

Introduction

As a result of the decision of the United States Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, declaring unconstitutional racial segregation in public education, Florida and other southern states are confronted with problems of tremendous gravity and complexity.

While it enunciated a new principle of law, the Court did not prescribe the manner in which this principle should be translated into action in the states and communities affected. Instead, it restored the cases to the docket for further argument as to the method of adjustment which should be called for in subsequent decrees, inviting the Attorneys General of states requiring or permitting segregation in public education to appear as *amici curiae*.

In anticipation of the preparation of a brief for submission in response to this invitation, the Attorney General of the State of Florida requested the assistance of social scientists and other educators in compiling facts concerning the problems which the State of Florida would encounter in complying with the decision of the Court.

This is their report.

RICHARD W. ERVIN

Attorney General

**ATTORNEY GENERAL'S
RESEARCH ADVISORY COMMITTEE
FOR THE STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF
DESEGREGATION IN FLORIDA SCHOOLS**

The committee was chosen by the Attorney General to assist him in conducting a survey to determine leadership opinion among Florida citizens regarding problems created by the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, abolishing segregation in the public schools.

The individuals asked to serve on this committee were chosen on the basis of their professional standing in the field of education; their specialized knowledge and training which would be of value in conducting such a survey; and their reputation for civic-mindedness and impartiality. The committee selected Dr. Lewis Killian, Associate Professor of Sociology at Florida State University, to act as director of research and coordinator for the project. While certain parts of this report were written by Dr. Killian and others, the entire report and all its findings have been reviewed and approved by the entire membership of the committee.

Mr. Richard W. Ervin
Attorney General
(Ex Officio)

Dr. Sarah Lou Hammond
School of Education
Florida State University

Mr. Thomas D. Bailey
State Superintendent of
Public Instruction
(Ex Officio)

Mr. Robert D. Gates
Department of Education

Mr. Ralph E. Odum
Assistant Attorney General

Dr. Robert E. Lee
Department of Education

Dr. Ralph Eyman, *Dean*
School of Education
Florida State University

Mr. Ed Henderson
Executive Secretary
Florida Education
Association

Dr. Gilbert Porter
Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers
Association

Dr. Richard Moore,
President
Bethune-Cookman College

Dr. J. B. White, *Dean*
School of Education
University of Florida

Dr. R. L. Johns
School of Education
University of Florida

Dr. Manning J. Dauer
Department of Political
Science
University of Florida

Dr. Mode Stone
School of Education
Florida State University

Dr. Don Larson
Department of Political
Science
University of Miami

Mr. D. E. Williams
Department of Education

Dr. George Gore, *President*
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical University

Dr. T. J. Wood
Department of Political
Science
University of Miami

Mr. Angus Laird, *Director*
State Merit System

Dr. Lewis M. Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
(Coordinator of Research)

The Report and the Conclusions*

Just as the effects of segregation, held by the Court to be discriminatory, are essentially psychological, the problems of desegregation are also social and psychological as much as they are legal.

An eminent student of race relations in the South, Guy B. Johnson, has said, "*Anyone who thinks that the transition from segregation to racial co-education can be made without problems, tensions, and even personal tragedies is a fool. Anyone who thinks that the transition means the end of civilization is also a fool.*"¹

The purpose of this study was to delineate as far as is possible the problems, the tensions and, perhaps, the tragedies, which might be expected to arise in the course of this transition in Florida communities. This was a fact finding, research study. There was no intent to predict whether this transition will take place nor to make value-judgments as to whether it should or should not occur.

Prediction of the problems which might arise if desegregation of public schools were undertaken in the near future are based upon four types of data. These are:

* Prepared by Dr. Lewis Killian, Department of Sociology, Florida State University.

1. "The Impending Crisis of the South," *New South*, VIII, No. 5 (May, 1953), (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council), 5.

1. The expressed attitudes of various groups of leaders, both white and Negro, toward the Court's decision and toward the possible implementation of it in Florida.
2. An historical analysis of the way in which Negroes have availed themselves of a privilege from which state restrictions were removed by a similar federal court decision, the privilege of voting in primary elections.
3. An analysis of relevant information pertaining to school administration, instructional services, and the quality of education as they might be affected by desegregation.
4. The experience of other states and communities in which programs of desegregation have been undertaken.

In the study of human behavior it is impossible to ask all of the questions which are relevant to that behavior. The selection of questions always implies certain assumptions concerning the situation being studied, and these assumptions should be made explicit.

The basic assumptions of this study are:

1. That the Court will desire a minimum of intergroup conflict and public disorder in any program of desegregation which might be undertaken. On this assumption, information indicative of the likelihood of conflict and widespread disorder in various situations becomes highly important.
2. That expressed attitudes are to some extent and in certain types of situations indicative of later behavior. This is particularly important when it is the attitudes of occupants of key positions in the power structure of a group which are concerned.
3. That the attitudes of people in leadership, power, and prestige roles are of more importance as determinants of

social change than are the attitudes of larger numbers of people not occupying such roles.

4. That the behavior of people in one situation is to some extent indicative of the behavior of the same or different people in similar but not identical situations.

The conclusions of this study are based on the findings of several separate, but related, constituent studies which, together, constitute the general research project. Each study is presented in detail in a separate subsection of the report. The general conclusions, drawn from all of these studies, are found in the chapter preceding the detailed reports of the separate studies.

The sub-studies, in order of presentation, are:

1. An attitude-opinion poll, based on mailed questionnaires, of 9 white and 2 Negro groups of leaders throughout the state. (Page 113)
2. An attitude-opinion poll, based on personal interviews, of white leaders in 10 selected counties and Negro leaders in 8 of these counties. (Page 153)
3. An historical analysis of trends in Negro voter registration in Florida, 1940-1954. (Page 177)
4. An analysis of relevant information pertaining to school administration and instructional services as they might be affected by desegregation. (Page 185)
5. An intensive study, utilizing various methods, of leadership attitudes and opinions in a metropolitan area and a rural area in southeastern Florida. (Page 201)

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. On the basis of data from all relevant sources included in this study, it is evident that in Florida white leadership opinion with reference to the Supreme Court's decision is far from being homogeneous. Approximately three-fourths

of the white leaders polled disagree, in principle, with the decision. There are approximately 30 per cent who violently disagree with the decision to the extent that they would refuse to cooperate with any move to end segregation or would actively oppose it. While the majority of white persons answering opposed the decision, it is also true that a large majority indicated they were willing to do what the courts and school officials decided.

2. A large majority of the Negro leaders acclaim the decision as being right.

3. Only a small minority of leaders of both races advocate immediate, complete desegregation. White leaders, if they accept the idea that segregation should be ended eventually, tend to advocate a very gradual, indefinite transition period, with a preparatory period of education. Negroes tend to advocate a gradual transition, but one beginning soon and lasting over a much shorter period of time.

4. There are definite variations between regions, counties, communities and sections of communities as to whether desegregation can be accomplished, even gradually, without conflict and public disorder. The analysis of trends in Negro registration and voting in primary elections, shows similar variations in the extent to which Negroes have availed themselves of the right to register and vote. At least some of these variations in voting behavior must be accounted for by white resistance to Negro political participation. This indicates that there are regional variations not only in racial attitudes but in overt action.

Regional, county and community variations in responses to questionnaires and interviews are sufficiently marked to suggest that in some communities desegregation could be undertaken now if local leaders so decided, but that in others widespread social disorder would result from immediate

steps to end segregation. There would be problems, of course, in any area of the state, but these would be vastly greater in some areas than in others.

5. While a minority of both white and Negro leaders expect serious violence to occur if desegregation is attempted, there is a widespread lack of confidence in the ability of peace officers to maintain law and order if serious violence does start. This is especially true of the peace officers themselves, except in Dade County. This has important implications. While it is true that expressed attitudes are not necessarily predictive of actual behavior, there seems little doubt that there is a minority of whites who would actively and violently resist desegregation, especially immediate desegregation. It has been concluded from the analysis of experiences with desegregation in other areas, "A small minority may precipitate overt resistance or violent opposition to desegregation in spite of general acceptance or accommodation by the majority."²

6. Opposition of peace officers to desegregation, lack of confidence in their ability to maintain law and order in the face of violent resistance, and the existence of a positive relationship between these two opinions indicates that less than firm, positive action to prevent public disorder might be expected from many of the police, especially in some communities. Elected officials, county and school, also show a high degree of opposition. Yet it has been pointed out, again on the basis of experience in other states, that the accomplishment of efficient desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance depends upon.

A. A clear and unequivocal statement of policy by leaders with prestige and other authorities;

2. Kenneth B. Clark, "Findings," *Journal of Social Issues*, IX, No. 4 (1953), 50.

- B. Firm enforcement of the changed policy by authorities and persistence in the execution of this policy in the face of initial resistance;
- C. A willingness to deal with violations, attempted violations, and incitement to violations by a resort to the law and strong enforcement action;
- D. A refusal of the authorities to resort to, engage in or tolerate subterfuges, gerrymandering or other devices for evading the principles and the fact of desegregation;
- E. An appeal to the individuals concerned in terms of their religious principles of brotherhood and their acceptance of the American traditions of fair play and equal justice.

It may be concluded that the absence of a firm, enthusiastic public policy of making desegregation effective would create the type of situation in which attitudes would be most likely to be translated into action.⁴

7. In view of white feelings that immediate desegregation would not work and that to require it would constitute a negation of local autonomy, it may be postulated that the chances of developing firm official and, perhaps, public support for any program of desegregation would be increased by a decree which would create the feeling that the Court recognizes local problems and will allow a gradual transition with some degree of local determination.

8. There is a strong likelihood that many white children would be withdrawn from public schools by their parents and sent to private schools. It seems logical, however, that this practice would be confined primarily to families in the higher income brackets. As a result, a form of socio-economic class segregation might be substituted for racial segregation in education.

4. Experience shows that when the steps listed above have been taken, predictions of serious social disturbance have not been borne out.

9. It is evident that a vast area of misunderstanding as to each other's feelings about segregation exists between the races. White leaders believe Negroes to be much more satisfied with segregation than Negroes are and Negro leaders believe that whites are much more willing to accept desegregation gracefully than whites proved to be. Hence a logical first step towards implementing the principle set forth by the Court, and one suggested by both whites and Negroes, would seem to be the taking of positive, cooperative steps to bridge this gap and establish better understanding between the two groups.

10. Although relatively few Negro leaders and teachers show concern about the problem, white answers indicate that Negro teachers would encounter great difficulty in obtaining employment in mixed schools. To the extent that desegregation might proceed without parallel changes in attitudes towards the employment of Negro teachers in mixed schools, economic and professional hardships would be worked on the many Negro teachers of Florida.

11. Since 1940, and particularly since 1947, the State of Florida has made rapid and steady progress toward the elimination of disparities between white and Negro educational facilities as measured by such tangible factors as teacher salaries, current expenditure per pupil, teacher qualifications, and capital outlay expenditure per pupil.

12. In spite of the current ambiguity as to the future of dual, "separate but equal" school facilities the State is proceeding with an extensive program of construction of new school facilities for both white and Negro pupils, with a recommended capital outlay of \$370 per Negro pupil and \$210 per white pupil. Both this and the previous finding indicate that, while these steps have been taken within the framework of a dual educational system, there is a sincere

desire and willingness on the part of the elected officials and the people of Florida to furnish equal education for all children.

13. Available achievement test scores of white and Negro high school seniors in Florida indicate that, at least in the upper grades, many Negro pupils placed in classrooms with white pupils would find themselves set apart not only by color but by the quality of their work. It is not implied that these differences in scores have an innate racial basis, but it seems likely that they stem from differences in economic and cultural background extending far beyond the walls of the segregated school, into areas of activity not covered by this decision.

14. Interracial meetings and cooperative activities already engaged in by teachers and school administrators in many counties demonstrate steps that can be, and are being taken voluntarily and through local choice to contribute to the development of greater harmony and understanding between whites and Negroes in Florida communities.

**Leadership
Opinion
By
Questionnaire
...and Conclusions***

Although all of the people of Florida would be affected, directly or indirectly, by any move to end racial segregation in the public schools, some groups have a more direct and intense involvement in the situation than do others.

People connected with county school systems such as school board members, school trustees, superintendents, principals, teachers and supervisors would play key roles in putting any plan for desegregation into effect. Police officers, judges and county attorneys would be required to deal with cases of conflict and disorder which might arise. Parents are deeply involved not only as parents but as voters and taxpayers. As moulders of public opinion newspaper editors, radio station managers and ministers have an important relationship to any developing social change. Legislators and county commissioners would be faced with the task of formulating new state and county policies relating to this significant legal and social change.

* Prepared by Dr. Lewis Killian, Department of Sociology, Florida State University.

In an attempt to get at the attitudes and opinions of these important segments of the population, questionnaires were mailed to the following groups:

1. All members of the Florida Peace Officers Association.
2. School principals, white and Negro, and school supervisors.
3. Negro PTA presidents, white PTA presidents, council chairmen and board members.
4. School board members and school trustees.
5. County judges, circuit judges, state attorneys, county solicitors and county commissioners.
6. Newspaper editors.
7. Radio station managers.
8. Members of the state legislature.
9. Ministers (a 10 per cent sample of certain denominations).

Practical considerations precluded polling certain other groups. The large number of teachers, white and colored, in the state and the fact that so many would be away from home at the time of the survey made a poll of their opinions impractical. It was practical, however, and perhaps more important, to question principals and supervisors, as school people who work intimately with the teachers in positions of leadership and authority. Similarly, the parent group polled was limited to PTA officers because of the tremendous number of parents involved and the non-availability of any list from which a sample could be drawn.

