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FACTORS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

(TITLE)

BY

Jo Anne Clark

PLAN B PAPER

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS PLAN B PAPER BE ACCEPTED AS
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I INTRODUCTION

Desegregation of our nation's schools is one of the major educational problems in America today. In 1954, the policy of desegregation was given the full legal support of our nation's courts. Since that time, more articles have been written and published on the problem of desegregation than on any other aspect of public education.

The word integration has been used synonymously with the word desegregation in much of this literature. It is likely that integration in the true sense of the word means more than having a Negro child and a white child attend the same school. It would seem to imply a wider association in the process of taking a part in and becoming a part of the institution. Within this frame of reference, perhaps the word integration has been incorrectly used. The seriousness of this aspect of integration is the undercurrent of our problem now and probably will continue to play a major role in the future.

Minority groups have had and are continuing to have problems of segregation, desegregation, and integration with relation to our public schools. Some minority groups whose problems have been less publicized than the problems of Negroes are those of Indian tribes, our northwest Eskimos, west coast Chinese and Japanese, Puerto Ricans, the children of our migrant workers, other ethnic groups, and native elements of our own social class system set apart by cultural and economic differences. The fact that the Negro group is large and that it has a long history of special political actions and social actions makes the problem of Negro integration more conspicuous.

The states which have practiced segregation in public schools and would continue this policy find self-justification in the Tenth Amendment to our United States Constitution which states:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the State, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.¹

However, the Fourteenth Amendment, by defining citizenship and guaranteeing the rights of citizenship, restricts the states and provides the basis of the desegregation issue.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States²

A brief review of some actions and events following the decision of the court will help in understanding the desegregation situation in our southern states today. Southern attitudes and feelings have played an important part in these actions and events.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the organization responsible for bringing the issue of desegregation before the courts. An acquaintance with the aims and operations of the organization would seem of value in understanding the present situation with regard to school desegregation.

One of the factors involved in the desegregation issue concerns the Negro student himself. Segregationists have aroused the issue that Negro children attending classes with white children will adversely affect

¹U.S., Constitution, Amendment 10.

²U.S., Constitution, Amendment 14, sec. 1.

scholastic achievement. The way in which the Negro student is able to meet the challenge of desegregation and the subsequent effect of this in the classroom will be important factors in determining the progress of integration.

In the pages to follow, this paper will be concerned with the problems concerning the progress of desegregation in our southern states, the scholastic achievement and educability of the Negro student, and the role of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the desegregation movement.

II

THE PROBLEM OF DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN STATES

The legality of separate but equal schools for Negro and white children was denied in the Supreme Court decision, May 17, 1954, of *Brown versus the Board of Education*. The reaction of many states to the Supreme Court decision regarding desegregation was one of disconcert. At once, many southern states attempted to find ways to avoid compliance with the court decision. In many communities where no action toward compliance was taken, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People brought the issue before the federal courts. A brief review of some events following the 1954 court decision will show the actions taken in efforts to delay and make ineffective the decision of the court, and the extent to which desegregation of public schools has been accomplished.

1954

Washington D. C. schools and the army supervised schools in some southern states were the first to act on the court decision against segregation public schools.

The Maryland congressional election of 1954 became a contest between varying views on desegregation.

Louisiana was the first state to move away from the court decision in an attempt to find a way by which the state could legally prevent desegregation. In July, the legislature, as a way of promoting "public health, morals, better education, and peace and good order in the state, and not because of race,"¹ voted to place the issue of pupil placement in

¹"The Smartest in Dixie," Time, July 19, 1954, 41.

the police power category.

Louisiana was soon followed by other states in attempts to prevent or forestall any compliance with the court decision. A Mississippi amendment to the state constitution in September gave the legislature power to abolish public schools by a two-thirds vote, to allow individual localities to abolish public schools with a local vote, and to allow individuals a sum for the school tuition of an educable child.² Georgia also passed an amendment which would allot funds to individuals for educational purposes.³

Meanwhile, organizations were being formed throughout many states to use the pressure and influence of groups in the struggle against desegregation. The Citizens Council was organized in Mississippi and spread to other states. It was particularly virulent in Mississippi and Alabama where pressure was placed on Negro leaders and businessmen to stop any activities aiding desegregation. Other organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of White People (Delaware), National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of the White People (Georgia), American States Rights Association of Birmingham, Alabama, and Florida States Rights Association were formed.⁴

Although there were schools which managed desegregation in 1954, trouble spots flared throughout many areas. Milford, Delaware; Marion

²"Citizens (White) Unite," Time, Sept. 20, 1954, 57.

³"Evasive Action," Time, Nov. 15, 1954, 52.

⁴"Day of the Demagogues," Time, Oct. 25, 1954, 43.

County, Georgia; Montgomery, Alabama; and Mount Dora, Florida were some of the reported trouble areas.

1955

In 1955 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pressed the Supreme Court for a definite deadline on time for states to work out their desegregation problems, specifying 1956. Southern states pleaded for delay.⁵

The decision outlining the court's position was announced in June of 1955. The significant points of the court's decision were: 1. Segregation could not be brought about as a result of state law. 2. The Federal District Courts would supervise the process of desegregation. 3. Prompt and reasonable compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court would be required by the District Courts although additional time might be allowed if justifiable cause was shown.⁶

With the legal and constitutional decision of the Supreme Court clearly outlined, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia made no attempt at compliance. In Missouri, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Maryland, some progress in the direction of desegregation was made. In Oklahoma 88 of 1803 school districts were desegregated. In West Virginia, 35 of 55 counties announced desegregation would begin in the fall.⁷

⁵"When," Time, April 25, 1955, 18.

⁶"The Powerful Tide," Time, June 13, 1955, 21-23.

