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ABSTRACT

This paper evaluates the effectiveness of governmental actions from 1967 to 1974 to integrate public schools in the nation's cities. Data used were obtained from the Office of Civil Rights and were drawn from school districts in the 100 largest metropolitan areas. The results of this evaluation indicate there are substantial indications of progress in both the North and the South. Federal courts overturned most of the delaying tactics which southern cities were using to avoid integration. In most southern cities, black and white children now attend the same schools and the level of segregation is low. Beginning in the early 1970's, increasing pressure was applied to northern cities. The courts ruled that school board policies were partly responsible for the high levels of segregation still obtaining in many of the northern metropolitan areas. This paper concludes that although progress has been made in reducing segregation, there is still much to be accomplished. A few southern and many northern cities have schools which are as segregated today as they were a decade ago. The litigation process and HEW compliance proceedings are time consuming, and a reluctant school board can still delay integration. A more serious impediment, however, to the integration of big city schools is the city-suburban disparity in racial composition. (Author/GC)

INTEGRATING SCHOOLS IN THE NATION'S LARGEST CITIES: WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND WHAT IS YET TO BE DONE

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Abstract

For more than a score of years, federal policies have been developed to racially integrate the nation's public schools. In this paper we evaluate how much has been accomplished within the largest cities and what is yet to be done. We begin by reviewing federal policies and court decisions. We then assess trends in the racial segregation of students and teachers during the 1967 to 1974 span. Finally, school segregation at the metropolitan level is considered.

There are some indications of substantial progress. Federal courts overturned most of the delaying tactic which southern cities used to avoid integration. In most southern cities, black and white children actually attend the same schools and the level of segregation is low.

Until the early 1970's there were few pressures applied to northern cities. This has changed. Federal courts have ruled that school board policies were responsible, in part, for the high levels of segregation and have ordered the reassignment of pupils in such cities as Boston, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Omaha, San Francisco and numerous smaller cities.

Although substantial progress has been made in reducing segregation, there is still much to be accomplished. A few sourthern and many northern cities have schools which are as segregated today as they were a decade ago. The litigation process and HEW compliance proceeding are extremely time consuming and a reluctant school board can still effectively delay integration. However, a much more serious impediment to the integration of big city schools is the city-suburban disparity in racial composition.

I. Introduction

In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that racially separate schools violated the equal protections provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment (Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 1954). One year later the Court ordered that district federal courts implement the constitutional requirements with all deliberate speed (Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294, 1955). However, in the following decade, few public schools were integrated. Parents in the Deep South who wished to send their children to mixed schools had to become plaintiffs, demonstrate to a federal court that the schools were segregated and then await an order which might admit a few blacks to white schools. Parents and civil rights groups such as the NAACP were consistently harassed (Peltason, 1971: Chap. 3). Even when courts ordered integration, southern states devised effective strategies for delaying or preventing the mixing of white and black students (Crain, 1968: Part III). In the border states, schools were officially integrated and they operated on a neighborhood basis. But because of extensive racial residential segregation and school board practices, only a few schools enrolled many students of both races (Crain, 1968: 13-27 and 72-80; Carmichael and James, 1957: 118-123 and Lasch, 1957).

In the early 1960s, Martin Luther King focused the nation's attention upon the civil rights grievances of southern blacks. After Lyndon Johnson became president, the administration and Congress took steps to protect those rights provided

to blacks by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. On July 2, 1964 President Johnson signed an encompassing civil rights act which contained two sections designed to integrate schools (Orfield, 1969: 24-27). Title IV permitted the Attorney General to act as plaintiff in integration suits. This meant that individual parents no longer had to expose themselves to harassment nor use their own funds to fight unconstitutional segregation. Title VI allowed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to terminate federal funding in those districts maintaining segregated schools. This title took on greater importance the following year with passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Prior to 1966 federal support for local schools had been modest in amount but thereafter the federal government annually channeled over one billion dollars into local school districts (U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1970: Table 208). Throughout the late 1960s, HEW enunciated progressively more stringent desegregation requirements (Orfield, 1969: 98, 146, 258 and 339).

Federal courts played a major role in school integration. They not only upheld the requirement that school districts comply with HEW guidelines or lose federal monies (U.S. v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 372 F. 2d. 847, 1966) but also overturned the delaying tactics which many southern school administrators used. When confronted with court orders to integrate, school officials frequently adopted "freedom of choice" plans. Typically, some black students would enroll in the previously all-white schools but no whites would shift

to the black schools and the level of segregation would change very little. In 1968 the Supreme Court declared that "freedom of choice" plans were acceptable only if they actually integrated schools. If they failed to achieve that, more effective plans were to be demanded by federal courts. (Green v. New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430, 1968).

Many southern school districts used an alternate strategy which involved the repetitive appeal of court orders so that they would never be implemented. In 1969, the Departments of Justice and HEW--in a very unusual move--joined Mississippi school districts in requesting a delay of court ordered integration. The Supreme Court reprimanded the Court of Appeals which granted the delay and insisted that proceeding with all deliberate speed was no longer permissible.

> "Against this background the Court of Appeals should have denied all motions for additional time because continued operation of segregated schools under a standard of allowing 'all deliberate speed' for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible. Under explicit holdings of this Court, the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools" (Alexander v. Holmes, 369 U.S. 19, 1969).

In a 1971 ruling involving Charlotte, the Supreme Court specified exactly what a district court might require of a school board. The Court approved the use of racial ratios, the pairing of black and white schools and busing as permissible strategies for integration (Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg, 402 U.S. 1, 1971).

Prior to the early 1970s, federal pressures were primarily directed toward southern schools where the segregation

was based upon state law. In 1973, the Supreme Court approved an extensive integration plan in Denver where the segregation came about because of residential segregation and school board policies which attempted to confine blacks to one section of the city (Keyes v. School District No. 1, 413 U.S. 189, 1973; Read, 1975). Litigants in many other northern and western cities demonstrated that school board actions fostered segregation in their cities and thus the Denver ruling served as precedent for court orders in such cities as Boston, Cleveland, Dayton, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Omaha.

We thus see that there were three major changes which hastened school integration. First, HEW was given authority to terminate federal funding if administrators did not integrate their schools. Second, the Supreme Court decided in the late 1960s that southern schools had to be effectively integrated at once even if extensive busing was required. Third, in the 1970s, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in northern cities which resulted in part from school board actions had to be eliminated.

At this time it is appropriate to assess the impact of these federal efforts. Are schools in the large cities more integrated now or have the court orders and HEW pressures been applied in vain?

II. Data Sources and the Selection of Locations

To measure progress toward integration, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) within HEW gathered data concerning the

racial composition of students enrolled in individual public schools. Between 1967 and 1974 these data were obtained annually from all large enrollment school districts and from a sample of smaller enrollment districts (U.S., National Center for Educational Statistics, 1969; U.S., Office for Civil Rights, 1973; 1974; 1975 and 1976). The 1974 data are the most recent since no survey was conducted in 1975. No systematic data are available for dates before 1967.

