Alabama's Segregation Academies: A Geographic Analysis of Enrollment Decline

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ALABAMA'S SEGREGATION ACADEMIES:
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF ENROLLMENT DECLINE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of
Geography and Geology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Frederick Harry Mader
September 1978
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ALABAMA'S SEGREGATION ACADEMIES:
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF ENROLLMENT DECLINE

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to my thesis committee, Dr. Mark Lowry II, Dr. Wayne L. Hoffman, and Mr. James M. Bingham, for their guidance, encouragement, and patience. Each has gained my highest respect, both professionally and personally.

I would also like to thank my parents, Paul H. and E. Frances Mader. Their encouragement and unquestioning support of my educational goals have been extremely valuable.

Thanks also go to my brother, P. Douglas Mader. His advice throughout my college career has been greatly appreciated.

I would like to thank my wife's parents, Tommie A. and Dorothy E. Derr. They have been understanding of my desire to further my education.

I express my deepest gratitude to my wife, Deanna, for her love, encouragement, and assistance. She provides the stability necessary for the completion of such a project and it is for her that it all seems worthwhile.
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ALABAMA'S SEGREGATION ACADEMIES:  
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF ENROLLMENT DECLINE

Frederick Harry Mader  September 1978  82 pages

Directed by:  Mark Lowry II, Wayne L. Hoffman, and James M. Bingham
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The purpose of this research has been to document and analyze the pattern of declining segregation academy enrollment in Alabama prior to 1975. Segregation academy enrollment grew steadily until the 1971-1972 school year. Since that time, a decrease in enrollment has occurred. The lack of adequate documentation and analysis pointed to a need for this research. In August, 1975, the 126 public school superintendents in Alabama were asked to provide information concerning segregation academies in their school districts via a mailed questionnaire. The instrument consisted of an inventory sheet, to accumulate data concerning the extent and type of private academy development from 1967 to 1975, and a series of eight attitudinal items designed to obtain information concerning the demise and social impact of private academies. A review of relevant literature resulted in the formulation of six research hypotheses. Contingency table analysis and map comparison were employed in the testing of hypotheses. Enrollment decline was found to have been greatest in the south, yet rates vary from county to county. Decline in the north has been much less substantial. Enrollment decline was found to be significantly associated with income and education discrepancies between the races. Regional trends of the independent variables are discussed and related to the pattern of enrollment decline.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Attempts to change the spatial behavior of society can have undesirable ramifications. Such has been the case with the implementation of desegregation plans by public schools. Busing and redistricting plans attempt to eliminate segregated patterns in public education. In many cases these plans prompt white flight, the withdrawal of white students from public schools which are undergoing desegregation. The manifestation of white flight has taken two directions: residential relocation and the formation of white private schools. The interest of social geographers in white flight has been confined primarily to the issue of residential relocation. This study, however, is concerned with the geographic aspects of declining private school enrollment.

The Segregation Academy Movement

The Brown (1954) decision which stated, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" signaled the end of "separate but equal" policies in American education, but in the South it fostered the birth of a movement which would strive to reestablish a dual school system. Development of southern private schools, historically explained in terms of religious ideology and social
class, can now be explained in terms of a desire for racial segregation. White parents, dissatisfied with the move toward educational integration, withdrew their children from public schools to form private "Segregation Academies."

Although initiated at the time of Brown and strengthened by the adoption of statewide private school plans by several southern states, the segregation academy movement did not receive strong impetus until 1964. One decade after Brown, less than three percent of southern black children were attending school with whites. White parents did not yet visualize desegregation as a reality. However, the federal government was able to strengthen its stand with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Private academies began to spread across the Deep South, but without strong regional support. Cleghorn writes, "The movement spread sporadically between 1964 and 1969, developing well in some Deep South states (South Carolina and Louisiana, most notably) but not very well in others (Georgia and Alabama, for instance)." The "at once" doctrine of the Supreme Court in 1969 provided the incentive for which the segregation academy movement had yearned. With nearly 20 percent of blacks attending formerly all-white schools, and the realization that integration was becoming fact, southern white parents formed local segregation academies at an increasing rate.

However, the wide range of media coverage commanded by the segregation academy movement has tended to exaggerate its scope. The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta has attempted to monitor the growth of these schools. Enrollment in segregation academies in 11 Southern states for the 1971-1972 school year was estimated to be
535,000, approximately 5 percent of total white school enrollment.\textsuperscript{7} In fact, enrollment for southern private schools of all types accounted for only 6.2 percent of the school population while the national average for private school enrollment stood at 10.3 percent.\textsuperscript{8}

Concern over the segregation academy movement is not centered on its ability to supplant the South's entire public school system; rather, concern centers on the debilitating effects of academies at the local level. Academy enrollment is not drawn evenly from school systems across the region or across any state. Academies thrive in various pockets throughout the South, depleting entire white public school enrollments in some areas, while being nonexistent in others.\textsuperscript{9}

Rising enrollments continued through the 1969-1970 school year reaching a peak during 1970-1971. By the beginning of the 1971-1972 school year, a general leveling-off of enrollment was discernible. Since the 1971-1972 school year, various reports have indicated a return of white students to public schools.\textsuperscript{10}

Empirical studies have not been undertaken to measure the magnitude, causes, and geographic patterns of return. Declining enrollments of segregation academies have been hypothesized to be related to many factors. Early reports identified isolated cases and postulated economic difficulties as the primary cause. Questions have since been raised concerning the ability of hastily organized schools to provide quality education, and the future potential for public schools to appear attractive to segregationist parents. Lack of empirical analysis casts doubt over the accuracy of such reasons. The identification of factors associated with regional trends of
enrollment decline can be of use in predicting future enrollment changes. The future enrollment of private academies may be of utmost importance in local educational planning, for accurate forecasting of public school budgeting, and in the continuing efforts toward full integration.

**Purpose and Hypotheses**

The purpose of this thesis is to explain the pattern of declining segregation academy enrollment in the state of Alabama prior to 1975. Explanation centers upon testing the following hypotheses which have been derived from the literature:

1. Enrollment decline is high in areas of low socioeconomic status.

2. Enrollment decline is low where large income and education discrepancies exist between whites and blacks.

3. Enrollment decline is high where the white population is gaining increased faith in the quality of education in public schools.