⁷"Report Card--Progress of the States toward School Desegregation," Time, Sept. 25, 1955, 53-57.

1956

The 1956 news pictured mixed reports of progress, setbacks, and problems. Those schools which were formerly white and now desegregated reported school mixing invariably lowered academic standards.⁸ In the District of Columbia, one school official proposed to use demotion to meet this problem, but it was decided to fight the problem through special grouping and remedial classes.⁹

Actions against desegregation were taken. In Texas, the legislature, using laws seldom applied, curbed activities of the N.A.A.C.P. to the extent that the 20,000 Texas members ceased operations.¹⁰ Virginia considered the Gray Proposal, which would revise the section of the Virginia Constitution prohibiting the use of public funds for private schools.¹¹ Judge Atwell, of Dallas, Texas, in a decision delaying integration stated, "I might suggest that if there are civil rights, there are also civil wrongs."¹²

The process of desegregation was proceeding in Louisville, Kentucky. Two thousand Negroes were attending classes with white children. Preparations for this move had been underway since 1954 under the leadership of School Superintendent Carmichael. Meetings of Negro and white teachers and Negro and white principals had been held. Speeches had been made outlining

⁸"Tightrope," Time, June 25, 1956, 75.

⁹"Integration's Headaches," Time, Apr. 10, 1956, 75.

¹⁰"Closed Up Shop," Time, Nov. 5, 1956, 29.

¹¹"Virginia Creeper," Time, Jan. 2, 1956, 14.

¹²"Integration Delayed," Time, Sept. 24, 1956, 53.

the position of the school to social and business groups. School Superintendent Carmichael allowed parents to choose the school attended by their children as long as accommodations could be made.¹³

In Louisiana, Federal Courts ruled the segregation laws of the state unconstitutional and Judge Skelly White announced:

The problem of changing a people's mores, particularly those with an emotional overlay, is not to be taken lightly. It is a problem which will require the utmost patience, understanding, generosity, and forbearance, and from all of us, of whatever race.¹⁴

The Southern Educational Reporting Service--a publication sponsored by the Ford Foundation to give objective reports regarding desegregation progress to public officials, school administrators, and other interested persons--reported a slow advance. Of some 4,540 school districts, 540 were reported as desegregated or in the process of desegregation.

Florida and North Carolina used the state's legislative machinery to obstruct desegregation. Florida passed a bill to place school children by intelligence quotient, ability, and cultural background. The North Carolina legislature passed the Pearsall Plan, which allowed the government to pay tuition of children and permitted local residents to close schools.

Two state governors, Governor Barnett of Mississippi and Governor Stanley of Virginia, announced there would be no desegregation in their respective states during their terms of office.¹⁵

¹³"How to Integrate," Time, Sept. 24, 1956, 53.

¹⁴"A Work for Principle," Time, Feb. 27, 1961, 26.

¹⁵"Slow but Not Sure," Time, Aug. 6, 1956, 44, 47.

1957

Events of 1957 were largely overshadowed by the Little Rock, Arkansas crises. Governor Orville Faubus, without consulting with local authorities, used the National Guard to prevent planned desegregation at Little Rock High School. Other schools planning desegregation and attempting to desegregate were forced to postpone action when segregationists viewed the action of Governor Faubus as a legal mandate to promote their cause. Demonstrations and pressure actions by segregationists were increased throughout the south. After federal courts ordered the withdrawal of the National Guard, local authorities in Little Rock were unable to control the situation. Federal troops and the National Guard, under federal control, were used to restore order. Federal District Court Judge Davies remarked that without the intervention of Faubus, "There would have been no violence in carrying out the plan of integration."¹⁶

1958

Little Rock High School was closed in September after a plea for a two and one-half year delay in desegregation was denied by the Supreme Court. Governor Faubus threatened to close any school where integration was enforced.

The position of the state was rebuked in a statement by the court, "State legislature of state executive or judicial officers cannot nullify . . . the constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated

¹⁶ "The First Day," Time, Sept. 30, 1957, 17.

against in school admission on grounds of race or color."¹⁷

Integrated schools were closed in Virginia following a Faubus-type plan. An estimated 16,000 children were out of school in Virginia and Arkansas.¹⁸

Not all citizens of the south were in accord with those segregationists who would rather have no public schools than have public desegregated schools. Rumblings from committees working for the preservation of the public school system began to make themselves heard. In Norfolk, Alexandria, and Richmond, Virginia, the Parent Teachers Association and Virginia Education Association protested closing schools. Virginia's influential newspapers began to stress a local option approach to integration, backing away from the former massive resistance approach.¹⁹

In New York and Kansas City, violence in mixed schools made news stories which southern segregationists used as examples of the type of problems desegregation would bring. A Brooklyn principal of one troubled school said about the problem:

This problem is not because Negroes are Negroes, it is because they are newcomers. They are often at the bottom of the economic scale.²⁰

1959

In 1959 many of the pro-segregation southern states were beginning

¹⁷"No State Shall Deny," Time, Oct. 13, 1958, 18.

¹⁸"Schoolless Winter," Time, Oct. 13, 1958, 18.

¹⁹"Rumble of Protest," Time, Nov. 10, 1958, 31.

²⁰"Depth from Dixie," Time, March 10, 1958, 61, 62.

to face the inevitability of at least token desegregation. Schools in Virginia,²¹ Florida, and Arkansas admitted Negro students. In many communities demonstrations were made against desegregation but local officials held order. For some of these communities the immediate problem was defined as a choice of token integration or the closing of public schools.

At this time, four years after the Supreme Court decision, five southern states--South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana--had no desegregated schools.²²

1960

The Louisiana state government had legislated laws similar to those in Virginia and Arkansas empowering the state authorities to seize schools and prevent integration where schools were ordered to desegregate by the courts. A three judge panel denied the legality of the state act at interposing power between the people and the federal courts. The act was termed "illegal defiance of constitutional authority."

