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IMPROVING EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

BULLETIN NO.

6

1941

Negro Education

SOUTHERN STATES WORK-CONFERENCE ON
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

THE SOUTHERN STATES HAVE:



One Third of the
Nation's Children to Educate

WITH



One Eighth of the Nation's Wealth
(Tax Paying Ability)



AND



One Sixth of the
Nation's School Income



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SOUTHERN STATES WORK-CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

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IMPROVING EDUCATION
· IN THE
SOUTHERN STATES

BULLETIN NO.

6

1941

Report of the Committee on
NEGRO EDUCATION
Ed McCuiston, Chairman

SOUTHERN STATES WORK-CONFERENCE ON
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

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SOUTHERN STATES WORK-CONFERENCE ON
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FOREWORD

Since the War Between the States and particularly since the close of the discouraging reconstruction period, the South has been struggling valiantly with the problem of providing, in the face of limited economic resources, reasonably adequate educational facilities for its citizens of both the white and Negro race. In spite of the fact that a good foundation was established for the education of white children prior to the war, the problem of providing school facilities equivalent to those afforded in the average state in the Nation has not yet been satisfactorily solved except in some of the more favored communities. The problem of education of Negroes has presented far greater difficulties, because it was necessary to start from the beginning and build an entirely new structure which involved many additional costs. To assist in this undertaking, there has been no direct help from the Federal government nor from any outside source except from interested individuals, churches and educational foundations. In spite of this situation, marked, although far from satisfactory, progress has been made.

This report is intended to bring into clearer focus some of the significant trends and developments in the field of education for Negroes; to direct attention to a few of the major problems which still remain to be solved; and to suggest ways and means of overcoming present difficulties and developing more adequate school facilities.

The educational leaders of the South recognize the fact that much progress remains to be made and that many complex problems are still unsolved. They also know that many of these problems come largely from economic and social differentials which are as old as Southern history and that real solutions must be evolved by the entire people in light of the total situation.

This study is one of a series of similar cooperative studies undertaken and published by the Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems. The interest and financial assistance of the General Education Board have aided materially in assuring South-wide participation and in making possible the preparation and publication of these reports.

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CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
I	GENERAL BACKGROUND 1
	Problems During Reconstruction..... 1
	Mission Schools and Philanthropic Agencies..... 3
	Development of Public Education..... 5
II	TRENDS IN THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES..... 7
	Population 7
	School Enrollment and Attendance..... 9
	Teaching Staff 13
	Length of School Term..... 14
	School Buildings 15
	Expenditures 15
	Curriculum 16
	Summary 16
III	PRESENT STATUS OF EDUCATION FOR NEGROES..... 17
	Legal Status 17
	Pupils: Enumeration, Enrollment, Attendance..... 19
	Consolidation of Schools and Transportation..... 22
	Teaching Staff 24
	Length of Term..... 27
	Current Expenditures 28
	School Buildings 29
	Ability and Effort of the South to Support Its Schools..... 30
IV	GUIDING PRINCIPLES 34
	Basic Considerations 36
	General Principles 37
V	PRESENT NEEDS IN THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES..... 41
	Immediate Needs 41
	Continuing and Persistent Needs..... 48
VI	PROPOSED NEXT STEPS 53
	Continuing Study and Evaluation of Needs..... 53
	Assuring Better Understanding 54
	Improving State and Local Financing of Schools..... 57
	Insuring More Adequate Salaries..... 59
	Providing Other Facilities and Services Needed..... 60
	Establishing More Adequate Standards..... 64
	Improving State Services in the Field of Negro Education..... 65
	Providing Adequate Financial Support..... 66

CHAPTER I

GENERAL BACKGROUND

An adequate understanding of the educational status and problems of Negroes in the South requires not only a knowledge and appreciation of the history and traditions of the South, but also an understanding of the social, economic and political conditions which have prevailed since the War Between the States.

In 1860 the South had nearly one-third of the total population of the United States, but less than one-fourth of the total white population. It produced more than one-half of the agricultural wealth of the country; had an investment of more than \$175,000,000 in nearly 25,000 factories; had 10,713 miles of railroad, more than the New England and Middle States combined, which represented an investment of more than \$220,000,000; and had nearly one-half the assessed property valuation of the country excluding the valuation of slaves. The Southern States came out of the war with a loss of a large part of the white male population and an almost complete loss of their accumulated capital in factories, public buildings, railroads, houses, barns, farm implements, stock and seeds. Property was destroyed; banks were ruined; credit and commerce were gone; and the labor and economic systems were demolished. The South was devastated, demoralized and confronted with problems that seemed impossible of solution.

PROBLEMS DURING RECONSTRUCTION

During the years since the War, much has been written and even more has been said about reconstruction. There have been such conflicting versions that the picture is still confused in the minds of a great many. This report is not intended to give a history or critique of reconstruction but, by way of background, to give some of the major developments which, as viewed by the committee, comprised of persons born in the North as well as of persons born in the South, have been of significance in determining trends and developments in all phases of education.

Bluntly speaking, reconstruction, or what accompanied reconstruction, robbed the South of much of what was left at the close of the war. During such periods throughout history, scheming, ruthless profiteers and selfish demagogues have always accompanied and have frequently outnumbered and dominated those who have sought sincerely to bring about improvement.

The true story of reconstruction days in most of the Southern States is more amazing than any novel. Corrupt and selfish demagogues from the South frequently joined with corrupt and prejudiced Federal officials and carpet baggers to loot public treasuries, to get control of much of the wealth and to pile up bonded debts that soon totaled more than \$300,000,000. Ill advised laws which were forced through carpet bag controlled legislatures served merely to stir up prejudices and antagonisms. Federal tariff laws, intentionally or otherwise, discriminated against the South and retarded economic recovery; freight rates handicapped commerce with other sections of the country and absentee ownership demanded quick profits regardless of the economic or social effect on the population.

Amid this economic desolation, the South had neither the ability nor the opportunity to keep pace with the rest of the nation, agriculturally, industrially, commercially, economically, socially or educationally. In one decade the Southern States had changed from among the most wealthy states in the nation to the poorest. Agriculture, industry and commerce had to be restored; credit had to be secured from the North at exorbitant rates; reconstruction had to be undone; Negroes had to be adjusted to their new status; and politicians had to be enlightened to the needs of the people. These changes came slowly. With them came rural agricultural tenancy and urbanized industrial tenancy, both using child labor.

With these conditions prevailing, naturally public schools were very slow to get started and public education was slowly developed. Prior to 1860 the Southern States had not placed much emphasis on public education, although education was held in high esteem by the leaders. This attitude was due to the influence of the English concept and pattern of education as a family rather than as a public responsibility. Public schools were provided for the

children of poor whites and were often referred to as pauper schools. Only in sporadic instances were Negroes given formal education. Generally, their responsibilities were such that education was deemed unnecessary. Education of slaves was legally prohibited in most of the Southern States. In 1865 approximately 95 per cent of the Negroes in the South were illiterate. Illiteracy was high also among the poorer classes of white people for several decades after the war.

MISSION SCHOOLS AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES

Soon after the war, mission schools for Negroes were established by northern churches, individuals or groups of individuals in many centers in the South. These mission schools could not possibly serve all the Negroes throughout the entire South, but they did serve as centers for providing the first opportunities for formal education and have continued in many instances as either public or private institutions for training teachers and other workers for public service.

In the initiation of public education in the South most of the states authorized impartial provision but prescribed separate schools for the two races. In their impoverished and destitute condition they were unable to provide adequate education for the white children. To this new responsibility was added the burden of attempting to provide education for Negroes who were unable to bear their proportionate part of the cost of education. The thoughtful white leaders in the South have consistently believed in education as a means of developing Negroes as useful productive citizens. These leaders recognize that in the final analysis the well-being and progress of the entire South depended upon the development of an adequate educational program for both whites and Negroes. Economic well-being, health and, in fact, many other aspects of life of the two races are so unavoidably interrelated that adequate education for all affords the only means of assuring uninterrupted and satisfactory progress.

The poverty of the South, the racial conflict growing out of military reconstruction, and carpet bag government, constitutional and legislative conflicts, uncertain and inadequate financial support and sometimes unsound school organization and weak adminis-

tration have prevented the Southern States from providing adequate and equitable educational opportunities for both races. Had the Federal government acted wisely, fairly and consistently with regard to Negroes it should have realized that legislative enactment was insufficient for transforming former slaves into citizens and that financial assistance was necessary not only for educating Negroes for the responsibilities of citizenship, but also to assist in rehabilitating the South.

In 1890 the Southern States had begun to emerge from the economic desolation in which they had been left by the war. Conditions prerequisite for voting, imposed on the citizens by state governments, stimulated the improvement of educational opportunities for all. Restless discontent in rural sections hastened educational reform. Class distinction among the whites began to disappear. A feeling of responsibility and liberality toward the underprivileged was developing. The people had awakened to their educational condition and needs and were seeking to improve school opportunities. All white groups began to join hands to build a public school system for all children.

Conditions were ready for progress. The Conference for Education in the South stimulated the organizing of the Southern Education Board which guided educational sentiment and stimulated larger appropriations for education, better buildings, improved teaching, improved school legislation and more effective educational organization and administration. Generous grants of philanthropic funds over a period of many years have stimulated and aided the Southern States to improve education. The Peabody Fund stimulated legislatures to establish public school systems, and normal schools. The Slater Fund helped develop high schools for Negroes. The Jeanes Fund helped to improve rural elementary schools for Negroes by stimulating the employment of rural school supervisors for Negro schools. The Rosenwald Fund helped to provide better school houses and purchase small libraries for Negro schools. The General Education Board promoted and supported the employment of demonstration agents to improve agriculture; professorships of education to improve teacher training; supervision of elementary and secondary education, state agents for Negro schools, and divisions of research and of schoolhouse

construction until such a time as the several states could have opportunity to assume these responsibilities. This Board has also made grants for higher education, medical education, schools of education, and surveys of state school systems.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Public education in the South since 1900 has experienced a remarkable expansion and has wielded an immeasurable influence on civic and social development. Education is no longer considered a responsibility of the family or even of the smaller units of government only, but has been accepted as a state responsibility and is beginning to be recognized as a national responsibility. Terms for schools for both races have been increased from an uncertain few months each year to a minimum of seven, eight or nine months. Compulsory attendance laws have been enacted. Child labor has been practically abolished in many areas. Standards for teachers have been raised to compare favorably with those in other states and prerequisites have been established for school administrators. School organization and administration have been placed on increasingly sounder bases. There can be no mistaking the fact that the people of the South believe in education and are resolved to provide the best facilities possible for all the children.

In spite of this progress, however, neither the schools for whites nor those for Negroes are receiving as much financial support as those in the average state in other areas. The reasons are obvious to all who have studied the situation. The South relatively has more children to educate than other sections of the country. It has one-third of the Nation's children to educate, and one-fourth of these belong to the Negro race. Available for use in educating the children of the South and in providing all other needed facilities of government is only approximately one-eighth of the Nation's tax paying ability. The effort of the South to provide adequate schools for all of its children, however, is indicated by the fact that it uses the equivalent of one-sixth of the Nation's school revenues for this purpose. In other words, *the people of the South are making a greater financial effort and sacrifice to provide the educational facilities needed for all their children than are the people of other sections of the country.*

For the past two decades the Southern States have been attempting to assure a reasonable minimum in the way of school facilities for all of their children. Much progress has been made in the equalization of educational opportunities in the various states—not by handicapping or taking away from the more favored communities but by setting higher standards and providing more adequate support for the poorer areas.

In general, the programs of financial support which have been developed are based on sound principles and compare favorably with those found elsewhere. The region is predominantly rural with attendant educational problems commonly associated with sparse populations, yet special care has been taken to assure reasonably equitable school facilities for rural as well as urban children. There is a large economically impoverished minority group in each state to be educated in separate schools, yet provision has been made in all states and areas to tax the resources of all to provide school facilities for both races.

Taxation for schools, on a relative basis, has been heavier than in other areas, yet the support of white schools is still considerably below the National average and in general, facilities found in the Negro schools are even more inadequate than those in white schools because the funds have been so limited and Negro schools have developed later and more slowly than those for whites. Most leaders, however, recognize this situation as unsatisfactory and one which should be remedied.

What is the solution to these problems? Are the problems basically legal or are they primarily economic and social? Should the limited resources of the South be still further taxed or should the resources of the Nation be expected to aid in assuring an adequate educational opportunity for all its citizens?

CHAPTER II

TRENDS IN THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

While the present status of Negro education is far from satisfactory in many respects, it must be recognized that material progress has been made during the approximately 75 years since the War Between the States. In 1865 there were practically no schools for Negroes in the South and all except a very small minority of Negroes were illiterate or practically so. Today all Southern States have laws requiring attendance at school of all children of both races and the percentage of illiteracy among Negroes had been reduced to 16.3 by 1930 and had been still further reduced to an estimated 10 or 12 per cent by 1940. The expenditure of public funds for the education of Negroes in the fourteen Southern States participating actively in the Work-Conference has increased during that same period from nothing to more than fifty million annually.

