

Prairie View A&M University

Digital Commons @PVAMU

All Theses

5-1969

Desegregation's Effect on Job Opportunities for Negro Teachers

Conard A. Hargest

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pvamu.edu/pvamu-theses>

DESEGREGATION'S EFFECT ON JOB OPPORTUNITIES
FOR NEGRO TEACHERS

DESEGREGATION'S EFFECT ON JOB OPPORTUNITIES
FOR NEGRO TEACHERS

265233

—

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Economics

Prairie View A. & M. College

—

LC214
H37

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

—

by

Conard A. Hargest

May, 1969

DESEGREGATION'S EFFECT ON JOB OPPORTUNITIES

FOR NEGRO TEACHERS

A Thesis

by

Conard A. Hargest

APPROVED AS TO STYLE AND CONTENT BY:

[Redacted]

(Chairman of the Committee)

[Redacted]

(Head of Major Department)

[Redacted]

(Head of Minor Department)

[Redacted]

(Advisor)

[Redacted]

(Member)

[Redacted]

(Member)

May, 1969

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is cognizant that no man is an island and that no one is self-sufficient to the extent that he can complete every task that he undertakes on his own merits. In view of this, sincere appreciation is expressed to all those who contributed to the completion of this study.

Acknowledgement is extended to Mr. Clarence M. Batie, for his guidance, advice, criticism and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Special acknowledgement is given to Dr. J. L. Brown for his consistent aid and encouragement throughout my graduate work.

DEDICATION

This investigative paper is dedicated to my parents Mr. & Mrs. Preston Lynn, whose ever assistance, encouragement, desire and love made this project possible, and last but not least my loving grandparents, Mr. A. E. Fluellen and Mrs. B. Grant, for their unselfish love and inspiration which encourage me to continue.

ABSTRACT

The 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregated public education to be in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment broke the job monopoly of Negro teachers. While integrated student bodies were becoming commonplace, the integration of faculties lagged. Faced with the new job market that discriminates against him rather than for him, the Negro teacher, in many states, found himself forced out of teaching jobs in direct proportion to the rate and extent of integration.

In the absence of integration, Negro teachers would be hired in proportion to the number of students of their race. The number of Negro students, therefore, establishes an a priori standard for hiring Negro teachers. For this reason, the comparison of job opportunities, over time, is feasible.

If a substantial number of Negro students attend integrated schools and are taught by white teachers, the need for Negro teachers declines. The difference between the a priori standard and the actual number of Negro teachers yields an aggregate job disadvantage. Several states show a high correlation between increases in aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers and the extent of integration. Seventeen southern and border states are classified according to this criterion. Although federal legislation will undoubtedly invalidate the results of this study over time, it is apparent that the short run effect of school integration has been to relegate the Negro teacher into a disadvantaged employment position.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Legislation	3
Guidelines	11
Estimates of displacement	15
Recent attention to displacement	18
The problem	20
Statement of the problem	22
Statement of findings	22
Organization of the thesis	23
II. CAUSES OF THE DECLINE IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES	24
Destruction of the job monopoly	26
Elimination of duplicate facilities	29
Migration	33
Predominantly Negro colleges	34
The Negro intellect and the cycle of undereducation	41
Discrimination	47
Summary	49
III. TEACHER EMPLOYMENT IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1954	53
Aggregate job disadvantage	55
Utilization of the shift technique	55
Utilization of trends	56
Analysis by state	61
Alabama	61
Arkansas	62

CHAPTER	PAGE
Delaware	62
Florida	63
Georgia	63
Kentucky	64
Louisiana	64
Maryland	64
Mississippi	65
Missouri	65
North Carolina	65
Oklahoma	65
South Carolina	66
Tennessee	66
Texas	66
Virginia	66
West Virginia	66
Summary	67
IV. DESEGREGATION AND TEACHER EMPLOYMENT	68
Statement of hypothesis	68
Testing of hypothesis	68
The percent of integration	69
Desegregation and aggregate job disadvantage	70
Desegregation and student-teacher ratios	72
Summary	75
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	84

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Civil rights for Negroes and civil rights legislation have been important factors in the changes that have taken place in the structure of institutions in the United States in the last fifteen years. Especially since the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregation of our public school systems to be in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Negro movement has been a driving force for social change. By initially working through the school systems, but soon branching out into economic boycotts and political block voting, Negroes have established new levels of self-respect and political power.

School integration is a vehicle of social change, and the acceptance of this fact has become a reality in all but a few of the states in the Deep South. The changing structure of the school systems in the South promises eventually to lift the Negro to a position in which he is an effective rival for the white man in the job market. Social acceptance, however, is a more difficult problem. For this reason there are short run fears that, in certain sectors of the job market where close social association between the races is required, Negroes may find that federal legislation is not the answer to all their problems if the local power structure remains in the hands of whites.

The acceptance of a Negro teacher teaching white children is a case in point. While the Negro nursemaid has long been accepted as a white child's companion and "teacher" during his early years, there comes a time

when formal education must begin and the job must be passed on to a white teacher. The apparent dichotomy is easily justified in the minds of the white parents, since it is assumed that the formal education of the Negro is not adequate to instruct the white child in the "three R's." And generalizations must always hold. The counterpart of this generalization -- that Negroes are adequate to educate their own race formally -- resulted in the evolution of a dual system of education throughout the South and with it a pseudo job monopoly within the teaching profession for members of each race. White teachers teach white children; Negro teachers teach Negro children.

The Supreme Court decision requiring white schools to accept Negro children broke the Negro teachers' monopoly and, at the same time, enhanced the relative position of the white teacher, since there did not exist effective social barriers preventing white teachers from teaching Negro children. Coupling this with the initial assumption that it would still be possible to maintain faculty segregation, at least in the short run, it is apparent that Negro teachers would find themselves at a disadvantage within the profession.

A study of this situation, as an aspect of manpower economics and social discrimination, seems warranted and is, fortunately, feasible. It is feasible because, in the aggregate, it is possible to compare the situation as it has existed since the Supreme Court decision in 1954 with what it would have been, had the schools remained completely segregated. To make this comparison, we need only accept the assumption that the number of Negro students is a reliable barometer of the needs for Negro teachers in the absence of integration. Given the institutional structure before 1954, this assumption is justified. Using this approach, therefore, it is

the purpose of this thesis to explore the statement that, "At a time when the nation is concerned about the plight of the Negro masses and the poor as evidenced by the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Voting Rights Act, a number of the people best suited by training and experience to give leadership in some of the communities needing the most help are being forced out of these communities by employment practices which tend to curtail or reduce the employment of Negro professionals in direct proportion to the rate and extent of school desegregation."¹

Legislation.

Generalizing, the course of civil rights for Negroes can, with some facility, be broken into three periods. Following the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation came three decades of abridged enlightenment which was terminated with the Plessy v. Ferguson decision in 1896. This ruling provided the foundation for "separate but equal" statutes that were written into state laws during the early part of the century. The principle endured for more than fifty years only to be declared unconstitutional by the Brown v. Board of Education decision of May 17, 1954. It is the period subsequent to this date that is of commanding interest to us, but the two preceding stages deserve passing mention.

¹National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States, December, 1965, A Report Conducted under the Auspices of the National Education Association (Washington: Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association, April, 1966), p. 4.

Lewis H. Blair, writing in 1889, vividly portrays the era before Jim Crow. He explains:

Certain things cannot coexist. In classical times it was Rome or Carthage, with Patrick Henry it was liberty or death, and in the late war it was slavery or freedom; and so now justice and good sense proclaim that separate schools and general education cannot exist.²

.....

...so we of the South, should sacrifice means, prejudices, antipathies -- everything, if necessary, so that all our children may be educated; for if we should have lost all and gained education, we are then in position to regain more than we have lost; but if we should have saved all and lost education, then, like the fool who had gained the world and lost his soul, we, through ignorance and illiteracy, will finally lose all we were fondly imagining that we were saving. The differences between man and man are principally the difference of education.³

.....

We may continue to crush, and we may delight in the exhibition of our arbitrary power, but every oppression and every denial of the equal rights of the negroes (sic) will be at our own expense.⁴

Obviously, Blair's sword had two equally sharp edges; one demanded general education, the other integrated education. But it is not surprising that neither was in favor in the South.

Early antagonism toward public education (and continuing antagonism

²Lewis H. Blair, Southern Prophecy: The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro (Richmond, Va.: Everett Waddey, 1889; Reproduced by University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1964), p. 102.

³Ibid., pp. 101-2.

⁴Ibid., p. 62.

toward integrated education) was an outgrowth of the plantation oriented power structure.⁵ Tax support for public education was minimal, since it hardly suited the aristocracy to tax itself to support the education of the poor -- and their own children would attend private schools anyway. Did it make sense to send a plowhand to high school?

Although education for the masses had become generally accepted by the turn of the century, it was certainly not on an integrated basis. The "separate but equal" clause, in fact, was applied to public schools only by analogy.⁶ In 1896 the Supreme Court had, in the aforementioned *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, declared constitutional a Louisiana statute requiring separate but equal facilities for whites and Negroes in railroad cars. This ruling sanctioned an assortment of separate facilities including schools and, hence, a continuing caste system. The Negro, to a large part disfranchised, undereducated, and without the necessary financial resources, was without recourse to this decision. But, ever the course of fifty years the Court's interpretation of the Constitution changed and the concept of so-called "equal facilities" was outlawed. "For the truth of the matter is that, though the 'separate' part of the formula was rigidly enforced, the 'equal' was never adhered to, even under the limited concept of equality enunciated in *Plessy v. Ferguson*."⁷

It remains necessary to examine more closely the civil rights legislation of the last thirteen years. There is but one place to begin -- May 14,

⁵William H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 106-14.

⁶Jacob K. Javits, Discrimination - U.S.A. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960), p. 50.

⁷Ibid., p. 170.

1954. In what Senator Jacob Javits has called "the most significant landmark"⁸ in the area of civil rights, the Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, held that segregation in public education violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Significant in the Court's ruling in this case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, was the wording which implored public schools to integrate with "all deliberate speed." Such a phrase was intended, undoubtedly, to allow necessary flexibility for implementing a law that would change social institutions. It succeeded beyond all expectations. Mr. Justice Goldberg, speaking for the Supreme Court in a case involving the public parks in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1963 stated:

...we cannot ignore the passage of a substantial period of time since the original declaration of the manifest unconstitutionality of racial practices...the repeated and unmeritorious decisions giving notice of such illegality, and the many intervening opportunities heretofore available to attain the equality of treatment which the 14th Amendment commands the states to achieve...Given the extended time which has elapsed, it is far from clear that the mandate of the second *Brown* decision requiring that desegregation proceed with "all deliberate speed" would today be fully satisfied by types of plans and programs for eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient. *Brown* never contemplated that the concept of "deliberate speed" would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions.⁹

The effects of the Court's wording notwithstanding, numerous approaches to "token desegregation" were tried, and it became necessary for the Congress to implement and expand the basic philosophy of the Court and the 14th Amendment in a series of Civil Rights Acts beginning in 1957.

⁸Ibid., p. 50.

⁹Mr. Justice Goldberg, speaking for the Supreme Court in the case of Watson v. Memphis, decided May 27, 1963, quoted in J. Kenneth Morland, Token Desegregation and Beyond (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, June, 1963), p. v.

The first Act established the United States Commission on Civil Rights with the purpose of collecting and studying information on denial of equal protection of the laws, of appraising the laws and policies of the federal government in this area, and of reporting its findings to Congress and the President.¹⁰ Three years later the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was passed. Little was added to the first act, as far as public education was concerned, but the Act did strengthen measures available to the federal government for dealing with obstructions to court orders and burning of schools. By now it was becoming more and more obvious that many states would refuse to live up to the spirit of the law and that more coercive power would have to be written into future Acts. The 1963 Report of the Commission of Civil Rights set the tone for the Act that was to be forthcoming in 1964. The Commission stated that "civil rights carry with them civil responsibilities. So, too, states' rights carry with them state obligations to all its citizens."¹¹ Clearly, it was implied that stronger statutes were needed.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 delineated, under eleven Titles, specific areas for enforcement of the equal protection clause of the Constitution. Three of them, Titles IV, VI, and VII, are of special interest to this study. The first, Title IV, concerns the desegregation of public education and contains three main provisions. It, (1) orders the United States Commissioner of Education to survey the effects of discrimination and segregation on equal educational opportunity in public schools; (2) authorizes the

¹⁰Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1964), p. 70.

¹¹"Report of the United States Commission of Civil Rights, 1963," cited by Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 15.

commissioner to provide technical assistance and advice on the problems of desegregation at a local level, and makes federal funds available to facilitate the training of teachers and administrators to cope with integration; (3) authorizes the Attorney General to file suit on behalf of an individual who has been denied equal protection if the person is unable to bear the cost or if he would be endangered by filing suit.¹²

Title VI, concerning nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs, has a two-fold purpose as follows: (1) to provide that no person shall be subject to discrimination in a program that receives federal aid; (2) to authorized termination of an assistance program in cases of noncompliance, provided that compliance cannot be obtained by voluntary means.¹³ Noncompliance under this section would likely be a serious blow to the financial position of any school system since it means "that the federal public subsidy, amounting to almost 20% of the total education budget, could be withheld from schools which refuse to stop segregation and discrimination against Negroes."¹⁴

Equal employment opportunity in organizations engaged in business affecting interstate commerce and employing more than twenty-five persons is guaranteed under Title VII. It is apparent that school systems are not engaged in interstate commerce and, thus, none could face prosecution under this section. Obviously, then, federal enforcement of faculty integration

¹²"What the New Rights Measure Provides," National Observer, cited in Grant S. McCellan, ed., Civil Rights, Vol. 36, No. 6 of The Reference Shelf (New York: The W. W. Wilson Company, 1964), pp. 58-9.

¹³Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁴School Desegregation: Old Problems under a New Law (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, September, 1965), p. 2.

must be pursued under one of the other two Titles. But, since this thesis, in a broad sense, is concerned with discrimination in general, as well as in the teaching profession, it is well to look at the specifics. The main provisions of Title VII are that it: (1) prohibits discrimination and segregation in hiring practices and in wage practices, and discrimination against employees who oppose practices prohibited by this Title; (2) created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; (3) empowers the commission to investigate patterns, practices, or charges of discrimination in employment, but prohibits the federal government from acting for a period of sixty days in states that have fair-employment laws; (4) provides that employers covered by the act post notice of fair-employment-practice provisions of the act.¹⁵

The importance of this Civil Rights Act should not be underestimated. It set in motion wheels that had not turned in nearly one hundred years. "Without question, this Civil Rights Act is a momentous statute, comparable in importance to the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the reforms of the first Wilson administration and of the first two administrations of Franklin Roosevelt."¹⁶ "It commits the Federal Government and particularly Congress ...to a set of national goals that reach beyond minimal constitutional requirements."¹⁷

Unfortunately, the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII cannot be construed to mean that the country has

¹⁵"What the New Rights Measure Provides," pp. 60-1.

