REVIEWING A DECADE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966-1975

REPORT
OF A
NATIONAL SURVEY
OF SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

Staff Report
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

January 1977

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
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A Staff Report of the
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I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

NATURE OF STUDY

In November of 1975, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights announced a series of projects designed to provide a national assessment of school desegregation. These projects included formal hearings, open meetings, case studies, and this national survey. The report Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law presents the findings and conclusions of these projects, and was released in August 1976. This survey is part of that broader effort to increase the accuracy and comprehensiveness of information on school desegregation and to promote further understanding of the processes of desegregation.

The objective of the national survey was to collect factual and attitudinal data on recent experience with school desegregation from superintendents in a representative sample of 1,292 school districts which constitute 47 percent of all school districts in the country having at least 5 percent minority enrollment and a student enrollment of 1,500 or more. The superintendents were asked to describe selected aspects of the nature and timing of steps taken to desegregate the schools and the degree of acceptance of the desegregation by school staff, parents, and community leaders. Usable responses were obtained from

996 school superintendents, representing 77 percent of the sampled school districts.[1] Data from the questionnaires were merged with demographic data on the school districts as collected by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) for the years 1968, 1970, and 1972.[2] These years bracket the period of maximum desegregation activity.

The study fills a void in the analysis of school desegregation policy by presenting both demographic data and superintendents' reports of the processes and consequences of desegregation for a large and nationally representative body of school districts. Individual case studies have highlighted the problems and successes of individual school districts without providing a convincing national view of the totality of the experience with desegregation.[3] Previous studies based solely on Office for Civil Rights data have not had access to data on the nature and timing of desegregation policy and action,[4] and have been limited primarily to an examination of "white flight." Other studies that have merged OCR data with other data have been geographically limited, as in a study of 86 northern school districts.[5]

The major analytic variable of this study is the nature and timing of steps to desegregate. Such steps may follow a

Federal court order; they may be imposed through the threat of withdrawal of Federal funds by the HEW Office for Civil Rights; or they may be a consequence of State or local pressures from State officials, local school boards, civil rights groups, or concerned citizens. The study focuses upon an analysis of which source of desegregation pressure was applied in what kinds of situations; how these pressures were translated into desegregation steps; how effective these steps for desegregation were; and what some of their consequences were.

MAJOR CONCLUSIONS

The major conclusion that emerges from this survey is that desegregation actions taken over the last 10 years were effective in achieving sweeping reductions in the isolation of racial and ethnic minorities within numerous school districts. For the most part, major desegregation actions were accomplished with minimal disruption of the educational process. Whereas the superintendents report that strong opposition to desegregation existed prior to its implementation, they say that today a majority of school staff, students, parents, and community leaders accept school desegregation in most districts that took substantial steps to desegregate. The conclusion holds true for districts desegregated under a court order, those that

desegregated under HEW pressure, and those that desegregated under State or locally-developed pressure.

Extent of Desegregation Actions

Substantial steps to desegregate schools during the period 1966-75 are reported in an estimated 1,400 school districts. While these districts represent a small proportion of the 19,000 school districts in the country, they encompass about half of the minority public school children in the country. Although the actions to desegregate were most heavily concentrated in the Southern and Border States, such actions were found in moderate number in the Northern and Western States.

Nature of Pressure to Desegregate

Approximately 37 percent of the districts that desegregated were described by the superintendents as desegregating primarily because of intervention from the courts, 26 percent from HEW pressures, and 37 percent from local or State pressure. Districts which desegregated under local pressures generally had low initial levels of segregation and low proportions of minority students. Among the remaining districts, HEW pressure was described as primary in smaller cities and rural areas in the South that had high initial levels of segregation and moderate proportions of black students (10 to 40 percent). Court

orders were most often reported in districts with high levels of segregation in 1968 and with high proportions of minority students.

Reassignment and Busing to Desegregate

Desegregation required the reassignment of large numbers of students. Among those districts that desegregated during the last 10 years, an average of 30 percent of the students were reported reassigned in the year of maximum desegregation. Despite the large proportions of students reassigned, there was only a 5 percent increase reported in proportion bused in the desegregating districts, implying that a high degree of physical desegregation was attainable in the affected districts with a rather modest increase in busing. There was no evidence to suggest that court intervention resulted in any greater increase in proportion of students bused than desegregation that resulted from HEW or local pressure.

Reduction of Segregation Within School Districts

The extent of segregation within districts diminished sharply during the period 1968-72. Among larger districts with at least a 5 percent minority enrollment, 38 percent had an index of segregation greater than 0.50 in 1968, indicating a high level of segregation; such a high level was found in only 7 percent of these districts in 1972. The

changes were greatest in the Southeast, which had a smaller proportion of highly segregated districts in 1972 than any region of the country.

Those districts that desegregated primarily under pressure from the courts had enrollments of 7.5 million students in 1972. These districts reduced their average index of segregation from 0.74 (high) in 1968 to 0.15 (relatively low) in 1972. Not only did the courts intervene in districts that had high levels of segregation initially, but they intervened with great effect.

Withdrawal of White Students

Very little variation is evident in the average reduction of proportion of white students between the districts that have desegregated and those that have not; or between those that have desegregated by court order, by HEW pressure, or by local initiative. These data, therefore, do not support the inference that there is a general relationship between desegregation actions and withdrawal of white students.

The reduction in the percentage of white students does appear to be related to the proportion of black students, but this is irrespective of whether desegregation has taken place. In the 4 years 1968-72, districts that had greater than 40 percent black enrollments in 1968 experienced a

reduction of 15 percentage points in the proportion of white students, a much greater drop than in districts with lower proportions of black enrollment.

Although these data do not exclude the possibility or even likelihood that some individual white families do withdraw their children from public schools as a consequence of desegregation, these individual decisions do not occur with sufficient frequency to create a discernible nationwide pattern of association between desegregation and relative loss of white students. The drop in proportion of whites has been greatest in the larger central cities, an historical trend that antedates the desegregation of schools.

Disruption and Acceptance of Desegregation

Serious disruptions of the educational process were reported in less than one-fifth of the districts that took substantial steps to desegregate over the last 10 years. The implementation of desegregation was followed by substantial positive changes in reported community-wide attitudes toward school desegregation in a majority of school districts. Teachers and counselors in the school system strongly support the desegregation. In only 5 percent of the desegregated districts do school

superintendents see school staff to be generally opposed to the desegregation.

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

The basic data for this study are the responses of school superintendents to a relatively short questionnaire. These data provide a general statistical description of the nature and impact of school desegregation based on a few indicators that provide a consistent and uniform body of data. School desegregation is complex; its implementation varies considerably from one community to another, and the outcomes of desegregation are difficult to measure in any one location, let alone in school districts throughout the country.

The superintendents' reports of desegregation actions and outcomes are not necessarily fully objective or accurate descriptions of the desegregation process as it actually occurred in each community. In some school districts, the reports were filled out by the superintendent's staff rather than the superintendent. One-fifth of the superintendents were not living in the school district at the time of desegregation. In some cases, superintendents' reports of the means of desegregation (such as number of students bused to desegregate) were based upon best estimates rather than hard data. The superintendents' responses may contain

multiple biases. Superintendents may have provided more favorable reports on outcomes of desegregation insofar as they were not likely to provide negative assessments of steps they had implemented. On the other hand, it has also been suggested that some superintendents may present a negative assessment in hopes that such judgments would be used to oppose desegregation efforts. Both such biases could be either intentional or subconscious. It is difficult to determine the degree to which these biases affect the collected information. The safest presumption is that both occurred to some extent and that one bias will partly compensate for the other. The biases would most seriously affect the responses about disruptions of the educational process or acceptance of desegregation. The data on increased community acceptance would be more convincing if a sample of parents or business leaders had been surveyed just before desegregation and 3 years after desegregation.

Nevertheless, school superintendents are probably the respondents who can most accurately describe desegregation steps in their districts. They have, as a group, a broad picture of the incidents and pressures that preceded desegregation. They are aware of actions taken in the community to oppose or support desegregation actions. While

the reports of the school superintendents must be interpreted with due caution, we believe that, as a group, they provide a representative picture of the nature of desegregation as it has occurred over the last 10 years.

Notes to Section I

1. For detailed discussion of sampling plan and methodology, see appendix A. A copy of the questionnaire used is included in appendix B.

2. A technical description of the OCR survey data is given in appendix A. Data collected by OCR for 1974 were not available at the time this study was made.

3. For a description of case studies prepared by this Commission, see U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law (1976).

4. See, for example, James S. Coleman, Sara D. Kelly, and John A. Moore, Trends in School Segregation, 1968-73 (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, August 1975). Also Reynolds Farley, "School Integration and White Flight" (paper presented at the Symposium on School Desegregation and White Flight, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., August 1975).

5. Christine H. Rossell, "School Desegregation and White Flight," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 90, no. 4 (Winter 1975-76), pp. 675-95.

II. SOURCE OF PRESSURE TO DESEGREGATE

INTRODUCTION

The term "Source of Pressure to Desegregate" refers to the response given by school superintendents who were asked in the questionnaire to indicate "which was the single most important source of pressure for initiation of desegregation" in their district. The superintendents checked one of the following: the courts, HEW, civil rights organizations, local school officials, State boards of education; or they specified another source of pressure. It must be remembered that the analysis is based upon the reports of school superintendents as to the single most important source of pressure to desegregate. In fact, in many districts, desegregation was a process that came as a result of pressures from many sources.

Strictly speaking, the courts are never a "source of pressure" to desegregate. They have in fact served as a means of last resort. When all else has failed, local parents and civil rights groups have brought suit to achieve their rights. In some cases, the United States Attorney General has taken the desegregation case into the courts as required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In such cases, the resulting court orders may be perceived as the primary

"source of pressure" and clearly the major impetus to the following desegregation of some school districts.

The desegregation activity that took place during the 10 years after 1965 may be contrasted with that of earlier years. Voluntary plans and "deliberate speed" were no longer acceptable to HEW or to the courts. Many districts took steps overnight that changed the school systems from being predominantly segregated to predominantly desegregated. These steps were often taken following direct HEW threat to cut off Federal funds or subsequent to a specific court order. The analysis in this section groups the desegregated districts by major source of pressure to desegregate: courts, HEW, or local.

The category "local pressure" is used in this report to refer to districts whose superintendents report that the primary pressure for desegregation was from local school officials, State boards of education, local civil rights groups, or other local pressures. About a fifth of the responding superintendents reported that their districts desegregated primarily under the impetus of local pressures. This is not to say that the "local" desegregation was voluntary. Many districts that describe their desegregation as locally initiated may have been influenced by HEW. The threat of cutoff of funds and the possibility of Justice

Department litigation can create the sense of inevitable change that makes the development of a local plan seem advisable. As shown later, two-thirds of the districts with locally-initiated plans had less than 20 percent black enrollments, compared to one-third of those pressured by HEW and one-fifth of those where the primary impetus is said to have come from the courts. The grouping of the districts into the three categories was analytically useful. Districts that, according to superintendents, desegregated under pressure from the courts, those pressured by HEW, and those with locally initiated plans were relatively distinct groups of districts, as discussed below.

While pressure to desegregate often came from all three sources within a district, during this 10-year period one of the sources of pressure was usually reported as primary. Starting in 1965, HEW started to play a decisive role in initiating enforcement in hundreds of highly segregated districts. This enforcement continued until 1970, when the administration withdrew substantial support from the desegregation effort. The courts played a more substantial role in 1970 and 1971.[1] In those districts in which desegregation did not result from local pressures or HEW's enforcement activities, local citizens turned to the courts.

This section describes the number and kinds of districts that took substantial steps to desegregate during the 10 years starting in 1966, the major perceived source of pressure to desegregate, and the situations in which these pressures were applied. The superintendents are a knowledgeable group for judging the source of pressure. It may be noted that 79 percent of the superintendents said they were living in the district at the time of maximum desegregation. Those who were not living in the area also answered the questionnaires, and the response to the source of pressure is presumably based upon what they learned in the community after moving to the district. In some cases, the questionnaires are known to have been completed by other school staff, who are presumed to be knowledgeable about desegregation in their respective districts.

TYPE OF INTERVENTION, BY YEARS

As seen in table 2.1, approximately 20 percent of the responding school superintendents reported that their school districts had desegregated under primary pressure by the courts; 14 percent under pressure from HEW; and 20 percent under plans developed at the local or State level. The remaining 46 percent had either already desegregated before 1966 or took no substantial steps to desegregate during this period. Previously collected data on the level of

Table 2.1 Distribution of school districts, by superintendent's report of major source of intervention, for districts that desegregated 1966-75, and for districts that desegregated before 1966 or took no substantial steps to desegregate.

Source of pressure 1966-75	School Districts Number	Percent
Courts	195	20.2
HEW	134	13.9
Local school officials	98	10.2
State dept. of education	39	4.0
Civil rights groups	28	2.9
Other	29	3.0
	523	54.2
Deseg. pre-1966	93	9.6
No deseg.	349	36.2
	965	100.0
Incomplete data	31*	
	996	

* These 31 districts were reported to have taken steps to desegregate, but superintendents failed to report either the year of maximum desegregation, major source of intervention, or both.

segregation in 1968, 1970, and 1972 were available for districts in the Commission's sample. These data indicate that the level of segregation and changes in the level for 1968-72 were about the same in the districts that returned the questionnaire and those that failed to return them. Based on this information, it is estimated that more than 50 percent of the 2,750 school districts with at least 5 percent minority students and enrollments greater than 1,500 took substantial steps to desegregate during the last 10 years.

For the districts sampled, superintendents reported that approximately two-thirds had taken substantial steps to desegregate; of these, 85 percent experienced the most desegregation during the 1966-75 period. As seen in table 2.2, the desegregation activity was highly concentrated during 1968-71; 56 percent of all desegregated districts undertook their greatest desegregation during that 4-year period.

The role of the courts is seen to be relatively small until 1968. In only 20 out of 160 districts that experienced their greatest reduction of segregation before 1968 did the courts provide major desegregation pressure. Implicit in the data is the hesitancy of the courts to force major shifts in school segregation for 14 years after the

Table 2.2 Districts that desegregated, by source of intervention and by year of greatest desegregation.

Time period	Source of Intervention: Courts No.	Courts %	HEW No.	HEW %	State-local No.	State-local %	Total No.	Total %
1901-53	*	*	*	*	6	3	6	1
1954-65	12	6	18	12	52	21	82	13
1966-67	8	4	19	12	45	18	72	12
1968-69	53	26	42	28	34	13	129	21
1970-71	107	51	61	40	46	18	214	35
1972-73	12	6	5	3	38	15	55	9
1974-75	15	7	7	5	31	12	53	9
Total	207	100	152	100	252	100	611**	100
Percent	34%		25%		41%		100%	

* None in sample.

**Five cases are missing because of lack of data on time period.

1954 Brown decision. Court action on school desegregation was greatest during the years 1968-71; 77 percent of the court-pressured desegregation occurred during that period.

HEW pressure was greatest during the period 1966-71. Only 12 superintendents in school districts that undertook desegregation after 1971 perceived that HEW was the most important source of pressure. Locally-initiated desegregation actions were more uniformly distributed throughout the period, showing no sharp variation from year to year during the last decade.