The ministers presented a special problem. The size of the population of ministers, which could only be estimated, was obviously large. At the same time it was extremely difficult to obtain comprehensive mailing lists for even part of the multitude of denominations to which these ministers

might belong. Mailing lists were obtained for the following denominations: Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Assembly of God. Questionnaires were mailed to a 10 per cent sample of the clergymen on each of these lists. Forms were also sent to a sample of Negro Methodist and Baptist ministers, but the returns were too small for use. In many cases they were returned marked "Unclaimed" or "Moved, Left No Address."

The Questionnaires.

Nine different questionnaires were used in this survey. Questions designed to elicit the following information were included on all of them:

1. The position held by the subject and the section of the state in which he lived and worked.
2. The subject's personal feelings about the rightness of the Court's decision and action which should be taken as a result of it.
3. The subject's estimate of the likelihood of resistance to desegregation in his community, the forms this resistance might take, and the ability of law enforcement officers to maintain law and order in the event of serious violence.

The questionnaire sent to the peace officers sought also an estimate of the likelihood that peace officers would enforce school attendance laws for mixed schools. All other questionnaires included questions concerning the following additional items:

4. The subject's estimate of the feelings about the decision and its implementation of other groups in the state and in his community.
5. The subject's opinion as to the method which would be most effective in ending public school segregation.
6. Opinions as to the grades in which it would be easiest

to start admitting colored and white children to the same schools.

Finally, principals and supervisors, school officials, legislators and PTA officers were asked whether certain things which might constitute either aids or obstacles to desegregation might happen in the event schools are desegregated in the next few years.

Questionnaire Returns and Method of Analysis.

A total of 7,749 questionnaires were mailed. Time did not permit a follow-up wave, but an effort was made to increase returns by prefacing each form with a personal appeal from the Attorney General and by enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Useable questionnaires returned number 3,972, 51.26 per cent of the number mailed. The number and percentage of returns for each group are shown in Table 1. The lowest percentage of returns is seen to be that for the Negro PTA presidents, 21.5 per cent. The rate of return for all groups may be regarded as satisfactory since it has been found that in mail polls usually less than 20 percent of the questionnaires are returned.³

Practical considerations, of which there are many in what is essentially "action research," precluded the use of standard techniques for control of the sample by ascertaining the characteristics of non-respondents. Hence extreme caution must be exercised in generalizing from these data to any population.

It is possible to speculate as to some of the reasons for non-returns. It is known that some forms did not reach the subject for one reason or another. Unfortunately

3. Katz, Daniel, and Hadley Cantril, "Public Opinion Polls," *Sociometry*, I (1937), 155-179.

237 questionnaires were returned too late for tabulation. In the case of refusals other possible reasons must be considered. In some groups, a relatively low degree of education may have characterized persons who did not respond. It is known that in some cases public officials, particularly judges, failed to reply because they felt it was unethical for them to answer such an inquiry, even though anonymity was promised them. Some questionnaires were returned not completed but with a brief comment. The nature of many of these comments suggests that many of the white subjects who refused to respond were violently opposed to desegregation.

On the basis of these speculations, it seems likely that the prevalent bias of white non-respondents is in the direction of opposition to the Supreme Court's decision and to attempts to implement it. In the case of Negroes, it is more likely that distrust of the motives of the research and fear of expressing their opinions were the causes of failure to reply.

All questions were of the check-list type. Questionnaires were coded, punched on cards, and machine tabulated.⁴ For purposes of analysis, the subjects were regarded as populations not necessarily representative of any larger populations. Hence percentages are presented but no tests of statistical significance have been made. Conclusions are based, therefore, only upon gross differences in responses.

Even though these respondents cannot be regarded as a representative sample, the nature of their selections makes them important as groups. In spite of its scientific limitations, this poll constitutes the most comprehensive

4. Statistical work was done by the Sociology Research Laboratory of the Florida State University, under the direction of Prof. Robert McGinnis and Dr. John M. Haer. All responsibility for interpretation of the results is assumed by the Research Advisory Committee, however.

and extensive assessment of public opinion in Florida through the use of scientifically devised instruments that is available. The fact that approximately one-half of such groups of leaders, in the case of whites, and approximately one-third, in the case of Negroes, expressed the opinions indicated below is of itself important.

Findings.

Bearing in mind the caution which should be used in generalizing to larger populations, the following conclusions may be drawn from the responses of those subjects who did return questionnaires:

1. White groups differ greatly from each other in their attitudes towards the Court's decision, ranging from nearly unanimous disagreement to a slight predominance of favorable attitudes.

In Table 2 there can be seen the percentages of respondents in each group who selected each of the choices indicative of his personal feelings. Table 3 shows combinations of these choices into categories of "Agreement," "Neutral," and "Disagreement." From these tables it can be seen that peace officers are overwhelmingly opposed to the principle that segregation should be ended. On the other hand, a slight majority of white principals, supervisors and ministers indicate agreement with the principle established by the court, although they vary in their opinions as to when it should be implemented. Other groups ranking high in disagreement with the decision are county officials, school officials and white PTA leaders.

2. White groups also differ from each other in willingness to comply with whatever courts and school boards decide to do regardless of their personal feelings.

In Table 4 combinations of choices shown in Table 2 are presented to show willingness to comply with official policy or intention to resist or refuse to cooperate. In this case elected officials, including county officials, school officials, and legislators, rank high in intention to oppose action to bring about desegregation, as do white PTA leaders. White principals and supervisors rank very low in intention to oppose desegregation.

3. Peace officers are the white group most opposed to desegregation. (Table 3).

4. Almost no whites believe that desegregation should be attempted immediately. (Table 2).

5. A large majority of both Negro groups are in agreement with the Court's decision declaring segregation unconstitutional. (Table 3).

6. While only a small minority of both Negro groups believe that desegregation should be attempted immediately, an even smaller minority would oppose attempts to bring about desegregation or refuse to cooperate. (Table 2).

7. Only a minority of whites in all groups believe that opponents of desegregation would resort to mob violence in trying to stop it. A larger proportion, but still a minority, believe that serious violence would result if desegregation were attempted in their community in the next few years.

Table 5 shows the predictions of the occurrence of mob violence and serious violence by all groups. It is evident that "mob violence" and "serious violence" do not mean exactly the same thing to the subjects. It may be noted that the peace officer group ranks highest in percentage predicting both mob violence and serious violence.

8. A yet smaller minority of both of the Negro groups

anticipate mob violence or serious violence as a result of steps towards desegregation. (Table 5).

9. The majority of all white groups are not sure that peace officers could cope with serious violence if it did occur in their communities, replying either "No" or "Don't Know" to the question.

Table 6 shows the percentage of each group replying either "No" or "Don't Know" to the question, "Do you think the peace officers in your community would be able to maintain law and order if serious violence is started?" Again it may be noted that the peace officer group ranks highest in percentage showing doubt as to the ability to avoid or minimize violence.

10. A much smaller proportion of both Negro groups express doubts as to the ability of law enforcement officials to deal with serious violence. (Table 6).

11. The majority of most of the white groups believe that peace officers could maintain law and order if minor violence occurred.

Table 7 shows the percentage of respondents in each group who answered "Yes" to the question, "Do you think the peace officers in your community would be able to maintain law and order if minor violence is started?" The white PTA leaders differed markedly from other groups, only 34.13 per cent answering "Yes."

12. The Negro groups did not differ greatly from the white groups in the proportion believing that police could cope with minor violence. (Table 7).

13. Only 13.24 per cent of 1669 peace officers believe that most of the peace officers they know would enforce attendance laws for mixed schools.

14. A majority of the members of all white groups except peace officers, who were not asked; radio station managers;

and ministers, believe that most of the people of Florida and most of the white people in their communities disagree with the Court's decision.

Table 8 shows the percentage of the 10 groups asked to assess the feelings of other people who felt that most of the members of the groups about which they were asked disagreed with the decision.

15. In the five white groups asked, from one-fourth to one-half of the respondents believed that most of the Negroes in their community were opposed to the desegregation ruling. (Table 8).

16. A much smaller proportion of both Negro groups believe that most of the people of Florida, most of the whites in their community, and particularly the Negroes in their communities are in disagreement with the principle of desegregation. (Table 8).

It was seen earlier that only a small minority of the Negro respondents personally disagreed with the decision. It may be seen now that only a small minority of these Negroes think that other Negroes in their communities are in disagreement with the court. Furthermore, a much smaller proportion of Negroes than of whites think that most white people in Florida are in favor of segregation as a legal principle.

17. Only a small minority of all groups, white and Negro, believe that immediate assignment of children to schools on the basis of geographical location rather than race would be the most effective way of ending public school segregation.

Table 9 shows the percentage of each of 8 groups choosing as the most effective method immediate desegregation, a very gradual transition, and either or both of two gradual but relatively early methods of ending segregation. While the peace officers were not asked this

question, their answers to the question on “personal feelings about the decision” (Table 2) indicate almost unanimous opposition to immediate desegregation.

18. All groups think a gradual program of desegregation would be most effective. Negroes, however, prefer that the process start within the next year or two with immediate, limited integration much more frequently than do whites. The whites prefer a very gradual transition with no specified time for action to begin. (Table 9).

19. Whites who expressed an opinion believe that the primary grades and the colleges are the levels on which desegregation could be initiated most easily. On the other hand, almost as many Negroes believed that segregation should be ended on most or all grade levels simultaneously as believed it should be ended first at the lowest and highest grade levels.

20. The maintenance of discipline in mixed classes by Negro teachers is regarded as a potential problem by a majority of white principals, supervisors and PTA leaders. A much smaller proportion of Negroes regarded this as a problem, with a majority of Negro principals believing that colored teachers could maintain discipline in mixed classes.

Table 11 shows the percentage of each group queried as to possible problems who indicated definite belief that certain things would or would not happen, thereby creating problems for mixed schools.

21. A majority of all white groups believe that white people would resist desegregation by withdrawing their children from the public schools, but a much smaller proportion of Negroes, less than a majority, believe that this would happen. (Table 11).

22. Almost two-thirds of white school officials—superintendents, board members, and trustees—believe that ap-

plications of Negroes to teach in mixed schools would be rejected. (Table 11).

23. Nearly three-fourths of school officials believe that it would be difficult to get white teachers for mixed schools. (Table 11).

24. Almost half of school officials and a little over 40 per cent of white PTA leaders believe that the people of their communities would not support taxes for desegregated schools, but only about 20 per cent of Negro PTA leaders believe that such support would not be forthcoming. (Table 11).

25. In the case of all potential problems on which both Negroes and white were questioned a smaller proportion of Negroes than of whites indicate belief that problems would arise as a result of desegregation. (Table 11).

26. In the case of peace officers there is a positive relationship between personal disagreement with the decision and lack of confidence in the ability of peace officers to cope with serious violence. There is an even higher positive relationship between belief that segregation should be kept and belief that peace officers would not enforce school attendance laws for mixed schools.

Table 12 shows the number of peace officers who feel that the police could or could not maintain law and order if serious violence occurs, according to their attitude towards the decision and its implementation. Table 13 shows belief as to whether peace officers would enforce school attendance laws by attitude towards the decision. The officers who answer "Don't know" to these questions are omitted from these tables. While peace officers were asked what they thought *other* law enforcement officials could or would do and were not asked what they themselves would do, it is evident that these subjects are projecting their own feelings and, perhaps, their intentions into other peace officers.

Regional Variations.

The responses to certain items of the two largest groups polled, the peace officers and the white school principals and supervisors, were analyzed by region of the state in which the respondents lived. The 67 counties of Florida were grouped into 8 regions defined by social scientists at the Florida State University in *Florida Facts*.¹ These regions and the counties each includes are:

<i>Region</i>	<i>Counties</i>
I	Bay, Escambia, Gulf, Okaloosa, Santa Rosa (Extreme northwest Florida).
II	Baker, Calhoun, Citrus, Columbia, Dixie, Franklin, Gadsden, Gilchrist, Hamilton, Hernando, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Lafayette, Leon, Levy, Liberty, Madison, Suwannee, Taylor, Wakulla, Walton, Washington. (Northwest and north central Florida).
III	Alachua, Bradford, Clay, Putnam, Union. (Northeast Florida, inland).
IV	Lake, Marion, Orange, Osceola, Polk, Seminole, Sumter. (Central Florida, inland, largely rural).
V	Brevard, Duval, Flagler, Indian River, Nassau, St. Johns, Volusia. (Northeast and Middle Florida coastal region, includes Jacksonville metropolitan area).
VI	Charlotte, Collier, Hillsborough, Lee, Manatee, Pasco, Pinellas, Sarasota. (Southwest coastal, includes Tampa-St. Petersburg, Bradenton-Sarasota metropolitan area).
VII	DeSoto, Glades, Hardee, Hendry, Highlands, Okeechobee. (South central, inland, rural, many migrant farm laborers).
VIII	Broward, Dade, Martin, Monroe, Palm Beach, St.

1. Tallahassee, Florida: School of Public Administration, The Florida State University.

Lucie. (Southeast coastal, contains Miami metropolitan area and some migratory labor areas).

Clear-cut regional variations in attitudes and opinions are found to exist, as is indicated by the following findings:

27. Although the majority of peace officers in all regions feel that segregation should be kept, the percentage feeling so varies from 83 per cent in two regions to 100 per cent in one region.