4. Enrollment decline is high where private academies offer poor facilities.

5. Enrollment decline is high where private academies offer poor quality education.

6. Enrollment decline is high where private academies rely on increasing tuition.

Testing of the hypotheses involves relating two types of variables to enrollment decline. Factor analysis is used to form composite socioeconomic variables from a set of forty variables. The composite variables fulfill two roles. Appropriate composite variables are used in the testing of hypotheses. Remaining composite variables are included for exploratory purposes. The second type of variables consists of attitudinal responses of Alabama's public
school superintendents concerning the demise of academies. Cross-
tabulation and cartographic comparison are used in data analysis.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to providing a back-
ground to development of segregation academies in Alabama. Pertinent
literature is reviewed in Chapter II. Research design and data
manipulation are treated in Chapter III. Chapter IV is devoted to
data analysis and the testing of hypotheses. In Chapter V, a
summary of findings and relevant concluding remarks are presented.

History of Desegregation in Alabama

Resistance to educational desegregation mounted early in Alabama.
Under the guise of "states' rights," the legislature and state
officials fought desegregation successfully for nearly a decade. At
the local level, leadership for the movement often centered upon the
Citizens' Councils. 11

From 1955 to 1963 the state legislature adopted various reso-
lutions and passed legislation aimed at frustrating federal efforts
to institute desegregation. Act No. 201, commonly known as the
"pupil assignment law," passed in 1955, and the Boutwell "freedom of
choice" plan adopted in 1956, were the only official school segre-
gation tools of statewide application. 12 Lashing back at federal
intervention, the legislature passed a resolution declaring the
Brown decision null and void. In 1957, Boards of Education were
given the power to close schools, sell or lease buildings, and
provide tuition grants for private schooling. Measures were taken
to protect teacher retirement funds in the event that public schools
were closed or converted to private schools. Perhaps the most
flagrant attack on integration was aimed at local teachers. Throughout the period, on a per county basis, the state legislature modified teacher tenure to allow for the dismissal of teachers advocating integration.

In September, 1963, the state witnessed a breakthrough as staunch segregation gave way to token integration with the desegregation of four school districts. Frustrated by his inability to stop desegregation, Governor George C. Wallace made a grandiose gesture of white supremacy by using state troopers to block the entrance of black students. President John F. Kennedy, federalizing the national guard, and gaining support of Alabama's U.S. district judges, forced admittance of the black students. Desegregation was a reality, but Governor Wallace and the state legislature were not ready to concede defeat. Returning defiance from the schoolhouse steps to legislative chambers, the drive to interfere with further desegregation resumed.

With desegregation of public schools came the opening of the first segregation academy. Macon Academy, in Macon County (Plate 1), opened during the fall of 1963. However, no other academies were reported in operation until 1965, when academies opened in five other Black Belt counties (Plate 1). Governor Wallace became an avid backer of the private academy movement. On July 26, 1966, the governor appealed for public support of private schools during a statewide telecast asking the audience to send contributions to a private school foundation.

The summer of 1966 found several communities accelerating plans
REFERENCE LOCATIONS

Plate 1
for private schools. For example, in Lowndesboro (Plate 1), which Wallace had mentioned during his appeal, backers sought $500,000 to get a school started.

Prior to the opening of school in 1966, Governor Wallace convened a special legislative session to enact laws designed to help school districts avoid compliance with federal guidelines. These laws declared all local compliance agreements void and allowed local boards to waive the right to deal with the United States Office of Education. That right would then be vested in the Governor and legislature which composed a new commission to enforce the law.

By March, 1967, state interference was no longer tolerable to federal officials. On March 22, a U.S. District Court of Alabama issued statewide desegregation orders. This action was unprecedented. No previous order had ever included an entire state. The decision was appealed until finally on December 4, 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the district court ruling.

The state legislature immediately established the Financial Assistance Commission to provide private school students $181 per year tuition grants. Two previous plans had been struck down by federal courts, saying that Alabama was "making a concerted effort to establish and support a separate and private school system for white students." 16

With desegregation imminent, the formation of segregation academies increased. The "at once" U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1969 proved the fatal blow to segregation and the number of academies increased sharply. Between the 1969 and 1970 school years, the number...
of academies jumped from 83 to 146. By 1971, estimates of private schools ran as high as 300 with an enrollment totaling nearly 50,000.\textsuperscript{17} The 1971-1972 school year witnessed the initial return of students to Alabama's public schools.

Both the growth and subsequent decline of Alabama's academy movement have been representative of the broader regional trends. Hence, Alabama provides a good case for the study of declining segregation academy enrollment.
Footnotes - Chapter I


2 Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia were cited by Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gaurke, If the Schools are Closed: A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1959), p. 4.


6 Ibid.


8 Ibid.

9 Pockets of growth have been related to numerous variables. The most often cited are various percentage black variables.


15 The term Black Belt refers to an area of dark rich soils. This area corresponds closely with a group of counties in which black population constitutes a large percentage of total population. See Neal G. Lineback, ed., Atlas of Alabama (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1973), pp. 35, 59.


CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In a comprehensive review of segregation academy literature, Palmer stated:

Despite the rather prolific writings in newspapers, weekly magazines, and market and professional journals in the field of education, as well as other sources relative to the recently established private schools, there appears to be a dearth of actual systematic objective research on any aspect of the private schools. ¹

Palmer also noted, "Articles were usually descriptive in nature, either of the schools and their pupils and patrons or else of the phenomenal growth that has occurred."² This need for systematic study emphasized by Palmer, has been articulated by many authors.³

Several of the descriptive articles provide a broad overview of the movement's growth and associated problems, and would be of great benefit to the casual reader.⁴ Other segregation academy literature consists of a sporadic mixture of material from geographers, educators, sociologists, economists, political scientists, and popular writers.

The interest of geographers in racial problems, particularly residential segregation and inequality, has grown steadily. Geographers have also dealt with relevant problems in the geography of education. However, the segregation academy movement, which overlaps both of these areas, has been treated in only four works.
In the only geographic study concerned directly with segregation academies, Lowry depicted the movement as a phase of educational change. Dealing with private schools in Mississippi, the author denoted the private academy as an outlet for racial tension. The article also included a geographic distribution of academies and discussed the various financial and social problems involved.

Lord examined white abandonment of public schools in three Southeastern cities finding family income and busing assignments important. The author concluded that whites were more receptive to integration if blacks were bused into white neighborhoods than if whites were bused out. He discussed private school formation as one of two forms of white flight; the other being residential relocation. Concerning the prominent "tipping point" theory, Lord suggested that some public school systems face the prospect of catering to only poor blacks and poor whites, citing evidence of "class flight" involving both whites and blacks in recent years.

Davis and Donaldson discussed the growth and prospects of the segregation academy movement. A brief synthesis of literature was provided, but no empirical analysis was included.

The remaining literature deals generally with three broad categories: the development of academies, the impacts of academies, and the future of academies. The following discussion treats each of these categories of literature.

**Development of Segregation Academies**

Segregation academies thrived with the Prince Edward School Foundation serving as a guide and the Citizens' Council providing
organization and leadership. In 1954, Alabama had 10 non-parochial schools, but by 1972, estimates ranged over 300. Few discount integration of schools as the underlying cause of development, but degree of development has been associated with several variables.