After 1972, there was a sharp decline in the number of districts initiating desegregation. If anything, the courts and HEW have become relatively inactive as a major source of pressure to desegregate. Since 1972, the initiation of substantial steps to desegregate has been taking place at a slower rate than at anytime since 1964.

TYPE OF INTERVENTION, BY REGION

There is great variation in the pace of desegregation by region. Before 1965, most school districts in the Southeastern and West South Central States could be described as highly segregated, while a majority of districts in the Northeastern, North Central, and Western States were not highly segregated and did not have to undergo extensive desegregation.

Map 2.1 shows the delineation of the regions used in this analysis. The regions used roughly parallel census regions, except that the border region consists of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and West Virginia, which are taken from two census regions: South Atlantic and East South Central. The remaining States in these two regions are labelled "Southeast." The New England and Middle Atlantic census regions form the Northeast region; the East and West North Central regions are brought together for the "North Central" region; and the Mountain and Pacific States and Alaska form the "West" region. Hawaii, which did not have major desegregation during the decade, was excluded from the study.

As seen in table 2.3, more than half of the respondents in the Northeastern, North Central, and Western regions indicated that their districts had not taken substantial steps to desegregate. Only 16 out of 300 responding superintendents in the Southeast indicated that their districts had <u>not</u> taken substantial steps to desegregate.

The courts and HEW have been primarily active in intervention in the Southern States. Within the sample, 90 percent of the cases in which courts were perceived to be the most important source of pressure were located in the Southeast or West South Central regions. Ninety-five

Map 2.1 **REGIONAL AREAS INCLUDED IN COMMISSION'S NATIONAL SURVEY**

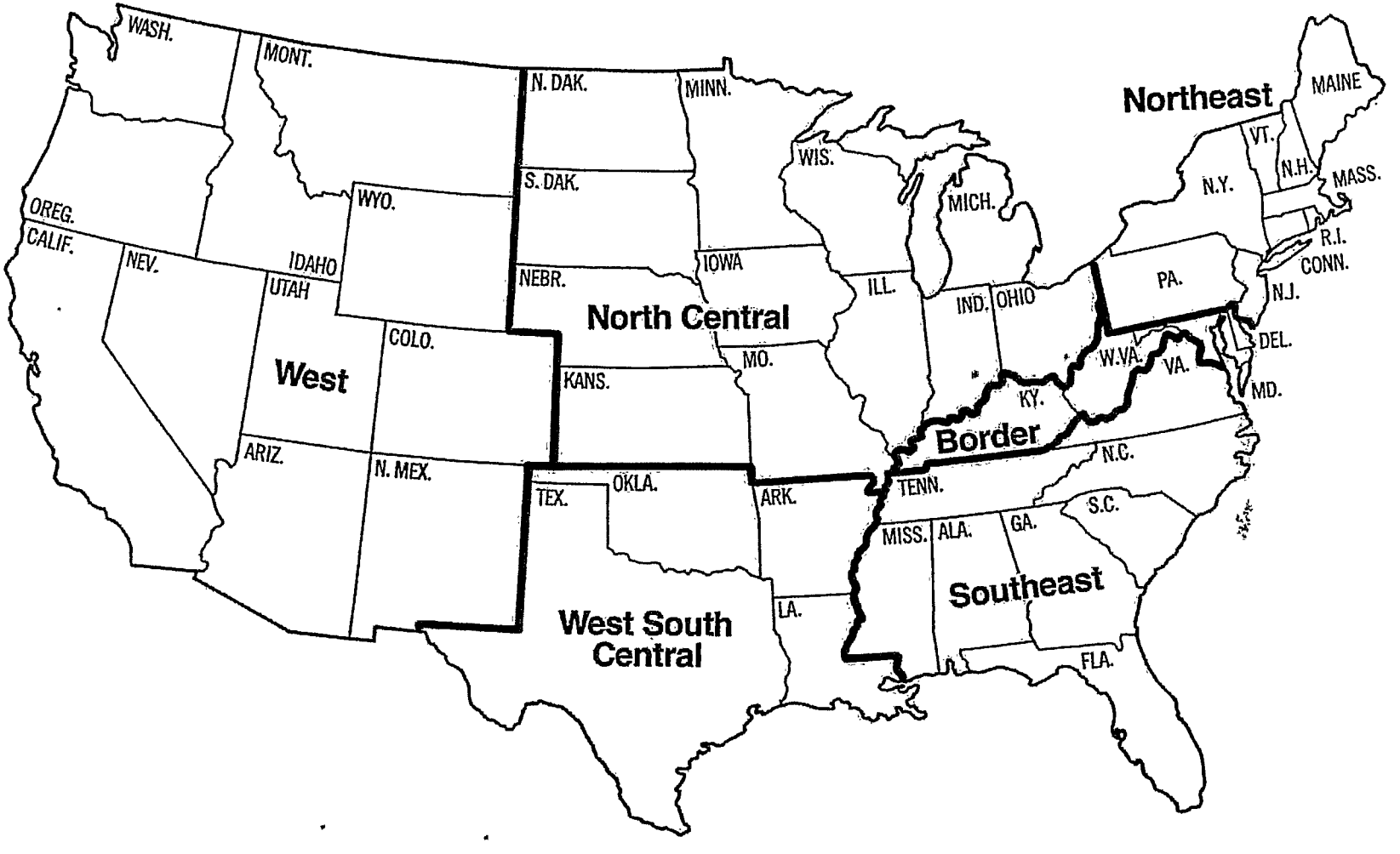

Table 2.3. Regional distribution of significant steps to desegregate school districts, by source of intervention, for districts desegregated 1966-75.

	Region of County																	
	Northeast		North Central		Border		Southeast		West S. Central		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Court-pressured	3	2	5	4	4	12	141	47	36	22	6	3	195	20
HEW-imposed	0	0	2	2	3	9	86	29	42	26	1	*	134	14
Locally-initiated	38	31	35	27	8	24	39	13	31	19	43	20	194	20
Subtotal	41		42		15		266		109		50		523	
Significant steps before 1966	9	7	13	10	14	41	18	6	28	17	11	5	93	10
No significant steps	74	60	75	57	5	15	16	5	27	16	152	72	349	36
Total	124	100	130	100	34	100	300	100	164	100	213	100	965	100
Percent	13%		13%		4%		31%		17%		22%		100%	

* Less than 0.5 percent

percent of those districts in which HEW was perceived as most important were in these regions also. Local initiatives were more evenly distributed throughout the regions. Of the districts that took substantial steps to desegregate during the last decade, 71 percent were located in the Southeast and West South Central regions.

While desegregation has been concentrated in the South, the data show desegregation activity taking place in other regions as well. Out of 526 school districts that desegregated during the last decade 148 were located outside of the South, and within 124 of these, the primary source of pressure to desegregate was considered to be local or State pressure. Within the sample, there are very few cases of perceived court or HEW pressure outside of the South. There is no support for the belief that the courts are now turning their attention to northern school districts in any concentrated way. As may be seen in table 2.4, there were only 25 districts desegregated between 1972 and 1975 in which the courts were considered the primary source of pressure to desegregate, and within these 25 districts, only 7 were outside of the Southern and Border States.

MEANS OF INTERVENTION, BY TYPE OF DISTRICT

The means of intervention is by no means randomly distributed in school districts. Very marked patterns of

Table 2.4. Distribution of school districts by region and by year of greatest desegregation, for districts desegregated under pressure from the courts.

	Region of County													
	Northeast		North Central		Border		Southeast		West S. Central		West		Total*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1954-65	1	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	4	2.8	4	10.0	1	14.3	13	6.3
1966-67	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	16.7	5	3.5	2	5.0	0	0.0	8	3.8
1968-69	1	25.0	2	33.3	0	0.0	38	26.4	12	30.0	0	0.0	53	25.8
1970-71	1	25.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	87	60.0	16	40.0	2	28.6	107	51.4
1972-73	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	6	4.1	4	10.0	1	14.3	12	5.8
1974-75	1	25.0	1	16.7	3	50.0	5	3.4	2	5.0	3	42.9	15	7.2
Total	4	1.9	6	2.9	6	2.9	145	69.7	40	19.2	7	3.4	208	100.0

* Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.

characteristics describe those districts in which courts were perceived as the most important pressure for desegregation. Similarly, those that desegregated under State or local pressure have a corresponding set of distinguishing characteristics. The demographic characteristics examined in this study were: geographic region, proportion black, size of district, size of community or city, and the index of segregation.

In the overall sample, more than two-thirds of the sampled school districts with enrollments more than 40 percent black were located in the Southeast, and 83 percent of them were in the Southeastern and West South Central regions. These districts were least likely to be desegregated by local initiative or HEW pressure and were most likely to be desegregated under pressure from the courts. As seen in table 2.5, more than half of the court interventions took place in districts with enrollments above 40 percent black, compared to 23 percent of the HEW-pressured districts and 11 percent of the locally-initiated plans. On the other hand, among 99 districts that desegregated after 1965 and that had enrollments of less than 10 percent black in 1968, 75 desegregated under local initiative and only 8 desegregated under court pressure. HEW was most likely to be reported as the major pressure

Table 2.5. Distribution of school districts, by source of intervention and proportion black enrollment, for districts desegregated 1966-75.

Proportion black 1968	Source of Intervention: Courts Pressed No.	%	HEW-Imposed No.	%	Locally-Initiated No.	%	Deseg. Pre-1966 No.	%	No Deseg. No.	%	No Response No.	%	Total No.	%
0-10%	8	4.6	16	11.8	75	40.8	54	64.3	240	80.8	116	41.0	509	44.0
10-20%	24	13.9	30	22.1	47	25.5	17	20.2	27	9.1	40	14.1	185	16.0
20-40%	52	30.1	58	42.6	42	22.8	9	10.7	15	5.1	72	25.4	248	21.4
40%+	89	51.4	32	23.5	20	10.9	4	4.8	15	5.1	55	19.4	215	18.6
Total	173	100	136	100	184	100	84	100	297	100	283	99.9	1,157*	100

* 135 districts missing from 1968 data base.

where the proportion of minority students was 20 to 40 percent, although within this group there were many districts that were under a court order and a moderate number that desegregated under local pressure.

The interventions differed considerably by the size and type of community desegregated. Most strikingly, the intervention of HEW was concentrated heavily outside of metropolitan areas. As is seen in table 2.6, 99 out of the 133 districts that desegregated under pressure from HEW were in small towns or rural areas. In only 8 out of 103 large desegregated cities over 50,000 was HEW described as the primary source of desegregation pressure. The focus of HEW was found particularly in the smaller districts in the South that had less than 40 percent minority students.

Local initiatives were most frequently cited as the major source of pressure in large cities and suburban areas when the proportion black was less than 20 percent. HEW was less important in such areas, at least as viewed by the school superintendents.

The size of the district measured in terms of student enrollment was not strongly associated with source of desegregation pressure. The type of community and proportion black were more significant factors.

Table 2.6. Number and distribution of school districts, by size of community and source of intervention for districts desegregated 1966-75.

Source of intervention	Size of Community: Metropolitan						Nonmetropolitan				All Districts	
	Over 50,000		Suburban		10,000-50,000* in SMSA		10,000-5000** not in SMSA		Rural***		Total	
Intervention	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Courts	45	43.7	9	16.4	21	32.8	34	31.2	85	45.0	194	37.3
HEW	8	7.8	9	16.4	17	26.6	35	32.1	64	33.9	133	25.6
Local	50	48.5	37	67.3	26	40.6	40	36.7	40	21.2	193	37.1
Total	103	100	55	100.1	64	100	109	100	189	100.1	520	100

* Those cities and towns located in a metropolitan area dominated by a central city with population less than 50,000.

** Those cities and towns outside of metropolitan areas.

*** Communities less than 10,000 outside of metropolitan areas.

To measure the extent to which desegregation was actually achieved within a school district, a previously developed index of segregation[2] was computed for 1968, 1970, and 1972. The data used to compute the index came from the Office for Civil Rights (HEW) surveys of 1968, 1970, and 1972. The index ranges from zero (no segregation) to 1.0 (complete segregation). It measures the extent to which minority pupils are evenly distributed among the schools in a district. For instance, if the proportion of minority pupils is the same in every school in the district, the index would be zero (no segregation). The more disparate the proportions of minority pupils are in the various schools, the higher the index will be; so that if some schools have 100 percent minority enrollment and all the others have no minority enrollment, the index would be 1.0. If the index of segregation is below 0.20, the level of segregation may be described as relatively low. If the index of segregation is greater than 0.50, the degree of segregation in the district is substantial.[3]

Although the index of segregation is calculated in the same manner as that used in previous studies, the average levels differ for three reasons. First, the sampling frame is different. Coleman's recent study (1975) of trends in segregation provided the regional levels of segregation for

the 8,000 districts covered by the OCR survey, whereas this study covers a sample of 1,292 districts selected from the 2,750 districts that had at least 1,500 students and at least a 5 percent minority enrollment.[4] Second, data for 1968 are not as complete as for 1972. For 10 percent of the districts in the 1972 sample, no data are available for 1968. The lack of data is primarily a consequence of changed boundaries or consolidation of school districts. Third, data presented in some tables are limited to those districts from which responses were obtained from the superintendents. No major differences in levels of segregation were found between responding and nonresponding districts.

In 1968, 38 percent of the sampled districts had an index of segregation of 0.5 or higher. Among the respondents surveyed, 87 percent of these districts were reported to have taken substantial steps to desegregate during the last 10 years. As seen in table 2.7, the emphasis of the courts was almost exclusively on this group of districts. Of districts desegregated under court pressure during the last 10 years, 87 percent had an index of segregation greater than 0.50 in 1968. Some of those that had a low level of segregation in 1968 had already

Table 2.7 Distribution of school districts, by level of segregation in 1968, and by source of intervention, for districts desegregated, 1966-75.

1968 Level of Segregation	Source of Intervention 1966-1975													
	Court		HEW		Local		Before 1966		No Steps		No Response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low RBW .00 to .20	11	6	19	14	95	52	60	72	227	76	118	42	530	46
Medium RBW .20 to .50	12	7	35	25	47	25	17	20	35	12	45	16	191	16
High RBW More than .50	150	87	82	61	42	23	7	8	35	12	120	42	436	38
All Districts	173	100	136	100	184	100	84	100	297	100	283	100	1,157*	100
Percent Across		15%		12%		16%		7%		26%		24%		100%

* 130 districts missing from 1968 data base.

desegregated during the 1966-68 period. However, as seen in table 2.2, most of the desegregation took place after 1968.

HEW efforts were similarly concentrated in districts that had high levels of segregation. Sixty-one percent of the districts that desegregated under pressure from HEW had high levels of segregation in 1968, and 25 percent had medium levels of segregation.

However, where local initiatives to desegregate were reported to provide the major source of pressure, initial levels of segregation were generally low or moderate. Within these districts, 52 percent had a low level of segregation in 1968 (index less than 0.2), and only 23 percent had an index of segregation greater than 0.50.

CONCLUSIONS

While it is often argued that desegregation under local impetus is preferable to Federal intervention from the courts or HEW, local efforts to desegregate the schools in the last 10 years were generally reported as most important only in districts that had low initial levels of segregation, low proportions of minority students, and were in cities or metropolitan areas. These may be the districts with the least resistance to desegregation.