While trends in a number of phases of education for Negroes can be traced on the basis of reliable information, there are still many areas in which information is still sufficiently incomplete or inadequate that trends can only be estimated.

POPULATION

The Negro population in the United States today is approximately two and one-half times as large as it was in 1870. While this seems to constitute a rapid increase, the white population has increased even more rapidly, due partly to immigration.

Table 1 below shows that from 1870 to 1900 the Negro population of the United States increased 81 per cent while the white population increased 98.9 per cent. Between 1900 and 1930 the Negro population increased 34.6 per cent while the white population increased 62.9 per cent. (Data are not yet available by races for 1940.)

TABLE 1
National Trends in Negro and White Population

Year	N e g r o e s		W h i t e s	
	Population	Per Cent Increase by Decades	Population	Per Cent Increase by Decades
1870	4,880,009	9.9	33,589,377	24.8
1880	6,580,793	34.9	43,402,970	29.2
1890	7,488,676	13.8	55,101,258	27.0
1900	8,833,994	18.0	66,809,196	21.2
1910	9,827,763	11.2	81,364,447	21.8
1920	10,463,131	6.5	94,120,374	15.7
1930	11,891,143	13.6	108,864,207	15.7

Trends in the South. White and Negro population trends in the Southern and border States are of particular interest in this study. Since about the time of the World War there have been substantial migrations of Negroes from many of the Southern States to the larger cities of the North. In some states in the South the proportion of the total population represented by Negroes has decreased considerably as the result of these and other changes.

Table 2 below gives the per cent of increase in Negro and white population respectively in the 16 Southern and border States included in this study. (See states listed in table). The Negro population increased 78.1 per cent between 1870 and 1900 and the white population increased 106.1 per cent. Between 1900 and 1930 the Negro population increased 18.3 per cent and the white population 59.6 per cent. In 1870 Negroes constituted a larger per cent of the total population in 13 of the states than in 1930 as shown by the table. The number of Negroes, however, seems to have increased in every one of these states.

TABLE 2

Negro Population and Per Cent Negro Population Was of Total Population in Sixteen Southern and Border States in 1870, 1900 and 1930

State	Negro Population			Per Cent of Total Population		
	1870	1900	1930	1870	1900	1930
Alabama	475,510	827,307	944,834	47.7	45.2	35.7
Arkansas	122,169	366,856	478,463	25.2	28.0	25.8
Florida	91,689	230,730	431,828	48.8	43.7	29.4
Georgia	545,142	1,034,813	1,071,125	46.0	46.7	36.8
Kentucky	222,210	284,706	226,041	16.8	13.3	8.6
Louisiana	364,210	650,804	776,326	50.1	47.1	36.9
Maryland	175,391	235,064	276,379	22.5	19.8	16.9
Mississippi	444,201	907,630	1,009,718	53.7	58.5	50.2
Missouri	118,071	161,234	223,840	6.9	5.2	6.2
N. Carolina	391,650	624,469	918,647	36.6	33.0	29.0
Oklahoma		55,684	172,198		7.0	7.2
S. Carolina	415,814	728,321	793,681	58.9	58.4	45.6
Tennessee	322,331	480,243	477,646	25.6	23.8	18.3
Texas	253,475	620,722	854,964	31.0	20.4	14.7
Virginia	512,841	660,722	650,165	41.9	35.6	26.8
W. Virginia	17,980	43,499	114,893	4.1	4.5	6.6
TOTAL	4,472,684	7,966,804	9,420,748	32.5	29.4	23.6

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE

In spite of the fact that the economic conditions of a large proportion of the population has been unfavorable, statistics show that Negroes have been quick to respond to the educational facilities which were afforded. The enrollment in Negro schools has increased out of all proportion to the increase in Negro population. In fact, in a number of the states, the percentage of Negro children enrolled in school now compares favorably with the percentage of white children in school.

Reliable information relating to Negro school enrollment before 1900 is difficult to obtain. It seems that in 1870 there were approximately 180,370 Negro pupils enrolled in schools in the United States. By 1880, this number had increased to 856,120 and by 1900 had increased to 1,083,500. This number had practically

doubled by 1920 when the total was 2,103,715. By 1930, it had increased to 2,282,578 and by 1938 to 2,411,967. This number includes Negro pupils enrolled in all states in which there are separate schools for Negroes.

Enrollment in Elementary and High School Grades. For a number of years after public schools were established for Negroes, practically the entire enrollment, as was to be expected, was found in the first eight grades which, at that time, were designated as the elementary grades. Unfortunately, that situation has to some extent continued up to the present time due largely to the fact that high school facilities have not been available for many pupils, that children have had to drop out of school to help support their families, that limited opportunity has resulted in frequent failure to be promoted and to other factors.

There were very few pupils enrolled in Negro high schools prior to 1890. Beginning with 4,047 pupils enrolled that year, the number practically doubled each decade until 1920 when an even more rapid increase began as shown by Table 3 below which gives data for the sixteen Southern and border states. Between 1930 and 1938, the enrollment in grades nine to twelve again practically doubled, increasing from 107,722 to 200,551. The enrollment in the elementary grades increased sharply until 1920, then more gradually until 1936 and then began to decline somewhat in keeping with the general decline in elementary enrollment for all races throughout the country.

The per cent of the pupils enrolled above the eighth grade (in the traditional four high school grades) has been increasing rather rapidly during recent years. This, of course, is a favorable indication. Still, however, more than nine-tenths of all Negro pupils are enrolled in grades one to eight, and more than eight-tenths in grades one to six. The per cent in the upper four grades has increased from 4.8 in 1930 to 8.5 in 1938.

TABLE 3

Enrollment of Negro Pupils in Grades 1-8 and in Grades 9-12 in Sixteen Southern and Border States

Year	Enrollment			Per Cent of Enrollment in:	
	Grades 1-8*	Grades 9-12	Total	Grades 1-8*	Grades 9-12
1920			1,954,564		
1930	2,141,094	107,722	2,248,816	95.2	4.8
1934	2,233,244	157,032	2,390,276	93.4	6.6
1936	2,214,459	182,171	2,396,630	92.4	7.6
1938	2,167,704	200,551	2,368,255	91.5	8.5

*Kindergarten pupils included

College Enrollment. The college enrollment has increased as rapidly as the secondary enrollment. Beginning in 1920 with 9,784 pupils enrolled in colleges and preparatory schools, the number increased to 18,987 in 1930 and to 35,373 in 1936. The number of Negro pupils, both in high schools and colleges may be expected to increase considerably during coming years. The National Education Association* has estimated that for the present number of Negro students in college, facilities equivalent to those for whites would cost \$4,000,000 annually in addition to buildings; and if the same proportion of Negroes as whites were in college the additional needed expenditure would approximate \$30,000,000 annually.

Per Cent Attending School

The per cent of the total Negro population enrolled in school and also the per cent of the children of school age enrolled in school has considerably increased during recent years. In 1920, only 21.8 per cent of the total Negro population of the sixteen Southern and border states was enrolled in school. By 1930, this had increased to 23.9 per cent.

The per cent of the Negro children seven to twenty years of age enrolled in school increased materially in every one of the sixteen Southern and border states between 1910 and 1930. In fact, there was a marked increase during each of these decades, except between 1920 and 1930 in South Carolina, in which state

* New Problems in Financing Negro Education. p. 5.

there was a decrease from 64.1 per cent to 59.7 per cent. This, however, may have been due to a change in accounting procedure. Not only did the per cent of the total number of pupils attending school increase but the actual number increased in every state except Kentucky where there was a small decrease between 1910 and 1920 and only an insignificant increase during the next ten years. This marked tendency of a larger proportion of the eligible Negro children to attend school is clearly shown by Table 4 which follows:

TABLE 4

School Attendance of the Negro Population from 7 to 20 Years of Age in Sixteen Southern and Border States, 1910, 1920, and 1930

States	Number Attending School			Per Cent of Population 7 to 20 Years of Age Attending School		
	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930
Alabama	128,850	166,943	186,883	42.6	54.6	60.5
Arkansas	73,287	84,729	99,989	49.9	54.7	67.2
Florida	41,878	53,504	71,992	45.0	53.6	59.0
Georgia	174,871	212,041	211,638	43.3	50.7	56.7
Kentucky	42,081	39,133	39,361	55.0	62.7	67.6
Louisiana	69,992	103,598	147,048	29.9	45.4	61.7
Maryland	36,503	39,789	47,472	53.8	58.5	64.1
Mississippi	180,776	180,166	217,840	52.7	55.8	66.1
Missouri	21,531	24,118	33,137	55.3	60.7	67.2
N. Carolina	135,297	171,379	218,320	56.0	64.2	65.9
Oklahoma	29,208	30,387	37,976	65.1	61.6	72.0
S. Carolina	144,803	203,028	182,791	47.5	64.1	59.7
Tennessee	73,980	75,324	91,268	48.8	53.9	64.6
Texas	127,656	156,642	172,384	54.4	64.2	66.1
Virginia	111,337	131,284	141,093	49.5	59.1	65.2
W. Virginia	9,169	79,922	21,861	53.5	61.4	72.0

The enactment of compulsory attendance laws and the revised child labor laws have undoubtedly been factors in increasing the attendance in schools. However, the fact that substantial increases have taken place in all states indicates clearly that Negroes are taking advantage to a marked extent of the school facilities which are made available to them.

TEACHING STAFF

Unfortunately, data are not available to make possible valid comparisons of teacher qualifications over a period of years. The fact that the qualifications for Negro teachers compare favorably with those for whites in a number of states at the present time indicates that there must have been quite rapid progress. Those who have studied the situation are aware of the marked improvement which has been made during recent years. Negro teachers, in general, have taken advantage of their opportunities to attend summer school and otherwise to improve themselves. In 1939-40 53.1 per cent of the Negro teachers in the states included in this study had only two years or less of college training. At this same time, 28.2 per cent of the white teachers had two years or less of college training.

Salaries and Teaching Load

Somewhat more valid figures are available both on salaries and on teaching load. In 1900 salaries for both white and Negro teachers in the Southern States were extremely low. At that time Negro teachers received only \$105 and white teachers \$175 average annual salary. By 1930, salaries for Negro teachers had increased to \$410 and to \$900 for white teachers. By 1940 salaries had increased in the fourteen states participating in the Work-Conference to \$560 for Negroes and \$1,011 for whites. These trends are summarized in Table 5 below:

TABLE 5

Trends in Average Annual Salaries of Teachers in Southern States

Year	White	Negro	Ratio Between White and Negro Salaries	
1900	\$ 175	\$105	60	45%
1910	350	175	50	
1920	600	310	52	
1930	900	410	45.5	54%
1940	1,011	560	55.4	

Note: Only thirteen states were included in these summaries prior to 1940.

A study of the above table indicates that while Negro salaries have increased materially since 1900, the ratio between white and Negro salaries has not changed appreciably. Negro salaries have averaged between 50 and 60 per cent of white salaries and in 1939-40 were 55.4 per cent. There is, of course, no reliable way to determine the ratio in salaries in relationship to training and competency of the teachers. It is obvious, however, from a study of the relative amounts of college training to which reference is made above that the salaries of Negro teachers represent considerably more than 55.4 per cent of the salaries of white teachers with similar qualifications.

There has been a very decided trend toward clearing up the situation relating to the teaching load of Negro teachers in most Southern States. Early in the present century it was rather common for a Negro teacher to have 60, 70 and, in some cases, 100 or more pupils. A few instances of such high pupil-teacher ratios can probably still be found in most of the states, but the average number of pupils per teacher has decreased from about 60 in 1917-18 to 38.4 in 1939-40. Although the teacher load for Negro teachers is still greater than that for whites which was 30.0 in 1939-40, the difference has rapidly decreased in recent years.

LENGTH OF SCHOOL TERM

The length of school term has also tended to be more nearly stabilized during recent years. During the early part of the century the question as to whether many schools would operate at all arose year after year. Numerous schools for both races operated for only two or three months. By 1927-28 the average length of term for white schools had increased to 165 days. By 1939-40 the term had increased to 171 days in the sixteen Southern and border states. However, in a number of the states the term for white elementary schools was still approximately a month less than for white high schools. The term for Negro schools had increased to an average of 131 days or about six and one-half months in 1927-28, increasing still further to 142 days by 1933-34, and by 1939-40 had been raised to 164 days or slightly more than eight months. The average term was still only approximately six months, however, in Mississippi and was less than eight months in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina and Georgia.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

At the beginning of the present century there were few Negro school buildings outside of those found in some of the cities which could be considered adequate. Practically all of the Negro schools, particularly in rural areas, were conducted in churches or, in fact, in almost any building which could be obtained. Although in a number of states a very large proportion of the Negro schools are still conducted in churches and other very inadequate buildings, the housing conditions have been materially improved during recent years. The value of the school plant in 1939-40 ranged from \$23.89 per Negro pupil in Alabama to \$159.87 in Maryland. A study made on the basis of information for 1935-36 and for 1939-40 provides sufficient evidence to warrant a definite conclusion that the relative value of Negro buildings materially increased during that period. In 1935-36 the average value of Negro buildings in the Southern States was 19.8 per cent of the value of the white buildings. In 1939 the average value had increased to 23.6 per cent of that of the white buildings. Even on this basis, however, it would require approximately \$276,000,000 to provide Negro school buildings having the same per pupil value in each state as the buildings for whites.