In New Orleans, Louisiana schools desegregated by allowing several Negro students into schools previously white.

1961

In three states, Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina,

see "The Way," Time, Feb. 11, 1959, 11.

Integration," Time, Mar. 2, 1959, 14.

See "The Way," Time, March 10, 1958, 61, 62.

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had not conformed in some respect to the court's desegregation edict. (Atlanta, Georgia desegregated in Sept. of 1961.)

A Gallup poll, made in April, reported that 76 per cent of the southerners believed desegregation inevitable.²⁴

The table presented on the following page was compiled by Henry J. Abraham, largely from information provided by the Southern Education Reporting Service. This table gives a summary of the situation with respect to school desegregation in August 1961. Of the seventeen southern states represented in the table, in no instance was one-half the Negro population of that state attending classes with white children. In ten of the states, the percentages of Negro population attending with white children was so small as to be practically insignificant; that is, less than one percent. There was a pattern of greater compliance in the border states and less compliance in what may be considered the hard core of the South.²⁵

In New Orleans, less than one-half the white students were attending public schools.²⁶ After the closing of Little Rock High School, 800 of the 4,000 students did not return.²⁷

Some organizations were formed to help smooth the way for desegregation. HOPE (Help Our Public Education, Atlanta), and OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September), were active. Members

²⁴"The Education of the South," Time, April 7, 1961, 45, 46.

²⁵Henry J. Abraham, "School Desegregation in the South," Current History, XL-XLI (August, 1961), 94-96

²⁶"Segregation and the Future of Public Education in the South," School and Society, April 8, 1961, 176.

²⁷"Integration in Little Rock," School and Society, Apr. 8, 1961, Vol. 89, p. 176.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1961*

State	Approximate Enrollment		Negroes Attending Classes With Whites		Total School Districts in State	
	White	Negro	No.	Per Cent	No.	Desegregated
Alabama	516,000	271,000	0	0	113	0
Arkansas	317,000	105,000	113	.107	419	11
Delaware	67,000	15,000	6,734	49.5	94	23
Dist. of Columbia	25,000	97,000	81,392	84.1	1	1
Florida	777,000	202,000	27	.013	67	1(Miami)
Georgia	682,000	318,000	0	0	198	0
Kentucky	593,000	42,000	16,329	39	210	124
Louisiana	422,000	271,000	4	.001	211	1(New Orleans)
Maryland	450,000	134,000	28,000	21.0	24	23
Mississippi	288,000	279,000	0	0	151	0
Missouri	758,000	84,000	35,000	42.0	1889	200
North Carolina	817,000	302,000	82	.027	174	12
Oklahoma	504,000	41,000	9,822	24.0	1276	191
South Carolina	352,000	258,000	0	0	108	0
Tennessee	671,000	157,000	342	.22	164	8
Texas	1,814,000	289,000	3,500	1.21	1548	131
Virginia	669,000	211,000	208	.1	129	16
West Virginia	417,000	21,000	14,000	67.0	55	43

*Henry J. Abraham, "School Desegregation in the South," Current History, XL-XLI (August, 1961), 95.

answered questions, staged skits and workshops on race relations, and supplied ministers with sermons.²⁸

President Kennedy, in speaking of desegregation leaders, loyal citizens and educators, said:

The whole country is in their debt because our public school system must be preserved and improved. Our very survival as a free nation depends upon it. This is not time for schools to be closed in the name of racial discrimination.²⁹

At the time the president spoke, Prince Edward County, Virginia, under local option in regard to segregation, had no public schools. Six southern states have laws which in effect allow communities to shut down public schools and start private schools.³⁰

With respect to the attitudes held by the people of the South toward desegregation, several questions arise. Many citizens might well ask, "Who are the persons responsible for the flaunting of the federal court interpretation of constitutional law?" and "Why do they feel the way they do?" The answers to these questions will help in understanding the feelings of the segregationists. To arrive at a sympathetic judgment of these feelings proves to be exceedingly difficult for a person who is not a southerner because the emotional feelings and background of such a person is likely to be inherently different from the emotional feelings and background of a person from the South.

²⁸"Prepared for Peace," Time, Aug. 25, 1961, 40.

²⁹"Words from the White House," Commonweal, March 10, 1961, 600.

³⁰Irv Goodman, "Public Schools Died Here," Saturday Evening Post, April 29, 1961, p.p. 32, 33, 85-89.

Melvin N. Tumin reported an analysis of attitudes toward Negroes and desegregation. Tumin's analysis was made through statistical correlation of the data gathered by asking questions of a sampling of residents in Guilford County, North Carolina. This section of the state is considered a fairly progressive urban region.

Five attitudes toward Negroes were analyzed, ranging from those felt most privately to those apparent by public actions. These five attitudes were: 1. image of the Negro, 2. social ideology, 3. sentiment structure, 4. general action set, and 5. specific action set. The attitudes were considered in relationship to the major factors believed to influence them such as education, occupational status, and exposure to mass media. The ten major findings reported in this study are interesting and perhaps significant in understanding southern attitudes toward integration.

Finding 1. The sample is relatively homogeneous in its unfavorable Image of the Negro . . . but we must qualify this finding by the fact that significant percentages of our respondents do not share this view (Factors considered were responsibility, morality, ambition, and intelligence.)

.....

Finding 2. Every group in the sample (whether defined by education, or income, or occupation) and the sample taken as a whole has lower segregationist scores on their attitudes toward the schools than on their Image of the Negro.

.....

Finding 3. The differences between various groups in the sample on their image scores tend to be smaller and less significant than the differences in their scores on School Desegregation.