Among the remaining districts, HEW pressure was primarily found in districts in smaller cities and rural

areas in the South that had high initial levels of segregation and moderate proportions of black students. Court orders were most often reported in districts with high levels of segregation in 1968 and were particularly concentrated in districts that had high proportions of black students. These are probably the districts having the greatest degree of resistance to desegregation. Immediate and effective desegregation in these districts could apparently be achieved only under court order.

Notes to Section II

1. Most of the court cases throughout the country were developed in the Federal district courts. Three Supreme Court decisions had a substantial impact upon district courts as well as local school officials. These were Green v. County Board of Education, 391 U.S. 430 (1968), Alexander v. Holmes County, 396 U.S. 19 (1969) (per curiam), and Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971). In the first two cases, the Court pointed out that "deliberate speed" and "freedom of choice" as means to desegregate were no longer constitutionally permissible, respectively. In the Swann case, the Supreme Court granted the district courts considerable leeway in devising remedies for de jure segregation. These decisions had impact on desegregation actions, even if the actions were perceived by superintendents as precipitated by HEW or local pressures.

2. James S. Coleman, Sara D. Kelly, and John A. Moore, Trends in School Segregation, 1968-73 (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1975). For details on technical definition, see appendix A. The index of segregation correlates +0.88 over 2,400 school districts with a more standard dissimilarity index of school segregation, as described in Barbara Zolotch, "An Investigation of Alternative Measures of School Desegregation," in Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Papers (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974).

3. Table A-6 in appendix A describes hypothetical racial distributions in three different school systems that correspond to an index of segregation of 0.50, 0.20, and 0.02.

4. See description of sampling design in appendix A.

III. MEANS OF DESEGREGATION

Desegregation requires the reassignment of some children to new schools. Many school systems responded to the necessity of desegregation by reorganizing the entire school system. For example, junior high schools became elementary schools; obsolete school buildings were phased out; new schools were constructed. In some smaller districts, a districtwide high school was built, replacing several smaller and antiquated schools. In some districts the reorganization resulted in the reassignment of 100 percent of the students. In other districts, less than 10 percent of the students were reassigned as a means of making minor adjustments of the racial distribution within the school system.

Superintendents reported on the questionnaire the percentage of students reassigned in the year of maximum desegregation. The questionnaire did not provide an opportunity for more detailed explanation of the reasons behind the reassignment or the particular problems and solutions that evolved in developing the desegregation plan.

The reassignment of students was associated with changes in the extent of busing. In a number of districts busing actually decreased following the year of greatest desegregation, and integration made it possible for some

students to attend schools closer to home. Reassignment of students to achieve desegregation more typically brought increases in the percentage of students bused. The data show that the increases in busing among white students were generally small, and minority children typically bore a disproportionate share of the increased busing.

REASSIGNMENT

The reassignment of students provides one measure of the extent of administrative action required to desegregate a school district. The greater the percentage of students reassigned, the greater the change in previous attendance patterns. In fact, one study defines school desegregation as "the reassignment of black or white students by a local governmental body or court for the purposes of school integration."[1] A measure of reassignment proved to be highly related to type of action to desegregate.

Superintendents were asked to report the percentage of students reassigned in the year of maximum desegregation. In some school districts, the superintendents had not calculated or did not know the number of students reassigned, so that in these school districts, the figures are estimates rather than calculations from school records. However, the number and percentage of students reassigned has so often been a point of contention in desegregation

plans that most school systems had determined that statistic, and most superintendents did reply to the question. Among those districts in which superintendents reported a primary source of pressure to desegregate, and indicated that desegregation took place during the last 10 years, 99 percent also reported the percentage of students reassigned.

Table 3.1 shows the reported percentage of students reassigned by type of intervention and by region. Overall, in 518 districts desegregated during the decade, an average of 31 percent of the students were reassigned in the year of greatest reduction in segregation.

The percentage reassigned was very much related to the form of intervention. For locally-initiated plans, approximately 20 percent of the students were reassigned. For HEW plans, 34 percent were reassigned; and court intervention was followed by 40 percent reassignment. These differences among the sources of intervention obtained in most regions.

Reassignment was greatest in Southern school districts. In the Southeast, an average of 40 percent of the students was reassigned at the time of desegregation; 29 percent in the West South Central region. Within other regions of the

Table 3.1. Average unweighted percent reassignment of students at time of desegregation, by region and by source of intervention, for districts desegregated 1966-75.

Region	Source of Intervention: Courts Average %	Courts Sample Size	HEW Average %	HEW Sample Size	Local Average %	Local Sample Size	Total Average %	Total Sample Size
Northeast	25.7	3	*	*	19	38	19.5	41
North Central	32.0	5	23.5	2	13.4	35	16.1	42
Border	12.7	4	33.3	3	16.9	8	19.1	15
Southeast	45.7	140	35.2	85	28.0	39	39.7	264
West South Central	29.3	36	32.5	40	23.7	31	28.9	107
West	24.8	6	20.0	1	16.1	42	17.3	49
All districts	40.7	194	34.1	131	19.9	193	31.2	518

*None in sample

country, about 16 to 20 percent of the students were reassigned.

As seen in table 3.2, there was a strong relationship between the percentage of students reassigned and the proportion black enrollment. The greater the percentage of black students in a school system, the more students were reassigned to achieve desegregation. Within the 201 sampled desegregated districts with less than 20 percent black enrollment, an average of 16.5 percent of the students was reassigned in the year of maximum desegregation. But in 140 districts that had at least 40 percent black students, an average of 49 percent of the students was reassigned in the year of maximum desegregation. When nearly half of a district's students are reassigned to desegregate a school system, a change of major proportions is indicated, affecting large numbers of families with school-age children.

Reassignment of students was also greater where courts were the primary intervention than where other interventions were primary. This appears to be primarily a consequence of the greater likelihood of court intervention in districts with high proportions of minority students (and greater initial segregation; see table 4.2). Among districts with 20 to 40 percent black students, 31 percent of the students

Table 3.2. Average unweighted percent reassignment of students at time of desegregation by percent black and by source of intervention for districts desegregated 1966-75.

Percent black enrollment, 1968	Source of Intervention: Courts Average % reasigned	Courts Sample Size	HEW Average % reasigned	HEW Sample Size	Local Average % reasigned	Local Sample Size	All districts Average % reasigned	All districts Sample Size
0-20% black	23.3	32	16.6	46	14.7	123	16.5	201
20-40% black	30.7	52	37.4	57	24.8	42	31.6	151
40-100% black	49.6	89	53.5	31	38.3	20	48.9	140
All districts	39.1	173	34.0	134	19.5	185	30.3	492*

*Sample size is smaller because of missing data in OCR data for 1968.

were reassigned under court pressure, whereas 37 percent were reassigned where HEW was considered to be the most important source of pressure. Among districts with enrollments more than 40 percent black, the degree of reassignment of students was slightly less for court intervention than for HEW intervention (but more than for local intervention). These data show that court orders do not appear to have required more reassignment than desegregation plans approved by HEW when black enrollment is greater than 20 percent.

Desegregation plans that developed under local pressures resulted in somewhat less reassignment than those developed under pressure from the courts or HEW. However, there was substantial reassignment of students in these districts also. Approximately 20 percent of the students were reassigned in order to desegregate these districts. Two-thirds of the districts that desegregated under local initiatives had enrollments less than 20 percent black and used less reassignment to desegregate than did the courts or HEW in districts with less than 20 percent black enrollment. The proportion of black students was more strongly related to the number of students reassigned than was the form of intervention. But the relationship between proportion black and number reassigned is mediated by a third variable,

initial level of segregation. If segregation was greater in districts with higher black enrollments, more reassignment would be needed to achieve a given level of desegregation. This is in fact the case, since districts with high levels of black enrollment were more segregated than districts with low levels of black enrollment, and court "pressured" districts had the highest initial levels of segregation (see table 4.6).

BUSING TO DESEGREGATE

Court-ordered busing to desegregate the schools has been a favorite target for those opposed to the use of Federal pressure to achieve desegregation, and previous surveys show that even people who accept the necessity of desegregation sometimes oppose the use of busing.[2] This study represents a first national attempt to gather detailed data on the numbers of white and minority children bused before and after desegregation in order to determine how much increase in busing has occurred.

Data on busing are difficult to obtain and present problems for analysis. Many school districts do not keep data on the numbers of students bused at public expense or do not have the data in such a form that they can readily supply the numbers of minority and nonminority children bused. Superintendents in the sampled districts were asked

to report the number of minority and nonminority students bused in the year immediately before desegregation and in the year of desegregation. Nearly one-third of the superintendents reported the percentage of students bused rather than the number. The merging of the data for those who responded in percentages with those who responded with number of students proved difficult.[3] Usable responses were obtained from about half of the desegregated districts.

There were problems in the analysis of the data, particularly in those school districts that have experienced rapid demographic changes. In school districts that lost substantial proportions of white students, there might be decreases in the number of white students bused, but increases in the proportion of white students bused. Because of the difficulty of analyzing such data, the tables present data for only those districts with a measure of demographic stability; those with no greater than 12 percent reduction in the proportion of white students during the 4 years 1968-72.

The totals in tables 3.3-3.5 cover only those districts which maintained demographic stability and for which complete data are available on: Percentages of minority and white students bused both before and after desegregation, means of intervention, and demographic data for both 1968

Table 3.3. Average unweighted percent of minority and white students bused, in the year before desegregation, and in year of desegregation, for districts desegregated 1966-75, by region.*

	Minority Proportion bused		White Proportion bused	
Region	Before	After	Before	After
Northeast	17.4	34.6	35.4	38.4
North Central	25.5	38.5	32.5	33.7
Border	60.7	64.5	73.4	73.8
Southeast	53.7	62.1	55.6	59.0
West South Central	46.5	54.8	47.7	51.0
West	26.8	33.2	26.2	30.6
All districts	47.1	55.9	50.0	53.2
(sample size)	(229)	(229)	(229)	(229)

*For those districts which have demographic stability, i.e. less than 12 percent loss of proportion of white students, 1968-72.

Table 3.4. Average unweighted percent of minority and white students bused by source of intervention for districts desegregated 1966-76.

	Minority Proportion bused		White Proportion bused	
Intervention	Before	After	Before	After
Court	56.3	64.5	56.4	59.4
HEW	50.0	58.1	53.3	57.2
Local	33.9	44.1	39.6	42.2
All districts	47.1	55.9	50.0	53.2
(sample size)	(229)	(229)	(229)	(229)

Table 3.5. Average unweighted percent of minority and white students bused, in year before and following desegregregation, by degree of black enrollment, for districts desegregated 1966-75.

	Minority Proportion bused		White Proportion bused	
Proportion black, 1968	Before	After	Before	After
0-20%	36.0	47.9	40.6	44.3
20-40%	45.4	54.9	49.2	53.7
40-100%	64.6	68.1	64.1	64.6
All districts	47.1	55.9	50.0	53.2
(sample size)	(229)	(229)	(229)	(229)

and 1972. The data on students bused are based on superintendents' reports and may in some districts be estimates rather than actual figures derived from records. For a large national survey, the superintendents are probably the best source of such data. Usable responses that met all criteria were received from superintendents in only 43 percent of the districts described as having desegregated during the decade. Nonresponse was often a consequence of the fact that superintendents had not kept readily accessible records on numbers of students bused by race. HEW reporting forms had asked for numbers of students bused but not broken out by race. The degree of nonresponse raises the question of the degree to which the data may be biased. It may be noted that there is considerable similarity in the changes in proportion bused in the year of greatest desegregation for different regions, different means of intervention, and different proportions of black student enrollment, providing greater confidence in the ability to generalize from the sample. The figures in the tables are unweighted averages of the percentage of students bused in school districts.

As seen in table 3.3, within 229 districts desegregated during the last decade, the increase in the average percentage of white students bused during the year of

greatest desegregation was about 3 percentage points. About 50 percent were bused during the year before desegregation, and 53 percent were bused during the year after desegregation. At the same time, the percentage of minority students bused increased from about 47 percent to 56 percent, an increase of 9 percentage points. Although minority and white students were both somewhat more likely to be bused as a consequence of desegregation action, the burden of the increase fell disproportionately upon minority children.

The increases in minority students bused were greatest in the Northeast and North Central regions. In the Northeast region the percentage of minority students bused increased from 17 to more than 34 percent. The increase in percentage of whites bused was no more than 4 percentage points in any region, and there was little variation in the change from one region to another.

It is interesting to note that before desegregation a larger percentage of white students was bused than minority students in all regions of the country except the West. However, after desegregation the percentage of minority students who were bused was generally greater.

In the year of maximum desegregation, an average of 30 percent of the students were reassigned, but the average

increase in busing was only 5 percentage points. The data suggest that many of the students reassigned were already being bused, and the increase in busing was very small in contrast to the percentage reassigned. It would appear that sensitivity to the busing issue has successfully minimized the increase in busing as a means of school desegregation.[4]

Table 3.4 shows the proportion of students bused by source of desegregation intervention. In general, more students were already being bused before desegregation took place in districts where there was court intervention, and there was less busing before desegregation in districts where there were local desegregation initiatives. The increases in busing at the time of desegregation did not vary by source of intervention. No matter whether the impetus for desegregation came from the courts, HEW, or local groups, there was an 8 to 10 percentage point increase in proportion of minority students bused and about a 3 percentage point increase in proportion of white students bused.

Table 3.5 shows the variation in percentage of students bused by proportion of black student enrollment. The increase was greatest for minority students in those districts that had a smaller proportion of black enrollment. This is surprising since these are the districts with the

lowest initial levels of segregation. The increase in busing is least for white students in districts that had a high proportion of black enrollment. This finding is also surprising--that there was no significant increase in proportion of whites bused in those districts that had high proportions of blacks. These districts also showed the least increase in proportion blacks bused. Since these are also the most segregated districts initially, these findings suggest that a great deal of prior busing was used to maintain segregation.

Data on student reassignments and busing were collected in reference to the year of greatest desegregation in each district. Some districts phased their desegregation plans over several years; hence the data do not take account of the cumulative magnitude of reassignments and busing for the purposes of desegregation. The cumulative magnitudes are probably marginally greater, but the data do not support any estimates apart from the year of maximum desegregation.

CONCLUSIONS

Desegregation of schools marked by racial and ethnic isolation of students requires the reassignment of many students to different schools. Among those districts that desegregated during the last 10 years, an average of 30 percent of the students were reassigned in the year of

maximum desegregation. Some of the students were reassigned to schools that were farther from their homes and, hence, school authorities in many districts had to provide additional school buses for transportation.

The busing of children to schools more distant from their homes has become one of the major issues of school desegregation. Data developed from this study indicate that the increase in busing is less than popularly presumed, and the overwhelming burden of the busing increase is borne by minority children, not by white children. Whereas 30 percent of students were reassigned, approximately 5 percent of the students in the desegregating districts were bused to desegregate, in addition to those already bused.

Several major conclusions are derived with regard to the reassignment of students at the time of desegregation:

- There was a strong relationship between the proportion black in a school district and the proportion of students reassigned to desegregate: the higher the proportion black, the higher the proportion reassigned.
- While the reassignment of students was greatest in those districts where the courts intervened, this appears to be primarily a consequence of the greater proportions of black students and higher initial levels of segregation in court-pressured districts. The court orders do not appear to have required more reassignment than desegregation plans approved by HEW when the percentage black is greater than 20 percent.
- Desegregation plans that developed under local pressure resulted in less reassignment, and (as seen in section V) resulted in less desegregation.

