Segregation Academies:
The Effect of Segregated Private Education on Public School Systems in the Deep South
PRELIMINARY - DO NOT CITE

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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 15%. White students drive this decline: segregation academies caused a 30% 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.

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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 public school 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 15% decrease in total public school enrollment. Data from Alabama and Louisiana suggests that such enrollment decreases were driven white students – the white share of enrollment decreased by approximately 23%. This eroded efforts to integrate schools: segregation academies offset gains in integration from court orders by as much as 2/3.

Segregation academies are challenging to catalogue – they opened quickly and often

closed quickly, leaving few records behind. Schools still in operation today typically hide the true motivations of their founders. 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 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 show that establishment of a segregation academy is a distinct phenomenon that does not necessarily coincide with a court-ordered integration. However, I contextualize my findings within the existing universe of economic research on desegregation (see S. Rivkin and Welch, 2006). 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). Private schools play an ambiguous role in this decline. Reber (2005) finds a *positive* association between *preexisting* (1960) private school enrollment and public white enrollment in school districts under a desegregation plan, while Baum-Snow and Lutz (2011) finds a *negative* association between *contemporaneous* private school enrollment and white public school enrollment in central urban districts. I contribute to this literature by distinguishing between pre-existing private schools, new private schools, and segregation academies and analyzing the *direct* impact of these schools on enrollment in urban *and* rural districts.

A related literature studies the role that residential segregation and migration play in public school segregation (S. G. Rivkin, 1994; Boustan, 2012). My paper is the first

[1]Catholic schools 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 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.

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.

To identify the causal effect of segregation academies on enrollment and integration, I exploit variation in timing of establishment of segregation academies. Specifically, my estimator of choice is the Interaction-Weighted (IW) estimator, a weighted average of $CATT_{e,l}$, the Cohort Average Treatment Effects on the Treated (Sun and Abraham, 2021). I interpret this as the enrollment losses attributable to the establishment of a segregation academy. To ensure that timing correlates, specifically exogenous desegregation activity or court orders, are not driving my results, I include the variable $desegPost$ in my main specification and show that the timing of court orders and desegregation plans is sufficiently different that the establishment of segregation academies. To determine if selection into treatment affects my results, I analyze the impact of salient county characteristics, such as population change and county demographics, on my results.

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 (Figure 1). In this section, I trace out the legal events that shaped these schools, then discuss the political structures that supported them.

2.1 Legal Context

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.

Even if the federal government and courts had held desegregation plans to higher standards, the power of the federal government to enforce court orders was limited. The vast majority of school funding was provided by state and local sources, and administration of schools was considered a local matter. The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) significantly strengthened the federal government's role in education by substantially increasing the amount of funds the federal government allocated to education. The 1964 Civil Rights Act laid the grounds for this power to be used to enforce *Brown v. BOE*. It stipulated that any body applying for federal funding must adhere to federal law – which now included desegregation (Orfield, 1969). In response, many school districts, especially high poverty districts

[3]I include an abbreviated legal history of school integration cases in Appendix Table A.2.

eligible for more federal funding under ESEA, submitted voluntary plans of desegregation, an effect documented by Cascio et al. (2010). However, these voluntary plans also typically amounted to token desegregation. Nonetheless, the tide had shifted: there were 143 segregation academies in the Deep South by 1967.

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).

2.2 Private School Associations and State Support

The private schools that were established in this period were fundamentally different from pre-existing private schools formed to cater to some special interest group (for example, schools for the deaf, all-girls schools, Jewish day schools, or boarding schools). Segregation academies "primarily consisted of poor white families with mothers or others, who lacked educational training, teaching small groups of children" (Grady and Hoffman, 2018). In *The Schools that Fear Founded*, a report compiled for the Lamar Society (a "group of progressive southerners interested in improving their society"), David Nevins describes the typical character of segregation academies:

> "Most of the schools **start in a hurry.** Most begin with inadequate plans ... the extent of individual success of a new school does depend on where it is located, and many small schools do limp along in constant financial trouble." Nevin and Bills (1976)

Existing private schools worried that the new schools would taint the reputation of private education. Meanwhile, segregation academies began realizing that, in order to retain enough students to remain viable, they would need to form organizations that would lend their schools some degree of legitimacy (for example, SCISA). Segregation academies also benefited from sharing facilities and playing together in sports leagues. Both types of schools began organizing in private school associations which varied in their degree of support for segregation and affiliation with segregation academies.

One of the first of these accreditation agencies was the Southern Association of Independent Schools (SAIS), established in 1953. Though SAIS discouraged the establishment of low quality schools to avoid integration in 1960 (Sullivan, 1960), it later filed a amicus curie brief in 1976 in defense of segregated independent schools (Oeslner, 1976). The Alabama Private School Association (APSA), Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA), and South Eastern Independent School Association (SEAIS) were more explicit in their support of segregation academies than SAIS (clipping C6,

AP (1972)). In Jackson, Mississippi, the White Citizens' Council organized a system of 12 Council Schools that joined MPSA. This system of schools was intended to completely replace public schools for white students. While maintaining school desegregation was the purpose of the WCC, the impact and power of the WCC reached far beyond education, and included methods of violence and intimidation.[4]

Segregation academies also received state support. As a direct successor to the government-led "Massive Resistance" movement, these schools initially received considerable financial aid, even operating on campuses of public schools closed via boycott or consolidation. This massive increase in enrollment was aided by over 450 state laws and resolutions, some of which explicitly directed public funding for private schools. 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).

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. 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). Vouchers, which provided money to students who attended private schools, were also a popular method of indirect funding until 1990 (but have recently experienced a surge in popularity) (*A New Era in State-Funded Private Education* 2022).

[4]Medgar Evers, a NCAAP activist, was slain by a member of the WCC. For a history of the WCC, see McMillen (1994).

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

3 Characteristics 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. I then present descriptive statistics of segregation academies in this data set, putting, on a large scale, numbers behind anecdotes.

3.1 Classification of 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.

Speaking of the academies in a 1969 edition of the Atlanta Constitution, a school district official lamented: "It really is a jungle. Nobody knows what's going on. We don't even pretend to know." 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:

[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.

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 statistics 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.

To collect year founded, I scrape the results from a Google search

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[school name] [city] [state] year founded.
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I manually validate these years for segregation academies during the classification process.

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.

3.2 Descriptive Evidence

I test my classification system is to see if segregation academies differ significantly from other private schools. The descriptive evidence I present here reinforces that hypothesis: segregation academies are poorer quality, whiter, and more rural than other private schools.

Private schools are concentrated in large metropolitan areas, such as New Orleans, Mobile, Atlanta, Charleston, and Birmingham (Figure 3). If I conceive of willingness to pay for private school as a function of income and perceived returns to private education, poor and rural areas would contain fewer families for which the benefits of private education would justify the cost of tuition. An insufficient supply of students would prevent private schools from being fiscally solvent, which is reflected in the concentration of private schools in relatively rich, dense areas (Figure 4.B).

Segregation academies, however, are dispersed through both rural and urban areas. I posit two possible explanations for this. The first is that the clientele of segregation academies were paying for *segregated* education rather than *better* education. A graduate of Lamar High School in Mississippi provides an illustrative anecdote: "The school felt temporary. Built like a warehouse with aluminum siding and a flat roof. . .From a basketball coach who very unenthusiastically taught us science to a history teacher, also a coach, who left out huge chunks of world events, I had a slipshod education" (Riley, 2019).

Nechyba (1999) models demand for private school that depends on tuition and "peer quality," which is determined by admissions requirements. Peer quality is subjective to parents – some parents pay for their child to be surrounded by academically successful students, others by members of a religious group. In the case of segregation academies, parents paid for their children to be surrounded by white children (and teachers). Families more willing to pay a premium for segregated education were located in predominantly Black counties (Figure 4.A) with high measures of racial animus, proxied by share vote share for Strom Thurmond in 1948 and number of lynchings scaled by 1950 population. For an illustrative example, I again return to Lowndes Academy: "Parents who initiated the school expressed concern over the ratio of six Negro [sic] children to one white child in the county, which would result from integrated schools" (*Alabama Journal*, clipping C4).

To support this hypothesis – that white parents sent their children to segregation academies for racially motivated reasons rather than educational concerns – I present statistics on segregation academies and comparable private schools from 2017-2018 in Figure 5. I expect schools founded before 1980 that still exist in 2017 to be subject to survivor bias – in order to remain in operation for at least 30 years, the schools must be providing some perceived return to justify tuition. Both segregation academies and non segregation academies founded before 1980 have larger enrollments than schools founded after 1980. The return that schools offer, however, differs between segregation academies and non segregation academies. For non segre-

gation academies founded before 1980, that return seems to be quality of education: compared to schools established after 1980, schools founded before 1980 have higher rates of graduates attending 4 year colleges.