¹⁶Alexander M. Bickel, "The Meaning of the Civil Rights Act," from "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," Commentary, 38:33-9, cited in Grant S. McCellan, ed., Civil Rights, Vol. 36, No. 6 of The Reference Shelf (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1965), p. 68.

¹⁷Ibid.

a federal fair employment practices (FEP) law. The existing statute "is confined to dealing with federal contract employment situations and even within this limited sphere lacks practicable enforcement powers."¹⁸ While most Northern and Western states, and several Northern cities, have FEP laws may soon be politically feasible on a local level; but it is doubtful that any Southern state will adopt such legislation in the near future.¹⁹ Norgren and Hill argue that there is need for a federal FEP law both to fill the existing gap in the South and because it would be "more effective" in dealing with the widespread problem of discrimination in the operation of state public employment offices which are, of course, supported solely by federal funds.²⁰

A third possible source of employment protection available to teachers -- this one on a state level and quite common in the United States -- is the provision for teacher tenure. Of the states covered in the Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States, eight did not have tenure laws. But, the Task Force found that

where tenure laws do exist, they are differentially effective in safeguarding employment rights of Negro teachers. Tenure laws, however, are of little value in maintaining teaching positions unless local and state school officials assiduously enforce the terms of those statutes without regard to race and with concern only for the highest professional standards. Even more important they are ineffective when Negro teachers are fearful of reprisals, harassment, or even simply falling into disfavor with the powers that be. Regardless of race, public school teachers too often have little recourse against the pressures exerted on them by school administrators and school boards. More often than not, unless they are related

¹⁸Paul H. Norgren and Samuel E. Hill, Toward Fair Employment (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 234.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

to or beholden to the community power structure, they lack access to it. Moreover, they are often tied to the locality for family reasons and are unable to resign and take positions elsewhere. Thus, they are notoriously vulnerable, hence inclined to be docile and silent.²¹

The ineffectiveness of those tenure laws that do exist, the absence of FEP laws in the South, and the fact that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is empowered to combat discrimination in employment only in instances involving interstate commerce has left many Negro teachers in a tenuous employment position. The law sanctioned an integrated student body but not an integrated faculty.

Guidelines.

The term "guidelines" and its synonym "guideposts" are rapidly becoming two of the most over-worked words of contemporary government policy. But, because they imply a degree of voluntary compliance within the framework of, but necessarily as a direct result of, existing laws, they are useful in the present discussion. While the use of specific guidelines is not uncommon in many approaches to present day integration problems, the concept in civil rights has been present since the determination that "separate but equal" facilities must be equal. With the same ease one may read the concept of a guideline into the Supreme Court's second Brown decision. How else should we interpret the phrase "with all deliberate speed?"

These points notwithstanding, when we move into the realm of present-day guidelines to the integration of students in public schools, we are, in part,

²¹National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States. pp. 24-5.

abstracting from the problem of integrating faculties. The problems are not, however, mutually exclusive. If the employment of Negro teachers is related to the extent of integration, then factors which influence the extent of integration are legitimate fields of inquiry.

The 1961 Report of the Commission on Civil Rights found three basic types of plans for implementing school desegregation: (1) free choice of school; (2) rezoning of attendance areas for all schools, white and Negro; and (3) individual pupil assignment.²² Opposing these three methods of compliance (although the actual use of the last two methods may be aimed at noncompliance) are three means for keeping school integration at token levels. The three methods are: (1) pupil placement plans; (2) school closing, tuition grants; and (3) restrictive transfer provisions.²³ Somewhere between the two is the grade-a-year plan which aims at compliance while keeping integration at token levels, depending of course, on the amount of integration that is done each year.

Three terms that often arise when discussing school integration need explanation. "Token integration" is generally used to describe deliberate efforts to keep racial integration at a minimum. These plans are "designed to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such low levels

²²"Education," 1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report, Vol. 2, cited in George Baton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Minorities (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 431.

²³J. Kenneth Morland, Token Desegregation and Beyond (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, June, 1963), pp. 1-3.

as to maintain de facto segregation. Token integration, then, is an end in itself -- an end in which the established patterns of segregation prevail."²⁴ The term "de Facto Segregation" applied to the situation "where school segregation exists as a result of residential segregation and through no fault of or action on the part of a government agency," while "de jure segregation" is "deliberate segregation by law or administrative order."²⁵ In either case "the system of de facto segregation...is as effective a way of maintaining a biracial system in America as was the system of de jure segregation."²⁶

Returning, now, to the methods of maintaining token integration, it is found that the primary means has been the pupil placement plans. In general, these plans provide for initial assignment of students by race to their respective schools, although ostensibly other criteria are used. Once the assignment has been made, the student is allowed to contest his assignment through what usually becomes a labyrinth of administrative procedures. "Thus, actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment..."²⁷ The second method of maintaining segregation -- school closing, tuition grants -- is self explanatory. Prince

²⁴Ibid., p. vi.

²⁵Arnold M. Rose, "School Segregation Before the Courts," quoted in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 195.

²⁶Kenneth B. Clark, "Social and Economic Implications of Integration in the Public Schools," Seminar on Manpower Policy and Program (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 41.

²⁷Morland, p. 2.

Edward County, Virginia, is notable for its use of this method. Virginia, along with Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and North Carolina have passed legislation which allows tuition grants to pupils attending private nonsectarian schools.²⁸ Restrictive transfer provisions are a modification of the pupil placement plans. They are "restrictive" in the sense that the law provides that a student who finds himself in a school where his race is in predominantly Negro schools may transfer under this provision while Negroes in that school may not; Negroes in predominantly white schools may transfer while whites in that school may not.²⁹ Consequently the result of the provision is to resegregate the previously all-Negro school.

Guidelines for noncompliance, arising out of attempts to maintain token integration, had resulted, by 1964, in 421 litigation cases in state and federal courts.³⁰ All seventeen southern and border states had recorded at least one case. It is worthy of note that, in general, this litigation has attempted to show that the "responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."³¹

This section has attempted to point out the guidelines that have been used by various states to foster noncompliance, in spirit, if not in fact, with the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The significance of noncompliance to the problem of job opportunities for Negro teachers is this: If states and/or

²⁸Ibid., p. 3.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, p. 3.

³¹School Desegregation: Old Problems under a New Law, p. 22.

school districts are able to retard the integration of student bodies, it will not be surprising to find that Negro teachers are continuing to be hired in adequate numbers to maintain biracial schools. This is in agreement with the finding that "in general, the more extensive the desegregation of students, the greater the chances are that Negro teachers will be adversely affected by demotion, displacement, or dismissal."³² Conversely, it would be expected that displacement would not be a serious problem in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina all of which had less than ten percent of their Negroes in schools with whites in 1966.³³

Estimates of displacement.

Attacking the problem of teacher displacement by counting heads is not a satisfactory approach. This method is not as objective as it would appear and, hence, is likely to be inaccurate. In order to count heads it would be necessary to arrive at an exact definition of what constitutes displacement. Certainly a teacher who has not been retained in his present job, but has immediately found a teaching job in another district, has, in a manner of speaking, been "displaced." Should he be counted? What about a teacher who is replaced by a more qualified person and chooses to take a job outside the teaching profession even if other jobs inside the profession are available? Demotion to a "limited contact" position, such as a librarian, might well be considered as displacement from a teaching job although such a person would be unlikely to show up as such a statistic. Even if problems of this nature

³²National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 56.

³³Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, February, 1967, p. 2.

could be meaningfully overcome, it is still doubtful that objective totals could be obtained because of the reason suggested in the last section -- fear of reprisals in the form of blacklisting those who publicize their status.

There is only one authoritative publication on the problem of displacement -- the Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States. The study resulting in that report was undertaken, by the National Education Association, in response to "a steady stream of calls for help as Negro teachers and other school personnel have been displaced, threatened with displacement, or downgraded because of the desegregation or integration of schools."³⁴ The NEA interviewed teachers who had reportedly been displaced or downgraded between May and September 1965. Out of this limited sample of 721 teachers, 480 were interviewed with the result that "the Task Force arrived at 668 as the probably minimum number of teachers displaced and/or downgraded for reasons either directly or indirectly related to desegregation and integration."³⁵ It should be emphasized that this survey made no pretext of being exhaustive. In fact, "the generalization seems to be justified that most displaced Negro teachers fear to make an issue of the way they have been treated, even when they have access to needed help. Moreover, many displaced teachers expressed hope that they may yet be re-employed, and this tends to make them overcautious in reporting on past and present treatment."³⁶ If we could take on face value the statement that

³⁴National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 5.

³⁵Ibid., p. 41.

³⁶Ibid., p. 25.

"typically, whenever twenty or twenty-five Negro pupils are transferred from a segregated school, the Negro teacher left without a class is in many cases dismissed rather than being transferred to another school with a vacancy,"³⁷ then, using the 567,789 Negroes in school with whites in 1965,³⁸ the number of displacements would be close to 22,000.

This figure is unduly high. But, estimates that place the exact number in the thousands are not uncommon.³⁹ Carter claims that in Oklahoma, alone, "nearly 1100 Negro teachers have been displaced in the decade since the Supreme Court decision."⁴⁰ Another source places the number for the same state at 405.⁴¹ In the fall of 1965, when the problem was receiving a great deal of attention, Samuel Ethridge, field director for the NEA, claimed that 5500 Negro teachers would lose their jobs if the trend continued.⁴²

Admittedly, estimates of teacher displacement have little face value. One community's loss may be another's gain and, if the two do not cancel, we will get an over-estimate of displacement. Conversely, many teachers may choose not to publicize their status; this leads to an under-estimate. These estimates, however, did serve a useful function -- national attention

³⁷Ibid., p. 18.

³⁸Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, December, 1965, p. 2.

³⁹J. M. Arisman, "The New Negro Casualties; Where do the Teachers Go?" Commonweal, December 24, 1965, p. 373.

⁴⁰Barbara Carter, "Integrating the Negro Teacher Ont of a Job," The Reporter, August 12, 1965, p. 31.

⁴¹Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, February, 1967, p. 27.

⁴²"Integration and Dismissals of Southern Negro Teachers," School and Society, December 11, 1965, p. 468.

was focused on the plight of displaced teachers; and the National Education Association responded.

Recent attention to displacement.

Little attention was paid to the problems of teacher displacement and faculty integration during the first decade of school desegregation. Although dismissals were becoming increasingly common in the Border states, concern was concentrated among the victims. Without funds to fight the legal battles and hopeful of finding new employment, many of the dismissed remained silent. It was 1964 before the problem received national attention.

When the National Education Association met in June, 1964, they established the "Million Dollar Fund for Teacher Rights." The expressed purpose of the fund was to protect the professional rights of all teachers. But, there can be little doubt that the money was intended almost exclusively to combat the problems of Negro teachers in the South.⁴³ The fund has provided money both to fight court battles for teachers whose dismissals were thought to violate the equal protection clause of the Constitution and to provide these same teachers with interest free loans until their positions were restored.

Typical of the intention of the fund is a case in Giles County, Virginia. When the county closed its Negro high school, the six Negro teachers were dismissed. These teachers have been given financial assistance and their "test case" -- stressing discriminatory dismissals -- has been paid for by

⁴³"NEA and Negro Teacher Displacement Problem," School and Society, October 16, 1965, pp. 365-6.

the Million Dollar Fund.⁴⁴

A second major contribution of the NEA was the decision to finance a study of teacher displacement. Out of the recommendations of the Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States have come programs that assist in reemployment and maintenance of current positions, assist in desegregation, provide for further education, and improve teacher preparation. More specifically, these programs call for legal and financial assistance to individual teachers who have been adversely affected by desegregation, national listings and effective placement services, centers from the study of desegregation problems and faculty integration, and exchange teaching.⁴⁵

Under a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Texas Southern University of Houston, Texas, has created a Resource Center for the Solution of Problems Associated with School Desegregation.⁴⁶ The purpose of the center is to give professional assistance to school districts, foster effective communication between prospective members of integrated faculties, and advise of the legal aspects of school desegregation. Unfortunately, centers with these goals have grown out of hindsight. This does not deny that the need still exists. Had the centers, though, been founded at the proper time, many have been saved to the profession.

⁴⁴"Discriminatory Dismissals of Negro Teachers," School and Society, October 2, 1965, p. 338.

⁴⁵National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, pp. 58-9.

⁴⁶The Houston Post, December 4, 1966, sect. 1, p. 7.

The problem.

We have suggested the ironical plight of Negro public school teachers over the past decade. While on the one hand there has been a tide of civil rights legislation that promises to improve the lot of all Negroes in the long run, the immediate outgrowth has been a change in the structure of the public school system which has fostered concern for the employment opportunities of Negro teachers. "In many places where Negro schools were closed, although the Negro teachers were displaced, white teachers with less experience and preparation were employed to take care of the increased number of pupils in the newly integrated schools. Obviously a double standard has been used heretofore in employing Negro and white teachers if the Negroes are not regarded as of sufficiently high quality to teach white children in desegregated schools."⁴⁷

An individual Negro teacher, like any other, can be placed in one of two categories. He is either an adequate teacher or he is not. If he is an adequate teacher, desires to remain in the teaching profession, and will accept a position in an integrated school (there have been no reports of Negroes refusing) there is no reason why he should be permanently displaced. If he is not an adequate teacher, he should not have been hired and, again, there should be no possibility of displacement. Given the present shortage of teachers, anyone within the profession, with a reasonable degree of mobility, should find employment. But,

⁴⁷National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 40.

"white schools" are viewed as having no place for Negro teachers. As a result, when Negro pupils in any number transfer out of Negro schools, Negro teachers become surplus and lose their jobs. It matters not whether they have more seniority. They were not employed as teachers for the school system -- as the law would maintain -- but as teachers of Negro schools.⁴⁸

Three of the major findings of the Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States relate directly to the problem that is the subject of this thesis. They are:

...The integration of school faculties rarely keeps pace with desegregation of student bodies. In larger districts, however, teachers are less likely to be displaced. The lag in faculty integration ultimately jeopardizes the Negro teacher and trends to limit opportunities for prospective Negro teachers.

.....

...In general, the more extensive the desegregation of students, the greater the chances are that Negro teachers will be adversely affected by demotion, displacement, or dismissal. However, there is a variation between city and rural areas.

.....