The most widely occurring explanation deals with the percentage black of either the general or school population. However, exactly how this variable is operationalized into white flight is disputed. In its most general form, this variable consists of percentage black of the population. Palmer has noted the importance of this factor. Munford demonstrated support by obtaining a high correlation \( r = .85 \) between white flight and the percentage black of the population for a thirty county area in Mississippi.

Support has also been voiced for various tipping point theories of academy development. Bickel reported that generally schools became all black after the black student percentage reached 30 to 50. Clotfelter similarly stated, "... private enrollment is fairly insensitive to desegregation below about 25 percent black." Other writers argue that no tipping point exists, but that a general increase in white flight occurs as black enrollment increases. Walden and Cleveland reported development of Alabama's academies to be related to percentage of black children enrolled at formerly all-white schools. In a study of white flight in eight Florida districts, attitudes, socioeconomic variables, and the type of desegregation plan adopted were related to the following behavioral responses of parents: (1) go along with desegregation, (2) protest, but go along, (3) withdraw children. Results indicated that...
percentage black of the school population was highly associated with flight.\textsuperscript{21}

The explanatory power of the various percentage black variables is substantial, yet in certain areas still other factors are supplemental. Of significance are variables concerning educational and economic discrepancies between the races. Mathews and Prothro wrote, "In general, the blacker the county, the poorer and less educated the Negro population and the richer and better educated the white population the greater the white resistance to desegregation."\textsuperscript{22} Lowry has similarly noted the association between private school development and "the socio-economic gap between the races" in Mississippi.\textsuperscript{23} Also dealing with academies in Mississippi, Palmer noted the importance of both types of discrepancy. Areas with higher discrepancy scores on either of the variables were more likely to have segregation academies.\textsuperscript{24}

Though a desire for continued segregation is by and large responsible for academy development, it may not be an accurate reflection of enrollment. Concern over such issues as sex education, evolution, and a ban on Bible reading have alienated many adults from public education. Wiles questioned the validity of classifying all academies as racist. It is his contention that although racism may be the driving force, in certain cases private academies may offer the only source of disruption-free education.\textsuperscript{25}

While it is desirable to reveal factors associated with development, it is as equally desirable to eliminate false beliefs. Such has been the case with two recent studies. No relationship could be verified between type of desegregation and white flight. A U.S. Com-
mission on Civil Rights study found no difference in academy development whether integration occurred by court order, HEW pressure, or voluntarily.\textsuperscript{26} A study of eight Florida school districts indicated racial prejudice scores not to be a good predictor of flight.\textsuperscript{27}

The formation of segregation academies may not be an unavoidable consequence of school desegregation. The ability of white pro-integration leadership to overcome racial bigotry is a matter of some dispute. Morris noted that where integration in the Deep South worked, good sense won out over rumors.\textsuperscript{28} Minor noted that in two school systems in Mississippi white leadership effectively staved-off significant white flight.\textsuperscript{29} Munford, however, claimed that such reports failed to consider time as an element. He suggested that longitudinal study of such districts would show that white leadership merely delayed flight, and he claimed that after the second semester of desegregation the effectiveness of leadership waned.\textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{Impacts of Segregation Academies}

\textbf{Quality of Education}

Aspects such as physical plant, library, faculty and administrative competency, and curricular offerings have come under sharp criticism since the inception of the segregation academy movement. According to a Florida official, "... private schools do not meet the standards of public schools, and later when the pupil attempts to reenter the public school system, we find they may be a grade or more behind in actual classwork."\textsuperscript{31} Does a discrepancy exist between the quality education expounded by academies and their actual product? Cleveland answered this question, "Yes and no."\textsuperscript{32} Applying 37 quanti-
tative criteria used by accrediting agencies to segregation academies in Alabama, results indicated that a wide variety of quality exists. Some schools were found to be "woefully lacking" while some "measured up favorably." Further results of the study were as follows:

1. Two-thirds of the schools assign teachers to fields of instruction other than those for which they were minimally prepared

2. Nearly one-half of the headmasters had less than adequate administrative training

3. Per pupil expenditure was about two-thirds that of the state

4. In approximately one-half of the schools, audio-visual equipment, science laboratories, and other instructional equipment were "grossly inadequate"

5. Course offerings were quite limited in the majority of schools.

A look at the extremes may provide a realistic frame of reference. Golden discussed the poor facilities of some Christian Academies in North Carolina. "In reality, they are renovated barns, small frame houses, old Quonset huts, and sometimes even a dilapidated school building long ago turned over to the mice." On the other hand, three Council Schools built in Jackson, Mississippi, humble many modern public facilities. The majority of academies fall somewhere in-between.

Social Impacts

Social impacts of the segregation academy movement have been felt at the community, group, and personal levels, regardless of status or age. In the beginning, academies grew mindless of class, drawing children from various social statuses. Thus, the divisiveness of the movement cut across class boundaries creating tension at all levels. An accurate forecast of the movement's repercussions was
stated in 1959 by Green and Gaurke. They wrote, "Education may well become a divisive element in our society instead of the unifying element it has been in the past." There was no middle ground. White communities were polarized into two groups: those who continued to support the public schools and those who promoted and supported the private academies. In areas of intense division, civic groups supporting public schools were immediately labeled pro-integrationist. Reports abounded noting children of public school officials attending private academies.

Divisiveness extended into local church congregations as private school promoters pressured fellow parishioners for support. Several major denominations had official policies against active academy involvement, but local churches were less than unanimous in their condemnation of academies.

The most detrimental impact, however, may well be realized in the future. In summarizing consequences of the movement, Walden and Cleveland stated, "Of equal importance are the debilitating psychological and sociological consequences, both to individuals and to local communities of having thousands of young people isolated from the facts of racial heterogeneity and democracy." In areas of significant white flight, integration has been defeated. Without the benefit of increased racial interaction, white supremacist values will persist through another generation.

Not all social impacts of the movement have been negative. Academies formed at a time when opposition to racial integration had peaked. Legal means to avoid school desegregation had been exhausted.
Staunch segregationists had their backs to the wall, and their alternatives appeared to be compliance or physical confrontation. Compliance was psychologically impossible, but physical confrontation appeared probable. The segregation academy developed as a viable compromise. Physical confrontation, as well as compliance, was avoided. Palmer precisely portrayed this impact stating, "... the very people who would be expected to react violently to Negroes entering the white schools were busy repairing, remodeling and painting quarters for a private school ... withdrawal, 'white flight', may have served to prevent 'white fight' as hostilities were sublimated." 43

Economic Impacts

The former separate but equal system provided the racial segregation which private academies have sought to restore. According to one private school official, "We've had a private school system all along, but the state supported it. Now we have to find private support for it." 44 From the movement's inception, funding has been the most acute problem. Isolated cases of Southern aristocrats providing support have been reported, and cost to parents was minimal. However, the majority of schools have relied on tuition for support, plaguing families and communities with financial difficulties.