This is not the case for segregation academies. The main difference between academies and the newer private schools is student demographics – segregation academies are far whiter than other private schools (both newer and older) and most have no Black students.

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

4.1.1 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

[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.

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.

4.1.2 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 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

4.2.1 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 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).

4.2.2 Timing of Integration

To measure the timing of 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). Owen Thompson generously shared code to create desegregation events, defined in Thompson (2022) as a change of desegregation of greater than 50%. 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. A more detailed discussion of the type of actions and how I use them in my main analysis is found in Appendix Section A.4.

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 and counties typically share the same boundaries. For school districts where this is not the case, I reconcile county and district level data by creating a cross walk by using the method described by Eckert et al. (2020) and Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016), which converts data at the county level into data at the school district level (and vice versa) by creating weights based on the percentage of land area located in the corresponding district.

5 Analysis

In this section, I discuss the definition of treatment and my estimation strategy, an event-study framework that allows for treatment effect heterogeneity and staggered treatment time.

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,[9] or a roughly 25 minute commute, of a "confirmed" or "likely" segregation academy.[10] 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 the 14 miles 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

[9]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.

[10]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.

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

In an ideal setting, my definition of treatment would be based off of the percentage of population that is within some radius instead of the percentage of land area. However, tract-level population data are not available for many rural counties until 1990, and the location of segregation academies may have induced inter-tract level population shifts.

Once a school district is treated, it remains treated. Figure 6 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.[11] 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 pa-

[11] 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.

rameter 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). [12] Given these network benefits, a potential threat to identification lies in the previous existence of private schools. Ideally, I would address this concern by conditioning on preexisting private schools. However, my sample of private schools comes from the 1970 Universe of Private Schools and does not include year founded. I scraped Google for the year founded of all schools, but, because of time and information availability constraints, was only able to manually clean and validate the results for likely and confirmed segregation academies. Validation for all schools would be incredibly time intensive and is currently not feasible. Despite this concern, I remain confident in my estimates because Reber (2011) finds limited impact of preexisting private schools on enrollment and public finance outcomes in Louisiana during this era.

5.2 Estimating Equation

5.2.1 Enrollment

My estimator of choice is the Interaction-Weighted (IW) estimator, a weighted average of $CATT_{e,l}$, the Cohort Average Treatment Effects on the Treated. This estimator is appealing because it is robust to treatment effect heterogeneity and staggered treatment timing.[13] It is defined as:

$$CATT_{e,l} = E[Y_{i,e+l} - Y^{\infty}_{i,e+l} | E_i = e] \tag{1}$$

[12] It is plausible that that segregation academies benefited from existing networks of private schools. Montgomery Academy, for example, was not allowed to use city recreational facilities because of its all-white status.

[13] I choose Sun and Abraham because it allows me to address threats to my identification, namely, that school districts where segregation academies were founded are fundamentally different from their counterparts. However, I include results of alternative specifications in Appendix Figure A.3

Where e is the year that a segregation academy was established, l is the number of years from initial treatment, $Y^{\infty}_{i,e+l}$ is the counterfactual outcome, and $Y_{i,e+l}$ is the observed outcome. In my application, this can be thought of as the difference between observed enrollment and counterfactual enrollment. In other words, "what percent lower / higher would enrollment be if a segregation academy was never built in / near this school district?" 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.

$$\nu_l = \sum_e CATT_{e,l} Pr\{E_i = e | E_i \in [-l, T-l]\} \tag{2}$$

Equation 1 is estimated using a linear two-way fixed effect specification:

$$Y_{i,t} = \underset{\text{district}}{\alpha_i} + \underset{\text{year}}{\lambda_t} + \underset{\text{year by state}}{\lambda_t * s_i} + desegPost_{i,t} \tag{3}$$

$$+ \sum_e \sum_{\ell \neq -1} \delta_{e,\ell} (\mathbf{1}\{E_i = e\} \cdot D^{\ell}_{i,t}) + \epsilon_{i,t} \tag{4}$$

- e $\equiv$ "cohort" defined by treatment time
  E.g. all districts where the first segregation academy was built in 1965
- ℓ is relative period
  E.g. $\ell = -1$ *corresponds to 1964*

Where α_i and λ_t are the school district and year fixed effects, respectively. 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. Sun and Abraham (2021) refines the traditional two-way fixed effect specification by including

terms interacting relative period indicators with cohort indicators. It aggregates the coefficients on these interaction terms, $\delta_{e,l}$, which can be interpreted as the $CATT_{e,l}$, 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."[14]

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

I include a dummy, *desegPost*, that controls for if a school district has experienced for a desegregation event or court order, broadly defined, in my main specification. In Appendix Section A.4, I I rule out the possibility of a simultaneous shock, "integration-events," by showing that the establishment of segregation academies is distinct chronologically from the court-ordered integration.

5.2.2 Exposure Index

I follow a similar approach in measuring the impact on public school integration on a sub-sample of 216 schools districts and years. To measure integration, I calculate the Exposure Index:[15]

$$ExpIndex_d = 1 - \sum_{1}^{S} [\frac{n_{B,s}}{N_{B,d}} * \frac{n_{B,s}}{n_{B,s} + n_{W,s}}] \tag{5}$$

Where $n_{B,s}$ is the number of Black students in school s and $N_{B,d}$ is the number of

[14] I implement this method using the `sunab` command included in `fixest` package (Berge, Krantz, and McDermott, 2022).

[15] See Massey and Denton 1988).

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 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.

6 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. This decrease in white enrollment is primarily due to parents opting into the segregated private school system rather than white residential flight. 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

[16] 24% of treated districts.

[17] OCR did not collect data for 1969, 1971, 1975, 1977, and 1979.

potentially mitigating the positive impacts of integrating public schools.[18]

6.1 Decrease in Enrollment Driven by White Enrollment

Segregation academies induce a 11% decline in enrollment in nearby public school districts (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. Specifically, white enrollment decreased by 37% 15 years post treatment (Figure 7). There is no effect on Black enrollment (Figure 7). I interpret this to mean that segregation academies acted as substitutes for public schools for white parents and that enrollment declines reflect white parents removing their children from public schools and placing them in segregation academies.

This shift, rather than white residential flight, is the primary mechanism causing enrollment to decline. Segregation academies were established in areas where the impact of integration on the demographics of schools was more salient (Section 3). This potentially induced white flight from the school district that would have occurred in the absence of a segregation academy. Alternatively, 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 4).

I estimate white residential flight accounted for $4-5$ percentage points, or 17%, of the decline in white enrollment (Panel B). I disentangle the effect of white flight in-

[18] 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

duced by segregation academies and white flight unrelated to segregation academies in columns (iv) and (v) of panel A and B in Table 1. In column (iv), I allow 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 interpret the difference between column (ii) and column (iv), which is approximately 4 pp for white enrollment and 2 pp for enrollment (17% and 18%, respectively) as the contribution of unrelated residential flight. In column (v), I control for contemporaneous changes in white population. I interpret the difference between column (iv) and column (v), as the contribution of related white residential flight on white enrollment. This effect is approximately zero.

After controlling for desegregation and various fixed effects (decade, school district, and state by decade), white population declines by 9% (Table A.1). Black population also declines by 8%. Population estimates, however, come from the decennial census and thus can only be used to measured changes from decade to decade. Enrollment, in contrast, is measured every year. This discrepancy in the frequency of measurement helps account for the un-intuitive result that there is no effect on Black enrollment despite the relative decline in Black population: the year fixed effects in Table 1 likely absorb variation that decade fixed effects are too coarse to capture.

Ultimately, the average decrease in white enrollment, 30%, is much larger than the white population decline. Additionally, even though the underlying racial composition of school districts did not change, there is a 23% decline in the white share of enrollment. I conclude that the shift from public to private education is the primary mechanism by which enrollment decreases.[19]

I am also interested in how segregation academies functioned within the communi-

[19]Baum-Snow and Lutz (2011) finds the opposite result. However, their result is specific to large central districts and inspects increases in enrollment in all private schools rather than the impact of the establishment of segregation academies

ties in which they were located. 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]

Figure A.1 provides suggestive evidence supporting this hypothesis. Segregation academies had the largest effect on enrollment in communities in the bottom quartile of the population and the smallest effect on communities in the top quartile (compared to control counties in the respective quartiles).[21] This effect also makes sense practically – one can imagine it is easier to quickly build a school that houses the 200 white students of a rural community rather than the 800 in a more populated community. 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 historical literature also suggests that integration happened in a more piecemeal fashion in urban areas – New Orleans, for example, was integrated school by school rather than all at once (Stern, 2020). Accordingly, segregation academies were likely built to serve subsets of the school district's white students in populous areas, which would decrease the treatment effect of the initial segregation academy. This is especially relevant given the large comparative size of southern school districts, which were largely contiguous with county boundaries, vs. northern school districts.