...Displacement of Negro teachers has tended to be more acute early in the desegregation process; for example, in Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky. As Negro teachers demonstrate ability to succeed in integrated situations the rate of their employment may increase, but probably not in equatable measure.⁴⁹

Gunnar Myrdal anticipated the general problem in his commencement address at predominately Negro Howard University in 1962. He said:

...the Negro professional middle and upper class will have to surrender economic monopolies which they have held, and are holding, on the basis of prejudice. The future society of equality is a society of free competition, and you will

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 56.

have to face it and prepare yourselves to deal with it successfully. You cannot cry for the breaking down of the walls of segregation and discrimination while, at the same time, hoping to retain petty monopoly preserves among a Negro clientele to give you a comfortable and uncontested economic safety. You must have the courage to choose a harder life in which your abilities will be tested against the norms established in the wider American society, and indeed, in the whole world.⁵⁰

Statement of the problem.

There are findings -- well documented -- that employment opportunities for Negro teachers have been adversely affected by public school integration. At a time when many areas face chronic shortages of trained personnel experienced in teaching, especially in teaching the poor and disadvantaged, displacement represents a serious under-utilization of available manpower.⁵¹ Estimates are available on the number of displacements, but such estimates cannot reflect the related problem of failure to hire qualified graduates of predominately Negro universities. Thus, it is reasonable to search for means whereby the full impact of integration on the number of teaching jobs open to Negro can be established.

Statement of findings.

This thesis tests the hypothesis that Negro teachers are displaced in direct proportion to the progress of school integration. Negro teachers displacement is measured by applying the "shift technique" to school statistics for seventeen states from 1954 to 1966. Thus it is possible to

⁵⁰Gunnar Myrdal, "Commencement Address, Ninety-fourth Annual Commencement," Howard University, Washington, D.C., June 8, 1962, quoted in Gunnar Myrdal, Challenge to Affluence (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962), pp. 169-70.

⁵¹National Commission of Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 4.

arrive at an "aggregate job advantage" or "disadvantage" for Negro teachers, by year, for each state. The most frequently encountered pattern is a relative downward shift and a trend away from proportionality for Negroes. This means that, although the absolute number of Negro teachers increased, they did not increase fast enough to maintain their share of the market. The trend was toward greater absolute disadvantage. The hypothesis is tested by correlating this measure of aggregate job disadvantage against the percent of integration. Kentucky, Oklahoma, Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri all showed coefficients of correlation of .8 or better. For Florida, the coefficient was $-.83$. This indicated that Negro teachers increased their job advantage as integration progressed. No other state showed this relationship. In a number of states, integration had made so little progress by 1966 that meaningful results were not possible.

Organization of the thesis.

In Chapter II, we examine causes of declining job opportunities for Negro teachers in the South. Chapter III reviews the status of teacher employment, by race, in the South and Border states for the period which begins in 1954 and ends in 1966 and develops a quantitative measure of "aggregate job advantage." Chapter IV tests the hypothesis; and Chapter V summarizes the thesis and states its conclusions.

CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Declining job opportunities for Negro teachers in the South are quantitatively examined in the next two chapters. The present chapter attempts to explain several of the factors that have contributed to the failure of southern schools to hire Negro teachers at a rate which would be commensurate with the general level of Negro school population.

Before proceeding with the causes of "declining job opportunities," this term should be given a precise meaning. Implied in the use of this term is a contrast between the actual number employed in the given occupation and the number that would have been employed, had certain standards for the number to be employed been maintained. For example, if the accepted standard for hiring teachers is one for every twenty-five students, then a school with 1000 students would be expected to hire forty teachers. Assume that, prior to integrating the schools, two facilities had been maintained, one with 900 white students and one with 100 Negro students. The schools would have hired thirty-six white teachers and four Negro teachers, respectively. If, upon integrating the schools, a Negro teacher was replaced by a white one there occurred a loss, according to the accepted standard, in "job opportunity" for a Negro teacher. That is, a job that traditionally had been held by a Negro teacher is now held by a white teacher. The number of teaching positions held by Negroes had declined while the number of Negro students has remained constant. A similar situation would be depicted if the

increase in the number of Negro teachers did not keep pace with an increase in the number of Negro students. Declining job opportunities has, necessarily, been defined outside the realm of any value judgment as to the abilities of the individuals involved.

Negro teacher displacement, several estimates of which were reported in the preceding chapter, clearly is not the same as a decline in job opportunities. If it could be shown, for example, that the school age Negro population in the South had been reduced significantly by the out-migration of Negroes, then one might well expect that with the overwhelming bias against integrated faculties, there had developed a teacher surplus peculiar only to the Negro teachers. A decline in job opportunities, thus, might be attributable to the reduction in the number of Negro children attending school. Should the number of Negro children attending school maintain itself, however, it would be expected a priori that the number of Negroes holding teaching jobs would not decline. Reports of displacement under these circumstances give two causes for concern. First, there is concern that displacement is occurring while the market is expanding and, secondly, there is concern that job opportunities for Negro teachers are not expanding at the same rate as the market. If the reason for displacement and declining job opportunities is a market that is shrinking in terms of the number of students, the cause has been isolated. But, displacement in the face of an expanding market is a contradiction. What causes such a situation to exist?

A number of interrelated causes for the decline in job opportunities can be found. They include the destruction of the job monopoly existing when only teachers and students of the same race were in classrooms together, the elimination of facilities that had been maintained solely to provide a

segregated education, the migration of Negroes to urban areas, the lack of quality education in many of the traditionally Negro teachers' colleges, the opinion that the Negro is intellectually inferior to the white, and -- the outgrowth of the last two -- discrimination. None is necessarily the cause and another the effect, but, in sum, they have worked together to deprive Negro teachers of employment opportunities that, justly or unjustly, they would have held within a segregated system. It should be mentioned, however, that even in segregated school systems Negro teachers are not hired in the same proportion as white teachers. (See Appendix I.).

In part, then, we are working through Myrdal's principle of cumulation.¹ Starting with a system that is in comparative static equilibrium -- hiring teachers of both races in adequate numbers to teach the members of their own race -- we then introduce the independent variable: the Supreme Court desegregation decision. Now we turn to a number of dependent variables which "by the aggregate weight of the cumulative effects running back and forth between them all, start the whole system moving in one direction or the other as the case may be, with a speed depending upon the original push and the functions of causal interrelation within the system."² We know what the original push was, but why does the system move in the direction it does? Why are Negro teachers suffering from a decline in job opportunities?

Destruction of the Job Monopoly.

The isolation of a Negro community within the community as a whole

¹Gunnar Myrdal, "The Principle of Cumulation," quoted in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 372-6.

²Ibid., p. 374.

makes it necessary that persons in selected occupations serve only a segregated Negro clientele. Such is usually the case with small retail outlets and repair services as well as among professional persons engaged in medicine, dentistry, accounting, and the practice of law. Within the Negro community they enjoy a locational monopoly but, at the same time, are restricted almost exclusively to serving other Negroes, since it is unlikely that whites would enter the area to avail themselves of the services of Negroes. On the other hand, it is likely that a Negro will use the services of a white even though members of his own race may offer the same service.³ These monopoly preserves are maintained within the framework of private enterprise, since both buyer and seller are free to buy or sell without regard to location. The Negro teacher, as a servant of the government, however, enjoyed no similar freedom in the segregated school system. "It is clear that...Negro teachers were employed specifically and exclusively for the purpose of teaching Negro pupils in racially segregated schools. Segregated schools required segregated student bodies taught by segregated faculties."⁴ Such a job monopoly has its advantages.

Colberg describes racial segregation in schooling as a "protective tariff for the southern non-white teacher, holding down competition strongly and providing a sort of monopoly advantage. When any high tariff wall is taken down

³Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 123-31.

⁴National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 22.

a difficult period of adjustment ensues."⁵ To continue the analogy further, we might say that Colberg feels the Negro teacher is at a comparative disadvantage in an integrated job market. Consequently, the Negro teacher might view the crumbling tariff wall with trepidation. Coupled with the distinct possibility of being displaced are two complicating factors. First, "Negro teachers who staff...(Negro) schools have a vested interest in their continuance"...for "almost invariably they have a social status and an influence in the Negro community which is not enjoyed by their white counterparts."⁶ Pro-segregation politicians, playing heavily on the Negro teacher's position within his community, have loudly asserted that the bulk of the Negro teachers will lose their jobs as schools are forced to desegregate.⁷ Secondly, the Negro teacher's decision to advocate integration is complicated by the possibility that he may be assigned to an integrated faculty. While some will welcome the opportunity, it is not likely to be an easy task.

Especially in situations where Negroes are brought into previously all-white places, but also in many up-grading situations, too much is expected of the Negro employee. Essentially, a Negro "pioneer" is expected to combine pride and humility, wisdom and receptiveness, strength and tolerance, soberness and humor, aggressiveness and patience, ambition and satisfaction, all this simultaneously and in delicate balance. The job profile is unrealistic; the strain can prove too much for

⁵Marshall R. Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development 1939 - 1963, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 41.

⁶Hodding Carter, "Desegregation Does Not Mean Integration," The New York Times Magazine, Feb. 11, 1962, quoted in Hubert H. Humphrey, ed., Integration vs. Segregation, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964), p. 138.

⁷Guy H. Wells and John Constable, "The Supreme Court Decision and Its Aftermath," in Virgil A. Clift, ed., and others, Negro Education in America - it's adequacy, Problems and Needs, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 228.

a mere mortal -- regardless of his skin color.⁸

Another writer, after interviewing Negro teachers, stated that they showed a "manifest sense of insecurity" over the prospect of serving on integrated faculties and felt it might be better to leave teaching altogether.⁹

While these fears may be dissipating, early experience with integration served to underscore them.

The fact that the South maintained a dual educational system was found by Colberg to be directly responsible for a significant number of teaching jobs for Negroes. By examining the revealed hiring practices in the North, he determined that about 37,000 out of 92,000 nonwhite teachers in the South in 1959 owed their jobs to the "higher propensity of the South to hire Negroes because of the attempt to maintain segregated schools."¹⁰ When the interim battle for integrated schools was fought in 1954, the Negro teacher lost the captive Negro classroom that the law in many states had provided him. And, as the integrated schools became a reality, integrated faculties lagged behind. The laws that once protected the Negro teacher's employment had not been turned against him. He was still part of the same group that was outside the mainstream of education. Personal treatment comes slowly when custom dictates that we look at the whole, not the individuals.

Elimination of duplicate facilities.

One of the ironies of school desegregation has been that those school

⁸Arthur B. Shostak, "Two Issues of Negro Advancement," quoted in H.R. Northrup and R.L. Rowan, eds., The Negro and Employment Opportunity, Problems and Practices, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 324-5.

⁹Willard E. Gandy, "Implications of Integration for the Southern Teacher," Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1962, p. 191.

¹⁰Colberg, p. 71.

system complying earliest and most completely with orders to desegregate are also the systems where marked displacement of Negro teachers has taken place. This is especially true of Kentucky, Missouri, and Oklahoma where compliance with desegregation was "marked by wholesale closing of small Negro schools, the absorption of their students into the formerly white schools, and the summary dismissal of Negro teachers."¹¹ Strangely, this process seems to be tied directly to the inflexibility of the desegregation procedures in these states. Although there has been a resolute attempt to eliminate the small, inefficient school in all parts of the United States, the Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States did not report any teacher dismissals directly tied to the closing of Negro schools in the states where integration has been at a minimum.¹²

A further aspect of the problem is that teacher displacement is primarily a rural or a small-city phenomenon, at least in the early stages of desegregation.¹³ It is easy to imagine the Negro teacher caught between the dual forces of a shrinking rural population and a community's desire to comply with the integration laws. If complete integration is only a matter of time, the rural community may well decide to close unnecessary facilities immediately and solve both problems at once. In fact, in the analysis of the causes for dismissal reported by the Task Force Survey, 172 of 427 cases were directly tied to some form of consolidation of existing facilities. This included

¹¹National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 38.

¹²Ibid., pp. 38-9.

¹³Ibid., p. 38.

116 cases where schools had been closed, fourteen where grades had been dropped, and forty-two where enrollment within a school had been reduced by the transfer of pupils to integrated schools.¹⁴

Integration of urban school systems apparently takes on a somewhat different character. Primarily, these systems, because of the larger and growing number of students of both races, have an inherent flexibility that the rural systems lack. While it may be that urban schools are not employing Negro teachers at a rate that is comparable to the increases in Negro students, it is altogether probable that existing facilities are being used to the maximum and that the number of Negroes leaving for integrated schools is matched by a corresponding number desiring to attend the Negro school. Dismissal of Negro teachers may not occur, but there will likely be a decline in job opportunities since the Negro students who transfer will probably be taught by white teachers. Hence, fewer Negro teachers, in proportion, will be hired.

There is little doubt that, where duplicate facilities were maintained solely for the purpose of providing a segregated education, especially in rural areas, economies of scale will result from closing some schools. It is interesting to speculate, though, whether or not stagnant rural communities, where segregation is firmly entrenched by the economic limitations on both races, would have come to this conclusion on their own accord. It would seem more probable that such communities would have continued to offer an inferior education to both races at an inflated cost. Regardless of the

¹⁴Ibid., p. 44. It is significant that the most frequently cited reason for dismissal was the failure to make a qualifying score on the National Teachers Examination -- 216 cases, all in Florida.

immediate price in terms of Negro teacher employment opportunity, the long run savings in these rural areas justify the closing of duplicate schools.

Robinson, in 1957, summed up what ten years later is still an accurate picture of the Negro teacher's dependence for employment on the population distribution of his race. He stated that,

in general, it appears that where the concentration of Negro population is large enough and so arranged to enable desegregated school systems to employ Negro teachers in predominantly Negro schools, Negro teachers have not been faced with termination notices. On the other hand, where the one- and two-teacher Negro school has been abolished, Negro teachers in many instances have found themselves without jobs.¹⁵

It is inevitable that some individuals affected will be so closely tied to the community by family responsibilities or the occupation of their spouses that they cannot go where the jobs are. The Task Force Survey found that 66.3 percent of the displaced teachers, who were still unemployed at the time of the survey, either felt that they could not move or must stay in the immediate locality.¹⁶ The chances of these people returning to the teaching profession must be regarded as slim, since it is likely that the attitudes that first brought about their dismissal will not change materially; and nearby communities are likely to possess similar attitudes and face similar problems. The immobility of these persons is, however, to be contrasted with the high degree of mobility the Negro has shown in general. His movement from the farm to the city is an important factor in teacher displacement.

Migration.

¹⁵Glen Robinson, "Man in No Man's Land - the School Administrator," in Don Shoemaker, ed., With All Deliberate Speed - Segregation - Desegregation in Southern Schools, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 200.

¹⁶National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 38.

Closely allied with the influence of closing duplicate facilities has been the movement of Negroes to urban areas in the South. Similarly there has been a net migration of nonwhites out of the majority of southern states between 1950 and 1960.¹⁷ But, the total Negro population in all except two states increased during this time.

From 1950 to 1960 the states of Arkansas and Mississippi showed decreases in their Negro populations of 8.8 and 7.2 percent respectively.¹⁸ Their losses were more than offset by Florida, which had an increase in its Negro population of 46.6 percent. In total, the Negro population in the South has been expanding. We would expect, a priori, a growing need for Negro teachers.