EXPENDITURES

Inadequate accounting records make it impossible to determine accurately the trends in expenditures for Negro schools. Even today it is not possible to determine the exact expenditures in many areas. Items, instead of being accurately charged to white and Negro schools are commonly entered on the records in lump sums. In most states, the records probably show a somewhat smaller expenditure for Negro schools than the value of the actual services and supplies made available. On the other hand, systems of allocations which are used sometimes assume supplies and services made available on the basis of the ratio between salaries of white and Negro teachers whereas the actual value of the supplies may be considerably less than the allocation shows.

On the basis of the best information available it is evident that the approximate current expenditure per Negro pupil in thirteen Southern States in 1900 was \$1.50. By 1910, it had increased to \$3.00, by 1920 to \$8.00, by 1930 to \$11.00 and by 1940 to slightly more than \$19.00. The current expenditure for white pupils was

approximately \$4.50 in 1900, \$9.00 in 1910, \$26.00 in 1920, \$45.00 in 1930 and \$50.00 in 1939-40. The proportionate expenditure does not seem to have changed materially during this period.

CURRICULUM

It is, of course, not possible to summarize statistically trends in the curriculum and in other related phases of the school program. It is obvious, however, that curriculum trends in Negro schools have not differed materially from those in white schools. As curriculum changes have been inaugurated in white schools, they have also tended to be introduced in Negro schools. Sometimes, unfortunately, these changes have not been adapted for use in either white or Negro schools. Fortunately, during more recent years, there has been a more definite tendency to study needs and to relate the school curriculum to these needs. Education for Negroes has, in general, tended to become less theoretical and more practical, although considerable improvement can still be made along this line during coming years.

SUMMARY

The results of all these changes and trends*, of course, cannot be accurately measured. It is an established fact that the amount of illiteracy among Negroes has been materially reduced. However, at least 10 per cent of the Negroes are still classed as illiterates and another rather substantial percentage has had such limited schooling that no very tangible results are apparent. In general, however, as the percentage of Negroes attending high school and college has increased, the number of Negroes who have entered professional work and who have achieved a higher economic level has increased correspondingly. While almost every trend has shown material improvement, some of the gains have been relatively slow and have not kept pace with changes which have occurred in other groups. The problem of improving Negro education is not merely a problem of making gains from a given starting point but also a problem of overcoming many handicaps in ratios so that the relative status will be improved. Some progress has been made in this latter respect, but, in many instances, the relative status has not been greatly improved during recent years.

* For other information on Trends, see Chapter I of Bulletin No. 1, *State and Local Financing of Schools*.

CHAPTER III
PRESENT STATUS OF EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

LEGAL STATUS

Seventeen states and the District of Columbia require by law, or by constitutional provision, separate schools for whites and Negroes. These seventeen states comprise the group known as Southern and border states and include:

Alabama	Louisiana	South Carolina
Arkansas	Maryland	Tennessee
Delaware	Mississippi	Texas
Florida	Missouri	Virginia
Georgia	North Carolina	West Virginia
Kentucky	Oklahoma	

All of these states except Delaware provided data for this study and all except Maryland and Missouri in addition to Delaware were active participants in the Work-Conference. A few other states such as Arizona and Kansas either require separate schools in part or authorize separate schools.

The states which maintain separate schools for whites and Negroes as a group happen to fall in the lowest quartile in ability to support schools. Thus the states with least financial ability have potentially the heaviest burden of school support. No discussion of possible legal changes can in anyway lighten that burden, because back of the laws and constitutional provisions are traditions which are as deeply rooted as the long-accepted American tradition of religious freedom.

The Supreme Court of the United States has recognized the right of these states to maintain separate schools for the two races provided there is no discrimination in the educational opportunities provided. For over seventy-five years the Southern States have struggled with this problem with varying degrees of success. Facilities afforded the Negroes in some areas have been better than the facilities for whites in other areas. In general, however, the Southern States have been no more successful in solving this problem than have many states in

other areas in solving the problem of providing equal educational facilities for rural and urban children. Negroes, however, have certain constitutional safeguards and assurances which apparently are not applicable to the people of rural areas regardless of the limited facilities which may be available to them.

As indicated in the chapter devoted to "Trends" much progress has been made in improving the education of Negroes in most areas. However, such progress has often been slow and at times somewhat discouraging, particularly to the leaders of the Negro race. During recent years, Negroes have with increasing frequency resorted to the courts in an attempt to assure full observance of their constitutional rights and to hasten improvements in the educational system. Recent court decisions have uniformly held that compliance with Federal and state constitutions requires that equivalent facilities must be provided for each race in a dual system of schools. The courts, however, have not stated how these facilities are to be provided and have left the matter of financing these facilities as a problem still to be solved by the several states.

Court Decisions. In the case of *State of Missouri Ex. Rel. Gaines vs. Canada et al.*, No. 57; 59 S. Ct. 232, the United States Supreme Court held that the payment of the tuition fees of a Negro citizen attending a law school in another state did not remove the discrimination within the state where a law school was maintained for whites but not for Negroes. To meet the requirement for equal facilities the state would need to provide a school of law for the Negroes within the borders of the state.

In the case of *Mills vs. Board of Education of Ann Arundel County, (Maryland)*, No. 170; 30 F. Supp. 245, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, authorized an injunction restraining the Board of Education from making any distinction solely on the grounds of race and color in fixing the salaries of white and Negro teachers.

In *Alston et al. vs. School Board of City of Norfolk (Virginia) et al.*, No. 4623; 112 F. 2nd 992, the same United States Circuit Court of Appeals held that the policy of paying lower salaries to Negroes than to white persons for services of the same kind and character "is as clear a discrimination on the grounds of race as could well be

imagined and falls squarely within the inhibition of both the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The implications of these decisions are plain. The school facilities provided for Negroes are expected to be equivalent to those provided for whites. If the requirements of the Supreme Court are met it will be necessary for the states maintaining a dual system of schools to take one of two possible steps: First, to lower the school facilities for whites and increase the facilities for Negroes until they are equal; or second, to raise the facilities for Negroes until they equal the level of those now provided for whites. Since neither the facilities for Negroes nor those for whites are now equal to the National average, the public welfare excludes the first step from serious consideration. The second step is fully feasible only if substantial financial assistance for the schools of the Southern States is provided by the Federal government. The following information is, therefore, presented for the purpose of describing the present relative status of school facilities for Negroes, in the various Southern States as a basis for indicating what would be required to bring the facilities in the Negro schools up to the present level of the white schools.

PUPILS: ENUMERATION, ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE

School Census. A school census if properly taken and kept affords the basis for determining what children should be in school. Without a school census there would be no suitable way of knowing whether children of either race are attending school satisfactorily. All Southern States now require a school census for both races, Florida having added the census requirement only recently.

Age limits upon which the school census is based vary considerably among the Southern States. The minimum age varies from five in Maryland to seven in Virginia, the most common minimum age being six. The maximum varies from seventeen in Kentucky and Texas to twenty-one in Mississippi and North Carolina. The range of years included varies from eleven in Kentucky and Texas to fifteen in Mississippi and North Carolina, the average being 13.2 years. Basic ages are the same for both whites and Negroes in each particular state. The total school census records for 1940 show 11,993,750 children in fifteen southern and border states (Florida has not had a school census and is not included) of which 8,957,087 are white and 3,036,663 are Negro.

Census-Enrollment Ratios. The percentage which the total enrollment is of the total school census is practically the same for whites and Negroes in a number of states. The ratio is materially (from 5 to 19 per cent) lower for Negroes than for whites in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Because of the increasing effectiveness of compulsory attendance, most of the Negro children in the South attend school for a longer or shorter period of time. Unfortunately, all too many drop out of school before getting into the high school grades.

Attendance-Enrollment Ratios. Regularity of attendance of Negroes who are in school generally compares very favorably with that of whites in spite of the more limited transportation, poorer health conditions and more inadequate facilities. Because of differences in keeping records, attendance ratios among states are not fully comparable. However, the ratios for each state should show fairly accurately the situation in that state. Table 6 shows that only small differences existed in enrollment-attendance ratios for whites and Negroes in most states in 1939-40.

TABLE 6

Ratio of Average Daily Attendance to Enrollment for White and Negro Pupils in Each Southern and Border State, 1939-40

State	Ratio for Whites	Ratio for Negroes
Alabama	82.8	82.1
Arkansas	79.6	77.5
Florida	82.0	82.5
Georgia	74.7	73.9
Kentucky	81.1	80.3
Louisiana	87.5	84.0
Maryland	96.6	94.4
Mississippi	80.0	75.6
Missouri	*	*
North Carolina	90.6	84.9
Oklahoma	79.6	78.9
South Carolina	83.8	75.1
Tennessee	82.9	82.2
Texas	84.7	77.7
Virginia	87.8	83.7
West Virginia	90.9	90.7
Average	84.0	79.9

* Not available.

The average daily attendance of all white pupils in these states was 84.0 per cent of the white enrollment while the average daily attendance of the Negroes was 79.9 per cent of the Negro enrollment.

Enrollment by Grade Levels. During 1939-40 almost one-third (32.8 per cent) of all the Negro pupils enrolled in elementary grades (Grades 1-6) in the South were in the first grade. This is unquestionably a situation which needs major improvement. Far too many of the Negro pupils are staying in the first grade too long and apparently dropping out of school before completing many grades. Only 21.7 per cent of the white elementary pupils were in the first grade. More than four-fifths (81.2 per cent) of all the Negro pupils enrolled in school in the Southern States that same year were in grades 1-6 inclusive. Only 18.8 per cent were above the sixth grade.

TABLE 7

Distribution of Negro School Enrollment 1939-40

State	Per Cent First	Per Cent Grades 1-6 (Elementary) is of Grades 1-12	Per Cent Grades 7-12 (Elementary) is of Grades 1-12
	Grade is of Grades 1-6 (Elementary)		
Alabama	32.5	83.9	16.1
Arkansas	33.4	81.9	18.1
Florida	25.4	75.0	25.0
Georgia	36.0	86.5	13.5
Kentucky	25.5	68.4	31.6
Louisiana	32.5	87.7	14.3
Maryland	22.4	73.3	26.7
Mississippi	41.9	83.6	11.4
Missouri	24.0	69.2	30.8
North Carolina	32.9	79.6	20.4
Oklahoma	30.4	68.3	31.7
South Carolina	31.7	85.9	14.1
Tennessee	29.9	73.9	26.1
Texas	32.1	75.3	24.7
Virginia	27.6	77.8	22.2
West Virginia	18.2	69.3	30.7
Average	32.8	81.2	18.8
Total Enrollment	Grade 1 633,398	Grades 1-6 1,943,798	Grades 7-12 450,027
Average for White Schools	21.7	64.2	35.8

Only 64.2 per cent of the white pupils were in grades 1-6 and 35.8 per cent were above the sixth grade. Table 7 which precedes gives the distribution of Negro enrollment in each of the Southern and border States.

The per cent of the Negro school population enrolled in college compares even less favorably with the corresponding per cent for whites for the same reasons that operate to restrict the enrollment in high school grades. The economic factor is particularly significant in determining probable college attendance.

CONSOLIDATION OF SCHOOLS AND TRANSPORTATION

Information is not available for all Southern States concerning the number of consolidated Negro schools which have been established. The evidence indicates, however, that there has been a marked tendency in most states to develop more adequate Negro school centers

TABLE 8

Number of White and Negro One-Teacher Schools and the Per Cent of White and Negro Pupils Enrolled in One-Teacher Schools, 1939-40

State	No. of One-Teacher Schools		Per Cent of Enrollment in One-Teacher Schools	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Alabama	446	1,327	3.9	28.5
Arkansas	1,762	763	15.0	31.3
Florida	201	490	1.6	12.5
Georgia	338	2,073	1.8	31.6
Kentucky	*	*	*	*
Louisiana	109	885	*	*
Maryland	207	198	2.5	11.4
Mississippi	282	1,889	2.3	22.4
Missouri	6,719	132	*	*
North Carolina	312	837	1.7	12.0
Oklahoma	*	*	*	*
South Carolina	247	805	1.9	10.7
Tennessee	1,912	649	10.6	18.7
Texas	1,528	854	2.7	3.8
Virginia	968	955	7.2	19.3
West Virginia	3,163	178	17.7	13.2

* Not available.

during recent years. There are still more one-teacher Negro schools than one-teacher white schools in practically every state in which there is a predominately Negro population. More striking still, a much larger proportion of the Negro pupils are enrolled in one-teacher schools than of the white pupils. While satisfactory evidence is not available regarding two and three-teacher schools, it is well known that a large per cent of Negro schools in many areas, even of the so-called consolidated schools, are two and three-teacher schools.

Table 8 on page 22 gives the number of white and Negro one-teacher schools in each state and the percentage of the total enrollment in one-teacher schools in 1939-40.