This analysis considers those school districts in the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas. Since different areal units are considered, it is important to describe them. In 1970, the Bureau of the Census defined 247 metropolitan areas each of which contained one or more central cities, the county containing the central city or cities and any surrounding counties which were economically integrated with the county containing the central city (U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1973: 3-9 and 3-10). In 1970, approximately 60 percent of the nation's population lived within the 100 areas considered in this paper (U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1971: Table 36). These 100 areas contained a total of 134 central cities. Since we wished to assess the segregation of black students from white, we eliminated those cities whose school district enrollments were less than 3 percent black in 1970. This means that we analyzed segregation trends in 116 cities from 96 metropolises.[1] Forty of these cities were in the

[1]Data were not examined for three metropolitan areas--Alberquerque, Salt Lake City and San Jose--since less than 3 percent of their students were black. No usable data were available for the Phoenix metropolitan area.

South and 76 in the North or West. Each year a few cities failed to supply data. In 1967, for instance, data are not available for 5 of the 116 cities and in 1974, 6 cities did not provide information.

The boundaries of school districts do not always coincide with those of cities or metropolitan areas. In the North and West, school districts are generally coterminous with city boundaries whereas in the South, the districts are frequently coterminous with county or parish lines. Exceptions are numerous. In Indianapolis, Kansas City and San Antonio, the central city school districts do not include the entire central city (U.S., Office of Education, 1974: xii). Atlanta, Birmingham and Richmond, on the other hand, are southern cities but their school districts are not county-wide.

III. The Racial Segregation of Students in Central Cities

To assess racial segregation within a city's schools, we used the index of dissimilarity. This measure contrasts the school-by-school distributions of white and black students. If the district is so highly segregated that all blacks attend exclusively black schools and all whites go to exclusively white schools, the index assumes its maximum value of 100 meaning complete segregation. On the other hand, if all schools in a city have exactly the same racial composition, the city's schools would be completely integrated at the school level and the index of dissimilarity would equal zero. The numerical value of this measure equals the proportion of either black

or white students who would have to be transferred from one school to another to bring about complete integration, that is, to reduce the index of dissimilarity to zero (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965: Appendix A; Zoloth, 1976).

The index of dissimilarity very directly assesses whether black and white children attend the same or separate schools. This index does not, however, measure racial isolation or racial contact within individual schools. It is calculated from the total white and black enrollment in a school and we do not know about the assignment of students to classrooms of patterns of racial contact within schools.

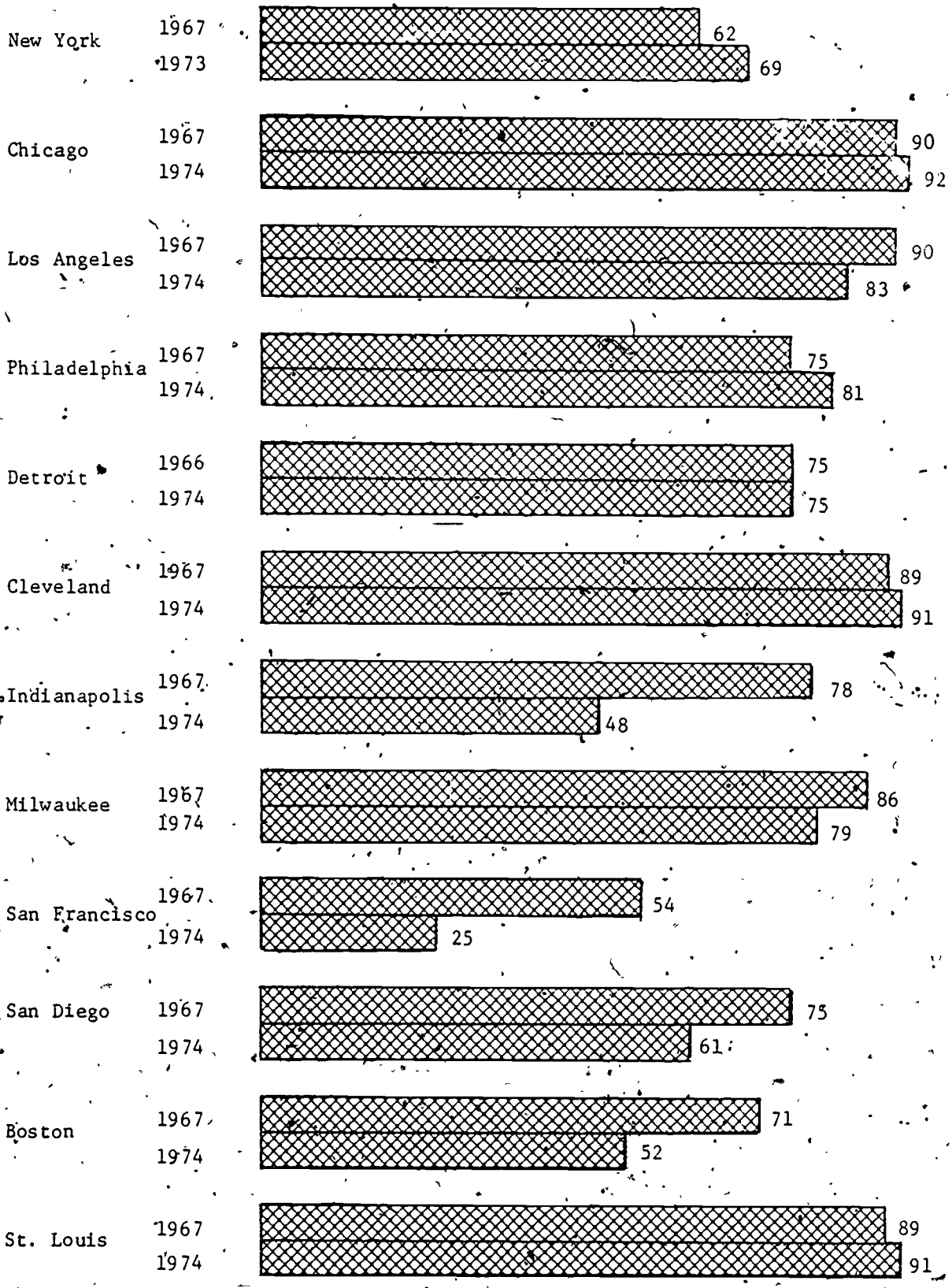
Since most interest has focused upon the segregation of white students from black, this paper does not describe the segregation of Spanish heritage or Oriental students. The measures we use were calculated from data pertaining to white and black students only.

Figure 1 shows the indexes of student segregation in 1967 and 1974 in the twelve largest central cities in the South and in the North and West, a region we call the North. At the base of the figure, we indicate average values of the student segregation measures and their standard deviations.