Most of the nonwhite population gain resulted from an excess of births over deaths. Only one state, Florida, showed a net in-migration during the ten year period. The net out-migration ranged from 7.6 percent in Kentucky to 32.2 and 35.0 percent for Mississippi and Arkansas.¹⁹ This tremendous loss in these two states was enough to cause their total nonwhite population to fall.

Ten of the eleven southern states showed a decrease in rural nonwhite population. The decrease in North Carolina was only 2.5 percent while in Arkansas it reached a high of 23.0 percent. As might be expected the urban nonwhite population increased in all the states. Arkansas showed the smallest

¹⁷Vivian W. Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South, (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, no date), p. 6. Henderson includes the following states in the South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 7.

urban gain, 18.6 percent, and Louisiana the largest, 210.7 percent.²⁰

The migration of Negro population, in and of itself, has not had an adverse effect on the potential job opportunities open to Negro teachers in the South. Had the schools remained segregated, total employment of Negro teachers would have risen in proportion to the increases in the number of Negro children. Displacement can be attributed, in part, to the movement of the Negro to the city and the inability of some teachers to follow the population flow and hence the employment opportunities.

Predominantly Negro colleges.

If one were forced to isolate one reason why the Negro teacher has not been an effective rival for the white teacher in the integrated job market, the fact that he undoubtedly was educated in one of the predominantly Negro colleges would take priority. Negro colleges have, in the past, specialized in training prospective teachers since this was the primary occupation open to the professional Negro. But, these colleges have not produced a quality product. Had the same person, who now is having difficulty finding employment within the teaching profession, been trained for teaching in a "white" college, employment difficulties possibly never would have arisen.

The individual who attended the Negro college probably had no choice. The college that trained him probably had little choice in the quality of education it was able to offer. Students were ill prepared, and faculty had been the victims of the same system. But, this subject, the cycle of under-education, must be delayed for now.

²⁰Ibid., p. 8.

Negro colleges are concentrated in the southern and border states and the District of Columbia. Of the 123 predominantly Negro colleges, 119 are in this area.²¹ These institutions enroll approximately two-thirds of all Negro college students.²² "Thus, most Negro students pursue their higher education in what is geographically a very narrow area of the country, an area that has not been noted for intellectual enlightenment or educational innovation."²³ It has traditionally been the function of these colleges to train teachers who would return to the same segregated school system. More and more Negroes, though, are breaking the pattern and pursuing advanced training in regions outside the South. There they are able to seek advanced degrees in subjects other than education. Still, however, "more than half of Negro college graduates have attended all-Negro colleges."²⁴ Of these, Howard University in Washington is the only one to offer a doctor of philosophy degree.²⁵

Negroes holding the terminal degree, or those desiring one, must have attended, or plan on attending, a fully accredited university. Unfortunately, not enough doctoral degrees have been conferred on Negroes to supply the demands of the Negro colleges where the faculties, as well as the students, are predominantly Negro. While fifty-one percent of the faculties in the

²¹Bernard W. Harleston, "Higher Education for the Negro," Atlantic, November, 1965, p. 139.

²²Laurence E. Dennis, "Equalizing Educational Opportunity in Colleges and Universities," Phi Delta Kappan, May, 1964, p. 402.

²³Harleston, p. 139.

²⁴Charles C. Killingsworth, "Negroes in a Changing Labor Market," quoted in Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., Employment, Race, and Poverty, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1967), p. 40.

²⁵"Faculty Education and Income in Negro and White Colleges," Monthly Labor Review, May, 1965, p. 539.

white institutions hold Ph.D's or Ed.D's, only twenty-eight percent at Negro institutions hold these degrees.²⁶

Without a sufficient number of professors with doctoral degrees, Negro colleges find it difficult to meet the standards imposed by accrediting boards. The Harvard Educational Review reported that 53.56 percent of the Negro colleges are regionally accredited without condition.²⁷ This has occurred since 1957. Until that time the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools refused to admit any Negro college to membership.²⁸ Another source identifies seventy-six schools that are either fully or conditionally accredited.²⁹ Hence, of the 119 predominantly Negro colleges in the southern and border states, about sixty-three are fully accredited, thirteen are conditionally accredited, and forty-three, or about thirty-five percent, have no association with an accrediting agency. Dennis states that even if consideration is given to the accredited schools only, "it is still difficult to count them as being fully in the mainstream of American education."³⁰

Help is on the way. During the past few years a number of pilot programs to upgrade the quality of education in Negro colleges have been under way. Typically, a large northern university, either with financial resources of its own or through a contract with a non-profit institution such as the Ford

²⁶Ibid., p. 538.

²⁷Stephan J. Wirght, "The Negro College in America," Harvard Educational Review, Summer, 1960, p. 291.

²⁸Ibid., p. 296.

²⁹"Faculty Education and Income in Negro and White Colleges," p. 539.

³⁰Dennis, p. 402.

or Rockefeller Foundation, has taken a Negro college under its wing. By loaning faculty and administrative personnel to the Negro college, they seek to achieve an immediate improvement in the quality of the school's education. Often, though, they must take two steps backward before taking one forward. Brown University, in working with its adopted institution, found it advisable to teach Standard American English as a foreign language.³¹

The Ford Foundation, a leader in promoting cooperation between white and Negro universities, announced in July, 1967 an initial series of grants totaling \$1.1 million. These grants, affecting fifty-two Negro colleges, would finance self-studies in order to discover salient weakness in the hopes of eventually attracting federal support for specific projects.³² The success of such programs is vitally necessary in order that the Negro college be elevated into the ranges of academic quality. Barring the possibility that all Negro colleges can be brought up to an acceptable level, some of them might be transformed into junior colleges.³³

The proposal to downgrade some four year Negro colleges to junior colleges has merit. The success of junior colleges in California indicates the desirability of this approach to higher education. In addition, it is probable that the present faculties of many Negro colleges would be more effectively utilized at the junior college level. Thirdly, integration will soon make substantial inroads into the white southern universities and the better Negro students, having proven themselves in a junior college, can be

³¹Harleston, p. 140.

³²Fred M. Hechinger, "Project Aimed at Upgrading Negro Colleges," The Houston Chronicle, July 7, 1967, sect. 2, p. 4.

³³Harleston, p. 140.

siphoned off into a more stimulating academic atmosphere.

Returning now, to what is, rather than what will be, we may well ask if the picture of the Negro college graduate is as dismal as the picture of the Negro college graduate is as dismal as the picture of the institution from which he graduated. To this one should answer a qualified "yes." Bearing in mind that what is true of the whole is not necessarily true of the parts, the answer is "yes" if the individual is from all but a handful of quality universities represented by Fisk, Hampton, Tuskegee, Dillard, Howard, and Atlanta University. Unless the individual has left the South for an advanced degree, or has availed himself of integrated classrooms in the larger southern universities, or has participated, if he is a teacher, in summer workshops to improve his formal preparation, the answer is again "yes." Carter points out that Negro teachers have, indeed, found it necessary to compete with whites for credits since that entitles them to equal pay. Also, many Negroes, realizing their colleges are inferior, have gone North and thus may be better prepared than the whites who have remained at home.³⁴

Apparently it would be relatively easy to find exceptions to the rule that the Negro teacher is inferior to the white. Ashmore stated that by 1952, "the gap between the average number of years of college training received by white and Negro teachers in the South had been virtually closed."³⁵ Whites had an average of 3.8 years of college training, while the 3.5 years of Negroes

³⁴Carter, Barbara, p. 33.

³⁵Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 158.

was severely constrained by an average of 1.9 in Mississippi.³⁶ But, consider these statements on the general quality of the graduate of a predominantly Negro college, be he teacher or not:

It would be a mistake to assume that Negro and white teachers of equivalent training as measured by years of college training are equally competent. It is generally agreed that on the average Negro teacher-training institutions are below white training institutions in the quality of their programs.³⁷

On the average...Negro teachers are much less able than white teachers in spite of the fact that they have about the same amount of formal preparation. Like other young Negroes, those preparing to teach are usually handicapped by poor schools and deprived backgrounds.³⁸

It is true, particularly in the de jure segregated systems, that the teachers usually are themselves products of an inferior educational system, and tend, therefore, to perpetuate the inferiority.³⁹

Thus, despite the intensive and dedicated teaching in Negro institutions -- and there is considerable evidence of both -- the majority of them impose, directly or indirectly, constraints and limitations which become insurmountable barriers in the pursuit of academic and intellectual excellence.⁴⁰

...the average Negro teacher will be below the average of others in terms of competence and breath of educational experience.⁴¹

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Truman M. Pierce, James B. Kincheloe, R. Edgar Moore, Galen N. Drewry, and Bennie E. Carmichael, White and Negro Schools in the South; An Analysis of Biracial Education, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 212.

³⁸Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 59.

³⁹Clark, p. 13.

⁴⁰Harleston, p. 140.

⁴¹S. M. Nabrit, then President of Texas Southern University, quoted in "Incompetence has no Race," The Houston Past, June 13, 1965, from their files, no page number given.

A major weakness of Negro education is the poor preparation of the Negro teacher.⁴²

A lone voice of dissent against the overwhelming opinion that the average Negro teacher is inferior to the white, is N. A. Ford of Morgan State College. He argues that because the worst scores made on the service exemption tests were made by male students majoring in education "our better white students are not attracted to the teaching profession. But the better Negro students are attracted to it."⁴³ Since Negroes are only about ten percent of the population and only about four percent of the college graduates, the teaching profession, which employes a high percentage of all Negro college graduates, must get the best the race has to offer.

Putting Ford's highly questionable argument aside, it becomes manifestly clear that declining job opportunities for Negro teachers can be traced directly to the failure of the predominantly Negro colleges to give their graduates a quality education. It is at once agreed that the raw material coming out of the segregated Negro public school does not match the quality of the white. But, the opinion remains that had the Negro student been able to bolt the predominantly Negro college, his employment opportunities for Negro teachers can be traced directly to the failure of the predominantly Negro colleges to give their graduates a quality education. It is at once agreed that the raw material coming out of the segregated Negro public school does not match the quality of the white. But, the opinion remains that had the Negro student been able to bolt the predominantly Negro college, his employment opportunities would have been substantially improved.

⁴²Ginzberg, p. 60.

⁴³Mortimer H. Morrise, "Integrated Schools Mean Teachers, Too," Phi Delta Kappan, June, 1958, p. 406.

The Negro colleges, being the last in the chain of formal education that transform the Negro student into a teacher, is in the unfortunate position of being the one cause most closely associated with the effect. Perhaps it would be better to ascribe the cause to the whole cycle of segregated education that most Negro teachers now in the profession were forced to endure.

The Negro intellect and the cycle of undereducation.

The educational heritage of a segregated school system has left an indelible mark on the American Negro. By imposing a caste system within the schools, the South was effectively able to perpetuate an inferior education of the Negro. In turn, this limited the availability of economic opportunity which is necessary if a class of underprivileged people is to lift itself into a position of respect and power in the society. The justification for a dual system of education was firmly rooted in the bigotry of the intellectual inferiority of the Negro. The eradication of this opinion and the system that fosters it have not been accomplished up to the present time.

The persons responsible for the founding of separate education for the races did not, of course, have access to the abundance of tests and studies upon which anthropologists are now able to base their judgment of the Negro intelligence. Had they been available, one of the major arguments in favor of segregated schools would have been destroyed. "There is no scientific evidence that inherent intelligence is higher or lower in any group of people who can be separated from another by anthropological distinctions."⁴⁴ "If

⁴⁴Robert D. North, "The Intelligence of the American Negro," quoted in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems, (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 335.

the nation's school systems were segregated on the basis of ability to learn, color lines would be crossed in a way that would bewilder advocates of the theory of white mental supremacy."⁴⁵

The failure of individuals, who stress intellectual differences between the races, to eliminate the environmental and cultural gaps is often the source of the misunderstanding. Tests that measure intelligence must be carefully designed to eliminate these factors. Individuals desiring to make judgements on the matter must do the same. Too often when the intelligence of two groups of whites is observed to differ, "the explanation of the difference is immediately sought in schooling, environment, economic positions of parents, and so on, but...when Negroes and whites differ in precisely the same way the difference is said to be genetic."⁴⁶ Speaking to the same point, Humphrey says:

There is no sense in which it is legitimate to speak of "Negro" vs. "white" intelligence. Intelligence is an individual rather than a group characteristic. To the extent that it has an inherited basis, it is influenced by the individual's immediate antecedents and not by the total race to which he belongs. It would be necessary radically to reduce caste and class differences between Negroes and whites before their innate intelligence could be compared. Infant and young-child comparisons suggest greater similarities between Negroes and whites in the early years. Many of the differences reported in the past between Negro and white intelligence as constituting evidence for heredity have been shown to be the consequence of cultural and class differences.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 334.

⁴⁶Sherwood L. Washburn, "The Study of Race," quoted in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems, (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 331.

⁴⁷Hubert H. Humphrey, ed., Integration vs. Segregation, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964), p. 268.

Opposition to the integration of schools brought back old fears that by attending the same school as the Negro, the white would somewhat be drawn "down to his level." Shuey contributed to this impression by concluding in 1958 that her studies of race "all point to the presence of some native differences between Negroes and whites as determined by intelligence tests."⁴⁸ In an open attempt to renounce such statements, the following resolution was adopted by the American Anthropological Association:

The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization.⁴⁹

Since the Negro possesses no innate deficiency in his ability to learn, the decline in job opportunities for Negro teachers cannot be traced directly to this factor. It is, of course, highly probable that some school administrators refuse to accept the evidence, but this moves into the realm of discrimination. However, if inborn abilities are not developed because the institutions within the society retard this development, then the institutional arrangement must accept the blame.

The institution of segregated education and its collaborator -- cyclical undereducation -- are the chief causes of the failure of the Negro to develop

⁴⁸Audrey M. Shuey, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*, (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell, Co., 1958), p. 318.

⁴⁹Report L-29, (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1961), p. 1.

his innate potential. This is strikingly brought into perspective by the finding that as Negroes go through the educational process their measured IQ's actually decline.⁵⁰ If this is true, it is apparent that the quality of teaching is not good enough to outweigh the detrimental nonschool experiences including those in the Negro family. The poor quality of the teaching, as we have seen, can be traced directly to the Negro colleges. But, perhaps more fundamentally, the elementary and secondary schools were not able to do their job.

Myrdal states that "the interest of educating the Negroes to become faithful helots has been obvious, but the Southern whites have not even attempted to make it effective in practice. Instead, they have merely kept Negro education poor and bad."⁵¹ Such policies were consistent with the economic myth of maintaining a cheap and subservient labor force.⁵² Practices such as these were not difficult to enforce upon a minority group recently out of the clutches of slavery. With no cultural past to draw on, a few members with adequate formal education, the mere idea that the Negro could establish and maintain an educational system comparable to the white

⁵⁰Harold L. Sheppard and Herbert E. Strine, Civil Rights, Employment, and the Social Status of American Negroes, (Kalamazoo, Mich.: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1966), p. 9.