[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.

[21]I measure quartiles within states: the bottom quartile, for example, refers to school districts within the bottom quartile of population within their state.

I also investigate the interaction of pre-existing racial animus on the treatment effect size. If enrollment decline was inevitable in racist areas, we would expect to see a *smaller* treatment effect in areas with high existing measures of racial animus. I find evidence for the alternate story: segregation academies had a *larger* effect in areas with high vote shares for Strom Thurmond in 1948. I attribute this to a higher proportion of white parents were more willing to pull their children out of public school to avoid integration. The smallest effect is seen in areas in the middle 50% of Thurmond vote share, suggesting a U-shaped pattern wherein segregation academies made the largest impact for predominantly racist areas (where there were more white parents willing to pull their children out of public schools) and the second largest impact in predominantly non racist areas (where there was negligible white flight occurring in control counties).[22]

6.2 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 2, 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).

Segregation academies thus decreased the effectiveness of integration efforts, the benefits of which include improved labor market and academic outcomes for Black students (see introduction).

[22]Quartiles are taken within state to remove the role of across-state variation. This is especially relevant for the vote share of Thurmond in 1948 because Alabama did not place Harry Truman on the ballot, resulting in much higher vote shares in Alabama than in other states – a 87% vote share in Alabama should thus not be compared to a 34% vote share in Georgia.

6.3 Validity of Event-Study Specification

In order for the IW estimator to be valid, 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 pretrends in all of my event-study plots in Figure 7. However, it is clear from Figure 4 that treated locations have statistically significant different pre-treatment characteristics than control districts. The IW estimator is invalid if these differences cause a violation of parallel trends. Of particular concern is the possibility that the establishment of segregation academies coincided with integration events, the effects of which have already been studied widely in the literature. I thus conduct extensive robustness checks to account for any violations in parallel trends and potential simultaneous shocks.

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.

As shown in Figure 4, 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). Similar to the exercise in column (iv), I control for a time trend specific to quartile percentage of the population that is Black in 1950 in column (iii).[23] This shrinks the overall ATT from 11.3% to statistically insignificant 3.5%. There is still a statistically significant white enrollment decline of 21%.

The primary concern that (iii) attempts to address is the location of segregation

[23] I include quartile rather than the continuous variable because the interaction of a continuous variable and year may effectively act as an individual by year fixed effect, which would absorb the variation I seek to measure.

academies in majority Black districts. If these districts experienced large enrollment declines during this period unrelated to segregation academies, the effect then would be attributable to the selection of places that formed segregation academies, rather than the establishment of a segregation academy.

To test this hypothesis, I analyze a simple median enrollment change from 1960 - 1985. 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.

I also rule out the possibility of a simultaneous desegregation shock driving my results by controlling for desegregation events (court orders and "desegregation events" defined by Thompson (2022)) directly in my main specification with $desegPost$. Additionally, I show that the timing of these events are distinct from the timing of the establishment of segregation academies. I discuss in detail this analysis and the determination of desegregation timing in Appendix Section A.4.

My results are unchanged when I control directly for measures of racial animus (column vi).[24] This rules out the possibility that the effect is driven by selection of segregation academies into racist areas.

These methods, as well as a matching exercise I describe in Appendix Section A.5, thus provide a conservative lower bound for my treatment effect.[25] Appendix Section A.5 includes a more detailed discussion of robustness of the event-study specification.

[24]Results are also robust to controlling for alternate measures of racial animus, including vote share for Strom Thurmond in 1948 and number of Klans per 1950 population.

[25]The corresponding event studies can be viewed in Figure A.1.

7 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 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.

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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Panel A: Enrollment

	Log Enrollment							
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
ATT	-0.1056***	-0.0978***	-0.0257	-0.0740***	-0.0834***	-0.0822***	-0.0278	-0.0390
	(0.0200)	(0.0199)	(0.0239)	(0.0186)	(0.0177)	(0.0202)	(0.0209)	(0.0285)
Desegregation Post		-0.0735***	-0.0300	-0.0520**	-0.0569**	-0.0564**	-0.0284	0.0462
		(0.0270)	(0.0265)	(0.0246)	(0.0232)	(0.0265)	(0.0218)	(0.0374)
Year × Quartile Black Pop Pct			-0.0067***				-0.0048***	
			(0.0012)				(0.0014)	
Year × Pop Delta 50-60				0.0003***			0.0002***	
				(7.45×10^{-5})			(6.2×10^{-5})	
White Pop Delta					-0.1227*			
					(0.0732)			
Year × Number of Lynchings Per 1950 Pop						-0.0003***	-0.0002**	
						(7.86×10^{-5})	(8.25×10^{-5})	
Observations	13,201	13,201	12,568	9,298	9,201	12,568	8,886	6,723
R^2	0.95940	0.95973	0.96658	0.97331	0.96942	0.96368	0.97617	0.97304
Within R^2	0.09662	0.10383	0.20650	0.28659	0.10456	0.13754	0.37232	0.20145
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-State fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Panel B: White Enrollment

	Log White Enrollment							
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
ATT	-0.3044***	-0.3011***	-0.2162***	-0.2532***	-0.2509***	-0.3047***	-0.2014***	-0.3191***
	(0.0788)	(0.0787)	(0.0750)	(0.0689)	(0.0617)	(0.0822)	(0.0681)	(0.1171)
Desegregation Post		-0.0214	-0.0280	-0.0631	-0.0359	-0.0595	-0.0624	0.2118
		(0.0543)	(0.0418)	(0.0495)	(0.0287)	(0.0450)	(0.0406)	(0.2383)
Year × Quartile Black Pop Pct			-0.0065**				-0.0041	
			(0.0029)				(0.0028)	
Year × Pop Delta 50-60				0.0003***			0.0003***	
				(7.12×10^{-5})			(7.32×10^{-5})	
White Pop Delta					-0.1628			
					(0.1089)			
Year × Number of Lynchings Per 1950 Pop						-3.95×10^{-5}	8.87×10^{-6}	
						(0.0002)	(0.0002)	
Observations	4,895	4,895	4,701	4,099	3,126	4,701	3,969	2,473
R^2	0.92765	0.92766	0.93078	0.94197	0.94278	0.92705	0.94248	0.92434
Within R^2	0.22514	0.22531	0.27794	0.36545	0.20497	0.23911	0.39080	0.27901
School District fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-State fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 1. Event studies in Figure 7 reflect estimates from (ii). Results from a matched data set are in (viii). 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.

	Segregation Academy		Major Desegregation Order	
	Log (i)	Level (ii)	Log (iii)	Level (iv)
ATT	-0.1580*	-0.0370**	0.2398***	0.0520**
	(0.0934)	(0.0146)	(0.0863)	(0.0219)
Observations	1,683	1,696	1,683	1,696
School District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year-State FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2. 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.

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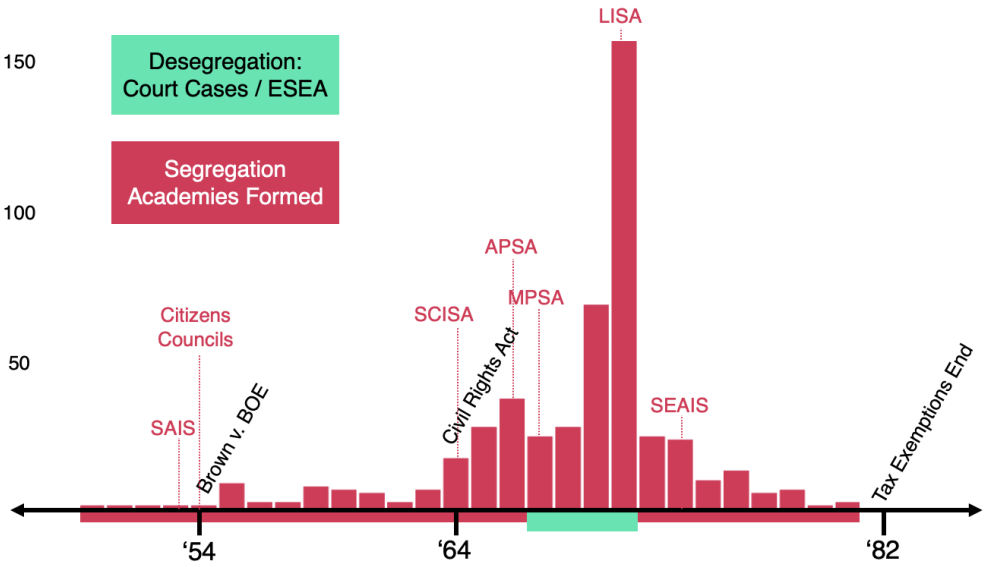


Figure 1. Timeline of establishment of segregation academies. While most previous economic analysis has been focused on the impact of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the impact of court ordered integration, segregation academies were established as early as the 1950s. Data used in main analysis covers the period 1960-1985.