Many early efforts to alleviate financial troubles were of questionable legality. 45 Teachers who left public schools to teach at private academies were kept on public payrolls. Public school buildings were sold at near give-away prices, and public books, desks, and supplies were often donated to academies. Many states provided
tuition grants for students attending segregation academies, but by 1970 this practice had been legally halted.

With stoppage of illegal financial support for private schools, parents faced even greater costs. Families borrowed heavily and wives took outside jobs for the first time. Mortgaging of cars and homes, though not common, did occur. Parents, already drained by tuition, were expected to donate time and/or money toward the construction of new facilities. Only middle and upper income families could afford to maintain their accustomed standard of living.

The financial pinch of families was reflected by local businesses. Purchasing dropped off, collections were in arrears, and the entire local economy was drained in small communities. Economic development has been cited as a grave concern. Prospects for increased industrial development were dimmed as firms avoid locations where strong support for public schools has waned. 46

Future of Segregation Academies

The future of segregation academies lies in the long term consequences of the social and economic impacts. Morris has noted the inherent incompatibility which exists between the two groups who support academies, racists and those interested in quality education. 47 As the schools depend less on racism and more on the quality of their product, middle and upper-middle income families, no longer reacting strictly from racism, will not be satisfied with less than adequate facilities. Private academies will have to surpass or at least be equal to public schools in order to maintain enrollments. In a study of private schools in Florida, over three-fourths of the parents
said they would consider returning their children to public schools. The condition specified most often was the improvement of the public school system. Therefore, private academies must strive to legitimize themselves to the general public. Studies of public school superintendents' attitudes have found no across-the-board disdain for private academies. Attitudes have been shown to be associated with superintendents' direct experience with academies and particular characteristics of academies.

Several poorly organized academies failed after one or two years because of inadequate financing, but these were isolated cases and did not constitute a trend. In 1971, Gaston noted, "In some communities, the ominous transfer of whites to the segregation academies has either slowed or been reversed." State officials in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia estimated that the 1972-1973 school year would witness the return of whites to public schools.

The return of students to public schools since the 1972-1973 school year constitutes a general enrollment decline, opposed to the isolated school failures of the preceding years. The strength and spatial aspect of this general decline has not been ascertained. Motives for this return to public schools have been speculative and lack systematic study.
Footnotes - Chapter II


2 Ibid., p. 3.


7 Ibid., p. 91.


12 Yeates, p. 83.


19 Walden and Cleveland, p. 234.


21 Ibid., p. 5.


23 Lowry, p. 178.


25 Wiles, p. 537.


27 Cataldo et al., p. 4.


30 Munford, p. 18.


34 Ibid.
36 Minor, p. 32.
38 Walden and Cleveland, p. 238.
40 Information obtained during interviews with superintendents.
42 Walden and Cleveland, p. 239.
47 Morris, p. 107.
48 Wiles, p. 537.
49 Fred H. Mader and Paul D. Mader, "Private Schools and Public School Officials: An Attitudinal Study of Social Impact and Decline in the Deep South," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists, Mobile, Alabama,


52 "Trend to Private Schools in South Reported Slowing," p. 13.
CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

Data

Collection of Data

Two sources were utilized in the collection of data: (1) public school superintendents in the state of Alabama, and (2) the City and County Data Book.¹ The dependent variable, enrollment decline, and one set of independent variables were obtained from the school superintendents. The independent variables consist of attitudinal responses to postulated reasons for declining academy enrollments. The City and County Data Book provided socioeconomic variables to be transformed into a lesser number of composite variables. The composite socioeconomic variables constitute the second set of independent variables for this study.

Since enrollment data for private academies are not collected by the state of Alabama, an alternate source had to be utilized.² Public school superintendents were chosen due to their familiarity with local segregation academy development.

Data were collected by a mailed questionnaire.³ In August, 1975, the questionnaire was distributed to the 126 public school superintendents of Alabama, and a return rate of over 60 percent was achieved. A second mailing carried out during February, 1976, netted
a final response rate of 70 percent (88 of 126). The instrument consisted of an inventory sheet designed to collect data concerning the extent and type of private academy development from 1967 to 1975 and a series of eight attitudinal items designed to obtain information concerning the demise and social impact of private schools (Appendix A).

The instrument asked for estimates of enrollment. Personal interviews were conducted with several public school officials in order to assess the academies' impacts at the local level and to assess superintendents' familiarity with enrollment changes. Local academy enrollment changes were commonly recalled with substantial accuracy.

Missing data constitutes a limitation of the study. Repeated efforts failed to elicit responses for twenty-one counties. Broad coverage of the state was acquired, however, and this minimized the limitation.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact extent to which public school superintendents' attitudes reflect actual motives for declining enrollment. It is assumed, however, that the superintendent would generally be in the best position to have developed an informed opinion.

The forty variables drawn from the City and County Data Book provide broad coverage of each county's socioeconomic and demographic characteristics (Appendix B). These data reflect limitations such as incomplete coverage, data obsolescence, errors in collection, and statistical error.
Unit of analysis

The 126 school systems in Alabama consist of city, county, and combined systems. For purposes of this study, location of a segregation academy is not deemed synonymous with its attendance zone. Segregation academies located anywhere in a county are assumed to draw students from the entire county. Therefore, enrollment decline figures have been combined to represent entire counties. The 88 completed instruments provided data for 146 counties, but because 13 of those had no private school development, they were excluded from the analysis. This left a working sample of 33 counties. All data and further analysis utilize the county as the spatial unit of analysis.

Operationalizing the Variables

Dependent variable

The dependent variable, enrollment decline of private academies, was not provided directly by the instrument. The following questions, from which the dependent variable was derived, did appear:

1. Approximately what is private enrollment now?
2. Approximately what was peak private enrollment?

This variable was derived by expressing the difference between 1974-1975 enrollment and peak enrollment as a percentage of peak enrollment. For statistical purposes, enrollment decline is treated as a dichotomy. "Low Return" includes counties which have experienced a return to public schools of less than 20 percent of peak private school enrollment. "High Return" includes counties in which return to public schools has equalled or exceeded 20 percent of peak private
school enrollment. Examination of the enrollment decline frequency distribution indicates the 20 percent level to be an appropriate level for categorization.