⁵¹Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Harper & Row, 1944), p. 896.

⁵²H. M. Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, A Study in Cotton and Steel, (New York: Associated Publishers, 1939), pp. 141-2; see also, Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), pp. x-xi.

adequate formal education, the mere idea that the Negro could establish and maintain an educational system comparable to the white seems absurd. In the minds of the whites, however, it was not intended to be comparable.

The pattern was immediately established. Students of one generation were taught by teachers who, only the generation before, had been products of the same system. Certainly it could be argued that all education proceeds this way. But there is a difference with respect to Negro education. While white teachers in the South had been able to avail themselves of colleges and universities in the North and in Europe, or at least had professors who had had these experiences, the higher education of the Negro was much more confined and subject to more inbreeding. It was probably financially impossible for all but a very few Negroes to travel outside the South for their education. Equally unlikely was the prospect that many white professors from the North would accept positions in Negro colleges. The lack of outside influences on the Negro colleges and the remote cultural association with Africa combined to form an educational stratification that fostered perpetual inferiority. Progress has been made. In view of the obstacles involved, it is remarkable that the education of the Negro has remained only a few steps behind the white. After a hundred years of inferiority it is clearly within striking distance of the white educational level.

Equality of educational opportunity cannot be said to be immediately at hand, though. "Because of deficiencies in their home and community environment and in the schools they attend, Negroes have far less opportunity to acquire a solid education than do most of the white population among whom they live."⁵³

⁵³Ginzberg, p. 42.

This has meant that by the time the Negro graduate of a southern high school reaches college he is from one to three years behind the national norms in most subject areas.⁵⁴ It is not surprising that the Negro college in four years is not able to make up the deficiencies that have accumulated over the previous twelve years.

The implications of inferior educational opportunities open to Negroes in general have been, and will continue to be, a serious drawback to the employability of the Negro. Until recently, Negro teachers were not faced with this problem. They were fortunate enough to be in a protected market. Norgren and Hill feel that there is a close relationship between the educational gap and the "...Negroes' disadvantaged employment and occupational status. The relationship is by no means a simple one, however, since the relatively low level of education among Negroes is both a cause and an effect of the handicapped position they occupy in the labor market."⁵⁵ Admittedly it is difficult to imagine that Negro teachers, the best educated of their race, should be in danger of job loss because their education has left them in a "handicapped position." As schools are integrated, however, it is the Negro teacher's position relative to that of the white teacher that will count. And, until such time as the Negro is allowed complete access to the entire educational system of the country, he will be in a disadvantaged position. Perhaps Louis Blair knew the solution in 1889:

⁵⁴Jerome H. Holland, "The Negro and Higher Education," National Education Association Journal, March, 1965, pp. 23-4.

⁵⁵Norgren and Hill, p. 81.

The remedy proposed is not a bread pill or some soothing syrup, but it is a radical and far-reaching one, and is no less than the abandonment of the principle of separate schools, which principle is an efficient and certain mode of dooming to perpetual ignorance both white and blacks in thinly-settled sections.⁵⁶

Discrimination.

In one sense it is well to discriminate; in another it is not. In the former, the ability to discriminate between, say, two men with apparently equal qualifications and select the right one is commendable. To discriminate against one of the two men because he is the others equal is lamentable. This latter kind of discrimination is well summed up in the definition of discrimination as the "unequal treatment of equals." Similarly, Antonovsky has defined discrimination as "the effective injurious treatment of persons on grounds rationally irrelevant to the situation."⁵⁷ He also is careful to point out that discrimination is a "system of social relations," not an isolated individual act. Discrimination is an overt action and should not be confused with prejudice which is an attitude, tendency to respond, or a symbolic response.⁵⁸

In discussing the employment opportunities open to Negro teachers we are concerned with a special kind of discrimination -- economic discrimination. Rose and Rose have distinguished eleven special forms of economic discrimination. Two are applicable to the problems of Negro teachers:

⁵⁶Blair, p. 99.

⁵⁷Aaron Antonovsky, "The Social Meaning of Discrimination," Phylon, Spring, 1960, p. 81.

⁵⁸Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems, 3rd ed., (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 13-4.

1. A failure or refusal of employers to hire qualified members for job openings that they have available.
2. A failure or refusal of employers to promote qualified minority members into higher grade job openings.⁵⁹

The second type of economic discrimination is of interest only so far as school districts fail to promote Negroes to administrative positions and thus do not open posts that might be filled by other Negroes. Primary importance is attached to the first type of economic discrimination.

We have seen that the system of segregated schools in the South, when one seriously takes into account the inferiority of the available education, probably discriminated in favor of the Negro teacher. The dangers now are really two. First, there is the purely economic danger of discriminating against qualified Negro teachers and the implications of this to the underutilization of manpower. Second, is the psychological problem of emulation. Norgren and Hill sight this as being of equal importance to the occupational upgrading of the Negro. They state, "the visible evidence of Negro adults in representative numbers holding skilled, respect-commanding jobs would provide a stimulant for younger Negroes to aspire to and prepare for still better jobs -- a source of motivation that is sadly lacking as long as their elders are confined to menial and unskilled work."⁶⁰ With this in mind, we might well ask if to continue to discriminate in favor of Negro teachers would not be, socially, the most advantageous thing to do.

If Myrdal is right when he says that "education has...been considered

⁵⁹Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems, 3rd., (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 143.

⁶⁰Norgren and Hill, p. 279.

as the best way -- and the most compatible with American individualistic ideals -- to improve society,"⁶¹ then any appearance that the Negro teacher was being discriminated against would be a severe blow to the confidence that the Negro has always shown toward the prospect of education playing a key role in improving his society. Therefore, until the time when the educational gap between the races has been closed, it would be desirable to employ as many qualified Negro teachers as are available. Should the situation arise where the administrator must decide between a Negro and a white teacher of comparable abilities, he should decide on the Negro. The continued employment of qualified Negro teachers at rates commensurate with the level of the Negro population will serve as a constant source of inspiration and pride to the young Negro.

Summary.

It was assumed for the purpose of this chapter -- and will be demonstrated later -- that the Negro teacher has been, and continues to be, in a disadvantaged employment position. The Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public education destroyed the sheltered job market that Negro teachers had enjoyed. Teachers in rural areas were especially threatened with job loss since there had been a significant Negro migration to the city. Hence there was good reason for closing duplicate rural facilities. While it is held that the Negro has no innate deficiencies in his ability to learn, he was caught up in a cycle of undereducation that carried through his college career. Returning to the same segregated school system he had left, he was

⁶¹Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 882.

unprepared to upgrade the quality of the education. With his job monopoly destroyed and possessing an inferior education, the Negro teacher now faces an employment market that will undoubtedly tend to discriminate against him rather than for him.

TABLE 3-1.
 WHITE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS, 1954-1966,
 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE

STATE	STUDENTS		PERCENT CHANGE	TEACHERS		PERCENT CHANGE
	1954-5	1966-7		1954-5	1966-7	
Alabama	471,51	571,200	21.1	15,631	19,131	22.4
Arkansas	306,234	337,920	10.3	10,728	14,055	31.0
Delaware	49,989	89,438	78.9	2,069	4,544	119.6
Florida	526,232	1,056,805	100.8	17,993	39,325	118.6
Georgia	556,006	776,917	39.6	19,602	28,750	46.7
Kentucky	539,943	613,919	13.7	18,083	25,201	39.4
Louisiana	350,759	502,870	43.4	12,852	22,574	75.6
Maryland	325,736	605,043	85.7	12,430	29,283	95.4
Mississippi	273,722	309,413	13.7	9,418	12,515	32.9
Missouri	610,662	852,770	43.4	22,328	36,831	65.0
N. Carolina	706,110	828,583	85.7	23,532	37,060	57.5
Oklahoma	447,168	536,800	13.0	15,937	23,350	46.5
S. Carolina	307,352	337,077	39.6	11,083	15,878	43.3
Tennessee	617,558	693,143	17.3	22,238	28,629	28.7
Texas	1,448,707	2,185,00	20.0	54,028	90,000	66.6
Virginia	541,233	760,758	22.7	19,783	34,321	73.5
W. Virginia	426,345	403,246	12.2	13,589	17,213	27.0
Total	8,505,267	11,527,902	35.5	301,324	475,660	57.9

Source: 1952-3 and 1953-4: Southern Schools--Progress and Problems.
 1954-5 through 1966-7: Statistical Summary.

TABLE 3-2.
 NEGRO STUDENTS AND TEACHERS, 1954-1966,
 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE

STATE	STUDENTS		PERCENT CHANGE	TEACHERS		PERCENT CHANGE
	1954-5	1966-7		1954-5	1966-7	
Alabama	248,967	273,800	10.0	7,787	9,786	25.7
Arkansas	101,144	119,817	18.5	2,808	3,806	38.7
Delaware	10,479	21,333	103.6	397	656	65.2
Florida	150,991	256,063	69.6	5,280	11,725	122.0
Georgia	274,040	388,140	41.6	8,488	14,375	69.4
Kentucky	37,289	60,540	62.4	1,285	1,507	17.3
Louisiana	217,564	317,785	46.1	6,266	12,556	102.1
Maryland	84,592	185,884	119.7	3,022	6,775	124.1
Mississippi	268,216	295,831	10.3	6,837	6,837	30.6
Missouri	60,829	130,000	113.7	1,932	3,155	63.3
N. Carolina	293,965	355,107	20.8	8,783	13,987	59.3
Oklahoma	36,040	61,600	70.9	1,451	1,500	3.4
S. Carolina	235,528	265,400	12.7	7,166	9,516	32.8
Tennessee	123,375	184,541	49.6	4,125	6,251	51.5
Texas	224,894	355,000	57.9	8,172	13,000	59.1
Virginia	176,378	243,553	38.1	5,992	9,430	57.4
W. Virginia	25,646	22,800	-11.1	825	826	0.1
Total	2,569,937	3,219,409	25.3	80,616	127,974	58.7

Source: 1952-3 and 1953-4: Southern Schools--Progress and Problems.
 1954-5 through 1966-7: Statistical Summary.

CHAPTER III

TEACHER EMPLOYMENT IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1954

The quality of education within a school system, or within a state, is usually judged on the basis of the average expenditure per student and the number of students per teacher. While institutions of higher learning are likely to stress the quality of their faculty, the public schools, generally, make little or no attempt to emphasize this subjective characteristic. The objective characteristics of quality are overlapping to some extent. The average expenditure per student will, in part, be determined by the number of teachers hired. Because the two measures are interdependent, one, the student-teacher ratio, will be used as the measure of the quality of education.

Assuming that a decrease in the average number of students per teacher can be taken as a measure of efforts to improve the quality of education, the South and border states made substantial progress in the twelve years following the desegregation decision. While the number of students in this area increased 31.9 percent, the number of teachers increased 58.0 percent.¹ Significantly, this large growth in the number of teachers reduced the average student load per teacher from nearly thirty in 1954 to just over twenty-four in 1966. Both white and Negro teachers shared in the increased propensity to hire. In fact, their increases were almost identical, 57.8 percent for Negroes. But the number of students of the white race was increasing over ten

¹Tables 3-1 and 3-2: note the data are not strictly comparable since it was necessary to use years other than 1954 and 1966 for some states.

percent faster than was the number of Negro students, 35.5 vs. 25.3 percent.

The fact that the employment rate for Negro teachers increased faster than did the comparative rate for Negro teachers increased faster than did the comparative rate for whites should not be construed to mean that Negro teachers, and hence Negro students, were favored. It would be more correct to say that the South and border states have taken a greater interest in the education of Negroes and have attempted to correct the inequalities between the student loads of white and Negro teachers. Appendix I shows that only Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and West Virginia, of the seventeen states covered, had lower student-teacher ratios for Negroes than whites in 1954. In other states, the disparity ranged to a high of eleven more Negro students per Negro teacher in Mississippi. In 1954 the South and border states were hiring one white teacher for every 28.3 white students and one Negro teacher for every 31.9 Negro students. By 1966 the gap had been closed somewhat. The student-teacher ratios were now 24.3 for whites and 25.1 for Negroes. (But we must consider that in 1966 some Negroes were in schools with whites. These figures would be strictly comparable only if the schools had no integration.) Thus, the improved hiring rate for Negroes, coupled with the slower increase in Negro students, had served to decrease the gap between the student-teacher ratios of the races that had historically existed.

Each of the seventeen states showed a higher percentage increase in white teachers than white students. The states having the most significant increases in this category were Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia. Even though the situation for Negro teachers in the whole region improve more than for whites, on a percentage basis Negro teachers in four states did not share in the improvement. Several states only

maintained the status quo. In Delaware, the number of Negro teachers increased only 65.2 percent. This is significant because the student-teacher ratios for the two races were nearly equal in 1954. In Kentucky, there was a 62.4 percent increase in Negro students but only a 17.3 percent increase in Negro teachers. Here again the student-teacher ratios for the races had been nearly equal in 1954. Similarly, Missouri showed a 113.7 percent increase in Negro students while Negro teachers increased only 63.3 percent. In this state the employment of Negro teachers had invariably lagged behind the white. Negro students in Oklahoma had a 70.9 percent increase while Negro teachers increased 3.4 percent. Three states, Maryland, Tennessee, and Texas had growth rates for Negro teachers that nearly equaled the growth of Negro students. Several states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina all showed increases in Negro teachers that were nearly twice those of Negro students. These figures show, above all else, that there is a wide disparity in the employment of teachers, by race, in the several states. A few patterns do develop, however.

Aggregate job disadvantage.

Utilization of the shift technique. In an attempt to qualify some of the foregoing aspects of teacher employment by race in the various states, a system for determining "aggregate job advantage" was devised. The system generally follows the procedures outlined by Perloff, Dunn, Lampard, and Muth² with an extension and application similar to that of Ross.³ Perloff, et al,

²Harvey S. Perloff, Edgar S. Dunn, Jr., Eric B. M. Lampard, and Richard F. Muth, Regional Resources, and Economic Growth, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), p. 33-5.

³Arthur M. Ross, "The Negro in the American Economy," in Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., Employment, Race, and Poverty, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967), 40-7.

used the "shift" technique to measure state and regional growth or decline. Net shifts are the relative gains and losses among states with respect to a given variable in comparison to the national figures for that variable. For example, the percentage increase in national population, over a specific time period, is applied to each state's population to give what is called the expected change if the population had increased uniformly throughout the states. The expected change can then be compared to the actual population change. Thus, according to Perloff, if a state's population grows faster than the national average, it has a net upward shift; if its population decreased, or did not increase as fast as the national average, it has a net downward shift.