- The increases in proportion bused were relatively independent of the source of pressure to desegregate or the proportion black in a school district. In general there was an increase of about 9 percentage points in the percentage of minority children bused, and 3 percentage points in the percentage of white children bused in the year of maximum desegregation.

- There is no evidence to suggest that court intervention resulted in any greater increase in proportion of students bused than desegregation that resulted from HEW or local pressure.

Notes to Section III

1. Christine H. Rossell, "School Desegregation and White Flight," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 90, no. 4 (Winter 1975-76), pp. 675-95.

2. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Public Knowledge and Busing Opposition: An Interpretation of a New National Survey (1973); also, Your Child and Busing (1972).

3. See appendix A.

4. Two mutually offsetting considerations affect these data. See discussion on busing in appendix A.

IV. EXTENT OF DESEGREGATION

This section describes how much desegregation was achieved in school districts that took substantial steps to desegregate during the 1966-75 decade. The data show the regional variation in desegregation activity; the differential in desegregation resulting from interventions by the courts, HEW, or local bodies; and the variation by proportion of black enrollment and by size of city.

The measure used to examine the effectiveness of desegregation is the index of black-white segregation within each school district calculated from Office for Civil Rights (OCR) data for 1968 and 1972.[1] Most of the tables in this section are derived from the sample of 874 districts for which complete responses are available from the superintendents' questionnaires about the year of desegregation and major source of pressure to desegregate, and complete OCR data are available for both 1968 and 1972. Of the 1,292 districts in the overall sample, OCR data are available for both years for only 1,157 districts. Of these, no usable questionnaires were received from the superintendents in 283 districts. Of the remaining 874 districts, 493 desegregated during the period, 84

desegregated before 1966, and 297 districts had not taken substantial steps to desegregate.

The index of segregation used throughout this section is independent of the proportion of black students and is calculated within each school district. The index does not measure segregation between districts. If a center-city school district has 90 percent of its enrollment black and its suburbs are 90 percent white, each school district may have a low index of segregation as determined by the racial distribution within each district, even though the inter-district segregation is considerable. If the two districts had merged into one district (the metropolitan solution), the data would be lost, for there would be no measure for the new district over two periods in time. Thus, boundary changes in school districts make analysis of time trends more difficult.

The number of districts with high levels of segregation diminished greatly between 1968 and 1972. As seen in table 4.1, 37.7 percent of the sampled districts had an index of segregation greater than 0.50 in 1968, indicating a substantial level of segregation. By 1972, only 6.8 percent of the districts had levels of segregation greater than 0.50. The change was greatest in the Southeast: Out of 360 districts, 74 percent had a high level of segregation in

TABLE 4.1 Percent distribution of 1,157 sampled school districts, by level of segregation 1968-72, and by region

Degree of Segregation	NORTHEAST		NORTH CENTRAL		BORDER		SOUTHEAST		WEST SOUTH CENTRAL		WEST		U.S.	
	1968 %	1972 %	1968 %	1972 %	1968 %	1972 %	1968 %	1972 %	1968 %	1972 %	1968 %	1972 %	1968 %	1972 %
High Segregation R > 0.50	5.1	5.8	17.7	16.0	9.8	4.9	73.9	2.5	50.0	8.9	12.7	6.0	37.7	6.8
Medium Segregation 0.50> R >0.20	18.1	12.3	27.4	22.9	22.0	9.8	11.4	12.2	15.1	12.0	15.6	13.5	16.5	14.0
Low Segregation R <0.20	76.8	81.9	54.8	61.1	68.2	85.3	14.7	85.3	34.9	79.1	71.7	80.5	45.8	79.2
Total All Districts	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Sample Size)	(138)		(175)		(41)		(360)		(192)		(251)		(1,157)	

NOTE: R = Index of Segregation (see Appendix A for definition).

1968, while only 2.5 percent were highly segregated in 1972. In 1972 the Southeast had a smaller proportion of highly segregated districts than any other part of the country. Most desegregation was occurring in the South, but some districts in other regions also desegregated.

Within 493 districts that took steps to desegregate during the decade, segregation was reduced to very low levels. As seen in table 4.2, 55.5 percent of these districts had high levels in 1968; only 5.3 percent were still highly segregated in 1972. The change was greatest in the districts whose superintendents reported that the court was the primary source of pressure to desegregate. Eighty-seven percent of the court-pressured districts had high levels of segregation in 1968. In only 8.7 percent of these districts, was court intervention not followed by a reduction in the index of segregation to a level below 0.50. By 1972 most (73 percent) of the court-pressured districts had achieved low levels of segregation.

Table 4.3 shows the estimate projected from the sample of how many students were affected by the desegregation that occurred between 1968 and 1972 within the 2,750 districts that enrolled 5 percent minority and at least 1,500 students. Such districts account for 60 percent of the

Table 4.2. Percent distribution of 493 sampled desegregated school districts, by level of segregation and by source of intervention, 1968-1975.

Degree of Segregation	Source of Intervention: Court 1968	Court 1972	HEW 1968	HEW 1972	Local 1968	Local 1972	Total 1968	Total 1972
High Segregation	86.7%	8.7%	60.3%	2.2%	22.8%	4.4%	55.5%	5.3%
Medium Segregation	6.9	17.9	25.7	10.3	25.5	16.8	19.1	15.4
Low Segregation	6.4	73.4	14.0	87.5	51.7	78.8	25.4	79.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(sample size)	(173)		(136)		(184)		(493)	

Table 4.3 Projected number of students (in thousands) by level of segregation 1968 and 1972, and by region, for 2,750 districts with at least 5 percent minority students and more than 1,500 enrollment.

Region	Level of Segregation: High Segregation 1968	High Segregation 1972	Medium Segregation 1968	Medium Segregation 1972	Low Segregation 1968	Low Segregation 1972	Total enrollment all districts 1968	Total enrollment all districts 1972
Northeast	463	467	511	346	1609	1803	2583	2616
North Central	1375	1077	1139	896	1083	1472	3598	3445
Border	482	429	201	111	443	577	1126	1117
Southeast	7570	681	701	1810	540	6211	8811	8702
West South Central	3521	1788	393	670	832	2248	4746	4706
West	621	166	1573	1263	3094	3852	5288	5281
Total	14032	4609	4518	5096	7601	16163	26152	25867

Projections based on sample of 874 districts

Nation's 42.8 million public school students and 94 percent of the minority students.

The desegregation activity that took place in these 2,750 districts that had at least 5 percent minority students is not the only desegregation that took place in the Nation. There are about 19,000 school districts altogether in the country, but the districts not considered in this study enroll altogether less than 10 percent of the Nation's minority students. The overwhelming majority of all minority students who experienced desegregation actions were enrolled in these 2,750 districts.

The number of students attending schools in highly segregated school districts fell from about 14 million to about 4.6 million, a decrease of 9.4 million. Reductions were found in every region except the Northeast. About 18 million students attended schools in districts that have taken substantial steps to desegregate during the years 1968-75. Those districts desegregated under court order had enrollments of approximately 7.5 million students in 1972. (See table 4.4.) They enrolled half of the students in the 2,750 districts that had a high level of segregation in 1968. HEW pressure led to the desegregation of districts that enrolled 3.2 million students, and local initiatives

Table 4.4. Projection of number of students (in thousands) by level of segregation 1968 and 1972, and by source of intervention 1966-75, in 2,750 school districts with at least 5 percent minority students and more than 1,500 enrollment.

Source of Intervention	Level of Segregation: High Segregation 1968	High Segregation 1972	Medium Segregation 1968	Medium Segregation 1972	Low Segregation 1968	Low Segregation 1972	Total 1968	Total 1972
Court	7,073	1,970	573	1,697	192	3,832	7,838	7,499
HEW	2,251	472	751	656	209	2,100	3,218	3,227
Local	3,341	1,374	1,919	1,600	1,853	4,041	7,111	7,015
Deseg pre 66	193	9	384	375	1,235	1,399	1,812	1,783
No Des. Steps.	1,164	783	892	769	4,102	4,780	6,168	6,332
Total	14,018	4,607	4,520	5,096	7,592	16,225	26,131	25,858

Total projections based on sample of 874 districts

were primary in desegregated districts enrolling 7.1 million students.

Among the 874 districts for which there was OCR data for two points in time and usable responses from the school superintendents, the average level of segregation fell from 0.37 in 1968 to 0.12 in 1972. (See table 4.5.) For districts that desegregated under court pressure, the average fell from 0.74 to 0.15 during the 4-year period. Not only did the courts intervene in districts that had unusually high levels of segregation initially, but they intervened with great effect, particularly in the southern regions. But substantial reductions also took place where courts intervened in other regions: from 0.61 to 0.35 over 4 years in the North Central region, and from 0.39 to 0.24 in the West.

The districts in which HEW was the primary source of intervention had an average index of segregation of 0.56 in 1968 and 0.09 in 1972. Districts that desegregated under HEW pressure showed substantial reductions in the North Central and Border States as well as in the South. Districts desegregated under local initiatives showed smaller but still substantial reductions. Even districts described by the superintendents as not having taken steps to desegregate showed modest reductions in the index in the

Table 4.5. Average Index of Segregation, 1968 and 1972, by region and by source of intervention, for school districts desegregated, 1966-75*

	Source of Intervention									
	Court Pressure		HEW Imposed		Locally Initiated		Other** District		Total	
Region	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972
Northeast	.18	.07	*	*	.13	.09	.08	.07	.10	.08
North Central	.61	.35	.46	.23	.22	.17	.20	.21	.23	.20
Border	.27	.24	.46	.23	.07	.04	.12	.07	.17	.11
Southeast	.80	.12	.59	.07	.58	.10	.33	.06	.65	.09
W. Southcentral	.76	.22	.52	.10	.39	.16	.20	.06	.45	.13
West	.39	.24	.58	.46	.21	.13	.15	.11	.17	.12
All Regions	.74	.15	.56	.09	.30	.12	.17	.11	.37	.12
Sample Size	173 Cases		136 Cases		184 Cases		381 Cases		874 Cases	

* Major source of intervention, as reported by school superintendents

** Districts that did not take "substantial steps" to desegregate during decade, or desegregated primarily before 1966

South; much of this desegregation was apparently unplanned. However, few of these districts had levels of segregation greater than 0.50 in 1968.

The index of segregation was reduced in all types of districts. As seen in table 4.6, the greatest reductions occurred in districts with the most black students. The index fell from 0.78 to 0.17 for those districts that had more than 40 percent black enrollment in 1968. Districts that had less than 20 percent black enrollment in 1968 had a lower initial level of segregation, but even so their index was almost halved in 4 years.

School districts located outside of metropolitan areas and those in smaller cities or suburban areas within metropolitan areas desegregated more than districts in larger cities. For these large districts with more than 50,000 population, the index of segregation fell from 0.46 to 0.25 during the 4 years 1968-72. Even so, these larger cities still contain the most segregated districts in the Nation. As seen in table 4.7, the average index of segregation outside of the larger cities is quite small, less than 0.09 in nonmetropolitan areas. Desegregation actions in smaller towns and municipalities were implemented more effectively. Large cities with large concentrations of

Table 4.6. Average index of segregation, 1968 and 1972, by proportion black and by source of intervention, for school districts desegregated, 1966-75.*

Proportion black	Source of Intervention: Court Pressure		HEW Imposed		Locally Initiated		Other** District		Total	
	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972
0-20%	.54	.17	.35	.11	.19	.11	.14	.10	.19	.10
20-40%	.72	.16	.59	.06	.37	.13	.31	.14	.54	.12
40-100%	.83	.14	.81	.12	.75	.18	.53	.36	.78	.17
All dists.	.74	.15	.56	.08	.30	.12	.17	.11	.37	.12
Sample Size	173 Cases		136 Cases		184 Cases		381 Cases		874 Cases	

* Major source of intervention, as reported by school superintendents

** Districts that did not take "substantial steps" to desegregate during decade, or desegregated primarily before 1966

Table 4.7. Average index of segregation, 1968 and 1972, by size of city, and by source of intervention, for school districts desegregated 1966-1975.

	Source of Intervention									
	Court Pressured		HEW Imposed		Locally Initiated		Other District		All Districts	
	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972
Metropolitan										
50,000+	.70	.28	.63	.37	.40	.25	.23	.20	.46	.25
10-50,000 SMSA	.68	.20	.54	.09	.19	.12	.15	.13	.28	.13
Suburban	.76	.06	.58	.02	.19	.06	.09	.07	.18	.06
Nonmetropolitan*										
10-50,000	.80	.09	.51	.09	.19	.07	.16	.08	.36	.09
Rural	.77	.09	.58	.05	.44	.08	.21	.12	.46	.09
All districts	.75	.15	.56	.08	.30	.12	.16	.11	.37	.12
(Sample Size)	(172)		(135)		(183)		(377)		(867)	

* Outside of a standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

minority children and ensuing logistical problems proved more resistant to complete desegregation.

CONCLUSIONS

The extent of segregation within districts diminished sharply during the period 1968-72. Among larger districts with at least 5 percent minority students, 37.7 percent had an index of segregation greater than 0.50 in 1968, compared to only 6.8 percent in 1972. The changes were greatest in the Southeast, which in 1972 had a smaller proportion of highly segregated districts than any region in the country.

Of the districts that took substantial steps to desegregate during the decade, only 5 percent remained highly segregated in 1972. The number of students in school districts marked by a high degree of segregation as measured by the index of segregation fell from about 14 million in 1968 to less than 5 million in 1972.

Those districts desegregated under primary impetus from the courts had enrollments of approximately 7.5 million students in 1972. HEW pressure was reported as the primary source of pressure for the desegregation of districts enrolling 3.2 million students. Local pressures were cited for the desegregation of districts enrolling 7.0 million students, but over half of these students were in districts with fairly low levels of segregation in 1968.

The districts where the courts intervened had an average index of segregation of 0.74 in 1968, and 0.15 in 1972. Not only did the courts intervene in districts that had unusually high levels of segregation initially, but they intervened with great effect, particularly in the South.

Desegregation was most complete outside of metropolitan areas and in smaller cities or in suburban areas within metropolitan areas. The remaining within-district segregation of students is found almost exclusively in large city school districts.

Note to Section IV

1. For a technical definition of the index of segregation, see appendix A.

V. WITHDRAWAL OF WHITE STUDENTS

BACKGROUND

Several studies have recently been published on the question: Does desegregation of schools lead to withdrawal of white schoolchildren? James Coleman and his colleagues have argued that desegregation in the 20 largest central-city school districts (and to a lesser extent in the next 46 largest) has accelerated the withdrawal of whites.[1] A reanalysis of Coleman's data suggested that the loss of whites associated with desegregation in the largest 20 cities was primarily a consequence of the withdrawal of white students in two Southern cities: Atlanta and Memphis.[2] Further analysis by Gregg Jackson of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suggested that several other factors, in association with proportion black enrollment, predicted the decline in white enrollment more effectively than did the reduction of school segregation.[3] Reynolds Farley, in an independent analysis of the Office for Civil Rights survey data, found no significant changes in student enrollment associated with school desegregation.[4] Studies in Florida and California found no increased withdrawal of white students following desegregation.[5]

Coleman has further suggested that massive desegregation ordered by the courts is not appropriate governmental action and that such actions themselves will increase the number of whites leaving the cities. Christine Rossell[6] pointed out that there was no court-ordered desegregation in the 1968-70 period in any of the 20 cities that form the basis of Coleman's policy conclusions.