Personal feelings of peace officers about the decision are presented, by region, in Table 14. The variation in the number of respondents in the different regions seems to be explainable in terms of the number of counties in the different regions and the size of population. While it was impossible to ascertain the number of questionnaires mailed to each region, the distribution of returns of peace officer questionnaires approximates the distribution of population by region. It should be noted that Region VII ranks highest in percentage of peace officers who oppose desegregation, while Regions I and VIII rank lowest.

28. The percentage of white principals and supervisors who are in disagreement with the decision varies from 20 per cent to 60 per cent in different regions.

The percentage of white principals and supervisors agreeing and disagreeing with the decision, by region, is shown in Table 15. Again Region VII ranks highest in amount of opposition and Region VIII ranks lowest.

29. A large majority of white principals and supervisors in all regions indicate that they would comply with the decision regardless of personal feelings, but the percentage varies from 76 per cent in Region VII to approximately 94 per cent in Regions VI and VIII. (Table 16).

30. The percentage of peace officers predicting mob violence as a method of resisting desegregation varies from

20 per cent in Region VIII to nearly 63 per cent in Region VII. (Table 17).

31. Percentages of both peace officers and white principals and supervisors predicting serious violence in the event desegregation is attempted vary widely between some regions. (Table 18).

32. The majority of both peace officers and white principals and supervisors in all regions doubt that the police could maintain law and order if serious violence occurred, but there are some regional variations. (Table 19).

Responses of Legislators.

Although the 79 members of the state legislature who returned questionnaires constitute almost 45 per cent of the 176 legislators and legislative nominees to whom the forms were sent, generalizations to the entire membership of the legislature on the basis of their responses are entirely unwarranted. Any attempt to predict the action of the legislature at its next session would be even more presumptuous. The responses of these legislators to two special questions asked of them are presented below as a matter of interest, however.

The legislators were asked to indicate which of five possible courses of action should be followed at the next session of the legislature. The percentage checking each course, and the details of the five courses of action, are shown in Table 20.

The legislators were also asked whether they believed that there is any legal way to continue segregation in Florida Schools indefinitely. Of the 79 respondents, 34.20 per cent replied "Yes", 25.31 per cent replied "No", and 39.32 per cent answered "Don't Know", or gave no answer.

CONCLUSIONS

1. It is evident that white respondents drawn from different areas of leadership vary sharply in their feelings about the rectitude of the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954. At least this small, but not unimportant, segment of leaders in Florida is far from unanimous in allegiance to the principle of segregation in public education.
2. There are definite regional variations in attitudes towards the decision, in predictions of the likelihood that serious violence may occur if desegregation is attempted, and in confidence in the ability of the police to maintain law and order if serious violence does occur.
3. A majority of all groups except Negro principals do not feel confident that the police in their communities could cope with serious violence. This is particularly true of the peace officers themselves. At the same time, serious violence is anticipated by only a minority of all groups, although by almost 50 per cent of the peace officers.
4. Withdrawal of white children from the public schools, the maintenance of discipline in mixed classes by Negro teachers, refusal to employ Negro teachers for mixed schools, and difficulty in obtaining white teachers are the outstanding potential problems found to be expected.
5. It is evident that the white and Negro groups view the decision and the problem which desegregation might create quite differently, and that they do not understand each other's attitudes. The majority of the whites are, in various degrees, opposed to the decision; the Negroes are in favor of it. Yet the whites believe that the Negroes are opposed to desegregation to a much greater extent than those Negro groups polled are found to be. Furthermore, the white and Negro groups assess Negro opinion differ-

ently, a much larger proportion of whites than Negroes believing that most Negroes prefer segregated schools.

The whites view the effecting of desegregation as a much more difficult and dangerous problem than do the Negroes, many more of them foreseeing serious problems and even violence. On the other hand, the Negroes have more confidence in the ability and the willingness of the whites to adapt to desegregation than do the whites themselves.

6. The majority of all groups, white and Negro, believe that desegregation should be put into effect gradually rather than abruptly and immediately. More Negroes than whites, however, are in favor of early integration on a limited scale and beginning in the next year or two. The whites favor a more indefinite and remote form of gradualism, if they will countenance the idea of desegregation at all.

7. The existence of a positive relationship between the attitudes of peace officers towards the decision and their predictions of the inability of police to control serious violence suggests the existence of a tendency to project their own feelings into situations which might arise and into other persons involved. Such highly subjective predictions are very likely to be indications of what the respondent himself would do, or feels he could do, in the situation. Such predictions might very well take on the character of "self-fulfilling prophecies."² If police officers do not believe that they or others would be able to maintain law and order if serious violence occurs, the likelihood that they will attempt wholeheartedly to do so is accordingly reduced.

2. An outstanding American sociologist, Robert K. Merton, has defined the "self-fulfilling prophecy" as a "false definition of the situation evolving a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true." See his article, "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," *The Antioch Review*, VIII (Summer, 1948), 193-210.

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS, SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS, SCHOOL TRUSTEES:

1. In what county do you serve?.....
2. How long have you served in public school work?
(Check one)
1)—less than 2 years; 2)—3-4 years; 3)—5-8 years;
4)—9-12 years; 5) over 12 years.
3. Check the sentence that most nearly describes your feelings toward the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional:
 - 1)—Firmly in favor of the decision, and believe that schools should be immediately opened to both races throughout Florida.
 - 2)—Firmly in favor of the decision; feel schools should be gradually combined, taking into consideration places which need more preparation.
 - 3)—Feel that such a decision should have been made eventually, but believe we are not ready for it. Feel we must move very slowly and cautiously.
 - 4)—Neither in favor of nor against the decision; will agree with whatever the courts and the school officials do.
 - 5)—Against the decision, but will agree with whatever the courts and school officials do.
 - 6)—Firmly against the decision; will not cooperate in ending public school segregation.
 - 7)—Firmly against the decision; will actively oppose any attempt to end segregation in Florida schools.
4.Which one of the above statements do you think describes the feelings of most of the people in Florida? (Write the answer in the blank)
5.Which describes the feelings of most of the school teachers and administrators in your county?
6.Which describes the feelings of most of the white parents in your county?

7.Which describes the feelings of most of the colored parents in your county?

Suppose that in the next few years the court ordered school officials to admit colored and white children to the same schools.

8. Do you think anyone in your community would try to stop this? Yes..... No.....

9. If they did, what would they do? (Check your answers)

- 1)—Petition to stop combining schools
- 2)—Hold protest meetings
- 3)—Keep their children home from school
- 4)—Start individual violence
- 5)—Take part in mob violence

10. Would you resign rather than carry out such court order? Yes..... No..... Don't know.....

11. Do you think there would be violence in your community if colored and white children are admitted to the same schools in the next few years? (Check one)

- 1)—Serious violence
- 2)—Minor violence
- 3)—No violence
- 4)—Do not know

Do you think your peace officers would be able to maintain law and order if: (Check yes, no, or don't know)

12. Serious violence is started? 1).....Yes 2).....No 3).....Don't know

13. Minor violence is started? 1).....Yes 2).....No 3).....Don't know

14. Check the method you believe would be most effective in ending public school segregation:

- 1)—Immediate action to assign all children to school on basis of geographical location rather than race.
- 2)—Keeping existing school boundaries for the time being, but immediately letting children who want to, go to the closest school regardless of race.

- 3)—A one or two year period of preparation before any schools are integrated.
- 4)—A very gradual transition over a period of years.
15. In what grades do you think it would be easiest to start admitting colored and white to the same schools? (Check your answer)
- 1) — Grades 1, 2 and 3 4) — All grades 1 through 12
 2) — Grades 1 through 6 5) — College and university
 3) — High school 6) — Don't know

Suppose in the next few years a few colored children wanted to go to the nearest school, a white school. What do you think would happen: (Check yes, no, or don't know)

	Yes	No	Don't Know
16. Would the School Board admit them readily?
17. Would the School Board admit them only to certain schools?
18. Would the School Board admit them if a court ordered it?
19. Would the School Board try to fight a court order?

Suppose schools are integrated in the next few years. What do you think would happen? (Check yes, no or don't know)

	Yes	No	Don't Know
20. Would it be harder to get white teachers?
21. Would it be harder to get colored teachers?
22. Would applications of colored teachers to teach in mixed schools be accepted?
23. Would many white teachers treat colored children unfairly?
24. Would many colored teachers treat white children unfairly?
25. Would colored teachers be able to discipline white children?
26. Would higher school taxes be needed for the integrated schools at first?

- | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 27. Would your community support taxes for integrated schools? | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 28. Would school bus drivers treat colored children fairly? | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 29. Would school bus drivers encourage white students to treat colored children fairly? | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 30. Are there any accredited private schools in your community other than kindergartens? | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 31. Would people try to start private schools? | ..... | ..... | ..... |
32. If you like, comment on the problems the Supreme Court decision brings, and make any suggestions, using back of this sheet.

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

FLORIDA PEACE OFFICERS:

1. Check the position you hold:

—Deputy Sheriff	—Constable
—State Highway Patrolman	—Town Marshal
—City Chief of Police	—Other
—City Policeman	
2. In what county do you serve?.....
3. The U. S. Supreme Court recently declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Which do you think: (Check one)
 - 1)—That segregation in schools should be kept
 - 2)—That schools should be gradually opened to both races over a period of years?
 - 3)—That colored children who want to go to white schools should be admitted immediately?
4. Suppose that in the next year or two the Court ordered school officials to admit colored and white children to the same schools.

- a. Would anyone in your community try to stop this?
Yes..... No.....
- b. If they did, what would they do? (Check your answer)
- 1)—Petition to stop combining schools
 - 2)—Hold protest meetings
 - 3)—Keep their children home from school
 - 4)—Start individual violence
 - 5)—Take part in mob violence
5. Would there be violence in your community if colored and white children are admitted to the same schools?
(Check one)
- 1)—Serious violence
 - 2)—Minor violence
 - 3)—No violence
 - 4)—Do not know
- a. Would your existing law enforcement staff be able to maintain law and order if
- 1) *serious* violence is started 2) *minor* violence is started
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| a)—Yes | a)—Yes |
| b)—No | b)—No |
| c)—Do not know | c)—Do not know |
6. Would most of the peace officers you know enforce school attendance laws for mixed schools? (Check one)
- 1)—Yes
 - 2)—No
 - 3)—Do not know
7. If you want to say more or make suggestions about law enforcement and segregation, please use the back of this sheet.

TABLE 1
QUESTIONNAIRES SENT AND RETURNED, BY GROUPS

Group	Number Sent	Number Returned	Per Cent Returned
Peace Officers	3200	1669	52.16
Principals and Supervisors (white)	1216	771	63.40
PTA Leaders (white)	751	375	49.93
Newspaper Editors	219	118	53.88
Radio Station Managers	78	54	69.23
County Officials	533	230	43.15
School Officials	500	309	61.80
Legislators	176	79	44.89
Ministers	191	101	52.89
Negro Principals	485	180	37.11
PTA Leaders (Negro)	400	86	21.50
TOTAL	7749	3972	51.26

TABLE 2
PER CENT EXPRESSING VARIOUS

Groups and Number	1	2	3	4
Peace Officers (N-1669)	.5	9.2		
Principals and Supervisors (W) (N-762)	.4	13.2	38.4	4.9
PTA (W) (N-375)				
Editors (N-54)	.8	14.4	33.9	4.2
Radio Station Managers (N-54)	1.8	14.8	24.0	7.4
County Officials (N-224)		2.7	18.3	.9
School Officials (N-309)		2.9	20.0	.6
Legislators (N-79)		7.5	22.8	2.5
Ministers (N-101)	1.0	34.6	26.7	4.0
Principals, (N) (N-177)	11.9	55.4	11.3	8.5
PTA Negro (N-86)	12.8	44.2	8.1	5.8

* The attitudes indicated by number are as follows:

1. Firmly in favor of the decision; believe that schools should be immediately opened to both races. (For peace officers, "Colored children who want to go to white schools should be admitted immediately.")
2. Firmly in favor; feel schools should be gradually combined, taking into consideration places which need more preparation. (For peace officers, "Schools should be gradually opened to both races over a period of years.")
3. Feel that such a decision should have been made eventually, but believe we are not ready for it. Feel we must move very slowly and cautiously.
4. Neither in favor of nor against the decision; will agree with whatever courts and school officials do.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS DECISION, BY GROUPS

Attitude*							
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
				89.3		1.0	100.0
26.8	4.9	7.9	.8	.9	1.4	.4	100.0
20.0	14.4	29.3	.8	2.4	1.1	1.6	100.0
16.1	6.8	16.1	.8	3.4	2.5	.8	99.8
20.4	11.1	11.1	1.8		1.8	5.6	99.8
22.8	12.0	30.4		5.8	3.1	4.0	100.0
21.7	9.7	34.6		4.9	2.9	2.6	99.9
16.4	5.1	38.0	1.3	5.1		1.3	100.0
8.0	10.0	11.9		2.0		1.0	99.2
1.1	1.1		5.6	1.7	2.2	1.1	99.9
2.3	4.6	4.6	5.8	1.2	5.8	4.6	99.8

5. Against the decision, but will agree with whatever courts and school officials do.
6. Firmly against; will not cooperate in ending segregation.
7. Firmly against; will actively oppose any attempt to end segregation.
8. Any combination of 1, 2, or 3 indicating agreement with decision.
9. Any combination of 5, 6, or 7 indicating disagreement with decision. (For peace officers, "Segregation in schools should be kept.")
10. Any other combination.
11. No information.