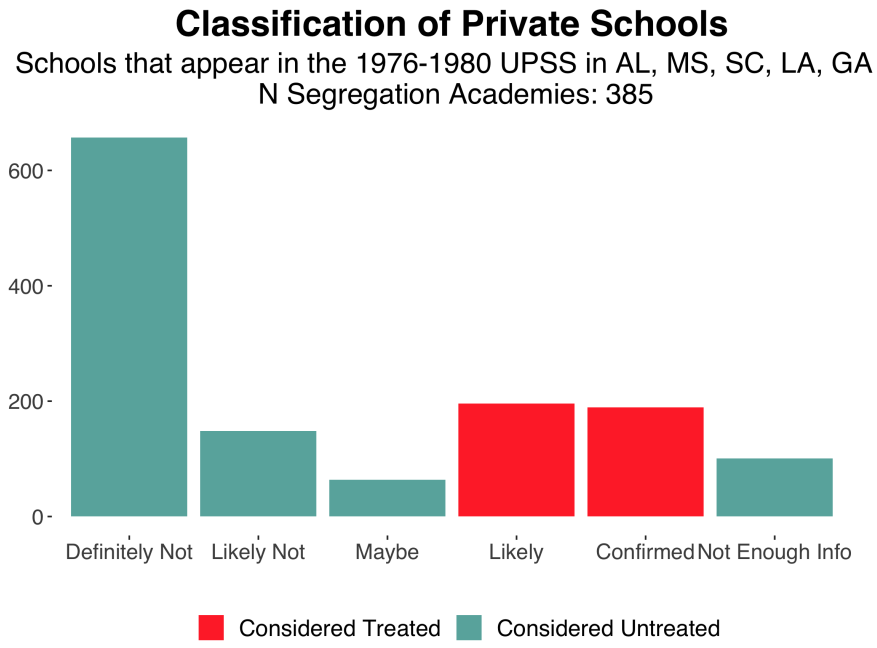


Figure 2. Distribution of private schools among labels.

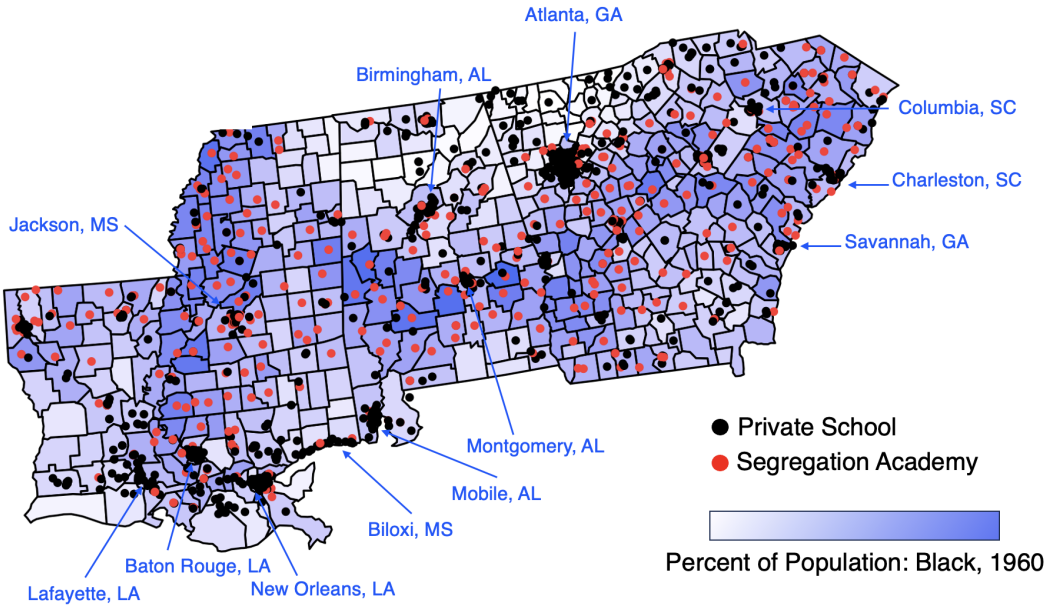


Figure 3. Data from the 1976-1980 Universe of Private School Survey (UPSS). Locations of segregation academies are in red. Locations of private schools are in black. Major urban areas are highlighted with blue text. Percentage of the population that is Black is shown by the blue gradient. The scale ranges from 0 to 84%.

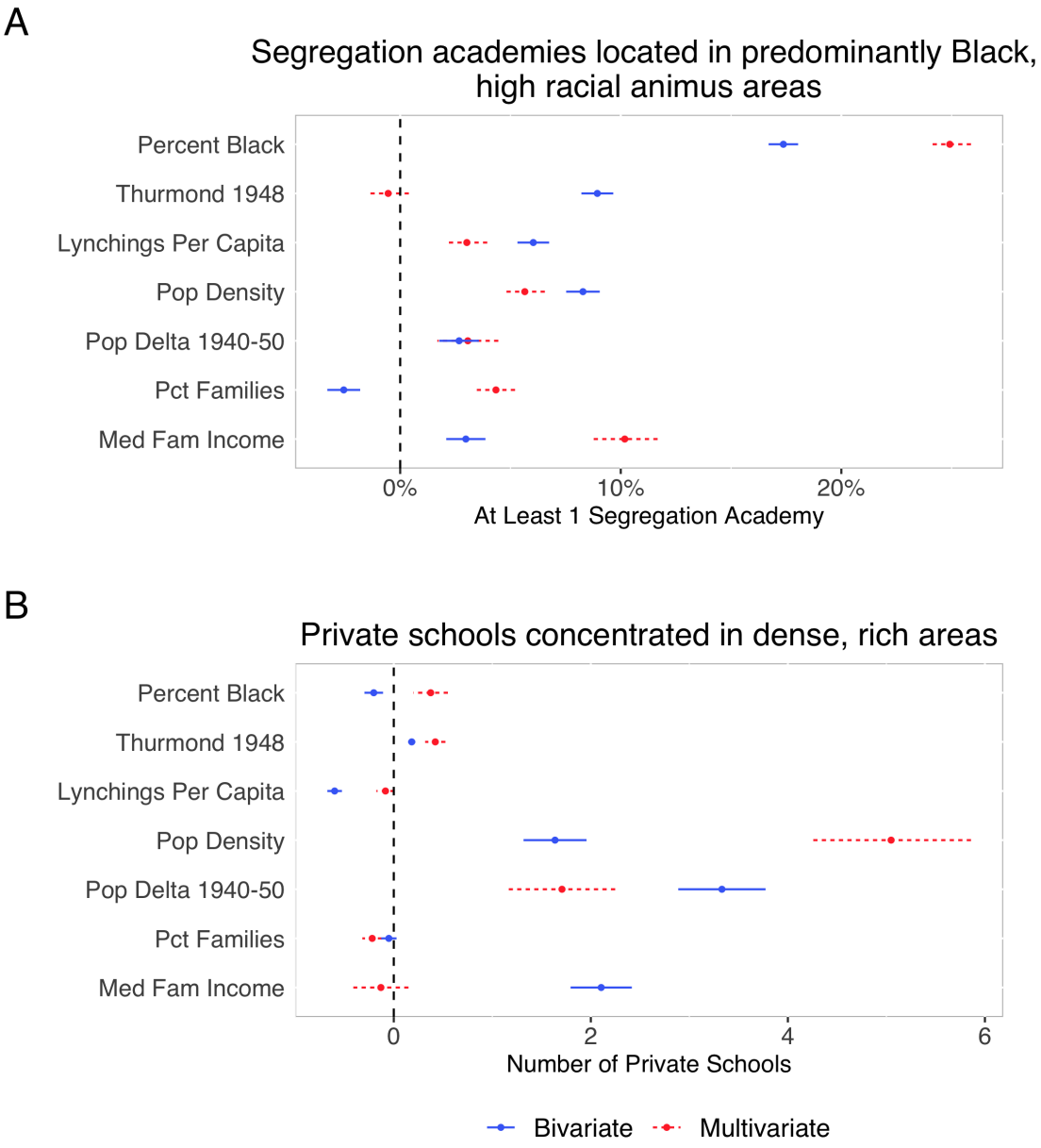


Figure 4. Graph shows correlation of characteristic on y axis with treatment residualized within a state. "At least one segregation academy" (panel A) indicates at least 30% of a school district's area is within 10 miles of a segregation academy. The comparison group are never treated school districts. Variables from 1950 census.