.....

Finding 4. Among the major factors responsible for, or associated with, differences in attitudes between various segments of the sample are those which locate the individual on the ladders of property, power, and prestige.

.....

Finding 5. A crucial variable in addition to those which define class position is "exposure to mass media." Taken simply, and measured simply, such exposure appears to differentiate sharply our respondents in their attitudes to the Negro and to desegregation. The more exposure, the more favorable the Image and the greater the readiness for desegregation.

.....

Finding 6. A significant difference among various groups in the sample concerns the way in which and the degree to which their scores change, as one goes from Image of the Negro, to the Ideology of Social Relations, To Sentiment Structure, to General Action Set and finally to Specific Action Set.

.....

Finding 7. Only the most ready group, that which sits high on the various ladders of stratification, and which is highly exposed to news of the outside world, reaches that dividing point at which we can talk in positive and absolute terms of favorable attitudes toward the Negro and some genuine readiness for desegregation.

.....

Finding 8. The majority of the community are neither extreme segregationists nor extreme desegregationists. Between 15 to 20 per cent of the population fall at each of the two poles. The remaining 60-70 per cent have intermediary sets of attitudes and responses.

.....

Finding 9. The principal advocacy of social change, as is implied in the term desegregation, comes from those who have the widest perspective on themselves and their communities, and the deepest sense of stake in the community-in-process.

.....

Finding 10. Three types of leaders can and do play active roles in the determination of how resistant or ready to desegregate the community will be. These are (1) the legitimate and respected leaders who oppose desegregation; (2) the legitimate and respected leaders who either do not oppose or actively favor desegregation; and (3) the non-legitimate, ordinarily disrespected leaders who emerge into positions of prominence whenever the legitimate leadership fails to make its voice heard and fails to take action.³¹

³¹Melvin M. Tumin, Desegregation, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 190-202.

Although these findings have been stated positively they should be considered as tentative assessments.

What type of person would most likely support segregation? A reconstruction from these findings would reveal him to be a person who has a high social status in the community, a white collar position, a salary considerably above that of the average worker, and a good education. He would tend to identify himself and his interests with the wider community in the sense of state or nation, and be aware of happenings through the use of the mass media, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. A reconstruction of the type of person who is most likely to favor desegregation would show a blue collar worker, with lower than average income. He would identify with his immediate community. There would be many gradations of people and attitudes which could be constructed between these extremes, and not in every case would the attitudes be present which might be predicted.

The inference from Finding 10 might be that type three leader has taken the leadership in many desegregation situations where leaders of type one and two failed to provide the necessary leadership.³²

Chester C. Travelstead, a southerner, analyzes feelings and factors behind southern attitudes. He considers the three main factors to be economic status, social status, and psychological feelings.

He points out that the economic status of the southern white was built on the exploitation of the Negro. Economic opportunities for the Negro have since been limited largely to those positions for which the southern white worker does not compete. As the possibilities for the Negro to become better qualified for positions increase, the southern

³²Ibid. pp. 203, 204.

white worker may regard the Negro as a threat to his economic welfare. The possibility of competition in job seeking looms importantly as a factor in influencing southern attitudes.

Many whites in the south would strongly resent being placed on an equal social basis with the ordinary Negro. The insecure person, especially, gains satisfaction from being included in a group which excludes others. For years the southern culture has indoctrinated white people in the belief that the negro is socially inferior. This indoctrination will probably not change for generations to come.

The psychological factor mentioned by Travelstead seems to be closely related to the social factor. Some southern leaders do not wish to alter the traditional relationships with the Negro. Many southern leaders fear loss of popular support should they declare their support of the ruling of the Supreme Court. These leaders are attempting to use any means available to maintain segregation.³³

The South is confronted with the necessity to face the issue of school desegregation and undoubtedly some changes in attitudes and feelings must be made, however difficult this proves to be. Respected leaders can do much to guide the people through this necessary period of adjustment. It is hoped that these leaders will help by giving their support to the decisions of the federal courts.

³³Chester C. Travelstead, "Southern Attitudes toward Racial Integration," *School and Society*, May 7, 1960, pp. 231-234.

III

THE EDUCABILITY OF THE NEGRO STUDENTS

One issue raised by the segregationist in argument against desegregation is that the inferior mental capability of the Negro would bring lowered standards in the classroom. This issue would seem to be justified in the light of the lowered average scores on standardized tests found in some communities where significant numbers of Negro students enter formerly all white schools. Segregationists have accepted and publicized this as evidence of the low intelligence and inferior mental ability of the Negro.

We may turn to a consideration of the past educational performance of the Negro, as to quantity and quality of basic education, to find some causes of lower scholastic achievement on the part of Negroes.

There is evidence to indicate that the amount of time spent in school by Negroes is significantly less than the amount of time white students spend in school. A study made of the elementary schooling of men born during 1931 and 1932 showed that 61.1 per cent of the southern Negro males, as well as 37.1 per cent of the Negro males from other regions had not extended their education beyond elementary school. Thirty-one and seven-tenths per cent of the southern white males and 27.1 per cent of the northern white males completed no more than an elementary schooling.

If the educational level of the southern Negro male was brought up to the level of the southern white male, the number of male high school graduates in the south would be tripled.³⁴

³⁴Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 45-51.

Negro women spend more time in school than Negro men, although they spend far less time in school than white women.³⁵

There is evidence to support the belief that the quality as well as quantity of education received by Negroes has been inferior to that received by white students. Scores made by Negro high school graduates on Armed Forces examinations and on college entrance examinations tend to confirm this fact. The lower Negro scores have been attributed to such factors as poor physical facilities at school, Negro teachers who are themselves handicapped by their inferior educational and social background, white teachers with whom the Negro child may be unable to communicate, disadvantages of home background which include a higher proportion of broken homes and illegitimacy, and the economic and cultural status of the Negro group.³⁶

Many studies have been made of Negro and white intelligence as measured by various tests. Results are not always consistent and the extent to which environmental factors such as those mentioned above affect scores has not yet been determined.