TABLE 3
PER CENT AGREEING OR DISAGREEING WITH THE
DECISION, BY GROUPS

Group and Number	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	No Infor- mation	Total
Peace Officers (N-1669)	9.7		89.3	1.0	100.0
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-762)	52.9	4.9	40.4	1.8	100.0
PTA (W) (N-375)	29.6	1.6	66.1	2.7	100.0
Editors (N-118)	50.0	4.2	42.4	3.4	100.0
Radio Station Mgrs (N-54)	42.6	7.4	42.6	7.4	100.0
County Officials (N-224)	21.0	.9	70.9	7.1	99.9
School Officials (N-309)	23.0	.6	70.9	5.5	100.0
Legislators (N-79)	31.6	2.5	64.6	1.3	100.0
Ministers (N-101)	62.3	4.0	31.9	2.0	100.2
Negro Principals (N-177)	84.2	8.5	3.9	3.4	100.0
PTA (Negro) (N-86)	70.9	5.8	12.7	10.4	99.8

TABLE 4
PER CENT WILLING OR UNWILLING TO COMPLY WITH
COURTS AND SCHOOL OFFICIALS, BY GROUPS

Group and Number*	Would Comply	Would Not Comply	No Information	Total
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-762)	84.5	13.6	1.8	99.9
PTA (W) (N-375)	51.2	46.1	2.7	100.0
Editors (N-118)	70.3	26.3	3.4	100.0
Radio Station Mgrs. (N-54)	70.4	22.2	7.4	100.0
County Officials (N-224)	44.6	48.2	7.1	99.9
School Officials (N-309)	45.3	49.2	5.5	100.0
Legislators (N-79)	50.6	48.1	1.3	100.0
Ministers (N-101)	74.3	23.9	2.0	100.2
Negro Principals (N-177)	93.7	2.8	3.4	99.9
PTA (Negro) (N-86)	79.0	10.4	10.4	99.8

* These combinations could not be made for peace officers.

TABLE 5
PER CENT OF EACH GROUP PREDICTING MOB VIOLENCE
AND SERIOUS VIOLENCE

Group and Number	Predict Mob Violence	Predict Serious Violence
Peace Officers (N-1669)	29.2	46.6
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-771)	8.9	22.8 ¹
PTA (W) (N-375)	17.3	33.7 ²
Editors (N-118)	8.5	20.3
Radio Station Managers (N-54)	11.1	18.5
County Officials (N-230)	23.0	35.3 ³
School Officials (N-303)	31.0	44.9
Legislators (N-79)	27.8	39.2
Ministers (N-101)	10.9	13.9
Negro Principals (N-180)	4.4	4.5 ⁴
PTA (Negro) (N-86)	5.8	8.1

1. N-762.
2. N-371.
3. N-224.
4. N-174.

TABLE 6
PER CENT OF EACH GROUP DOUBTING ABILITY OF PEACE OFFICERS TO COPE WITH SERIOUS VIOLENCE

Group and Number	Answered "No"	Answered "Don't Know"	Answered "No" or "Don't Know"
Peace Officers (N-1669)	55.7	26.8	81.0
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-762)	34.7	40.7	72.4
PTA (W) (N-375)	42.1	36.0	78.1
Editors (N-118)	35.6	24.6	60.2
Radio Station Man. (N-54)	33.3	22.2	55.5
County Officials (N-224)	41.1	25.4	66.5
School Officials (N-303)	49.2	27.4	76.6
Legislators (N-79)	49.4	21.5	70.9
Ministers (N-101)	23.8	40.7	64.5
Negro Principals (N-177)	11.3	31.6	42.9
PTA (Negro) (N-86)	18.6	33.7	52.3

TABLE 7
PER CENT OF EACH GROUP WHO BELIEVE PEACE OFFICERS
COULD COPE WITH MINOR VIOLENCE

Group and Number	Answered "Yes"
Peace Officers (N-1669)	50.9
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-362)	52.1
P.T.A. (W) (N-375)	34.1
Editors (N-118)	74.6
Radio Station Man. (N-54)	59.3
County Officials (N-224)	51.3
School Officials (N-303)	41.6
Legislators (N-79)	60.8
Ministers (N-101)	64.4
Negro Principals (N-177)	61.0
P.T.A. (Negro) (N-86)	46.5

TABLE 8
PER CENT OF GROUPS POLLED WHO BELIEVE MOST OF
OTHER SPECIFIED GROUPS DISAGREE WITH THE DECISION

Group and Number*	Specified Group		
	Most People in Florida	Whites in Community	Negroes in Community
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-756)	65.6 ¹	73.0	25.1
P.T.A. (W) (N-375)	61.6	87.5	42.5
Editors (N-118)	59.3	69.5	**
Radio Station Man. (N-54)	42.6	72.3	**
County Officials (N-224)	74.8 ²	80.8	47.8
School Officials (N-303)	75.7 ³	85.5	52.5
Legislators (N-79)	69.1	78.6	39.1
Ministers (N-101)	48.6*	48.6	**
Negro Principals (N-180)	7.8	26.7	8.9
P.T.A. (Negro) (N-86)	16.3	37.2	15.1

1. N-770.

2. N-230.

3. N-309.

* For ministers, this question asked how most of the members of their congregation felt.

**This group not asked how Negroes as a separate group felt.

TABLE 9
PER CENT OF EACH GROUP DESIGNATING VARIOUS
METHODS OF ENDING SEGREGATION AS
MOST EFFECTIVE

Group and Number	METHOD				Total
	Immedi- ate	Very Gradual	Other Gradual*	No Infor- mation	
Peace Officers (N-1669)	.5	9.2		90.3 ¹	100.0
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-771)	3.1	71.7	19.5	5.4	99.7
P.T.A. (W) (N-375)	4.3	65.1	13.7	17.0	100.1
Editors (N-118)	5.1	60.2	19.5	15.3	100.1
Radio Station Man. (N-54)	14.8	46.3	25.9	12.9	99.9
County Officials (N-230)	5.2	49.1	16.0	29.6	99.9
School Officials (N-309)	4.9	62.8	9.7	22.6	100.0
Legislators (N-79)	11.4	49.4	17.7	21.5	100.0
Ministers (N-101)	5.9	47.5	33.7	12.9	100.0
Negro Principals (N-174)	9.8	31.6	55.7	2.9	100.0
P.T.A. (Negro) (N-86)	13.9	26.7	46.5	12.8	99.9

* "Other gradual" includes "Keeping existing school boundaries for the time being, but immediately letting children who want to do so go to the closest school regardless of race," and "A one or two year period of preparation before any schools are integrated."
1. These peace officers gave no information or answered "Segregation should be kept."

TABLE 10
PER CENT OF EACH GROUP DESIGNATING SPECIFIED GRADE LEVELS
AS EASIEST PLACE TO START DESEGREGATION

Group and Number*	GRADE LEVEL					Total
	Grades 1-3	College	1-3 and College	All Other	Don't Know or No Inf.	
Principals and Sup. (W) (N-771)	34.2	33.6	12.1	10.0	10.0	99.9
P.T.A. (W) (N-375)	36.5	23.5	4.5	5.3	30.1	99.9
Editors (N-78)	37.3	16.9	7.6	15.2	22.9	99.9
County Officials (N-230)	26.1	18.3	3.5	10.0	42.2	100.1
School Officials (N-309)	30.4	23.3	4.2	7.4	34.6	99.9
Legislators (N-79)	22.8	34.2	5.1	10.1	28.0	100.2
Ministers (N-101)	29.7	19.8	8.9	18.9	22.9	100.2
Negro Principals (N-180)	23.3	13.9	11.1	43.9	7.8	100.0
P.T.A. (Negro) (N-86)	23.3	16.3	1.2	40.7	18.6	100.1

* These combinations could not be made for peace officers.

TABLE 11
PER CENT OF EACH GROUP DESIGNATING VARIOUS PROBLEMS AS BEING LIKELY TO ARISE

Problem Area	Principals & Sup.(W) (771)	PTA (W) (375)	School Officials(303)	Principals (N) (180)	PTA (N) (86)
Discipline by White Teachers	16.7	.....	.....	3.9	.....
Discipline by Negro Teachers	55.2	65.9	66.2	6.7	20.9
Lowering of Academic Standards	48.6	.....	.....	11.7	.....
Unfairness by White Teachers	17.0	31.2	22.3	6.7	19.8
Unfairness by Negro Teachers	15.8	26.3	16.6	10.6	11.7
Unfairness to Negroes by Bus Drivers	22.6	.....	25.3	14.4	.....
Development of Private Schools	61.1	70.4	64.3	12.2	18.6
Withdrawal of Whites from Public Schools	55.4	57.6	63.4	12.2	18.6
School Officials Resigning	.....	.....	32.3	.....	.....
Difficulty in Hiring White Teachers	.....	.....	72.2	.....	.....
Rejection of Negro Teacher Applications	.....	.....	62.8	.....	.....
Lack of Tax Support for Mixed Schools	.....	41.3	49.4	.....	19.8

TABLE 12
CONFIDENCE OF PEACE OFFICERS IN ABILITY TO COPE
WITH SERIOUS VIOLENCE, BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS DESEGREGATION*

Attitude	Belief that Police Could Maintain Order If Serious Violence Started		
	They Could	They Couldn't	Total
Segregation should be kept	193	836	1029
Segregation should be ended, gradually or immediately	54	64	118

$$r_t = +.45$$

* Peace officers who answered "Don't Know" have been omitted from this table.

TABLE 13
CONFIDENCE OF PEACE OFFICERS THAT POLICE WOULD
ENFORCE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS FOR MIXED
SCHOOLS, BY ATTITUDE TOWARDS DESEGREGATION*

Attitude	Judgment of Willingness of Police to Enforce Attendance Laws		
	They Would	They Wouldn't	Total
Segregation should be kept	151	796	947
Segregation should be ended, gradually or immediately	67	36	103

$$r_t = +.65$$

* Peace officers who answered "Don't Know" have been omitted from this table.

TABLE 14
PER CENT OF PEACE OFFICERS EXPRESSING VARIOUS
ATTITUDES, BY REGION

Region	Attitude Expressed				Total
	Keep Segregation	Desegregate Gradually	Desegregate Immediately	No Inf.	
I (N-133)	83.5	15.0		1.5	100.0
II (N-130)	93.1	4.6	.8	1.5	100.0
III (N-83)	86.7	12.0		1.2	99.9
IV (N-269)	92.9	6.3	.7		99.9
V (N-269)	94.8	3.3	.7	1.1	99.9
VI (N-335)	90.1	9.2		.6	99.9
VII (N-27)	100.0				100.0
VIII (N-423)	83.4	14.2	.9	1.4	99.9

TABLE 15
PER CENT OF WHITE PRINCIPALS AND SUPERVISORS
AGREEING OR DISAGREEING WITH THE
DECISION, BY REGION

Region	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	No Inf.	Total
I (N-71)	53.5	42.2	1.4	2.8	99.9
II (N-151)	38.4	54.3	6.6	.7	100.0
III (N-38)	60.5	36.8	2.6		99.9
IV (N-135)	47.4	46.7	3.7	2.2	100.0
V (N-99)	47.5	40.4	8.1	4.0	100.0
VI (N-117)	65.0	30.8	3.4	.8	100.0
VII (N-30)	33.3	60.0	6.7		100.0
VIII (N-121)	71.9	20.7	5.0	2.5	100.1

TABLE 16
PER CENT OF WHITE PRINCIPALS AND SUPERVISORS
WILLING OR UNWILLING TO COMPLY, BY REGION

Region	Would Comply	Would Not Comply	No Inf.	Total
I (N-71)	81.7	15.5	2.8	100.0
II (N-151)	78.1	21.2	.7	100.0
III (N-38)	78.9	21.1	....	100.0
IV (N-135)	80.0	17.8	2.2	100.0
V (N-99)	84.8	11.1	4.0	99.9
VI (N-117)	94.0	5.1	.8	99.9
VII (N-30)	76.7	23.3	....	100.0
VIII (N-121)	93.4	4.1	2.5	100.0

TABLE 17
PER CENT OF PEACE OFFICERS PREDICTING MOB VIOLENCE, BY REGION

Region	Per Cent Predicting Mob Violence
I (N-133)	33.8
II (N-130)	36.1
III (N-83)	26.5
IV (N-269)	39.9
V (N-269)	31.2
VI (N-335)	27.5
VII (N-27)	63.0
VIII (N-423)	20.6

TABLE 18
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PEACE OFFICERS AND WHITE PRINCIPALS AND SUPERVISORS PREDICTING SERIOUS VIOLENCE, BY REGION

Region	GROUP			
	Peace Officers		Principals and Supervisors	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
I	75	56.4	20	28.2
II	81	62.3	55	36.4
III	39	47.0	10	26.3
IV	144	53.5	28	20.7
V	129	48.0	20	20.2
VI	159	47.5	16	13.7
VII	16	59.3	13	43.3
VIII	135	31.9	12	9.9

TABLE 19
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PEACE OFFICERS AND WHITE
PRINCIPALS AND SUPERVISORS DOUBTING THAT
PEACE OFFICERS COULD COPE WITH SERIOUS
VIOLENCE, BY REGION*

Region	Peace Officers		Principals and Supervisors	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
I	105	78.9	53	74.6
II	109	83.8	111	73.5
III	74	89.2	27	71.1
IV	223	82.9	110	81.5
V	230	85.5	73	73.7
VI	265	79.1	76	65.0
VII	24	88.9	22	73.3
VIII	314	74.2	80	66.1

* Based on total of respondents who answered "No" or "Don't Know" to question, "Do you think the peace officers in your community would be able to maintain law and order if serious violence is started?"

