.17	C	VC	3.66	17.1	- 215	- .2
PEARL RIVER	2	108	1117	1225	8.82	P	VC	.43	6.8	50	- 1.0
Picayune	7	1084	3001	4085	26.54	C	VC	5.70	1.5	- 269	- 1.0
Poplarville	4	389	1454	1843	21.11	C	CO	11.51	6.8	- 30	- 1.4
PERRY	4	621	1110	1731	35.88	Z	VC	14.54	6.3	28	2.3
Richton	2	236	606	842	28.03	P	VC	.52	5.5	- 29	7.7
PIKE											
North Pike	4	581	591	1172	49.57	C	CO	2.02	6.0	- 98	2.7
South Pike	7	2075	1076	3151	65.85	Z	CO	35.58	13.2	50	- 3.1
McComb	10	2071	1872	3943	52.52	C	VC	32.86	12.6	- 379	1.7
PONTOTOC	11	309	1860	2169	14.25	Z	CO	11.43	3.5	- 176	12.9
Pontotoc	2	560	1138	1698	32.98	P	VC	.19	11.2	205	19.7
PRENTISS	15	572	3522	4094	13.97	Z	VC	9.56	6.1	150	.7
Baldwyn L.	3	310	691	1001	30.97	P	VC	4.58	- .6	- 38	- 3.9
QUITMAN	7	2692	852	3544	75.96	Z	CO	24.06	11.3	- 510	8.3

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
RANKIN	16	3353	6669	10022	33.46	Z	CO	22.06	11.2	- 519	.6
SCOTT	11	1640	2436	4076	40.24	Z	CO	26.03	.2	- 312	1.0
Forest	3	731	920	1651	44.28	P	VC	3.85	11.0	- 81	3.7
SHARKEY											
Anguilla L.	2	1017	7	1024	99.32	P	CO	.55	- .7	203	24.1
Sharkey - Issaq.	2	1661	241	1902	87.33	P	CO	.51	23.9	- 732	3.8
SIMPSON	10	2124	2861	4985	42.61	Z	CO	21.44	4.6	- 461	1.3
SMITH	6	893	2377	3270	27.31	Z	CO	8.86	7.7	- 88	- 3.2
STONE	5	611	1411	2022	30.22	C	VC	6.88	1.7	- 40	.8
SUNFLOWER	8	3680	256	3936	93.50	C	CO	3.64	13.2	- 285	16.9
Drew	3	1269	184	1453	87.34	P	CO	9.32	22.7	- 446	20.3
Indianola	5	2678	437	3115	85.97	C	CO	25.56	1.8	- 741	13.1
TALLAHATCHIE											
E. Tallahatchie	3	1726	623	2349	73.48	C	CO	20.66	8.3	- 82	7.7
W. Tallahatchie	10	2374	488	2862	82.95	C	CO	22.06	6.9	- 299	7.0
TATE	5	2494	1212	3706	67.30	Z	VC	18.22	9.9	- 113	- .1
Senatobia	2	693	532	1225	56.57	Z	CO	.77	14.1	- 165	5.3
TIPPAH											
North Tippah	5	224	1073	1297	17.27	Z	CO	7.86	9.1	2	4.8
South Tippah	7	578	1859	2437	23.72	Z	CO	11.04	8.0	- 30	- 3.5
TISHOMINGO	3	110	2103	2213	4.97	Z	VC	9.83	2.4	- 8	.8