Changes in school segregation may readily be summarized. In many southern cities and some in the North, HEW pressures and federal court orders led districts to integrate. Typically, busing was substantially increased in the large cities, attendance zones were redrawn and other major changes were made. Between 1967 and 1974, great reductions in student

Figure 1:

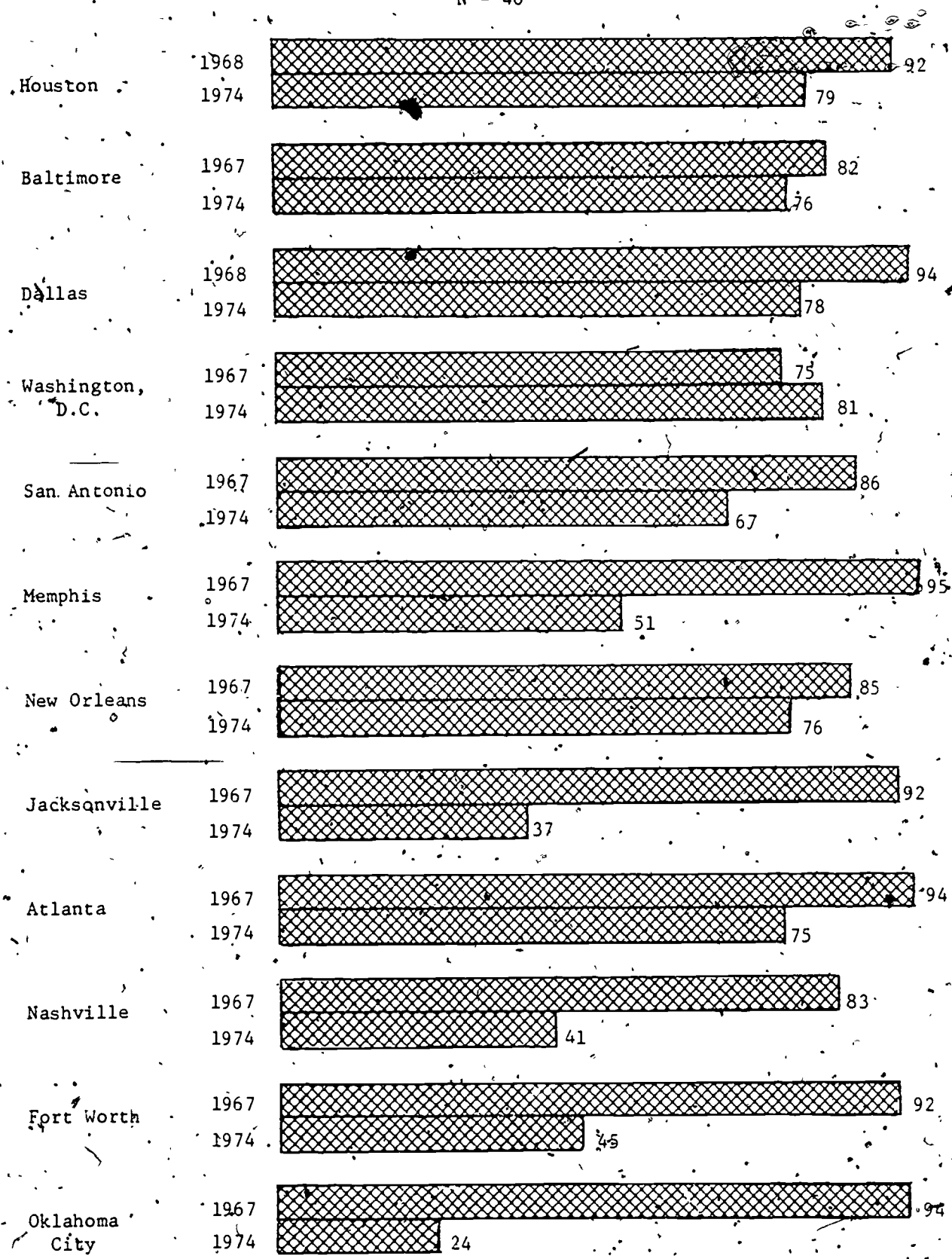
Northern Cities
N = 76



Index of Racial Segregation of Students	1967	1974
Mean	63.4	54.7
Standard Deviation	15.5	20.3

Figure 1, Continued

Southern Cities
N = 40



Index of Racial Segregation of Students	1967	1974
Mean	84.3	47.1
Standard Deviation	9.7	24.8

segregation were recorded in Memphis, Jacksonville, Nashville, Fort Worth, Oklahoma City and Miami within the South and in Indianapolis, San Francisco and Boston outside the South. We might consider a decrease of 20 points or more in the index of dissimilarity as indicative of a major integration effort. Such efforts were much more common in the South than elsewhere and we find that 70 percent of the 40 southern cities and 20 percent of the 76 northern cities experienced such integration.

A number of school districts showed modest declines in student segregation; for example, Houston, Baltimore and Atlanta in the South and Milwaukee and San Diego in other regions. If we use declines in the index of dissimilarity of 6 to 19 points to classify such cities, we find that about 20 percent of the southern and one-third of the northern cities are in this category of moderate integration.

Many northern and a few southern cities made little progress in eliminating their highly segregated schools. As Figure 1 indicates, schools in Washington, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis were actually more racially segregated in 1974 than seven years earlier. We can assume that school districts accomplished little integration if the value of their index of student segregation either increased or fell by fewer than six points between 1967 and 1974. Using this criterion, less than 10 percent of the southern but almost one-half of the northern cities had schools which were about as racially segregated in 1974 as in 1967.