Both the downward and upward shifts can further be classified as absolute or relative. An absolute downward shift is one in which all or some part of the downward shift was contributed by an actual decline in population. A relative downward shift is one in which there has been an increase in population, but one insufficient relative to the total increase to maintain that state's share of the total. An absolute upward shift is one in which all or some part of the shift was contributed by an actual increase in population. A relative upward shift is one in which there has been an actual decrease in population but one that has been insufficient relative to the total decline to reduce that state's share of the total.⁴

Utilization of trends. Ross uses a technique which is somewhat different.

He states that:

The underlying concept is that Negroes can be considered integrated into the economy when they have an occupational structure similar to that of whites. (We can compare)...the actual distribution of Negro employment among the major occupational categories with the "calculated" distribution that would exist if Negroes had the same proportion of their work force in each category as the whites have.⁵

⁴Perloff, et al, p. 34ff.

⁵Ross, p. 42-3.

Within a specific occupation, then, the Negro may have either relative "deficits" or "surpluses."⁶ Ross goes one step further. He compares the deficits or surpluses, as they change over time, to arrive at a measure of the trend toward, or away from, proportionality in employment. For example, he shows nonwhite teachers had an employment deficit of 47,000 in 1959 and a deficit of 15,000 in 1964. He concludes there has been a trend toward proportionality of 32,000 over the five years.

Aggregate job advantage, or disadvantage, attempts to show disproportionality in employment just as Ross' surplus and deficit do. A fundamental difference, however, is in the basis of comparison. Ross compares the nonwhite occupational status to the standard set by the white. Thus, he does not use a pure form of the shift technique. Aggregate job advantage uses as its standard the overall student-teacher ratio within a state regardless of race. That is, the employment of Negro teachers is not compared directly to the white hiring pattern. Rather, it is compared to the hiring pattern without regard to race. In a state where Negro teachers had an aggregate job disadvantage, they would have a "deficit" according to the Ross technique. But using the method developed here the absolute disadvantage would not be as great as Ross' absolute deficit. The Ross method, it is felt, tends to over state the magnitude of the "deficits" and "surpluses."

Ross is open to criticism of three interrelated counts. First, by saying that one racial group has a "deficit" within an occupation one would imply that the other group has a "surplus." Ross recognizes only one of the two

⁶Ibid., p. 43.

within a specific occupation. For the economy as a whole, however, there can be no deficit or surplus for the race under consideration. This brings us to the second major criticism: his method would lead us to believe that there are more jobs open in a specific occupation than the market has, in fact, provided. At the same time we would be led to imagine that within other occupations there should be a smaller number employed than there actually were. To make this more clear, consider a situation where the economy employs eighty whites and twenty Negroes. (It should be noted throughout this example that unemployment and labor force participation rates have no bearing on the problem.) Assume the economy employs ten percent in professional occupations and ninety percent in services. A priori we would expect eight whites and two Negroes in the professional group and seventy-two whites and eighteen Negroes in the service group. Assume, however, that there were nine whites and one Negro in the professional category and seventy-one whites and nineteen Negroes in the services. To find the Negro "deficit," according to Ross, we must find the number of Negroes that would have to be employed as professionals to bring the Negro into line with the white hiring pattern. That is, $9/80 = x/20$, $x = 2.25$ Negroes must be employed as professionals in order that the hiring patterns be equivalent. In order for this to happen, we must create 1.25 more jobs in the professional category and give them to Negroes. This is a bit of nonsense since the market has determined that only ten jobs are available in this category. The problem could have been easily remedied by saying that the whites had an advantage of one and the Negroes a disadvantage of one. This does not necessitate the imaginary creation of 1.25 jobs. Similarly, it could be shown ($71/80 = y/20$, $y = 17.75$) that the Negroes had a "surplus" in the service occupation of 1.25. Can these jobs somewhat

be destroyed? This brings us to the third point. For Ross to say that we need to create 1.25 jobs in the professional category is not unacceptable as long as the Negro is a small part of the employed -- that is, the reasonableness of Ross' method is dependent upon the make up of the employed. Consider a situation such as might exist in South Africa. Here the whites may number twenty and the Negroes eighty. If there were still nine whites and one Negro employed as professionals, in order to bring the Negro up to the revealed hiring pattern for whites, it would be necessary to create thirty-six new jobs ($9/20 = x/80$) for professionals. In total the jobs for professionals must rise from ten to forty-five -- an increase of 450 percent. Since the comparability of "deficits" and "surpluses" depends upon the proportions in each racial group, Ross' method is not generally useful, whereas the pure form of the shift technique is.

The aggregate job advantage for Negro teachers is given for each state, by year, in Appendix I. An aggregate job disadvantage for Negroes is indicated by a minus sign. The relationship is, of course, reflexive. A job advantage for white teachers is a job disadvantage for Negro teachers. In computing the aggregate job advantage, it was first necessary to add the number of white students and Negro students for each year. Next, the white and Negro teachers were added and this total was divided into the total number of students. The result is a combined ratio, or the student-teacher ratio for the state as a whole. Then, for whites,

$$\text{aggregate job advantage} = \text{white teachers} - \frac{\text{white students}}{\text{combined ratio}}$$

Consider a state that had 800 white students and 200 Negro students, and hired both white and Negro teachers at a rate of one teacher for every

twenty-five. If the state hired thirty-two white teachers and eight Negro teachers, this would be exactly what would be expected if an equitable distribution of job opportunity were to be maintained between the races. Aggregate job advantage would be zero. Now consider the situation where there are 1000 students of each race. In a completely segregated situation where a twenty-five to one student-teacher ratio was maintained for each race, forty teachers of each race would be employed. Again, aggregate job advantage would be zero. We can hypothesize, however, that white teachers are employed at such a rate that there is one for every twenty white students. In order to maintain the twenty-five to one combined ratio, Negro teachers must be hired at the rate of one for every thirty Negro students. Now, there are fifty white teachers employed. Dividing the 1000 white students by the combined ratio of twenty-five gives forty. The aggregate job advantage for white teachers is fifty minus forty -- or ten. This means that, because teachers of the two races were not hired at comparable rates, based on the number of students of each race, there were ten jobs being held by white teachers that would have been held by Negro teachers if the jobs had been equitably divided on the basis of the numbers alone. Of course, the situation might be reversed in any given state. Should Negroes be favored in employment, the aggregate job advantage would appear as a minus to indicate a job disadvantage for white teachers.

Up to this point the concept of aggregate job disadvantage has been considered to be dependent upon the student-teacher ratios within a state. Colberg makes an additional point:

In a state with a completely segregated school system one would expect the proportion of non-white pupils of the school age population. Equality of employment opportunities for members of the two principal races to hold teaching positions in

proportion to their numbers is promoted by segregation, by equality of student-teacher ratios, and by compulsory and voluntary school attendance in equal degree on the part of the school population.⁷

The influence of segregation is not denied. In fact, this aspect will be considered in detail in the next chapter. At present, however, all other factors are eliminated and it is asserted that one would expect, a priori, that teachers of a given race would be employed in the same proportion as the number of students of their race. If this situation does not exist, then one of the races must have an advantage in the job market at the expense of the disadvantaged race. Using Tables 3-1, 3-2, and Appendix I, each state in the area will be examined to determine the trend of job opportunities for Negro teachers from 1954 to 1966.

Analysis by state.

Alabama. White teachers have always held an advantage in teaching jobs in Alabama. Negro teachers have, on the average, been denied some four to five hundred jobs that would have been theirs had the state maintained an equality of student-teacher ratios between the races. There percentage increase in teaching positions for whites has about equaled the percentage increase in white students. Negro teachers have fared much better. While the number of Negro students increased 10.0 percent, the number of Negro teachers increased 25.7 percent. It might be expected that the gap in the white teachers' aggregate job advantage of 305 in 1954 would have been closed completely. This is not the case, however, since one must also consider that the size of the base increased. Using Perloff's terminology, Negro teachers in Alabama

⁷Colberg, pp. 56-7.

have had an absolute upward shift. That is, there has been an absolute increase in the number of Negro teachers and this increase has been large enough to reduce the white teachers' aggregate job advantage somewhat. The Negro disadvantage of 281 in 1963 (the last year available) is considerably better than the disadvantage of 305 in 1954. Had the 1954 conditions prevailed in 1963, (i.e., equating the ratios of job disadvantage/Negro students for the two years; $305/248,967 = x/293,476$) the disadvantage for Negro teachers would have been 367. For each year, except one, of the years covered, the situation would have been worse. During 1957 and 1958 there was an extreme deviation from the suggested pattern. Negro job disadvantage jumped to over one thousand in these years. Comparing the first and last years of the data, though, there has been a trend toward proportionality.

Arkansas. Arkansas has consistently hired, and is increasingly hiring, white teachers in greater proportion than Negroes. Although there has been a significant decrease in the student-teacher ratios for both races, the Negroes have not kept pace. The number of white teachers has increased almost three times as fast as the number of white students, but the increase for Negro teachers has only been twice as fast as the increase in Negro students. This is a case of relative downward shift. That is, there has been an increase in the number of Negro teachers, but it has been insufficient relative to the over-all increase to stabilize the Negroes' aggregate job disadvantage. As a result, the aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers increased by about 250 between 1954 and 1965. There has been a trend away from proportionality and it has increased in a rather consistent manner over the period covered.

Delaware. Many of the data for teachers in Delaware are based on estimates. To the extent that these estimates are correct, the white teacher

has had a slight advantage in the job market. It is quite possible that the years immediately preceding 1966 should be ignored. These estimates of the number of Negro teachers were, evidently, too high. Accurate data for 1966 indicate that Negro teachers have a job disadvantage of 345. Since 1954 the disadvantage has increased by 315. This has resulted from the number of white teachers increasing almost twice as fast as the number of white students while the Negro situation was just the opposite: students increasing almost twice as fast as teachers. There has been a relative downward shift. The trend has been away from proportionality.

Florida. Florida is the only state to show a marked advantage in favor of Negro teachers. Between 1954 and 1965 Negro teachers increased almost twice as fast as Negro students. White teachers increased slightly faster than white students. Or, to put it another way, the increase for white students was almost thirty percent greater than for Negro students, while at the same time, the increase in white teachers was 118.6 percent vs. 122.0 for Negroes. This resulted in Negroes having an aggregate job advantage of 1767 in 1965. There has been an absolute upward shift for Negro teachers and the trend has been away from proportionality.

Georgia. The 1966 information for Georgia has obviously been estimated in a particular way. The United States Office of Education apparently decided the state-wide student-teacher ratio was twenty-seven to one and then used this ratio to estimate the number of teachers of each race. This procedure makes it inevitable that the aggregate job advantage for 1966 would be zero. Ignoring this one year, the State of Georgia conforms quite closely to Alabama. The aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers has been about 600 per year. The increase in white teachers has

been somewhat greater than the increase in white students; Negro teachers fared slightly better. This resulted in the aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers declining by ninety-two between 1954 and 1965. Had the 1954 conditions prevailed in 1965 (using the same method as in Alabama) the disadvantage for Negroes would have been 1265 rather than 695. There has been an absolute upward shift and a trend toward proportionality.

Kentucky. In Kentucky, a small aggregate job advantage for Negro teachers was reversed and now Negro teachers have a disadvantage of 890. The number of white teachers grow almost three times faster than white students. At the same time the number of Negro teachers grew at a rate which was only one quarter than of Negro students. A relative downward shift and a trend away from proportionality is indicated.

Louisiana. The situation in Louisiana is similar to Alabama and Georgia. The number of Negro teachers has increased substantially. In 1954 the Negro teachers faced, on the average, eight more students than did the white. By 1966 the gap was three, although there was some integration. The job disadvantage was not wiped out, however, and in 1966 stood at 981. Until 1964 there was a trend away from proportionality, but it reversed itself over the next two years.

Maryland. Too few data exist on Maryland to establish any meaningful trends. There is an indication that the rapid rise in the number of white students and teachers, as well as of Negro students, has not been matched by a corresponding rise in Negro teachers. A great deal of significance should not be attached to the aggregate job disadvantage of 1701 for Negro teachers in 1966 since the trend is not well established.

Mississippi. The pattern in Mississippi is similar to that which ap-

peared in Arkansas. Both races have benefitted from the increased propensity to hire teachers but, in total, there has been a relative downward shift in the employment of Negro teachers. This enlarged the job disadvantage by 347 between 1954 and 1966. There has been a definite trend away from proportionality.

Missouri. Data for Missouri are, to a large extent, based on estimated racial breakdowns of official totals. These figures show an aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers of about 700 per year between 1958 and 1961. In each of the next three years it was near 1100. In 1966 it almost doubled to 2134. This is a decided trend away from proportionality.

North Carolina. A comparable improvement in job opportunities for teachers of both races exists in North Carolina. Both showed rates of growth of close to fifty-eight percent between 1954 and 1966. The number of Negro students. Again, as in Arkansas and Mississippi, there was a relative downward shift in the employment of Negro teachers. The trend away from proportionality cost Negro teachers an additional 611 jobs during the period.

Oklahoma. Oklahoma conforms quite closely to the pattern of Kentucky. An aggregate job advantage for Negro teachers has been reversed. An advantage of 156 in 1954 was turned into a disadvantage the very next year. The disadvantage has persisted, reaching 1958 in 1966. Since 1954 the number of Negro teachers increased by only 49 while the Negro student population increased 15,560.

South Carolina. South Carolina conforms to the pattern first appearing in Arkansas. There has been a relative downward shift and a trend away from proportionality for Negro teachers. Aggregate job disadvantage has been maintained about 850, rising somewhat over the last two years to nearly one thousand.

Tennessee. Negro teachers have consistently had an aggregate job disadvantage of about 250 in Tennessee. In 1966 it jumped to 1082. Apart from this one year, no discernible trend can be established. When we consider the years at the extremes -- 1954 and 1966 -- it is found that the percentage increase in Negro teachers and students has been about equivalent, but the number of white teachers increased over twice as fast as the number of white students. Thus there was a relative downward shift and a trend away from proportionality.

Texas. The pattern of Arkansas again shows up in Texas. But, like Tennessee, Texas had a large increase in the disadvantage for Negro teachers in 1966. The relative downward shift and the trend away from proportionality cost the Negro teachers some 1095 jobs over the last twelve years. Both Tennessee and Texas had substantial increases in integration in 1966.

Virginia. Virginia's pattern is not unlike that of Tennessee and Texas, but the trend away from proportionality has been a bit more consistently established. The Negro teachers' job disadvantage increased from 343 in 1954 to 1180 in 1966 -- an increase of 837.

West Virginia. Advantage in job opportunity has passed back and forth between the races in West Virginia. In the eleven years for which data are available, Negroes had the advantage six times, white five. It is remarkable that in a state with a declining school population there has been a substantial increase in the total number of teachers. In part, this is probably due to federal programs to consolidate small schools and provide vocational education. There has been a significant decline in the student-teacher ratio from 31.4 in 1954 to 23.6 in 1966. The number of Negro teachers has maintained itself, while white teachers increased 27.0 percent. Negro students, however, declined twice as fast as white.

