Segregation Academies:
The Impact of "Whites Only" Private Education on Public Schools in Deep South*

Danielle Graves†

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Abstract

After years of resisting the mandate put forth by *Brown vs. Board of Education*, public schools began integrating across the Deep South in the 1960s and 70s. White parents sought to perpetuate the segregated status quo by organizing all-white private schools known as "segregation academies." I create a novel data set of segregation academies in the Deep South and find that they caused public school enrollment to decline by 14% . White students drive this decline: segregation academies caused a 36% decrease in white enrollment, but had no impact on Black enrollment. Ultimately, the white share of enrollment decreased by 23% and is accompanied by an increase in the relative segregation of public schools. Consistent with a simple model of taste-based discrimination and costly outside options, these effects are largest in rural counties with a history of racial animus, low median household income, and a high percentage of the population that is Black.

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†Boston University. dcgw@bu.edu

1 Introduction

> "Just at the same time when our public schools are required by law to exercise courageous and imaginative compliance there are mushrooming across the state institutions . . . with the real, if not avowed, purpose of evading the [desegregation] compliance requirement."
> *Adams and Covington (1969)*

In the 1960s and 1970s, maintaining segregated public schools became an impossibility. White parents in the Deep South (Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Georgia) reacted to forced desegregation by organizing all-white private schools with implicit and explicit racial admissions criteria. So-called "segregation academies" marked a seismic shift from public to private education unique to the South: rates of private school attendance decreased from 1960 to 1980 in the Northeast, Midwest and West, but doubled in the Deep South (Manson et al. 2022). However, a lack of data on segregation academies has prevented the quantification of the causal impact of segregation academies on the public school system.

I create a comprehensive data set of segregation academies and measure the impact of these schools on enrollment and integration. Segregation academies were formed with the intent of emulating and perpetuating the segregated, dual-system of public education that prevailed prior to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)*. I employ an event-study framework to determine the extent to which these schools accomplished this goal by creating a *new* dual-system of white private schools and predominantly Black public schools.

I find segregation academies induced a 9-14% decrease in total public school enrollment. Data from Alabama and Louisiana suggests that such enrollment decreases were driven white students: white enrollment decreased by approximately 36%. Segregation academies offset gains in integration from court orders by as much as 2/3, eroding efforts to integrate schools.

Previous literature has found that the white enrollment declines caused by court

ordered desegregation plans range from 14-24%, with the largest effects occurring in central urban districts (Baum-Snow and Lutz 2011; Reber 2005; Welch and Light 1987). The existing literature that studies the role that residential segregation and migration play in public school segregation (S. G. Rivkin 1994; Boustan 2012; Baum-Snow and Lutz 2011) focus on enrollment responses in large cities, where there exist outside options to one's assigned neighborhood school: nearby, racially homogeneous school districts and preexisting private schools. For example, Baum-Snow and Lutz 2011 finds that migration is the predominant driver of enrollment losses in such urban areas. They also find a negative association between *contemporaneous* private school enrollment and white public school enrollment in central urban districts. I contribute to this literature by analyzing the *direct* impact of segregation academies on enrollment in an understudied setting: rural areas.

I also contribute to this literature by distinguishing between preexisting private schools, new private schools, and segregation academies. Reber 2011 finds that private school enrollment accounts for approximately "60% of the differential decline in blacker districts" in Louisiana. However, the presence of Catholic schools, a legacy of Louisiana's French and Spanish colonial history, complicates the generalizability of this result. With the exception of the Gulf Coast, the Deep South is predominantly Protestant, and had relatively few Catholic schools compared to other regions of the nation (Clotfelter 2004). Using newly digitized, school level data, I test this pattern in South Carolina. Remarkably, I recover a similar figure – for every 10 students leaving public schools, 6 enrolled in private schools. Specifically, these students enrolled at segregation academies – I find no effect on enrollment at preexisting private schools.

I distinguish segregation academies from other types of private schools that were not founded to perpetuate racial segregation, such as Catholic schools, boarding schools, schools for children with learning disabilities, and Montessori schools.[1] To classify

[1]Though Catholic schools were not as common in the South as other regions, they still comprised the majority of private schools in the South. These schools largely predate Brown vs. Board of Education and court ordered integration. The official stance of the Church was that schools should

schools, I draw on historical sources, contemporary newspaper articles, existing qualitative work on segregation academies, and sports schedules. I focus my analysis on the Deep South, where segregation academies concentrated (Orfield 1969).[2] I document that 464 of these schools were founded in the Deep South between 1952 and 1980, a testament to the degree of resistance that met school integration.

My paper is the first to estimate the impact of segregation academies on the effectiveness of integration efforts. Using Office of Civil Rights data (Reber 2005), I find 5% fewer Black students attended schools where at least 5% of the student body was white. I also find movements in exposure indices ("segregation measures") that indicate higher relative segregation. An extensive literature on the impact of court orders on short term and long term outcomes for students finds positive labor market and academic outcomes for Black students (R. C. Johnson 2011; S. G. Rivkin 2000; Anstreicher, Fletcher, and Thompson 2022; Ashenfelter, W. J. Collins, and Yoon 2006; Guryan 2004). I infer from the existing literature that the higher relative segregation induced by segregation academies likely negatively impacted Black students. I am currently digitizing data to test this prediction directly.

To describe my target estimand, that is, the marginal decrease in public school enrollment induced by the establishment of a segregation academy, I provide a brief sketch of a theoretical framework that models public school enrollment losses as a function of taste-based discrimination and the cost of outside options. Consistent with this framework, I find the largest enrollment losses in poor, relatively Black areas with a history of racial animus.

I use an event study to identify the effect of the establishment of segregation academies on enrollment and public school integration. This relies on variation in the timing

be integrated: "The Catholic Church in 1957 or '58 made a decision that they were going to desegregate the schools. They did it this way. The announcement was we have two programs. We have excommunication and we have integration. Make your choice by Friday.'' "" ("School Segregation and Integration" 2022)

[2] I am currently in the process of creating a publicly available collection of newspaper clippings documenting segregation academies.

of establishment of segregation academies. If a segregation academy is always established the same year as a court orders integration, I would be unable to distinguish the impact of segregation academies from the impact of court orders. However, groups of parents established schools both in *anticipation of* and *in response to* court ordered integration–the timing does not coincide 89% of the time. This difference in timing allows me to study the interaction of these two events. Differential enrollment declines occur both before *and* after a major court order in areas with segregation academies; unsurprisingly, they are larger after.

2 Historical Context

> "The outnumbered whites 'will withdraw into an already flourishing private school system, abandoning the public schools to the blacks. . . . Southern Regional Council, which works to promote better race relations, estimates 300,000 white students are attending what it calls 'segregation academies' this year–perhaps 10 times more than there were five years ago."
> *Montgomery, Jenkins, and W. Collins (1969)*

The term "segregation academy" first appeared in a 1969 report by the Southern Regional Council that described the segregated private schools that white students were fleeing to en masse ("Council Reports 300,000 Whites Go to Private Schools in South" 1969). The report was published in 1969, the peak of the segregation academy movement. However, these schools were first formed in the 1950s.

In 1950, the Court ruled in favor of prohibiting segregation in higher education (*Sweatt v. Paint* and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*). This set the stage for the white student exodus from public schools to schools like the First Baptist Church School, established in 1949 in Charleston, South Carolina. While information about the founding circumstances of the First Baptist Church School is scarce, the school was a founding member of the South Carolina Independent School Association (SCISA), the "unstated purpose [of which] was to avoid the federally court-ordered racial desegregation of the public schools" (Turnipseed 2022). The rulings of the

Supreme Court did not apply to these new private schools – an 1819 case, *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, established that private schools are "corporations," thus prohibiting the government from interfering with their contracts.

The exodus became more formal and widespread after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. BOE* that public schools must desegregate "with all deliberate speed."[3] In 1959, Prince Edward County in Virginia voted to defund its public schools as part of a political campaign against integration called "Massive Resistance." The same year, a group of parents founded the private Prince Edward Academy to educate the white students of the county. This school was the quintessential segregation academy, held up as a blueprint by parents' associations forming segregation academies across the southeast. Public schools in Prince Edward County remained closed through 1964.

From 1954-1964, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund began suing individual school districts, focusing on large urban southern districts. But "even when attorneys . . . brought a school district to court, many district judges tended to approve 'almost anything' the board was willing to submit as an integration plan" (Orfield 1969). Many districts submitted "freedom of choice" plans, which gave Black parents the option to transfer their child to the formerly white public school. A combination of "overcrowding" clauses, which gave schools the ability to refuse students, intimidation of Black parents by white residents, and lack of support by government officials meant that most of these plans amounted to tokenism (Barry and Garman 1965). By 1964, 59 segregation academies had been established in the Deep South (author's calculations).

Beginning in 1965, many school districts, especially high poverty districts, began submitting voluntary plans of desegregation in order to remain eligible for federal funding (Cascio et al. 2010). However, these voluntary plans typically amounted to token desegregation. Nonetheless, the tide had shifted: there were 143 segregation academies in the Deep South by 1967.

[3]I include an abbreviated legal history of school integration cases in Appendix Table A.1.

One of these schools was Lowdnes Academy in Lowndesboro, Alabama. Established in 1966 by an organization of parents known as the Lowndes County Private School Foundation, it was a founding member of the Alabama Private School Association (APSA) (clipping C6 and clipping C7), the analogous organization to SCISA. George Wallace, governor of Alabama, publicly endorsed the school, encouraging others to donate to the $\$500,000$ fundraising effort (clipping C4). 97% of the students attending Lowdnes Academy today are white (US News). In contrast, 97% of the students attending Lowndes County public schools are Black.

Courts began striking down freedom of choice plans as unconstitutional and implementing more significant plans after *Green vs. Connelly (1968)*. Cited as the start of "real desegregation", this ruling affected school districts under an active or future court order. *Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* in 1971 further called for stronger enforcement by the courts. 263 additional segregation academies were established from 1968-1971.

Marlboro Academy, established 1969 in Bennettsville, South Carolina, is a typical example of schools established during that period. One of the founders, Frank B. Rogers Jr., told *The State*: "The object of this school is quality education. It is not a flight away from integration, although that does have some bearing on it" (clipping C5). Marlboro Academy, like The First Baptist Church School, is a member of the South Carolina Independent School Association (SCISA).

In Jackson, Mississippi, the White Citizens' Council (WCC)[4] organized a system of 12 private "Council Schools." This system of schools was intended to completely replace public schools for white students. Inspired by the APSA, founded in 1966, these schools later joined the Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA), founded in 1968 by the editor of the official publication of the WCC, *The Citizen's Council* (Flora 2023). The reach of the WCC extended beyond MS. South Carolina and

[4]Founded 55 days after Brown v. BOE in Jackson, MS, the WCC aimed to maintain school desegregation. However, the impact and power of the WCC reached far beyond education, and included methods of violence and intimidation: Medgar Evers, a NCAAP activist, was slain by a member of the WCC. For a history of the WCC, see McMillen (1994).

Alabama had particularly strong regional presences (White 2016; Vaught 2003).

The segregation academy movement petered out in the late 1970s: in 1978, the IRS began revoking the tax-exempt status of explicitly segregated private schools. The IRS paused the revocations from 1980-1983. Even post 1983, tax exempt status continued for schools who advertised non-discriminatory admission statements. This resulted in the peculiar habit of many all-white schools that did not admit or discouraged applications from Black students advertising non-discriminatory policies.[5]

Thus, only the most extreme of these academies (and the ones unlucky enough to be subject to an audit) lost their tax exempt status as a result of this ruling (Lowndes Academy lost its tax exempt status in 1982). However, the combination of this ruling and the decrease of federal school integration activity meant that no new segregation academies were founded after 1980.

3 Classification of Segregation Academies

A contribution of this paper is the creation of a data set of segregation academies. This data set is the most extensive catalogue of segregation academies in the Deep South currently available.[6] In this section, I describe the systematic process by which I classify segregation academies.

Work by historians and journalists describe segregation academies as all-white private schools founded with the purpose of avoiding integration, often by a formal or informal association of white parents (Nevin and Bills 1976; Walder and Cleveland 1971; Sheffield 2022; Harris 2019; Gladney 1974; Champagne 1973; K. Johnson 1971). This definition guides my more detailed criteria for classification.

[5]For an example of such an advertisement, see clipping C3. For a newspaper article announcing the IRS policy, see clipping C2

[6]Hobbyists have compiled lists of segregation academies on Wikipedia and Renee (2022). Their work is gratefully acknowledged. In particular, many of the Wikipedia listings pointed me to helpful primary and secondary sources.

While the term "segregation academy" was in widespread use in newspapers and academic articles by the 1970s, academies often distanced themselves from the term and its negative connotation. The title of an article published in 1969 in the *Charlotte Observer* about segregation academies says it all: "Parents Call Goal Quality Education." The obfuscation of the true purpose of these schools – further encouraged by the IRS's threat to revoke tax exempt status of racially discriminatory schools – makes the classification process complex. To address these challenges, I rely on primary and secondary sources, especially contemporary newspaper articles, to develop my classification criteria. Section A.3 contains a full description of the criteria used to classify schools into each category:

1. *Confirmed*: Schools that have been confirmed to be segregation academies in other scholarly work.
2. *Likely*: Schools that, because of a combination of news coverage, name, year founded, or other observable factors, were likely segregation academies. This category includes many "Christian Schools" (see clipping C10) and schools that were founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s that tell a story of "concerned parents" coming together to found a school on its school history page. First Baptist Church School in South Carolina, described in Section 2, is an example.
3. *True Maybe*: Schools founded during the time period of 1954-1982 for which there is limited information, but are more likely than not segregation academies.
4. *Likely Not*: Schools that are likely not segregation academies, but for which I do not have sufficient information to make a definitive call. This category includes many Catholic schools.
5. *Definitely Not*: Schools I can definitely rule out as being segregation academies; for example, schools for students with learning disabilities.

I begin by cleaning the dataset "Universe of Private Schools," which contains all private schools in operation during 1976, 1977, 1978, or 1979 that report their statis-

tics to the National Center of Education Statistics (NCES). This report contains enrollment data, school name, address, highest grade, lowest grade, and religious affiliation, among other characteristics, but does not contain the two pieces of information crucial for my analysis: whether or not the school is a segregation academy and year founded. I manually collect year founded during the classification process from newspaper articles, school websites, and, occasionally, tax records.

If not enough information can be found about the school (for example, if I am unable to find a year founded), I omit it from my sample. I compile the above information into a spreadsheet, included in the online appendix, which includes final reasons why I have classified a school as a segregation academy.

It is still possible that some segregation academies are *missing* from this data source (Nevin and Bills (1976) acknowledges that some academies did not report statistics to the NCES). I identified at least 9 segregation academies mentioned in other historical records that did not report statistics to the NCES and thus were not in the UPSS report. Because these schools are missing an address, they are not geo-located and thus dropped from the sample. As a result, some districts are classified as control districts during years where they are, in fact, treated. I expect the hypothetical effect of these academies and any other missing academies to attenuate the absolute value of my estimates. However, I do not anticipate that this effect is large – around 1 in 4 treated school districts are treated by more than 1 segregation academy.

Segregation academies served different purposes in different communities. For some communities, particularly rural counties, segregation academies were the only alternative to public education. In urban areas, segregation academies had to compete with other private schools and suburban public schools that, if not completely segregated, were likely whiter than schools in the urban core. The size and number of segregation academies in each district thus varied. The average enrollment of segregation academies across 1976-1980 was 357 with a standard deviation of 206.

4 Data

As described below, I combine raw data collected from the district and county level to perform my analysis. Controls are generally collected at the county level, outcomes at the school district level, and locations of segregation academies at the coordinate level. School districts are typically equivalent to counties in the Deep South.