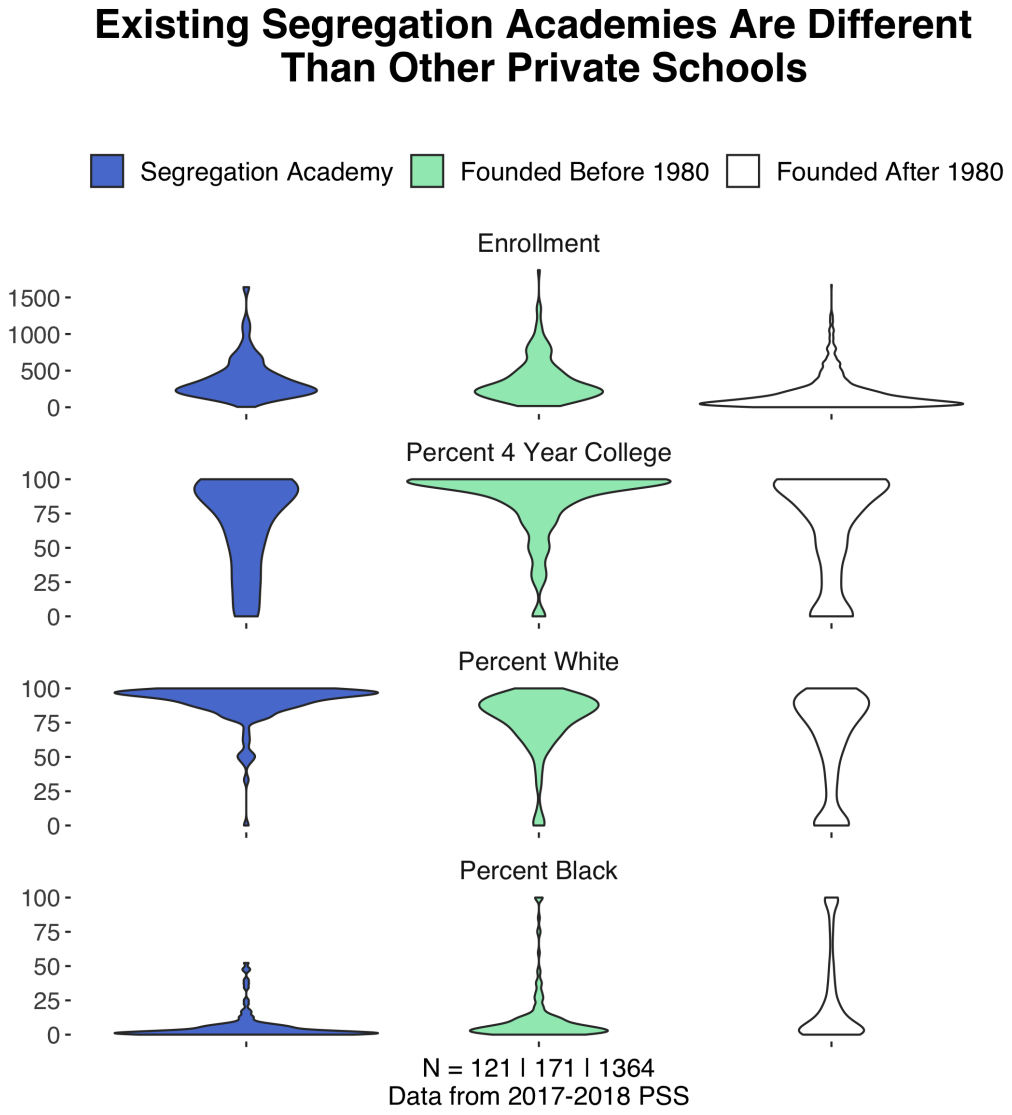
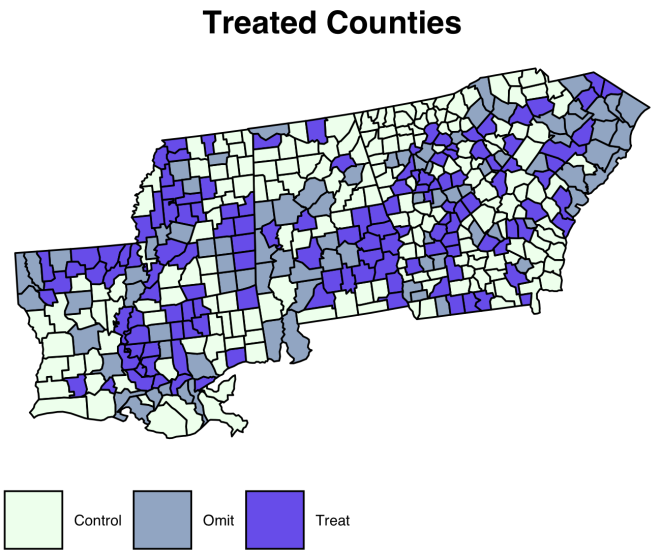
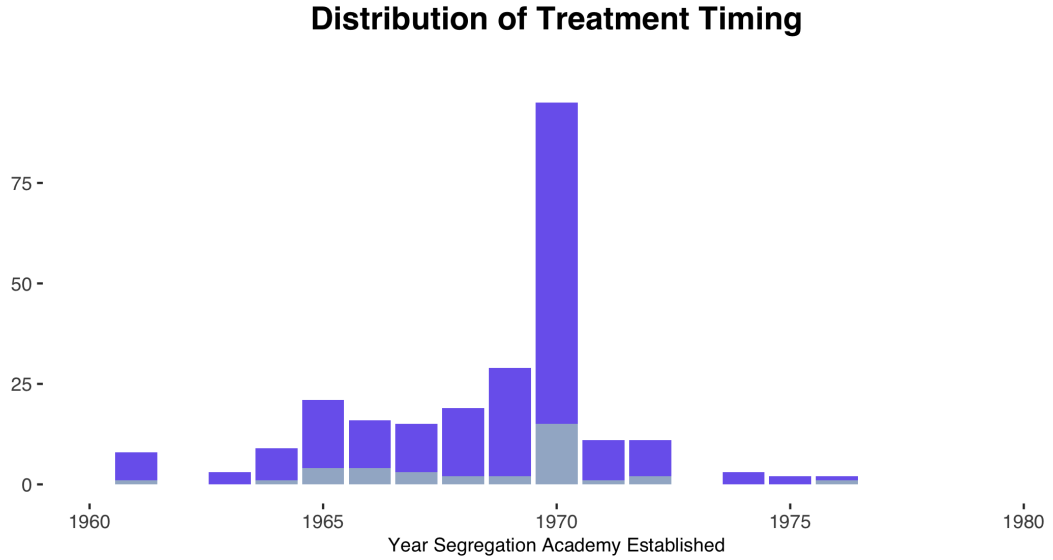


Figure 5. The characteristics of surviving segregation academies in 2017-2018 compared to characteristics of other private schools in the 2017-2018 PSS. All segregation academies in sample were founded before 1980. Because newer schools may differ from older schools, I separate out schools that were founded after 1980 for comparison with segregation academies. Categories are mutually exclusive.



(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 6. 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.