Coleman, in responding to his critics, points out that they confound the differences between metropolitan-wide or county-wide desegregation and central-city desegregation. The controversy has raged over exactly what was happening in the 20 largest central-city school districts and how changes in enrollments were related to desegregation policies and actions.

This survey provides no new data to add to the discussion of what has transpired in the 20 largest central-city school districts. Other studies of those districts have collected data in greater detail than did this survey. However, these data provide some insight into the nationwide desegregation actions that have occurred in the last 10 years in the 2,750 school districts that have substantial numbers and proportions of minority students. The major analytic variable is the source of pressure to desegregate as reported by the school superintendents, and how these

pressures were related to changes in enrollment of white students. The data do not lend themselves to an examination of the central city versus the metropolitan-wide or county-wide desegregation plans.[7]

Surveys of people who have recently changed residence indicate that most moves in a metropolitan area are either job-related or are made to upgrade housing services[8] and that moves made primarily to enroll children in different schools are rare. A study of people who moved at the time of school desegregation in the Norfolk area failed to show school desegregation as a factor related to moving.[9]

During the 4-year period for which data are available, most of the school districts in the sample showed a reduction in proportion white, regardless of desegregation status. For the 874 districts with data from responding superintendents and OCR for both 1968 and 1972, the average reduction in proportion white was 5.7 percentage points. This reduction may be a consequence of several factors such as:

- A higher birth rate among minorities.
- A movement of minorities into districts previously almost all white.
- A greater increase in minority enrollment than of white enrollment in central-city

school districts.

- The historic pattern preceding desegregation of the movement of white families from central cities to suburbs.
- Withdrawal of white children to private schools or more exclusive suburban areas to avoid desegregation.

It is often only the last factor to which reductions in proportion white enrollment are attributed. It is not possible with the Commission's data set to separate out the different factors. The analysis in this section focuses on simply the reduction in proportion white over time in relationship to the different intervention strategies. The Commission prefers the use of the change in proportion white over the "percentage loss of whites" for two reasons. First, the proportion of minority students has proved to be a significant variable for most of the analysis undertaken here, and changes in that proportion would appear to be significant. Secondly, the use of a percentage loss of white students results in an increasing statistic, even if there is a constant outflow from the system annually, because the base from which the percentage is calculated declines.

There are, however, disadvantages to using the change in proportion of whites. For example, the actual number of white students may have increased, while the proportion white may have decreased. Similarly, some districts that lost both black and white children could have an increase in proportion white while having a decrease in number of white children. However, the proportion white is itself a variable of interest, and changes in the proportion white are salient to the satisfaction with schools as seen by parents, both black and white.

WITHDRAWAL OF WHITES BY TYPE OF INTERVENTION

Referring to table 5.1, within the 874 districts that make up the sample for which data are available, the average reduction in proportion white over 4 years was six percentage points. The loss from the districts desegregated under pressure from the courts was nine percentage points, which is greater than the loss in other districts, but the differential disappears if there is a control for the proportion black. The reduction in proportion white was least in those districts desegregated under pressure from HEW, even less than in districts desegregated before 1966 or not desegregated at all. The reduction within districts desegregated under local pressures (eight points) was almost as high as in those desegregated under court pressure.

Table 5.1 Number of districts and their average reduction in proportion white, 1968-72, by form of desegregation 1966-75, and by proportion black in 1968. Average reduction is shown in percentage points.

Proportion black (1968)		Source of Intervention: Court-pressured	HEW-pressured	Locally-initiated	Desegregated pre-1966	No deseg.	Total districts
0-20% black	Average reduction	.03	.04	.06	.03	.04	.04
	Number of districts	32	46	122	71	267	538
20-40% black	Average reduction	.03	.01	.07	+.05	.05	.03
	Number of districts	52	58	42	9	15	176
40-100% black	Average reduction	.14	.04	.25	.21	.28	.15
	Number of districts	89	32	20	4	15	160
All districts	Average reduction	.09	.02	.08	.03	.05	.06
	Number of districts	173	136	184	84	297	874

These data also show that there was a relative loss of white enrollment in districts desegregated, but no more so than for those districts that took no steps to desegregate.

As shown in section II, the court-pressured districts were more likely to have a high proportion of black enrollment than districts desegregated through other means. The relative loss of white students was greatest in those districts that had a higher proportion of black enrollment. Among the districts that had at least a 40 percent black enrollment, the average reduction in proportion white was 15 points in 4 years, representing a substantial relative loss of whites. Court-desegregated districts within this group showed no greater relative loss of white students than districts desegregated primarily by local initiative or districts that reported no substantial efforts to desegregate.

The data suggest that when the black enrollment of a school district exceeds 40 percent, there is, indeed, a larger relative loss of white students, but this has taken place regardless of desegregation interventions or court pressures. While individual families may withdraw their children from schools after a court order, that loss is not sufficient to create measurable trends that would distinquish districts desegregated under court pressure from

other districts. This finding is consistent with those of most researchers in the area.[10, 11]

Table 5.2 shows the reductions in proportion white by community size and type. Overall, the relative loss of white students is greatest in those cities with populations greater than 50,000. Over the 4-year period 1968-72, these cities had a reduction of 0.10 in the proportion of white students. However, the large cities that desegregated had very nearly the same reduction as those that did not; the differences are very small. The reductions in proportion white in smaller communities were somewhat less.

CONCLUSIONS

Very little variation is evident in the average reduction in proportion of white students between the districts that have desegregated and those that have not; or between those that have desegregated under court pressure, by HEW pressure, or by local initiative. These data, therefore, do not support the inference that there is a general relationship between desegregation actions and withdrawal of white students.

The proportion of black students does appear to be related to the reduction in the percentage of white students. In the 4 years 1968-72, districts that had more than 40 percent black enrollment in 1968 experienced a

Table 5.2 Number of districts and their average reduction in proportion white, 1968-72, by form of desegregation, 1966-75, and by community size and type. Average reduction is shown in percentage points.

Community Size		Source of Intervention: Court	HEW	Local	Deseg. pre-66	No deseg.	Total
Metropolitan							
50,000+	Average Reduction	.11	.12	.08	.07	.09	.10
	Number of Districts	45	8	50	9	34	146
10,000-50,000 in SMSA	Average Reduction	.08	.02	.09	.12	.05	.06
	Number of Districts	19	17	26	11	63	136
Suburban	Average Reduction	+.09	+.04	.07	.00	.04	.03
	Number of Districts	6	9	33	17	62	127
Nonmetropolitan							
10,000-50,000 Non-SMSA	Average Reduction	.11	.03	.07	.02	.03	.05
	Number of Districts	31	38	39	18	49	175
Rural	Average Reduction	.08	.01	.10	.01	.04	.05
	Number of Districts	71	63	35	26	88	283
All Districts	Average Reduction	.09	.02	.08	.03	.05	.06
	Number of Districts	172	135	183	81	296	867

reduction of 15 percentage points in the proportion of white students, a significantly greater loss than experienced by districts with lower proportions of black enrollment.

These data do not exclude the possibility or even likelihood that some individual white families do withdraw their children from public schools when desegregation occurs or is expected to occur. But these individual decisions are not of sufficient magnitude to create a discernible pattern of association between desegregation and loss of white students. The relative loss of whites has been greatest in the larger central cities, an historical trend that antedates the desegregation of schools.

Notes to Section V

1. James S. Coleman, Sara D. Kelley, and John A. Moore, Trends in School Desegregation, 1968-73 (Washington, D. C.: Urban Institute, 1975).

2. Thomas F. Pettigrew and Robert L. Green, "School Desegregation in Large Cities: A Critique of the Coleman 'White Flight' Thesis," Harvard Educational Review, vol. 46, no. 1 (1976), pp. 1-53.

3. Gregg Jackson, "Reanalysis of Coleman's 'Recent Trends in School Integration'," Educational Researcher, November 1975, pp. 21-25.

4. Reynolds Farley, "School Integration and White Flight" (paper presented at the Symposium on School Desegregation and White Flight, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., August 1975).

5. Jane R. Mercer and Terrence M. Scout, "The Relationship between School Desegregation and Changes in the Racial Composition of California School Districts, 1963-1973" (unpublished paper, Sociology Department, University of California, Riverside, 1974); Everett F. Cataldo and others, "Desegregation and White Flight," Integrated Education, vol. 13 (1975), pp. 3-5.

6. Christine Rossell, "School Desegregation and White Flight," Political Science Quarterly, 90, Winter 1975-76, 675-695.

7. Such districts are rarely found outside of Florida.

8. Martin Meyerson, Barbara Terrett, and William L. C. Wheaton, Housing, People, and Cities (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).

9. Real Estate Research Corp., "Survey of Recent Movers," in Special Studies, vol. III of Regional Housing Study (prepared for Southeastern Virginia Planning Districts Commission, 1974).

10. James S. Coleman similarly concluded that "any effects of desegregation on white loss in suburbs, rural districts and independent towns over the country as a whole were sufficiently small that we will not detect it." James S.

Coleman, "Presentation on School Desegregation and White Flight" (paper read at the American Sociologist Association, Sept. 1, 1976.)

11. The data in table 5.1 are for school districts that desegregated during 1966-75, while the student enrollment data were for 1968 and 1972. A reanalysis of the data was made (1) for districts desegregated 1968-72, and (2) for districts desegregated 1968-70. The reduction in proportion of white students is not essentially altered by changing the sample to control for year of desegregation. In fact, neither the year of desegregation nor the implementation of desegregation actions appears to have a major impact on relative loss of white students. See additional discussion of this in appendix A.

VI. DESEGREGATION, DISRUPTIONS, AND ACCEPTANCE

This section presents the superintendents' reports on some of the outcomes in the community following desegregation of the schools. Earlier sections of this report analyzed the demographic characteristics of districts where the courts or HEW intervened; how desegregation was achieved; how effective the interventions were in reducing segregation; and how desegregation was related to changes in the proportion of nonminority children. This section explores some of the more qualitative outcomes: Disruptions of the educational process and changes in the support of community leaders and parents for desegregation.

DISRUPTIONS

Disruption of the educational process that has sometimes accompanied the implementation of desegregation plans has received much publicity. Ideally, desegregation should not occasion disruption of education or violence and should not polarize the community. The degree to which there are no serious disruptions provides one measure of successful outcomes. To gather data on this dimension school superintendents were asked: "Did the initiation of desegregation in this district result in serious disruptions

to the educational process for more than a total of two weeks?" They responded by checking "yes" or "no."

This item provides a subjective measure of disruptions as perceived by the superintendent. It is noteworthy that 82 percent of the superintendents of desegregated school systems say that their district did not experience serious disruptions. It must also be remembered that in some school districts that did experience disruptions, the disruptions were confined to a very few schools and did not necessarily affect a majority of the students. The measure is imprecise, but it provides a rough measure for comparing outcomes from different modes of intervention in different kinds of districts. Data are not available on how severe the disruptions were or how long they endured beyond the initial 2-week period.

Within 518 districts that desegregated during the last 10 years, 18 percent of the districts were described by the superintendents as experiencing such serious disruptions to the educational process. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show what kinds of districts were more likely to experience disruptions. Districts that had large proportions of black enrollment (and which were generally more segregated) had to undergo greater change in the process of desegregation, and such districts were more likely to experience disruption. As

seen in table 6.1, about one-third of the districts with enrollments more than 40 percent black reported serious disruptions, as compared to only 6 percent of the districts that had less than 20 percent black enrollment. If black students comprised less than one-fifth of the student body, serious disruptions were rare. Large cities and rural areas, as seen in table 6.2, were more likely to experience disruptions than smaller cities and towns.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 also show that school districts that reported desegregation by court intervention were far more likely to experience disruptions than those that desegregated under HEW or local pressures. Almost one-third of the districts where courts intervened experienced disruptions, as compared to one-sixth of the HEW-pressured districts. Disruptions were rare in districts desegregated with local initiatives. As seen in sections II & IV, courts intervened in districts where desegregation was most difficult to achieve. Desegregation of those districts appears to have entailed greater disruption of the educational process.

Disruption was also reported more frequently where desegregation brought about the greatest changes. The greater the reduction in the index of segregation, the more likely the school system was to experience disruptions of

Table 6.1. Proportion of desegregated school districts seriously disrupted, by source of intervention, 1966-75 and by proportion black, 1968.*

	Source of Intervention			
Proportion black, 1968	Courts	HEW	Local	Total
0-20%	.12	.11	.02	.06
(sample size)	(32)	(46)	(122)	(200)
20-40%	.25	.17	.12	.18
(sample size)	(52)	(58)	(42)	(152)
40-100%	.41	.22	.15	.33
(sample size)	(88)	(32)	(20)	(140)
All Districts	.31	.16	.06	.18
(sample size)	(172)	(136)	(184)	(492)

*Sample size is reduced because of missing data for 1968 on proportion black, as collected by OCR.

Table 6.2 Proportion of desegregated school districts seriously disrupted, by source of intervention and size of community.

Size of Community	Source of Intervention			
	Courts	HEW	Local	Total
Metropolitan				
50,000+	.38	.00	.10	.21
(sample size)	(45)	(8)	(50)	(103)
10,000-50,000	.24	.18	.08	.16
(sample size)	(21)	(17)	(26)	(64)
Suburban	.33	.33	.08	.16
(sample size)	(9)	(9)	(37)	(55)
Nonmetropolitan				
10,000-50,000	.26	.09	.00	.11
(sample size)	(34)	(35)	(40)	(109)
Rural	.32	.19	.08	.22
(sample size)	(84)	(64)	(39)	(187)
All districts	.32	.16	.07	.18
(sample size)	(193)	(133)	(192)	(518)

the educational process. Table 6.3 shows the proportion of districts that experienced disruptions of the educational process, by degree of desegregation. Districts that had a reduction of at least 0.50 in the index underwent a change from a highly segregated school district to a moderately or less segregated system. Of these districts, 27 percent had serious disruptions, whereas only 4 percent of the 181 districts with a small change in segregation experienced disruption. Again, the court-ordered districts were more likely to be disrupted than other districts.

ACCEPTANCE OF DESEGREGATION BY PARENTS AND LEADERS

There has been much discussion about a loss of support for desegregation among national political leaders, as well as among some researchers who have recently taken public positions against court-ordered desegregation or busing to desegregate. Journalistic accounts of school desegregation and busing have frequently portrayed growing resistance to attempts to achieve desegregation. Very few systematic studies have been made of the level of support for or opposition to desegregation on the part of members of the community.

Although the survey did not ascertain these attitudes directly, school superintendents were asked to rate the degree of support for or opposition to desegregation within

Table 6.3 Proportion of desegregated school districts seriously disrupted, by source of intervention and by change in level of segregation.