Frank C. McGurk reported the comparison of some selected studies involving the question of racial differences. He compared the studies in terms of overlapping scores. McGurk used the term overlap to indicate the per cent of Negro scores which equalled or exceeded the average score made by white respondents.

³⁵Ibid. p. 50.

³⁶Ibid. pp. 97-100.

In his work, McGurk made use of 140 articles dealing with the question of racial differences in intelligence which were published between 1935 and 1950. Sixty-three gave test score data. From these sixty-three studies, McGurk chose six. He proceeded to compare the data presented in these research studies with data from the World War I Army Alpha and Beta Tests. He found Negro scores to overlap the average of the scores white respondents made by 27 per cent on the Alpha Test. He found an overlap of 29 per cent on the Beta Test.

The first data which McGurk used in his comparisons was obtained from the study made by H. A. Tanser (1935). Tanser tested Canadian Negro and white school children in grades one through eight. Social and economic factors were considered equal for the group. McGurk found from 13 to 20 per cent overlap on the results of three psychological tests.

The data from a study by M. Bruce (1940) was used next by McGurk. Bruce tested both Negro and white children from Virginia. These children, in the age range of nine to ten years, were paired on the basis of socio-economic factors. McGurk found a 30 per cent overlap.

A. M. Shuey's study (1942) was the third selected. Shuey tested groups of college age (15-35) Negroes and whites, paired as to average age, educational background, and general cultural status. In using the data reported by Shuey, McGurk found a 10 per cent overlap of Negro scores.

Data from a study by E. Brown (1944) was used in the fourth comparison. Brown tested Negro and white children who attended the same school and were of the same average age. No attempt was made to equate socio-economic factors. McGurk reported the Negro scores to overlap the average of white score by 31 per cent.

The fifth study considered by McGurk was that of T. F. Roads (1945). This study included the results of individually administered psychological tests. The tests had been given to a group of Negro and white males under four. The groups was considered to be equated roughly on a socio-economic basis. McGurk found a 30 per cent overlap.

In the sixth comparison, McGurk used findings from his own research. A special test was constructed so that one-half of the questions were concerned with cultural items and one-half of the questions were concerned with cultural items and one-half with noncultural items. The test was administered to Negro and white twelfth graders from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Negro and white students were matched and paired according to fourteen socio-economic factors. McGurk found Negro scores to overlap the average white score by 29 per cent.

McGurk then compared the fourth highest scores of the Negro group with the fourth highest scores of the white group as to the responses on cultural and noncultural questions. He found the overlap of Negro scores to be higher on the cultural questions. A similar comparison was made using the fourth lowest Negro scores and the fourth lowest white scores. Again McGurk found the overlap of Negro scores to be greater on the cultural questions.³⁷

As a result of his comparisons, McGurk concludes:

First, as far as psychological test performance is a measure of capacity for education, Negroes as a group do not possess as much of it as whites as a group
Next, we must realize that since 1918, the vast improvements

³⁷Frank C. McGurk, "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences," U. S. News and World Report, Sept. 21, 1956, 92-96.

in the social and economic status of the Negro have not changed his relationship to whites regarding capacity for education Thirdly, as far as our knowledge of the problem goes, the improvement in social and economic opportunities have only increased the differences between Negroes and whites.³⁸

In her recent book, Audrey M. Shuey presents summaries of studies involving the testing of Negro intelligence. These studies extend over a forty year period. Shuey includes studies from unpublished theses and dissertations as well as studies published in books and articles. The Negro subjects for which data is presented range from young children to adults, including deviates, delinquents, criminals, and racial hybrids. Shuey finds Negroes to score consistantly below whites and below given test norms. She finds the difference between Negro and white scores to be significant even when attempts are made to control cultural and educational factors. Shuey concludes from the consistancy of the average differences between white and Negro intelligence test scores that the presence of some native differences is indicated.³⁹

Otto Klineberg, who treats the question of race and intelligence in his book, Race Relations, presents a view quite different. He discusses some of the environmental factors which affect intelligence test scores and points out that until these factors are adequately controlled, comparisons of intelligence tests will have little meaning. The factors mentioned by Klineberg include motivation, rapport between the experimenter and the

³⁸Ibid. p. 96

³⁹Audrey M. Shuey, The Testing of Negro Intelligence, (Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell Co., Inc., 1958), 307-318.

subject, culture, social and economic status, and language. A number of individual studies are used as examples to clarify his explanation of these factors.⁴⁰

Klineberg cites studies which would seem to substantiate the fact that, in general, northern Negroes rank higher than southern Negroes and some southern white groups as well. He cautions that direct comparison of Negro intelligence scores with white scores is a doubtful procedure when the factors mentioned above are not controlled, but believes it safe to say that "as the environment of the Negro approximates more and more closely that of the White, his inferiority tends to disappear."⁴¹

In one study made by Klineberg to determine the effect of environment on intelligence, ten year old Negro girls and boys were tested. The test scores were analyzed in terms of length of residence in New York City. Klineberg found a relationship between test score and length of residence which is given in the following table.

TABLE 2

Binet I. Q. and Length of New York Residence*

Group	Number of Cases	Average I. Q.
Less than one year	42	81.4
One-two years	40	84.2
Two-three years	40	84.5
Three-four years	46	88.5
More than four years	47	87.4
New York born	99	87.3

*Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences*, (New York: Harper Bros., 1935), p. 186.