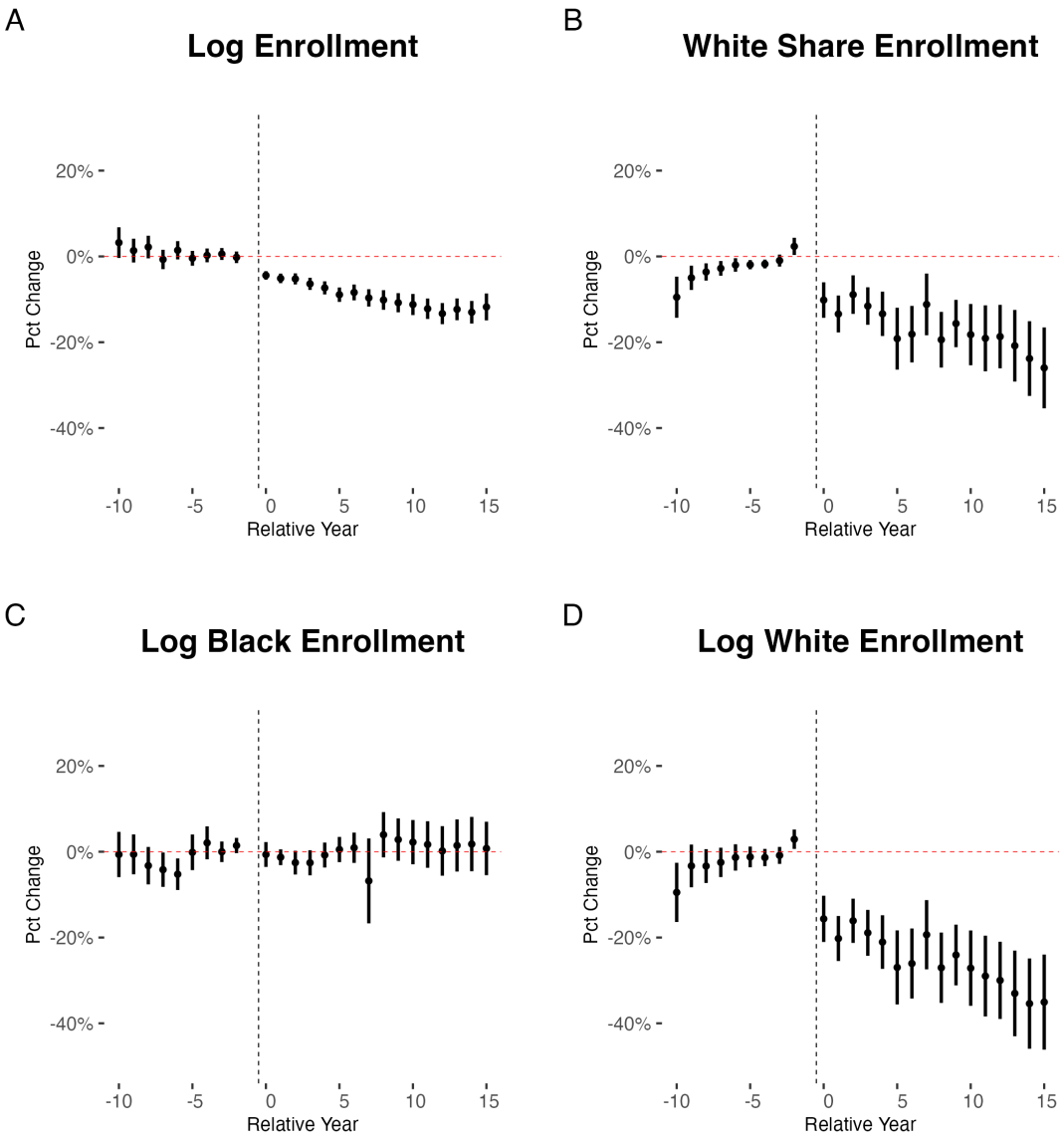


Figure 7. Panel A: Y axis shows change in log enrollment for Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Panel B, C, and D reflect estimates for Alabama and Louisiana, where by race enrollment data is available.

A Appendix

A.1 Figures

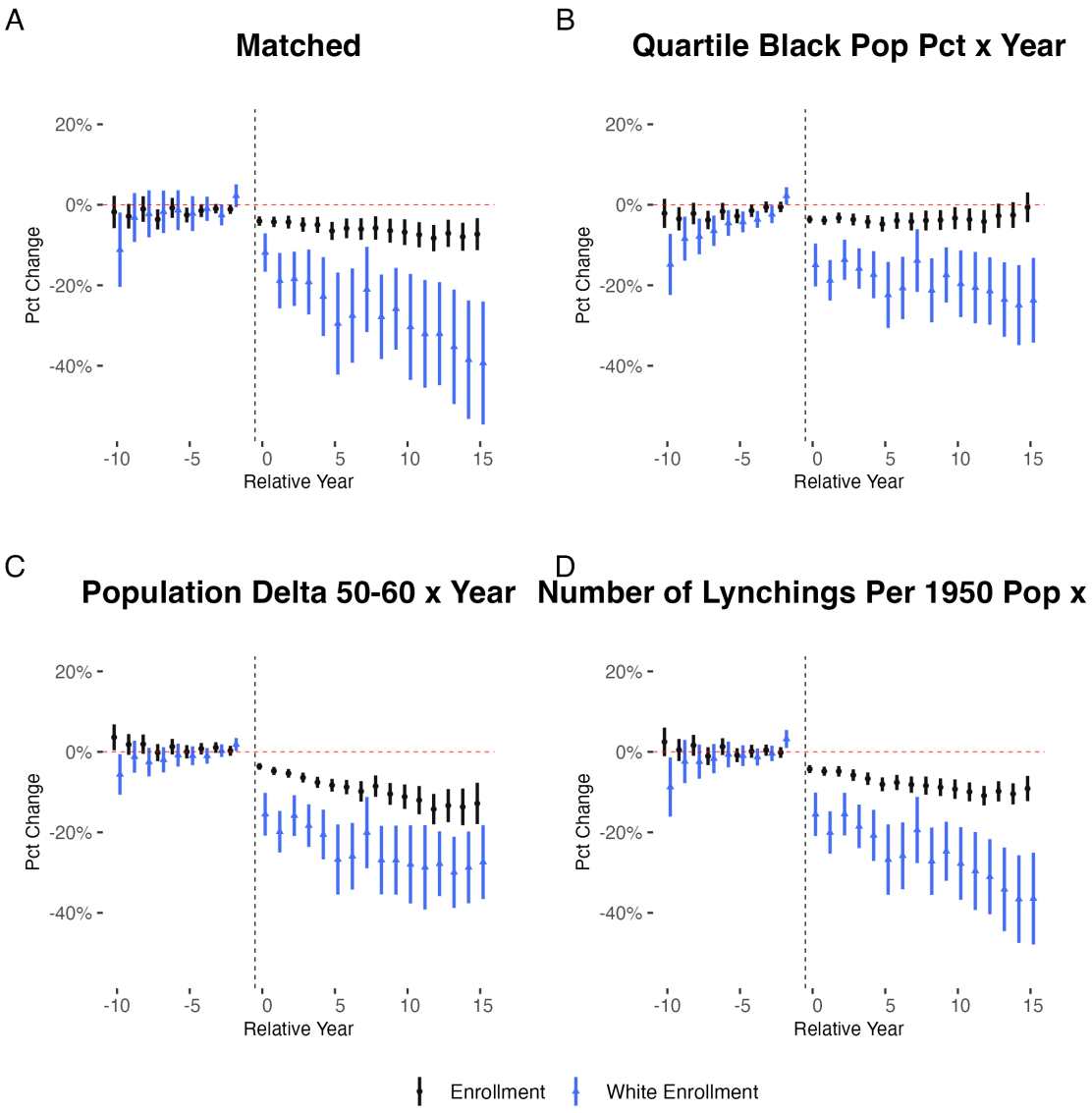


Figure A.1. Event studies showing results from Table 1.

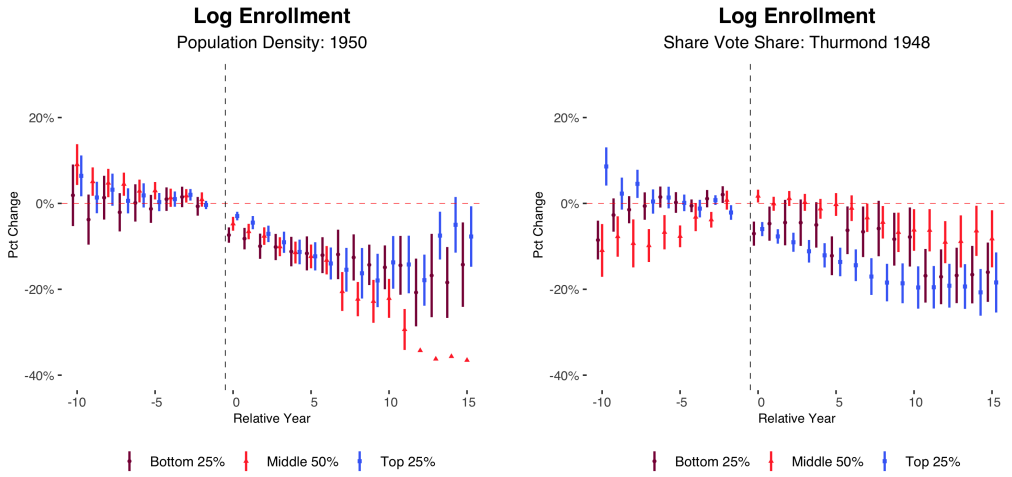


Figure A.2. Heterogeneity in the impact on enrollment by population density and share vote for Strom Thurmond in 1948.