Summary.

In reviewing the status of Negro teacher employment in the South and border states from 1954 to 1966 it was helpful to develop a quantitative measure of "aggregate job advantage." From this, the trend toward, or away from, proportionality in employment could be determined. One generalization can be made: even though the employment of Negro teachers has increased along with the school age Negro population, there has been a relative downward shift in their employment position and a trend away from proportionality. There are several exceptions. Florida has invariably hired a higher proportion of Negro teachers than white. In Delaware and West Virginia, the Negro teacher has, on several occasions, held an aggregate job advantage. Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana have shown a slight trend toward proportionality, but the Negro teacher still has a substantial disadvantage in these states. All of the other states conform to the generalization.

It is quite obvious, then, that Negro teachers face a job market that is not unlike that faced by Negroes in general. Viewing the facts, both before and after the integration law, it is apparent that Negro teachers have not held what, a priori, would be considered their fair share of the available jobs. They are a part of the generalization that Maddox, et al, has made of Negro employment: "Regardless of their education or ability, Negroes are viewed by employers as less desirable employees than whites."⁸

⁸James G. Maddox with E. E. Liebhafsky, Vivian W. Henderson, and Herbert M. Hamlin, The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1967), p. 143.

CHAPTER IV

DESEGREGATION AND TEACHER EMPLOYMENT

The Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States had as one of the objectives of its study the estimation of teacher displacement from 1954 to 1964.¹ This objective was not quantitatively accomplished, but a major finding of the survey is that "the more extensive the desegregation of students, the greater the chances are that Negro teachers will be adversely affected by demotion, displacement, or dismissal."² In this thesis an analysis of the available data is undertaken to test the validity of that finding and a more specific hypothesis was developed.

Statement of hypothesis.

The hypothesis is this: aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers increases in direct proportion to the extent of integration. Again, it should be emphasized that no attempt has been made to distinguish among displacement, demotion, or the failure to hire qualified Negro graduates. Only one question is asked: is there a correlation between the decline in aggregate job opportunities for Negro teachers (as demonstrated in the preceding chapter) and an accepted measure of the percent of integration?

Testing the hypothesis.

¹National Commission of Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 7.

²Ibid., p. 56.

In Chapter III it was shown that aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers has most often followed the pattern of a relative downward shift and a trend away from proportionality. (See also Appendix I). Because this pattern developed, it is feasible to include aggregate job disadvantage as one variable in a correlation analysis. Implicit in correlating job opportunities and desegregation are two other variables; the percent of integration and time.

The use of three variables would entail a multiple regression, and, since the procedures are somewhat simplified if the analysis can be limited to two variables, time is taken to be an implicit variable which is expressed in one of the implicit variables -- the percent of integration. This assumption is justified by the fact that there is a consistent pattern of increase in the percent of integration over time. Further, it is necessary to classify the two variables as independent and dependent. Considering the institutional factors involved, it is reasonable to designate the percent of integration as the independent variable. A decline in job opportunities, then, can be said to be dependent upon the percent of integration.

The percent of integration. Although it is possible to develop several standards for determining the percent of integration, the procedure used by the Southern Education Reporting Service is not complicated. That Service simply used the state-wide percentage of Negro students in school with whites. Therefore, if one white student were in an otherwise all Negro school, all the Negro students would be classified as being in an integrated situation. It can be argued that other arbitrary standards would produce a more meaningful comparison. For example, the standard could require that the minority race comprise five of ten percent of the school population, before the school could be considered fully integrated. A standard such as this might appreciably

lower the percentage of integration. The main concern here, however, is not with the specific method of determining the percentage of integration but with the consistency of the data. Since they are all from one source, this requirement is met. One further comment is necessary. It is agreed that the absolute number of Negroes in integrated situations is an important variable with respect to the requirements for Negro teachers in all-Negro schools, but, since a relative measure gives a consistent means of making a comparison among states, the percent of integration is used in preference to the absolute number of Negroes in school with whites.

Desegregation and aggregate job disadvantage. Data relevant to this study of teacher displacement appear in Appendix I. When available, data are given for each year from 1952 to 1966, but numerous gaps in the data for a given year. Estimates of the number of students by race are generally available whenever the exact data are not. Data for teachers are less complete, however, and none are shown for a given year, unless complete data for both teachers and students are available. The years 1952 and 1953 are included only as a frame of reference and are not included in the correlation, since the relevant period necessarily begins with the Supreme Court decision in 1954. The maximum number of years covered in the analysis is, therefore, thirteen, while for one state data are available for only two years.

The results of correlating the aggregate job disadvantage of Negro teachers against the percent of integration appear in Table 4-1, where the states are listed in order of the value of the coefficient of correlation. The percent of integration in the last year included in the analysis is also shown for each state.

TABLE 4-1.

Correlation between Aggregate Job Disadvantage for Negro Teachers and the Percent of Integration with the Percent of Integration in the Last Year of Analysis

State	Coefficient of Correlation	Percent of Integration
Maryland ¹	1.00	65.60
Kentucky	.91	90.10
Oklahoma	.84	50.80
Florida	-.83	9.76
Virginia	.81	25.30
Tennessee	.80	28.60
Missouri	.80	77.70
Arkansas	.69	5.96
Texas	.63	44.90
West Virginia	.63	93.40
South Carolina	.55	5.60
Delaware	.51	100.00
North Carolina	.49	15.40
Georgia	.35	8.80
Alabama	.27	0.01
Louisiana	.25	3.40
Mississippi	.14	0.59

¹Only two years covered.

Source: 1952-3 and 1953-4: Southern Schools--Progress and Problems.
1954-5 through 1966-7: Statistical Summary.

The table suggests that states in which aggregate job disadvantage is most highly correlated with the percent of integration are also the states which have made considerable progress in integration. Generally these are the border states. At the other extreme are states in the Deep South. The most significant aspect of the correlation in the latter case is the lack of integration and hence the lack of a meaningful variable to correlate aggregate job disadvantage against.

Three points should be made concerning Table 4-1. Florida, as we noted in Chapter III, is the only state that has consistently given Negroes an aggregate job advantage. This is confirmed by the $-.83$ coefficient of correlation. That is, as integration has proceeded in Florida, the Negro teacher has increased his proportionate share of the market. In West Virginia, although both races have held the job advantage from time to time, there is an indication that white teachers may be gaining control of the market. Integration is about complete in that state, and the situation should stabilize in the near future. Thirdly, there is Delaware which was completely integrated for the first time in 1966. Since it has 100 percent integration, it is reasonable to suppose that the social barriers are not as great in Delaware as in the other states studied. Even then, it is apparent that Negro teachers have found it increasingly difficult to maintain their position within the profession. This fact would have been brought out more explicitly had the estimates of the number of Negro teachers during the period 1961 to 1965 been more in line with what the data for 1966 indicate they should have been. (See Appendix I).

Desegregation and student-teacher ratios. As a supplement, two other correlations were run. The coefficients of correlation given in Table 4-2

TABLE 4-2.

Correlation Coefficients between Student-
Teacher Ratios by Race and Percent of
Integration

State	White	Negro
Alabama	-.03	-.42
Arkansas	-.60	-.60
Delaware	-.64	+.15
Florida	-.56	-.75
Georgia	-.27	-.71
Kentucky	-.78	+.86
Louisiana	-.58	-.77
Maryland	-1.00	-1.00
Mississippi	-.40	-.54
North Carolina	-.69	-.55
Oklahoma	-.90	+.66
South Carolina	-.84	-.77
Tennessee	-.82	.00
Texas	-.34	.00
Virginia	-.60	-.46
West Virginia	-.91	+.38

Source: 1952-3 and 1953-4: Southern Schools--Progress and Problems.
1954-5 through 1966-7: Statistical Summary.

show student-teacher ratios by race correlated against the percent of integration. Little significance need be attached to the values reported, but a great deal of attention should be given to the signs of the coefficients. As before, the student-teacher ratios by race assume that teachers teach only members of their own race. Of course, this is not true for any state at the present time, but, by using this technique, some meaningful generalizations are possible.

It will be noted that, in general, the coefficients reported are negative. This means that integration and the student-teacher ratios move in opposite directions over time. Reflected in the negative sign, if it appears for both races, is the over-all tendency to lower the student-teacher ratios for both races within a state. When the signs of the two coefficients are opposite, however, quite a different situation exists. For example, in Kentucky, the negative coefficient indicates that, as integration, proceeded between 1954 and 1966, the white student-teacher ratio was reduced from 29.9 to 24.4. This assumes white teachers taught no Negroes. The positive sign in the Negro column reflects the fact that, while one Negro teacher was hired for every 29.0 students of his race in 1954, only one was hired for every 40.2 in 1966. That is, the Negro teacher did not receive his share of the new jobs that opened up as the State of Kentucky reduced its over-all student-teacher ratio from 29.8 in 1954 to 25.3 in 1966. A similar analysis could be made for Delaware, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. Tennessee and Texas show that the improvement in the state-wide student-teacher ratios, and hence the improvement in job opportunities for teachers, has accrued to the white teacher and has had negligible effect on Negro teachers. Thus, the dual negatives indicate that both races have shared in the increased number of jobs (all states have lowered their student-teacher ratios). This does not mean,

however, that in absolute numbers, there has necessarily been a decrease in aggregate job disadvantage for Negroes, since this number is influenced primarily by the absolute increase in the number of Negro students.

Summary.

The next chapter will present a complete summary of the implications of the material presented here. In this chapter an attempt has been made to substantiate the claim that school integration has had an adverse effect on the employment of Negro teachers. There are rather clear indications that this has been the case. Especially in some of the border states, there are very close correlations between desegregation and the increase in aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers. Although some might argue that increased opportunities in other occupations have attracted Negro teachers from teaching, this is not the case, at least in the aggregate. If this allegation were true, there would be a shortage of Negro teachers in the South. Maddox, et al, however, state that, "every southern state has commonly had a surplus of Negro teachers. ...we can expect an increasing number of schools to have partially integrated faculties in the future. Nevertheless, as the integration of schools takes place it is quite possible that many Negro teachers will lose their jobs."³ In light of the evidence presented here, it can safely be said that this loss has occurred, and will continue to occur, as integration becomes a reality in the hard core South.

³Maddox, et al, p. 95.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Until 1954 when the Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools, the Negro teacher in the South operated in a protected job market. Segregated schools required both segregated students and segregated faculties. Negro teachers, however, were not hired in as high a proportion to the number of students as were white teachers. But, Negro teachers had no fear of whites entering their segment of the market. Over the next twelve years, legislation forced some semblance of integration throughout most of the southern and border states. During this time it became increasingly apparent that Negro teachers were being adversely affected by the new dimensions of the job market. In 1965 the National Education Association expressed their concern by publishing the Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States. As stated previously, one of their major conclusions was that "...the more extensive the desegregation of students, the greater the chance are that Negro teachers will be adversely affected by demotion, displacement, or dismissal."¹ This attention to the plight of Negro teachers was instrumental in the founding of several institutes designed to improve the quality of the Negro teacher and to prepare him for teaching in integrated classrooms. Much damage, however, had already been done.

A combination of factors had served the Negro teacher to make him ill-prepared to face the expanded job market. Perhaps most important among them

¹National Commission of Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, p. 56.

was the poor preparation afforded by the predominantly Negro teachers' colleges. "...it is probable that southern teachers with bachelor's degrees, particularly from Negro colleges in the South, are not as well trained as teachers in other states with the same degree."² Tied closely to this cause is the cycle of undereducation. Negroes in the South, having received an inferior education that at all levels of instruction, had no choice but to perpetuate the inferiority of their educational system. As long as completely segregated school systems existed there was little opportunity for the Negro to break out of the mold. Inadequate preparation for college and limited financial resources made it unlikely that many southern Negroes would attend colleges outside the South. This considerable inbreeding was one of the primary disadvantages of segregated education.

The widely-held opinion that the Negro is intellectually inferior was construed as evidence supporting the benefits to Negro children from a segregated education. Since it was felt the Negro child could not successfully compete with the white, it would be better to provide him with a school system where he could proceed at his own pace. For the reasons cited above, this pace was not equal to the white. Under these conditions the products of Negro schools seemed to justify the wisdom of providing separate schools for each race. Reasoned in this way, both the beginning and end were used to justify the means.

Discrimination is a third, and rather obvious factor, in the inferior employment position of Negro teachers. Negroes in almost all occupations have been considered less desirable employees than whites. The close social

²Maddox, et al, p. 94.

contact in any educational process makes integrated faculties particularly objectionable to many. This is especially true if these people also subscribe to the opinion that the Negro is intellectually inferior and, hence, less capable as a teacher. School administrators are likely to be quite responsive to the desires of the parents they serve. Discriminating against Negro teachers may, therefore, be politically expedient in areas where the Negro population is less than the white.

From outside the immediate realm, the Negro teacher has also been adversely affected by the migration of Negroes to the city. Many small schools in rural areas have been closed as population in these areas has decreased. The Negro teacher has to choice of attempting to gain employment in the consolidated school or follow the movement of the Negro population to the city. If the consolidated school needed fewer teachers than formerly, the Negro teacher would most likely be the one to suffer from the developed decrease in employment. In these circumstances his alternative is to follow the flow of Negroes to urban areas. Should this be impossible, a Negro teacher, once displaced, would find it extremely difficult to reenter the profession, unless he was able to undergo considerable retraining.

In an attempt to quantify the effects these factors have had on the position of the Negro teacher in the seventeen states covered by this study, a measure of the Negro teacher's aggregate job disadvantage was devised. Primarily this is an application of the "shift" technique to the labor market. Using this measure one can determine how many more jobs Negro teachers would have held if they had been hired in the same proportion to the number of Negro students as teachers in general were hired within the state. This method is arbitrary. It is somewhat more common in a problem of this type to

determine how many more jobs Negroes would have held if they had been hired at the same rate as whites. This latter technique, however, makes certain assumptions that are untenable. The method used here would, in general, result in a lower estimate of the Negroes' disadvantage.

In a review of the Negro teachers' disadvantage position over time, the most common pattern encountered was a relative downward shift and a trend away from proportionality. Essentially, this means that Negro teachers, while increasing in absolute numbers, were decreasing in relative number. The trend indicates that their position is getting worse as integration becomes a reality. There are exceptions to this finding -- notably Florida. Kentucky and Oklahoma show that the Negro teacher's employment position has switched from one of advantage, prior to integration, to one of disadvantage. States in the Deep South have consistently held the Negro teacher in a disadvantaged position with respect to the number of Negro students. Integration, when it reaches this area, will, undoubtedly, reinforce the Negroes' disadvantage.