TABLE 20
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF LEGISLATORS FAVORING EACH
OF FIVE POSSIBLE COURSES OF LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Course of Action	Number	Per Cent
Legislation to preserve segregation indefinitely by whatever means possible	32	40.5
Legislation to preserve segregation for a few more years, contemplating eventual integration but permitting time for development of public acceptance	8	10.1
Legislation permitting voluntary compliance with Court's decision by local school officials, after consultation with patrons	4	5.1
Setting up legal machinery to permit gradual adjustment on a local option basis with provision for interracial committees, group discussions by school patrons and other means to bring about harmonious and peaceful compliance over a requisite period of time	18	22.8
No legislative action	10	12.7
No information given	7	8.8
Total	79	100.0

**Leadership
Opinion
By
Personal Interview
...and Conclusions***

While the mail questionnaire method may produce a large volume of data in a short time, this method has many disadvantages. One of the most important is the difficulty encountered in analyzing the answers to open-ended questions, questions which the subject may answer in his own words. Another limitation is the difficulty encountered in reaching subjects who are not included on some mailing list, such as informal, non-official leaders in a community power structure. Hence the mail questionnaire study of leadership opinion in the state was supplemented by a study of leadership opinion in 10 selected counties by the use of personal interviews.

Selection of Counties.

The 10 counties selected by the Research Advisory Committee for intensive study included: Charlotte, Hillsborough and Pinellas, in the southwest coastal region; Orange and Lake, in the central, so-called "Ridge Section" of the

* Prepared by Dr. Lewis Killian, Department of Sociology, Florida State University.

peninsula; Duval, in the northeast coastal region; Lafayette, a rural, inland county in the the north central portion; Gadsden, a rural county in the northwest part of the state; and Washington, a rural county, and Escambia, an urban county, in the extreme northwest portion of the panhandle of Florida.

In the selection of these counties, the following factors were considered:

1. Representation of the different sections of the state. (The southeast section was not included because an intensive study was made in Dade County and nearby areas by the University of Miami).
2. Inclusion of both rural and urban counties.
3. Inclusion of counties with less than 10 per cent Negro population (2) or more than 50 per cent (1). The state has 5 counties in the former category and 2 counties in the latter.
4. Inclusion of certain counties which, on the basis of preliminary evidence, appeared to be areas of relatively high or relatively low resistance to desegregation.

Method of Study.

Interviews were conducted by 16 public school employees from various counties, 12 white and 4 Negro principals or supervisors. No interviewer was assigned to work in his home county. For unavoidable practical reasons, no interviews with Negro subjects were obtained in two counties, and in three other counties only a limited number were obtained, these by white interviewers.

The interviewers, all carefully chosen for the task, were given one day of intensive training in the selection of subjects for interview, interviewing techniques, and interview recording. A schedule consisting of thirteen open-ended questions, similar to the structured questions used on the

mail questionnaire and supplemented by suggested probing questions, was furnished. The interviewers were also given a list of community leaders, official and non-official, whom they should attempt to interview. It should be noted that the field workers were instructed to follow the advice of local informants in selecting subjects, both white and Negro, considered to be important figures in the power structure of the community.

Each interviewer wrote, at the completion of his field work, an independent analysis of the situation in the county he studied. In addition, a content analysis was made of all interviews by a team of eight analysts, four white and four Negro, from the State Department of Education, the Florida A. and M. University, and the Florida State University. In this analysis the interviews were coded for IBM tabulation.¹ After analysis and coding were completed, approximately one-half of the interviews were coded for two items a second time by another member of the team, white and Negro members exchanging interviews. A reliability check on these items revealed a high degree of reliability between ratings by separate analysts, indicating that personal and racial biases in the interpretation of the interview protocols were slight.

Findings.

Interviews were obtained from a total of 460 white subjects and 195 Negro subjects. Of the white subjects, 263 were official leaders (County, city and school officials, judges, peace officers, and school employees) and 197 were non-official leaders (business, professional, civic club, re-

1. Statistical analysis of the interview data was done in the Sociology Research Laboratory of the Florida State University, under the direction of Prof. Robert McGinnis and Dr. John M. Haer. Responsibility for the interpretation of the results is assumed by the Research Advisory Committee.

ligious, labor, youth). There were 42 Negro subjects who were school employees, and 153 non-official Negro leaders, including a large number of insurance men, undertakers, and independent business men.

Distribution of the interviews by counties, for Negro and white, are shown below :

<i>County</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Charlotte	34	None
Duval	47	31
Escambia	40	64
Gadsden	27	7
Hillsborough	79	43
Lafayette	20	None
Lake	43	7
Orange	47	21
Pinellas	90	13
Washington	33	9

On the basis of statistical analysis of the interviews and the impressions reported by the field staff, the findings indicated below were reached. Although a different method of study was used, these findings do not differ significantly from those of the questionnaire study.

These findings are :

1. The majority of white subjects (67.7 per cent) are in disagreement with the decision, but only 4.1 per cent of the Negroes interviewed disagreed.

Even white subjects who thought the decision was right expressed, for the most part, fear that violence would occur if desegregation were not worked out gradually or if, in the words of some, "it is crammed down our throats." Some whites violently opposed to the decision made such statements as, "The decision is an outrage; it is wrong and will never work," and "These colored children should be treated in such a way that they would not want to come back to school."

On the other hand, a Negro interviewer summarized the opinions of Negroes in one county in the words, "God is behind the court's decision. He will see that it is carried out, but he doesn't want us to hasten," and in another county in the words, "This problem should have been met squarely years ago. There is no need attempting to circumvent, but settle the problem once and for all instead of passing it into the laps of our children."

2. Slightly less than half (45.7) per cent of the whites indicated that they would not cooperate with the decision of the courts or local school officials as to how to effect desegregation, only 16 per cent indicating that they would actively oppose attempts to end segregation.

Caution must be exercised in inferring that a major segment of the white leadership represented here would "go along" with any plan for desegregation, regardless of its nature. It must be considered that many informants may have been indicating willingness to comply with what they thought the courts and, particularly, the school officials would do, but not with anything that they might possibly decide.

3. One reason given by white subjects for disagreement with the decision was that it is a violation of "states' rights" and, in effect, a negation of local autonomy.

4. White leaders are almost unanimously opposed to any immediate steps to end segregation in their communities, only 4 out of 460 favoring such steps.

5. Of the Negro leaders, only 28.2 per cent favor immediate ending of all segregation in public education in their communities, but 58.9 per cent believe that the transition should begin within the next three years.

6. Whites and Negroes differ sharply in their assessment of white community opinion on the decision, 77 per cent of the white leaders believing most of the white people in their

communities disagree with the decision, but only 25.1 per cent of the Negroes believing this.

7. Whites and Negroes differ sharply in their assessment of Negro opinion in their communities, 54.3 per cent of the white leaders believing that most Negroes disagree with the decision, but only 6.1 per cent of the Negro leaders believing so.

8. While only 30 per cent of the whites believe that even a few Negro children could be admitted now to a previously all white school without resulting violence, 76.4 per cent of the Negroes believe that this could be done without causing violence.

9. Of the subjects answering the question (210 white, 82 Negro), a majority of Negroes (89 per cent) believe that peace officers could and would maintain law and order if violence started, but only 46.7 per cent of the whites believe this. A great many subjects in both groups did not answer this question.

10. While many white leaders seem to expect trouble and even violence to occur if desegregation is attempted, there was no definite group or category of people which was specified by more than 10 per cent of the respondents as being likely to cause this trouble.

11. White leaders designated the primary grades and the colleges and universities most frequently as the best place to start desegregation if it were undertaken (primary—31.7 per cent; college—13.3 per cent; both—8.5 per cent) but Negro leaders designated all grades from primary through high school most often (32.3 per cent).

12. Specific problems other than violence which might arise from desegregation were identified by a greater proportion of whites than of Negroes, although only a minority of each group designated any given eventuality as a likely problem. The problems most often designated by whites were: getting white teachers to teach in mixed schools; using Negro teachers in mixed schools; maintaining discipline on school busses and in classes; getting white parents to

send their children to mixed public schools; keeping present academic standards; and getting tax support for mixed schools.

13. In no county does it appear that more than a small segment of whites is ready to accept immediate and abrupt desegregation. In two counties, however, a majority of the white leadership interviewed (in one, 59.5 per cent, in the other, 72.4 per cent) believe that desegregation can be accomplished peacefully and effectively if it is done over a period of years, with a preparatory program of education, and at a rate determined by the local citizens.

14. In one county, the high frequency of belief among white leaders that segregation should be kept, that violence would result from desegregation, and that peace officers could not cope with such violence, makes it appear very likely that conflict and disorder would result if an attempt to start desegregation by any means was undertaken even within from five to ten years from the present.

15. Inspection of the interview protocols and the reports of the field staff reveal that even within counties there is wide variation in readiness by whites of different communities to accept desegregation.

In one county there is one community in which both Negro and white leaders fear serious violence, in which organized, violent opposition to desegregation is anticipated, and in which, indeed, organized but peaceful opposition has already appeared. In the same county is a community in which, in the judgment of both white and Negro interviewers, gradual but effective desegregation could be accomplished in the next few years. Similar situations exist in all but two of the counties, both predominantly rural but differing in region and proportion of Negroes in the population.

16. Concrete suggestions for effective first steps towards gradual desegregation offered by subjects include a period of education preparatory to the first steps, and the working together in interracial committees of adults who would study together the problems confronting their community.

THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Position:

How Selected:

1. Just what do you understand the Supreme Court decision to mean?
2. How do you feel about the decision?

Probing:

Feel it was right?

Feel it was wrong?

Feel it was neither right nor wrong—just not sure?

If right,

Not at this time?

We need time?

We should try to end segregation immediately?

If wrong,

Should cooperate because it is the law?

Will not cooperate in ending segregation?

Will actively oppose the action?

If neutral,

Will do whatever the courts and school officials say?

3. How do you think most of the people of Florida feel about it?
4. How do you think most of the people of this community feel about it?

Probing:

How do white people feel about it?

How do colored people feel about it?

5. Do you think there are any people in this community who feel differently about this?

If yes, probing:

How do they feel about it?

What kind of people are they? (General descriptive terms)

Are they organized in any way?

What kinds of things do you think they would do to put across their viewpoint?

6. Now, suppose the local school board decided in the next few years that it had to let a few colored children who lived in a mostly white attendance area go to the nearest school. What do you think would happen?

Probing:

What would people in this community do?

Would anyone try to keep them from attending the school?

If so, who would they be? (*Not* by name—just a general description) What kinds of things would they do?

Who would be the leaders?

Who would participate?

Would the existing law enforcement staff of this community be able to prevent violence from occurring?

Under what conditions would they be able to prevent violence, and under what conditions would they not be able to?

7. Now, suppose that in the next few years a few colored persons in your county applied for admittance to a white school and a court ordered that they be admitted. What do you think would happen?

Probing:

What would people in this community do?

What would the school board do? (Admit them immediately? Try to fight the court order? Resign?)

If they decided to admit them, would anyone try to keep them from attending school?

(Continue as in question 6)

8. Suppose the local school board decided that it had to let all children go to the school nearest their home. What do you think would happen?

Probing: (Same as for question 6)

9. If segregation in the schools were done away with in the next few years, what problems do you think would come up?

Probing:

- In the employment of white teachers?
- In the employment of colored teachers?
- In transportation of children to school?
- In getting public support for school finance programs?
- In keeping order among the children in the classroom and on the playground?
- In getting parents, white and colored, to send their children to mixed schools?
- In getting fair treatment by teachers of all children regardless of race?
- In keeping high teaching standards in the schools?

10. What ways can you suggest for handling any of the problems you have mentioned?
11. Suppose public school segregation had to be ended sooner or later. What do you think would be the best way to do it?

Probing:

- There just isn't any way?
- Assign all children to school on the basis of geographical location immediately?
- Keep present school boundaries at first and let children who want to do so go to the closest school?
- Have a one or two year period of preparation before any steps are taken to end segregation?
- Try to work it out over a period of years?

12. If it had to be done in the next few years, in what grades do you think it would be easiest to start admitting colored and white to the same schools?
13. Is there anything I haven't touched on in my questions which you would like to comment on?

Personnel Interviewed

A. Leaders (Officials)

County Commissioners, Chairman
Mayor or City Manager
Sheriff
Chief of Police

County Judge
County Solicitors
Superintendent of Schools
County Health Officer
County Board of Public Instruction, Chairman
County School Trustees, Chairman
County Commissioners
City Commissioners
Deputies
Police Officers
Circuit Judge
State Attorney
Judge, Court of Criminal Record
County Board of Public Instruction, Members
County School Trustees, Members

B. *Leaders* (Non-officials)

School principals
School supervisors
Teachers
PTA leaders
Women's Club leaders
Chamber of Commerce president
Civic and Veterans' organizations leaders
Newspaper editor or publisher
Bankers
Lawyers
Doctors
Realtors
Labor union leaders
Undertakers
Insurance men
Leading business men
Directors, housing projects
Other leaders designated by respondents as:

- (1) Being in a position to know what people in the community are thinking and doing.
- (2) Being important in influencing what people in the community think and do.

**RELIABILITY OF JUDGMENTS IN THE
ANALYSIS OF RECORDED INTERVIEWS
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE
SUPREME COURT'S SEGREGATION DECISION***

Eight trained social scientists—four Negro, four white—made the analysis of 657 interviews recorded on the subject of the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation unconstitutional. Each judge analyzed approximately 80, using a scale devised for the specific case at hand.

To indicate the reliability of ratings by the judges, two items were arbitrarily selected for analysis. The two items selected were thought to offer representative difficulties to the judges. The judges were paired—one white and one Negro—and each judge independently re-rated half of his partner's interviews on the two items.