In a number of states there has been no Negro transportation until within just the last few years. The number and percentage of Negro pupils transported is still relatively small in most states in spite of the fact that a large percentage of the Negroes live in rural areas. The limited transportation helps to explain why such a small

TABLE 9

Per Cent of White and Negro Elementary and High School Pupils Transported to School—1939-40

State	White			Negro		
	Elementary	High School	Elem. & High	Elementary	High School	Elem. & High
Alabama	46.1	48.6	47.0	2.1	9.6	3.3
Arkansas	34.7	20.3	29.7	7.5	6.1	7.2
Florida	30.6	34.5	32.2	3.2	5.5	3.8
Georgia	39.3	20.4	33.1	1.1	10.5	2.4
Kentucky	15.1	21.7	17.2	10.1	10.3	10.2
Louisiana	*	*	44.5	*	*	1.7
Maryland	31.8	20.0	27.0	12.2	23.9	15.3
Mississippi	*	*	45.3	*	*	1.7
Missouri	*	*	*	*	*	*
North Carolina	*	*	47.5	*	*	11.6
Oklahoma	*	*	*	*	*	*
South Carolina	27.8	34.6	30.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
Tennessee	25.1	20.9	23.7	*	*	*
Texas	11.1	55.4	27.5	2.6	34.5	10.5
Virginia	*	*	36.3	*	*	11.0
West Virginia	20.2	45.0	27.8	15.0	45.8	24.5

* Not available.

percentage of Negro pupils is enrolled in high school grades. Table 9 which precedes gives the per cent of white elementary and high school pupils transported and the per cent of Negro elementary and high school pupils transported in each Southern State for which data are available. In some states information on transportation is still far from complete. South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi transport the smallest percentage of their Negro pupils and Maryland and West Virginia the largest. If the additional transportation needs could be provided in all Southern States the additional cost would be between \$5,000,000 and \$10,000,000 per year.

TEACHING STAFF

During recent months largely as a result of recent court decisions, considerable attention has been centered on the question of salaries of Negro teachers. It is not possible at the present time to determine the extent to which Negro teachers are paid lower salaries than white teachers with similar training, experience and competence. It is generally recognized, however, that there are material differences in a number of states. Data regarding training and experience of teachers are still far from satisfactory in most states and information relating to competence of teachers is even less satisfactory. Many salary schedules omit entirely the factor of competence and, as the result, there are numerous inequities in salaries of both white and Negro teachers which should have further careful study.

Training of Teachers

By studying the information available relating to training of teachers, it is possible to get a fair idea concerning the relative academic preparation of white and Negro teachers at the present time. In 1939-40, 61.5 per cent of the white teachers employed and 46.2 per cent of the Negro teachers employed had had more than 2 years of college training. These percentages, however, vary considerably from state to state as shown by Table 10.

TABLE 10

Per Cent of White and Negro Teachers Employed Who Had More Than Two Years of College Work and Who Had Two or Less Years of College Work, Respectively—1939-40

State	College Training of White Teachers			College Training of Negro Teachers		
	More than 2 Years	2 Years or Less	Un-known	More than 2 Years	2 Years or Less	Un-known
Alabama	63.4	36.6		25.8	74.2	
Arkansas	42.5	52.6	4.90	29.2	55.2	15.6
Florida	52.7	47.3		25.7	74.3	
Georgia	61.2	38.8		27.8	72.2	
Kentucky	*	*		*	*	
Louisiana	78.2	21.8		43.8	56.2	
Maryland	79.4	19.7	0.9	58.8	41.1	0.1
Mississippi	62.2	37.8		9.1	90.9	
Missouri	*	*		*	*	
North Carolina	97.1	2.9		89.6	10.4	
Oklahoma	86.9	12.6	0.5	89.1	9.5	1.4
South Carolina	80.9	19.1		34.9	65.1	
Tennessee	52.1	47.9		49.7	50.3	
Texas	88.3	11.7		81.1	18.9	
Virginia	55.5	44.5		43.6	56.4	
West Virginia	56.9	43.1		71.3	28.7	
Average	68.4	31.2	0.4	48.5	50.3	1.2

* Not available.

Salaries and Teaching Load

The salary of the average teacher in the South in 1939-40 was only seven-tenths of the salary of the average teacher in the nation in 1937-38. Salaries for both white and Negro teachers in the South, therefore, are below the national average. While the training of Negro teachers averages below that of white teachers, it is obvious from a study of the facts that the salaries are lower in proportion than the difference in training would warrant. Moreover, Negro teachers, in general, have a larger teaching load than white teachers. These facts are shown in Table 11 which follows:

TABLE 11

Average Annual Teachers' Salaries and Average Teaching Load for
White and Negro Teachers—1939-40

State	Average Annual Salaries for Teachers Including Principals		Average Teaching Load (Number of Pupils En- rolled per Teacher)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Alabama	\$ 874	\$ 408	31.7	42.3
Arkansas	638	375	34.3	44.3
Florida	1,147	583	28.3	32.1
Georgia	901	403	31.2	39.5
Kentucky	873	959	32.4	30.8
Louisiana	1,193	504	27.5	41.8
Maryland	1,694	1,447	31.7	35.0
Mississippi	821	235	34.0	47.5
Missouri	1,087	1,441	27.4	32.8
North Carolina	910	645	33.9	38.2
Oklahoma	998	971	29.0	27.0
South Carolina	953	391	27.9	38.1
Tennessee	*	*	31.3	37.2
Texas	1,153	667	27.5	34.6
Virginia	908	608	31.2	36.8
West Virginia	*	*	28.0	28.3
Average	\$1,011	\$ 560	30.0	38.4

* Not available.

The quality of the college training available to the two groups of teachers at the present time cannot be measured statistically. If the quality of training were equal there still exists a wide difference in the amount of training as measured by the number of years of college training of the two groups. It is a significant observation, however, that at the present the group of teachers with the least training and the lowest salaries are required to teach an average of from three to fourteen more pupils per day than better trained groups.

While Negro teachers do not as yet have as much training as white teachers, their training has been greatly improved during recent years and it seems reasonable to assume that within a relatively short time their training will compare favorably in most areas with that of white teachers. If the training were the same today for both groups of teachers, the following approximate additional amounts for salaries of Negro teachers would be necessary annually

if Negro teachers were to be paid the same salaries as white teachers with the same amount of training. Further amounts would need be added to these totals if the teaching load should be equalized for both groups of teachers, because then additional Negro teachers would need be employed.

Alabama	\$2,618,454	Oklahoma	\$ 47,083
Arkansas	682,222	South Carolina	3,180,920
Florida	1,855,560	Texas	3,129,354
Georgia	3,444,666	Virginia	1,235,100
Louisiana	2,837,991		
Mississippi	3,702,348		
North Carolina	1,887,880	TOTAL	\$24,621,578

NOTE: Information was not available for Kentucky and Tennessee. In Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri salaries are now approximately equal.

LENGTH OF TERM

The average length of term for white elementary schools in the Southern States was 166 days in 1939-40 while that for Negro elementary schools was 162 days. In other words, the average for the white elementary term was just slightly more than eight months and it was about one week less for Negroes than for whites. The average high school term was 174 days for whites and 168 days for Negroes. In all states except Mississippi and Louisiana the length of term for the Negro high school compares reasonably favorably with the length of the white high school term. The greatest difference in other states is usually not more than one week. In Mississippi, however, the average high school term for Negroes is only 124 days or slightly more than six months, while the average for whites is 165 days. In Louisiana the high school term for Negroes is about one month less than that for whites. The average elementary term for Negroes is approximately one week less than the average for whites in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia. It is approximately one month less in Arkansas, Louisiana and South Carolina, two months less in Mississippi and more than two weeks less in Texas. The elementary term is approximately the same length for both races in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Virginia and West Virginia.

If the same term were provided for Negroes as for whites in all Southern States, it is estimated that approximately \$2,727,000 would be added to the annual cost of education for this purpose alone.

CURRENT EXPENDITURES

The current expenditure per Negro child in 1939-40 averaged approximately \$19.00, while the current expenditure per white child averaged approximately \$49.00. This difference is due largely, of course, to the differences in salaries of teachers, but it is also due partly to the lower expenditures for transportation, for instructional supplies and, in fact, for practically all other phases of Negro education. In Missouri and Oklahoma the current expenditure for white and Negro pupils was approximately equal. Information was not available for Tennessee and Virginia. In Alabama the expenditure was slightly more than three times as much for whites as for Negroes; in Arkansas and Florida, about two and one-half times; in Georgia, nearly four times; in Louisiana, about three and one-half times; in Maryland, about one and one-third times; in Mississippi, nearly eight times; in North Carolina, almost twice; in South Carolina about four times; and in Texas, nearly twice as much.

The amount spent for current expenses in Negro schools in the various states is somewhat related to state and local provisions for financing of schools. If there are adequate safeguards to assure that all local school administrative units use the funds equitably the situation will be quite different in at least some of the units than if those safeguards are inadequate or if there are no safeguards.

In Oklahoma, for example, the local revenue for the race having the larger population in an administrative unit is derived from the tax levy on assessed property in the local districts. Local support for the schools of the race having the minority in the unit is derived from the tax levy on the assessed property in the entire county. The proceeds from these tax levies are kept in separate accounts and cannot be used for any other purposes. Aid from the state equalization fund must be credited to the districts or separate schools to which it is allotted.

In Mississippi the local revenue comes from a levy on the district and county assessed valuations for both schools. This is kept in one account to be allocated to the schools for the two races as determined

by the local board. Aid from the state equalization fund allocated to the districts is credited to the common account for the schools without any important restrictions as to its use. The amount which is to be spent on schools for whites and Negroes is thus determined practically entirely by the local school officials.

It thus becomes obvious that it is not sufficient for the state to distribute funds merely on the basis of the total number of pupils to be educated, leaving the entire discretion as to the use of those funds to the local school administrative units. The establishment of adequate minimum standards and of necessary safeguards to assure an equitable apportionment and use of the funds seems to be desirable and perhaps necessary to aid in eliminating inequalities.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

School buildings for Negroes have been financed in various ways. In some cases, the current budget has included the building funds; in other cases, the building funds have come from bond issues which have been used for both white and Negro buildings and in many cases the funds have come at least partly from donations. Frequently Negro school buildings consist of abandoned or reconstructed white school buildings, of churches, or of other buildings which may or may not have been remodeled. Sometimes three or four Negro teachers attempt to carry on classes in the same room without blackboards or other facilities ordinarily considered essential for adequate instruction. Because of the difficulty of arranging for the necessary sponsors' contributions in the poorer districts it has frequently been impossible to secure WPA or other Federal funds for Negro school buildings. After buildings have been constructed it has usually been found difficult to supply the equipment and teaching materials needed. Table 12 which follows gives the estimated value of the present school plant per Negro pupil, the ratio between the per pupil value of Negro buildings and the corresponding per pupil value of white buildings in the same state, and the estimated cost of additional building facilities for Negroes on the basis of the average amount invested per white pupil. Even on the basis of this calculation, there would remain great differences between the investment in buildings among the various states, the lowest being \$111.46 in Arkansas, the highest \$269.43 in Florida (which, incidentally, also has about the highest indebtedness). This

table shows that the estimated cost of additional buildings needed for Negroes on this minimum basis in the fourteen states participating in the Work-Conference would be approximately \$275,990,991.00.

TABLE 12

Value of School Plant Per Negro Pupil
Enrolled and Estimated Cost of Additional Facilities

State	Value of School Plant Per Negro Pupil	Per Cent the Value		Estimated Additional Cost of Negro Plant on Basis of Value Per White Pupil
		Per Negro Pupil is of the Value	Per White Pupil	
Alabama	\$ 23.89		20.6	\$22,065,312
Arkansas	31.01		27.8	9,253,037
Florida	54.43		20.2	22,673,900
Georgia	33.70		26.0	26,188,220
Kentucky	118.02		85.0	918,849
Louisiana	34.00		15.0	33,199,886
Maryland	159.87		47.4	10,526,633
Mississippi	28.15		17.4	40,095,541
Missouri	*		*	*
North Carolina	53.71		32.7	30,045,652
Oklahoma	*		*	*
South Carolina	32.80		19.0	30,129,543
Tennessee	*		*	*
Texas	71.80		29.5	38,131,890
Virginia	57.72		40.7	12,762,528
West Virginia	*		*	*

* Not available.

ABILITY AND EFFORT OF THE SOUTH TO SUPPORT ITS SCHOOLS

The unfavorable status of public schools in the South as compared to the rest of the nation is not due to lack of effort or willingness on the part of the Southern States to support public schools. It is due to two factors: (1) comparatively heavy educational burdens and (2) low economic ability to raise public revenues.