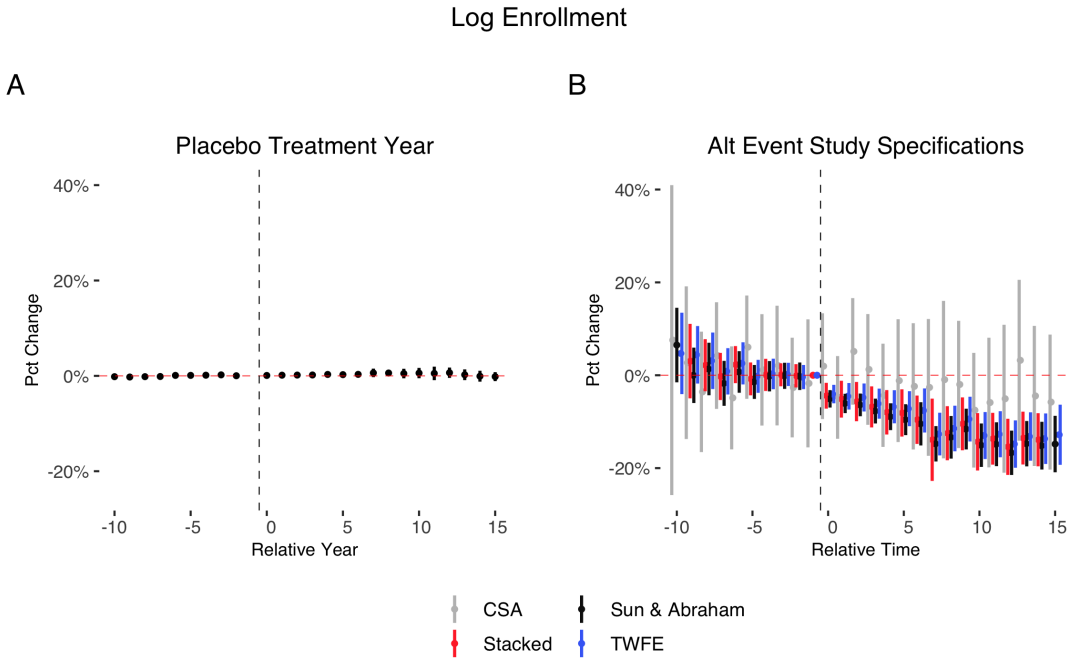


Figure A.3.
Panel A: Treated counties were assigned random treatment years between 1960 and 1976 (the range of treatment years in my main specification). I then run an event study using the same specification. *Panel B*: Results using alternate TWFE specifications. CSA refers to Callaway and Sant'Anna,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

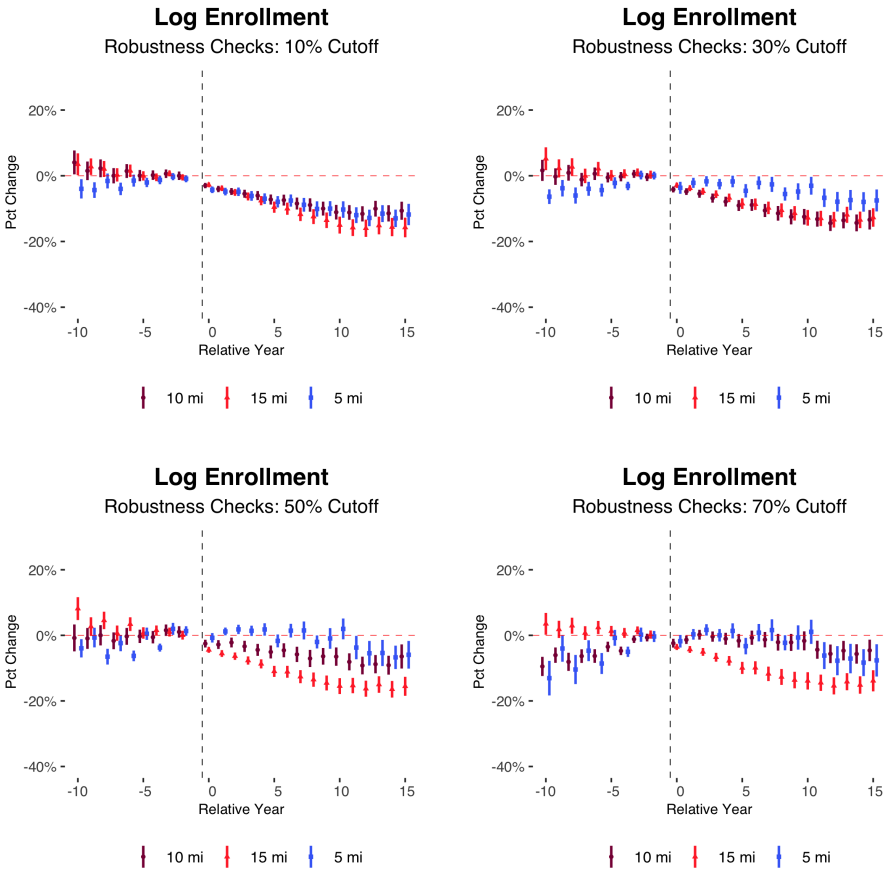


Figure A.4. Robustness checks. 10%, 30%, and 50% yield similar results. The more restrictive criteria of shrinking the radius of the catchment area to 5 miles or requiring 70% of the school district's area to be within the catchment area reduces the number of treated counties such that results become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

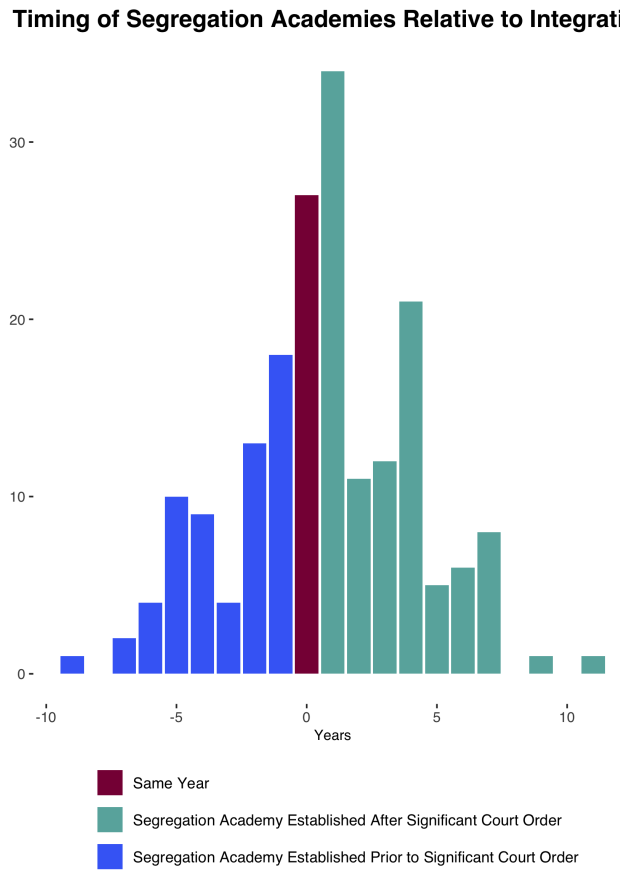


Figure A.5. Timing of integration events vs. segregation academies

A.2 Tables

	Log Black Population (i)	Pct Black (ii)	Log White Population (iii)	Pct White (iv)	Log Total Population (v)	Log Youth Population (vi)
ATT	-0.0848*	-0.0041	-0.0988**	0.0070	-0.1076***	-0.0950***
	(0.0444)	(0.0066)	(0.0407)	(0.0070)	(0.0374)	(0.0349)
Desegregation Post	-0.2635**	-0.0109	-0.2040***	0.0164	-0.2398***	-0.2273***
	(0.1053)	(0.0115)	(0.0715)	(0.0124)	(0.0704)	(0.0673)
Observations	2,831	2,477	2,839	2,477	2,839	2,477
R^2	0.93308	0.94661	0.94038	0.93726	0.93589	0.93182
Within R^2	0.02149	0.01906	0.03274	0.01958	0.04331	0.03766
County fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table A.1. Population changes in treated counties, estimated using Sun and Abraham, 2021. Population data comes from the decennial census. Because population is only measured 10 years, I do not interpret these estimates as causal.

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.2. 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

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[26], which documents football schedules for Alabama and Mississippi schools. SCISA Football History[27] 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.
  - 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.

[26] ahsfhs.org
[27] sites.google.com/site/scisafootballhistory

- 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[28] in Shelby County, Alabama and the Carolina Academy[29] in Florence, South Carolina.
- Preschools, day care centers, and kindergartens.