The first item concerned a judgment of the personal feeling of the respondent on the following scale:

1. Firmly in favor of the decision, and believe that schools should be immediately opened to both races throughout Florida.
2. Firmly in favor of the decision and feel schools should be gradually combined, taking into consideration places which need more preparation.
3. Feel that such a decision should have been made eventually, but believe we are not ready for it. Feel we must move very slowly and cautiously.
4. Neither in favor of or against the decision; will agree with whatever the courts and school officials do.
5. Against the decision, but will agree with whatever the courts and school officials do.

* Prepared by Fay-Tyler M. Norton, graduate psychologist.

6. Firmly against the decision; will not cooperate in ending public school segregation.
7. Firmly against the decision; will actively oppose any attempt to end segregation in Florida schools.
8. Other; Pro-segregation
9. Other; anti-segregation
0. Don't know
- x. No information

The second item concerned a judgement on the "general tone of the interview." The scale consisted of the following:

- (1. Will oppose.
- (2. It won't work.
- (3. Indecisive.
- (4. Can be worked out, but will take time.
- (5. Integration can take place soon.

The plan for statistical analysis included percent of agreement between judges, Chi square, and the contingency coefficient for each of the eight sets of paired judgements.

For purposes of reporting and analysis, it was deemed more meaningful to combine categories in both items to form a directional scale. A preliminary check revealed that the categories were probably too finely drawn to be highly reliable as specific categories. In the first item, categories 1, 2, 3, and 9, and categories 5, 6, 7, 8, were used to indicate "in favor" or "against" the decision, respectively. In the second item, categories 1 and 2, and categories 4 and 5 were used to indicate "unfavorable" and "favorable", respectively. There were no interviews rated as 0 or x.

Table 1 shows (1) the percent of agreement between the pairs of judges on both items and (2) the total number of paired judgments made by each pair. The consistency of the judges is evident.* It is especially important that con-

* Note that the probability for agreement on only *one* interview is 1/9.

sistency of judgment was found between white and Negro judges.

Tables 2-5 indicate the ratings given the personal attitude of the interviewees by the four pairs of judges.

Each of the extremely high values of Chi square would occur much less than .001 times by chance alone. Inspection of the tables will show the positive relationship of the judges' ratings. The contingency coefficients indicate the degree of association.

Tables 6-9 indicate the classifications of the interviews according to "general tone." Here again each of the extremely high values of Chi square would occur much less than .001 times by chance alone. The relationship of the judges' classifications is also a positive one, the contingency coefficients indicating the degree of association.

Note must be made of violation of an assumption basic to the use of the Chi square statistic. Several of the theoretical cell frequencies in each table are less than 5. In this case the violation is not as serious as it might be, because the values of Chi square are extremely high. Reference is made to the article on the Chi-square test by Lewis and Burke.¹

The four independent indicators of reliability for each of these items are acceptably high. The extension of acceptable reliability to other items of the interview analysis must be made on logical grounds alone.

1. Lewis, Don, and Burke, C. J. The use and mis-use of the Chi-square test. *Psychol. Bull.*, 1949, 46, 433-489.

TABLE 1
PER CENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN JUDGES

I. RATINGS OF INTERVIEWEE FEELING

Judges*	Per Cent	Total No.
I & II	94	89
III & IV	93	86
V & VI	92	60
VII & VIII	89	82

II. RATINGS OF INTERVIEWS AS A WHOLE

Judges*	Per Cent	Total No.
I & II	85	85
III & IV	80	84
V & VI	66	61
VII & VIII	80	80

*Judges I, III, V, VII—Negro
Judges II, IV, VI, VIII—White

TABLE 2
FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS OF INTERVIEWEE
FEELING BY JUDGES I & II

		Judge I			Total No. of cases
		In favor of Supreme Court decision	Neutral	Against the Supreme Court decision	
Judge II	In favor of Supreme Court decision	37	1	2	
	Neutral	0	5	0	
	Against the Supreme Court decision	1	1	42	
Total No. of cases					89
		Chi square=75.9711; P less than .001			
		C=.68			

TABLE 3
FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS OF INTERVIEWEE
FEELING BY JUDGES III & IV

		Judge III			Total No. of cases
		In favor of Supreme Court decision	Neutral	Against the Supreme Court decision	
169 Judge IV	In favor of Supreme Court decision	50	0	1	
	Neutral	1	0	1	
	Against the Supreme Court decision	2	1	30	
Total No. of cases					86
Chi square=79.368; P less than .001					
C=.69					

TABLE 4
FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS OF INTERVIEWEE
FEELING BY JUDGES V & VI

		Judge V			Total No. of cases
		In favor of Supreme Court decision	Neutral	Against the Supreme Court decision	
170 Judge VI	In favor of Supreme Court decision	17	0	1	
	Neutral	1	1	2	
	Against the Supreme Court decision	1	0	37	
Total No. of cases					60
Chi square=44.436; P less than .001					
C=.65					

TABLE 5
FREQUENCIES OF RATINGS OF INTERVIEWEE
FEELING BY JUDGES VII & VIII

		Judge VII			Total No. of cases
		In favor of Supreme Court decision	Neutral	Against the Supreme Court decision	
171 Judge VIII	In favor of Supreme Court decision	55	1	7	
	Neutral	0	1	0	
	Against the Supreme Court decision	1	0	17	
Total No. of cases					82
Chi square=50.5192; P less than .001					
C=.62					

TABLE 6
FREQUENCIES OF CLASSIFICATION OF
INTERVIEWS BY JUDGES I & II

		Judge I			Total No. of cases
		Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	
Judge II	Unfavorable	24	1	6	
	Neutral	0	0	1	
	Favorable	4	1	48	
Total No. of cases					85
Chi square=51.067; P less than .001					
C=.61					

TABLE 7
FREQUENCIES OF CLASSIFICATION OF
INTERVIEWS BY JUDGES III & IV

		Judge III			Total No. of cases
		Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	
Judge IV	Unfavorable	16	1	3	
	Neutral	4	1	4	
	Favorable	2	3	50	
<hr/>					
Total No. of cases					84
Chi square=48.511; P less than .001					
C=.50					

TABLE 8
FREQUENCIES OF CLASSIFICATION OF
INTERVIEWS BY JUDGES V & VI

		Judge V			Total No. of cases	
		Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable		
174	Judge VI	Unfavorable	24	1	8	
		Neutral	4	0	7	
		Favorable	0	1	16	
		Total No. of cases				61
		Chi square=21.395; P less than .001				
		C=.41				

TABLE 9
FREQUENCIES OF CLASSIFICATION OF
INTERVIEWS BY JUDGES VII & VIII

		Judge VII			Total No. of cases
		Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	
Judge VIII	Unfavorable	3	0	0	
	Neutral	5	3	3	
	Favorable	7	1	58	
Total No. of cases					80
Chi square=25.4613; P less than .001					
C=.47					

**Analysis
of Negro Registration
and Voting
in Florida
1940-1954***

This is a study of the trend of Negro registration for voting for the years 1940-1954, an example of the way Negroes have begun to take advantage of a privilege from which State restrictions were removed by a federal court decision.

The reliability of figures on registrations is questionable. In many instances supervisors have failed to keep accurate and up-to-date records, and in several instances the report made to the Secretary of State differs from that made to the Attorney General. It is impossible to compare the percent of negroes over 21 registered with the percent of whites over 21 registered; many counties report more white registrants than there are adults over 21 according to the 1950 census.

Immediately evident from graphs of the number of Negroes registered is the tremendous increase in registration following 1944 when the decision in *Smith v. Allwright* (321 U.S. 649) was made applicable to Florida through further litigation.

* Prepared by Dr. Malcolm B. Parsons and Dr. J. A. Norton, School of Public Administration, Florida State University.

Evident from a county-by-county report is the great variation among counties in the percentage of non-whites over 21 who are registered.

There is also a variation in the time when Negro registrants increased. The following table shows the time pattern for counties with no Negroes registered.

Number of Counties with No Negro Registrants

1940—51

1944—36

1946— 4—Madison, Liberty, Lafayette, Union, Hendry (2)

1948— 4—Madison, Liberty, Lafayette, Union (1), Hendry

1950— 5—Madison, Liberty, Lafayette, Union, Calhoun

1952— 4—Madison, Liberty, Lafayette, Union

1954— 3—Liberty, Lafayette, Union

The counties which have had no Negroes registered since 1946 have all been in north Florida, except for Hendry which left this group in 1950.

Madison county is a good example both of how rapidly situations can change and the techniques necessary to produce a change. Madison County had no Negro registrants until just before the 1954 primaries. At this time 586 Negroes went to the courthouse *en masse* and were registered. According to the supervisor of registration most of the registrants exercised their franchise.

In 1952, the counties in North Central Florida (the plantation-South culture) showed a generally uniform pattern of a low percentage of Negro registrants. All 4 counties with no Negroes registered are in this bloc.

Very interesting are the Florida counties, especially in North Florida, showing a high percentage of Negroes registered. These reports would bear close examination in light of participation reports and other studies. Where urban machines are known to operate the pattern is not surprising. In other counties the explanations do not come easily.

Graphs showing absolute numbers of Negro registrants from 1940 through 1954, and the percent of adult Negroes registered for those years, are attached for each of the 12 counties under interview scrutiny.

“We don’t mind for our niggers to register, but we don’t let ’em vote”, a north Florida official is quoted as saying. The questionnaire sent to supervisors furnishes the only information on the number of Negroes who actually vote. Many of these figures were plainly labelled “estimates”, others probably are.

Many reports must be interpreted in one of two ways:

- (1) They are either poor guesses, or
- (2) Any Negro who dares register is determined to exercise his right to vote.

This evaluation is made because the percentage of registered Negroes who vote is much higher than one would estimate on the basis of the social-economic levels which correlate with voting interest. The evaluation applies with somewhat less force to the counties under interview scrutiny, but it is not clear why.

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County	Non-white Registrations reported by Secretary of State	Non-white Registrations reported by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 1st Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 2nd Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	Non-white Population 1950
Alachua	2,740	2,726	817	914	16,551
Baker	184	187	164	148	1,546
Bay	2,414	2,396	1,026	1,071	7,165
Bradford	684	636	367	413	2,800
Brevard	1,780	1,780	?	?	6,001
Broward	4,337	4,348	1,839	1,656	21,359
Calhoun	136	147	62	58	1,119
Charlotte	237	239	140	119	672
Citrus	486	486	283	248	1,555
Clay	946	968	796	742	2,105
Collier	526	526	319	306	1,986
Columbia	956	986	496	378	6,124
Dade	20,179	20,108	?	?	65,392
DeSoto	739	739	272	345	2,002

SUMMARY SHEET OF ATTORNEY GENERAL'S QUESTIONNAIRE, JULY 15, 1954 (Continued)

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County	Non-white Registrations reported by Secretary of State	Non-white Registrations reported by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 1st Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 2nd Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	Non-white Population 1950
Dixie	91	91	85	85	562
Duval	25,774	25,817	11,876	10,585	81,840
Escambia	6,545	6,553	1,834	2,096	25,123
Flagler	4	4	2	0	1,534
Franklin	309	309	244	193	1,496
Gadsden	8	8	3	?	20,468
Gilchrist	10	10	4	4	346
Glades	342	247	107	118	898
Gulf	426	414	284	226	2,007
Hamilton	212	238	150	100	3,790
Hardee	282	282	155	157	750
Hendry	550	551	300	237	1,580
Hernando	420	420	252	252	1,539
Highlands	1,276	1,270	557	613	3,466

SUMMARY SHEET OF ATTORNEY GENERAL'S QUESTIONNAIRE, JULY 15, 1954 (Continued)

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County	Non-white Registrations reported by Secretary of State	Non-white Registrations reported by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 1st Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 2nd Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	Non-white Population 1950
Hillsborough	4,003	4,003	2,400	2,800	38,315
Holmes	145	127	49	58	609
Indian River	289	289	112	153	2,962
Jackson	2,310	2,313	1,375	1,375	11,574
Jefferson	141	225	125	75	6,513
Lafayette	0	0	0	0	325
Lake	1,404	1,404	350	200	8,542
Lee	1,430	1,475	313	216	4,694
Leon	4,150	4,013	2,840	2,459	20,381
Levy	358	358	119	119	3,603
Liberty	0	0	0	0	581
Madison	586	585	?	?	6,477
Manatee	1,290	1,250	500	400	7,916
Marion	4,040	4,043	1,474	1,581	14,594

SUMMARY SHEET OF ATTORNEY GENERAL'S QUESTIONNAIRE, JULY 15, 1954 (Continued)

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County	Non-white Registrations reported by Secretary of State	Non-white Registrations reported by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 1st Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 2nd Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	Non-white Population 1950
Martin	516	516	345	310	2,203
Monroe	1,214	1,214	925	596	3,221
Nassau	1,032				4,007
Okaloosa	363	375	187	185	2,198
Okeechobee	291				641
Orange	2,687	2,695	1,139	787	22,766
Osceola	239	239	171	150	1,492
Palm Beach	5,198	5,179	2,043	2,244	34,797
Pasco	633	700	100	75	2,776
Pinellas	3,408	3,426	939	975	18,712
Polk	3,685	3,716	?	?	25,577
Putnam	1,433	1,433	409	536	8,608
St. Johns	2,515	2,515	785	618	8,327
St. Lucie	1,464	1,476	545	566	6,394

SUMMARY SHEET OF ATTORNEY GENERAL'S QUESTIONNAIRE, JULY 15, 1954 (Continued)

County	Non-white Registrations reported by Secretary of State	Non-white Registrations reported by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 1st Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	1954, 2nd Primary Negro vote as estimated by County Supt. of Registration	Non-white Population 1950
Santa Rosa	613	613	547	511	1,584
Sarasota	707	639	132	164	4,611
Seminole	1,581	1,624	978	993	11,940
Sumter	520	619	464	464	3,052
Suwannee	438				4,985
Taylor	99	109	0	0	3,181
Union	0	0	0	0	3,231
Volusia	4,537	4,637	2,376	2,358	16,385
Wakulla	139	145	15	22	1,627
Walton	1,721				1,958
Washington	570	581	340	325	2,119

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**Existing
Public School Facilities
in Florida
...and Factors
of School Administration
and Instructional Services
Affecting Segregation***

The 1950 census revealed that Florida had grown in population since 1940 more than any state east of the Rocky Mountains. This rapid growth has probably been most sharply observable in the public schools. The present rate of growth in school population from year to year is about 8 per cent. Present school population for the year ended June 30, 1954 was 650,285 (507,276 white; 143,009 Negro) up from 603,665 the year before (467,762 white; 135,903 Negro).