⁴⁰Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences*, (New York: Harper Bros., 1935), pp. 182-186.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 189

Klineberg concluded that improved environment could help raise intelligence test scores.

A similiar result was found by Boylan and O'Mera in a more recent study. They tested Negro children with the Kuhlman-Anderson and the Thurstone Primary Mental Abilities tests to attempt to find the cause of a school wide reading problem. The group scores were analyzed on the basis of those Negro children born in Chicago and those from the South.

TABLE 3

Cummulative Distribution of I. Q.*

Above	Per Cent Normal Distribution	Southern-born Negro	Chicago-born Negro
130	2	1.5	1.7
120	9	8.3	11.0
110	25	33.3	45
90	75	63.3	74
80	91	86.1	93.6
70	98	99.4	100
0-70	100	100	100

* Francis T. Boylan and Ruth O'Mera, "Stereotype and Inquiry Concerning Southern Born Negro Pupils in Chicago," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXII (Oct. 1958), 81.

When compared with a normal curve the distribution of test scores revealed a larger percentage of the Chicago-born group with scores above 100 and a larger percentage of the southern-born group with scores below 90. Both Negro groups had a mean I. Q. below the theoretical. Boylan and O'Mera concluded that there is reason to doubt that the reading problem was due to inferior mental ability.⁴²

⁴²Francis T. Boylan and Ruth O'Mera, "Stereotype and Inquiry Concerning Southern Born Negro Pupils in Chicago," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXII (Oct. 1958), 81.

Raymond Schultz investigated the effect of several environmental factors upon Negro educational performance. He selected 100 Negro students from one Florida county chosen on the basis of scores made on standardized achievement tests. The fifty students who scored highest and the fifty who scored lowest were compared with reference to the factors of age, home status, occupation of the head of the household, occupation of mother, highest grade completed by parents, and consistency of school attendance. Only scores above the sixteenth percentile were considered. Schultz's findings with regard to the factors of socio-economic status and parental education are of particular interest.

When Negro scores were compared to socio-economic status, Schultz found a greater incidence of both parents working in the group of Negroes scoring highest. These working parents tended to be professional and white collar workers. Instances in which both parents worked were found to exist among 42 per cent of the low scoring group and 91 per cent of the high scoring group. Parents employed as white collar workers or professional workers were found in 5 per cent of the low scoring group and 20 per cent of the high scoring group. Other parents were employed as unskilled laborers or domestic workers.

Schultz reported that information on parental education was available for only fifty per cent of both the high and low scoring Negro students. From data on students for whom this information was available, Schultz found that 50 per cent of the low scoring group as compared with 10 per cent of the high scoring group had parents who had completed less than the seventh grade. Students whose parents had completed less than the tenth grade were found in 80 per cent of the low Negro scorers and

10 per cent of the high scorers. Students whose parents had graduated from high school were found in 53 per cent of the high scoring group and in 12 per cent of the low scoring group. Four per cent of the low scorers and 53 per cent of the high scorers had parents who had completed four or more years of college.

Schultz concluded that the factors of family socio-economic status and parent level of education were related significantly to Negro achievement.⁴³

Under certain conditions, Negro children can compare favorably with white children in school achievement. A study made by Robert McQueen and Browning Churn gives support to this conclusion. Their study involved a western community of about 60,000 population. The Negro segment of the population was fairly stable and there had been no past history of racial strife. The Negro children attended integrated schools and school placement was determined by place of residence. Negro and white students from grade one through eight were matched and paired as to age, sex, school grade, years enrolled in the school system, occupation of the father, and residential area. Most pairs lived within one block of each other and in similar houses. The Negro and white students were compared with regard to their scores on the Kuhlman-Finch Intelligence Test, the Stanford Achievement Test, and grades which had been assigned by teachers in the various subjects.⁴⁴ These results were reported.

⁴³Raymond Schultz, "A Comparison of Negro Pupils Ranking High with Those Ranking Low in Educational Achievement," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXI (March, 1958), 265-270.

⁴⁴Browning Churn and Robert McQueen, "The Intelligence and Educational Achievement of a Matched Sample of White and Negro Students," School and Society, Sept. 24, 1960, 327-329.

Of thirteen separate comparisons, only two yielded differences sufficiently large to be significant In each of these instances, the differences favored the white group. In the 11 remaining comparisons, observed differences were so slight that no statistical significance could be attached to them. Even in the two comparisons where significant differences were noted, the actual differences represented no practical significance.⁴⁵

The very existence of segregation, whether by law, housing patterns, or social sanctions, creates groupings of children with poor educational, cultural, and economic backgrounds in which there is frequently little incentive to do well in school.

Improvement in the scholastic achievement of Negro students as a group would seem to be related in part to the progress made in school integration. Carl Hansen and Frank Stallings, respectively, have reported results of integration in their community schools.

Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Washington D. C. schools, reported on the effect of desegregation in Washington's schools. This report indicates that by emphasizing a good education for all, favorable gains can be made. Results of testing show that white students do not necessarily score lower in desegregated schools. The median test scores for many grades improved from the 1955-56 school year to the 1958-59 school year, while the percentages of Negroes which were enrolled increased. Washington D. C.'s schools have emphasized ability grouping, special education classes, a junior primary for those not ready for grade one after kindergarten, professional study to improve the quality of teaching, and a remedial reading program.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 329.

⁴⁶Carl Hansen, "Six Years of Integration in the District of Columbia," Teachers College Record, LXII (Oct., 1960), 27-35.

A detailed report of the results of Washington D. C.'s school testing program can be found in the Harvard Educational Review, Summer 1960.