Change in level of segregation*	Source of Intervention			
	Courts	HEW	Local	Total
Small change	.14	0	.03	.04
(sample size)	(22)	(28)	(131)	(181)
Medium change	.27	.22	.09	.21
(sample size)	(33)	(41)	(22)	(96)
Great change	.35	.19	.16	.27
(sample size)	(117)	(67)	(31)	(215)
All districts	.31	.16	.06	.17
(sample size)	(172)	(136)	(184)	(492)

*A small change in the index of segregation is a change from 1968 to 1972 of less than 0.2. A great change is a change greater than 0.5.

selected community groups. A direct measure of the attitudes of these groups, taken before and after desegregation would, of course, have been preferable. It was not, however, feasible within the scope of this study. The data, therefore, suffer from three major shortcomings: (1) The superintendents themselves may have a biased view of the community's acceptance of desegregation; (2) they may report to this Commission a more positive or more negative view of desegregation than they perceive; and (3) the data for the period before desegregation are retrospective and may thus be inaccurate. However, there is some basis for confidence in the general validity of the superintendents' reports in the following: (1) The opinions expressed by the superintendents were consistent with and supported by preliminary tabulations of the limited responses received from other respondents: NAACP chapter presidents, heads of chambers of commerce, and mayors; (2) the superintendents--being in the middle of the conflict between those wanting and not wanting to desegregate--are probably in the best position to know how different groups in the community feel; and (3) their reports tend to be consistent with some of the major studies of racial attitude change.[1]

A massive review of the research which assesses changes in racial attitudes resulting from interpersonal contact is

provided by Thomas F. Pettigrew.[2] It is of interest to note that significant attitudinal change is reported in these data, even though the optimal conditions for achieving attitudinal change, as discussed by Gordon Allport,[3] do not obtain in many desegregated districts. It is also not clear what the relationship might be between attitudes toward school desegregation and racial attitudes. Other studies have provided equivocal findings on the contact hypothesis.[4]

Another line of research in the social sciences argues that under certain conditions an individual engaging in behavior that conflicts with his or her attitudes will change those attitudes in a direction more consistent with his or her behavior. Thus, someone who is sending children to a desegregated school and who professes opposition to desegregation is likely to shift his or her attitude toward desegregation in a direction more consistent with his or her behavior; that is, toward greater support.[5] The conditions considered necessary to produce this kind of attitudinal change probably do not exist in most school districts. Yet, the superintendents' reports of significant positive changes in attitudes toward school desegregation on the part of parents, children, and others in the community cannot be dismissed even if there may be some upward bias owing to the reasons stated before.

As shown in figures 6.1 and 6.2, general opposition to desegregation by business leaders and nonminority parents prior to implementation was found more frequently than support. In 42 percent of the districts, the general response of business leaders to desegregation just before the major plan was implemented was reported to be opposition, as compared to only 13 percent in 1976. The proportion of communities where business leaders are seen generally to support desegregation has increased from 18 to 48 percent in the sampled desegregated districts. The changes reported among white parents are even greater than among business leaders. Whereas superintendents described general opposition among white parents in 59 percent of the districts before desegregation, such opposition is now seen in only 18 percent of the districts.

The increased acceptance reported for white parents was greater than expected. Whereas resistance to change was great at the outset, these data indicate that in district after district general opposition to desegregation has now been replaced by acceptance. The school districts that are still characterized as having general opposition represent a small proportion of the desegregated districts.

Tables 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 describe the changes in attitudes, as seen by the superintendents, for the different

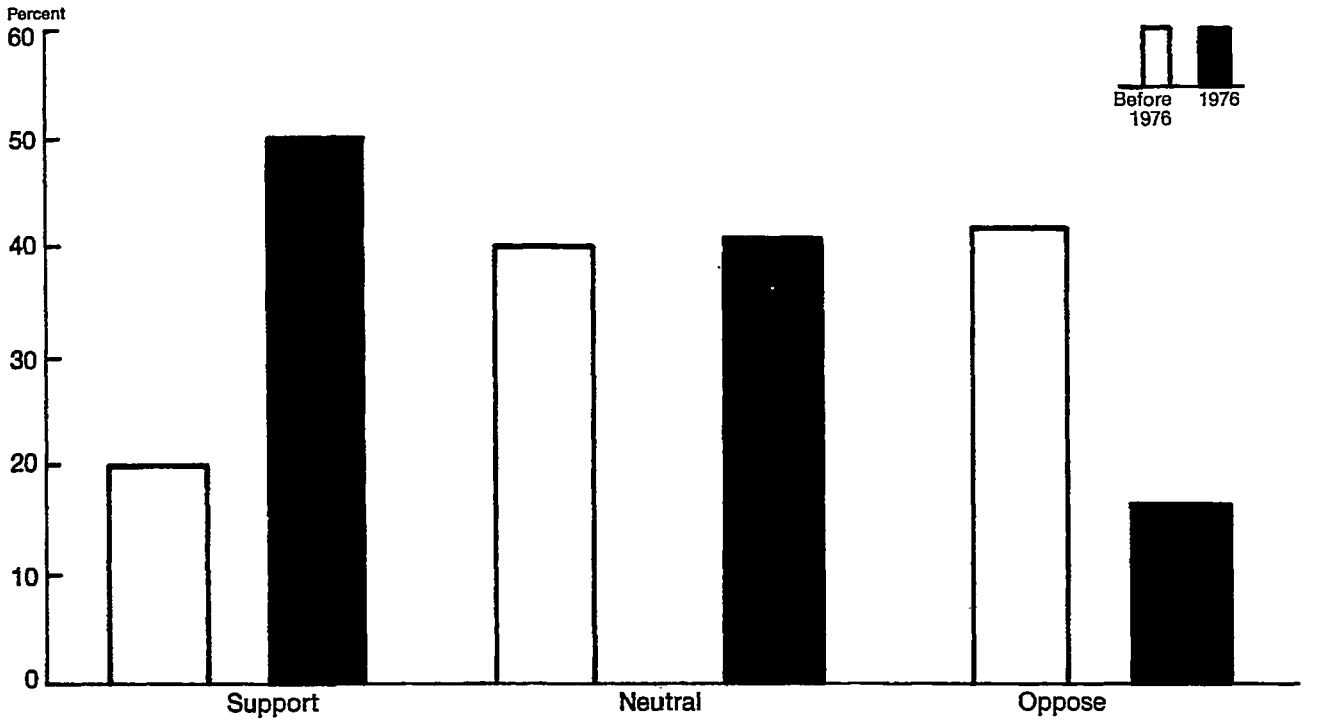

Figure 6.1—BUSINESS LEADERS: general response to school desegregation, just before desegregation and in 1976, in districts that desegregated 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

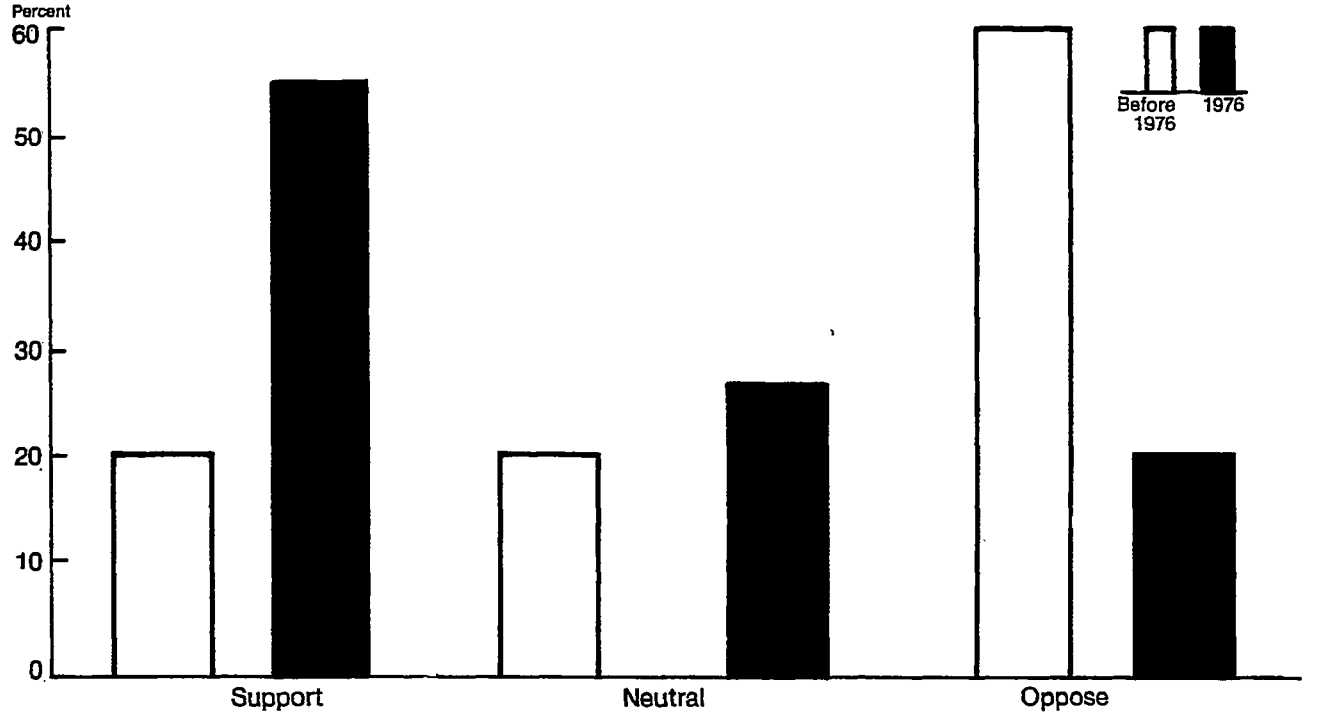

Figure 6.2—NONMINORITY PARENTS: general response to school desegregation, just before desegregation and in 1976, in districts that desegregated 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

Table 6.4 Percent distribution of local business leaders' support for desegregation immediately before desegregation and now, by source of intervention, 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

Business Leaders' Attitudes Toward Desegregation	Source of Intervention							
	Courts		HEW		Local		Total	
	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now
Support	9	40	16	52	30	56	18	49
Neutral	30	39	40	34	51	41	40	38
Oppose	61	22	45	14	20	3	42	13
Percent Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	185		131		179		495	

Table 6.5 Percent distribution of nonminority parents' support for desegregation immediately before desegregation and now, by source of intervention, 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

Non-minority Parents' Attitudes Toward Desegregation	Source of Intervention							
	Courts		HEW		Local		Total	
	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now
Support	6	46	17	56	37	63	20	55
Neutral	16	28	21	26	26	26	21	27
Oppose	78	26	63	18	36	11	59	19
Percent Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	186		132		182		500	

Table 6.6 Percent distribution of minority parents' support for desegregation, immediately before desegregation and now, by source of intervention, 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

Minority Parents' Attitudes Toward Desegregation	Source of Intervention							
	Courts		HEW		Local		Total	
	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now
Support	59	81	55	74	74	81	63	79
Neutral	28	13	27	20	18	16	24	16
Oppose	13	6	18	6	8	3	13	5
Percent Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	187		133		186		506	

sources of intervention. The greatest reduction of opposition is found in districts where the courts intervened. The proportion of court-desegregated districts in which business leaders were generally opposed to desegregation has fallen from 61 to 22 percent; for white parents, the proportion fell from 78 to 26 percent. These data suggest a strong, positive change in community-wide acceptance of desegregation in districts that had desegregated. General opposition is still found in 20 to 25 percent of the court-ordered districts, but the opposition reported by the superintendents has dropped sharply.

Among minority parents, the reported change has also been positive but not nearly as great, partly because they started out with more positive attitudes. Sixty-three percent of the districts reported general support by minority parents before desegregation, as compared to 79 percent now. It has been hypothesized that support for desegregation would not increase among minority parents and students because minority students bear the brunt of the busing, or because they usually become a minority in all schools. Such a hypothesis is not supported by these data.

ACCEPTANCE OF DESEGREGATION BY SCHOOL OFFICIALS AND STAFF

The superintendents were asked to report the general support for or opposition to desegregation perceived within the school board and the school staff. The school board itself has a key leadership role in the desegregation process. This Commission's in-depth study of 34 school districts concluded that the actions and attitudes of community leaders, particularly the school board, on school desegregation were highly significant elements of the desegregation process.[6] Where the school board played a positive role in developing the desegregation plan and supporting it before the community, the implementation of desegregation was more successful. Where the school board opposed the desegregation and attempted to block it, desegregation was implemented with greater difficulty.

The increased support by school boards over the last few years is shown in table 6.8. In 56 percent of the court-desegregated districts the school board was seen by the superintendents as opposed to desegregation immediately before desegregation. Today, only 12 percent of these districts are seen to have school boards opposed to desegregation.

The support of the teachers and counselors for desegregation is also a key indicator of successful

outcomes. The teachers have to live in the resulting classrooms. Where opposition persists among teachers and counselors, surely desegregation cannot proceed successfully.

According to the superintendents, in most districts the teachers and counselors in the desegregated schools generally support desegregation. (See table 6.7.) In only 5 percent of the school districts were teachers seen to be generally opposed to desegregation at the present time. The positive changes reported among teachers speak well for the desegregation achievements of the last 10 years.

Table 6.9 shows the relationship between support of the school board for desegregation and disruption of the educational system upon implementation of a desegregation plan. As described by the superintendents, only 6 percent of the school districts where the school board supported desegregation experienced disruption of the educational process lasting more than 2 weeks. However, 38 percent of the districts where desegregation was opposed by the school board experienced such disruptions. In the superintendents' reports, disruptions were strongly associated with opposition by the school board thus supporting the hypothesis that positive leadership by the school board led to more successful outcomes.

Table 6.7 Percent distribution of support for desegregation by teachers and counselors, immediately before desegregation and now, by source of intervention, 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

Teachers' and Counselors' Attitudes Toward Desegregation	Source of Intervention							
	Courts		HEW		Local		Total	
	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now
Support	20	68	38	79	67	85	42	77
Neutral	40	22	43	18	29	13	37	18
Oppose	40	10	19	4	4	2	21	5
Percent Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	183		131		181		495	

Table 6.8 Percent distribution of school board support for desegregation, immediately before desegregation and now, by source of intervention, 1966-75, as reported by school superintendents.

School Boards' Attitudes Toward Desegregation	Source of Intervention							
	Courts		HEW		Local		Total	
	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now	Before	Now
Support	18	64	44	77	78	85	47	75
Neutral	25	25	21	15	15	13	20	18
Oppose	56	12	35	8	7	2	33	7
Percent Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	187		132		181		500	

Table 6.9 Proportion of desegregated school districts seriously disrupted, by source of intervention, 1966-75 and by support of school board for desegregation immediately before implementation, as reported by school superintendents.

School Board's Attitude Toward desegregation	Source of Intervention			
	Court	HEW	Local	Total
Support (sample size)	.11 (36)	.07 (58)	.04 (141)	.06 (235)
Neutral (sample size)	.23 (48)	.10 (29)	.13 (30)	.17 (107)
Oppose (sample size)	.42 (106)	.32 (46)	.23 (13)	.28 (165)
Total (sample size)	.32 (190)	.16 (133)	.07 (184)	.19 (507)

CONCLUSIONS

The data from this survey lead to three major conclusions for those school systems that took substantial steps to desegregate over the last 10 years.

- Serious disruptions in the educational process took place in less than one-fifth of the school districts that desegregated.
- The desegregation was followed by substantial positive changes in community-wide attitudes toward school desegregation in a majority of school districts.
- Teachers and counselors in the school systems strongly support desegregation. In only 5 percent of the desegregated districts do school superintendents see teachers as generally opposed to desegregation.