4.1 Outcome Data

Enrollment

My primary data sources are reports compiled by southern State Departments of Education. These reports were assembled to update the state legislature on metrics such as enrollment, sources of funding, and assessed valuation at the district level.[7] The reports for 1960 through the mid 1970s, depending on the state, were compiled by and generously shared by Sarah Reber. I extend the time series through 1985 with newly digitized data.[8] Because these data span to 1960-1985, my analysis should be interpreted as the impact of opening a segregation academy *after* 1960. These data contain 646 school districts with enrollment data, 529 of which I use in my main analysis. I use newly digitized annual school level enrollment data for both private and public schools to decompose enrollment losses.[9] I then link this to my data set of segregation academies by school name and county.

Segregation Measures

Data on school level segregation comes from Office of Civil Rights (OCR) Surveys digitized by Sarah Reber and compiled by Owen Thompson. The combined data

[7] Assessed valuation is recorded at the county level.

[8] Additional years were transcribed by me or an undergraduate research assistant. Ashley Sorey Dees at the University of Mississippi Library was especially helpful in acquiring additional years for Mississippi.

[9] I thank Yixuan Ding for excellent research assistance and help transcribing this data

provides school level enrollment by race data for years 1966-1980. The purpose of these reports was to monitor compliance with desegregation rules. They thus contain a selected sample of school districts. For example, in 1967, the survey covered school districts of 3,000 or more pupils or southern school districts that were actively desegregating, by either voluntary plan or court mandate. 350 out of 646 school districts have this data available, 216 of which I use in my main analysis. For a full description of the data, see Thompson (2022).

4.2 Control Data

Baseline Characteristics

I use the following county level variables from the 1950 census (ICPSR 2896: Haines 2005). Median family income, population, percent of households that are families, and population density. I choose the 1950 census because it predates both *Brown v. BOE*, and, as a result, segregation academies. The earliest segregation academy in my sample opened in 1952. The earliest in the sample used in my main analysis opened in 1960. I calculate percentage of the population that is Black in 1950 using population levels disaggregated by race from the City and County Databooks (ICPSR 07736 and 07735, respectively). While all analyses performed in this paper can be run using percentage "non-white" instead of percentage Black, I prefer to use percentage Black because, historically, Jim Crow and other race-based discrimination in the Deep South targeted Black people.

I also use data from Cascio et al. (2010): the share of county vote share for Strom Thurmond in 1948, a standard measure of racial animus in the literature. Strom Thurmond was a vocal segregationist who ran under the States' Rights, or "Dixiecrat," party. However, using share of votes for Strom Thurmond as a measure of racial animus is limited by a lack of within state variation, specifically Alabama's decision to not place incumbent president Harry S. Truman on the ballot (Strom Thurmond won 79.7% of the vote in pre-Voting Rights Act Alabama) (*1948 — The*

American Presidency Project 2023). For robustness, I also approximate racial animus with number of lynchings and number of Klans scaled by 1950 population. Lynching data comes from the American Lynching Project, compiled by the Equal Justice Initiative and generously shared by Martin Fiszbein and Thomas Pearson. The number, founding date, and location of Ku Klux Klans were compiled by Virginia Commonwealth University as part of the Mapping the Ku Klux Klan Project (1915-1940).

Timing of Court Ordered Integration

I use court orders and cases compiled by the American Communities Project (Logan 2023), Pro Publica (from the U.S. Department of Education, U.S. Department of Justice, Stanford University, and ProPublica research), and Anstreicher, Fletcher, and Thompson (2022). I further augment this data by adding court cases compiled by the Alabama School Connection (Crain 2013), the Civil Rights Legislation Clearinghouse, the Georgia (South Carolina) Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights (report published in 2007 (2008)), and the United States Commission on Civil Rights (Civil Rights 2007). Finally, I search for any districts with missing years in legal databases such as casetext. This yields a comprehensive data set that includes district name, year founded, and type of event. Types of events include court orders, court cases (which may or may not result in a court order, depending on the perceived quality of a district's submitted plan), and desegregation events.

To facilitate comparability of results with previous literature, I use year of implementation as the desegregation year. In the case of multiple court cases, I use the year associated with a "major" plan, as defined by either Welch and Light 1987 or Anstreicher, Fletcher, and Thompson 2022, which expands the Welch and Light sample to 187 large ($>$ 15000 students) school districts by combining it with Logan 2023. In the example of Birmingham featured in Table B1, I use the year 1970 to define the *desegPost* variable (this is also the year used by Reber 2005). 429 of the 646 school districts have a desegregation year defined.

4.3 Geographic Data

I follow Reber (2005) and use 1990 school district boundaries, as recorded in shape files compiled by the National Center for Education statistics (*School District Boundaries* 1995). Maps of school district boundaries are not available before 1990. While this practice could be potentially problematic if school district boundaries changes are endogenous, Reber (2005), which studies the impact of policies implemented in the seventies, uses 1990 school district boundaries because boundaries between 1970 and 1990 changed "little, if at all."

Similarly, I use 1990 county boundaries compiled by the Census Bureau (*Cartographic Boundary Files* 1990). As documented by Bureau (2022), county boundaries Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina are stable from 1970-1990.

In the Deep South, school districts in rural areas and counties typically share the same boundaries. For municipal school districts where this is not the case, I reconcile county and district level data by creating a cross walk using the method first described by Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016) and adapted by Ferrara, Testa, and Zhou (2022). I create a county to school district crosswalk by using QGIS to creating weights based on the percentage of the 1950 population of each county located in the corresponding district. 1km x 1km grid level population estimates are taken from Fang and Jawitz (2018).[10]

5 Analysis

In this section, I discuss the definition of treatment, my target estimand and my reduced form estimation strategy.

[10]I use the m5 model. For a detailed description of the data, see Fang and Jawitz (2018).

5.1 Determining Treatment Status

A challenge of my setting is that private schools, unlike public schools, do not have a formal catchment area, meaning I cannot define treatment by using school district or county boundaries. I instead adopt a spatial definition of treatment: a school district, my unit of observation, is determined as "treated" if 30% of the land area of the unit is within 10 miles,[11] or a roughly 25 minute commute, of a "confirmed" or "likely" segregation academy.[12] Though 10 miles may seem far, there are contemporary accounts of parents traveling even farther. A parent quoted in a 1969 article in *The Charlotte Observer* traveled 14 miles to "to send her daughter . . . to another all-white private school . . . Wake Christian Academy" (Adams and Covington 1969).

Because of the inherently arbitrary nature of the spatial treatment definition, I do not expect there to be a discontinuous treatment effect 10 miles from a segregation academy. As such, I omit "partially treated" districts that have $15 - 30\%$ of area with a 10 mile radius of a segregation academy. In Figure A.4, I show how results differ when using different distance and percent coverage combinations to define treatment. As the definition grows more restrictive, results become noisier. The average southern school district was quite large. Shelby County in Alabama, for example, is 810 square miles. If a segregation academy was located in the middle of

[11] I use straight line distance instead of network distance when defining my circles of treatment. Straight line distance may bias my estimates downward because areas considered "treated" may not be within a feasible commuting distance to school. However, I believe this downward bias is preferable to the alternative: the potential endogeneity introduced by the use of network distance. Roads have the potential to reflect a government's investment priorities. Network distance is a measurement of modern-day commute time that can be obtained from the Google Maps API (historical commute time is not available). Thus, if a local government built more roads to a segregation academy in order to make the school more accessible, a larger percentage of its land area would be considered treated.

[12] School addresses come from the Universe of Private Schools: 1976-1980 (National Center for Education Statistics 2000). I then geolocate these addresses using Geocod.io. Using QGIS, I create a multi-ring buffer of 5, 10, and 15 miles around the segregation academies. This allows me to determine the percentage of land area within (5, 10, 15) miles of a segregation academy. I then use this percentage to determine treatment status.

the county, approximately 40% of the county would be treated.

Once a school district is treated, it remains treated. Figure 4 shows the distribution of treatment timing. It was common for multiple segregation academies to open with overlapping catchment areas. 28% of treated school districts meet the treatment definition in more than one year.[13] For example, Saint James School, Montgomery's first segregation academy, opened in 1955. In the following years, four other academies opened: Montgomery Academy in 1959 and Central Alabama Academy, Stephen Spears School, and Trinity Presbyterian school in 1970. However, this 5-academy story is not typical: 61% school districts treated by more than one segregation academy (28% of all treated school districts) had only two.

I conceive of the formation of additional segregation academies as an intensification of the initial treatment over time. My treatment is thus binary and the causal parameter I recover should be interpreted as the average effect that the *introduction* of segregation academies in a school district has on school districts that have segregation academies, that is, the average effect of treatment on the treated (ATT).

5.2 Theoretical Framework and Target Estimand

Consider a model of taste-based discrimination inspired by Becker (1957). In Becker's canonical model, employers who have a taste for discrimination will forgo money to avoid interacting with minorities. Parents who pull their children out of free public schools to prevent their child from interacting with minority children can be thought of similarly.

For each school district, let r^i represent a parent i taste for discrimination (or racism).

[13] I say "more than one year" rather that "by more than one segregation academy" because a segregation academy is considered treated both in the case where the catchment area of one segregation academy covers at least 30% of a school district's area and in the case where the cumulative non-overlapping catchment area of schools established *in the same year* is at least 30% of the school district's area. However, for the majority of cases, each treatment year corresponds to a distinct segregation academy.

Each school district d is endowed with some distribution of $r \sim F(r)$. Let b_{pub} represent the ratio of Black students to White students in the local public school. Let $c^i_{pub}(r^i * b)$ represent a white parent's "psychic cost" of sending their child to public school. Note $c_{i,pub}(r_i * b)$ is a function of the interaction of r and b. For example, a parent with a high taste for discrimination r^i would have a $r^i * 0 = 0$ psychic cost of sending their child to perfectly de jure segregated public schools ($b = 0$).

White parents with a nonzero r^i had three options: (1) relocate to different school district, (2) enroll their kids in an existing private school, or (3) form or enroll in a segregation academy.

Total white enrollment losses can be expressed as

$$W = W_{move} + W_{private} + W_{segac}$$

Attending a different school than the neighborhood public school incurred costs. The cost of (1) is increasing in distance to move m^i and the interaction of r^i and b_{alt}, the ratio of Black students to white students in the alternative school district: $c^i_{move}(m^i + r^i * b_{alt})$. The cost of (2) is increasing in the ratio of private school tuition to family income $tuition^i_{priv}$ and commuting distance to the nearest private school $dist^i_{priv}$: $c^i_{priv}(tuition^i_{priv} + dist^i_{priv} + r^i * b_{priv})$. Note that for most existing private schools, $b_{priv} \approx 0$. The cost of (3) is a function of tuition and start-up costs: $c_{segac}(tuition_{segac} + startup_{segac})$. Anecdotally, many segregation academies offered low tuition and instead asked parents to contribute to the school's infrastructure, either via labor or a financial contribution to a "building fund." I thus assume $tuition^i_{segac} < tuition^i_{priv}$.

A white child exits the public school system if the cost of some outside option is less than c^i_{pub}. White enrollment losses W are equal to the sum of individuals i for which c^i_{pub} is greater than the cost c_{ni} of at least one outside option:

$$W = \sum_{0}^{I} [\mathbb{I} | c^i_{pub} - min(c^i_{segac}, c^i_{move}, c^i_{priv}) > 0] \tag{1}$$

His parent picks the lowest cost outside option:

$$W_{move} = \sum_{0}^{I} [\mathbb{I} | c^i_{pub} < c^i_{move} < min(c^i_{segac}, c^i_{priv})]$$

$$W_{priv} = \sum_{0}^{I} [\mathbb{I} | c^i_{pub} < c^i_{priv} < min(c^i_{segac}, c^i_{move})]$$

$$W_{segac} = \sum_{0}^{I} [\mathbb{I} | c^i_{pub} < c^i_{segac} < min(c^i_{priv}, c^i_{move})]$$

The marginal white parent is shifted into leaving the public school system **by the establishment of a segregation academy** if

$$c^i_{segac} < c^i_{pub}(r^i * b) < min(c^i_{move}, c^i_{priv})$$

My **target estimand** is the effect of segregation academies on marginal white enrollment losses, w_{segac}. It can be expressed as:

$$w_{segac} = \sum_{0}^{I} [\mathbb{I} | c^i_{segac} < c^i_{pub} < min(c^i_{move}, c^i_{priv})] \tag{2}$$

These conditions are most likely to hold in areas where $F(r_i)$ has a long left tail (a high proportion of people are racially prejudiced) *and* the cost of attending an existing private school or moving to a racially homogeneous school district is high.

Policy makers and institutions can and did influence the scale of W and W_{segac} by lowering the cost of outside options. School district secession of racially homogeneous areas(*EdBuild — Fractured* 2019) lowered the cost of moving, while private tuition voucher programs, and over 450 state laws and resolutions, some of which explicitly directed public funding for private schools, lowered both the tuition burden on families (*The Racist Origins of Private School Vouchers* 2022). In 1961 Georgia, for example, $3.6 million dollars (in 2013 value) were allocated to provide tax funded scholarships for students to attend any non-sectarian private schools (*A History of Private Schools & Race in the American South* 2022). To defray the cost of founding a new school, local governments sold segregation academies textbooks and other school supplies at bargain prices from the state. Segregation academies even operated on campuses of public schools closed via boycott or consolidation. While many of these rules were eventually rolled back (Cascio et al. 2010), funding continued via tax exemptions for individual donations to these schools and tax exempt status for the schools. These were deemed unconstitutional in 1968 by *Green vs. Connelly*, but remained in practice until 1978, then again from 1980 to 1983.

5.3 Reduced Form Estimation

Identification of my target estimand requires me to isolate the marginal impact of segregation academies on enrollment. The simplest way to distinguish these enrollment losses from the enrollment losses that would have occurred irrespective of the establishment of a segregation academy is to use a standard two-way fixed effects event study estimator:

$$Y_{i,t} = \underset{\text{district}}{\alpha_i} + \underset{\text{year}}{\lambda_t} + \sum_{\ell \neq -1} (\delta_\ell \cdot D^\ell_{i,t}) + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

Where ℓ denotes event time and $D^\ell_{i,t} = 1$ for treated districts at event time ℓ. Take a school district where the first segregation academy was established in 1965. Years 1963, 1964, 1966, and 1967 would correspond to event times -2, -1, 1, and 2, respec-

tively. The coefficients of interest, δ_ℓ, are interpreted as the impact of treatment at event time ℓ. I use $\ell = -1$ as my reference period to account for any possible anticipation of treatment in the year prior. I cluster standard errors at the school district level.

However, a large body of literature has shown that estimates of δ_ℓ are biased by treatment effects from other periods when treatment timing is staggered (Roth and Sant'Anna 2023; Callaway and Sant'Anna 2022; Sun and Abraham 2021). Additionally, an assumption of the standard event study is that treatment paths are homogeneous among different cohorts e, or groups of school districts that share a treatment year. This assumption is violated in my context. For example, the enrollment response in a school district where a segregation academy was established in 1959, when most public schools were de jure segregated, can reasonably be expected to differ from the enrollment response in a school district treated in 1970, when public schools were integrating.