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
Iuka	1	86	1045	1131	7.60	P	CO	.00	5.4	9	- 1.1
TUNICA	4	2995	7	3002	99.77	C	CO	.21	5.5	- 472	16.4
UNION	8	241	2147	2388	10.09	Z	VC	5.86	1.0	25	.8
New Albany	4	561	1448	2009	27.92	C	VC	2.28	13.4	- 8	- 4.2
WALTHALL	6	1796	1362	3158	56.87	Z	CO	6.97	10.1	- 346	3.8
WARREN	8	2034	3726	5760	35.31	Z	VC	18.24	13.2	503	6.5
Vicksburg	9	3548	1807	5355	66.26	C	CO	14.48	11.8	- 799	4.3
WASHINGTON											
Hollandale	3	2000	12	2012	99.40	C	CO	.70	3.2	- 287	15.2
Leland	2	2331	463	2794	83.43	P	CO	1.43	23.5	- 597	18.4
Western-Line	6	1757	500	2257	77.85	Z	CO	18.39	16.0	- 346	2.7
Greenville	17	6958	4408	11366	61.22	C	CO	33.12	29.0	- 1045	7.2
WAYNE	10	1763	2619	4382	40.23	Z	CO	14.09	- 4.2	- 260	.0
WEBSTER	4	742	1750	2492	29.78	Z	CO	3.86	4.4	212	4.6
WILKINSON	4	2642	4	2646	99.85	Z	CO	.52	12.0	- 849	23.2
WINSTON											
Louisville	7	2412	2239	4651	51.86	Z	CO	6.31	13.3	- 203	1.1
YALOBUSHA											
Coffeeville	4	914	536	1450	63.03	Z	CO	3.66	14.1	- 234	- 1.7
Water Valley	2	662	896	1558	42.49	P	VC	3.43	9.8	17	- 2.8
YAZOO	7	2445	180	2625	93.14	Z	CO	13.24	16.4	- 799	26.1

Continued

Districts	Number of Attend. Centers	School Enrollment by Race, 1970				Desegregation Measures				Degrees of Change in Enrollment	
		Negro	White	Total	% Negro	Plan	CI	SDI	FDI	Total 1969-70	% Negro 1968-70
Holly Bluff	2	326	103	429	75.99	P	CO	2.25	- 1.8	- 221	9.9
Yazoo City	6	2373	1402	3775	62.86	C	CO	3.16	18.4	- 146	12.8
Total	150	967	271306	258389	529695	51.27	X	X	X	X	-41163	Av. 5.8

Sources: Unedited copies of HEW Forms OS/CR 101-1, 102-1, 1970 and mimeographed report from the Mississippi Department of Education, 1970.

Appendix II.

QUESTIONNAIRE

MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL DISTRICTS
FACTORS RELATED TO THE
DISESTABLISHMENT OF
DUAL SYSTEMS

A study conducted by the
Social Science Research Center,
Mississippi State University
P.O. Box 5287, State College, Miss. 39762

James M. Palmer, Project Director

Questionnaire Code _____

All information provided will be kept in the strictest of confidence. Information will appear in the form of statistical data and averages and will in no way reflect upon school districts or the persons supplying information. The information requested is facts of rather common knowledge in the respective communities.

The following questions ask for information rather than attitudes or opinions although professional judgments may be involved. In effect each question should be preceded by the statement, "to your knowledge." Please feel free to write comments on any question.

1. QUESTIONS RELATED TO DESEGREGATION OTHER THAN THE DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS IN YOUR DISTRICT.

   A. Were any of the following institutions within your school district desegregated prior to the desegregation of the district schools? (Check those appropriate)

Institutions	
1. Public transportation	_____
2. Restaurants	_____
3. Hotels and motels	_____
4. Recreational facilities	_____
5. Hospitals	_____
6. Churches	_____
7. Other _____	

   B. In general, to what degree was opposition manifested to the desegregation of the above checked institutions. (Check one)

1. Not applicable _____; 2. No opposition _____;
3. Little opposition _____; 4. Some opposition _____;
5. Considerable opposition _____; 6. Actual violence and/or property damage _____; 7. Don't know _____.

C. In general, before desegregation in your district's schools did any adjacent school districts have opposition during the desegregation of their schools? (Check one)

1. Not applicable _____; 2. No opposition in any adjacent districts _____; 3. Little opposition _____; 4. Some opposition _____; 5. Considerable opposition _____; 6. Actual violence and/or property damage _____; 7. Don't know _____.

II. QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS IN YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT.

A. The district first attempted desegregation under (Check one):

1. Freedom of choice plan _____.
2. A plan not involving freedom of choice _____.
3. Don't know _____.

B. The first plan employed resulted in (Check one):

1. No integration _____.
2. Token integration _____.
3. Full integration _____.

C. The present desegregation plan originated as a result of (Check one):

1. Voluntary action on the part of the superintendent and the school board _____.
2. A suit from some local group such as NAACP _____.
3. The cutting off of federal funds by HEW _____.
4. Action taken by the Justice Department _____.
5. Other _____.

D. The present desegregation plan was developed by (Check one):

1. The superintendent and school board _____.
2. Some local group such as NAACP _____.
3. Combined efforts of the superintendent, school board and some local group such as NAACP _____.
4. HEW officials and/or federal court _____.
5. Combined efforts of the superintendent, school board and HEW officials _____.
6. Combined efforts of some local group such as NAACP and HEW officials _____.
7. Other _____
_____.