There were 81 schools in 18 counties forced to run double sessions during 1953-54 as against 66 schools in 15 counties the year previous.

The classroom situation is acute. Although 671 classrooms were constructed between July 1, 1953 and July 1,

* Prepared by Dr. Robert E. Lee, Florida State Department of Education, assisted by Thomas N. Morgan, Florida State Department of Education.

1954, bringing existing classrooms up to about 18,000, it would require 5000 new classrooms this year to eliminate double sessions, relieve congested classrooms, take care of expanding enrollment and replace obsolete classrooms which should be abandoned.

The need for teachers is equally critical. Conservative estimates place the teacher need for the year 1953-54 at a figure between 4500 and 5000.

During 1953-54 Florida's 2212 school buses manned by 2038 drivers (including 359 Negro drivers) traveled 30,910,944 miles to transport 209,492 pupils at a cost of \$4,506,667. The magnitude of this operation can be more readily appreciated by comparing it with that of commercial bus passenger lines which reveals that in miles traveled school buses probably equaled or exceeded the total mileage of all commercial passenger bus lines in the state in the latest recorded corresponding year.

The total cost of operating Florida's public schools for the year 1952-53 is given in Table 1, classified by major items of expenditure.

The level of support of public education in Florida underwent a substantial advance with the establishment of the 1947 Minimum Foundation Program Law. Prior to that year, the assessed value of property within a county was the primary determinant of financial support; since then the extensive tax resources of the entire state have made possible adequate financial support for the education of all the children, regardless of location or color. This structure of school finance can be described as a partnership between each county and the state, whereby the county levies taxes according to its financial ability and the state contributes to each county primarily on the basis of need. Since 1947 the gaps of inequality between the races and between rural and metropolitan areas have been steadily narrowed.

Table 2 shows that the pronounced discrepancies between white and Negro salaries existing in 1930 and 1940 were reduced to a difference of 21% in 1947 and only 7.0% in 1952-53. In like manner the percentage of discrepancy between Current Expenditure Per Negro Pupil and Current Expenditure Per White Pupil in 1930-31 was 71%, but by 1952-53 this per pupil dollar expenditure for Negroes had risen almost tenfold to where the per cent difference was only 16% less than the corresponding expenditure for whites.

During the fourth and fifth decade, the majority of Negro teachers had less than four years college training. By 1952-53, 94.7% of all Negro teachers compared to 95.6% of all white teachers had at least four years college training.

Capital Outlay Expenditures have reflected not only the inflation of enrollment, but the inflation of new residents and the inflation of construction costs. From 1937 to 1953 Capital Outlay Expenditure for Negroes amounted to \$28,975,000, and for white schools the amount was \$129,246,000. The total value of public school property in Florida has been estimated at \$300,000,000. Capital Outlay Expenditures Per Negro Pupil were greater than for whites in 1952-53 because of greater needs. During the two decades up to 1947 a limited State Aid Program provided some financial support without specification as to race. Starting in 1947, State Aid under the Minimum Foundation Program was allocated to the counties in such a way that no shifting of salary funds from one race to another could take place. In some counties of Florida, the Expenditures Per Negro Pupil are greater than the Expenditures Per White Pupil. This often happens when the Negro teachers as a group have either greater training or longer service than the white teachers.

Florida provides annually \$400 per instruction unit for

Capital Outlay needs which for the 67 counties totaled \$9,451,600 in 1953-54 and has been computed at \$10,199,448 for the 1954-55 estimate. This money is spent in each county according to the needs recommended by a state conducted school building survey. With the help of these individual county surveys it was estimated as of January, 1954 that \$97,000,000 will be needed to provide facilities for white children and \$50,000,000 will be needed to provide facilities for Negro children. Since the activation as of the effective date January 1, 1953 of a Constitutional Amendment providing for the issuance of revenue certificates by the State Board of Education against anticipated state Capital Outlay funds for the next thirty years more than \$43,000,000 in state guaranteed bonds have been issued to provide additional facilities for both races. By the fall of 1954 there will have been a total of \$70,000,000 of these bonds issued and in the foreseeable future the total will be \$90,000,000 to \$100,000,000. At the present time 2182 classrooms are under construction as a result of the issuance of these bonds.

The growth of Florida's school population in the past five years has far exceeded all expectations and predictions. The combination of a large birth rate during the latter forties and a steadily increasing migration rate is reflected in Table 3.

It is significant that Florida was the only one of the thirteen southern states to show an increase in the age 10-14 Negro population during the last decade. While the general pattern in the South during 1940-50 was a migration of Negroes to the North and West, Florida registered a 2.5% net migration increase and a natural increase of 14.9%. The corresponding rate for the white population for this decade was a net migration increase of 40.6% and a natural increase of 16.1%. It is clear then, that Florida's Negro population, though increasing in both measures, is actually becoming a smaller and smaller minority. The per cent of

non-white population decreased from 27.2% in 1940 to 21.8% in 1950. As in the other states, a wide range of concentration is found among the 67 counties of Florida. The accompanying two maps of Florida counties show the amount and per cent of non-white population in 1950 and the distribution of Negro enrollment in 1952-53, and illustrate the diversity of Florida's pattern. In only two counties of North and West Florida do the Negroes outnumber the whites. In only one county do the Negroes comprise less than 5% of the county's population. With the exception of Jacksonville, the major metropolitan areas are inhabited by a much smaller proportion of Negroes than the state average.¹

The shifting of Negro population into the southern coastal counties and into Northeast Florida is contrasted with the out-migration of Negroes from the West Florida non-urban counties. Statewide, twenty-seven counties (or 40%) registered actual losses in Negro population from 1940 to 1950; and the heaviest losers were Dixie (82%), Gilchrist (46%), and Liberty (37%).

Achievement Test Scores

If a significant difference in preparation and achievement level exists between white and Negro students, additional academic problems can be expected in the process of desegregation. It is not inferred that these differences are explained by racial differences.

In Florida, the statutes provide 1,050 scholarships of \$400 each for students desiring to train for the teaching profession. Awarding of the scholarships is done on a basis

1. Dietrich, T. Stanton, Statistical Atlas. *Florida's Population: 1940 and 1950: Research Report No. 3. Fla. State University, June, 1954.*

of county representation, race, and competitive test scores of psychological and scholastic aptitude. A compilation of the scores of the 740 white twelfth grade applicants in the spring of 1954 yielded an average score of 340. Compilation of the 488 Negro twelfth grade applicants yielded an average score of 237. In the previous year, 1953, 664 white applicants made a mean score of 342 while the 503 Negro applicants made an average score of 237. This difference is classified as very significant and should be interpreted as meaning that factors other than chance explain the different results between white and Negro scores.

In addition, a comparison of the performance of white and Negro high school seniors on a uniform placement-test battery given each spring in the high schools throughout the State of Florida is shown in Table 4. The number of participants corresponds with the total twelfth grade membership during the five-year period, 1949-1953. This table shows, for example, that on all five tests 59% of the Negroes rank no higher than the lowest 10% of the whites. On the general ability scale, the fifty percentile or mid-point on the white scale corresponds with the ninety-five percentile of the Negro scale. In other words, only 5% of the Negroes are above the mid-point of the white general ability level.

Studies of grades at the University of Florida indicate that white high school seniors with placement test percentile ranks below fifty have less than a 50% likelihood of making satisfactory grades in college. While factors such as size of high school, adequacy of materials, economic level, and home environment are recognized as being contributing factors, no attempt is made here to analyze or measure the controlling factors.

Counties With No Negro High Schools

An examination of facilities provided by the sixty-seven counties reveals that no senior high schooling was offered for Negroes in eight counties in 1953. Transportation to an adjacent county high school is provided in each county. In six of these eight counties the membership available for a 7-12 grade high school is less than seventy-five.

Table 5 shows the estimated number of Negroes eligible for grades 7-12, the number and organization of white high schools, the white average daily membership, the full capacity of the high schools, and the possible space available. If the ban on Negro pupils were lifted, space would be available in six of these eight counties.

Examples of Inter-Racial Cooperation

The tradition of separate schools for Negro children has in effect separated the Negro teachers from association with white teachers. Until recent years, duplicate meetings of teachers during pre-school conferences were held in every county. When specialists and consultants were brought into the county to improve instruction, two presentations instead of one had to be made. Considering the growing demands for efficiency and effective administration that were promulgated by the 1947 Minimum Foundation Program, the administrations in several counties have found it advantageous to schedule a single program of activities during the two week pre-school conference period for instruction personnel. Collier, Monroe, Sarasota, Hardee, and Dixie are counties that have already combined the races for pre-school conferences. This action, it might be noted, has been carried out as a result of voluntary local level initiative without any directive or suggestion from the state administration.

There are other examples of inter-racial cooperation at the county level. In Dade and Duval Counties, Negro supervisory personnel have offices in the same building as their fellow professional staff members. In a number of counties, including Santa Rosa, Leon, Sarasota, Pinellas, Hillsborough, and Hernando, regular principals' meetings are held without regard to race. Negro representatives have participated in the County PTA Council in Hillsborough County. In many counties the development of a Parent Teacher Association in Negro schools has been possible as a result of the personal interest and sponsorship of white PTA leaders. Invitations to be guests and speakers at PTA meetings have not been entirely unilateral.

The State Department of Education has Negro consultants, and staff and division meetings are held at regular intervals in the Capitol with no distinction as to race.

The members of the Florida Resource Use Education Committee are appointed by the Governor and include both races. The purpose of the committee is to promote instruction in the wide use and development of the natural resources in our community, state, and nation.

The Florida Council on Elementary Education and the Florida Council on Secondary Education are each composed of professional educators in Florida and have representation from both races. Membership is by appointment of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the purpose of each Council is to conduct studies which will make possible the continued improvement of the school's product.

For the past two years, a week-long Negro Principal's Work Conference has taken place at Bethune-Cookman College with a participation of more than half of all Negro Principals. Speakers, consultants, and specialists were largely drawn from white educators in Florida.

The examples of normal association between the races

cited herewith are confined largely to professional educators and those citizens deeply concerned about public education.

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES—ALL FUNDS—
BOTH RACES, 1952-53

General Control	\$ 2,367,825.41
Instruction	78,233,563.93
Operation of Plant	6,540,853.16
Maintenance	4,031,471.75
Auxiliary Agencies	6,585,529.70
Fixed Charges	2,810,762.18
Current Expenses (Day Schools)	100,570,006.13
Other Schools	1,527,768.39
Total Current Expenses (All Schools)	102,097,774.52
Capital Outlay	28,013,835.59
Debt Service	8,783,513.04
Total Expenditures (All Funds)	\$138,895,123.15

TABLE 2
SIGNIFICANT TRENDS IN THE GROWTH OF FLORIDA
SCHOOLS UNDER DUAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION
1930 TO 1953

	1930-31	1940-41	1947-48	1952-53
Average Daily Attendance:				
White	203,002	240,388	272,084	380,800
Negro	74,785	87,570	96,503	118,162
Average Annual Salary:				
White	\$907	\$1,202	\$2,770	\$3,457
Negro	403	605	2,191	3,215
Teacher Preparation (Per Cent Four Years or More):				
White	38.81%	61.48%	76.72%	95.62%
Negro	15.18	31.90	62.53	94.74
Current Expenses Per Pupil in ADA (All Funds):				
White	\$61.26	\$72.40	\$175.14	\$209.42
Negro	17.91	28.80	110.39	176.24
Capital Outlay Per Pupil in ADA (All Funds):				
White	\$3.12	\$7.36	\$42.60	\$54.92
Negro	0.35	0.57	10.65	60.09
State Aid Per Pupil in ADA:				
Both Races	\$15.28	\$39.60	\$106.70	\$123.39

TABLE 3
ENROLLMENT
(Includes Kindergarten and Junior Colleges)

Year	White	Negro	Total
1953-54	507,276	143,009	650,285
1952-53	467,762	135,903	603,665
1951-52	428,405	129,695	558,100
1950-51	401,083	126,091	527,174
1949-50	375,295	120,368	495,663

The over-all rate of growth during the past two years has been more than 8%; (9% for white pupils; 5% for Negro pupils.)