To deal with these concerns – namely, staggered treatment timing and heterogeneous treatment effects – I adopt the method described in Sun and Abraham (2021). This method refines the traditional two-way fixed effect specification by including terms interacting relative period indicators with cohort indicators, which relaxes the treatment effect homogeneity assumption.

$$Y_{i,t} = \underset{\text{district}}{\alpha_i} + \underset{\text{year}}{\lambda_t} + \underset{\text{year by state}}{\theta_{s(i)t}} + desegPost_{i,t} + \sum_e \sum_{\ell \neq -1} \delta_{e,\ell}(\mathbf{1}\{E_i = e\} \cdot D_{i,t}^{\ell}) + \epsilon_{i,t} \tag{3}$$

$desegPost_{i,t}$ indicates if a school district was under a major court order, and $\lambda_t * s_i$ allows the time fixed effect to vary between states. I take the log of my dependent variables, enrollment and white enrollment.This allows me to measure the *percentage change* in enrollment, rather than the level change. The latter, of course, would be an artifact of the population of the school district and is not of interest. I measure changes in both the level and log of percentage white. Before taking the log, I mul-

tiply percentage white by 100 to avoid distortions caused by the log transformation near zero.

The coefficients on these interaction terms, $\delta_{e,\ell}$ are interpreted as the Cohort Average Treatment Effects on the Treated:

$$CATT_{e,\ell} = E[Y_{i,e+\ell} - Y^{\infty}_{i,e+\ell} | E_i = e] \tag{4}$$

Where e is the year that a segregation academy was established, l is the number of years from initial treatment, $Y^{\infty}_{i,e+\ell}$ is the counterfactual outcome, and $Y_{i,e+l}$ is the observed outcome.

I am interested in how the $CATT_{e,l}$ changes over l, the distance from initial treatment. Thus, I again follow Sun and Abraham (2021) by estimating a weighted average of each cohort, defined as a group that receives the initial treatment in the same time period e, average treatment effect at time from event l. The vector of $CATT_{e,\ell}$ are aggregated by weighting each cohort-period treatment effect by $Pr\{E_i = e | E_i \in [-l, T-l]\}$, or the "sample share of each cohort in the relevant period." This weighting addresses the contamination bias and thus allows for staggered treatment timing.

$$\nu_\ell = \sum_e CATT_{e,\ell} Pr\{E_i = e | E_i \in [-\ell, T-\ell]\} \tag{5}$$

ν_ℓ can be interpreted as w_{segac} if several conditions hold.

Assumption 1: In the absence of a segregation academy, enrollment in treated districts would have increased or decreased in a fashion parallel to untreated districts. This assumption is the most problematic in my context, and the one I will take the most time justifying in Section 6. Segregation academies were not built in random locations. As discussed in 3 and shown in Figure 3, the location of these academies is highly correlated with the percentage of the population that is Black and measures of pre-existing racial animus. Recall that the "psychic cost" of attending an integrated school, $c^i_{pub}(r_i * b_{pub})$, is increasing in both of these variables. This presents a threat to

identification if c^i_{pub} is changing *differentially* in treated vs. control counties because of something other than segregation academies during this time period. Alternatively, the cost of other outside options could change differentially in treated vs. control areas. If either of these factors hold, ν_ℓ should be interpreted as some combination of W_{move}, W_{priv}, and W_{segac}. Both of these would bias my estimates of w_{segac} away from zero.

Assumption 2: Parents must not either enroll their kids in public school or take them out of public in school in anticipation of the formation of a segregation academy. The former does not seem plausible. The latter does: consider a public education loving parent who hears that a group of "concerned citizens" are going to start a private school and wage war on the public schools. This parent might decide that this community is not the best place to raise their child, and leave the school district. This would bias my estimates towards zero.

Assumption 3: Any differential enrollment loss in public schools in treated vs. control districts is driven by white students. If not, ν_ℓ is some combination of W and B, where B is the average difference of changes in Black enrollment in treated vs. control districts. This assumption is necessary because I only have enrollment data dis aggregated by race for two of the five states in the Deep South.

6 Event Study Results

The establishment of segregation academies caused a significant decline in public school enrollment. Evidence from Alabama and Louisiana, where enrollment data stratified by race is available, suggest that this effect is driven by a decrease in white enrollment. Evidence from South Carolina, where detailed private school enrollment data is available, shows that this decrease in white enrollment is primarily due to parents opting into segregation academies rather than white residential flight or pre-existing private schools. Enrollment losses are largest in rural areas, where the costs

of taking up an alternative outside option are the highest. While enrollment losses occur prior to a court order, they are significantly larger after the implementation of a major court order. Ultimately, this caused a decrease in effective integration of public schools: 5% fewer Black students attended schools where at least 5% of the student body was white, thus potentially mitigating the positive impacts of integrating public schools.[14]

Throughout this section, I report enrollment results for all five states of the Deep South. White enrollment results are reported for Alabama and Louisiana, private enrollment results for LA and SC, and segregation academy enrollment results for SC only. Because institutional contexts and thus enrollment responses varied by state, estimates from sub samples should be interpreted accordingly.

6.1 Decrease in Enrollment Driven by White Enrollment Flight

In Table 1, I report the results from equation 3. Panel A reports results on the full sample of the 5 states of the Deep South (AL, LA, MS, GA, SC). Panel B reports the effect on white enrollment in AL and LA.

Segregation academies induce a 14% (.13log points) decline in enrollment in nearby public school districts across the Deep South (Table 1, column (ii)). This effect deepens over time to 15%. Seven years post the establishment of a segregation academy, this effect is remarkably stable, suggesting a permanent gouging of public school enrollment.

In Alabama and Louisiana, white enrollment decreased by 37% 15 years post treatment in AL and LA (Figure 6). There is no effect on Black enrollment (Figure 6) in these states, which supports assumption 3 and allows me to reasonably infer that $\nu_\ell = W$.

[14]Cascio et al. (2010), S. Rivkin and Welch (2006), R. C. Johnson (2011), Card and Rothstein (2007), Ashenfelter, W. J. Collins, and Yoon (2006), Guryan (2004), and Anstreicher, Fletcher, and Thompson (2022), among others

6.2 Decomposition of Enrollment Losses

The estimate of w_{segac} will be biased away from 0 if the cost of attending a preexisting private school, the cost of moving school districts, or c^i_{pub} changes *differentially* in treated versus control districts during the period of study. Court orders impact c^i_{pub} directly by changing b_{pub} and are widely implemented during this time period. In all estimates, I control for the effect of court orders directly via the *desegPost* variable.

Migration

I disentangle the effect of white flight unrelated to segregation academies in column (4) of panel A and B in Table 1 by allowing for a divergence in the time trend of enrollment that is specific to pre-existing population changes. School districts experiencing population decline prior to 1960, for example, could experience a faster rate of relative enrollment decline than school districts experiencing preexisting population growth. I estimate white residential flight (W_{move}) accounted for a maximum of 46% of the average effect on enrollment in the Deep South (.06 log points), and 16% of the effect on white enrollment in Alabama and Louisiana (.05 log points).

Segregation academies could induce residential flight: Black and white families could be worried about negative spillovers on public schools. Government endorsement of segregation academies could signal a de-prioritization of public education. Segregation academies, as a signal of white racism, could also compel Black families to leave, though segregation academies were often established in areas with pre-existing histories of racism (see, for example, Lowdnes County and Figure 3).

In Table 3, I analyze the effect of treatment on population directly. I adjust population for each period using the identity:

$$AdjustedPopulation = Population + Deaths - Births$$

Changes in population from period to period can thus be interpreted as changes induced by migration rather than an increase in birth rate or mortality. Data comes from ICPSR 36603 (Bailey et al. 2016). Estimates are imputed between decennial census years. To prevent the imputation method from influencing my results, I restrict the data to 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

I find no statistically significant effect of the establishment of a segregation academy on population.

Increase in Segregation Academy Enrollment

I also compare the magnitude of the public school enrollment losses to the increase in private school enrollment in Table 2. I estimate equation 3 using the level of enrollment rather than the log so I can compare the total number of students leaving the public schools to the numbers entering the private schools. On average, in the Deep South, segregation academies lead to an enrollment decrease of 369 students (1), while in LA and SC, private school enrollment increased by 453 students (2).

In columns (3) through (6), I narrow my sample to SC so that I can directly compare the number of students leaving the public schools to the number entering the private schools. Public schools lost 429 students (3) while private schools gained 248 (5). The gap in this number – 181 students – can be interpreted as the number of students that migrated out of the school district (W_{move}). This amounts to 43% of the observed effect, a number consistent with the 46% figure cited previously.

No Effect on Other Private School Enrollment

Overwhelmingly, in South Carolina, students that entered private schools entered segregation academies – if anything, W_{priv} is negative. However, I expect this number to be larger in LA and other places where there were more preexisting private schools.

I conclude that movement of white students into private segregated academies is the primary mechanism driving enrollment declines.

Effect Larger in States with Strong Private School Associations

Enrollment effects varied by state (Table 5). In AL, MS, and SC, the effect on enrollment ranges from -11 to -17% (-.1 to -.16 lp) and is highly significant (.01 level). In LA, the effect (-9%) is only significant at the .10 level, and in GA, there is no effect on enrollment. Part of this heterogeneity by state can be attributed to demographic differences (percent Black, percent rural) between states.

However, this heterogeneity also sheds light on how policy makers and institutional context influenced the cost of attending segregation academies and ultimately the size of the white enrollment losses into segregation academies (W_{segac}). Mississippi, the state with the largest effect on enrollment (-17%), was the birthplace of the first White Citizens Council (WCC). As described in section 2, Alabama and South Carolina also had strong WCC, and all three states had private school associations that explicitly promoted segregation academies (APSA, MPSA, SCISA) that received direct and indirect support from state and local officials.

While LA also had a private school association (the Louisiana Independent School Association), the private school tradition in LA thus predated integration thanks to the surplus of parochial schools started by Catholic descendants of the state's French and Spanish colonial settlers (Figure 2 reflects this). The distance to, and thus cost of, attending a preexisting private school was on average lower in LA. In short, it was cheaper for parents to avoid segregation by attending a preexisting private school rather than a segregation academy, thus weakening the association between the founding date of segregation academies and enrollment losses.

The lack of an effect of in GA could be due to a combination of a lack of institutional support and measurement error. GA private school movement turned from segregation academies relatively early. The state's original private school association, the Georgia Independent School Association (GISA), was founded in 1967, around the same time as APSA and MPSA. However, in 1972, GISA required all member schools to post a non-discriminatory admissions policy. The six schools that

refused to do so splintered off to form the Southeastern Association of Independent Schools (SEAIS). The lack of institutional support may have meant that segregation academies in Georgia were smaller and less organized. Smaller, poorly connected segregation academies are the schools most likely to be missing from my data set. Georgia also has the fewest years of enrollment data available (Figure A.1).

Effects Larger After Court Ordered Desegregation

I rule out the possibility of a simultaneous desegregation shock driving my results by controlling for desegregation events (court orders) directly in my main specification with $desegPost$. Additionally, in Figure 5, I show the timing of court orders is distinct from the timing of the establishment of segregation academies.

However, *conditional on having access to a segregation academy,* white parents may be more likely to exit public schools after a major court order than before. In Table 4, I show that this is the case – the effect on enrollment changes from $-.08$ prior to court ordered integration to $-.13$ log points after court ordered integration. The effect on white enrollment in Alabama and Louisiana is even more dramatic – the effect changes from a statistically insignificant -.04 to -.56.

Column (2) can be interpreted as the effect on enrollment of having a segregation academy prior to or in the absence of a court order. Column (3) can be interpreted as the effect of having a segregation academy in the presence of the court order. Note that because I limit my sample in (3) to *only districts under a court order*, I am comparing school districts under court order with a segregation academy to school districts under court order without a segregation academy. (3) is thus the *marginal* effect that segregation academies have on enrollment, not the effect of the court orders on enrollment.

6.3 Reduction in Public School Integration

In large districts and districts implementing desegregation plans (that is, school districts included in OCR reports), segregation academies offset approximately 2/3 of the gains in across-school integration induced by court ordered desegregation. This number is calculated by dividing column (i) of Table 6, the percentage decrease in the Exposure Index induced by the establishment of a segregation academy, by column (iii), the percentage increase in the exposure index induced by a major desegregation order. This ratio also holds when measuring changes in the level of the Exposure Index (columns ii and iv).

I estimate the the impact on public school integration on a sub-sample of 216 schools districts and years using equation 3. To measure integration, I calculate the Exposure Index:[15]

$$ExpIndex_d = 1 - \sum_{1}^{S} [\frac{n_{B,s}}{N_{B,d}} * \frac{n_{B,s}}{n_{B,s} + n_{W,s}}] \tag{6}$$

Where $n_{B,s}$ is the number of Black students in school s and $N_{B,d}$ is the number of Black students in district d. Both indices are *increasing* in the amount of segregation. The exposure index ranges from 0 (total segregation) to the ratio of White students in the district (total integration) and reflects the average percentage of school-mates of a Black student that are white. Because this could be biased by control districts having a higher percentage white population than treated districts, I omit districts with a Black share of population in 1964 that is less than 20%.

Data is only available for school districts that met one of two criteria: 3,000 or greater students or school districts in the process of desegregating. As a result, small, rural districts that were not under supervision by the OCR are omitted from the analysis. I also omit "always treated" districts (districts where a segregation academy was

[15] See Massey and Denton 1988).

established prior to 1966).[16] As in my main analysis, I omit districts where $15-30\%$ of the land area is within 10 miles of a segregation academy.

School level data, which is required to calculate the Exposure Index at the district level, was collected by the OCR for nine years between 1966-1980.[17] Because data is not available to estimate an informative pre-period, I report the ATT for this outcome instead of a full event study.

I conclude that segregation academies thus decreased the effectiveness of integration efforts, the benefits of which include improved labor market and academic outcomes for Black students. I am currently digitizing data to test this directly.

6.4 Robustness of Event Study Results

In order to identify the effect on enrollment, parallel trends must hold. As noted in Sun and Abraham (2021), it is sufficient if these assumptions hold conditional on covariates. I provide a visual test of pre-trends in all of my event-study plots in Figure 6.

Additionally, I follow Sun and Abraham (2021) by using never-treated cohorts as my control group. I adopt this because it mitigates the possibility of anticipation effects distorting estimates in not-yet-treated school districts. However, using the never-treated group as a control group can be problematic if differing baseline characteristics of the treated and never-treated population cause a divergence in trends in periods post treatment that would have occurred irrespective of treatment, and figure 3 shows that treated locations have statistically significant different pre-treatment characteristics than control districts.

Of particular concern is the possibility that the establishment of segregation academies coincided with *unobserved* integration events that changed c^i_{pub} by affecting b_{pub} (I

[16] 24% of treated districts.
[17] OCR did not collect data for 1969, 1971, 1975, 1977, and 1979.

control for observed integration events with $desegPost$), or that c^i_{pub} increased differentially in treated versus control areas. This would lead to enrollment declines irrespective of the establishment of a segregation academy, because the sum of parents for whom $c^i_{pub} >$ the cost of some outside option would increase (equation 1). Even if I observe that these parents sent their child to a segregation academy, it is possible that, had the segregation academy not existed, they may have moved their family or attended a different private school.

As shown in Figure 3, segregation academies were established in school districts with a relatively large Black share of population (38% of treated school districts were majority Black in 1950, compared to 20% of control districts). I control for a time trend specific to quartile percentage of the population that is Black in 1950 in column (3), which essentially allows for the possibility that c^i_{pub} was increasing differentially in areas with different Black population shares. This shrinks the overall ATT from .13 log points to statistically insignificant .03 log points. There is still a statistically significant white enrollment decline of .22 log points. However, because percent Black in 1950 significantly predicts my treatment, the inclusion of this control could bias my estimates *towards* zero. Consider the case where ever treated is perfectly associated with quartile Black. The inclusion of a quartile Black $\times$ year trend would be equivalent to including separate time trends for treated versus control districts, which would absorb some variation that is due to treatment, biasing the treatment effect towards zero.

Across my sample, majority Black counties experienced a median enrollment decline of 31%, compared to an enrollment decline of 7% in majority white school districts. However, treated school districts experienced *larger* enrollment declines: 31.5% vs. 28.1% for treated vs. control majority Black districts, respectively, and 13.2% vs. 4.4% for treated vs. control majority white districts.