E. Including the original court order, if any, how many times has the district been in court over desegregation plans? (Check one)

1. None _____; 2. Once _____; 3. Twice _____;
4. Three times _____; 5. More than three, less than ten _____; 6. Ten or more but less than fifteen _____:
7. Fifteen or more _____; 8. Don't know _____.

F. When were the first Negro children admitted to formerly all white schools in the district?

Month _____, Year _____.

G. When did major desegregation occur in the district (i.e., plans such as pairing or zoning or educational parks were employed whith placed a relatively large percent of the Negro pupils in classes with white pupils)?

Month _____, Year _____.

H. What types of programs or actions were employed to prepare the community for desegregation? (Check those appropriate)

1. Speeches or panels before civic clubs, churches, etc. _____.
2. Speeches or panels on radio _____.
3. Speeches or panels on TV _____.
4. Extensive use of newspapers _____.
5. Letters to parents of school children _____.
6. Uni-racial mass meetings _____.
7. Biracial mass meetings _____.
8. Open house at attendance centers _____.
9. Public involvement in painting and repairing buildings ___.
10. Programs to prepare children for interracial contacts _____.
11. Survey of attitudes of public _____.
12. Other _____

_____

III. QUESTIONS RELATED TO COMMUNITY GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS THAT ASSISTED IN THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS IN YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT.

A. Was a biracial committee utilized at any stage of the desegregation process? (Check one)

1. No biracial committee was used _____; 2. A biracial committee was used from the beginning, prior to any desegregation _____; 3. A biracial committee was used only after some integration had taken place, and prior to major desegregation _____; 4. A biracial committee was used only after major desegregation had occurred _____; 5. Don't know _____.

B. How did the biracial committee come to be formed? (Note: If more than one has served, refer to first committee.) (Check one)

1. No biracial committee was used _____.
2. Federal courts ordered the creation or use of such a committee _____.
3. Committee developed on its own and offered services _____.
4. Community leaders suggested such a committee _____.
5. Superintendent and school board saw need and requested help from an existing committee _____.
6. Superintendent and school board saw need and initiated the formation _____.
7. Other _____

C. How was membership on the biracial committee obtained? (Note: If more than one committee has served, refer to first committee.) (Check one)

1. No committee _____.
2. Volunteers _____.
3. Members elected by representative groups of Negroes and whites _____.
4. Appointed by "community leaders" _____.
5. Appointed by city or county officials _____.
6. Appointed by superintendent and/or chairman of the school board _____.
7. Committee already in existence _____.
8. Other _____

D. What groups engaged in activities in the district with the purpose of bringing about the desegregation of the schools? (Check those appropriate)

1. Extra-local groups

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)	_____
CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	_____
SNCC (Student non-violent Coordinating Committee)	_____
SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)	_____
Black Panthers	_____
Black Muslims	_____
North Mississippi Legal Defense Fund	_____
The Delta Ministry	_____
ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union	_____
Urban League	_____
NEA (National Education Association)	_____

Others _____

2. School related groups
   Local Negro PTA's _____
   Local white PTA's _____
   Local MTA (Negro) _____
   Local MEA (white) _____
   "Concerned" Negro parents _____
   "Concerned" white parents _____
   Biracial group of "concerned" parents _____
   Others _____
   _____
   _____

3. Community groups
   "Informal" citizens groups (Negro) _____
   "Informal" citizens groups (white) _____
   "Informal" citizens group (biracial) _____
   Black coalition or caucas _____
   County supervisors _____
   City Council _____
   Others _____
   _____
   _____

E. Place an X mark in front of the groups checked in the three categories above which were generally supportive and cooperative with the superintendent and school board efforts to comply with the desegregation order.