In a study made a few years ago¹ it was shown that ten of the fourteen Southern States rank higher in effort to support schools than they rank in ability to support schools. In general, the Southern States have exerted more than twice as great effort as would be

¹From Norton, J. K. and Norton, M. M. *Wealth, Children and Education*, p. 52-53.

expected from their ability using the average ability and effort of the nation as a whole for the criterion. For example, Mississippi, according to this study, had only 0.32 as much tax paying ability per pupil as the United States average, but exerts 1.31 times as much effort to support schools as is exerted in the nation as a whole. Mississippi ranks 48th among the states in ability to support schools, but 6th in effort to do so. Available evidence seems to indicate that the situation has not been materially altered during the last few years.

If ability is based on the tax revenue that could be raised by the model tax system per unit of need, that is, per child, and the average for the United States is considered to be 1.00, the index for Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina each is less than .50. The index for Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia is between .50 and .75, and only the indices for Florida and West Virginia are between .75 and 1.00.

On the basis of effort which is defined as the per cent of tax income that should be available from a model tax system, which is spent for the current cost of the public schools, using the average of the United States as 1.00, Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Texas have an index higher than 1.00. All of the other Southern States have an index between .79 and 1.00. Most of these states have also materially increased their effort since the study was made.

Educational Load

The Southern States have many more children in proportion to adult population than the states of other regions. The Southern States as a group have 603 persons five to seventeen years of age for each 1,000 adults twenty to sixty-four years of age. The corresponding ratio in the Northeast is 420; in the Middle States, 423; in the Northwest, 496; in the Far West, 337. The adults of the South have 80 per cent more children to rear and educate in proportion to their own number than do the adults of the Far West and 43 per cent more than the adults of the Northeast. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia have each an average of 600 or more children per 1,000 of adult population. The Southern States combined have only 15.41 per cent of the taxpaying ability of the United States, but

have 62.66 per cent of all of the nation's children to educate. § The Northeastern states have 39.8 per cent of the total taxpaying ability in the United States and only 29.46 per cent of the nation's children to educate.

Child-Adult Ratio by Races

It is sometimes mistakenly assumed that the large number of children in proportion to adults in the South is due to the Negro population. In Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the ratio of children to adults is larger for the whites than for the Negroes. Only in South Carolina is the ratio materially higher for the Negroes than for the whites.

The following tabulation (Table 13) gives the number of children five to thirteen years of age per 1,000 adults twenty to sixty-four years of age for each race in each of the Southern and Border states.

TABLE 13

Number of Children Five to Thirteen Years of Age Per 1,000 Adults
Twenty to Sixty-four Years of Age §

State	White	Negro
Alabama	444	434
Arkansas	440	386
Florida	328	317
Georgia	416	459
Kentucky	421	287
Louisiana	390	395
Maryland	*	*
Mississippi	426	441
Missouri	*	*
North Carolina	472	541
Oklahoma	*	*
South Carolina	466	600
Tennessee	403	336
Texas	*	*
Virginia	394	469
West Virginia	*	*

§ Adapted from Edwards, Newton, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, p. 73 and p. 178-9.

* Not available.

Problems of Equalization

Not only is the ability of the South to support schools markedly less than the ability of other regions and states, but there are great differences within each of the Southern States in the ability of farm or rural and non-farm communities to support schools. In the Southeastern states, the average income per child in non-farm areas is \$2,053 as compared to only \$474 per child in farm areas. The proportion of children to adults is much less in non-farm areas than in farm areas. In other words, for each non-farm child, on the average there is an income of \$4.33 or more potentially available to pay his schooling for each \$1.00 for the average farm child. The amount which is actually available, of course, depends to a great extent upon the state system of financing schools and the extent to which funds are made available to assist in equalizing educational opportunity. Since, for the most part, Negroes in the South live in the farm areas, it can easily be seen that these great differences in income per non-farm child and per farm child account to a great extent for the poor financial support received by so many of the Negro schools. Some of the white schools in these same rural areas, because of the economic conditions which prevail and of inadequacies in the state system of support, have received just as limited support as have these Negro schools.

To summarize, the South has relatively the largest number of the nation's children to educate, the least amount of money with which to meet the cost of educating these children and probably the most difficult task in the nation to provide for the equalization of educational opportunities within the borders of the respective states. Because of the reasonably large administrative units in most states in the South, however, more progress has been made in solving general problems relating to equalization than could otherwise have been expected.

CHAPTER IV

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

We live in a democracy and consider ourselves fortunate to do so. While this democracy has its imperfections and inadequacies, there are few in this country who would deny that America, with all its various population groups, affords the best approach to a satisfactory democratic way of life the world has yet known.

The Constitution of the United States and its several amendments assures to each person born in this country or naturalized as a citizen of this country, the rights, responsibilities and privileges as citizens in a great free republic—assures to all freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of opportunity for education, and freedom to labor and to make an honest living.

It is an easy matter to state in simple language the profound truths regarding our great and sacred heritages here in America. It is not easy, however, nor so simple to make the machinery of our democratic government function in accordance with our ideals. It is not so easy in every day life to assure that our government and our political and economic systems operate so that every group and each individual person receives exact and unqualified justice, fairness and equality of opportunity in all aspects of life. Our economic system is so involved and, in fact, our entire civilization is so complex and involves so many inter-relationships that many inequalities and injustices appear practically impossible to eliminate. This fact, however, should not mean that we are to close our eyes to existing conditions, but that there is a continuing challenge to all of us to help to see that our governmental and economic systems function more nearly in accordance with our ideals.

Within the past eighty years, the Southern States have lived through devastating war and its unhappy aftermath, have witnessed the waste of millions of acres of fertile lands by erosion and improper cultivation, have seen their forests and other resources exploited and depleted with minimum benefit to the South, and have

witnessed three and one-half millions of their sons and daughters leave the South because of better opportunities in other areas. Only during comparatively recent years have the Southern States witnessed a resurgence in agriculture, industry, education, health, and, in fact, in almost every aspect of life. The South today is in many respects almost a pioneer country. Trends to some extent have been reversed. There are opportunities in the South today that are not only attractive to those born in this area but which are attracting more capital and residents from other areas than ever before.

During most of these eighty years, such a large proportion of the population of the South has been in such limited straits economically that a constant struggle to meet the bare necessities of individual and governmental living has been inevitable. For many, the struggle for existence could not have been the challenge it was supposed to be because the mere matter of making a meager living required all of their time, attention and energy. There were such limited public funds for education and other governmental functions that it was not always easy to use these funds fairly and equitably among all people of both races. Generally speaking, Negroes were in the poorest economic condition and contributed the least financially to the support of government. It was, therefore, probably just as natural that Negroes should have received only limited facilities in return as it has been that people in rural areas tend to receive only limited benefits from the more wealthy urban areas which they help to make possible. This condition does not justify the inadequate facilities provided for Negroes, but does, to some extent, explain the situation.

Now that the South is in much better economic condition, although still considerably below the average for other sections of the country in wealth and general development, rapid progress has been made during recent years in education, health and general welfare. An increasingly large proportion of the leaders of the South recognize that it is the responsibility of the South to take every step practicable to correct any existing inequitable conditions. More and more evidence is being collected concerning the needs of all groups in the South and more and more influence is being exerted to see that these needs are met within the abilities and resources of the various Southern States.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

There are certain assumptions involving the education of Negroes as related to all other phases of education in the South which are almost axiomatic in nature. Among the most important of these assumptions which should be recognized as underlying any statement of guiding principles or procedures pertaining to the solution of the problems are the following:

- (1) The problem of Negro education is but one phase of the entire problem of providing adequate educational opportunities for all citizens of a democracy. The welfare of the states and nation depends upon the health, education, and well-being of all of its citizens of all races and nationalities. No one phase of the problem can be neglected for any one or more groups without the entire state and nation suffering the consequences.
- (2) The problem of Negro education should not be considered basically a problem to be solved by legislation and court action. Rather, it is a problem which should be solved in terms of needs and justice. Any steps which are taken to correct inequalities or injustices should be planned in terms of sound objectives based on fundamental rights and needs and should not be followed merely as routine required as a result of legal actions.
- (3) The solution of the problem does not in any way imply modification of the South-wide tradition of separate schools for whites and Negroes. In fact, this tradition is so firmly entrenched in the social traditions and so definitely recognized in court decisions that any solution which is proposed must be in harmony with the tradition. Inequalities in educational opportunities can be alleviated or eliminated without any modifications whatever in the tradition of separate schools.
- (4) The provision of adequate educational opportunities for all does not mean that all individuals and groups are to have the same type or level of education. In fact, it is commonly recognized that education must be adjusted to the needs of individuals, groups and communities.

- (5) Each state is obligated to assure a desirable minimum in the way of educational facilities for all its citizens. This means that all children, white and Negro, must not only be given an opportunity to attend, but must be required to attend school regularly over a reasonable period of time; that an adequate minimum in the way of school facilities including buildings, equipment, teachers, teaching supplies, transportation where necessary, and a school term of proper length must be provided for all children. The more adequate the educational facilities for both whites and Negroes, the better the outlook for satisfactory economic development, and desirable progress for the entire South and for the Nation as a whole.
- (6) Both whites and Negroes are citizens, not only of the state in which they live, but also of the United States. The entire nation, therefore, has an inescapable obligation, basically economic in nature, for taking such steps as are necessary to assist in providing adequate educational opportunities for all of its citizens of both races regardless of residence or location.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

In planning a program which should result in still further improvements in education for Negroes on an equitable and satisfactory basis during coming years, it will be desirable to agree upon certain principles which can be used for guidance. If these principles can be agreed upon in advance, the steps and procedures to be used in carrying out the program should more readily be accepted. The following general principles are suggested for guidance in developing the program:

- (1) *Progressive Policies.* Policies which have resulted in substantial progress during recent years should, in general, be continued and strengthened so as to assure even more substantial gains during coming years. Those policies which have resulted in injustices or have promoted inequalities should be discontinued.
- (2) *Gradual Improvement.* A solution to many of these problems cannot be expected to occur overnight. Even court

decisions cannot result in immediate solutions, particularly when basic questions involving regional economic and financial factors are under consideration. The solution, therefore, should be contemplated as a series of steps, the carrying out of each of which will assure improvement over previously existing situations.

- (3) *Equivalent Facilities.* The provision of adequate and equivalent facilities and opportunities for all groups should be recognized as the ultimate objective of the program. Negroes, as well as other groups, are entitled to the rights, privileges and obligations that inhere under the Constitution of the United States for all American citizens.
- (4) *Comprehensive Program.* The process of education for each and all groups and individuals should be so directed as to develop the highest economic, physical, educational and cultural values to the individuals involved and to society as a whole. The program should provide for improvement in all phases and aspects of education so that one major immediate result will be the development of better citizens and citizenship for all groups.
- (5) *Equivalent Salaries.* One important objective in the program of eliminating inequalities should be recognized as that of providing equivalent salaries for equivalent qualifications, experience, responsibilities and efficiency, regardless of race or grades taught. Statistics show that at present, when measured on any desirable basis, there are inequities in salaries of both white teachers and Negro teachers which should gradually be adjusted over a period of years.
- (6) *Increased Salaries.* Any plan for eliminating inequities in salaries of teachers should be so developed and administered that it will not result in any decrease in salaries for any one group of teachers. The way to eliminate inequities in salaries of Negro teachers is not to reduce salaries of white teachers but to provide for increasing all salaries toward a more desirable level, at the same time eliminating gradually any inequities that are indefensible.

- (7) *Salary Schedules.* Any tendency to arrange salary schedules or to compensate any group of teachers solely on the basis of training determined by the number of years in college, and on experience determined by the number of years of teaching, is unsatisfactory in that it does not provide all proper measures of qualifications or desirable incentives for growth. A system of providing compensation on the basis of properly defined qualifications which would include physical, educational, social and cultural factors, and efficiency of work is the only one which is desirable. Moreover, compensation should be proportionate to the type of service rendered and the responsibilities to be met. Adjustments in salaries of beginning teachers could and should be made more rapidly than adjustments of salaries of teachers already in service. Only a partial adjustment can be made for teachers now in service until a more adequate system of determining qualifications can be established.
- (8) *State Responsibility.* Each state has an obligation to take every step practicable to provide any funds needed to make adjustments so that the various counties or administrative units within the state may be in position to carry out a desirable and equitable program without taking any backward step, or reducing salaries of any group of teachers. This should be interpreted to mean that each state should strive to develop the most satisfactory and efficient system of schools, administrative units, and of financial support possible and to administer its program so that the maximum value will be received for every school dollar expended.
- (9) *Federal Responsibility.* The Federal government has a direct responsibility and obligation to assist the states in providing needed educational facilities which cannot be provided by the states themselves on the basis of a reasonable financial effort. The states in the South have contributed greatly to the wealth in many other sections of the country. Moreover, in each generation, many persons of both races who were born in the South move to other sections of the country and become citizens of those sections. The Federal government, therefore, should be recognized

as having a responsibility for using the resources of the nation to assist in providing educational facilities needed by all of its citizens.

- (10) *Constructive Steps.* Any steps by local or state governments or agencies or by the Federal government which are taken toward solving problems in this field should be constructive and in the direction of a satisfactory and equitable solution of the problem over a reasonable period of time. The problem must sooner or later be solved, but can be solved only through well-planned cooperative effort and careful study.