My results are unchanged when I allow the time trend to vary with preexisting measures of racial animus (column (5)).[18]

[18]Results are also robust to controlling for alternate measures of racial animus, including vote

I cannot entirely rule out the possibility that, had segregation academies not existed, enrollment declines would not have occurred. However, the cost of the two alternative outside options – moving or attending a preexisting private school – would have been very high. School districts in the South, especially in low density, rural areas, typically comprise entire counties. Furthermore, it is not clear where families would have moved. (Cascio et al. 2008) analyze the extent of desegregation occurring in the South from both observed and unobserved desegregation events. They find that by 1964-1966, most Southern school districts had desegregated to some extent, and by 1970, most desegregation in the South was complete. Preexisting private schools were concentrated in cities, which could have meant a prohibitively long commute for rural working parents.

These methods, as well as a matching exercise I describe in Appendix Section A.4, thus provide a conservative lower bound for my treatment effect.[19] Appendix Section A.4 includes a more detailed discussion of the matching exercise, as well as a discussion of a placebo test.

7 Heterogeneity Analysis

In this section, I test the predictions of my theoretical framework. Recall that the marginal white parent is shifted into leaving the public school system **by the establishment of a segregation academy** if the cost of attending a segregation academy $< c^i_{pub} <$ the cost of moving to a racially homogeneous school district or the cost of enrolling in an existing private school.

I expect the marginal decrease in enrollment to be largest in areas where outside options are costly. Cost reflects commute time to the nearest private school, a family's ability to afford private school tuition, or the feasibility of moving. Recall that I

share for Strom Thurmond in 1948 and number of Klans per 1950 population.

[19]The corresponding event studies can be viewed in Figure A.2.

assume $tuition_{priv} > tuition_{segac}$ based on anecdotal historical evidence.

7.1 Empirical Strategy

To check this prediction, I estimate treatment effects for each school district by adapting the imputation style estimator described in (Borusyak, Jaravel, and Spiess 2021). I add a novel empirical contribution by showing how this estimator can be used to analyze treatment effect heterogeneity.

First, using untreated and not yet treated observations Ω_0, I estimate coefficients: $\hat{\alpha_i}$, $\hat{\lambda_t}$,$\hat{\alpha}_{s(i)t}$, $\hat{\delta}$.

$$Y_{it}(0) = \underset{\text{school district}}{\alpha_i} + \underset{\text{year}}{\lambda_t} + \underset{\text{year by state}}{\theta_{s(i)t}} + \delta desegPost_{i,t}$$

For treated observations Ω_1, I set

$$\hat{Y}_{it}(0) = \underset{\text{county}}{\hat{\theta}_i} + \underset{\text{year}}{\hat{\lambda}_t} + \underset{\text{state}\times\text{year}}{\hat{\alpha}_{s(i)t}} + \hat{\delta} desegPost_{i,t}$$

Then, I estimate treatment effect $\hat{\tau}_{it}$:

$$\hat{\tau}_{it} = Y_{it} - \hat{Y}_{it}(0) \tag{7}$$

The treatment effect for each school district i is thus the sum of the differences in predicted enrollment and observed enrollment in each post treatment time period. I weight each time period equally.

$$\hat{\tau_i^*} = \sum_{it \in \Omega_1} w_{it} \hat{\tau_{it}} \tag{8}$$

7.2 Results

I graph the geographic distribution of my results in Figure 7. In the bottom panel of Figure 7, I regress $\hat{\tau}_{it}$ on pre treatment characteristics. I find that segregation academies had a larger impact on enrollment in sparsely populated, poor, and relatively Black areas with a history of racial animus.

The coefficients in Figure 7 describe the types of places where segregation academies had the largest impact on public school enrollment. For example, a one standard deviation increase in percent Black is associated with an additional .1 log point more children leaving the public schools for segregation academies.

I expect $c^i_{pub}(r_i * b_{pub})$ to be increasing in the three characteristics – percent of the population that was Black in 1950, the share of votes for Strom Thurmond in 1948, and lynchings per capita. The latter two act as proxies for r_i, while the former is directly related to b_{pub}. All of these characteristics are associated with larger enrollment losses, implying the intuitive result that segregation academies had a larger effect in areas where more families were opposed to integration.

Population density, population delta from 1940 to 1950, and median family income act as inverse proxies for $\bar{dist}_{priv}$, $\bar{m}$, and $\bar{tuition}_{priv}$. The cost of other outside options (moving or attending a preexisting private school) are increasing in these factors. I thus expect w_{segac} to be *decreasing* in these factors. Indeed, enrollment losses are negatively associated with these factors. We can think of these communities as places where the cost of exiting public school would have been prohibitively high if a segregation academy had not been founded.

This sheds like on how segregation academies functioned within their communities. Anecdotal historical evidence suggests that in some communities, particularly rural communities, segregation academies completely displaced public schools for white parents. These are communities like Monroeville, Alabama, where Monroe Academy enrolls 409 students in PreK-12, 408 of which are white. The local public high school,

Monroe County High School, enrolls 333 students, 93% of which are Black– there are only 23 white students. If a third of Monroe Academy high schoolers attended Monroe County High School today, the school would be 35% Black, a figure much more in line with Monroe County's demographics (54% white).[20]]

Anecdotally, to ease the cost burden for families and maximize the number of students, segregation academies would allow parents to forgo tuition in exchange for labor or scale tuition to meet each family's ability to pay. These schools saw themselves as (white) community institutions with a mission to serve the (white) children of the community.

8 Conclusion

> "The movement itself appears to be fundamentally viable and **segregationist academies are likely to be a permanent part of the education picture in the south**." Nevin and Bills (1976)

I show that the establishment of segregation academies – a backlash by white parents to desegregating public schools – caused white flight from public schools *beyond* that induced by integration, ultimately weakening efforts to effectively integrate schools. I create a novel data set that documents the location and nature of these schools and show that they are different than other private schools. In a counterfactual world in which white parents were not able to receive support and summon the resources to establish these segregated academies, public schools would have been more integrated 15 years out.

I contribute to the literature on school desegregation by compiling both descriptive

[20]Data for Monroe Academy comes from Private School Review, which retrieves its data from the NCES. I was unable to locate Monroe Academy in the NCES Private School Finder. It is current as of 2023. Data for Monroe Academy comes from the NCES Public School Finder. It is current as of the 2021-2022 school year. Data for Monroe County comes from the U.S. Census and is current as of 2020.

and causal evidence that segregation academies affected effective levels of integration. Court orders are often treated as exogenous sources of variation, but many segregation academies were established prior to court orders. This implies that the measured effect of integration on outcomes such as white enrollment losses may be tainted by the presence of segregation academies.

Previous literature that decomposes white enrollment losses into migration and private school enrollment have focused on large cities (Baum-Snow and Lutz 2011) and have found the primary channel to be migration. I fill a gap in this literature by studying an institution, segregation academies, that had disproportionately large impacts in rural areas. This enriches our understanding of how white flight happened outside of the cities.

These academies, and the politics that shaped them, remain a part of the American education landscape (Carr 2012). In 1985, members of the White Citizens' Councils founded the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCoC). As of 2011, CCoC still funds two private schools – Calhoun Academy and Carroll Academy, both in Mississippi. Some politicians serving in Mississippi politics are openly members of the CCoC (Beirich and Potok 2022; Beirich and Potok 2022). While this paper focuses on the contemporary impact of these schools, 121 of the 385 schools I identify as segregation academies still existed in 2017. These schools educate 46,500 students, or 1 in 8 students attending private school and 1 in 100 students overall (*Digest of Education Statistics, 2017* 2023).

Where a person goes to school affects who they interact with, who their parents interact with, and the diversity of backgrounds to which they are exposed (Murnane 2018; Fischel 2009). By forbidding the admittance of Black students, segregation academies ensured that the networks built via their classrooms were racially exclusionary. In future research, I will investigate the long term effects these schools had on the neighborhoods and people surrounding them, including effects on school quality and public school finance.

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Effect on Enrollment and White Enrollment

Panel A: Enrollment

	Log Enrollment						
	No Controls	Baseline	Black Pop	Pop Change	Thurmond	Full	Matched
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ATT	-0.11***	-0.13***	-0.03	-0.07***	-0.10***	-0.05**	-0.06**
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Desegregation Post		-0.08***	-0.02	-0.05*	-0.08***	-0.03	-0.06*
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Year × Quartile Black Pop Pct			-0.01***			0.00***	
			(0.00)			(0.00)	
Year × Pop Delta 50-60				0.00***		0.00***	
				(0.00)		(0.00)	
Year × Share Vote Strom Thurmond					0.00	0.00**	
					(0.00)	(0.00)	
Observations	13,201	13,671	12,568	9,298	11,854	8,156	6,757
R^2	0.96	0.98	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.98	0.97
Within R^2	0.10	0.20	0.21	0.29	0.14	0.45	0.19
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-State fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Panel B: White Enrollment

	Log White Enrollment						
	No Controls	Baseline	Black Pop	Pop Change	Thurmond	Full	Matched
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ATT	-0.30***	-0.31***	-0.22***	-0.26***	-0.31***	-0.24***	-0.33***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.12)
Desegregation Post		0.04	0.03	-0.04	0.01	-0.01	0.03
		(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Year × Quartile Black Pop Pct			-0.01**			0.00	
			(0.00)			(0.00)	
Year × Pop Delta 50-60				0.00***		0.00***	
				(0.00)		(0.00)	
Year × Share Vote Strom Thurmond					0.00	0.00	
					(0.00)	(0.00)	
Observations	4,895	4,895	4,701	4,099	4,447	3,740	2,473
R^2	0.93	0.93	0.93	0.94	0.93	0.94	0.92
Within R^2	0.23	0.23	0.28	0.36	0.26	0.43	0.28
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-State fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 1. Event studies in Figure 6 reflect estimates from (2). Results from a matched data set are in (7). Enrollment results are estimated for Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina. White enrollment results are estimated for Alabama and Louisiana. Data ranges from 1960-1985. ∗∗∗, ∗∗, and ∗ indicate significance at the .01, .05, and .10 levels, respectively. Standard errors are clustered at the school district level and appear in parentheses.

Private Enrollment vs. Public Enrollment

	Public Enroll Deep South	Private Enroll LA and SC	Public Enroll	Private Enroll	Seg Ac Enroll SC	Non Seg Ac Enroll
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
ATT	-369.22*	453.56***	-429.93*	248.55**	288.15***	-39.60
	(209.92)	(148.63)	(220.43)	(107.13)	(105.37)	(28.98)
Desegregation Post	-393.21*	138.42	-89.96	104.79	107.61	-2.83
	(213.10)	(230.33)	(421.39)	(161.80)	(152.80)	(70.32)
Observations	11,798	2,213	1,622	983	983	983
R^2	0.96	0.97	0.98	0.84	0.80	0.90
Within R^2	0.11	0.09	0.12	0.30	0.37	0.31
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year fixed effects	✓					

Table 2. Changes in private and public enrollment. Estimated using equation 3. States included in the sample are indicated in the second row of the headers. Because the results in column (3) through (6) are estimated using data from South Carolina only, I drop *state* × *year* FE. Standard errors are clustered at the school district level and appear in parentheses.

Population changes

	Log Black Pop	Log White Pop	Log Total Pop
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ATT	-0.03	0.00	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Desegregation Post	-0.02	0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Observations	1,142	1,143	1,178
R^2	0.99	0.99	0.99
Within R^2	0.01	0.00	0.00
County fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
State-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓

Table 3. Log population in treated counties, estimated using equation 3. Population analysis is at the county level – I substitute county FE for school district FE accordingly, and cluster my standard errors at the county level. I set $AdjustedPopulation = Population - Births + Deaths$. Population data comes from Bailey et al. 2016, which uses population estimates from the decennial censuses and impute estimates in the intervening years. To prevent this imputation from affecting my results, I limit my data to the years 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990. Observations are at the county by decade level.

Effect on Enrollment Pre and Post Court Order

Panel A: Deep South Enrollment

	Log Enrollment		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ATT	-0.10***	-0.08**	-0.13***
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Desegregation Post	-0.07**		
	(0.03)		
Observations	13,201	7,021	5,927
R^2	0.96	0.96	0.99
Within R^2	0.10	0.08	0.10
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
State-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓

Panel B: White Enrollment (AL & LA)

	Log White Enrollment		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ATT	-0.31***	-0.04	-0.56**
	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.28)
Desegregation Post	0.04		
	(0.06)		
Observations	4,895	1,964	2,799
R^2	0.93	0.97	0.95
Within R^2	0.23	0.15	0.07
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
State-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓

Table 4. Estimation is the same as equation 3 in column (1). In column (2) and (3), I drop the *desegPost* dummy variable. Instead, I split my sample to measure enrollment losses pre and post a significant court order. Column (2) limits the sample to years before a major court order. In districts where there was no court order, all years are included. Column (3) limits the sample to years after a major court order. Across the Deep South (AL, GA, MS, LA, SC), there is an effect on enrollment both before and after a major court order. In the joint sample of AL and LA, there is no effect on white enrollment in the years prior to a court order. However, this could be an artifact of the changing sample – there no effect on enrollment AL and LA in the years prior to a court order (Appendix Table A.2). $***$, $**$, and $*$ indicate significance at the .01, .05, and .10 levels, respectively. Standard errors are clustered at the school district level and appear in parentheses.

Enrollment Losses by State

	Log Enrollment				
	AL	GA	LA	MS	SC
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
ATT	-0.10***	0.02	-0.09*	-0.16***	-0.11***
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Desegregation Post	0.11**	-0.18***	-0.06	-0.08	-0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Observations	2,438	3,287	2,469	3,321	1,685
R^2	0.97	0.97	0.94	0.92	0.98
Within R^2	0.14	0.15	0.19	0.13	0.18
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 5. Log enrollment by state. Estimation is the same as equation 3 with no $State \times Year$ FE. I split my sample to perform estimation for each state separately. The largest effects are in AL, MS, and SC. In GA, segregation academies did not impact enrollment. The impact on enrollment in LA is only significant at the .10 level. $***$, $**$, and $*$ indicate significance at the .01, .05, and .10 levels, respectively. Standard errors are clustered at the school district level and appear in parentheses.

Impact on the Exposure Index

	Seg Academy		Deseg Order	
	Log	Level	Log	Level
ATT	-0.16*	-0.034**	0.24***	0.05**
	(0.093)	(0.015)	(0.09)	(0.02)
N	1,849	1,863	1,849	1,863
School District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-State FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 6. The impact of segregation academies and court orders on the percentage of classmates of Black students that are white. A positive value indicates higher relative levels of integration. $***$, $**$, and $*$ indicate significance at the .01, .05, and .10 levels, respectively. Standard errors are clustered at the school district level and appear in parentheses.