A.4 Defining Desegregation

The standard in the literature on integration is to measure the impact of desegregation plans, specifically those compiled in Welch and Light, 1987. This authoritative volume compiled data on 125 public school districts, sampled nationwide. Most school districts are major urban school districts. The data collected in Table A3 of the book demonstrate how complicated the integration process is– Birmingham, Alabama, for example, has 3 different implementation years listed. The year used by, for example, Reber, 2005 is 1970– the year of a "major" plan, as classified by Welch and Light, 1987. Anstreicher, Fletcher, and Thompson, 2022 expands the Welch and Light sample to 187 large ($>$ 15000 students) school districts by combining it with Logan, 2023. They also use year of plan implementation as their variable of interest. R. C. Johnson, 2011 also relies on a combination of these sources, but uses year of initial court order, arguing that it is more exogenous than year of implementation (because special interest groups could delay the actual year of implementation). He also does not limit himself to large districts, expanding his sample to 868 districts nationwide. Additionally, he only considers court orders. Thompson, 2022

[28]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.

[29]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.

constructs a "desegregation event" variable, which is defined as a change in integration greater than 50%.

My sample includes 646 districts in the Deep South.[30] In order to generate the most comprehensive definition of integration, I augment the data described above with reports compiled by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) and independent research on legal websites such as Justia and Casetext. I include court cases as well as court orders. This brings coverage from 481 school districts to 534. I then take the minimum year of all years recorded.[31]. In the example of Birmingham featured in Table B1, I use the year 1960 to define the *desegPost* variable.

A.5 Robustness Checks

I first check for parallel pre-trends by inspecting the coefficients on the pre-period in my event-studies. Reassuringly, they are statistically indistinguishable from zero. However, parallel *counterfactual* trends, a core assumption of event-studies, are not necessarily guaranteed by parallel pre-trends (Kahn-Lang and Lang, 2020). To address this, I conduct two exercises.

First, I control for the time-varying effect that differing baseline characteristics may have on my outcomes of interest. I control for the interaction of year and measures of racial animus

[30] 529 when I omit partially treated districts

[31] 97/534 school district years come from USCCR or independent research

(share of vote for Strom Thurmond in 1948 presidential election, number of lynchings scaled by 1950 population, and number of klans scaled by 1950 population). These allow me to control for racist biases in each school district. This allows me to answer the question "How did the introduction of segregation academies affect enrollment on nearby public schools?" as opposed to simply using segregation academies as a proxy to answer the question "How does the public school enrollment in racist school districts differ in the 60s and 70s?" I instead choose to focus on the impact of one aspect of racism: the construction of *new*, labor-intensive and often expensive institutions in order to segregate children.

Second, I analyze how these effects differ when controlling for year interacted with percent of the population that was Black in 1950. This allows me to decompose differences specifically within areas with similar racial demographics. Areas with different demographic compositions could react to racially-related shocks in differing ways (Derenoncourt, 2022). For example, Lassiter and Lewis, 1998 describes the contrast between the extreme pro-segregation rhetoric of White leaders in the majority Black Southside of Virginia as compared to the predominantly white northern suburbs of D.C.

As an additional robustness check, 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:

$$\tilde{p}(X|T=1) = \tilde{p}(X|T=0) \tag{6}$$

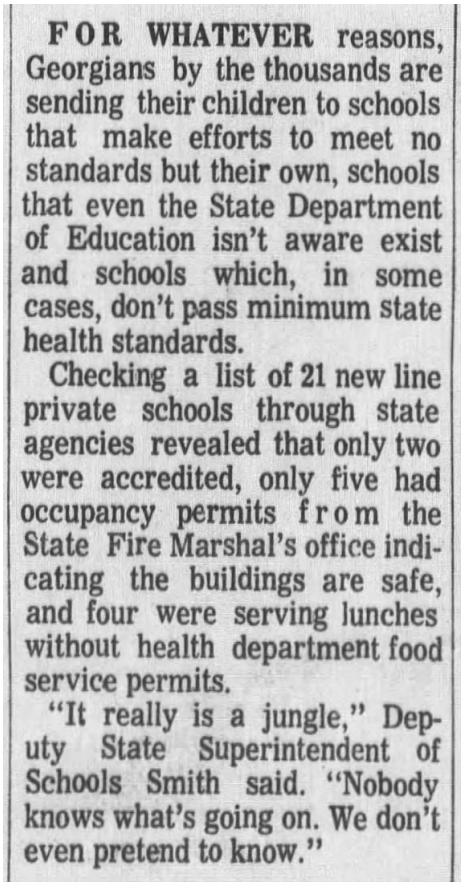
However, matching does come with a loss of precision: there are only 362 school districts in my matched sample, compared to 529 school districts in my main analysis. My matching dimensions of choice are the share of the population that was Black in 1950, 1950 population, population delta 1940 to 1950, 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 4 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.6 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.

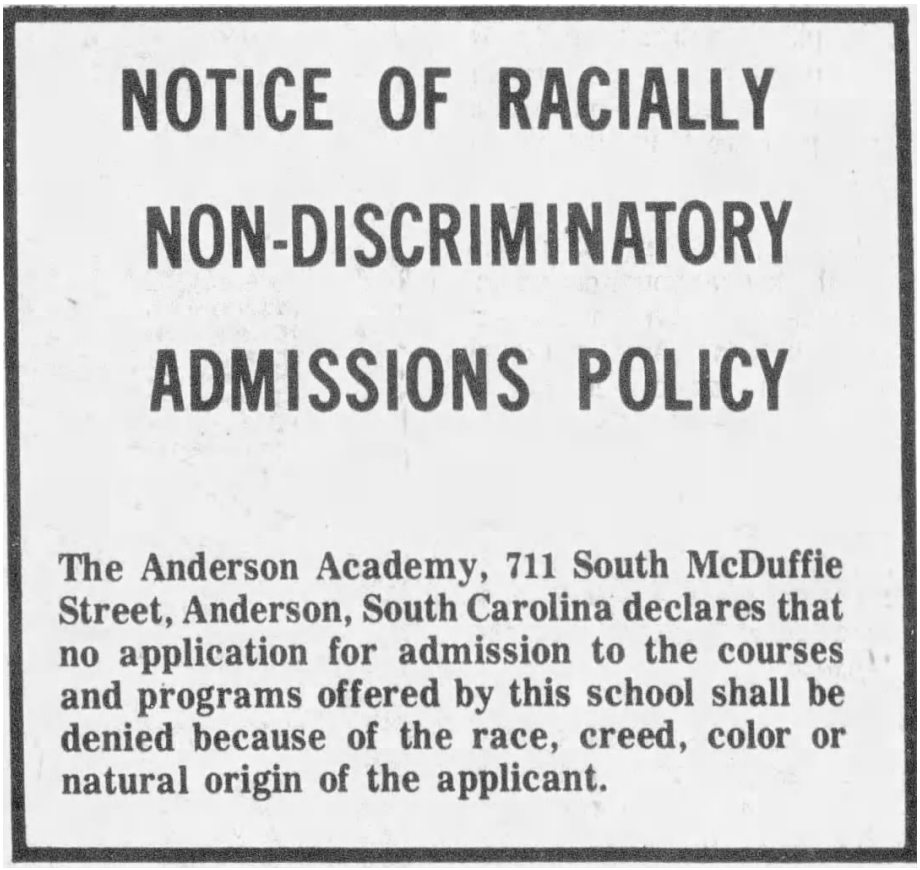
The two schools already named may appeal the IRS finding, but the IRS said it felt a duty to notify taxpapers of the possible loss of tax exempt status.

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.

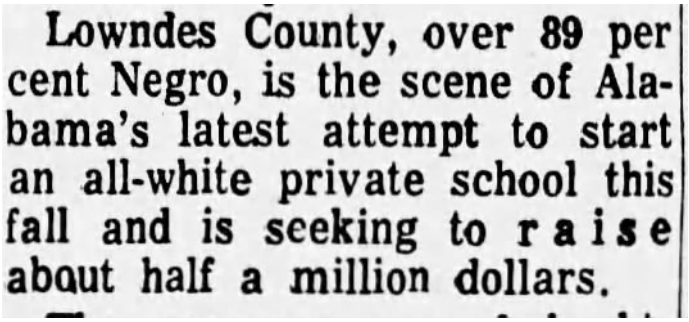
DON'T DELAY–REGISTER NOW

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 twelve 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
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COMMERCIAL—INDUSTRIAL PAINTING
● Brush or Spray Painting ● Sand Blasting
4749 HIGHWAY 80 W. PHONE 922-4263

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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