Figure 2: Segregation of Students in Central City School Districts, 1967-1974

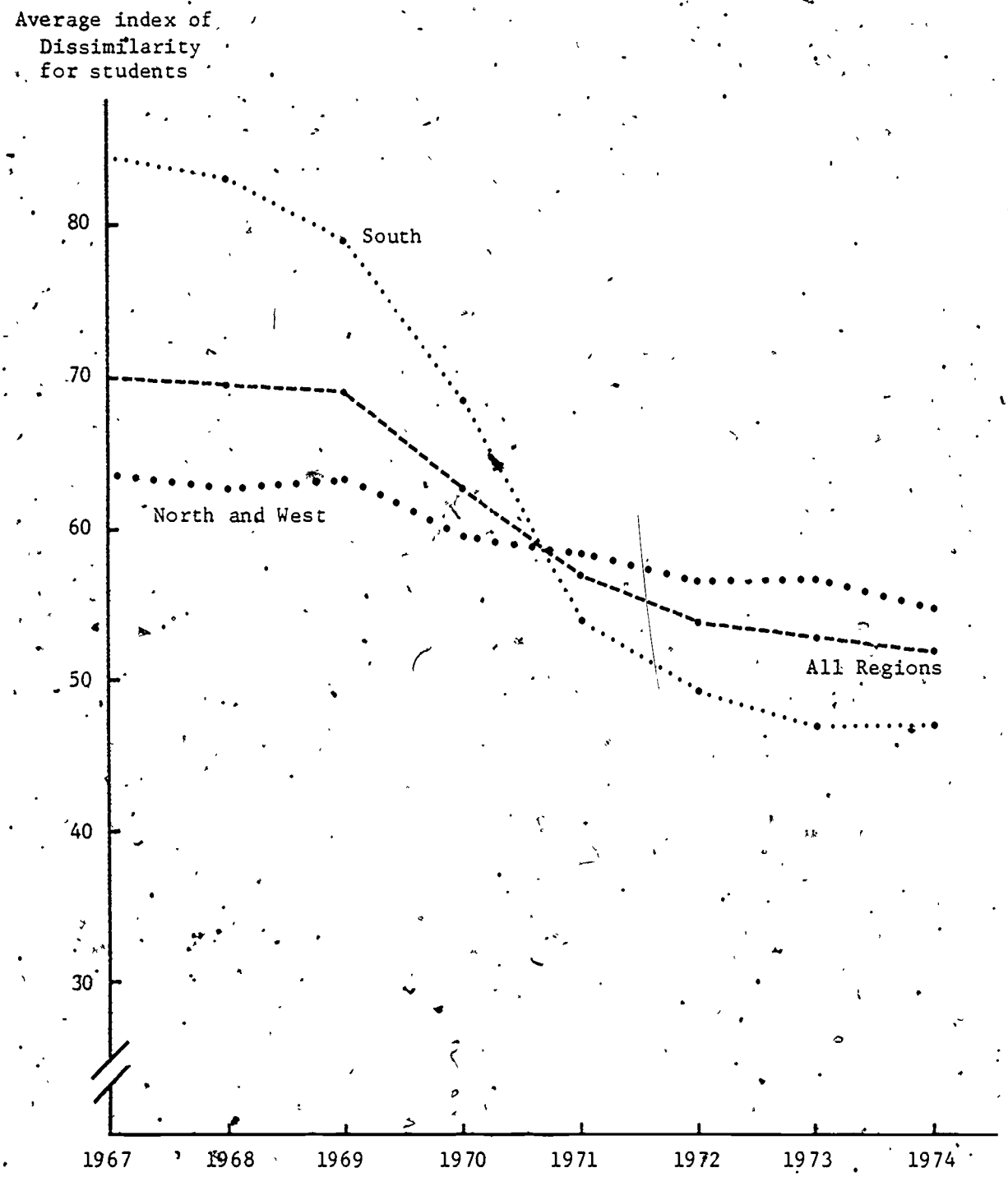


Figure 2 summarizes trends in student segregation. It indicates the average value of the index of dissimilarity for all central city school districts and for those in each region. In 1967, school segregation was much greater in the South than elsewhere and the regional difference was more than 20 points on the index of dissimilarity. Declines were more common within the South and by 1971 the South and North had similar levels of student segregation. Segregation continued to decrease in the South and by 1974 schools were much more integrated within southern central cities than in cities in other regions.

IV. The Racial Segregation of Teachers in Central Cities

Southern school districts traditionally segregated both teachers and students. Black teachers were only assigned to schools with black students and white teachers to mostly white schools. The first desegregation guidelines, issued by HEW late in 1964, did not deal with faculty integration (Orfield, 1969: 77). Southern school administrations in several locations who opposed both integration and federal pressures, fired their black teachers. The NAACP and teacher organizations protested these policies and brought them to the attention of President Johnson. In a speech to the National Education Association in 1965, he noted that he himself was a former classroom teacher and insisted that the firing of black teachers would be taken into account when determining whether a southern district qualified for federal monies (Orfield, 1969: 108-110). This principle was quickly

incorporated into the HEW guidelines and, thereafter, southern districts had to demonstrate progress in faculty integration to obtain federal support.

The Supreme Court strongly upheld the integration of faculties. In 1967 a district court in Alabama ordered Montgomery officials to move toward an assignment policy such that the ratio of white to black teachers would be the same within every school in their district (Carr v. Montgomery County Board of Education, 389 F. Supp. 654). The Court of Appeals found the use of such fixed mathematical ratios offensive and overturned the district court order (Montgomery County Board of Education, v. Carr, 400 F. 2d 1). The Supreme Court, in the summer of 1969, unanimously upheld the district court ruling and declared that such ratios could be used to overcome past racial discrimination (U.S. v. Montgomery County Board of Education, 395 U.S. 236).

Following the explicit Alexander v. Holmes ruling in the fall of 1969, federal judges in all regions of the country insisted that unitary school systems were ones in which you could not identify the color of the student body by the color of the staff. This became known as the Singleton principal because of the Fifth Circuit's unambiguous ruling concerning Jackson, Mississippi schools. On December 1, 1969, that court stated:

> "Effective not later than February 1, 1970, the principals, teachers, teachers aides and other staff who work directly with children at a school shall be so assigned that in no case will the racial composition of a staff indicate that a school is intended for Negro students or white students." (Singleton v. Jackson Municipal School District, 414 F. 2nd, 1211, 1970)

Subsequent sections of this court order prohibited th school board from firing black teachers to avoid integration. This was upheld by the Supreme Court (Singleton v. Jackson Municipal School District, cert. den. 402 U.S. 944, 1970).

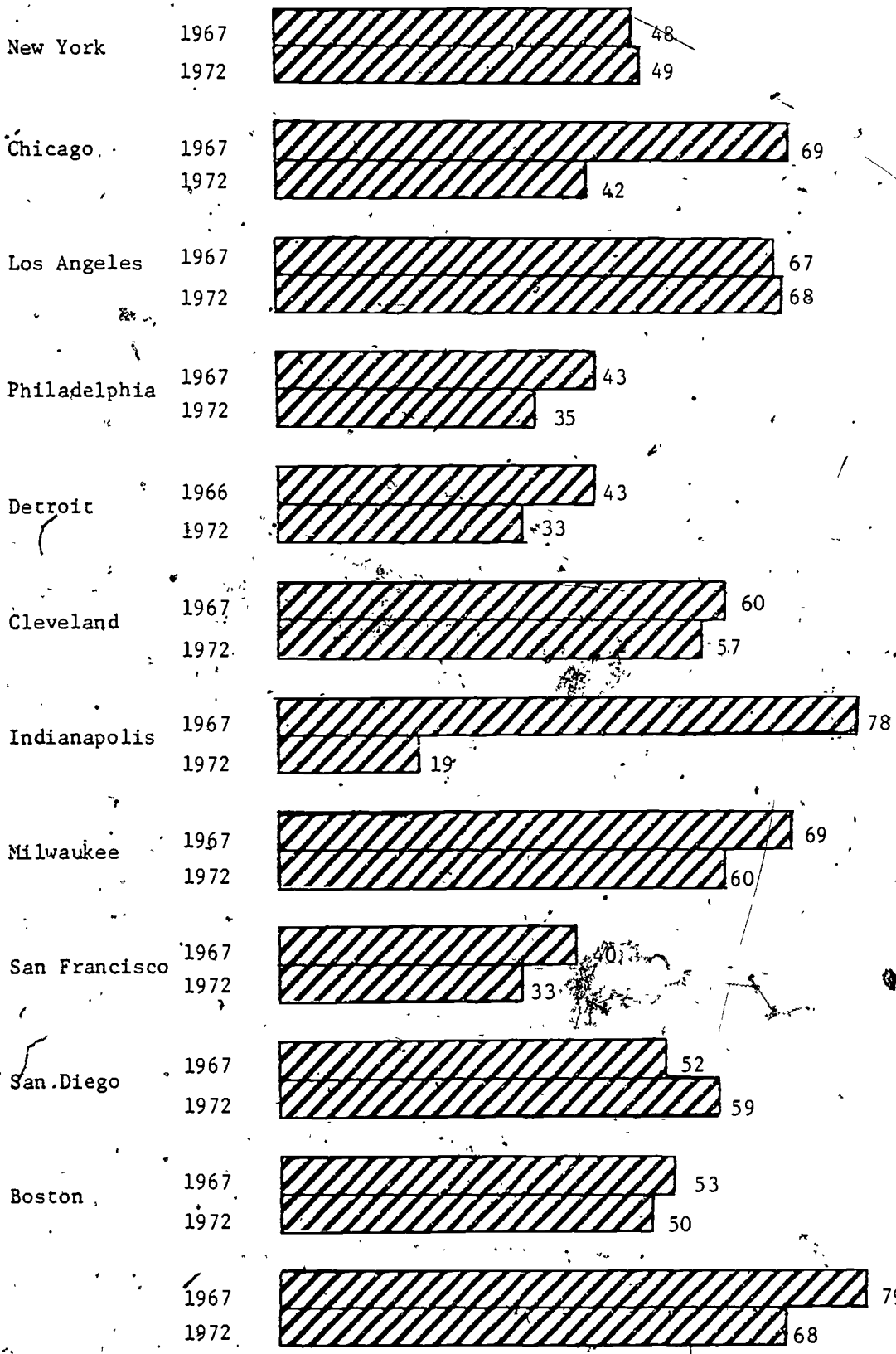
Data concerning the racial composition of teachers in individual schools have been collected since 1967 but they have not been released for years after 1972. Thus we cannot describe recent trends in teacher segregation. Figure 3 indicates the extent of racial segregation in the assignment of classroom teachers. These are indexes of dissimilarity calculated from the school-by-school distributions of black and white teachers.