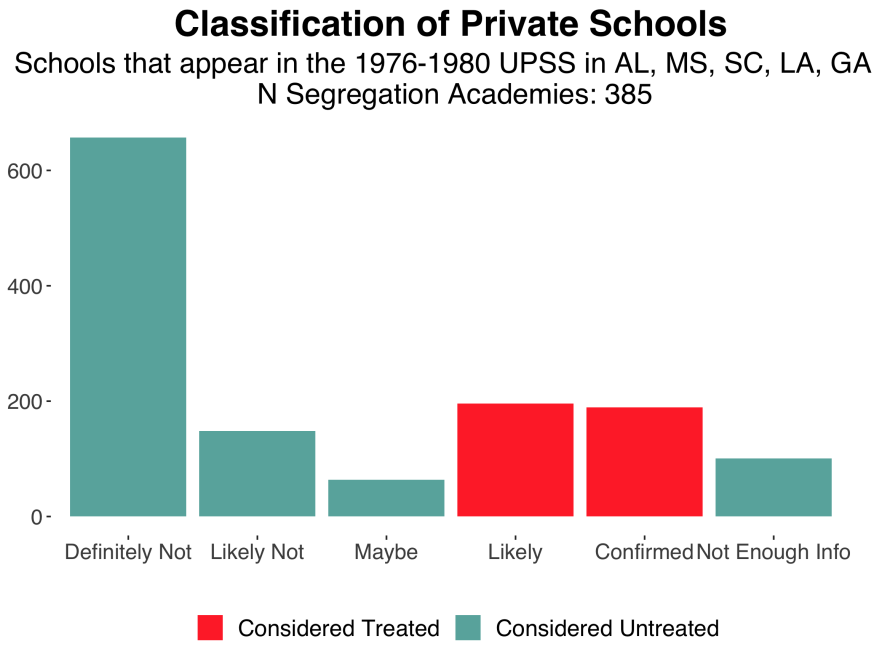


Figure 1. Distribution of private schools among labels.

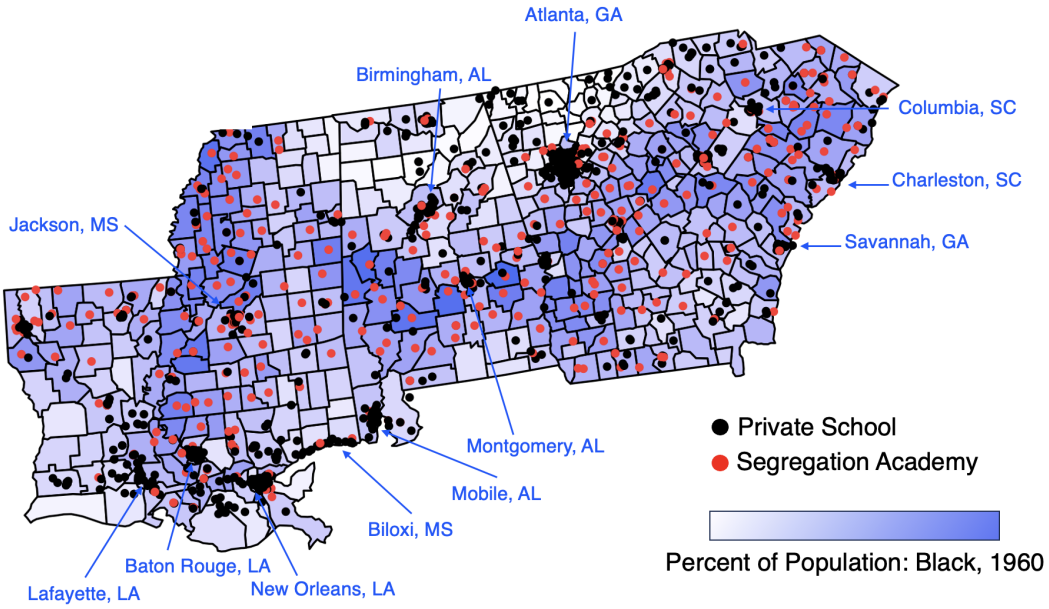


Figure 2. Data from the 1976-1980 Universe of Private School Survey (UPSS). Locations of segregation academies are in red. Locations of private schools are in black. Major urban areas are highlighted with blue text. Percentage of the population that is Black is shown by the blue gradient. The scale ranges from 0 to 84%.

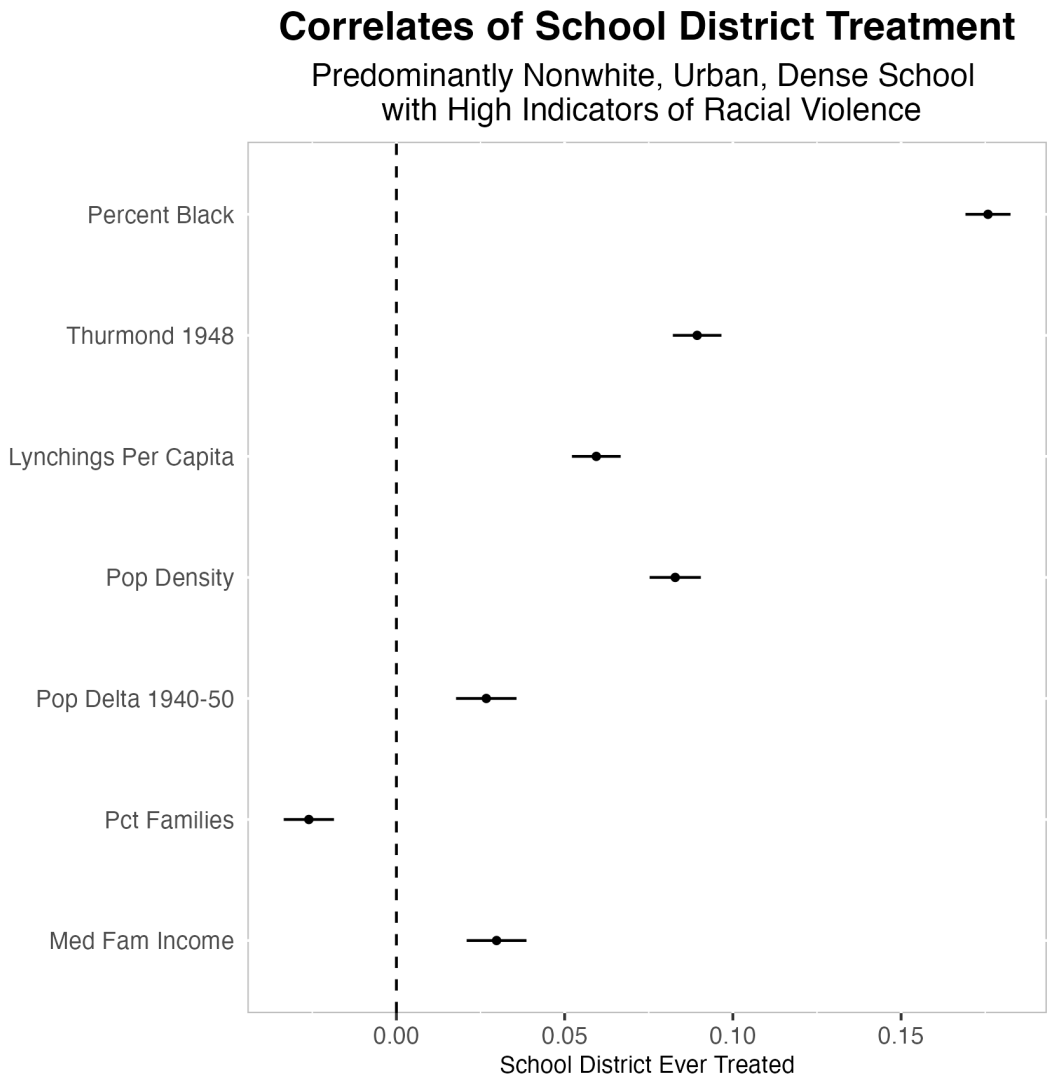
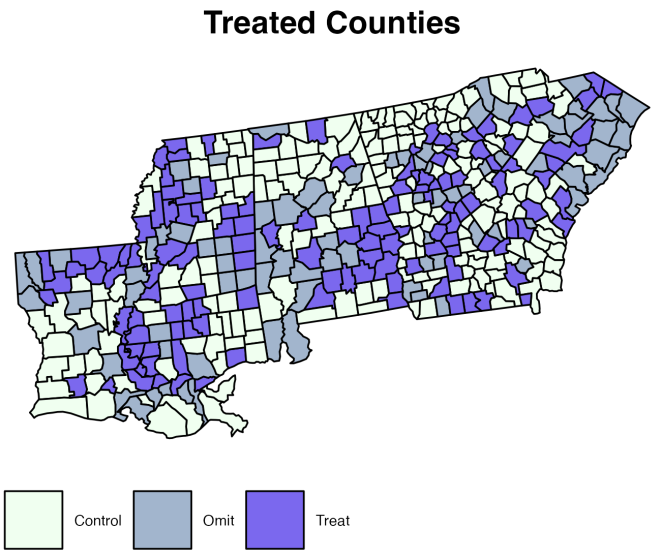
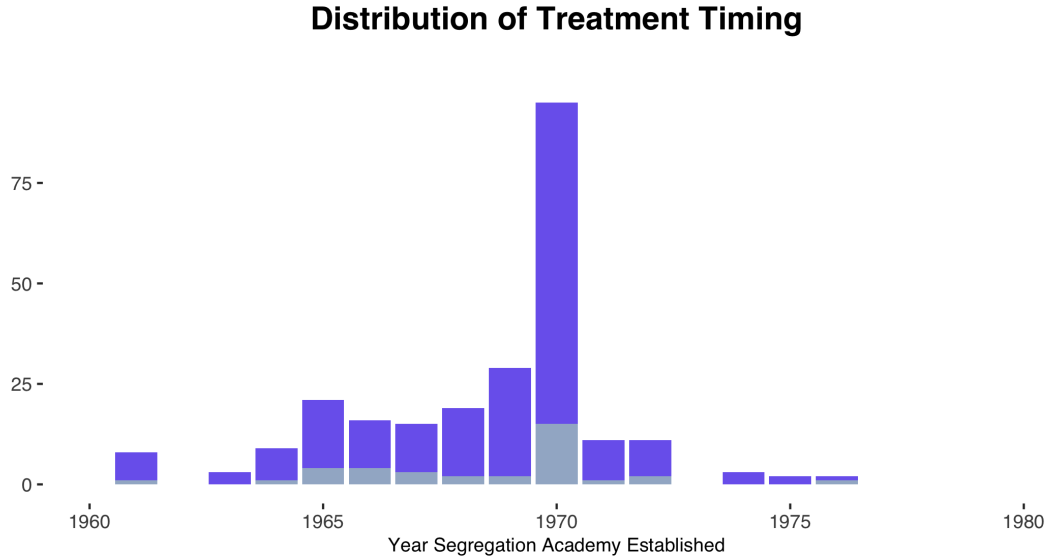


Figure 3. Graph shows correlation of characteristic on y axis with treatment residualized within a state. "At least one segregation academy" indicates at least 30% of a school district's area is within 10 miles of a segregation academy. The comparison group are never treated school districts. Variables from 1950 census.



(a) Map of treated counties. In my main specification, I use school districts instead of counties, but map counties here because they are easier to visualize.



(b) Distribution of treatment timing.

Figure 4. Treatment is defined as a county with at least 30% of their land area within a 10 mile radius of a "confirmed" or "likely" segregation academy. Control counties are not considered treated in any year.

Treatment vs. Court Order Timing

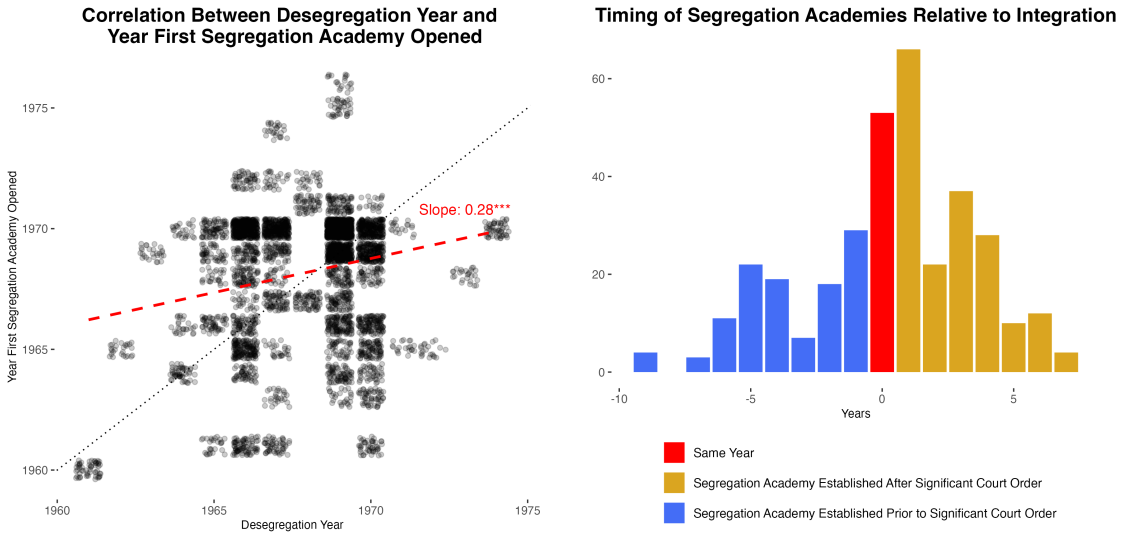


Figure 5. Treatment year corresponds to the first year a school district is treated by a segregation academy. Graphs only include treated school districts that experienced a major court order. On the left, dots above the line represent school districts that were treated prior to a major court order, which corresponds with blue bars on the right. Dots below the line represent the converse (yellow bars). Grid cells on the dotted 45 degree line represent school districts where a segregation academy opened in the same year as a desegregation order (red bar). The significant slope < 1 indicates that segregation academies were more likely to be established after a significant court order than prior.

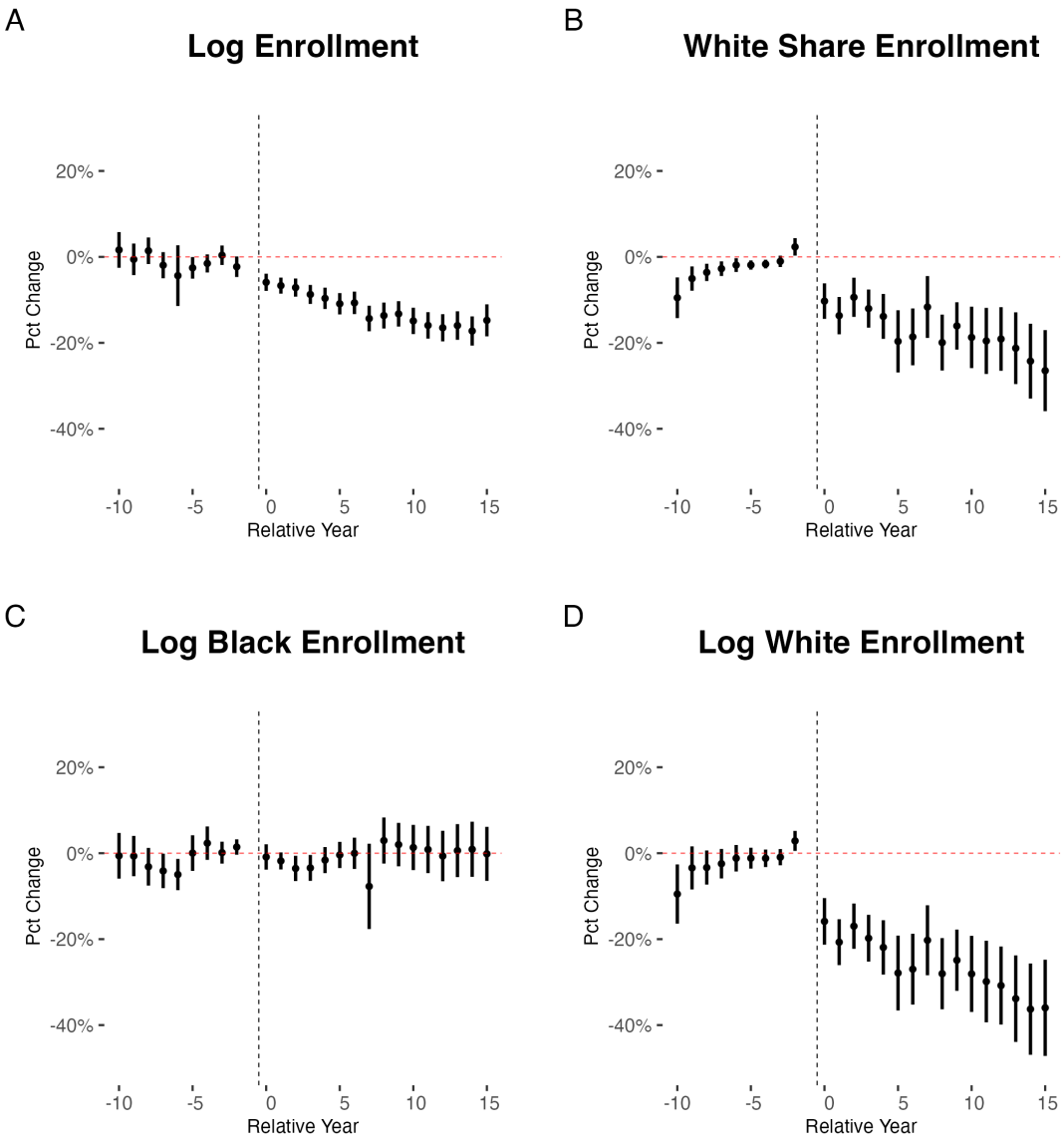


Figure 6. Panel A: Y axis shows change in log enrollment for Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Panel B, C, and D reflect estimates for Alabama and Louisiana, where by race enrollment data is available.