**Independent variables**

**Attitudinal measures**

The survey instrument included four postulated reasons for enrollment decline:

1. Students are returning because of increased faith in the competency of public schools.
2. Students are returning because of poor facilities offered by private schools.
3. Students are returning because of poor quality education actually encountered in private schools.
4. Students are returning because of escalation of tuition.

Superintendents were asked to respond via a five item scale (Fully agree to Fully disagree). Response categories were then collapsed to facilitate statistical accuracy. Precise interpretation of the postulated reasons for return rested with the superintendents since no further explanations were provided.

**Socioeconomic variables**

Forty socioeconomic independent variables are unmanageable. Therefore, they have been combined via factor analysis into composite variables accounting for all of the original variance. However, only composite variables having eigenvalues greater than one are included in the analysis.

**Factor analysis.** The data reduction capabilities of factor analysis are well documented in geographic and other literature. This
technique can reduce a large number of interrelated variables to their underlying factors. Multicollinearity can be overcome through the extraction of orthogonal factors which account for the variance among the variables. Factor scores, representing space locations of each case on each factor, are output in standardized form. Assuming normal distribution, factor scores qualify as input for multi-variate techniques as well as composite variables for less rigorous analysis.

**Identification of factors.** The forty socioeconomic variables were subjected to a principal axis factor analysis, resulting in the identification of five factors. These factors account for 97.2 percent of the total variance (Table 1).

In factor analytic studies labels which identify factors are assigned by the researcher. For the sake of simplicity, it is possible to use only one or two of the highest loading variables. This procedure is satisfactory for factors having a very few high loadings, but may be misleading for factors with numerous moderate variable loadings. Such factors require consideration of several variables in order to portray the factor more precisely. The latter approach has been utilized for this study. Loadings of each variable on every factor are provided in Appendix C.

Factor 1 (Low Socio-Economic Status) is characterized by high positive loadings of low income variables such as percent below the low income level (.95) and percent with incomes below $5000 (.92); and high negative loadings of medium and high income variables such as percent with incomes from $5000 to $10,000 (-.88) and percent with
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>PCT Variance</th>
<th>Cumulative PCT Variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Low Socio-economic Status</td>
<td>13.12</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>High SES-High Discrepancy</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>74.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Suburban</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rural-White</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>91.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Early Life Cycle</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
incomes from $10,000 to $15,000 (-.74). High loadings are encountered with percent Negro of the population (.87) and percent Negro of the school population (.86). Further emphasis on Low Socio-Economic Status (SES) is provided by loadings of percent of the population with less than five years of education (.90) and percent of the population 65 years and over (.70).

Factor 2 (High SES-High Discrepancy) is supported by loadings of both median education discrepancy (.79) and median income discrepancy (.59). High SES loadings of the variables percent professional employment (.81), percent with four years of college (.80), and percent with incomes of $15,000 or more (.68) also lend support.

Factor 3 (Suburban) has loadings of rural non-farm population (.81), population density (.90), and percent of farm operators who work 100 or more days off-farm (.45). Factor 4 (Rural-White) is characterized by farm population (.72), percent Negro of school enrollment (-.28), and percent Negro of the population (-.25). Factor 5 (Early Life Cycle) is composed of percent under five years of age (.80), median age (-.78), and percent 18 years of age and over (-.64).

The variables, Low SES and High SES-High Discrepancy, are incorporated into the testing of hypotheses. The variables Suburban, Rural-White, and Early Life Cycle are treated as exploratory variables.

**Factor scores.** For each county, a factor score was generated from each of the five factors. These scores assume both positive
and negative values. A negative score indicates dissimilarity between the county and the factor. A positive score indicates similarity. The greater the value, the greater the dissimilarity or the greater the similarity.

Factor scores are treated as a dichotomy. One category includes scores less than zero, and the second category includes scores greater than zero.

**Methods of Analysis**

The small sample of 33 counties precludes the use of Multiple Classification Analysis, a multivariate technique capable of incorporating both interval and nominal variables. Hence, statistical analysis is limited to cross-tabulation. Chi square is incorporated as a measure of statistical significance and gamma is utilized as a measure of association between pairs of variables. No control variables are included due to sample size. Tabular analysis is supplemented by map comparison for each pair of variables.
Footnotes - Chapter III


2 In Alabama private academies are supposed to report periodically to the local public school superintendent. In many cases this does not occur.


4 In counties which involved more than one school district the responses of superintendents were averaged. Averages were then rounded to the more neutral response.

5 Fully Agree + Agree = Agree; Undecided = Undecided; Disagree + Fully Disagree = Disagree.


8 Data were initially subjected to Multiple Classification Analysis, but the small sample size led to meaningless results.

9 Nie et al., pp. 218-248.

10 Ibid., p. 228.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The purpose of this chapter is to present findings which lead to an explanation of the pattern of declining enrollments of segregation academies in Alabama. A brief discussion of the pattern of enrollment decline is presented, followed by the testing of hypotheses and the analysis of exploratory variables.

Enrollment Decline

Plate 2 depicts the association between the dependent variable enrollment decline and peak enrollment of segregation academies by county. Segregation academy development has been strongest in the southern one-half of the state, particularly the western Black Belt. This visually substantiates findings of high correlations between development and percentage black variables. Northern Alabama is characterized by many counties which have experienced no segregation academy development. Northern counties having high peak enrollments are those bordering or comprising urbanized areas which have substantial black populations.

Enrollment decline exhibits a similar pattern. Heaviest losses have occurred in the south and west. Decline, however, is not consistent. Black Belt counties exhibit both high and low rates of decline. Counties bordering the Black Belt exhibit similar patterns.
Enrollment decline in the north has been much less substantial.

**Testing of Hypotheses**

Enrollment decline is high in areas of low socio-economic status.

It is hypothesized that a positive association exists between enrollment decline and low socio-economic status (Low SES). This association is presented in Table 2. The relationship does not achieve the .05 significance level; however, gamma assumes a moderately strong value (.43). Of those counties experiencing high enrollment decline, 63.6 percent are of low SES. Conversely, of those counties experiencing low enrollment decline, 59.1 percent are not of low SES.

Plate 3 allows for the comparison of the variable patterns. Positive factor scores (Yes) denoting low SES characterize the southwestern and south-central portions of the state. This corresponds closely with the pattern of heaviest enrollment decline. Exceptions to this pattern can be noted. Several counties in this southwestern section, particularly the Black Belt, have not suffered high enrollment decline. These exceptions can be explained in terms of a relatively small but affluent white population. The low SES ratings of these counties are not likely representative of the private academy patrons. If this is true, evidence will occur when racial SES discrepancies are considered.