CHAPTER V

PRESENT NEEDS IN THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

Needs exist because problems have not been solved. If all of the principles proposed in the previous chapter could have been worked out in practice prior to this time, many of the needs which will be discussed in this chapter would not exist, at least to the extent to which they now exist. However, human needs are continuing, persistent, and, to some extent, ever-changing. While the basic needs continue to exist until satisfied, newly recognized needs arise as soon as old needs are met. This situation is as inevitable as human existence.

From the discussion in the previous chapter it should be obvious that there are many important needs in the education of practically all groups in the South which have not yet been met and which should be met in the immediate future. It is the purpose of this chapter, however, to direct attention to some of the major needs of education for Negroes which should have continuing attention until the problems are solved. Roughly, these needs may be classified as those which are immediate or relatively urgent and those which may be thought of as continuing or long-time needs. Each group of needs, however, overlaps and has many points in common with the other group.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS

Race Relations

Better education and understanding have, in general, tended to promote better race relations throughout the South. However, race relations can always be improved and, in most communities not only in the South, but throughout the nation, there is still need for further improvement as a definite part of the educational program and general development. The responsibility for assisting Negroes to cultivate their varied talents to the end that they may attain maximum personal development and make full contribution

to American economic, cultural and religious life should be recognized and accepted by all.

More Adequate Information

While increased facts regarding the educational status, problems and needs of all groups have been made available during recent years, there is still need for additional information in many areas. Problems cannot be solved in terms of wishes or feelings. It is necessary to face the realities of existing situations, and to have available sufficient information on trends and possibilities which can be used as the basis for planning needed improvements to be carried into practical operation. While considerable information regarding the educational facilities in the various states and in the various communities in each state is available, it is still necessary to do a lot of approximating. What is the real ability of the various states to support an adequate educational program for all groups? What would be the effect if the states undertook to equalize salaries for all groups within a period of two years, or five years, or ten years? Would the immediate expenditure, if practicable, of the sums needed for adequate educational facilities for all groups result in such tangible returns that the entire South would be benefitted far beyond the amount invested? To what extent can the South pull itself up economically by its own "boot straps" and to what extent will Federal support be necessary before certain improvements can be contemplated.

State and Local Financing of Schools

The 1941 Southern States Work-Conference bulletin on *State and Local Financing of Schools* devotes considerable attention to trends in this area and recommends numerous improvements. In most Southern States marked improvements have been made in the administration of school finance during recent years. The system of financial support for schools in most states in the South compares favorably with that found in other states, except for adequacy. There is, however, still considerable room for improvement. Most state systems fail to meet some of the desirable criteria proposed by the Committee on State and Local Financing of Schools. Some states have failed to establish minimum standards which properly safeguard educational facilities for elementary children,

for children in rural schools, or for children in Negro schools. Improvement in the systems of state and local financing of schools will, to some extent, facilitate the solution of many of the problems relating to the education of Negroes.

Salaries of Teachers

Recent court decisions have brought to the fore questions relating to salaries of Negro teachers. This, however, is but one aspect of the major problem of providing better salaries for all teachers, since the average salary, even for white teachers in the South, is considerably below the national average. Some states have already taken steps looking toward removing or at least reducing the salary differential. Others are contemplating such steps.

The exact salary differential in the various states is rather difficult to determine because of inadequate information regarding competency of teachers. Obviously, however, the differential is much greater in some states than in others and vastly greater in certain local school administrative units than in other units in the same state, except, perhaps, in those states which have state salary schedules. In some administrative units the salary differential is so great that the unfairness is obvious to anyone who studies the situation only casually. In other units the difference has been practically or completely eliminated.

One of the problems relating to salary inequalities arises from the fact that a number of states have distributed funds without establishing adequate safeguards to insure the proper use of these funds for salaries of teachers. For example, some states have distributed funds on a school census basis and have left entirely, or almost entirely, to local school administrative units the decision regarding the use of these funds. If adequate safeguards can be established to assure that funds intended for teachers' salaries are used for that purpose by the local school administrative units and that funds which should be available for salaries of Negro teachers are not diverted to other purposes, the situation will be greatly improved. However, all states which have not already done so need to face the problem of determining the extent of existing inequalities in salaries and of developing steps for overcoming those inequalities.

Term

Most states have now established a minimum term for all schools and have taken steps to assure that each local school unit provides at least the prescribed minimum term recognized by the state for all children. There are still a few states which have not taken even this step and, as a result, there are injustices and inequalities in term that could be corrected by establishing a desirable minimum standard. In other states, the minimum term which has been established is too low and should be raised. The term for both whites and Negroes is still considerably less than nine months in several states. Some states, moreover, have taken steps which have tended to result in fixing the minimum term as the maximum term for all units. As pointed out in the bulletin on *State and Local Financing of Schools*, each local school unit should have enough financial leeway to provide a longer term or more adequate facilities than prescribed by the state, if it desires to do so.

Consolidation and Transportation

In rural areas in particular many of the Negro schools are still one and two teacher schools. While the facilities afforded by these schools might be made reasonably adequate if sufficient funds were available, they are obviously far from satisfactory on account of limited funds available for use. In view of the fact that larger schools and attendance areas would usually facilitate enriched offerings and wider opportunities for pupils, each state should seek to provide the means for planning, organizing and financing consolidated schools and establishing necessary transportation routes. However, this should be worked out very carefully to avoid unwise or hasty consolidation. Funds for supporting the larger schools and needed transportation should be provided as a part of the program of state support as explained in the next chapter.

Buildings and Equipment

Funds for buildings and equipment have usually been totally inadequate. Sometimes buildings have been donated and equipment has frequently been homemade, particularly in the smaller schools. The Federal funds made available up to the present have

usually been on a basis requiring some type of matching and all too often, as a result, there have not been sufficient local funds to make possible construction of adequate schools for Negroes. On the other hand, a number of splendid new buildings have been constructed and properly equipped. Before the problem is satisfactorily solved, each state will need to recognize building needs as an integral part of its system of state school support. Funds provided on a matching basis will not solve the problem. If the educational need can be interpreted to include a need for buildings and if a state can make available funds in the amount necessary to meet all objectively determined needs which cannot be properly cared for from local funds, major steps can be taken toward solving the problem. However, this problem ties in definitely with the need for Federal funds as indicated elsewhere, and cannot be solved merely by making Federal funds available on a piecemeal or matching basis.

Instructional Aids

Instructional aids have frequently been almost totally lacking for both white and Negro schools in rural areas. As a general rule, in the Negro schools the instructional aids have been inadequate except in certain specific respects where a program of state support has helped to assure that these needs are met. Among the needs that are particularly important are the following:

Textbooks. A number of states in the South now provide textbooks without expense to the individual children. This program is recognized as desirable when properly established and administered and is a decided help in removing inequalities that would otherwise exist because of the economic inability of large numbers of children to purchase needed textbooks.

Library Books. Library books frequently have been almost totally lacking. Some states have made available funds for the purchase of library books on a matching basis. While this is better than no funds, a matching basis is far from satisfactory in that the communities with the least funds are in poorest condition to take advantage of the offer. Definite recognition of the need for library and supplementary books should be incorporated in the program of state support so as to give assurance that these materials will be provided at least on a minimum basis.

Supervision

Most states have already made considerable progress in the field of supervision for Negro schools. Through the assistance of such agencies as the General Education Board, the Jeanes fund, and other philanthropic agencies, most states have established definite supervisory facilities to assist in improving Negro schools. Every Southern State has had a State Agent or supervisor for Negro schools who has been responsible to the State Superintendent for general oversight of the program of Negro education and for promoting needed improvements. This program should be continued and strengthened. Many counties have, likewise, had Jeanes or other supervisors paid in part from philanthropic funds. These supervisors have worked with Negro teachers and have been of material assistance to the state supervisory staff in bringing about needed improvements. There is urgent need in many states, however, for raising standards for local supervision and for developing a financial program that will assure adequate supervision of Negro schools in all counties and local school administrative units in which there are Negro schools. This program should assure that no backward step is taken because of lack of local funds.

Vocational Education

Vocational education is just as important as academic education. Either is insufficient without the other. More adequate vocational schools or departments are urgently needed for Negro schools in many areas. The states should carefully examine and revise their plans for distributing vocational funds and for administering programs of vocational training so as to assure equitable distribution of the state and Federal funds necessary to provide adequate vocational training for both races.

College Work

While college education for Negroes has been greatly improved in most states, many of the existing facilities are totally inadequate and the curriculum in many of the institutions is entirely too restricted to meet the needs. It should be recognized that facilities equivalent to those provided for the whites should be made avail-

able to Negroes in all states. The following suggestions seem pertinent:

Undergraduate Work. As a means of improving undergraduate work a survey or special study should be undertaken in each state in order to determine the weak points in college programs. The State Board of Control or other governing board for the Institutions of Higher Learning should take steps to provide for better articulation and integration of the work in state institutions for Negroes with the objectives of the state-wide program of education.

Graduate and Professional Opportunity. Each state should plan steps in keeping with the recent court ruling to establish graduate and professional courses in the state Negro colleges to provide opportunities similar to those afforded to white students at state expense. Some states might well consider contracting with approved private graduate and professional schools within the state to carry on at public expense work in those fields in which they are offering courses not available at the state institutions for Negroes. In states where these two suggestions do not seem practicable for the solution of problems in the field, scholarships for graduate and professional work might well be provided at state expense, at least on a temporary basis.

Training of Teachers. There are still in many of the states a large number of Negro teachers who are uncertificated or are certificated on the basis of very low standards. Funds for the training of teachers have been so limited that in many instances even those teachers who have attended teacher training courses have had inadequate instruction. Particular attention should be given to the problem of strengthening teacher training work for Negro teachers in each state, as only limited progress can be made in improving any phase of education unless proper teacher training is assured.

Federal Financial Assistance

The Southern States Work-Conference bulletin on *State and Local Financing of Schools* calls attention to the fact that Federal funds for education can be made available without any serious danger of Federal control. That report also brings out clearly the fact

that the Southern States cannot possibly finance adequately their schools, either for whites or Negroes, unless Federal funds are made available. Persons throughout the country who are interested in education for Negroes should, therefore, exert every effort to bring about legislation which will result in adequate Federal financial assistance. These funds should be made available on the basis of need as shown by an objective formula. Federal funds might well be made available on such a basis as to assure the elimination of unjustified existing differentials in salaries and to assure the promotion of equality of educational opportunity, not only between rural and urban areas, and elementary and high schools, but also between whites and Negroes. Moreover, these objectives should be attained not by limiting the facilities now provided in the various areas for any group or race but by assuring the improvement of facilities for all groups and areas which are below the average.

CONTINUING AND PERSISTENT NEEDS

Most of the problems discussed above have continuing and long-time aspects as well as immediate aspects. Even though immediate attention to those problems may be needed and considerable progress may be made in the near future, there will still be phases of these problems which will remain to be studied and solved after many years. The problems below also have immediate aspects but also definitely represent phases of the continuing long-time program.

Democracy in Education

As one fundamental means of maintaining democracy, it is essential that public schools remain as close as possible to the people they serve. This means that local initiative should be properly safeguarded, yet that each state should establish such standards as are necessary to prevent local abuse. Local initiative should not be unregulated to the extent that it can be used as an excuse for developing new inequalities or fostering existing inequalities which should be corrected.

Organization and Administration

The county or city superintendent of schools occupies a key position. If the superintendent is properly trained, intelligent, has satisfactory administrative ability, possesses a high degree of human understanding of everyday problems and personalities, has genuine leadership and is a diplomatic, level-headed person, he should be in position to assist materially in solving many of the problems which are discussed in this bulletin. If, on the other hand, he is not professionally trained, is dependent upon political selection, and is inclined to be ultra-conservative, he is likely to act as a stumbling block in the way of needed improvements. However, a county or city superintendent cannot himself assure progress. He must be supported by a liberal and sympathetic board of education and have the assistance of a capable, trained staff. Local school officials should plan a continuing study of the problem of removing inequalities in educational opportunity as among various groups within the administrative unit and as between various administrative units in the state. They should be expected to adopt and carry out unhesitatingly policies which meet the needs shown by a continuing study and which are fundamentally sound when viewed in the light of generally accepted principles. If this ideal is to be realized in all school communities, it will be necessary for the citizens to give more attention to the problems and needs of their schools in order to assure the selection of qualified school officials to represent them. Most states will also need to establish higher standards for school administration. Furthermore, standards for administrative and supervisory assistants should place greater emphasis on professional qualifications and ability.

The Curriculum

Curriculum revision is an ever continuing process. As civilization changes, the curriculum of the schools should change in order that the schools may be prepared to meet the needs which will be faced by the children.

Far too often, both white and Negro schools have been separated from the realities of every day life. Society has been changing rapidly and the very fabric of the economic system has changed

materially within recent years, particularly as it affects Negro groups. In the average school, however, these problems have received entirely too little attention.