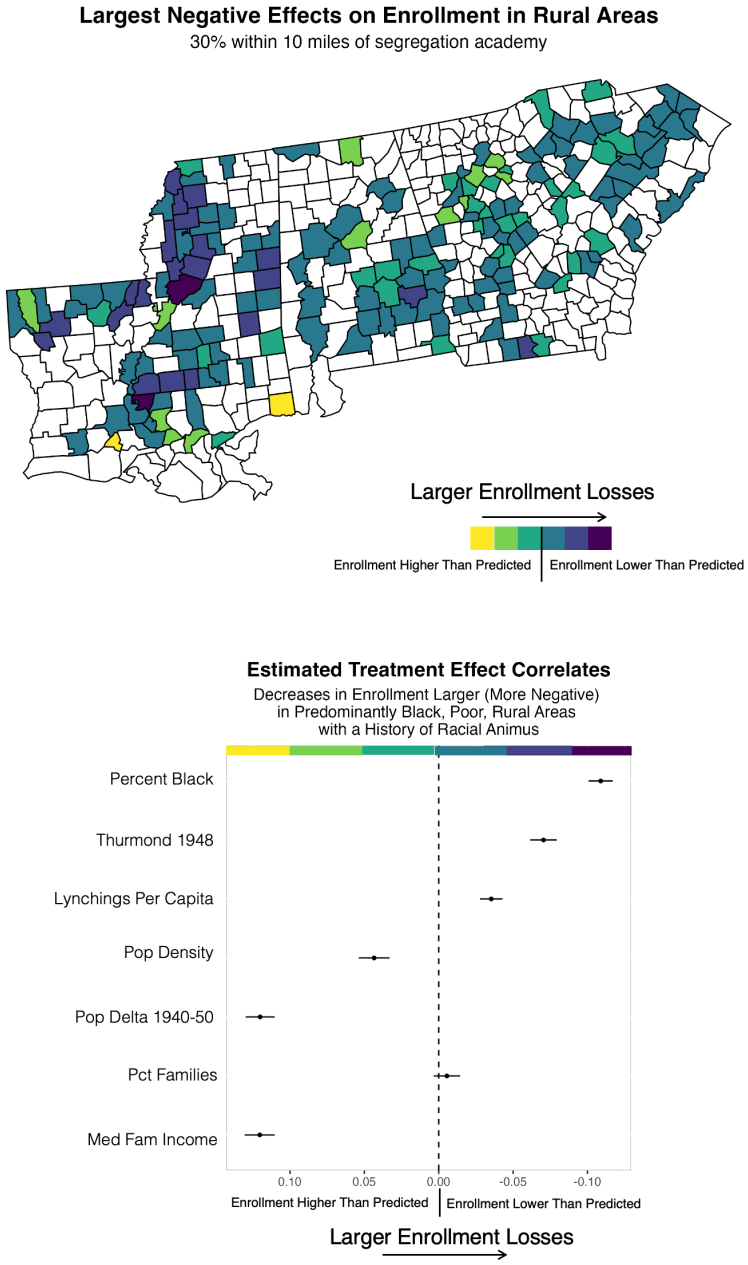


Figure 7. Geographic distribution and correlates of estimated treatment effects. Correlates are standardized within states. The x-axis indicates the change in estimated treatment effect associated with a one standard deviation change in the correlate. For example, a one standard deviation increase in Percent Black is associated with an additional .1 log point loss in enrollment due to segregation academies.

A Appendix

A.1 Figures

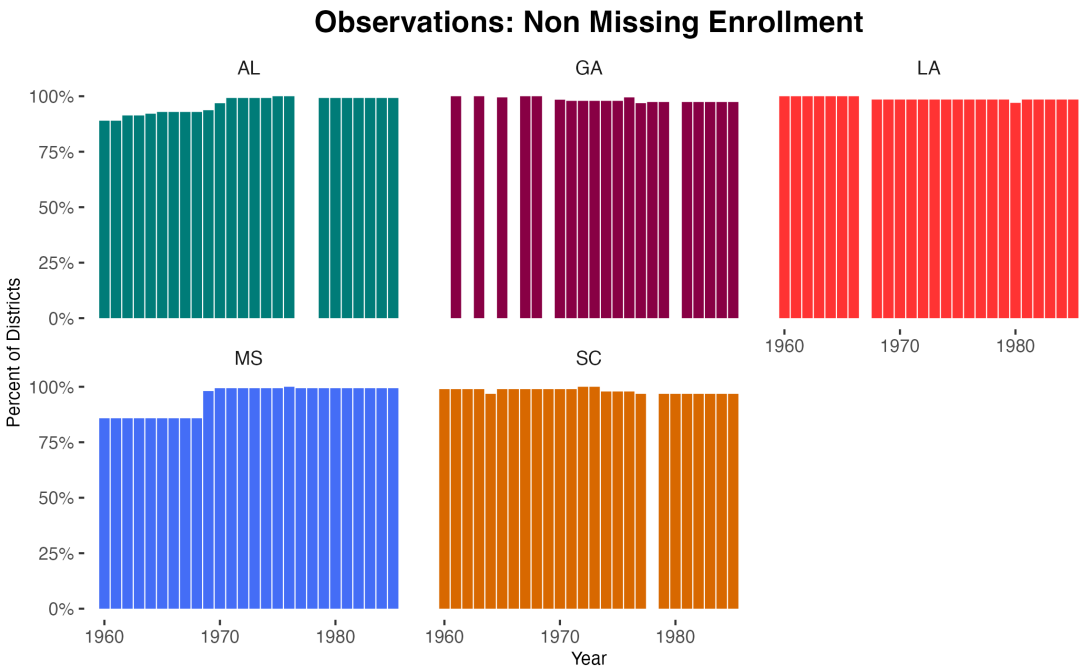


Figure A.1. Graph of non missing observations for enrollment.

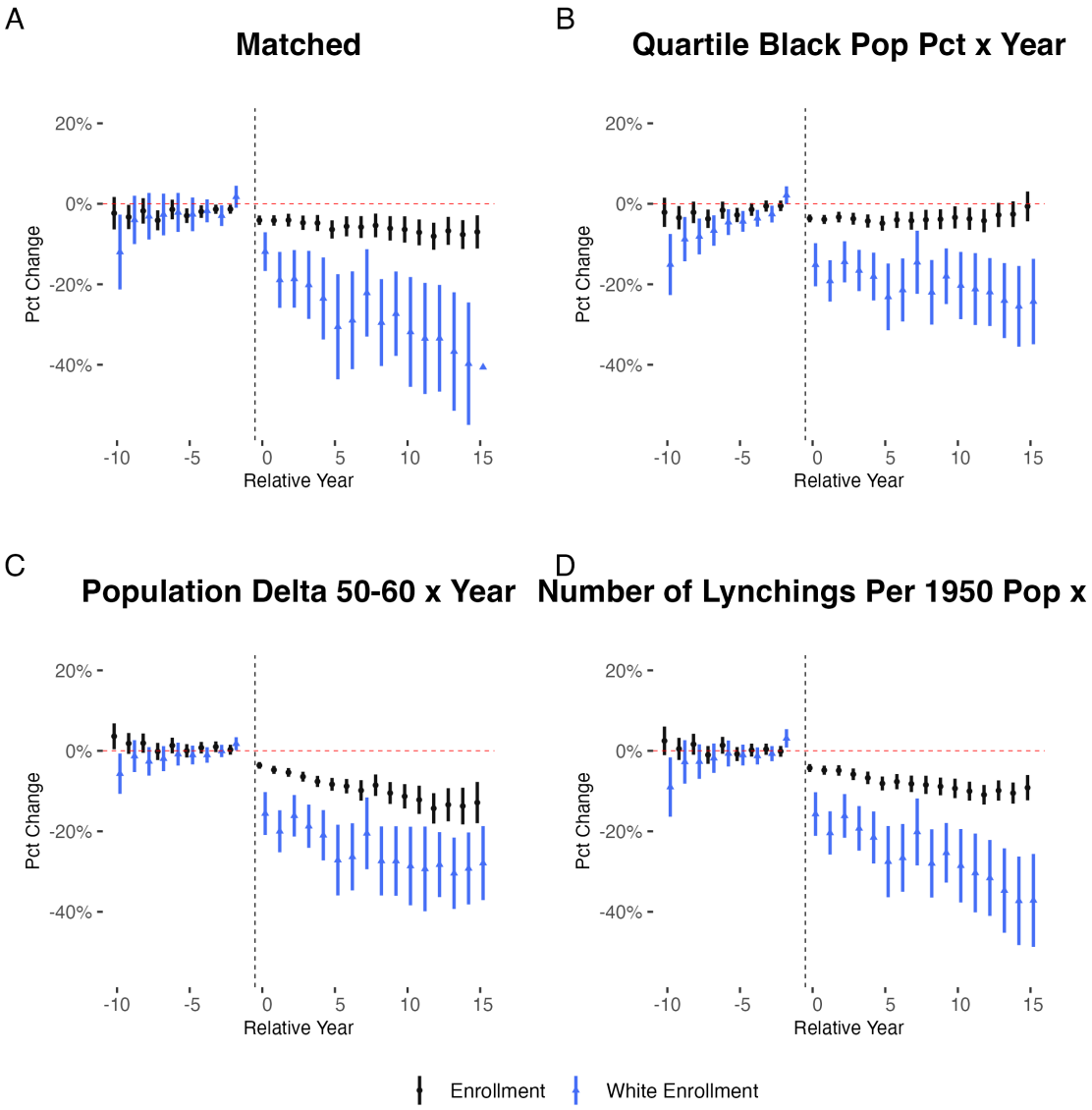


Figure A.2. Event studies showing results from Table 1.

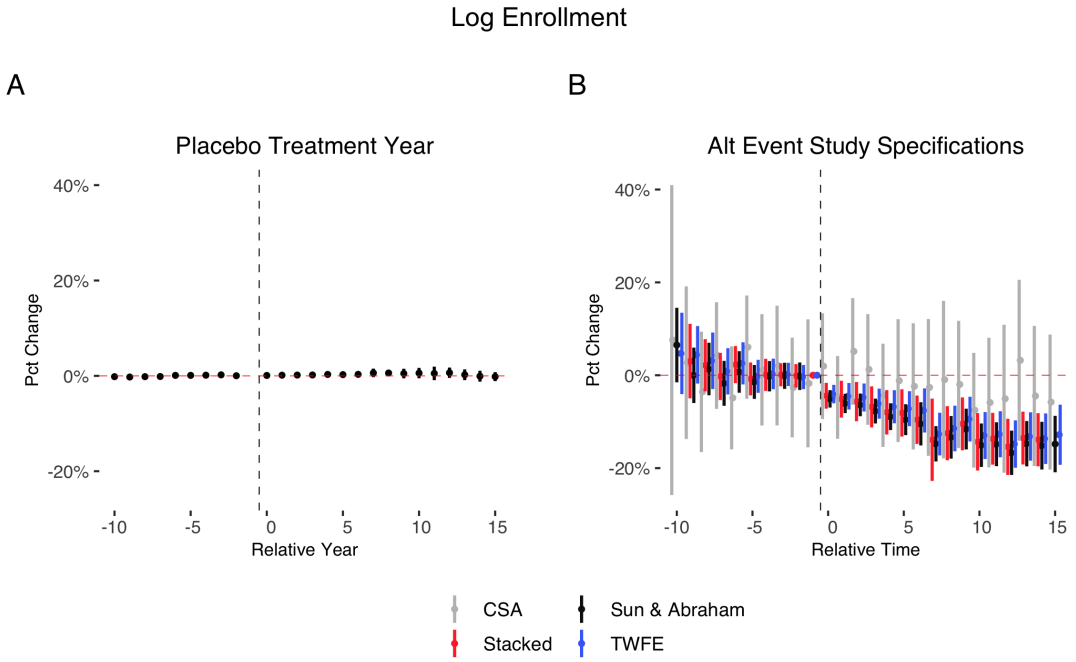


Figure A.3.
Panel A: Treated counties were assigned random treatment years between 1960 and 1976 (the range of treatment years in my main specification). I then run an event study using the same specification.
Panel B: Results using alternate TWFE specifications. CSA refers to Callaway and Sant'Anna 2020.

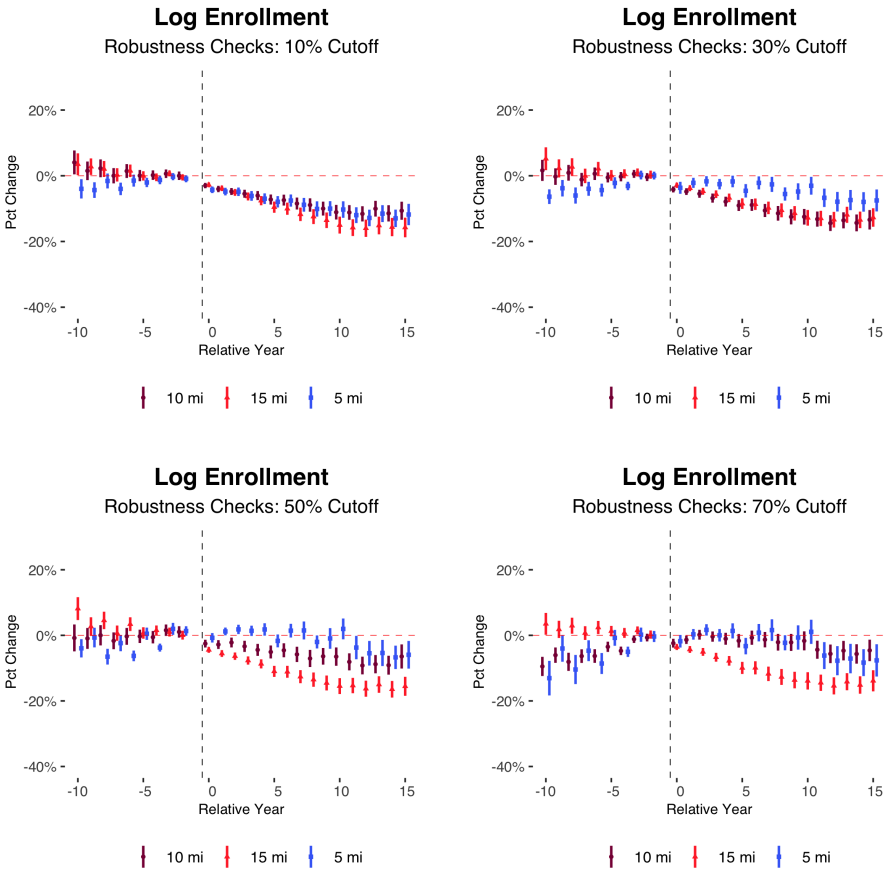


Figure A.4. Robustness checks. 10%, 30%, and 50% yield similar results. The more restrictive criteria of shrinking the radius of the catchment area to 5 miles or requiring 70% of the school district's area to be within the catchment area reduces the number of treated counties such that results become noisy and subject to pre-trends.