In 1967 there was a very high degree of racial segregation of teachers within southern cities. As Figure 3 reveals, the teacher segregation score exceeded 90 in Memphis, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Atlanta and Fort Worth. Substantial progress was achieved as southern cities complied with the HEW guidelines and federal court orders and, by 1972, the teacher segregation scores were low in most southern cities. As the numbers at the base of Figure 3 show, the average teacher segregation scores in southern cities fell by 62 points in the five-year interval following 1967.

In the North, in 1967 teacher segregation was generally much lower than in the South and most of the northern cities had segregation indexes between 40 and 70. However, racial segregation in the assignment of teachers declined but by a much smaller amount than in the South, Indianapolis being an exception. After hearing evidence about segregation in that

Figure 3:

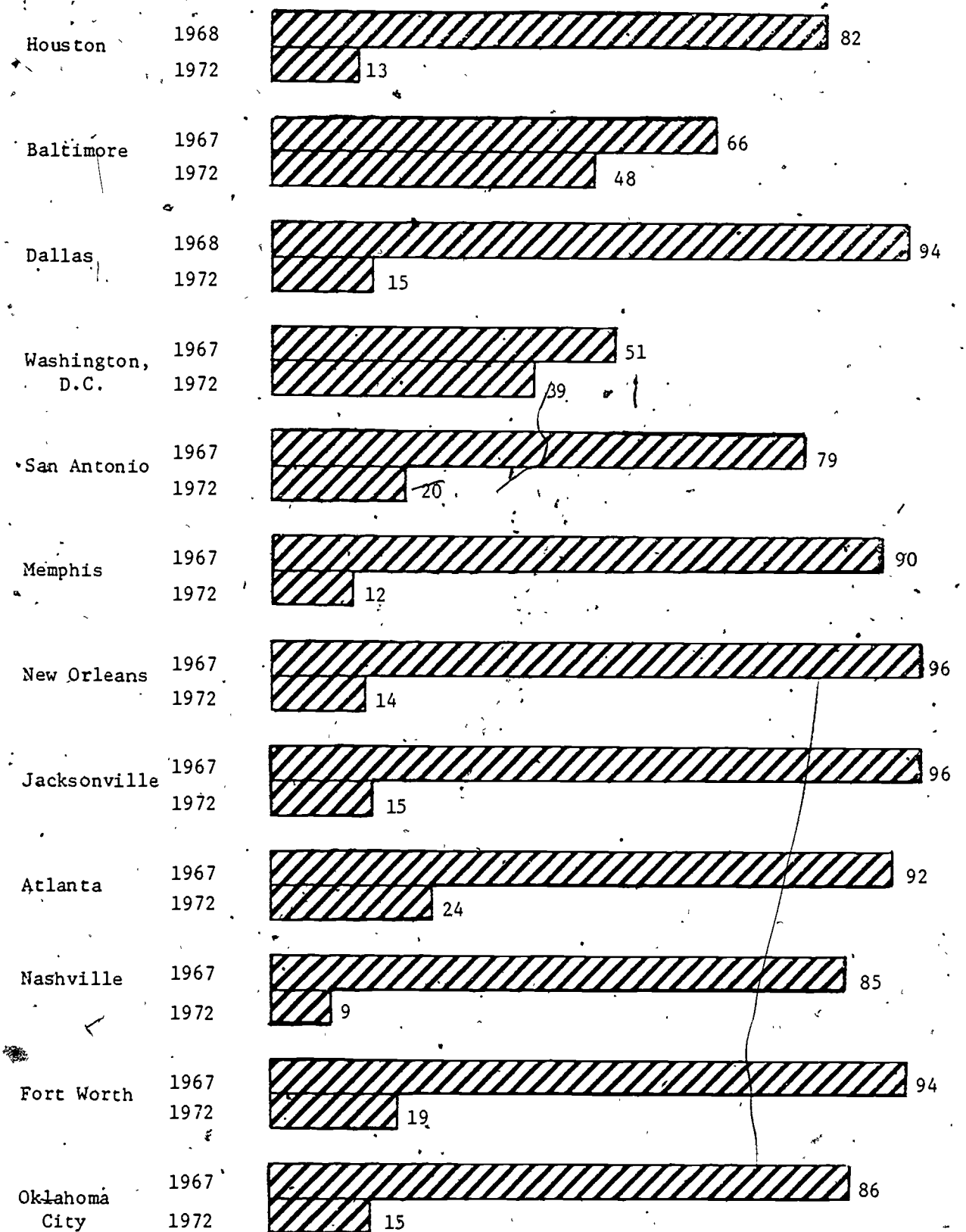
Northern Cities
N = 76



Indexes of Racial Segregation of Teachers	1967	1972
Mean	54.9	44.6
Standard Deviation	14.8	14.6