The northern and eastern sections of the state are characterized by negative scores (No) denoting an area of higher SES. This corresponds closely with the area of low enrollment decline. Only three
TABLE 2

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low SES</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ p > .05 \quad \text{Gamma} = .43 \]
COMPARISON OF VARIABLE PATTERNS

Enrollment

Low SES

No Private Schools

Missing Data

No Privote Schools

High

Plate 3
counties exhibit high decline rates in this area of high SES. The two northeastern counties center on Gadsden (see Plate 1), an early center of racial turmoil. One might argue that as intensity of hostilities decreased, so did the attractiveness of private academies.

The hypothesis that a positive association exists between enrollment decline and low SES is rejected. Gamma achieves a moderate level and some pattern correlation is apparent, however, this relationship is not strong enough to support the hypothesis.

Enrollment decline is low where large income and education discrepancies exist between whites and blacks.

The composite variable High SES-High Discrepancy is utilized to test this hypothesis. In terms of the independent and dependent variables, this hypothesis states that a negative association exists between High SES-High Discrepancy and enrollment decline. Gamma (-.71) indicates a strong negative relationship. Results are significant at the .05 level and the hypothesis can be accepted.

Table 3 indicates that 77.3 percent of the counties experiencing low enrollment decline are classified as High SES-High Discrepancy, while only 36.4 percent of those counties experiencing high enrollment decline are so categorized. Where income and education levels for whites and blacks are most similar, whites are more likely to return to public schools. However, in areas of great racial educational and income discrepancies, the private academy remains a safeguard against educational integration.

The patterns displayed by Plate 4 illustrate this association. Negative scores (No), indicating counties with lower discrepancies,
TABLE 3
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN HIGH SES-HIGH DISCREPANCY
AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High SES-High Discrepancy</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ p < .05 \quad \text{Gamma} = -.71 \]
are associated predominantly with counties of high enrollment decline. Positive scores (Yes), indicating high discrepancies are predominantly associated with low enrollment decline.

The resulting patterns support the contention of an affluent white minority in certain counties bordering and constituting the Black Belt. The exceptions to the pattern in southwestern Alabama portrayed on Plate 3 are clarified by inclusion of the discrepancy factor. The isolated case of high enrollment decline in the east-central part of the state is also clarified. On Plate 3 this county was identified as having high SES, which is inconsistent with the predominant association. Plate 4 indicates this county as one having low racial discrepancies. This could account for the high decline in private enrollment.

The following discussions and the accompanying tables and plates relate enrollment decline to public school superintendents' attitudes toward postulated reasons for declining segregation academy enrollment.

Enrollment decline is high where the white population is gaining increased faith in the quality of education in public schools.

It is hypothesized that a positive association exists between "increased faith in public schools" and enrollment decline. Table 4 depicts this relationship. Although the .05 significance level is not reached, gamma (.41) indicates a moderately strong positive relationship. Superintendents in counties having experienced high enrollment decline are more likely to suggest "increased faith" as a potential explanation (81.8%) than are superintendents in counties
### TABLE 4

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "INCREASED FAITH IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS" AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increased Faith</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>21.1% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>21.1% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>57.9% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0% (19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ p > .05 \quad \text{Gamma} = .41 \]
having experienced low decline (57.9%). The latter, though tending
to agree, are more unsure that "increased faith" is a plausible
explanation (21.1% are undecided and 21.1% disagree).

The potential for biased responses is great regarding this
particular item. One might suggest that any superintendent will
agree with this statement if only for its face-value. Turmoil and
poor quality of public schools were often cited as supplementary
explanations for white flight. Superintendents are anxious to
overcome such a public stigma.

Plate 5 provides evidence of a regional trend. Black Belt and
bordering counties overwhelmingly agree with "increased faith" as
a factor. In only one case is "increased faith" thought not to
be associated with return. The eastern and northeastern sections
tend to be less uniform in opinion.

Strong agreement expressed in the southwest could stem, at
least partially, from a commitment of school administrators to
strengthen the image of public education. It is unknown, however,
whether this agreement is indicative of actual changes or of super-
intendents' public relations work.

The hypothesis that a positive association exists between
"increased faith" and enrollment decline is rejected. Pattern
correspondence and gamma suggest that the hypothesized association
may exist, however, the relationship is not strong enough to support
acceptance of the hypothesis.
Enrollment decline is high where private academies offer poor facilities.

It is hypothesized that a positive association exists between "poor private school facilities" and enrollment decline. The association is presented in Table 5. The hypothesis is neither upheld in direction (gamma = -.43) nor significance.

Superintendents from counties with high enrollment decline disagree (63.6%) that poor private school facilities is a factor. Those from counties having experienced little decline are divided on this issue (42.1% agree while 31.6% disagree).

These findings suggest that "poor facilities" is not nearly so important to enrollment decline as was anticipated. Responses from counties with low decline indicate that quality of facilities varies widely as well as does their impact upon segregation academy enrollment.

Plate 6 reveals no substantial regional association to further explain the relationship. Responses are varied in each section of the state.

Enrollment decline is high where private academies offer poor quality education.

It is hypothesized that a positive association exists between "poor quality private school education" and enrollment decline. Findings are presented in Table 6. As was the case concerning poor facilities, superintendents from counties with high decline tend not to agree (45.5% disagree and 36.4% are undecided). Those from counties of low return show a slight tendency toward agreement (36.8%). Therefore, gamma assumes a moderately strong negative
**TABLE 5**

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "POOR PRIVATE SCHOOL FACILITIES" AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poor Facilities</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \gamma = -0.43 \]

\[ p > .05 \]
## TABLE 6

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "POOR QUALITY PRIVATE SCHOOL EDUCATION" AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poor Private School Education</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>15.8% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>47.4% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>36.8% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0% (19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 > .05$  
Gamma = -.43
value (-.50), dictating rejection of the hypothesis.

A substantial percentage of undecided responses (47.4% of those with low return and 36.1% of those with high return) has been obtained. This should not be surprising. In many cases private and public schools are totally without contact. Attempts of public schools to interact with private schools have often failed. This situation often makes assessment of the quality of education offered by private schools a matter of speculation.

No regional trend is indicated by Plate 7. "Undecided" responses, indicating a lack of familiarity with the quality of private education, are distributed rather evenly across the state.

Enrollment decline is high where private academies rely on increasing tuition.

It is hypothesized that a positive association exists between enrollment decline and "increasing private school tuition." Findings are presented in Table 7. The hypothesis is not supported by gamma (-.43), and the results lack statistical significance. The negative gamma is the result of the strong agreement shown regardless of the amount of enrollment decline.

Financing is the most often cited problem of private academies. An increasing tuition rate has been the only source of relief for many of these schools. Superintendents from counties having low decline strongly agree (73.7%) that increasing tuition is a factor. Those from counties of high decline are somewhat less inclined to denote increasing tuition as a factor (54.5% agree and 36.1% are undecided).