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF PERCENTILE RANKS FOR WHITE AND NEGRO EXAMINEES IN THE FLORIDA
STATEWIDE TWELFTH-GRADE TESTING PROGRAM SPRING 1949 THROUGH SPRING 1953

White Percentile Rank	Corresponding Percentile Rank for Negroes					
	Psychological (General Ability)	English	Social Studies	Natural Science	Mathe- matics	All Five Tests
01	31.4	18.8	15.6	11.2	09.8	17.36
05	57.4	50.4	44.8	32.4	33.0	43.60
10	70.8	67.4	60.4	50.0	46.8	59.08
20	82.8	81.6	78.4	69.8	67.2	75.96
30	88.6	88.6	86.4	80.2	79.2	84.60
40	92.6	93.0	91.4	87.8	86.2	90.20
50	95.4	95.6	94.4	92.4	90.6	93.68
60	97.2	97.0	96.4	95.0	94.4	96.00
70	98.2	98.0	97.6	97.0	96.4	97.44
80	98.75	99.0	98.6	98.4	97.25	98.40
90	99.0		99.0	98.5	98.5	98.75
95				99.0	99.0	99.0

Number of Seniors Tested: White—69,909
 Negro—10,675

TABLE 5
COUNTIES WITH NO NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL — 1952-53

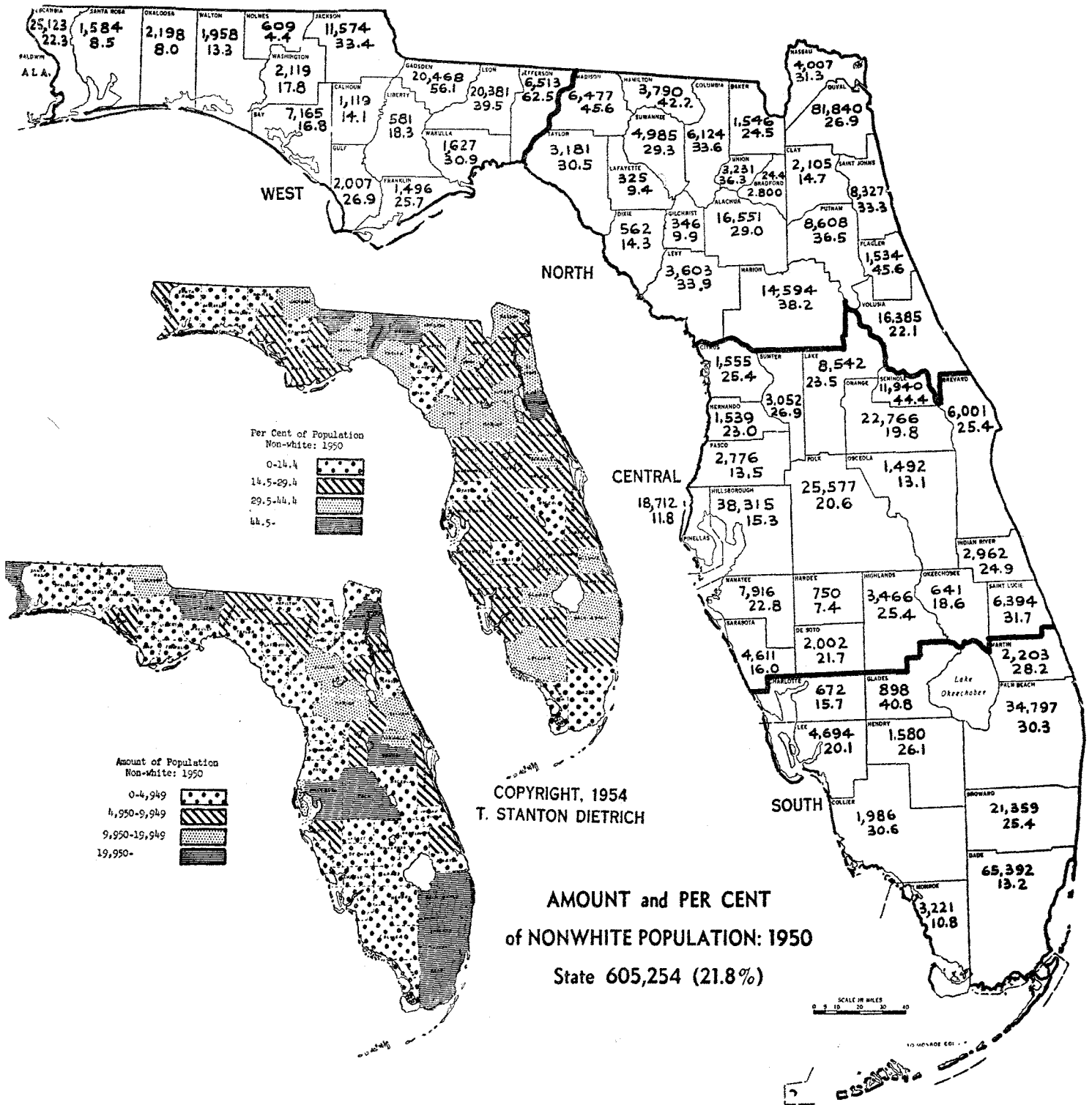
County	N E G R O		No. and Grade of Hi School	W H I T E		
	Elem. ADM (1-6)	Est. 7-12 ADM Based on Ratio of .50		ADM (7-12)	Capacity	Space Available
1. Baker	288	144	3(1-12)	499	660 ¹	161
2. Charlotte	70	35	1(1-12)	234	300 ¹	66
3. Dixie	68	34	1(7-12)	300	330 ²	30
4. Glades	102	51	1(1-12)	119	180	61
5. Hardee	136	68	1(9-12)	803	890	87
6. Holmes	104	52	4(1-12)	1222	1080	....
7. Lafayette	42	21	1(7-12)	283	330 ¹	47
8. Union Co. Hi.	230	115	1(1-12)	255	280	25

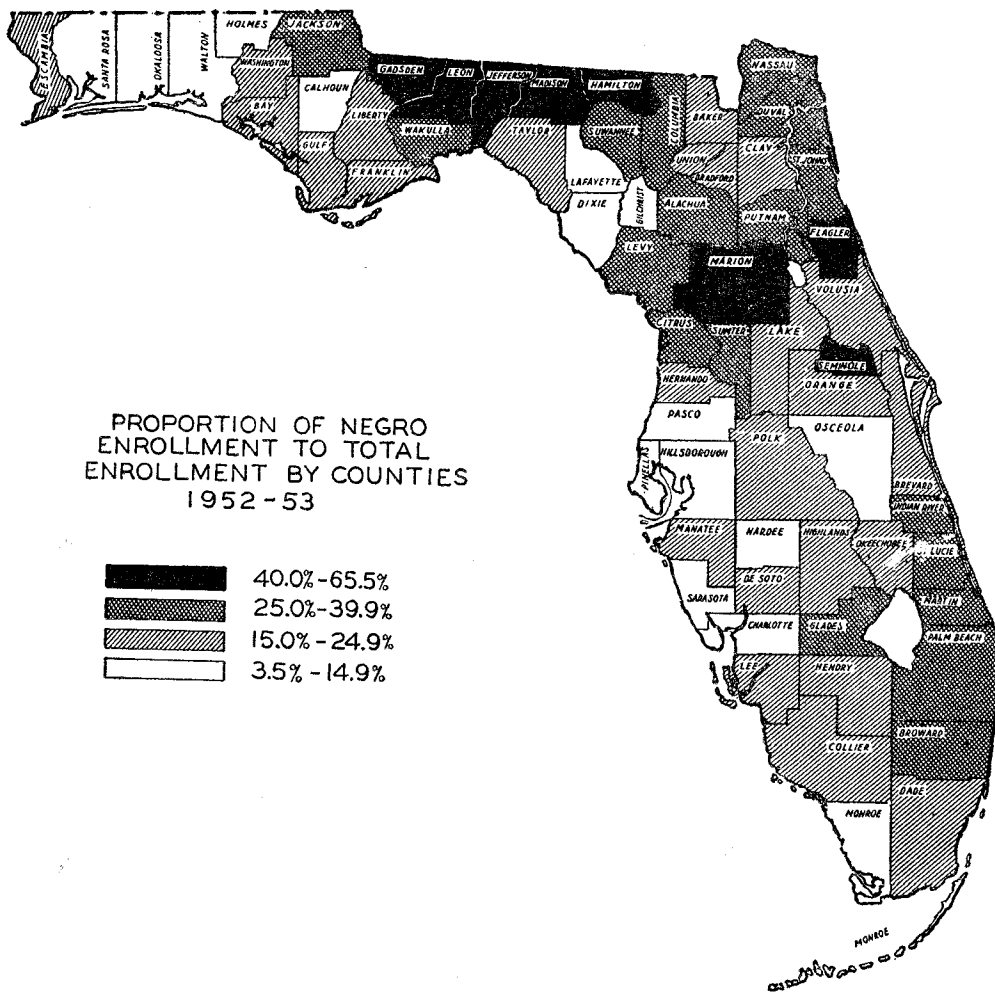
1. Allows 60 additional capacity for Homemaking, Science, Agriculture, and Physical Education facilities.
2. Allows 90 additional capacity for Agriculture, Science, Homemaking and Gymnasium facilities.

TABLE 6
STATUS OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS* 1953-54
 (Percentage)

	Male		Female	
	W	N	W	N
Training				
Rank I	9.60		6.19	
Rank II	68.80	46.15	55.75	46.90
Rank III	20.00	51.30	36.28	53.12
No Information	1.60	2.60	1.76	
Number	125	39	226	32
Years as Principal				
0	1.60		.90	
1 - 5	45.60	30.80	31.85	25.00
6 -10	17.60	33.33	22.12	21.90
11-15	12.80	15.40	16.81	18.80
16-20	8.00	15.40	8.84	15.62
21-25	4.80	2.60	8.84	3.12
26-Over	9.60	2.60	9.73	15.62
No Information			.90	
Number	125	39	226	32
Salary 10 Months (Dollars)				
2500-2999	1.60	2.60		
3000-3499	.80	17.94	1.32	
3500-3999	9.60	17.94	3.53	12.50
4000-4499	19.20	15.40	18.60	18.80
4500-4999	12.80	10.25	22.12	25.00
5000-5499	20.80	17.94	28.80	12.50
5500-5999	16.80	10.25	11.06	12.50
*Not Applicable (12 mos.)	16.80	5.12	10.61	18.80
No Information	1.60	2.60	4.00	
Number	125	39	226	32

*Compiled by Sara DeKeni, School of Education, Florida State University.





**An Intensive
Study
in Dade County
and Nearby
Agricultural Areas
...and Conclusions***

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A majority of those polled believed that most of the white population of Dade County are opposed to the Court's decision as a matter of principle. There seems to be reason to believe, however, because of the relative lack of discussion about the decision and its attendant problems and of the calm acceptance of the decision itself that the attitude on the part of many is not a deep-seated, emotionally formed one. If the process of integration is handled gradually (after a few years of preparation) and wisely and with firm leadership, a very large majority of this group will abide by the decision. The distinct possibility remains that many of this group with loosely formed convictions can be driven into active opposition by early and abrupt transition.

Some reluctance has been noted on the part of the School Board and other public officials to plan and lead, and on the

* Prepared by Dr. D. R. Larson, Dr. Edward Sofen, and Dr. T. J. Wood, Government Department, University of Miami.

part of the newspapers to encourage the same. The problem of obtaining leadership outside official circles for the transitional steps will be made more difficult by the tendency or perhaps organized campaign of the more violent pro-segregationists to identify such leadership with the Communist Party. On the other hand, a number of ministers have indicated that they will advise their congregations to follow the Court's decision.

Virtually complete agreement exists among those polled as to the most explosive area—the northwest section of the county which is low in the white socio-economic strata and which contains the greatest percentage of southern-born whites. The elected officials foresaw the next greatest amount of trouble (although not violent in nature) from those communities such as Coral Gables and Miami Shores which are high on the socio-economic scale. Community leaders, the teachers, newsmen, police and labor leaders failed to mention this in any significant numbers; this failure may be explained in part by disposition to think of difficulties only in terms of violence.

Almost all elected officials, journalists, police chiefs and labor leaders agreed that serious violence in several areas was inevitable if large-scale integration were to be attempted within the next year or two; such violence would be perpetrated by a small segment of the population and would take the form of the bombing of homes, hit-and-run shooting and individual beatings rather than lynchings and other more openly organized activities. Among the community leaders there was less unanimity, although a majority expects violence in some form in the most difficult areas.

Roughly half of the above categories of interviewees believed that some scattered violence was inevitable no matter how slowly the integration was accomplished. Only

33% of the teachers expect violence under such circumstances.

These same categories thought that boycotts in all parts of the County were inevitable whenever integration was undertaken but few estimates were made of their dimensions. A substantial move toward private schools among the well-to-do was agreed upon. There was a marked absence of mention of the Byrnes-Talmadge Plan of removing the state's direct connection with education; only a few of those who expressed personal opposition to the decision thought that this was a practical solution.

The consensus of the various categories of whites polled with regard to the attitude of the Negro population on the timing of integration is that a gradual approach over a period of several years is desired. Although Negro school teachers are not a representative cross-section of the Negro population, it should be noted that by an extremely large majority they wanted speedier integration and that they reported, although by a smaller majority, that their students agreed.

The small sampling of Negro leaders indicates that most of the hitherto effective Negro leaders are prepared not to demand, by means of suits or otherwise, immediate action if there is indication on the part of the state and local officials that they are planning in good faith and with reasonable promptitude the method of implementation decreed by the Supreme Court.

Although no such specific question was posed, significant numbers in all categories minimized the difficulties that might arise among the younger children; but it was recognized that violent parental attitudes might change the situation radically. At the same time the belief was widely expressed that social activities in junior and senior high schools would give rise to considerably more trouble, if