The data from the survey suggest that the imposition of interacial contact within the educational system through the force of law or other pressure has been followed by an improvement in at least one major area of race attitudes: support for school desegregation. Community opposition to desegregation that is aimed at school authorities has diminished sharply. The desegregated schools have become institutionalized and accepted in most communities.

Teachers within the school system support the desegregation, and this acceptance of desegregation is also seen among most students and parents. The data support the notion that the behavioral changes that result from desegregation are becoming accepted and provide some hope that these behavioral changes will further improve racial attitudes.

Notes to Section VI

1. See Morton Deutsch and M. E. Collins, Interracial Housing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951). Also D. M. Wilner, R. P. Walkley, and S. W. Cook, Human Relations in Interracial Housing: A Study of the Contact Hypothesis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

2. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Racially Separate or Together (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971). Pettigrew concludes from a summary of data that positive attitudinal changes may ensue from racial contact.

3. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954).

4. See E. Q. Campbell, "Some Social Psychological Correlates of Direction in Attitude Change," Social Forces, vol. 36 (1958), pp. 335-40; and S. W. Webster, "The Influence of Interracial Contact on Social Acceptance in a Newly Integrated School," Journal of Educational Psychology, vol. 52 (1961), pp. 292-96.

5. Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Ill.: Harper and Row, 1957).

6. U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law (1976), p. 92.

Appendix A

Research Methodology

SAMPLE DESIGN

The sample for this survey was a stratified random multistage sample of the 19,000 school districts in the United States, excluding Hawaii and the District of Columbia. The eligible universe for the sample consisted of approximately 2,750 districts that had at least 1,500 students and 5 percent or more minority pupil enrollment. Minority pupils were defined as: blacks, Spanish surnamed Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. The final sample included 91 of the largest 100 school districts in the United States, plus half of those districts with student enrollment between 3,000 and 35,799 in 1972 and at least 5 percent minority enrollment, plus 37.5 percent of the 240 districts with enrollment of 1,500 to 3,000 and at least 5 percent minority enrollment. The sample as drawn therefore consisted of 1,292 districts, or 47 percent of the 2,750 eligible districts.

Method of Selecting Districts from those Eligible

The sample was drawn from a 1972 listing of school districts prepared by HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR). This listing was stratified by size. It included all eligible districts with at least 3,000 enrollment, plus 75

percent of all districts with enrollments between 1,500 and 3,000 in 1972. It also included samples of smaller-sized districts, which we did not use. From this listing every second eligible district was systematically selected, giving each such district a probability of one in two of inclusion. Those districts among the 100 largest which had not been selected were added to the sample. Table A-1 shows the sampling rates for the OCR sample of districts and for the sample in this study, by size of enrollment.

The 1972 OCR survey was preceded by similar surveys in 1968 and 1970. A subsequent survey in 1974 is not yet available for analysis, and it appears that the survey may not be repeated in 1976. Special sample surveys of a subset of the districts were made in 1971 and 1973. The data in this study were limited to data collected in 1968, 1970, and 1972.

The sampling plan included all of the 50 States except Hawaii, which was not required to participate in the OCR survey under the regulations of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Ninety-five school districts were excluded from the 1968 survey following termination of Federal funds owing to noncompliance.

Table A-2 provides a summary of the number of school districts and number of students, by minority status, in the

Table A-1 Sampling rates for Office for Civil Rights Survey of School Districts, and for U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Survey of School District Superintendents

District enrollment	OCR sampling rate	USCCR* sampling rate
35,700 and larger	100%	100%
3,000-35,699	100	50
1,500-2,999	75	37.50
1,200-1,499	75	0
600-1,199	50	0
300-599	20	0
less than 300	0	0
Total districts		
19,000	8,491	1,292

* Universe for USCCR survey excluded all districts that had less than 5 percent minority enrollment.

Table A-2. Number of districts and number of students, by minority status, in nation, in sampling universe, in sample drawn, and in responding districts, 1972.

	Nation	Universe for Sample *	Sample as drawn	Districts with usable response from questionnaires	Respondents as percent of sample
School districts	19,000	2,750	1,292	996	77%
Total students	42,800,000	25,900,000	17,400,000	10,900,000	63%
Nonminority students	33,200,000	16,700,000	10,600,000	6,900,000	65%
Minority students	9,600,000	9,100,000	6,600,000	3,800,000	58%

*Universe for sample is defined as those districts in the United States, excluding Hawaii and the District of Columbia, with at least 1,500 student enrollment and more than 5 percent minority enrollment.

nation, in the universe from which the sample was drawn, in the sample as drawn, and in the districts from which usable responses were obtained from the superintendents. The OCR survey covered about 44 percent of all school districts and about 91 percent of all public school children. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights sample of districts as drawn covered about 8 percent of all school districts, approximately 41 percent of all public school students in the country, but 69 percent of all minority students in the country (who tend to be concentrated in larger school districts). Districts from which usable responses were obtained from the school superintendents enrolled 10,900,000 students, approximately 25 percent of all students in the country, but 40 percent of all minority students in the country. The last column in table A-2 gives the usable responses as a percentage of the sample drawn.

The nonresponding districts differed from the responding districts in two major respects: They were larger and they had greater proportions of black students. The average size of the nonresponding districts was 20,700, as compared to 13,500 for the entire sample. The proportion black was 43 percent among the nonresponding ones, as compared to 38 percent among the responding districts. There was no major difference in the index of segregation in

1968 or in 1972 between responding and nonresponding districts.

Subsets of the Data

The data collection forms used by the OCR differed somewhat from year to year. No questions on busing were asked in 1968 or 1970, but were asked in 1972. However, the 1972 busing data were not broken down by race. Also, two types of forms were used: Form OS/CR-101 for data on the entire school district, and form OS/CR-102 for reporting individual school data. For all districts in the sample, data were available for 1972 on minority and nonminority student enrollments by school. Such data for 1968 were not available for 10 percent of the districts; hence, changes in the index of segregation over time were available for only 1,157 of the 1,292 districts. Therefore, some analyses have a sample size of 1,292, others 1,157, and others vary depending on missing data.

Most of the analyses in the report are based upon the usable responses of superintendents from the 996 districts. For a subsample of 874 districts, data are available from the OCR data for both 1968 and 1972, as well as complete responses to several questions on steps taken to desegregate, their timing, and form. Inferences are made

from this subset of 874 districts to the universe from which the sample was drawn of 2,750 districts.

Method Used for Calculating Projections from the Sample

Weights were calculated for each district based upon the sampling proportions, size of district, and percentage black enrollment in order to estimate the total number of students affected by different sources of intervention within the 2,750 districts that provided the universe for the sample. The weights applied to make projections for the 2,750 districts from the 874 districts are shown in table A-3. These weights were applied in section IV to estimate the number of students affected by desegregation.

Weights were calculated in the following fashion: The student enrollments of the 874 districts from which relatively complete data were obtained and the 1,292 districts in the sample as drawn were allocated to the nine cells shown in table A-3. The ratio of the enrollments from subsets of the 1,292 districts to the 874 districts was calculated for each cell. These in turn were multiplied by the inverse of the sampling proportion. For districts with less than 3,000 students, the sampling proportion was 0.375; for districts with 3,000 to 35,799 students, the sampling proportion was 0.5; and for the largest districts, the sampling proportion was 1.0 as shown in table A-1.

Table A-3. Weights used in Section IV to project from sample of 874 districts to 2,750 districts, based upon sampling proportion, size of district, and proportion black enrollment.

	Size of District		
	1500-2999	3000-35,700	35,800 & over
0-20% black	4.53	2.70	1.35
20-40% black	3.89	2.94	2.55
40-100% black	4.90	2.82	1.82

Attempts to Survey Other Classes of Respondents

An attempt was also made to survey the mayors, the executive directors of the chambers of commerce, the presidents of the local NAACP chapters, and the presidents of district-wide school parent advisory councils for the areas covered by school district boundaries. A number of difficulties were encountered:

- Municipal or county boundaries frequently do not coincide with school district lines, making it difficult to identify a mayor, chamber of commerce, or NAACP chapter that serves a school district.
- Some of those sampled served two or more school districts and received only one questionnaire.
- Some districts apparently were not served by an NAACP chapter or by a chamber of commerce.
- Full lists of parent advisory councils were obtained from only 32 States.
- The questionnaires to these groups were not adequately pretested, which resulted in a high rate of nonresponse. For these groups, the usable response rate varied from about 20 percent from mayors to about 35 percent from NAACP chapter presidents.

For all these reasons, the samples of these respondents were considered insufficient to make valid inferences to the national total of 2,750 eligible school districts, and no attempt was made to analyze the responses, except to compare them briefly with responses from the superintendents.

MAILINGS AND FOLLOWUPS

The questionnaires were mailed to the superintendents in mid-January, and those who had not responded by the end of January were sent a second copy of the questionnaire with a cover letter urging their cooperation. By late February, those who had not responded to the mailing or had responded with incomplete data were called by telephone. More than 50 percent of the respondents completed the questionnaires without being called by telephone. Approximately 600 superintendents were reached by telephone. A number of the final questionnaires were completed by telephone interview, but most of those who were called filled out the questionnaires and mailed them to the Commission.

The 296 nonresponding districts included four different groups. A significant number of these districts were no longer identifiable districts, as their geographical boundaries had changed through consolidation with other school districts. Because some of these were never reached, exactly how many were in this category is unknown. Some of

the district superintendents returned questionnaires that were not included because of the many questions that were incomplete. A clear refusal to participate in the survey was obtained from about 5 percent of the districts sampled.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

The questionnaires to the superintendents were designed to elicit two types of information:

(1) Factual information

Substantial steps taken to desegregate

Year of maximum desegregation

Primary source of pressure to desegregate

Proportion of students reassigned to desegregate

Numbers of students bused before and after desegregation

Serious disruptions of the educational process

Changes in quality of schools

(2) Attitudinal information

Support of parents for desegregation

Support of community leaders for desegregation

Support of school board and staff for desegregation

The questionnaires were pretested during December 1975. The questionnaires were kept as short as possible so as to maximize the response rate.

VALIDITY CHECKS

At different stages of the research, attempts were made to validate the responses. During the telephone followup, superintendents who had left portions of the questionnaire unanswered were contacted by telephone. Some probing was made of the reasons for the hesitancy to respond. Based upon the responses of superintendents, a number of questions were dropped from the analysis plan because the interpretation of the responses was ambiguous.

Responses were also obtained for the attitudinal questions from NAACP leaders, political leaders, business leaders, and heads of parent advisory councils. These responses, too incomplete in themselves for extensive inferences, were compared with the responses of the school superintendents and provided increased confidence in the superintendents' reports of the increased support of the community for desegregation.

Survey data were merged with those from the Office for Civil Rights. The 1972 OCR survey collected data on total number of students bused, which were compared with the data collected from this survey and provided validation for the busing data. However, the OCR data were collected from the same source. The OCR data also gave an independent measure of changes in level of segregation from 1968-72. The

reductions in level of segregation for districts reported to have taken substantial steps to desegregate provided increased confidence in those responses.

Finally, there was a limited degree of duplication of content within the questionnaire that provided a reliability check. Questions 5, 21, and 22 provided busing data. Questions 10 and 13 provided descriptions of interventions to desegregate. Questions 10 and 11 gave dates for deseqregation. The general comments at the conclusion of the questionnaire also provided an explanation of apparent inconsistencies that were found.

By and large, the questions referred to above formed the central questions for most of the analysis in this report. Some of these consistency checks are described below.

SOURCE OF PRESSURE TO DESEGREGATE

Two measures were designed to examine the source of pressure to desegregate. Superintendents were first asked if indeed their district had taken substantial steps to desegregate. If it had, they were then asked to indicate the year of any court-ordered plan(s), HEW-approved plan(s), or other locally- or State-initiated plan. This provides one measure of source of pressure to desegregate ("highest intervention"). After indicating the year of maximum

desegregation, the superintendents were asked to report "the single most important source of pressure for initiation of desegregation." This provides a second measure of source of pressure to desegregate ("primary" or "most important intervention").

The ordering of questions worked best for those school districts that had a clear and single point in time when desegregation occurred, owing to one primary source of pressure, such as a court order or immediate threat of cutoff of Federal funds. In many districts, desegregation was a process that occurred over a period of time in stages and under pressure from multiple sources of intervention. In many districts, desegregation took place following multiple court orders; earlier ineffectual court orders were followed by stricter court orders. In a number of districts, the superintendents were unable to report a "single most important source of pressure," either because the superintendents did not live in the district at the time of desegregation, or because of the multiplicity of sources of pressure.

If the superintendents checked two sources of "primary" pressure, or gave years for multiple interventions, a coding rule was followed that established which source took priority for coding; courts took priority over HEW, and HEW

took priority over State and local sources of pressure. This priority rule was used for both measures.

The first measure, "highest intervention," has the problem of not distinguishing effective from ineffective interventions: for example, districts in which an earlier ineffectual court plan was followed by effective pressure from HEW, the former, being the "highest intervention," would be coded rather than the latter.

Table A-4 shows the relationship between the two measures, which may be taken as an internal consistency check. The consistency is greatest for the court cases. In 94 percent of the cases in which the superintendents reported the courts to be the most important source of pressure, they also reported a specific year of a court-ordered plan. The consistency was least with regard to HEW as a source of pressure. In 22 districts, a court-ordered plan was reported but the superintendents reported that HEW rather than the court was the primary source of desegregation pressure. The analysis in this report is based on the second of the two measures--the superintendents' perception of the single most important (or "primary") source of pressure to desegregate--for three reasons: (1) the data are more complete; (2) the interpretations of the data are more straightforward; and

Table A-4. Comparison of two measures of desegregation intervention: "Major Source of Pressure" and "Highest Type of Intervention."*

"HIGHEST TYPE OF INTERVENTION"	"MAJOR SOURCE OF PRESSURE"						
	Court Ordered	HEW imposed	Local	Deseg. pre-1966	No deseg.	No response	Total
District	4**	19	101	0	0	6	130
	3.1	14.6	77.7	0.0	0.0	4.6	10.1
	2.0	13.5	51.3	0.0	0.0	1.9	
State	0	0	35	0	0	2	37
	0.0	0.0	94.6	0.0	0.0	5.4	2.9
	0.0	0.0	17.8	0.0	0.0	0.6	
HEW	8	99	29	0	0	3	139
	5.8	71.2	20.9	0.0	0.0	2.2	10.8
	4.0	70.2	14.7	0.0	0.0	1.0	
Court	186	22	31	0	0	7	246
	75.6	8.9	12.6	0.0	0.0	2.8	19.0
	93.9	15.6	15.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	
No deseg.	0	1	1	2	349	0	353
	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.6	98.9	0.0	27.3
	0.0	0.7	0.5	2.2	100.0	0.0	
No response	0	0	0	0	0	296	296
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	22.9
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	94.3	
Before 1966	0	0	0	91	0	0	91
	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	7.0
	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.8	0.0	0.0	
Total	198	141	197	93	349	314	1292
	15.3	10.9	15.2	7.2	27.0	24.3	100.0

*For explanation of these measures see text.

**Within each cell, the first number refers to the number of districts, the second number is the percent of all districts in the row, and the third number is the percent of all districts in the column.