Figure 3, Continued

Southern Cities
N = 40



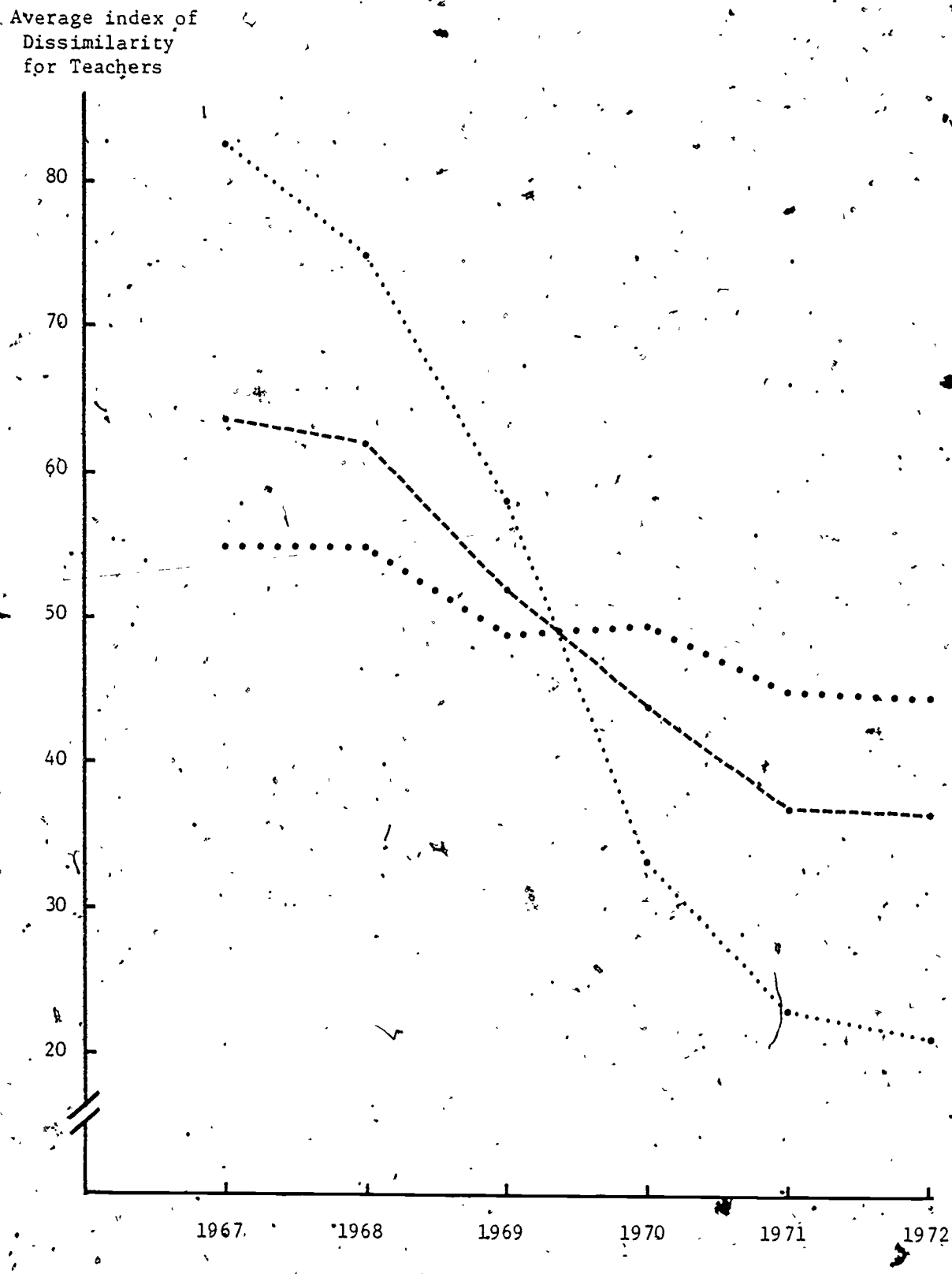
Indexes of Racial Segregation of Teachers	1967	1972
Mean	82.4	20.8
Standard Deviation	10.7	12.5

city's schools, Judge Dillin, on August 18, 1971, ordered integration of the teaching staff that fall (U.S. v. Board of School Commissioners, Indianapolis, 332 F. Supp. 1971).

Figure 4 shows 1967 to 1972 trends in teacher segregation in the largest cities. A familiar pattern emerges. In the earliest year, teacher segregation was much greater in the South than in the North, the difference being 17 points on the index of dissimilarity. Three years later, there was less racial segregation in the assignment of teachers in southern cities than in northern cities. The racial segregation of teachers continued to decline in the South and by 1972, the average teacher segregation score for the South was 24 points lower than the score for the North.

Federal pressures in the 1960s prevented the large scale dismissal of black teachers in southern districts. As a result, blacks are well represented on the staffs in southern cities. In the typical southern central city in 1972, 41 percent of the students and 33 percent of the staff were black. In the North, there was a greater disparity in these proportions. In the typical northern city, 28 percent of the students but only 14 percent of the teachers were black. In many northern cities, the discrepancy between black representation at the student and faculty levels was even greater. For instance in Boston, in 1972, 33 percent of the students but only 7 percent of the teachers were black. In Buffalo, the figures were 41 percent and 10 percent; in Hartford, 49 percent and 20 percent and in Harrisburg, 63 percent and 22 percent. These differences may reflect racial discrimination

Figure 4: Segregation of Teachers in Central City School Districts, 1967-1972



in the hiring policies of northern cities but there may also be other causes. In the South, but not in the North, there was a cadre of experienced black teachers who were pooled with the white teachers at the time of integration.

V. The Racial Segregation of Students at the Metropolitan Level

Within many metropolises, a great proportion of all blacks live within the central city while the suburban ring contains a largely white population. Even if court orders and HEW pressures effectively integrate central city schools, the pattern of city-suburban residential segregation ensures that segregation will remain great. The city's schools will be black; the suburban schools, white.

Data about metropolitan areas are available for only three years; 1968, 1970 and 1972. In many metropolises, most of the suburban school districts have small enrollments and the only OCR surveys to include a large number of such small enrollment districts were conducted in these years. We use the term suburban to mean all the area outside the central city or cities but within the metropolitan area as defined by the Bureau of the Census.

There are five important conclusions to draw about metropolitan school segregation. First, patterns of school organization differ greatly from state to state and thus no one type of integration strategy will be effective everywhere. Many of the southern metropolises contain only one or two school districts and those districts frequently enroll both city and suburban children. Outside the South, this is not

the case. The typical non-southern city is surrounded by a large number of small enrollment suburban districts. Information about school organization in the 15 largest metropolises in each region is contained in Table 1. The Chicago suburban ring contained more than 200 suburban districts and around Philadelphia and New York, there were more than 100 suburban districts. This is far more than the number found in any southern metropolis. On the average, there were 35 suburban districts in a northern metropolis but only seven in a southern metropolis. If litigation to integrate schools or HEW pressures must proceed on a school district by school district basis, the possibilities for delay are immensely greater in northern suburbs than in southern suburbs.

Second, central city and suburban school districts differ greatly in racial composition. This city-suburban difference is greater in the North than in the South. Columns 2 to 4 of Table 1 report the proportions of students and teachers black in central cities and their suburban rings. In 1972, six of the 15 largest southern cities had majority black enrollments. However, southern suburban rings also enrolled more than token numbers of blacks. For instance, in Memphis, the proportion black in the suburban schools was 38 percent; in New Orleans, 19 percent and in Washington, 13 percent.