A.2 Tables

School Desegregation Court Cases

1819	*Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*	Private schools are corporations. Governments cannot interfere with their contracts.
1925	*Pierce v. Society of Sisters*	Children have the right to instruction from people other than public school teachers.
1936	*Murray v. Pearson*	Ordered University of Maryland to integrate. Effectively made segregation in Maryland illegal.
1938	*Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*	If a state provided public education to its white students, it also had to provide the same quality of public education to its Black students. Specifically dealt with the law school.
1948	*Sipuel v. Board of Regents*	Ordered the University of Oklahoma to admit Ada Lois Sipuel, a Black women, because the state did not provide a comparable facility for Black students.
1948	*Shelley v. Kramer*	Banned the use of restrictive covenants
1950	*Sweatt v. Paint, McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*	Segregation not allowed in professional or graduate schools
1954	***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas***	**Mandated that schools desegregate with "all deliberate speed"**
1964	Civil Rights Act	School districts must desegregate to receive federal funding
1965	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Established Title I funds for high poverty school districts
1968	*Green vs. New Kent County*	Banned "free choice" policy that placed the burden of desegregation on parents and students instead of school boards. Cited as start of "real desegregation"
1969	*Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*	Put an end to "all deliberate speed" ruling in Brown v. BOE by mandating immediate desegregation of schools
1970	Nixon administration	Rolls back withholding of Title I funds for schools that do not meet desegregation targets
1971	*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*	Created stronger desegregation requirements for court-supervised school districts and authorized the use of busing

1971	*Green v. Connelly*	Racially discriminatory private schools not eligible for federal tax exemptions. No federal income tax deductions for contributions to such schools.
1974	*Milliken v. Bradley, Allen Park Public Schools v. Bradley, Gross Pointe Public School System v. Bradley*	If city desegregation plans are not sufficient to achieve racial integration, multi-district desegregation plans are necessary
1976	*Runyon v. McCrary*	Cannot deny admissions to private schools on the basis of race
1982	Reagan administration	Rolls back Green v. Connelly; allows tax exemptions if private school claims "color-blind" admissions
1983	*Bob Jones University v. United States*	Tax exempt status cannot be granted to racially discriminatory private schools

Table A.1. Court cases descriptions adapted from *Oyez* 2022. List expanded on from *Timeline of Events Leading to the Brown v. Board of Education Decision of 1954* 2016

Enrollment in AL and LA, Pre and Post Court Order

	Log Enrollment		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ATT	-0.10***	0.02	-0.17***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Desegregation Post	0.02		
	(0.06)		
Observations	4,907	1,964	2,811
R^2	0.96	0.97	0.99
Within R^2	0.16	0.12	0.06
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓
State-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓

Table A.2. Estimation is the same as equation 3 in column (1). In column (2) and (3), I drop the *desegPost* dummy variable. Instead, I split my sample to measure enrollment losses pre and post a significant court order. Column (2) limits the sample to years before a major court order. In districts where there was no court order, all years are included. Column (3) limits the sample to years after a major court order. In the joint sample of AL and LA, there is no effect on enrollment in the years prior to a court order. $***$, $**$, and $*$ indicate significance at the .01, .05, and .10 levels, respectively. Standard errors are clustered at the school district level and appear in parentheses.

A.3 Private School Classification Criteria

1. Confirmed

    - Written in a list of segregation academies compiled by another source. The primary list is from Wikipedia (*Segregation Academy* 2022), which I independently audit by consulting each school's reference. I then validate each school through some combination of contemporary newspaper articles, the school history website, and scholarly reports on the topic (Nevin and Bills 1976, Phillip 2005, Williams 1977).
    - *Founding* member of the Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA), sponsored by the White Citizens' Council, member of the Alabama Private School Association (APSA), or *founding member* South Carolina Independent School Association (SCISA). These associations explicitly catered to the segregation academy movement and openly admitted to being inspired by the Massive Resistance movement in Prince Edward County, VA.
    - Confirmed as a segregation academy in an oral history, newspaper article, or one of the several theses that have been written on the topic (Sheffield 2022, Gladney 1974, Ernest Flora 2020, Phillip 2005).
    - Has a mascot that is a Rebel and founded in the late sixties. List of schools with rebels as their mascot and additional context on the schools are provided by Smith 2019), who also explains that rebel mascots are often meant as homage to Confederate soldiers.

2. Likely

    - Schools that have not been confirmed as segregation academies by outside sources, but are likely segregation academies. These schools often exhibit some combination of the following traits:
        - Exclusively play other known or likely segregation academies in sports. I make extensive use of the Alabama High School Football Historical Society's archive[21], which documents football schedules for Alabama and Mississippi schools. SCISA Football History[22] includes schedules as well as team photos of football teams in South Carolina that allow me to determine if the football team is all white.
        - All white student body in yearbook photos or historical photos on the school's website.
        - Founded during the 1960s or 1970s.

[21] ahsfhs.org
[22] sites.google.com/site/scisafootballhistory

- Member (but not a founding member) of MPSA or SCISA. All members of APSA are considered confirmed segregation academies.
- Opening ad for school contains suggestive language.
- Expanded rapidly after initial opening in a place not designed to house a school (typically a church).
- School history page describes a group of parents, concerned with the "current state of public education", coming together to found the school.

- The traits used in classifying each individual school are documented in the online appendix.

3. True Maybe

   - Schools founded during the time period of 1954-1982 for which there is limited information. For example, consider Chester Christian School in South Carolina. Factors that point towards the school being a segregation academy include its name– "Christian schools" were part of the second wave of segregation academies (Nevin and Bills 1976, clipping C10)– and its founding year (1967). However, according to the local Rock Hill, South Carolina newspaper, *The Herald*, the school's tax exempt status was not threatened by the IRS rule that schools with racially discriminatory admissions policies would be denied tax exempt status. Further information about the school does not exist. Other examples can be found in the online appendix.

4. Likely Not

   - Catholic schools. These schools largely predate Brown vs. Board of Education and court ordered integration. The official stance of the Church was that schools should be integrated: "The Catholic Church in 1957 or '58 made a decision that they were going to desegregate the schools. They did it this way. The announcement was we have two programs. We have excommunication and we have integration. Make your choice by Friday.'' ("School Segregation and Integration" 2022). Catholic schools in Memphis went so far as to resist the influx of white students into private schools during the 1960s and 1970s (Nevin and Bills 1976). However, I categorize these schools as "Likely Not" instead of "Definitely Not" because not all Southern Catholic churches abided by this doctrine (Newman 2020). To categorize schools as Catholic, a combination of the following traits was used: 1) the NCES religion code, 2) the school about page, 3) the name of the school (for example, all schools with "Immaculate Conception'' or "St. Mary's'' in the name are considered Catholic).
   - Elementary schools. The purpose of segregation academies was to provide a place for white children to "escape" integration. Such schools either opened as

K-12 schools or rapidly added grades to accommodate as many white students as possible. Schools that strictly catered to elementary grades do not fit this definition. I also note that many of these schools are Catholic or Jewish. The exception to this rule are schools that, due to a lack of resources, began as elementary schools, then rapidly added grades (such schools are classified as "Likely").

5. Definitely Not

   - Schools with an explicit purpose other than religion. For example: schools for the deaf, schools for students with developmental disabilities, Montessori schools, all boys schools, and all girls schools.
   - Schools with a primarily Black student body. For example, schools affiliated with the Josephites or Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, which are Catholic orders that focus on Black congregants.
   - Schools affiliated with religions not typically affiliated with the segregation academy movement (Nevin and Bills 1976). For example: Jewish, Lutheran, and Seventh Day Adventist. Religious status of these schools were determined using the NCES religion code or the school about page.
   - Schools founded before 1954 (Brown vs. Board of Education). Exceptions to this rule include Indian Springs School[23] in Shelby County, Alabama and the Carolina Academy[24] in Florence, South Carolina.
   - Preschools, day care centers, and kindergartens.

[23]Indian Springs was founded in 1952 but became coed in the 1975 (*Indian Springs History* 2022). Jones 2005 documents its status as a segregation academy. It is classified as a 5: Confirmed in the author's ranking system.

[24]The Carolina Academy was founded in 1953, but lost its tax exempt status in 1982."Schools That Lost Tax Exemptions" 1982 I infer this to be due to a racially discriminatory admissions policy, likely as a result of Green vs. Connally (see Legislative Timeline in the Appendix)

Year	Event	Source
1960	Armstrong & U.S. v. Bd. of Educ. of City of Birmingham filed	United States Commission on Civil Rights
1961	West Birmingham Christian (segregation academy) established	Author's research (see online appendix)
1963	School board ordered to present desegregation plan	American Communities Project
1970	transfers/REZONING	Welch & Light (1987), Table A3
1976	magnets/rezoning/pair	Welch & Light (1987), Table A3
1981	magnets/rezoning/pair	Welch & Light (1987), Table A3

Table B1. Integration events for the city of Birmingham. Rows 3-5 are copied directly from Table A3 of Welch and Light 1987. Welch and Light indicated "major" plans through the use of all caps. These were the plans that resulted in the largest change in the dissimilarity index.

A.4 Matching Exercise and Placebo Treatment

I match and weight my control districts using estimates from the method outlined by Ho et al. 2007. This is a more flexible, nonparametric method of controlling for district characteristics. Notably, it does not impose assumptions about the functional relationship between the district characteristics and the outcome variable. This nonparametric method weights untreated observations such that the distribution of the variables I match on, X_i do not depend on treatment, that is:

$$\tilde{p}(X|T=1) = \tilde{p}(X|T=0) \tag{9}$$

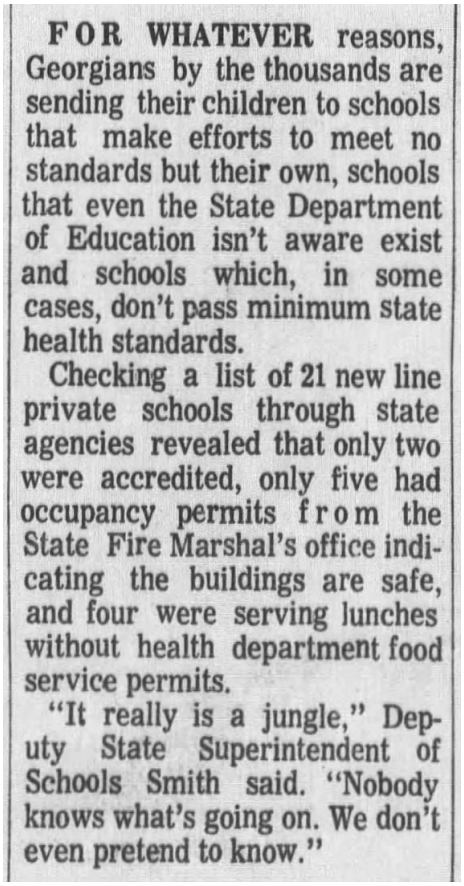
However, matching does come with a loss of precision: there are only 362 school districts in my matched sample, compared to 529 school districts in my main analysis. My matching dimensions of choice are the share of the population that was Black in 1950, 1950 population, population delta 1940 to 1950, population density 1950, number of lynchings scaled by 1950 population, share vote share for Strom Thurmond in 1948, median family income in 1950, and percent of households that are families in 1950. Figure 3 shows the correlation of these variables with my treatment indicator. All but the Thurmond vote share are obtained from the 1950 census. The vote share for Strom Thurmond in 1948 comes from Cascio et al. 2010.

Prior research about the nature of the school districts that housed these academies inform the matching variables I choose. Percent density, percent families, and population are used to control for size of a school district and the possibility that dense, highly populated

areas with preexisting private alternatives to public schools may react differently to the introduction of a private alternative than rural areas with no preexisting private schools. Population delta 1940 to 1950 controls for enrollment growth or decline due to population growth or decline. Median family income in 1950 controls for the ability of white families to afford paying for sending their child to private school and the demand for the quality of the school (median level of schooling at age 25 was originally included then dropped because of a near perfect correlation with median family income). Finally, motivated by newspaper accounts of schools being located in districts with majority Black population (clipping C7), I control for the possibility that percent of non white residents could differ systematically between school districts with a segregation academy versus school districts without. In Section 6, I discuss how differences in effect size for school districts with different baseline characteristics inform my understanding of the mechanisms in play.

I also conduct a placebo test where I randomly assign treatment years to treated districts within a reasonable time period (1960-1976). Results of that test are shown in Appendix Figure A.3.

A.5 Newspaper Clippings



FOR WHATEVER reasons, Georgians by the thousands are sending their children to schools that make efforts to meet no standards but their own, schools that even the State Department of Education isn't aware exist and schools which, in some cases, don't pass minimum state health standards.

Checking a list of 21 new line private schools through state agencies revealed that only two were accredited, only five had occupancy permits from the State Fire Marshal's office indicating the buildings are safe, and four were serving lunches without health department food service permits.

"It really is a jungle," Deputy State Superintendent of Schools Smith said. "Nobody knows what's going on. We don't even pretend to know."

Figure C1. Atlanta Constitution, November 9, 1969. Atlanta, Georgia



Taxless School Gifts Periled

By NICK TAYLOR

The Internal Revenue Service moved Monday to prevent 74 southern private schools from receiving tax-deductible contributions because they have allegedly failed to adopt non-discriminatory admissions policies.

Six of the schools are in Georgia.

The Stone Mountain Christian School near Atlanta was one of two schools named by the IRS for possible discrimination. The other 72 were not named.

The IRS said Monday that it was suspending assurances that contributions to the Stone Mountain Christian School and Wilson Christian School in Wilson, N.C., will be tax deductible.

Principal James Deuink said the Stone Mountain school would not change its white-only policy because of the IRS action.

"Our school has never accepted students of other races," he said. "We do not expect to change that policy."

The IRS action followed a survey of the admissions policies of private school throughout the South, except in Mississippi, where the Supreme Court has ruled that private schools must not discriminate.

About 4,700 schools were surveyed. Of the 3,900 still in existence, 3,700 were granted tax exempt status. The IRS is still studying about 125.

Of the 74 warned Monday that their tax exempt status is in danger of revocation, six are in Georgia, five in North Carolina, 15 in Florida, 20 in Alabama, 22 in South Carolina and six in Tennessee.

The next step for them may be revocation and suspended assurances that contributions to the schools will be tax exempt.