The curricula of schools should be determined to a great extent by the economic and sociological environment in which the schools exist. Acceptance of this fact suggests the importance of using community resources in curriculum revision. Such a procedure will involve problems of community health, recreational status, land use and soil conservation, housing, food supply, religious life and numerous other related problems. If the curriculum of the school is to be community centered, the work of the Parent-Teacher Association, of the county agent, and of the various Federal, state and local agencies in a community must be intimately related to the enlarged school program.

Most secondary schools have been dominated by the college preparatory concept. Out of each one hundred pupils in the United States entering high school, fifteen students graduate. Six of these fifteen high school graduates enter college. At least three of the six high school graduates fail to complete their college work. The proportion of Negro students who have entered high school and college, respectively has been even smaller than these averages indicate. These facts point to the need for a greatly enriched curriculum for both elementary and high school pupils with much less emphasis on college entrance requirements.

School Standards

School standards in most states up to the present have been considered to be largely applicable to high schools. Elementary schools have tended to be relatively neglected. There is need for further study of standards and for the development of a graduated scale of standards and objectives which would have application to all schools. The smaller schools should certainly be expected to meet at least the minimum standards. Higher standards might well be established for the larger schools, but the ultimate objective should be for all schools to attain all standards which are recognized as desirable. A study of standards and objectives by faculty groups and evaluation of the school program as related to these should provide a basis for encouraging needed improvement.

The accrediting of a school or of a school system should be determined on a functional basis, particularly if the thesis that a school should be evaluated by the extent to which it serves community needs is accepted.

Teacher Progress

Teachers do not complete their preparation when they finish a specified amount of college training. If the teacher is to be in position to help to improve the curriculum as needed and to enter the type of service which will be most useful to the children and the community, he should be expected to keep abreast of developments. In general, Negro teachers have, during recent years, felt the need for broadening their horizons. Many of them have been prevented from improving their training by limited economic resources. As salaries are improved, more teachers should be in position to take advantage of the possibility of improved training. Broader and better teachers will mean an enriched and improved program for all schools.

Economic Problems

The economic problems faced by the South will undoubtedly continue in some respects for many years. As pointed out by the President's Emergency Committee:

"The southern regions are affected by population shifts more than other sections because the greatest proportion of the movers originate there. In the 1920's the states south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers and east of the Mississippi lost about 1,700,000 persons through migrations, about half of whom were between fifteen and thirty-five years of age. These persons moved at the beginning of their productive life to regions which got this man power almost free of cost, whereas the South, which had borne the expense of their care and education up to the time when they could start producing, suffered an almost complete loss of its educational investment. The new comers to the South did not by any means balance this loss. The cost of rearing and schooling the young people of the southern rural districts who moved to cities has been estimated to be approximately \$250,000,000 annually."*

* *Report on Economic Conditions of the South.* Prepared for the President by the National Emergency Council. Page 26.

The farmers of the South have 13.4 per cent of the children in the United States, while they receive only 2.2 per cent of the national income. Fourteen per cent of the children in the United States are in the southeast. This region receives 2 per cent of the national income. The South as a whole, including Texas and Oklahoma, has one-third of the nation's children, while it receives one-sixth of the nation's school income. From the standpoint of effort, the South spends more of its educational dollar on the education of its children than any other region of the nation.

The residents of the South, both white and Negro, face the necessity for studying these problems and, insofar as possible, working out their own solutions. However, the Federal Government has the inescapable obligation and responsibility of providing the financial assistance needed for the proper support of the schools of the South as well as of other sections of the Nation. It is axiomatic that this responsibility shall be exercised so that control of the schools and responsibility for the administration and supervision of the schools continue to be vested in the respective states and local school administrative units.

CHAPTER VI

PROPOSED NEXT STEPS

In every Southern State there are problems in the field of Negro education which need to be solved in the immediate future just as there are pressing problems in almost every other phase of education. The practicable first steps to be taken toward solving these problems will depend to a great extent upon the situation and needs in the individual states. Steps to be taken in solving the problems grow out of the needs which vary somewhat among the states although the basic needs are more or less common to all states.

The following steps are recommended by the Committee for consideration in each of the states. From among these possible steps and an analysis of the situation within the state, the leaders in each of the states should be able to evolve a practicable program which will result in material improvement.

CONTINUING STUDY AND EVALUATION OF NEEDS

The efforts of the various agencies and individuals interested in, or having possibilities of being interested in education, should be better integrated in order to give maximum support to the school program. Better cooperation and integration should help to assure the support of reliable leadership of both races: (1) in developing a plan for improving educational opportunities and eliminating inequalities, (2) in preserving and promoting inter-racial understanding resulting from previous cooperative efforts of Southern white and Negro leaders, and (3) in harmonizing educational practices throughout the South and planning improvements so that the spirit of various court decisions may be voluntarily put into practice without injustices, misunderstandings or pressure.

Each state should have some definite plan for studying and evaluating the educational needs of both races. There should be advisory committees representing both races and including outstanding lay leaders, representatives from the Institutions of Higher Learning, and from the public elementary and high schools to aid

State school authorities in determining studies which should be made to assist in integrating these studies and in making available the results. These committees should evaluate the relative needs of education for all groups and races and assist in developing a program which will assure needed improvements in proper relationship to all other phases of education in the state. The State Superintendent or Commissioner of Education should be responsible for coordinating and integrating the work. These committees can be a very significant influence in promoting the development and carrying out of a program which will assist in removing inequalities, will prevent the development of additional handicaps in the future and will assure improvement for all phases of education.

ASSURING BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Procedures for assuring better understanding constitute one of the most important steps that can be taken in any state or local school administrative unit. There are a great many members of both races who do not adequately understand the problems involved. Some of the members of the Negro race may not properly appreciate the difficulty of solving the financial and other problems which must be solved before some of the inequalities can be removed. On the other hand, some of the members of the white race may not fully appreciate the difficulties under which the Negro schools have had to operate in a number of areas and may not have realized the significance or extent of the problems involved. In addition to the organization of committees to assist in a continuing study and evaluation of the problems in the field, the following steps should be helpful:

Group Conferences. Group or district conferences with county and city superintendents of schools, board members and other outstanding leaders should be organized and conducted under the guidance of the State Department of Education. At such conferences, the State Superintendent or Commissioner of Education might well preside and guide the discussion which should be planned to cover all of the significant problems involved. The first series of such conferences might well be devoted to an overview of recent trends and developments in the field, to a summary of court decisions, and to a discussion of fundamental principles, which should

be followed in developing the program. Later conferences could well give attention to details of the program, perhaps considering some of the recommendations of the committees discussed above. These group or district conferences might properly either be preceded or followed by a state-wide conference attended by outstanding educational leaders and in which the committee designated to guide the study and evaluation of problems could participate.

Local Meetings. In addition to properly planned and state-sponsored district and state conferences, encouragement should be given to the organization of local meetings. Such meetings might well involve the leading officials and citizens of the county or city involved and might well serve as a forum for a discussion of problems in the field of Negro education as related to other aspects of education. Too great emphasis cannot be placed on the importance of careful planning for such conferences. Leaders should be very carefully selected for their ability to guide discussion constructively and to center attention on fundamental principles and issues.

Study Groups. In each state, there should be a definite plan for stimulating the organization of study groups and for bringing into college courses various problems connected with the education of Negroes in the state as well as in the South. Some of the steps which might be taken are as follows:

- (1) Seminars might well be offered in State Universities and other colleges or universities of from two to six weeks during summer terms. Such seminars should provide for a comprehensive and frank discussion of all major problems relating to education of Negroes in each state. These seminars should be open to superintendents of schools and other educational leaders and should be guided or directed by someone who has had considerable experience and has devoted extensive study to the problem of Negro education. The state agent or other person in charge of the program of Negro education in the state might well assume the major responsibility for the seminar.
- (2) In each college, there should be at least one course which has a major unit in problems in Negro education and race relations. Such a course should probably be open to juniors, seniors or graduate students and should be specific rather than general.

The course should provide a study of the information which is now available as a background and should encourage discussion of various problems and their possible solution. There are a number of books and pamphlets which might well be used as a basis for such a study. Among these are:

Special Problems of Negro Education, Volume 12 of the Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, Washington, 1939.

Race Relations and the Race Problem, E. T. Thompson and others, Duke University Press, 1939.

The Negro from Africa to America, W. D. Weatherford, Doran, 1924.

The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, W. W. Alexander, C. S. Johnson and E. R. Embree, University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

The Wasted Land, Gerald Johnson, University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

New Problems in Financing Negro Education, Research Division, National Education Association, Washington, 1941.

Materials from State Departments of Education such as the study bulletin *Problems of Negro Health in Arkansas*.

- (3) There should also be courses in Negro colleges which center attention specifically on the study of problems in the field of education for Negroes as related to the entire educational program. It should be possible to have both seminars and units in regular courses which might be offered not only during summers but also during the regular school term. These should be available for Negro principals and teachers and should be directed by competent instructors of both races. These instructors should be persons who know and understand the history and traditions of the South as well as the history of struggles and development of the Negro race.

IMPROVING STATE AND LOCAL FINANCING OF SCHOOLS

Those interested in removing inequalities in any phase of education, such as inequalities between urban and rural schools or inequalities between white and Negro schools should give every encouragement to the improvement of the systems of state and local financing of schools in the various states. The Southern States Work-Conference bulletin on *State and Local Financing of Schools* calls attention to numerous improvements that should be made. The *Criteria Scale for Evaluating State Plans of Finance* should be applied to the state system and plans should be developed for improving any imperfections that are found. Similarly, the *Criteria Scale for Evaluating Local Systems of Finance* should be applied to each local system and steps planned to make needed improvements. Among the most important steps which are needed in a number of states to assist in providing more adequate finance and in reducing the inequalities which exist are the following:

- (1) *The system of finance should assure a comprehensive program of education for all groups.* It is not sufficient, for example, for a state to provide aid for teachers' salaries or for transportation or for some other special phase of education or, in fact, for any combination of two or three of these. It might as well be recognized that in the final analysis any piecemeal system is inadequate. Several Southern States have already established a system of finance that makes provision for most current expense items. Very few states, however, have made much progress toward solving the problem of removing inequalities in capital outlay provisions. In fact, Alabama seems to be the only state in the South which has established a comprehensive program covering all phases of education. The Alabama program, however, while reasonably satisfactory from the point of view of comprehensiveness, is inadequate because of limited funds.
- (2) *The state should prescribe very definite minimum standards which are required to be met by all units which participate in state funds and might well also prescribe desirable additional standards which any local unit might meet without additional cost if it desires to do so.* For example, most states now prescribe a minimum term for all schools. These states might also pro-

vide in their program for the support of a desirable longer term without additional cost to the unit. This optional standard would give rural areas an opportunity to determine whether they wish to go immediately to the longer term or to take a few years to make the adjustment. The longer term, however, would not involve any direct cost for the local school administrative units, therefore, the incentive would be for all units to provide a term which the state would assist in supporting.

(3) *The need for funds should be determined objectively and the program so administered that state, Federal and local funds lose their identity as such.* The steps in determining the need for funds should be as follows:

- (1) Determine the cost of operating the schools in each administrative unit for the prescribed term which cost should be calculated in terms of the need for teachers' salaries, the need for transportation (which is not necessarily proportionate to the need for salaries and should be based largely on density of transported population), the need for other current expenses and the calculated need for capital outlay or debt service.
- (2) Determine the local funds which are available or should be available from the prescribed uniform local tax effort.
- (3) Subtract the local funds available from the total amount needed for the program in order to determine the amount to be provided by the state.

If this procedure is followed, no units will be rewarded for paying low salaries to Negro teachers or to any other group of teachers or for operating schools for a short term. In fact, there will, in effect, be a penalty for failure to meet standards which are recognized as desirable because the administrative unit will not get the funds unless they are used in meeting those standards. Above all, it should be clear that no unit can go below the minimum standards prescribed by the state even though it may not choose to attain immediately the desirable standards authorized in the program.

An alternative to the plan outlined above but which would not be practicable for many states, would be for the state to provide the entire cost of an adequately defined foundation program.

INSURING MORE ADEQUATE SALARIES

In many states, there has been a tendency for some local school administrative units to use for other purposes the money which should have been devoted to teachers' salaries. This has largely come about as the result of the fact that funds for all purposes are too limited and pressure has sometimes been exerted to use available funds to meet more objective needs. In any system of state finance, funds which are included in the program for salaries should be required to be used for that purpose. There should be no circumstances under which an administrative unit can be permitted to use a portion of the total funds earmarked for salaries for any other purpose. However, if economies can be made in transportation and other current expense or in capital outlay and, at the same time, meet minimum standards, the state program should authorize local units to use any savings from these other sources for salaries. In other words, salary money should not be permitted to be used for any other purpose, but other funds should be available for salaries within reasonable limits.

While no state program can assure absolutely equitable treatment for all teachers, establishment of certain standards will assist materially. If state funds are simply made available for salaries without any restrictions whatever there will be some units which will use too large a proportion of the funds for high school teachers and limit too much the salaries of elementary teachers. Other units, or some of these same units, may have a tendency to secure poorly prepared teachers in order to make the salary money available for a larger number of teachers, some of whom may not be needed. In other words, there may be a tendency to hire too many teachers in some instances and to reduce salaries accordingly. In still other units where there are both white and Negro teachers there may be a tendency to keep Negro salaries too low and thus have available a larger proportion of the fund for salaries of white teachers.