In the North, five of the 15 largest cities had majority black enrollments but black students and teachers were not generally found in the northern suburbs. Within most of these suburban rings, there are a large number of school

Table 1. Information about Schools and Enrollment in Metropolitan Areas

	Number of Suburban School Districts	Proportion Black in 1972				Percent of Students in Suburban Schools 1972	
		Central City		Suburbs			
North and West		Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers	White Students	Black Students
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
New York	130	36%	9%	7%	3%	64%	12%
Chicago	204	57	38	6	3	80	12
Los Angeles[a]	75	25	14	9	6	59	28
Philadelphia	111	61	34	10	6	83	23
Detroit	76	68	46	5	4	88	14
Cleveland	47	58	40	6	2	81	15
Indianapolis	36	39	24	2	<1	71	6
Milwaukee	33	30	15	<1	<1	65	1
San Francisco[a]	58	31	10	8	4	90	35
San Diego	23	13	6	2	1	61	14
Boston	73	33	7	2	1	88	18
St. Louis	72	69	54	12	8	91	38
Columbus	19	29	15	1	1	55	4
Seattle[a]	25	14	7	1	<1	75	12
Pittsburgh	81	42	16	5	1	90	38
Average for 62 Northern and Western Metropolises	35	28%	14%	3%	2%	73%	19%
South							
Houston	38	39%	9%	11%	9%	68%	25%
Baltimore	6	69	59	8	8	82	14
Dallas	34	39	28	9	6	67	21
Washington	8	95	85	13	10	99	32
San Antonio	13	16	16	3	4	84	29
Memphis	6	58	43	38	34	27	14
New Orleans	3	75	37	19	17	76	20
Jacksonville	0	- Entire Metropolis in One School District -					
Atlanta	8	77	62	6	6	91	21
Nashville	4	28	23	10	8	27	10
Forth Worth	16	30	23	2	<1	64	6
Oklahoma City	13	26	23	3	1	63	15
Louisville	5	51	36	4	3	83	18
Miami	0	- Entire Metropolis in One School District -					
Tulsa	13	15	11	3	2	31	8
Average for 34 Southern Metropolises	7	41%	33%	13%	11%	59%	21%

[a]In these metropolises city data refer to the largest central city: Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle.

Source: See Figure 2.

districts which enroll no more than a few blacks and a few districts which are predominantly black. These are the suburban black enclaves. Around Chicago, for instance, 53 of the 204 suburban districts enrolled no blacks in 1972 and another 93 suburban districts had enrollments which were less than one percent black. Four of the Chicago suburban districts had majority black enrollments. Eleven of the 78 Detroit suburban school districts had no black students, another 27 had enrollments less than one percent black and two suburban districts had majority black enrollments.

Third, white enrollments in central cities are declining rapidly. In part, this reflects trends in fertility. The number of white births peaked in 1957 and has fallen since then. In 1976, white births were only 70 percent as numerous as in 1957 (U.S., National Center for Health Statistics, 1970: Table 1-1; 1976a: Table 2; 1976b: p. 1). White enrollment at the elementary and secondary level has been declining since 1970 (U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1976: Table 1) and current demographic trends imply there will be a further 20 percent drop in white enrollment in the next decade because of declining fertility (U.S., Bureau of the Census, 1975: Table 8). Furthermore, central cities contained a much older white population than the suburbs in 1970 which also led to decreases in white enrollment in central city school districts (Farley, 1976a: Table 3). However, the changes in white enrollment also reflect an outmigration of whites.

In 1975 Professor James Coleman speculated that present

strategies for integrating schools--particularly the use of busing--were counter-productive because they encouraged whites to withdraw their children from central city schools (Coleman, Kelly and Moore, 1975: 2). Several other investigators have analyzed data on that topic (Rossell, 1975; Cataldo et al., 1975; Farley, 1975; Wegman, 1975; Lord, 1975; Lord and Catau, 1976; Pettigrew and Green, 1976). There is consensus that white enrollments are falling rapidly both in central cities whose schools were integrated and in cities whose schools remain highly segregated.

There is also tentative agreement that school integration is related to the loss of white students in the largest cities. Based upon 1968 to 1974 trends, it was estimated that a major integration order--one which reduced the index of dissimilarity by 20 points or more--in a city of at least 300,000 and where one third of the students were black--produced an incremental loss of white students equal to one year's normal loss. That is, during the year of school integration, the city would be expected to lose twice as many white students as it would if no integration occurred. In smaller cities and in places with proportionally fewer blacks, the incremental loss of white students associated with school integration was much less than one year's normal loss of whites (Farley, 1976b). However, it is possible that these losses in white enrollment would have taken place in a year or two later with the school integration only speeding up the decision to leave.

High rates of white loss in central cities and modest

increases in suburban white enrollment are found in most metropolises of both regions. As a result, a much higher proportion of white than black students attend suburban schools. The final columns of Table 1 show the proportions of metropolitan area students going to suburban schools. In the typical northern metropolis, about three-quarters of the white but less than one-fifth of the black students went to suburban schools. An extreme case is Milwaukee where 65 percent of the metropolitan white students but only one percent of the black attended suburban schools. In southern metropolises the pattern was similar. About 60 percent of the metropolitan white compared to 21 percent of the metropolitan black students attended suburban schools.

Fourth, between 1968 and 1972, the segregation of black students from white declined at the metropolitan level but by a smaller amount than in central cities. Information about this is presented in Table 2. The first three columns refer to all the public schools within a metropolis. If all schools had the same racial composition, this index of segregation would equal zero whereas the index would equal 100 only if all blacks attended exclusively black schools and all whites went to exclusively white schools. The next three columns of Table 2 show similar information for the 1968 to 1972 interval for the central city of each metropolis.

In Dallas, for example, the segregation index for the central city students declined 14 points from 94 to 80 but for the entire Dallas metropolis, the decrease was only 11 points, from 88 to 77. On the average, the index of