Frank H. Stallings reported on the effects of integration in Louisville, Kentucky. Stallings reported that both white and Negro students made gains, and that sometimes the gains made by the Negro students were greater than those made by white students. He attributed some of the improvement to increased motivation on the part of Negro pupils and teachers.⁴⁷

Evidence that a difference between the Negro student and white student regarding capacity for education exists is confused and inconclusive. This can be said even though the bulk of research material concerned with intelligence testing reveals that Negroes, as a group, score consistently lower than white groups. The difficulties of interpreting direct comparisons between the two groups have been mentioned.

Instead of using efforts to determine which race is more intelligent or has more native capacity, perhaps the emphasis should be on a better education for all. Under such a program, both Negro students and white students could be expected to make favorable gains.

⁴⁷Frank H. Stallings, "A Study of the Immediate Effects of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools," Journal of Negro Education, XXVIII (Fall, 1959), 439-444.

IV

THE ROLE OF THE N.A.A.C.P. IN THE DESEGREGATION MOVEMENT

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has played an important role in the actions leading to the Supreme Court decision regarding desegregation. It has chosen test cases and forced the issue of desegregation in many communities where no local action was planned. The N.A.A.C.P. has been so effective in securing civil liberties for Negro groups by legal and constitutional means that eleven states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, have used court action or legislation to interfere with activities of the organization.⁴⁸

The N.A.A.C.P. was formed in 1909 as the National Negro Commission. It was organized as a reaction to the race rioting of August 1908, in which several Negroes were lynched near Lincoln's Springfield home. A meeting was called for Lincoln's birthday in 1910. At this meeting the present name of the organization was adopted. William E. Walling, Henry Moskowitz, Mary White Ovington, and Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, were instrumental in the formation of the organization. The purpose of the N.A.A.C.P. expressed at that time was to secure full citizenship rights for Negroes.

The program of the organization included

the end of lynching, abolition of segregation and discrimination based on race or color, the ending of disfranchisement, abolition of injustices in legal procedure, equitable distribution of public

⁴⁸George Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1958), p. 625.

funds for education and other services, and equality of opportunity in all fields.⁴⁹

The N.A.A.C.P. was to use publicity, agitation, organization, education, and legal defense to work toward the accomplishment of their program.

At the time the N.A.A.C.P. was organized, Booker T. Washington was one of the most outstanding and influential Negro leaders. In all probability, Washington cost the organization some influential backers by not giving his support. He objected to the use of agitation by the N.A.A.C.P. He wished to have Negroes adopt a policy stressing self-improvement of existing conditions.⁵⁰

William E. DuBois was one of the outspoken Negro leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. in its formative period. As editor of The Crises, the official monthly journal of the organization, DuBois was spokesman for the organization and worked to challenge existing race relations. Other influential persons connected with the work of the N.A.A.C.P. during its early years were Lincoln Steffens, Jane Addams, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Since 1939, the N.A.A.C.P. has been organized in two functioning bodies. The Legal Defense and Education Fund has been organized separately so that contributions may be tax exempt. The N.A.A.C.P. maintains a lobby

⁴⁹Maurice Davie, Negroes in American Society, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1949), p. 495.

⁵⁰Elliott M. Rudwish, "Booker T. Washington's Relations with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," Journal of Negro Education, XXIX (Spring, 1960), 134-144.

← in Washington D. C., Contributions to this organization may not be tax exempt.⁵¹ Needless to say, both organizations function in accord.

Membership dues are two dollars per year. Contributions to the Defense Fund come from various sources such as labor unions, The William Murry Memorial Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.⁵² Although there are over 1,000 local branches, the N.A.A.C.P. has been reported as relatively inactive on the local level. In the last year for which membership reports were available, 1956, the N.A.A.C.P. had 350, 424 members.

The board of directors of the organization greatly influences the policy. There were 12 white persons on the forty-nine member board in 1957. With the number of trained Negro leaders increasing, the influence of white members is declining, although in 1957 half of the national officers were white.

The general membership is reported to be 90 per cent Negro. Many members are teachers, clergymen, and other professional people.⁵³ Because of actions taken against members in some southern states, such as loss of position and threats of violence, membership information is sometimes difficult to secure. Some southern states are working to have membership lists made public as the N.A.A.C.P. is considered by them to be a subversive organization.

⁵¹"The N.A.A.C.P.--What It Is, Who Runs It, and How," U.S. News and World Report, Nov. 8, 1957, 57.

⁵²"Just What Is the N.A.A.C.P.," U.S. News and World Report, March 16, 1956, 48.

⁵³Paul Jacobs, "The N.A.A.C.P.'s New Direction," New Republic, July 16, 1959, 10.

Listed among the influential people who have been associated with the N.A.A.C.P. in recent years are the names of J. Edgar Hoover, Senator Wayne Morse, Lena Horne,⁵⁴ Eric Johnston, Walter Reuther, Herbert H. Lehman, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁵⁵

The N.A.A.C.P. operates within a democratic framework. Legal cases are chosen which can help Negroes in gaining their civil rights. Cases have been presented regarding voting in the South, residential segregation, and admissions of Negroes to educational institutions supported by state funds. By 1950 the N.A.A.C.P. had won 27 of the 30 cases which it had taken to the Supreme Court.⁵⁶ By 1957 it was reported the N.A.A.C.P. had won 45 of 49 Supreme Court cases.⁵⁷ Because of limited financial support, cases were carefully chosen. Frequently defeat was expected in the lower courts. Nationally recognized lawyers prepared the court cases for the N.A.A.C.P.

Earlier court cases regarding education were based on the grounds that colored schools were not equal to white schools. The most recent program of the N.A.A.C.P. is based on the principle that to practice segregation is a violation of human rights guaranteed to all races under the constitution.⁵⁸

⁵⁴"This is the N.A.A.C.P.," Newsweek, Oct. 14, 1957, 44.