(3) less manipulation of the data was required to derive the source of intervention. Most of the analyses by source of intervention were restricted to those districts that reported their major year of desegregation to have occurred after 1965, including four districts reporting desegregation in 1976.

BUSING DATA

The superintendents were asked to report the number of minority and nonminority students bused in the year before and in the year in which the district desegregated, in order to develop estimates on how much additional busing was required to desegregate.[1] About one-third of the respondents replied with percentages bused rather than absolute numbers. These data were converted into equivalent forms. Approximately half of the superintendents in the 530 districts that desegregated replied with complete data for both groups of students for both points in time. Others either did not have all the data or did not respond.

Among these who did respond, two different problems developed in the analysis. First, some superintendents reported the percentage of those bused who were minority or white. For example, if the superintendent reported 40 percent for minorities and 60 percent for whites, the data were not used because they indicated the racial distribution

of students who were bused, rather than how many students of each race were bused. Secondly, those districts that had striking demographic instability were excluded. For example, one district lost all but 14 of its white students when it desegregated; 50 percent of its white students were bused before desegregation. The number of whites bused dropped from about 400 to 1. The rule used for such cases was that if the proportion of white students dropped by more than 12 percentage points over the 4 years 1968 to 1972, such districts (amounting to about 20 percent of the total) were excluded from the analysis of change in proportions bused. They were included in all other analyses.

Percentages bused were calculated (when superintendents provided numbers) by dividing the numbers of students by the student enrollment in 1972. The 1972 data were used rather than the 1970 data primarily because they were more complete. The analysis could have been made by calculating the estimated number of students in the year before and the year of maximum desegregation through interpolation of the enrollment data. However, approximately 10 percent of the sample would then have been lost owing to additional incomplete data. By limiting the analysis to those districts that had a degree of demographic stability, minor

changes in enrollments in one year should not make much change in the data.

Finally, the changes in percentage of students bused in the year of maximum desegregation may underestimate the amount of such busing to the extent that some desegregation occurs over a period of time rather than within one year. This bias is in part counterbalanced by the historical trend toward an increase in numbers of students bused, as seen in table A-5. Just between the years 1970 and 1972, the number of students bused in the Nation increased 7 percent. Some proportion of the increase reported at the time of desegregation may thus be attributable to the general increase in level of busing that has taken place over the last 25 years.

THE MEASURE OF INTERRACIAL SCHOOL CONTACT

Data collected by OCR included number of students and instructional staff, by minority or nonminority status, for each school. For each school district for 1968, 1970, and 1972, the following data were extracted and calculated:

Number of whites

Number of blacks

Number of Spanish surnamed

Total number of students

Measure of interracial school contract: Sbw

Table A-5. Students bused at public expense.

Year	Number	Percent
1950	6,900,000	28
1960	12,200,000	38
1966	15,500,000	40
1970	18,200,000	43
1972	19,500,000	46

Source: Statistical Abstract 1974 of the United States, 1974.

Measure of segregation: Rbw

The Measure of Interracial School Contact (Sbw) is the same measure developed in a previous study, from which this definition is taken.[2]

> The measure of interracial school contact may be constructed as follows: If we number the schools in the system 1, ...k, ...n, and consider the first school, there is a given proportion of whites in this school. Call this P1w. There are a certain number of Blacks in the school. Call this N1b. Then for this number of Blacks, the proportion of whites in their school is P1w. If we average this proportion over all schools, weighting by the number of Blacks, we obtain the desired measure, which we may call Sbw, the proportion of white children in the school of the average black child....

$$S_{bw} = \frac{\sum_k n_{kb} p_{kw}}{\sum_k n_{kb}} \qquad (1)$$

THE STANDARDIZED MEASURE OF SEGREGATION

The Standardized Measure of Segregation (Rbw) is that used in previous studies and is a function of the measure of interracial school contact and the proportion of white children in the school district. If the same proportion of white children were in each school, then Sbw, the measure of interracial school contact defined above, would be equal to Pw, the proportion white. If the black and white children were each in schools by themselves, then Sbw would be zero. Thus, the measure of segregation may be constructed to

indicate how far Sbw is from Pw, or the degree to which segregation among schools within a district is responsible for the value of Sbw. Hence, Rbw is defined as:

$$Rbw = \frac{Pw - Sbw}{Pw}$$

Table A-6 shows racial distributions in schools in three hypothetical school districts that have values of the index of segregation of 0.5, 0.2, and 0.02, respectively.

ANALYSIS OF REDUCTION IN PROPORTION WHITE

Section V reports the changes in the proportion white for all school districts, for districts that desegregated by form of intervention, and for districts that did not desegregate. The data in tables 5.1 and 5.2 describe the reduction in proportion white in the 4-year period 1968-72 for all districts that desegregated during the 10-year period 1966-75. Two-thirds of the districts that desegregated experienced their maximum desegregation during the 4-year period, about 14 percent desegregated in 1966-67 and about 20 percent desegregated in 1972-75. To the extent that white flight is associated with school desegregation, the tables as presented do not separate out the consequential effects (shortly after desegregation), the

Table A-6. Examples of levels of segregation indicated by index of segregation in hypothetical school districts with varying proportions of black and white students in schools.[1]

	System 1		System 2		System 3	
School	black %	white %	black %	white %	black %	white %
1	100	0	70	30	35	65
2	80	20	50	50	35	65
3	20	80	40	60	35	65
4	20	80	30	70	30	70
5	20	80	30	70	30	70
6	10	90	20	80	30	70
7	10	90	20	80	25	75
8	10	90	15	85	20	80
9	10	90	5	95	20	80
10	0	100	0	100	20	80
System	28	72	28	72	28	72
	Sbw=.357		Sbw=.575		Sbw=.707	
index of segregation						
	Rbw=.504		Rbw=.201		Rbw=.02	

[1]Assumes that all schools have equal number of total students, and each system has 28 percent black enrollment. Sbw is the measure of interracial school contact, the proportion of white children in the school of the average black child. Rbw is the index of segregation.

direct effects (during desegregation), and the anticipatory effects (prior to desegregation).

A reanalysis of the data was made for the subset of districts desegregated 1968-72, during the 4-year period for which demographic data are available on white student enrollment. The reduction in proportion of white students is not altered by changing the sample to control for year of desegregation. In fact, neither the implementation of desegregation plans nor the year of maximum desegregation appear to have a major impact on withdrawal of white students.

SAMPLING ERROR OF PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS

The reliability of percentages derived from the study may be judged by how close these percentages should reasonably be (95 percent confidence) to the results of a tabulation for the 2,750 school districts in the universe from which the sample is drawn. An approximate measure of such reliability may be determined from table A-7, given the number of districts shown as the base for the given percentage. The sampling errors are those used to make inferences to a hypothetical infinite universe of districts, whereas there are only 2,750 districts in the universe. Hence the measures provided by the table understate the reliability of the percentages.

Table A-7. Sampling errors for estimated percentages (at 95 percent confidence level).

Total Number of sampled elements	Different Value of Estimated Percentages * 10% or 90%	25% or 75%	50%
1200	1.7	2.4	2.8
800	2.1	3.0	3.5
400	2.9	4.2	4.9
200	4.2	6.0	6.9
100	5.9	8.5	9.8

*Sampling errors computed from samples taken randomly from an infinite population.

The reliability measures for percentages presented in table A-7 are approximations based upon the binomial distribution, on the assumption of a random sample. The selection of every other district systematically from the OCR listing of districts may be equated with simple random selection. It may also be pointed out that eligible districts with over 35,800 students were selected with certainty, substantially increasing the reliability of the tabulations.

Notes to Appendix A

1. See questions 21 and 22 on superintendent's questionnaire in appendix B.

2. James S. Coleman, Sara D. Kelly, and John A. Moore, ibid., p. 8.

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Appendix B

Superintendent's Questionnaire

NAME OF DISTRICT:

CCR Form 203A
Office of Research
U.S. Commission on
Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20425

Superintendent's Questionnaire

1. This district is best described as

   a. ____a large city (50,000 or more persons)
   b. ____a small or medium city (10,000-50,000 persons) in a standard Metropolitan statistical area
   c. ____a small or medium city (10,000-50,000 persons) not in a standard Metropolitan statistical area.
   d. ____a suburban community(not a city) in a standard Metropolitan statistical area.
   e. ____rural area

2. What is your own opinion of each of these aspects of the district's present schools?

	excellent	good	fair	poor
a. general quality of education				
b. student achievement				
c. interactions among pupils of different races or ethnic groups				
d. discipline				
e. attendance				
f. holding power (lack of dropouts)				
g. pupil participation in extracurricular activities				

3. Since January 1970 has this district had a district-wide multiracial or multiethnic committee to review textbooks for the manner in which various racial and ethnic groups are portrayed in the textbooks?

   a. _____Yes
   b. _____No

4. Since January 1970 has this district had a multiracial or multiethnic committee which reviewed disciplinary issues and recommended disciplinary policies and practices for the district?

   a. _____Yes
   b. _____No

5. At present, what percentage of your pupils use school buses or public transportation to get to and from school?

   a. _____percent

6. At present, what is the average duration of a one way trip of a child who is bused in your district?

   a. _____minutes

7. At present, what percentage of your district's total annual budget is spent on busing? (Base the estimate on the amortized annual cost of the buses and annual bus operating expenses.)

   a. _____%

8. Has this district taken steps to substantially reduce or eliminate racial and ethnic isolation in the school district?

   a. _____Yes
   b. _____No

If you answered "No" to question number 8 you are finished with the questionnaire. If you answered "Yes" please read the following instructions and answer all remaining questions.

You may not have been the superintendent of this district when it desegregated. If that is so please continue to fill out the rest of the questionnaire anyway, based upon the best information you have about that period in the history of this district.

9. Did you live or work in the general area of this school district at the time it desegregated?

   a. _____Yes
   b. _____No

10. Indicate the years in which this district has implemented any of the following desegregation plans (indicate as many as appropriate):

	Year implemented
a. Court ordered desegregation plan	_____
b. HEW approved comprehensive desegregation plan eliminating racial and ethnic isolation throughout the whole district	_____
c. HEW approved desegregation plan eliminating racial and ethnic isolation only in certain parts of the district?	_____
d. A district-wide desegregation plan that was initiated at the discretion of the district and required the mandatory re-assignment of students to certain schools	_____
e. Other (specify_____)	_____

11. In which of the above indicated years did the greatest reduction of racial and ethnic isolation occur within this school district?

a. _____Year

If this district has implemented more than one desegregation plan please answer all of the following questions in reference to the plan which brought about the greatest reduction in the racial and ethnic isolation in the year of its implementation (the plan implemented in the year indicated in question 11).

12. About what percentage of all students in the district were given new school assignments as a result of this desegregation?

_____percent

13. Which was the single most important source of pressure for initiation of desegregation? (check only 1)

a. _____Courts
b. _____HEW (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)
c. _____State Department of Education
d. _____Local school officials
e. _____Civil rights groups
f. _____Other (specify:) _____

14. If your district's desegregation plan was court-ordered, did the school board appeal the decision?

a. _____Yes
b. _____No
c. _____Not a court-ordered plan

15. In the first school board election after the implementation of desegregation, what fraction of the school board members who had favored desegregation did not run for re-election or lost in the election?

a. _____

16. In your opinion, during the desegregation of this district did public misunderstanding about the desegregation interfere with the superintendent's efforts to successfully implement it?

a. _____Yes
b. _____No

17. Thinking back to the period just before desegregation took place, how would you describe the general response of most of the people in each of the following groups to desegregation of the district's schools?

	Actively supported*	Supported, but not actively*	Neutral or quite mixed	Opposed, but not actively*	Actively opposed*
a. Minority parents					
b. Non-minority parents					
c. Local business Leaders					
d. Local political Leaders					
e. Local religious Leaders					
f. The Mayor					
g. School board members					
h. School principals					
i. Teachers, counselors					
j. Minority pupils					
k. Non-minority pupils					
l. Yourself (mark N.A. in the first column if you were not in the district at that time, but even in such a case, answer a - k above)					

*by actively we mean attended with substantial numbers of persons or sent representatives to public or private meetings which dealt with the impending desegregation, or frequently contacted school board members or the superintendent about the matter.

18. Were improvements in the school buildings specifically made as part of the preparation for the initiation of desegregation?

a. _____Yes
b. _____No

19. Did the initiation of desegregation in this district result in serious disruptions to the educational process for more than a total of two weeks?

a. _____Yes
b. _____No

20. How would you describe the general response of the majority of peopl in each of the following groups to the desegregation of the district schools <u>now</u>?

	Strongly support	Moderately support	Neutral or quite mixed	Moderately oppose	Strongly oppose
a. Minority parents					
b. Non-minority parents					
c. Local business Leaders					
d. Local political Leaders					
e. Local religious Leaders					
f. The Mayor					
g. School board members					
h. School principals					
i. Teachers, counselors					
j. Minority pupils					
k. Non-minority pupils					
l. Yourself (mark N.A. in the first column if you were not in the district at that time, but even in such a case, answer a - l above)					

21. In the year immediately <u>prior</u> to that in which this district desegregated, approximately what <u>number</u> of minority pupils and nonminority pupils were bused?

a. _____minority pupils
b. _____nonminority pupils

22. In the year in which this district actually desegregated approximately what <u>number</u> of minority and nonminority pupils were bused?

a. ____minority pupils
b. _____nonminority pupils

23. About how much planning prior to the implementation of desegregation was given to the following areas?

	50 or more full-time equivalent person-days	20-50 full-time equivalent person-days	0-20 full-time equivalent person-days
a. student assignments to schools			
b. transportation needs			
c. teacher assignments to schools			
d. the training of principals, teachers and counselors			
e. security			
f. communications with parents			
g. Other (specify:) _____			

24. Which of the following groups were actively involved in such planning? (Check as many as are applicable.)

a. _____Minority parents
b. _____Non-minority parents
c. _____Local business leaders
d. _____Local political leaders
e. _____Local religious leaders
f. _____School board members
g. _____School principals
h. _____Teachers and counselors
i. _____Minority pupils
j. _____Non-minority pupils
k. _____Yourself (mark N.A. in the blank of you were not in the district at this time)
l. _____Law enforcement officials.
m. _____HEW (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare) and DOJ (U.S. Department of Justice) officials
n. _____Others (specify:) _____

25. Was the level of student suspensions noticeably higher in the third thru twelth month of desegregation than in the comparable period during the year immediately prior to implementing desegregation?

a. _____Yes
b. _____No

26. During the first year of desegregation were municipal, county, or State police assigned to school campuses for full work shifts in numbers exceeding whatever the assignments may have been in the previous year?

a. _____Yes
b. _____No

27. If you answered the preceding question with "Yes", for about how many calendar days were such assignments made?

a. _____days
b. _____answered no to preceeding question

28. What was your own opinion of each of the following aspects of the districts schools <u>immediately</u> <u>prior</u> to the implementation of desegregation?

	excellent	good	fair	poor
a. general quality of education				
b. student achievement				
c. interactions among pupils of different races or ethnic groups				
d. discipline				
e. attendance				
f. holding power (lack of dropouts)				
g. pupil participation in extracurricular activities				

29. Are there any comments you wish to make about your above answers, about other aspects of desegregation in this district, or about this questionnaire itself?

_____

_____

_____

(continued)

Thank you very much for filling in this questionnaire. Please return it to us in the attached self-addressed envelope.

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