Table 2. Information about Student Segregation in Metropolitan Areas

North and West	Indexes of Dissimilarity Measuring Student Segregation							South	Indexes of Dissimilarity Measuring Student Segregation						
	Metropolitan Area			Central City			Between District Segregation Score		Metropolitan Area			Central City			Between District Segregation Score
	1968 (1)	1972 (2)	Change (3)	1968 (4)	1972 (5)	Change (6)	1972 (7)		1968 (1)	1972 (2)	Change (3)	1968 (4)	1972 (5)	Change (6)	1972 (7)
New York	70	72	+2	64	69	+5	55	Houston	86	79	-7	92	82	-10	52
Chicago	90	90	..	90	91	+1	71	Baltimore	80	79	-1	82	82	0	68
Los Angeles[a]	89	84	-5	90	86	-4	54	Dallas	88	77	-11	94	80	-14	55
Philadelphia	79	80	+1	75	79	+4	68	Washington	84	80	-4	79	79	0	67
Detroit	89	89	..	77	76	-1	83	San Antonio	82	72	-10	84	70	-14	64
Cleveland	91	91	..	90	91	+1	75	Memphis	95	78	-17	95	86	-9	15
Indianapolis	84	81	-3	77	72	-5	65	New Orleans	85	70	-15	83	78	-5	56
Milwaukee	90	88	-2	85	82	-3	64	Jacksonville[b]	87	33	-54				a
San Francisco[a]	78	75	-3	58	27	-31	71	Atlanta	88	82	-6	91	81	-10	72
San Diego	79	71	-8	77	68	-9	49	Nashville	80	42	-38	82	38	-44	17
Boston	79	78	-1	73	74	+1	73	Fort Worth	86	77	-9	89	71	-18	58
St. Louis	87	87	..	88	90	+2	77	Oklahoma City	91	59	-32	89	28	-61	57
Columbus	80	79	-1	74	71	-3	51	Louisville	79	80	+1	76	80	+4	66
Seattle[a]	76	71	-5	64	59	-5	67	Miami[b]	85	63	-22				a
Pittsburgh	74	72	-2	71	66	-5	67	Tulsa	83	74	-9	89	74	-15	24
Average for 62 Northern and Western Metropolises	76	73	-3	62	56	-6	62	Average for 34 Southern Metropolises	83	58	-25	83	49	-34	40

[a] Figures are for the largest central city in these metropolitan areas: Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle.

[b] In these places, one school district contains the entire metropolis.

Source: See Figure 2.

segregation fell 34 points in southern central cities and 25 points at the metropolitan level. The changes were smaller in the North; an average decrease of 6 points in student segregation in central cities and 3 points for entire metropolises. One reason for this pattern is that central cities enrolled smaller and smaller fractions of metropolitan area white students while the largely white suburban schools enroll larger fractions.

Integration strategies in the 1968 to 1972 span were apparently not counter productive in the fashion suggested by Professor Coleman. For example, Table 2 shows that segregation decreased substantially within such central cities as Oklahoma City, Nashville, Fort Worth and San Francisco. In each of these locations, segregation also declined at the metropolitan level. Thus the exodus of whites from the city's public schools was not great enough to negate the effects of integration.

Fifth, school integration policies which are restricted to specific school districts will be, at best, moderately effective. Present policies strive to eliminate the segregation of black students from white within particular school districts. They generally do not attempt to minimize city-suburban differences in the racial composition of school districts. We can imagine that current strategies are completely effective and eliminate segregation within districts but do not change the racial make-up of the districts. We can then determine what the index of student segregation would be for a metropolis and compare it to the current level of

segregation. We are assuming that every school within a district has the same racial composition but that district-to-district variations in racial composition are not changed. The hypothetical segregation scores resulting from these assumptions are displayed in the final column of each panel of Table 2.

In many metropolises, these indexes are only a little smaller than the actual segregation indexes. In the New York metropolis, the actual segregation score in 1972 was 72. If all within-district segregation were eliminated, the score for the metropolis would have been 55. In Philadelphia the actual level of segregation would have been lowered 12 points, from 80 to 68, if federal efforts desegregated all schools within every school district but left unchanged the district-to-district variations in racial composition. In the Atlanta metropolis, the difference was even smaller; an actual segregation score of 82; an hypothetical score of 72. When all northern metropolises are considered, we find that the areas actually had an average segregation score of 73. If there were no within-district segregation, the average score would have been 62. In the South, school districts are organized differently and many suburban districts enroll blacks. There, a program of complete within-district integration would have a greater effect upon segregation at the metropolitan level. The average score would fall from 58 to 40. It therefore seems that a continuation of current integration policies which focus upon specific school districts will, if effective, reduce student segregation. However, in many metropolitan

areas segregation will remain high because present strategies do not ameliorate district-to-district variations in racial composition.

VI. Conclusion and Summary

We sought to evaluate the effectiveness of governmental actions to integrate public schools in the nation's largest cities. There are some indications of very substantial progress. Federal court overturned most of the delaying tactics which southern cities used to avoid integration. In Charlotte, Nashville, Norfolk, St. Petersburg and many smaller cities, Black and White children actually attend the same schools and the level of segregation is low. In other large southern cities--Dallas, Houston, Memphis--segregation levels are now much lower than they were a decade ago, but in the future, these cities will probably come under court orders or federal pressures to further reduce segregation.

Until the early 1970s, there were few pressures applied to northern cities. This has changed. Federal courts have ruled that school board policies were responsible, in part, for the high levels of student segregation and have ordered the reassignment of pupils in such places as Boston, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Omaha, San Francisco and numerous smaller cities. It is probable that litigants will be able to obtain similar court orders in most other northern cities. Until recently the HEW requirement that school district comply with integration guidelines or lose federal funds was not applied outside the South. This also has changed and HEW

has started the termination procedure in such places as Chicago, Flint, Kansas City, New York and St. Louis.

One of the most dramatic indications of the effectiveness of federal pressures in the large cities is in the area of teacher segregation. Within the span of five years, southern central cities changed from a system of assigning Black and White teachers to separate schools to a system whereby you cannot identify the color of a school's student body by the color of its staff. In northern cities, teacher segregation has also been reduced but by a much smaller amount than in the South.

Although substantial progress has been made in reducing racial segregation, there is still much to be accomplished. A few southern and many northern cities have schools which are as segregated today as they were a decade ago. The litigation process and HEW compliance proceedings are extremely time-consuming and a reluctant school board can still effectively delay integration. However, a much more serious impediment to the integration of big city schools is the city-suburban disparity in racial composition.

In those metropolitan areas where one school district encompasses the city and the suburbs--Charlotte, Jacksonville, Nashville, and St. Peterburg, for example--integration can be accomplished much more easily than in those metropolises where a largely Black city is surrounded by largely white suburbs. This problem is most evident in the nation's largest metropolitan areas. If we consider the 25 largest cities, we find that non-Spanish whites comprise a majority of the public

school enrollment in only nine cities. In the other 16, Blacks or a combination of Blacks and Hispanic-Americas are in the majority. In Washington, more than 90 percent of the students are Black; in New Orleans, about 80 percent and in Baltimore, Detroit, Memphis and St. Louis, about three-quarters of the students are Black. Whites have been moving away from central cities in great numbers since the end of World War II and, since this pattern of migration will likely continue, schools in such cities as Chicago, Dallas, Houston and other large cities will soon be predominantly Black.

Efforts to reduce school segregation in many metropolises must address the situation of a Black central city school system being surrounded by many white suburban districts. One practical solution would be to merge the city and suburban schools. The attempt to do this in the Detroit area was overturned by the Supreme Court (Milliken v. Bradley 418 U.S. 717). In the future, litigants may be able to prove that state actions and decisions of suburban school administrators were responsible, in part, for the city-surburban segregation. If this is done, courts may mandate metropolitan integration plans.

Another strategy would be to reduce racial residential segregation. If suburban communities were really open to Blacks and if central cities could retain their present White residents and attract others, the city-suburban disparity in racial composition would be mitigated. This social integration would then be reflected in the social composition of the schools.

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