⁵⁵"The N.A.A.C.P.--What It Is, Who Runs It and How," U.S. News and World Report, Nov. 8, 1957, Vol 43, p. 55.

⁵⁷"This is the N.A.A.C.P.," Newsweek, Oct. 14, 1957, 44.

⁵⁶Simpson and Yinger, p. 794.

⁵⁸Simpson and Yinger, p. 620.

Cases involving evidence of segregation in educational institutions had been brought to the Supreme Court by the N.A.A.C.P. preceeding 1954. Decisions affecting education were made in the Murray case (1936), the Gaines case (1938), and the Swett and McLaurin cases of 1950. As a result of court rulings, Negroes were to be allowed equal educational opportunities in previously segregated professional schools. Donald Murray secured admittance to the University of Maryland Law School. Lloyd Gaines was allowed to attend the University of Missouri instead of being provided with tuition to attend an out of state school. Swett became the first Negro admitted to the University of Texas Law School. McLourin, a retired Negro teacher, was allowed to work toward his doctorate at the University of Oklahoma.⁵⁹

The policy of the N.A.A.C.P. has always been one of compromise and legal orientation. Other Negro organizations have supported the N.A.A.C.P. in the recent school desegregation program. Now that the legal battle is won, there is reason to believe that other Negro organizations find some dissatisfaction with the N.A.A.C.P. Students and southern Negro leaders to an increasing degree are using mass demonstrations and boycotts to press for equal rights. Although the N.A.A.C.P. has not planned this action and cannot be regarded as directly responsible, frequently N.A.A.C.P. members are involved and the organization helps by providing legal aid, lawyers, and bondsmen, for those arrested.⁶⁰ Some critics believe that the N.A.A.C.P. will have to take part in direct mass action if it is to

⁵⁹Simpson and Yinger, pp. 666-670.

⁶⁰Louis E. Lomax, "The Negro Revolt Against the Negro Leaders," Harpers, CCXX (June 1960), 41-48.

keep its position of leadership in the struggle for Negro rights.⁶¹

The greatest achievements which the N.A.A.C.P. has contributed to the cause of equal citizenship for Negroes have been the favorable Supreme Court decisions regarding civil rights. Probably the decision regarding desegregation is the most important and far reaching single contribution.

⁶¹ Nat Hentoff, "A Peaceful Army," Commonweal, June 10, 1960, 275-278.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The Negro has come far since the days of the civil war and reconstruction in securing the rights and privileges of citizenship. However, the serious problems of adjustment thrust on both Negro and white citizens in the transition of the Negro from a slave status to free status still persist. The Negro is not accepted as a social equal of the white citizen in many communities, particularly in the South. The Negro is still considered by many to be racially inferior to the white. These adjustment problems affect the school desegregation movement in that slow and incomplete attempts at compliance have been made in many states. Frequently, even this compliance has been forced by the rulings of the federal courts in cases prepared and presented by the N.A.A.C.P. There are some states in which no attempts to comply with the court decision have been made.

The question of the capacity of the Negro to learn has been the subject of much research study. The studies mentioned in this paper and other similar studies have yielded findings both inconclusive and contradictory. The problem of equating Negro and white groups on environmental factors for comparisons has proven exceedingly difficult. Under certain conditions, Negro students have been able to compare favorably with white students. There are indications that as the environmental factors of the two groups become more similar, there is less difference in intellectual capacity as measured by tests and scholastic achievement.

The N.A.A.C.P. was organized to help the Negro in his struggle to secure equal civil rights. The elimination of segregation is among the

major goals of the organization. Through its work in presenting court cases involving segregation and discrimination, the N.A.A.C.P. has been the most important factor in securing the court decision for segregation of public schools.

To consider past developments regarding school desegregation is much easier than to make an attempt to anticipate the nature of future developments. However, some conjectures might be made regarding future developments.

It is indicated that many southern states will use whatever action is necessary to avoid, or to control to an extent so as to make ineffective, the process of desegregation. Perhaps the most formidable weapons which will be used are those of state aid to individuals who wish to attend private schools, and placement laws which in application can act toward preserving the status quo in schools.

It is unlikely that either courts or citizens would sanction the outright abandonment of public school systems as a method of avoiding desegregation although it has been proposed in some states.

In many communities action on desegregation has been forced by the N.A.A.C.P. This organization will continue to assume leadership in bringing about desegregation if communities do not form their own plan for desegregation.

Where Negroes comprise a smaller proportion of the population, desegregation will be somewhat easier and may come sooner.

The problems of desegregation are not to be limited to the South. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit have more than twice as many Negroes as the largest Negro community in the South. New York has the

largest urban Negro population in the world. Thirty years ago, 70 per cent of the Negroes lived in the South. Now, 52 per cent are found in the South.⁶² In these large urban areas, housing patterns are usually the major factor in school assignment. This may be the next battleground of desegregation.

There is also the problem of resegregation. Some desegregated schools which were once segregated white schools become all Negro, posing a new problem in desegregation. This trend is found in many urban areas.

The last decade has witnessed a large increase in private school enrollment. Part of this increase may be a reaction to desegregation. Whether a paradox of public schools largely Negro and private schools for white children will appear in parts of the South as a result of desegregation is not yet clear.

The effect of the Negro student in the desegregated classroom would seem to be an important factor in determining the progress of desegregation. If the Negro student can compare favorably with the white student as far as scholastic ability is concerned, resistance to mixed classes may be less.

Integration in the true sense of the word is not here yet and may not be a reality for the Negro for some time. However, it is certain that the N.A.A.C.P. will continue its work to bring about desegregation and will receive support from federal courts. This is one necessary step in the process of integration. Progress will surely be made.

⁶²Puner, Helen, "How Public are Our Schools," Parent's Magazine, XXXVII, (Jan., 1962), 35.

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