State standards should prescribe certain definite conditions which must be met in administering salaries for teachers. Certain standards of training and preparation are now required in many states and these standards might well be made applicable to the various administrative units so as to assure in each unit a reasonable proportion

of teachers who have training in excess of the amount required by the minimum standards.

A number of states now use a state salary schedule. If such a schedule is so administered as to avoid a tendency toward automatic increases in salaries with increased training and experience without regard to merit, it may have a number of advantages. A state salary schedule, however, probably is not essential to the solution of the problems involved if adequate minimum standards are prescribed and observed. These standards, of course, must be in keeping with sound administrative policies.

In states in which there is now a marked differential between salaries of white and Negro teachers with the same competence (defined to include not only training and experience, but all other pertinent factors), plans should be made for bringing about needed adjustments. In fact, the state has a responsibility for assisting through its standards and policies to make these adjustments possible. If adjustments must be made entirely by local school administrative units and out of local funds, they will be impracticable in a number of administrative units without reducing salaries of white teachers which, of course, will be undesirable. Complete adjustments will, undoubtedly, not be practicable immediately in many administrative units and in a number of states. In many cases, where funds are particularly limited, the first steps toward the elimination of salary differentials might well begin with those teachers who hold certificates based on two or more years of college work.

States can also take another step which, to some extent, has a bearing on the question of salaries. The state can assist in regulating teacher loads by calculating need on the basis of attendance of children of each race. The number of teachers of either race which may be employed will, therefore, need be somewhat proportionate to the number of children in attendance at school. Establishment of standards in this area will assure more equitable teacher loads and, consequently, more equitable use of the funds available for salaries.

PROVIDING OTHER FACILITIES AND SERVICES NEEDED

As in the field of salaries, state standards or regulations alone cannot possibly assure entirely equitable provision of all needed

school facilities in the various administrative units. State regulations, in other words, cannot solve the problem completely because some leeway must be left for local initiative. However, the establishment of desirable state standards can assist materially in assuring that other facilities needed for the schools in addition to teachers will be reasonably adequate. These standards should recognize desirability of and assure the provision of various instructional supplies, including library books, reasonably adequate equipment, transportation which meets minimum requirements and buildings which are reasonably adequate even in the poorest administrative units.

Comments under this heading and under the topics immediately above might well be summarized by stating pointedly that a satisfactory program of state and local financing of schools will assist materially in eliminating many of the inequalities which now exist as between various groups and races. This is one important reason for placing so much emphasis on that subject in this report. However, there are other aspects of the problem which will have to be solved by other approaches. The financial approach alone will not solve all problems.

Improving School Organization, Administration and Supervision

Schools very seldom rise far above the level established by the administrative units in which they are located. Defective organization and poor administration can quickly handicap the efforts of the best teachers. While, in general, the local units for organization and administration of schools in the South are more adequate in size and plan than those in many other sections of the country, nearly every Southern State has some units which are inadequate. Study of this problem should be continued with a view to eliminating all handicaps which arise from small counties, cities, or districts. Special attention should be given to the problem of local school administration. In many states, the office of superintendent, particularly in rural areas is still entirely too much of a political office. Colleges and universities should give more attention to school administration, not only for administrators, but for teachers so that they may be in position to cooperate more intelligently. The offices of superintendent, board member, and of trustee should be divorced as far as possible from politics. Citizens should insist that their schools be operated on a professional basis. The establishment of higher

qualifications for superintendents and the scheduling of elections at a time when no other political elections are being held should assist materially. However, in the final analysis, the solution must come through an intelligent understanding and appreciation of the school patrons who must be in position to assist discriminatingly in selecting capable school leadership. Competent local leadership is just as essential as improvement in state systems of school finance and other related areas if handicaps with which the Negro schools in many areas are confronted are to be removed.

Teacher Improvement

Although standards for training of teachers in the South compare favorably with those in many other states, there is still in many areas a tendency to employ teachers who meet only the barest minimum standards. Particularly is this true of employment of Negro teachers in rural areas. Standards for selection of teachers should be raised for practically all rural schools. Teacher training institutions need to give special attention to the problem. Programs of training should be revised so that prospective teachers upon leaving the training institutions understand the fundamental needs and can help in solving the problems of the people with whom and for whom they will work. In-service teachers should be given further incentive for improvement and should have the assistance of teacher training institutions in working out and putting into operation an educational program which will help the community and the citizens of the community to improve their economic, health, recreational, cultural and other conditions. Teachers should be given more assurance of continuity of service in their positions as long as their work is satisfactory and they continue to improve. Teachers should be developed as community workers and leaders in the field of education rather than as dictators of academic classroom procedure.

Improving the Curriculum

This field presents many problems which will not be solved without the serious thought and careful attention of all leaders. The curriculum should be adjusted to assure that the educational program will better meet the needs of the people of the community and help them to improve in health, in personal, family and community living, in economic status, and in fact in every other respect. This

problem ties in with the problem of teacher training. If the schools are to become the force they should be in lifting the levels of the Negro communities they serve, a much more dynamic program must be developed in general in this area. A few isolated schools have afforded splendid examples of what may be done in this field, but, up to the present, very few of the possibilities have been realized in the average school.

Transportation, Consolidation and Buildings

The problem of transportation for Negro pupils has hardly been touched in many areas. There are still numerous instances where children are walking four or five miles to school and of other children who cannot get to school because of the distance. Often a small number of Negro families will be more or less isolated from other Negro settlements. Systems of state aid should make possible transportation without extra local financial burdens when such transportation is necessary to provide adequate educational opportunities for the children. This will make possible the discontinuation of many small schools and the establishment of more adequate centers. Surveys and other comprehensive studies are needed as a basis for carefully planning this program and for developing adequate school building and equipment programs.

School Attendance

Compulsory attendance and child labor laws should still further be strengthened in a number of states. There are still too many children, particularly children of the Negro race, who drop out of school for work or even for less important reasons. Requirements of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act have placed greater emphasis on age certificates for children below eighteen years of age. This gives the schools a splendid opportunity to keep in closer touch with children who should be in school. However, Federal laws and regulations must be supplemented by strong state laws which will assure that children are not permitted to leave school below certain ages and unless there is some real reason for their leaving. This means, furthermore, that school programs must be redesigned in many areas so the children can profit from remaining in school and so that they will get practical and tangible benefits instead of merely formal academic training.

ESTABLISHING MORE ADEQUATE STANDARDS

The problem of preparing adequate minimum and desirable standards for schools is, of course, related to every aspect of the program for both races but is particularly important for Negro schools. Schools can be found today not only for Negroes but for whites, particularly in rural areas, which do not meet any conceivable, desirable standards. Such schools have simply provided a place from year to year where children can get some instruction.

In the first place, the local school administrative unit, which is primarily responsible for the organization and administration of schools is responsible for seeing that an adequate minimum in the way of educational opportunity is assured for all children in the unit. This means that the administrative and supervisory staff must recognize their responsibilities for all schools in the unit and that there must be a program for the entire administrative unit. There must be cooperative planning in order to arrive at desirable standards and still further cooperative administration and supervision to see that the standards are carried into operation.

The matter of establishing adequate standards, however, cannot be left entirely to the local school units because some of them have such limited resources than even the best standards they could afford to establish would be entirely inadequate. The state, then, must assume the leadership in assuring that adequate standards are established for all children in the state and that sufficient funds are made available and are so distributed and administered that these standards become practicable. Standards should not be used, however, merely as a means of inspecting and checking schools, but should be cooperatively developed and executed and should be used by schools and local school administrative units as a means of self-appraisal and as a basis for planning further progress.

An early step that should be taken throughout the South, therefore, is to give more attention to the establishment of adequate standards for all schools somewhat along the lines suggested in the Southern States Work-Conference bulletin on *School Standards*. This does not imply, however, that the mere act of establishing a requirement is sufficient. In fact, there is danger that the states may go too far in centralizing responsibility. The major problem is to determine how adequate standards can best be established and

administered through cooperative effort of state and local school officials and teachers.

IMPROVING STATE SERVICES IN THE FIELD OF NEGRO EDUCATION

All states, directly or indirectly, have recognized their responsibility for providing leadership and guidance in the field of Negro education. Every Southern State provides through its State Department of Education and its Institutions of Higher Learning material assistance in this field. In many cases, these services have either been made possible or have been greatly enlarged as the result of grants from philanthropic agencies and institutions. States should continue to recognize their responsibility in this area and should take every step possible to enlarge and improve the services provided.

There has sometimes been a tendency to leave most of the responsibility for Negro schools to the persons or division assigned to that work. During coming years, it should be recognized that maximum results can be attained only through increased cooperation from the other divisions and services. Only when all administrative, supervisory, teacher training and other agencies of the state direct proper attention to the field of Negro education can the rate of progress be improved. Moreover, the teacher training institutions of each state should give greater attention to the problem of training actual and potential leaders who will be in position to assist in solving these problems. State teachers' associations should also be in position to cooperate in bringing about needed improvements.

Assistance from Philanthropic Agencies

As pointed out elsewhere in this report, philanthropic agencies deserve much credit for many forward looking steps which have been taken in the field of education for Negroes. They have provided grants which have made possible the services of state supervisors, Jeanes teachers and other leaders, and also have assisted in providing buildings, equipment and, in general, in improving facilities. These philanthropic agencies which are so deeply interested in these problems should be given every encouragement to continue to provide guidance and assistance even to a greater extent than during previous years. Moreover, many benefits can still result from continued financial aid from these philanthropic agencies to

assist the Chief State School Officers of the South to retain and continue the services of the State Agents for Negro Schools during coming years. During recent years, philanthropic agencies have withdrawn, or proposed to withdraw, some of the grants with the thought that the states should take over more services. This move is undoubtedly logical, yet it should not definitely take place until assurances have been received that the states are in position to continue the services and make further improvements during coming years.

PROVIDING ADEQUATE FINANCIAL SUPPORT

While the Southern States of their own accord can eliminate many existing inequalities and in many instances can even provide more adequate support for schools than is provided at the present time, there is unquestionably a limit to the extent to which this program may be carried without encountering other serious problems and difficulties. In the first place, the Southern States are now devoting on the whole a larger proportion of their income to schools than states in other areas. There is a limit to which this process may be carried. While tax payers in the South have proved their willingness to provide generous support for education, it must be recognized that in many areas in the South a large proportion of the resources are owned by people who do not live in the South and that many of the profits find their way to states outside the South. Experience has shown that absentee owners frequently resist increased taxation for schools even to the extent of spending substantial sums of money in opposition to proposed school improvement programs. This situation makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to provide needed taxes in such areas. Moreover, the other governmental services which are just as necessary as education are competing for the tax dollar and resist too large a proportion being expended for education.

It must be recognized that at the present time, at least, it would be impossible for most of the Southern States to provide school facilities for Negroes which are completely equal to those provided by whites without greatly and materially handicapping the white schools and even without reducing salaries for white teachers. Recent developments have indicated that the Southern States are willing to face the problem of improving Negro schools and will voluntarily make many needed improvements in the immediate future. It be-

comes increasingly obvious, however, that the Southern States cannot satisfactorily solve this problem without material financial assistance from the Federal government.

It is not possible to determine exactly how much additional money would be needed to provide in all states facilities for Negro schools which would be equivalent to those for white schools. It has been reliably estimated that at least \$25,000,000 per year will be needed for salaries alone. Nearly \$300,000,000 should be invested in building and equipment. However, a part of the building needs probably would have to be met over a period of years instead of immediately. Even if that could be done, the additional amount needed to eliminate existing inequalities in Negro elementary and high schools in Southern States would undoubtedly be at least \$60,000,000 annually and perhaps as much as \$80,000,000. If institutions of higher learning are included, the total additional amount needed each year would approximate \$85,000,000.

The tax base available to the states to use in supporting schools and other governmental functions is being narrowed year by year as the result of the extension of Federal taxes. The Federal taxing policy, therefore, is increasingly making it impracticable for the Southern States to extend their taxing policy program sufficiently to remove existing inequalities and to meet satisfactorily the needs of all schools. Moreover, Federal policy, through constitutional provisions and court decisions, has established the necessity for providing educational facilities for Negroes and for seeing that these facilities are equivalent to those provided for whites. Since this Federal policy has been significant in establishing requirements which must be met by the various states and, likewise, has been significant in limiting the taxing ability of the states to provide resources to meet these requirements, it is just as logical that Federal policy should be responsible for determining that the resources of the Nation should be used to provide the educational facilities needed for the children of the Nation.

The South is willing and anxious to improve its schools for Negroes, many of whom, after being educated in the South, will move to other sections of the country. It is desirous, however, of developing a comprehensive program of improving all schools so that the children of the South may have opportunities which approach those available

to children in other areas of the Nation. If the wealth of the Nation can be used to meet the educational needs of its future citizens, regardless of their present location, the South can be in position to move ahead rapidly toward the objective of providing adequate educational opportunities for all children of both races.

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