F. Which civic, fraternal, or religious organizations were supportive of superintendent and school board efforts to comply in that they did one or more of the following: appointed educational committees, held discussion groups, sponsored informational programs, or publicly expressed support? (Check those appropriate)

1. Civic groups
   Kiwanis _____
   Rotary _____
   Lions _____
   Civitans _____
   Chamber of Commerce _____
   Jaycees (Junior Chamber of Commerce) _____
   CDF (Community Development Foundation) _____
   American Legion _____
   Garden Club _____
   Other _____
   _____
   _____

2. Fraternal organizations
   - Masons _____
   - Elks _____
   - WOW (Woodmen of the World) _____
   - Odd Fellows _____
   - Moose _____
   - V.F.W. (Veterans of Foreign Wars) _____
   - Knights of Columbus _____
   - Others _____

3. Religious (white churches)
   - Baptist _____
   - Methodist _____
   - Presbyterian _____
   - Assembly of God _____
   - Church of God _____
   - Church of Christ _____
   - Disciples of Christ _____
   - Nazarene _____
   - Latter Day Saints _____
   - 7th Day Adventists _____
   - Christian Scientists _____
   - Lutheran _____
   - Episcopalian _____
   - Catholic _____
   - Jewish _____
   - Others _____

G. To what degree did the community leaders (sometimes referred to as the "power structure") support the superintendent and school board in their efforts to comply or desegregate? (Check one)

1. Strong opposition _____; 2. Mild opposition _____; 3. Neutral _____; 4. Mild support _____; 5. Strong support _____; 6. Don't know _____.

H. To what degree did the editorial policy of the major newspaper (the one that carries the most district school news) support the superintendent and school board in their efforts to comply or desegregate? (Check one)

1. Strong opposition _____; 2. Mild opposition _____; 3. Neutral _____; 4. Mild support _____; 5. Strong support; 6. Don't know _____.

I. Prior to the superintendent's and school board's voluntary decision to comply or else a court order what was the editorial policy of the major newspaper? (Check one)

1. Strongly opposed to desegregation _____.
2. Mildly opposed to desegregation _____.
3. Neutral _____.
4. Mildly supportive of desegregation _____.
5. Strongly supportive of desegregation _____.
6. Don't know _____.

J. In general, was the newspaper willing to carry articles about the desegregation process supplied by the superintendent's office? (Check one)

1. None submitted _____.
2. Refused all articles _____.
3. Refused some articles _____.
4. Accepted articles but printed highly edited revisions _____.
5. Printed articles essentially as submitted _____.
6. Don't know _____.

K. In general, what news coverage was provided by the newspaper of local incidents and events involving Negroes and whites? (Check one)

1. No incidents or events occurred _____.
2. Most incidents and events went unreported _____.
3. Some incidents and events were reported, others were not, arbitrarily _____.
4. There was a high degree of selectivity in what was reported _____.
5. Nearly all incidents and events were reported _____.
6. Don't know _____.

L. Is the major newspaper (one referred to in H, I, J and K) (Check one):

1. Located within the school district _____.
2. Located outside of school district but in county _____.
3. Located outside of district and county _____.
4. Don't know _____?

M. How often is the major newspaper (one referred to in H, I, J, K and L) published? (Check one)

1. Daily _____; 2. Weekly _____; 3. Don't know _____.

N. In general, what news coverage was provided by the area radio stations of local incidents and events involving Negroes and whites? (Check one)

1. No incidents and events occurred _____.
2. Most incidents and events went unreported _____.
3. Some incidents and events were reported, others were not, arbitrarily _____.
4. There was a high degree of selectivity in what was reported _____.
5. Nearly all incidents and events were reported _____.
6. Don't know _____.

O-P. Were the PTA's in general supportive to the superintendent and the school board in the desegregation process?

White PTA: 1. Yes _____, 2. No _____, 3. Don't know _____.
Negro PTA: 1. Yes _____, 2. No _____, 3. Don't know _____.

Q. Did any of the PTA's in the district sponsor any type of integrated meeting?

1. Yes _____, 2. No _____, 3. Don't know _____.

R. How many of the white PTA's broke their affiliations with the national organization? (Check one)

1. None _____; 2. Only a few _____; 3. Many _____;
4. Most _____; 5. All _____; 6. Don't know _____.

IV. QUESTIONS RELATED TO PROBLEMS OF DESEGREGATION

A. To what degree did opposition arise on the part of whites to Negroes entering formerly all-white schools? (Check those appropriate)

1. No opposition arose _____.
2. Verbal opposition _____.
3. Superintendent and/or board members received threatening messages and/or were otherwise harassed _____.
4. Angry parents assembled at the school buildings but took no actions _____.
5. Physical attempts (short of violence) were made to block Negroes from entering formerly all-white schools _____.
6. Actual violence occurred directly related to school desegregation _____.
7. Property damage occurred either to school buses, buildings, or other school property _____.
8. Other _____

B. Were white children assigned to formerly all-Negro schools?

1. Yes _____; 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.

If yes, was opposition on part of whites to this assignment greater than when Negroes were assigned to all-white schools? (Check one)

4. No opposition _____; 5. Much greater _____;
6. Greater _____; 7. The same _____; 8. Less _____;
9. Much less _____; 10. Don't know _____.