This relationship, the trend of employment disadvantage and the progress of integration, was the next problem investigated. To this end, the somewhat arbitrary standard of the number of Negroes in school with whites, was used as the percent of integration and this was correlated against aggregate job disadvantage. The results showed a rather high correlation for a number of border states. These states had generally made considerable progress in integrating their student bodies and thus a meaningful analysis was possible. Several states studied had made little progress in integration. For them, significant results were not possible. Statistically, the best results were obtained in the states of Kentucky, Oklahoma, Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri. All had coefficients of correlation between integration and job

disadvantage of .8 or higher. Florida, as was noted, being an exception to the findings, had a coefficient of $-.83$. This indicates that Negro teachers have increased their job advantage as integration has progressed in that state.

A second set of correlations was run. This time integration was correlated with the student-teacher ratios by race. The purpose was to study how the increased propensity to hire teachers, since integration, had affected the job market for each race. In five states, Delaware, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Missouri, and West Virginia, it was found that the Negro had not shared in this increased propensity to hire teachers, since integration, had affected the job market for each race. In five states, Delaware, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Missouri, and West Virginia, it was found that the Negro had not shared in this increased propensity to hire teachers. In fact, if students were not in classes with white teachers, the Negro teachers would be facing, on the average, over forty Negro students in the states of Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Missouri. This is to be contrasted with state-wide student-teacher ratios of less than twenty-six in these states. Tennessee and Texas showed that the increase in jobs for teachers had accrued to whites and had had little effect on prospects for Negro teachers. In each of the other states both races had benefitted from the increase in jobs but, in general, the Negro had received a disproportionately small share.

The hypothesis of this study, as previously stated, was that aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers increased in direct proportion to the extent of integration. The states conforming, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Florida is the one case which would indicate that the hypothesis is invalid. For Maryland, there are not enough data to make a judgment. Other states, with the possible exception

of Delaware, do not refute the hypothesis. They have not integrated to the extent where meaningful results can be obtained.

Present programs and legislation will, undoubtedly, render these results invalid in the next few years. Numerous steps are being taken to assure that this occurs. It was pointed out that the National Education Association has become concerned with the problem. It has been influential in the founding of federally financed programs to upgrade the Negro teacher and prepare him to teach in integrated schools. The NEA will also strive for stricter observance of tenure laws where they exist. Also, to receive federal funds, school districts are required to be in compliance with desegregation orders. Implicitly, these orders are now being understood to include the integration of faculties where and when qualified Negro teachers are available.

The integration of the school systems, in and of itself, should produce better qualified Negro teachers within the next few years. At the same time we should hope to find that programs sponsored by government and privately endowed institutions have improved the quality of the faculties, programs, and graduates of predominantly Negro colleges. On the success of these activities rests the acceptance of Negro teachers by the white populous. Not to be taken lightly, however, is the importance of the experiences that white children have in integrated learning situations. Should they remember them as being unsatisfactory, a backlash of opinion could develop. On the other hand, satisfactory integration should lead to a more tolerant and understanding white population.

One cannot readily predict that the recent economic and social upheavals of the Negro will soon end. It is apparent, however, that rapid migration of

of the Negro to the city, and his migration out of the South is slowing. This should serve to add a degree of stability to demands for teachers in general. Hopefully a more stable Negro population will be able to supply its share of this demand.

An adequate representation for Negro teachers on the faculties of integrated schools is an important goal in itself. Negro children need the visible proof that members of their race hold responsible positions in the community. It is not surprising that this precise type of motivation need not exist in a segregated Negro school if the student looks upon his teachers as being inferior to white teachers. In the integrated school the Negro teacher is obviously a peer of the white teacher.

Undoubtedly administrators at all levels are becoming more capable and confident of their decisions with respect to desegregation problems. One significant result of this study has been to pinpoint Florida as the one state where Negro teachers, in total, have not been adversely affected by integration. Although this conclusion is somewhat at odds with the finding of the Task Force Survey,³ school administrators may well find Florida a fertile source of new approaches to desegregation problems. Even though integration is now moving into areas with more rigid social structures our present knowledge should make it possible to overcome many of the difficulties of the first twelve years of integration.

The methodological approach used in this study deserves passing comment. It was emphasized earlier that the analysis of labor market problems by use of the "shift" technique had certain advantages of other methods in common

³National Commission of Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, pp. 29-31.

use. Specifically, its use here adds another dimension to the study of civil rights legislation's effect on employment opportunities for Negro teachers. A study of this nature on a random occupation could not come up with results as valid as those reached here. As changes take place in the racial structure of other occupations, due to civil rights, one cannot say with any degree of certainty what the structure would have been if the laws had not changed. Within the teaching profession, however, one can say with a great deal of certainty how many Negro teachers would have been hired if the schools had not integrated. Using the "shift" technique to determine aggregate job disadvantage for Negro teachers is equivalent to estimating the actual number of jobs that civil rights legislation has cost the Negro teacher. It may well be that, in light of the previous hiring patterns for most southern states, the estimates presented here are slightly high. But, no one can deny that, had the schools not integrated, these states would have hired Negro teachers in nearly the same proportion to the number of Negro students as white teachers were hired in proportion to the number of white students.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

- Ashmore, Harry S., The Negro and the Schools. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954.
- Blair, Lewis H., Southern Prophecy: The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro. Richmond, Va.,: Everett Waddey, 1889, (Reproduced by University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1964.)
- Clift, Virgil A., and Others (eds.), Negro Education in America - It's Adequacy, Problems, and Needs. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962.
- Colberg, Marshall R., Human Capital in Southern Development 1939 - 1963. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
- Ginzberg, Eli, The Negro Potential. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.
- Harlan, Louis R., Separate and Unequal. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958.
- Humphrey, Hubert H. (ed.), Integration vs. Segregation. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964.
- Javits, Jacob K., Discrimination - U.S.A. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960.
- Maddox, James G. with Liebhafsky, E. E., Henderson, Vivian W., and Hamlin, Herbert M., The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1967.
- McCauley, P. and Ball, E. D. (eds.), Southern Schools - Progress and Problems. New York, Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1959.
- Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma. New York: Harper & Row, 1944.
- Nicholls, William H., Southern Tradition and Regional Progress. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- Norgen, Paul H. and Hill, Samuel E., Toward Fair Employment. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Northrup, H. R. and Rowan, R. L. (eds.), The Negro and Employment Opportunity, Problems and Practices. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965.
- Perloff, Harvey S., Dunn, Edgar S., Jr., Lampard, Eric B., and Muth, Richard F., Regions, Resources, and Economic Growth. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960.

- Pierce, Truman M., and Others, White and Negro Schools in the South; An Analysis of Biracial Education. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955.
- Rose, Arnold M. and Rose, Caroline B. (eds.), Minority Problems. New York: Harper & Rose, 1965.
- Ross, Arthur M. and Hill, Herbert (eds.), Employment, Race, and Poverty. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967.
- Shuey, Audrey M., The Testing of Negro Intelligence. Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell Company, 1958.
- Shoemaker, Don (ed.), With All Deliberate Speed - Segregation - Desegregation in Southern Schools. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.
- Simpson, George E. and Yinger, J. Milton, Racial and Cultural Minorities. 3rd ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Swanson, Ernest W. and Griffin, John A., Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955.

B. ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS

- Antonovsky, Aaron, "The Social Meaning of Discrimination," Phylon, Spring, 1960, pp. 81-95
- Arisman, J. M., "New Negro Casualties; Where do the Teachers Go?," Commonweal, December 24, 1965, pp. 372-3.
- Bickel, Alexander M., "The Meaning of the Civil Rights Act," from "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," Commentary, 38:33-9, in Grant S. McClellan, ed., Civil Rights, Vol. 36, No. 6, The Reference Shelf. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1964, pp. 62-71.
- Carter, Barbara, "Integrating the Negro Teacher out of a Job," The Reporter, August 12, 1965, pp. 31-3.
- Carter, Hodding, "Desegregation Does not Mean Integration," The New York Times Magazine, February, 11, 1962, in Hubert H. Humphrey, ed., Integration vs. Segregation. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964, pp. 134-39.
- Dennis, Laurence E., "Equalizing Educational Opportunity in Colleges and Universities," Phi Delta Kappan, May, 1964, pp. 401-5.
- "Discriminatory Dismissals of Negro Teachers," School and Society, October 2, 1965, p. 338
- "Faculty Education and Income in Negro and White Colleges," Monthly Labor Review, May, 1965, pp. 537-40.

- Gandy, Willard E., "Implications of Integration for the Southern Teacher," Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1962, pp. 191-7.
- Hechinger, Fred M., "Project Aimed at Upgrading Negro Colleges," The Houston Chronicle, July 7, 1967, section 2, p. 4.
- "Incompetence has no Race," The Houston Post, June 13, 1965, from their files, no page number given.
- "Integration and Dismissals of Southern Negro Teachers," School and Society, December 11, 1965, pp. 468-9.
- Killingsworth, Charles C., "Negroes in a Changing Labor Market," in Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., Employment, Race, and Poverty. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967, pp. 49-75.
- Morrise, Mvrtimer H., "Integrated Schools Mean Teachers Too," Phi Delta Kappan, June, 1958, pp. 405-6.
- Myrdal, Connar, "The Principle of Cumulation," in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems. New York: Harper & Row, 1965, pp. 372-6.
- "NEA and Negro Teacher Displacement Problem," School and Society, October 16, 1965, pp. 365-6.
- "Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1963," in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems. New York: Harper & Row, 1965, pp. 12-6.
- Rose, Arnold M., "School Segregation Before the Courts," in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, eds., Minority Problems. New York: Harper & Row, 1965, p. 195.
- Ross, Arthur M., "The Negro in the American Economy," in Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., Employment, Race, and Poverty. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967.
- The Houston Post, December 4, 1966, section 1, p. 7.
- Wells, Guy H. and Constable, John. "The Supreme Court Decision and Its Aftermath," in Virgil A. Clift, ed., and others, Negro Education in America - Its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962, pp. 201-34.
- "What the New Rights Measure Provided," National Observer, in Grant S. McCellan, ed., Civil Rights, Vol. 36, No. 6, The Reference Shelf. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company 1964, pp. 56-61.

National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association of the United States, Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States, A Report Conducted under the Auspices of the National Education Association, Washington: Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association, April, 1966.

Southern Regional Council, Report L-29. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1961.

.... School Desegregation: Old Problems under a New Law. A Special Report, Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, September, 1965.

D. OTHER

Clark, Kenneth B., "Social and Economic Implications of Integration in the Public Schools," Seminar on Manpower Policy and Program. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Coles, Robert, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, July 1963.

Green, Donald Ross, and Others, Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, November, 1965.

Henderson, Vivian W., The Economic Status of Negroes: In the National and in the South. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, no date.

Sheppard, Harold L. and Striner, Herbert E., Civil Rights, Employment, and the Social Status of American Negroes. Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W. E. UpJohn Institute for Employment Research, June, 1966.

Statistical Summary, State by State, of Segregation Activity Affecting Southern Schools from 1954 to Present, Together with Pertinent Data. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Education Reporting Service, December 1956.

Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Education Reporting Service, April, 1957 - February, 1967.

Appendix I¹

Teacher Employment and Student-Teacher Ratios, by Race, and Negro Teacher Aggregate Job Advantage, and Percent of Integration, by State, 1952-1966.

Year	White		Negro		Percent Integration	Aggregate Negro Job Advantage	Student-Teacher Ratio	
	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers			Negro	White
<u>Alabama</u>								
1952-3	444,957	15,008	241,064	7,620	0.00	-331.4	31.6	29.7
1963-4	549,543	19,131	293,476	9,786	0.01	-280.7	30.0	28.7
<u>Arkansas</u>								
1952-3	304,040	10,409	99,469	2,743	0.00	-499.1	36.3	29.2
1965-6	337,920	14,055	119,817	3,896	5.96	-802.8	30.8	24.0
<u>Delaware</u>								
1952-3	43,552	1,820	9,172	339	0.00	-36.6	27.1	23.9
1966-7	89,438	4,544	21,333	656	100.00	-345.5	32.5	19.7
<u>Florida</u>								
1952-3	446,097	15,174	133,547	4,736	0.00	148.8	28.2	29.4
1965-6	1,056,805	39,325*	256,063*	11,723*	9.76	1766.6	21.8	26.9
<u>Georgia</u>								
1952-3	510,706	18,977	255,114	8,143	0.00	-891.4	31.3	26.9
1966-7	776,281#	28,750#	388,140#	14,375#	8.80	0.0	27.0	27.0
<u>Kentucky</u>								
1952-3	499,375	17,263	33,690	1,261	0.00	90.3	26.7	28.9
1966-7	613,919	25,201	60,540	1,507	90.10	-890.3	40.2	24.4
<u>Louisiana</u>								
1952-3	324,030	11,823	202,073	5,687	0.00	-1038.5	35.3	27.4
1966-7	502,870	22,574	317,785	12,665	3.40	-980.7	25.1	22.3
<u>Maryland</u>								
1952-3	301,312	11,518	79,486	2,826	0.00	-168.1	28.1	26.2
1966-7	605,043	29,283	185,884	6,773	65.30	-1700.9	27.4	20.7

Year	White		Negro		Percent Integration	Aggregate Negro Job Advantage	Student-Teacher Ratio	
	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers			Negro	White
<u>Mississippi</u>								
1952-3	272,549	9,399	271,856	6,726	0.00	-1326.2	40.4	29.0
1965-6	309,413	12,515	295,831	8,928	0.59	-1552.9	33.1	24.7
<u>North Carolina</u>								
1952-3	652,622	21,799	276,401	8,300	0.00	-655.0	33.3	29.9
1966-7	828,583#	37,060	355,107#	13,987	15.40	-1327.1	25.4	22.4
<u>Oklahoma</u>								
1952-3	426,780	15,301	34,987	1,420	0.00	153.1	24.6	27.9
1966-7	536,800##	23,350	61,600##	1,500*	50.80	-1058.0	41.1	23.0
<u>Tennessee</u>								
1952-3	575,363	20,807	113,614	3,725	0.00	-320.4	30.5	27.7
1966-7	693,143	38,629*	184,511	6,251*	28.60	-1081.9	29.5	24.2
<u>Texas</u>								
1952-3	1,301,830	45,998	208,622	7,367	0.00	3.7	28.3	28.3
1966-7	2,185,000#	90,000*	355,000#	13,000*	44.90	-1395.7	27.3	24.3
<u>Virginia</u>								
1952-3	490,354	17,805	162,922	5,417	0.00	-374.4	30.1	27.5
1966-7	760,758#	34,321	243,553#	9,430	25.30	-1179.9	25.8	22.2

- 1* Estimated by Southern Education Reporting Service
Unofficial estimate
United States Office of Education estimate

Source:

1952-3 and 1953-4: Southern Schools--Progress and Problems.
1954-5 through 1966-7: Statistical Summary.