Examination of Plate 8 reveals a moderate regional association.
## TABLE 7
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "INCREASING TUITION" AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increasing Tuition</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \rho > .05 \quad \text{Gamma} = -.43 \]
Respondents in eastern and northeastern Alabama tend to be more undecided. Other areas are in predominant agreement that increasing tuition is important. This pattern is in general agreement with that of Low SES depicted on Plate 3. Superintendents from counties having relatively high SES tend to be unsure of the importance of increasing tuition.

**Exploratory Analysis**

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of exploratory variables. The three composite variables not incorporated into the testing of hypotheses, Suburban, Rural-White, and Early Life Cycle, are related to enrollment decline. Findings are presented in both tabular and map form.

**Suburban**

The association between Suburban and enrollment decline is presented in Table 8. Gamma indicates a weak negative association (−.27) and the .05 significance level is not achieved.

Those counties having experienced low enrollment decline are equally divided between those having positive factor scores (Yes) and those having negative scores (No). High enrollment decline is associated with counties not classified as Suburban (63.6%).

Plate 9 identifies south-central and southeastern Alabama as having predominantly negative scores. Only one county in the southwestern part of the state having experienced high decline obtains a positive score on this variable.
### TABLE 8

**ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SUBURBAN" AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburban</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \gamma > .05 \]

\[ \text{Gamma} = -.27 \]
Rural-White

Table 9 presents the association between Rural-White and enrollment decline. Significance is not achieved, and gamma indicates a weak positive association (.27). Low enrollment decline is slightly associated with negative scores (59.1%), and high decline is associated with positive scores (54.5%). Such slight differences cannot be regarded as a trend, hence Rural-White cannot be considered a plausible factor concerning enrollment decline. Comparison of the variable patterns (Plate 10) provides no further clarification.

Early Life Cycle

The association between Early Life Cycle and enrollment decline is presented in Table 10. Gamma indicates a very weak negative association (-.19). The .05 significance level is not achieved. Of counties having experienced high enrollment decline, 54.5% were classified as Early Life Cycle. Counties of low enrollment decline tend to be more strongly associated with Early Life Cycle (63.6%).

Plate 11 indicates that western and southwestern Alabama are areas having a relatively young population. However, enrollment decline is not consistent through the area. One must conclude that Early Life Cycle is not associated closely with enrollment decline.
TABLE 9
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "RURAL-WHITE" AND ENROLLMENT DECLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural-White</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( p > .05 \)  
Gamma = .27
COMPARISON OF VARIABLE PATTERNS

Plate 10


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Life Cycle</th>
<th>Enrollment Decline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( P > .05 \)

\[ \text{Gamma} = -.19 \]
Footnotes - Chapter IV

1 Conversations with public school officials revealed that many recently elected or appointed superintendents had the ominous responsibility of rebuilding public confidence. In some cases superintendents were replacing officials who had openly supported local segregation academies.

2 Information gained through conversations with public school officials.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this research has been to document and analyze the pattern of declining segregation academy enrollment in Alabama prior to 1975. Segregation academy enrollment grew steadily until the 1971-1972 school year. Since that time, a decrease in enrollment has occurred. The lack of adequate documentation and analysis points to a need for this research.

In August, 1975, the 126 public school superintendents in Alabama were asked to provide information concerning segregation academies in their school districts via a mailed questionnaire. The instrument consisted of an inventory sheet, to accumulate data concerning the extent and type of private academy development from 1967 to 1975, and a series of eight attitudinal items designed to obtain information concerning the demise and social impact of private academies. A final response rate of 70 percent yielded information for 46 counties. Thirteen counties reported having experienced no private academy development. This resulted in a working sample of 33 counties.

Segregation academy development has been strongest in the southern one-half of the state, particularly the western counties. The northern part of the state is characterized by many counties having
experienced no segregation academy development. Enrollment decline exhibits a similar pattern. Decline has been heaviest in the south, yet rates of return vary from county to county. Decline in the north has been much less substantial.

A review of relevant literature resulted in the formulation of six research hypotheses concerning enrollment decline. Contingency table analysis was employed in the testing of hypotheses. Results dictated the acceptance of only one hypothesis. Two others are supported in direction but an adequate significance level is not achieved. Three hypotheses are rejected due to both direction and lack of significance.

The hypothesized negative association between enrollment decline and income and education discrepancies between whites and blacks is supported. Whites tend to be less likely to return to public schools if the socioeconomic gap between the races is great. Conversely, the thought of biracial schools is more tolerable in areas where racial SES is similar. This suggests that the formation of private academies has been an immediate emotional response to a change in a long established system. As emotion subsides, the attractiveness of the private academies wanes where the SES gap is small.

The pattern of racial income and education discrepancies closely parallels a reversed pattern of enrollment decline. Those counties having high racial discrepancies have experienced low enrollment decline. Those having low racial discrepancies have experienced high enrollment decline. This is particularly noticeable in the western and southern counties of the state where peak enrollment and enroll-
ment decline have been greatest.

The hypothesized positive association between enrollment decline and low SES is moderately supported in direction but lacks significance. The trend toward high decline in counties of low SES is apparent, but not strong enough to advocate acceptance. This may be a result of using the county level of aggregation. The white minority comprising the private academies is not representative of the entire counties' socioeconomic status.

The pattern of low SES supports the contention of an affluent white minority. Counties of the Black Belt, adjacent counties, and most of southern Alabama are characterized by low SES. The varying rates of enrollment decline over the same area attest to the existence of the more affluent white minority who are masked by county level aggregation of data.

The hypothesized positive association between enrollment decline and whites' increasing faith in the quality of public schools is also supported in direction, but lacks significance. A tendency is shown for superintendents to agree with "increasing faith" regardless of the amount of enrollment decline incurred. The pattern of responses yields little additional information. Only isolated cases of nonagreement are encountered and no regional trends are evident.

The hypothesized positive association between enrollment decline and the existence of poor private school facilities is rejected. The relationship is not supported in significance or direction. Private school facilities vary greatly, and high enrollment decline is not necessarily tied to poor facilities. One might conclude that poor
facilities is a secondary factor in declining enrollment. As other factors push whites back toward public schools, dissatisfaction with a second class private physical plant can be a deciding element. No regional trend is evident which further explains the relationship.

The hypothesized positive association between enrollment decline and poor quality education provided by some private schools is rejected. This relationship is not supported in either significance or direction. Superintendents' lack of familiarity with the actual quality of education offered is reflected by a large "undecided" response. Once again, the pattern of responses is varied and provides no additional explanation.