C. Did any formerly all-Negro schools close or loose their identity as a result of a desegregation plan?

1. Yes _____: 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.

If yes, what was the reaction of the Negro community? (Check one)

4. Accepted the decision _____.
5. Manifested resentment to the decision but made no effort to oppose it _____.
6. Attempted to block the closing of the school _____.
7. Don't know _____.

D. What, if any, actions were taken by Negroes to block the closing or loss of identity of an all-Negro school? (Check those appropriate)

1. Doesn't apply _____.
2. No types of protest were made _____.
3. Informal protest made by parents _____.
4. Formal protest made by groups of parents or organized Negro groups _____.
5. Boycotts, walkouts, pickets (non-violent forms of protest _____.
6. Superintendent and/or board members received threatening messages and/or were otherwise harassed _____.
7. Violence and/or property damage occurred _____.
8. Legal action brought against the superintendent and/or school board _____.
9. Other _____

E. What groups engaged in activities in the district with the purpose of preventing the desegregation of the schools? (Check those appropriate)

Citizens Council (white) _____
Ku Klux Klan _____
"Informal" citizens group (Negro) _____
"Informal" citizens group (white) _____
"Informal" citizens group (biracial) _____
John Birch Society _____
Local PTA _____

Local P.T.O. (Parent Teacher Organization) _____
Focus (Freedom of choice in the U.S.) _____
Americans for the Preservation of the White Race _____
Others _____
_____
_____

F. Did any school administrators resign rather than serve in unitary systems?

1. Yes _____; 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.

G-H. Have teachers resigned rather than teach a biracial class or "other" race classes?

White teachers: 1. Yes _____; 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.
Negro teachers: 1. Yes _____; 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.

I. What private schools operate in the district? (Give name, town, and approximate enrollment.)

Name	Town	Enrollment

J. Were bond issues submitted to the voters during the period 1964-1970 and did they pass or fail? (Check those appropriate)

	Passed	Failed	None submitted
1964			
1965			
1966			
1967			
1968			
1969			
1970			

K. In your judgement did the failure of any of the above bond issues grow out of the dissatisfaction over desegregation? (Check or list)

1. None _____; 2. If yes, list years _____.
3. Don't know _____.

V. QUESTIONS RELATED TO ROLE OF THE SCHOOL BOARD IN THE DESEGREGATION OF YOUR DISTRICT

A. Is the membership of the school board biracial?

1. Yes _____; 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.

B. Were the philosophy and attitudes generally expressed by the school board the same as those held by the superintendent toward school desegregation?

1. Yes _____; 2. No _____; 3. Don't know _____.

C. To what degree did the members of the school board accept ideas and recommendations relative to desegregation made by the superintendent? (Check one)

1. Board modified or rejected most ideas and recommendations of the superintendent _____.
2. Board modified or rejected many but not most of the ideas and recommendations _____.
3. About half were modified or rejected and half accepted as as given _____.
4. Many but not most of the ideas and recommendations were accepted as given _____.
5. Most of the ideas and recommendations were accepted as given _____.

D. In most of the critical decisions regarding desegregation, what degree of unanimity characterized the board? (Check one)

1. Strongly divided, measures passed by bare majority _____.
2. Some division but strong majority vote _____.
3. Fairly well in agreement but not unanimous _____.
4. Unanimous _____.
5. Don't know _____.

E. To what degree did the school board use a biracial committee? (Check one)

1. Did not have biracial committee _____.
2. Never consulted the committee _____.
3. Received reports and recommendations but they were mostly ignored _____.
4. A number of recommendations were adopted _____.
5. Highly dependent upon the committee for ideas and recommendations _____.

F. If a decision to voluntarily comply was made, did it originate from the board or from the superintendent? (Check one)

1. Decision not made _____.
2. Decision originated from board _____.
3. Decision originated from superintendent _____.
4. Don't know _____.

G. Please list the occupations represented by school board members.. (If more than one member has same occupation indicate the number.)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

J.M.P.

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