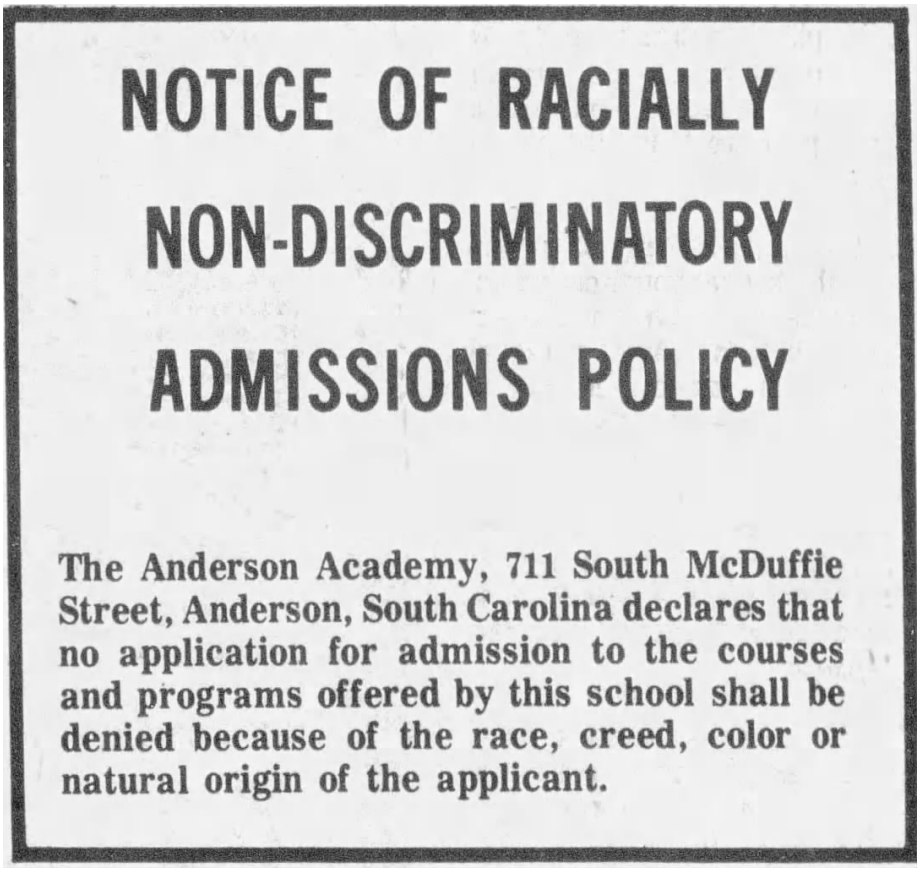
The two schools already named may appeal the IRS finding, but the IRS said it felt a duty to notify taxpapers of the possible loss of tax exempt status.

Stone Mountain Christian School principal Deuink said the school would appeal the ruling, but would not admit blacks.

The school was founded in 1955 as the Grace Christian School, and is now operated by the Stone Mountain Baptist Tabernacle, which bought the school's charter in the mid-1960's.

Deuink said, "So far as I know, there is no Ku Klux Klan or John Birch Society membership in the church. The school's white-only admissions policy, he said, is because "we believe that fraternization of the races on a social level leads to intermarriage of the races, which we believe is contrary to the Bible."

Figure C2. Atlanta Constitution, January 18, 1972. Atlanta, Georgia



NOTICE OF RACIALLY

NON-DISCRIMINATORY

ADMISSIONS POLICY

The Anderson Academy, 711 South McDuffie Street, Anderson, South Carolina declares that no application for admission to the courses and programs offered by this school shall be denied because of the race, creed, color or natural origin of the applicant.

Figure C3. Anderson Independent Mail, December 12, 1973. Anderson, South Carolina

Lowndes Private School Sets $500,000 Goal

LOWNDESBORO — A goal of $500,000 has been set by the Lowndes County Private School Foundation here, following a statewide appeal for funds last night by Gov. George Wallace in his speech to the state Legislature.

Gov. Wallace made a request for the local organization over statewide television, giving name and address to the home viewers.

Contributions to the fund will be used for the Lowndes Academy, a private school for white children located in Lowndesboro.

Parents who initiated the school expressed concern over the ratio of six Negro children to one white child in the county which would result from integrated schools.

Heading up the fund solicitation in the south Alabama county is W. E. Harrell Jr., who said that contributions are being accepted in cash and in the form of pledges.

Three funds have been set up: general operating expenses, building and endowment to provide additions and expansions and necessary upkeep, and scholarship to provide partial tuition for children whose families are suffering extreme financial hardships.

W. O. Crawford, general finance chairman for the state, said that more than $100,000 had already been raised.

T. H. Heath has been named headmaster of the Academy, which begins registration on Aug. 26. The school term will begin on Aug. 29.

The Academy will be non-denominational and expects to be

Figure C4. Alabama Journal, July 27 1966. Montgomery, Alabama

Marlboro Parents Forming Private, Segregated School

Parents in Marlboro County are joining with their neighbors in North Carolina to form a segregated, private school which will be located just inside the South Carolina state line.

Scheduled to open by September 1, the school will accommodate from 250 to 300 students in grades one through 12.

Frank B. Rogers Jr., president of the Marlboro Academy corporation, commented, "The object of this school is quality education. It is not a flight away from integration, although that does have some bearing on it."

Rogers said the headmaster for the school has been hired, but his name will not be announced until he has terminated his contract with the public schools in June. Applications for teachers and students are being taken now.

The school will be a member of the S.C. Independent Schools Association, a system of private schools that began in 1964 as the public schools in the state began to desegregate.

Figure C5. The State, May 20 1969. Columbia, South Carolina



ALABAMA PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

88 West South Blvd.

Montgomery, Alabama 36105

CONCERNED PARENTS are encouraged to register your children in the school of their choice **NOW.** Alabama Private School Association members are offering control class size to insure quality programs, and immediate inquiry is recommended.

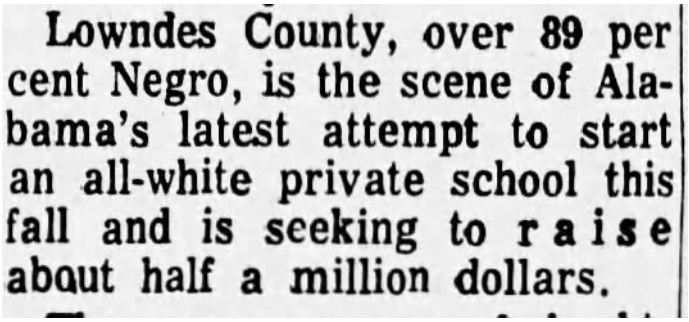
DON'T DELAY–REGISTER NOW

For further information about member schools write or call my office or the school of your choice:
Heritage School—Marie Johnson, Administrator
Stephens-Spear School—Jimmy Spear, Adm.
Central Alabama Academy—Maxine Baker, As. Pr.
Trinity Presbyterian School—Raymond Boykin, Pr.
Hooper Academy—Herman Keeney, Principal
South Montg. County Acad.—John Faircloth, Prin.

Max Howell
Executive Secretary
Alabama Private School Association
288-3271

Ad. Pd. for by Heritage School, Montgomery, Alabama

Figure C6. Montgomery Advertiser, November 8 1971. Montgomery, Alabama



Lowndes County, over 89 per cent Negro, is the scene of Alabama's latest attempt to start an all-white private school this fall and is seeking to raise about half a million dollars.

Figure C7. Alabama Journal, July 27, 1966. Montgomery, Alabama



Private School To Expand In Sunflower County

Special To The DD-T

INDIANOLA — An all - white private school organized in the face of the desegregation of public schools will expand to include the first six grades.

Figure C8. Delta Democrat-Times, April 22, 1966. Greenville, Mississippi



6 The Clarion-Ledger JACKSON DAILY NEWS
SECTION C Sunday, August 11, 1968

Founded 14 Years Ago

Exactly fourteen years and one month ago, the first Citizens Council was organized at Indianola, Mississippi. On July 11, 1954 fourteen men met in the home of Dave Hawkins, manager of a cotton compress. They had been called together by Robert B. Patterson, a cotton and cattle farmer from nearby Holly Ridge.

All were concerned about the consequences of the U.S. Supreme Court's school integration decision that had been handed down two months previously.

It is instructive to remember that in the summer of 1954 Washington, D. C. had one of the nation's model school systems. It was segregated. Washington was a good place to visit. Its streets were safe, even after dark. No one had heard of Black Power, or soul brothers, or Whitey, or Honkey. Riots and looting were figments of an "extremist's" imagination. "One man one vote" was inconceivable. Everyone knew that the states possessed the authority under the Constitution to set voter qualifications and require literacy tests. Property rights were inviolate. The segregated schools were serene, as they had been since the turmoil of Reconstruction. None of the subsequent disasters associated with racial integration had as yet occurred.

LIKE TOWN MEETING

Still, these fourteen men were worried. They knew that the states also possessed the constitutional authority to operate segregated schools. So they organized the first Citizens Council. It was called a "Citizens" Council because it was exactly that — a council of citizens, similar to the traditional town meeting of early American history.

The organizers did not know what shape the future would take. But they knew that certain basic precepts would hold good for any eventuality. Thus, responsible leadership in each community was established as the first ingredient for effective organization. Strong membership was another. Adequate financing another.

General policies adopted, the Citizens Council would undertake to influence public opinion and public policy. It would work through and uphold the established agencies of local and state government. It would engage in a program of public education through publications and speakers. It would plant a standard and take a stand, forthrightly, for the twin principles of States Rights and Racial Integrity.

A program of work was laid out and divided among four committees: membership and finance, information and education, public affairs, and legal advisory.

MALICE TO NONE

With malice toward none, and imbued simply with the primordial desire to insure the survival of themselves and their descendents through the social order founded by their own forefathers, the Citizens Council organizers called on others of like mind to take their stands too.

A public meeting was held in Indianola, the first Citizens Council rally. Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, author of Black Monday, spoke to an overflow audience.

The effect was electric.

Neighboring towns and counties heard of the "Indianola Plan" and began to organize.

When some twenty counties had formed Citizens Councils, a state association was organized and an office opened at Winona, Mississippi on October 12, 1954 with Robert Patterson in charge.

Organizational activity was speeded up. Councils began to spring up all over the South. Another office was opened in Jackson, in the old Walthall Hotel, on March 1, 1955. William J. Simmons was in charge. Requests for speakers, mostly from civic clubs, could not be filled. Books and pamphlets were published and distributed by the hundred thousands.

MIXED EMOTIONS

Yet all was not easy. Many refused to believe anything would come of the Supreme Court's integration edict. "Just politics," they said. "Whites and Negroes will never mix. Integration is impossible." Others thought nothing could be done about it. "You can't fight the Supreme Court. I don't like it, but integration is inevitable." (Of course, both were equally wrong. It was not "just politics," as most Americans have learned to their sorrow. And something can be done about it, as all patrons of private schools have discovered.)

By the fall of 1955 there were so many Councils and members that a regular publication was needed. So The Citizens Council, a tabloid size monthly newspaper, was started by the Jackson office as the official voice of the movement. The Jackson office was moved to the Plaza Building on New Year's day, 1956.

On April 7, 1956 two've state associations met in New Orleans and confederated themselves into the Citizens Councils of America. The Jackson office became national headquarters. And the Winona office was moved to Greenwood, where it would be more conveniently situated near the state finance chairman, Ellett Lawrence.

Mississippi Citizens Council leaders successfully supported legislation to raise voter qualifications and to repeal compulsory school attendance laws. There was no integration.

HOLLIS JOINS STAFF

In 1957, Louis W. Hollis joined the Citizens Council staff in Jackson and developed a highly successful neighborhood survey method that increased Jackson membership to 3,000. Later, Mr. Hollis was placed in charge of field organizing and has increased the field directors from 1 (himself) to 19.

In 1958 and 1959, Citizens Council Forum was developed, with Richard D. Morphew in charge of production. The weekly interview programs, recorded in Washington, achieved a wide acceptance on television and radio throughout the nation. Assisted in part by grants from the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, the programs provided access to the mass media for Southern political leaders, scientists and scholars that has not been available since.

In 1960, the Citizens Council point of view was presented to a different nation-wide audience through the Search for America film and book produced by the National Educational Television Center at St. Louis.

In 1964, in response to changing requirements The Citizens Council newspaper was changed to a magazine format and renamed The Citizen, which is its present form.

EVANS A CONSULTANT

In 1962, Dr. Medford Evans joined the staff in Jackson as a consultant, primarily on educational matters, as early plans were being formulated to form private schools in the event a civil rights bill should eventually pass that would breach the line being held successfully on the public school front.

In 1963, white parents as intervenors in two landmark school lawsuits were supported through legal aid and research assistance. There were the famous Stell case in Savannah, Georgia and the Evers case in Jackson, Mississippi. Uncontradicted records were made in court to the effect that separate school systems are best for both races, and integrated systems harmful to both.

In 1964, the civil rights act was passed, and public school integration became a reality in Mississippi and in most of the South for the first time since the Supreme Court's decision ten years earlier. A new phase was obviously about to begin. It was predicted by some newspaper writers that the Citizens Councils would not survive the crisis brought on by school integration, that white Mississippians would divide into two extremes — those disposed to react with violence and those disposed to accept integration. Citizens Council leaders supported legislation to establish tuition grants of $185 per child per annum in attendance at private schools. Council School

Continued On Page 7C

STANDING HIGH
McGREGOR ASH
POWELL BRUNER

FIELD SECRETARIES of Citizens Councils: Lyman Ash, Memphis, Tenn.; J. W. Bruner, Jackson, Miss.; Joseph High, Durham, N. C.; James K. McGregor, Carrollton, Miss.; J. B. Powell, Vicksburg; John A. Standring, Chattanooga, Tenn.

ORIGINAL CITIZENS COUNCIL, meeting July 11, 1954, at the residence of Dave Hawkins in Indianola, included these members. From left: seated, Dink Gibson, Frank Tindall, Dr. J. C. Shirley, Arthur Clark, Jr., Ed Britt and Billy Gist; standing, Alton East, W. D. Hemphill, Robert B. Patterson, Dave Hawkins and Mayor Tom Pitts. Others in the group, but not in the photo, are Herman Moore, Bill Hendon and Jim Metcalf.

Best Wishes To
CITIZENS COUNSILS
On The Opening Of Their
BEAUTIFUL NEW FACILITIES
JACKSON PAINTING CO.
COMMERCIAL—INDUSTRIAL PAINTING
● Brush or Spray Painting ● Sand Blasting
4749 HIGHWAY 80 W. PHONE 922-4263

A Sincere
WELCOME
to Our Neighbor
CITIZENS COUNCILS
of America
and Congratulations
on your beautiful...
NEW BUILDING
★
STANDARD STATIONERS
256 E. Griffith St., Opposite Central High
PHONE FLeetwood 3-8311

Congratulations
to the

Congratulations To The Citizens Councils

Figure C9. The Clarion Ledger, August 11, 1968. Jackson, Mississippi



Schools Springing Up With Christian Names

By MIKE BOWLER
Constitution Education Editor

Christian schools — or schools using the word Christian in their names—are springing up across Georgia and the rest of the South.

Some of them enroll as few as three or four students, some only the children of one family.

Atlantans tell Senate committee that segregation academies threaten both public and private education in the South. Page 6-A.

Thirteen Christian schools were listed in a survey of the state private school scene conducted last fall by the Education department.

Six schools with "Christian" as a part of their names were incorporated in Georgia in the past seven months.

Christian schools — those distinctly apart from parochial schools — are associated by many with segregation schools. Indeed, some of the schools are.

When the anti-integration passion takes over a small community, a church sometimes provides a forum for organizing the private school, sometimes leads the movement and is occasionally the only building in the community with room enough for the needed classrooms.

But there is danger in lumping together all private schools, all religious schools and all Christian schools. There are these considerations:

1. All private schools believe they offer their students something they can't get in the public schools. Usually this is "quality" education, discipline, religion or a dedicated faculty. Not all of them offer segregation.

2. Many of the private schools springing up in the South not only are in communities being forced to desegregate the public schools; they also are in communities offering some of the most mediocre public school education in the United States.

3. Historically, private education has been the rule, not the exception. At the turn of this century, the vast majority of American children spent rela-

See SCHOOLS, Page 15-A

Figure C10. Atlanta Constitution, July 2, 1970. Atlanta, Georgia