The hypothesized positive association between enrollment decline and increasing private school tuition is rejected. The relationship is not supported in either significance or direction. Long termed the most pressing problem for private academies, increasing tuition is agreed upon by superintendents regardless of the degree of enrollment decline. A moderate regional trend is encountered. Superintendents in eastern and northeastern Alabama are more undecided. This pattern is in general agreement with that of low socioeconomic status. Superintendents from counties having high SES tend to be unsure of the effect of increasing tuition.

Three exploratory variables, Suburban, Rural-White, and Early Life Cycle, have been related to enrollment decline. Associations between enrollment decline and these variables are weak and not significant. No regional trends are evident in the patterns of Suburban and Rural-White. A regional trend is encountered in the pattern of Early Life Cycle. Southwestern counties are heavily
characterized as Early Life Cycle. Enrollment decline, however, is not consistent through the area, resulting in the weak association.

In summary, both development and decline of segregation academies have been greatest in the southwestern portion of the state. The area is characterized by low socioeconomic status and a relatively young population. Blacks constitute a high proportion of the total population. Conversely, the northern and eastern sections of the state are characterized by higher socioeconomic status. Blacks constitute a small percentage of total population. No other variables display strong regional patterns.

Conclusions

Results of this research indicate that the degree of socioeconomic gap between the races is strongly associated with declining segregation academy enrollment. Where the gap is wide, whites are reluctant to abandon academies in favor of public schools. Where the gap is small, a biracial school system is feasible. If the goal is a strong and racially diverse public school system, further narrowing of this gap is mandatory.

Knowledge of factors associated with enrollment decline in Alabama may be of use for educational planning in other areas. Further study into changing segregation academy enrollments can stave-off future problems. The provision of state funds to local school systems is often based on anticipated average daily attendance. Public school systems severely depleted by white flight to segregation academies may find themselves unprepared for an unexpected return of students to public classrooms. Knowledge and monitoring of factors
associated with the stability or instability of segregation academy enrollments could prevent such situations.

The future of the segregation academy is unclear. Some of the academies will undoubtedly flourish as havens for those opposed to an integrated society. However, the survival of many academies may rely on their willingness and ability to adapt to a new role. As resistance to integration becomes less of a driving force, private academies will be forced to concentrate on developing competitive or superior educational programs.

One group of private schools is making this transition. The Alabama Private School Association is dedicated to a quality educational program. Membership is restricted, and in 1976 it included only 67 schools.¹ Students of Association schools score consistently above national averages on standardized tests. Statewide competitions in such varied topics as science fairs, art, debating, math, and music are underway or planned. A statewide convention in 1976 brought together nearly 650 administrators and teachers.

As small educationally ineffective academies give way to such new competitive private schools, a new era for southern private schools may begin. Southern private education, recently explained in terms of a desire for racial segregation, may once again be realistically explained in terms of religious ideology and social class.
Footnotes - Chapter V

1 This information was obtained during a telephone conversation with an official of the Alabama Private School Association.
APPENDIX A

PRIVATE SCHOOL INFORMATION INVENTORY

I. Inventory of Private Schools Formed After the 1966-1967 School Year

This inventory schedule is designed only to obtain general information concerning non-Catholic private schools formed after the 1966-1967 school year and within the boundaries of your public school jurisdiction. Please provide your own immediate estimates on a per school basis for the categories listed across the page. If the number of private schools initiated during this period is great, please include only three schools which provide, in your eyes, a realistic overview of the situation.

Note: Check here if no private schools developed during this period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Number</th>
<th>Formation</th>
<th>Financial Support</th>
<th>Grades Involved</th>
<th>Approximate Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No name is necessary</td>
<td>Church Affiliated</td>
<td>Private Year Formed</td>
<td>Tuition Church Affiliation Endowment</td>
<td>Please list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Number</td>
<td>Present Status</td>
<td>If failed, prior to which school year</td>
<td>Your opinion of this school's future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Growing</td>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>Declining</td>
<td>Failed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please check:

- the above is a total listing of private schools
- the above is a partial listing—in totality, there are or have been approximately ___ schools

Use the following school years to answer questions 1, 2, and 3:


1. For which school year was private school development the greatest?

2. During which school year was enrollment for private schools in your area the greatest?

3. If indeed private schools are losing students back to public schools in your area, after which school year did the return of students begin?
II. Attitudinal Items (circle choice)

Group 1: Dealing with the return of students to public schools

1. Students are returning because of increased public faith in the competency of public schools.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

2. Students are returning because of poor facilities offered by private schools.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

3. Students are returning because of poor quality education actually encountered in private schools.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

4. Students are returning because of escalation of tuition.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

5. Other: (specify)

Group 2: Dealing with impacts of private schools

1. Private schools have eased the burden on public schools by taking the overload of students.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

2. Private schools have acted as an outlet for potential racial difficulties.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

3. Private schools have made public school officials more acutely aware of educational needs.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

4. Private schools have created social tensions which extend into non-school functions.
   Fully Agree  Agree  Undecided  Disagree  Fully Disagree

5. Other: (specify)
III. Supplementary Data

Is there any particular group of community members whose children almost exclusively are not in public schools? (Ex. political figures, lawyers, doctors, etc.) No Yes if Yes, specify

Approximately what is private enrollment now? ________________

Approximately what was peak private enrollment? ________________

To your knowledge, do or have the enrollments of these private schools included Blacks? No Yes if Yes, how extensively
### APPENDIX B

#### FACTOR ANALYSIS VARIABLE LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Number</th>
<th>Variable Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Population density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Percent urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Percent Negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Percent under 5 years of age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Percent 18 years and over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Percent 65 years and over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Median age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Median education discrepancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Percent less than 5 years education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Percent 4 years high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Percent 4 years college or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Percent Negro in schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Percent employed in manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Percent employed in wholesale and retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Percent employed in services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Percent employed in construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Percent professional or managerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Percent who work out of county in which they live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Percent with income below $5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20. Percent with income $5,000 - $10,000
21. Percent with income $10,000 - $15,000
22. Percent with income $15,000 or more
23. Median income discrepancy
24. Percent below low income level
25. Percent with aid to families with dependent children
26. Average persons per housing unit
27. Percent housing owner-occupied
28. Median value owner-occupied housing
29. Percent lacking some or all plumbing
30. Percent Negro units owner-occupied
31. Percent Negro units lacking plumbing
32. Percent voting for Wallace, 1968
33. Number manufacturing establishments
34. Retail sales
35. Receipts for services
36. Rural non-farm population
37. Farm population
38. Percent farm population below low income level
39. Average value per farm
40. Farm operators working 100 days off-farm
APPENDIX C

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Number</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
<th>Factor 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>-0.64</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
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<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
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<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
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<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


. "Private Schools in the Deep South: An Examination of Public School Officials' Attitudes Toward Their Social Impact, Growth, and Decline." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the


