School desegregation and racial fears in a southern community

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND RACIAL FEARS
IN A SOUTHERN COMMUNITY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF
EDUCATION, ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
LONNIE L. NAPIER

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
AUGUST 1968

R=66  P=55
DEDICATED

To
My Wife
Mrs. Mattie H. Napier
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express gratitude and appreciation to Mrs. Louise Boswell, who served as advisor, and Dr. L. E. Boyd for their assistance and guidance in the completion of this study.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

"Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." With these words the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 17, 1954, lit the fuse to a decade of explosive change. The courts invalidated laws that required racial segregation in the public schools. For Negroes the decision unlocked the door to the realization of their rights as citizens, and they pushed to open it wider and wider. Pushing against the other side, determined to keep the door closed, were those white southerners to whom the decision was heresy, a threat to their way of life.

The school segregation barriers fell quickly and quietly in some places. Even where resistance was strong enough to delay change, desegregation often began voluntarily and without incident. Fourteen years after the decision, however, fewer than one of fifty Negroes attended a desegregated school in the eleven states of the Confederacy.

Upon the decision of the Supreme Court, many white southerners seemed "hell-bent" to preserve the rule "separate but equal" which has long been a practice both north and south of the Mason and Dixon Line.
Many southern whites vowed that before they would obey the laws of the highest court of the land, blood would flow in the street like water. Sure enough, violence and disorder periodically marked the slow pace of change. Mobs gathered when Negroes entered formerly white schools. Here local and state police, National Guardsmen, and Federal Marshalls and troops occasionally were needed to bring rioting under control. Schools, homes, and churches were bombed and burned. Many advocates of desegregation were the victims of economic reprisals, personal harassment and beating.¹

During the ensuing fourteen-year period, some school systems voluntarily submitted plans for desegregation. A majority of these plans were "freedom of choice" or were based on geographic zoning. "Freedom of choice" is a method which allowed each student in the school system to select the school of his choice. In many communities the freedom of choice plan has failed because Negro parents refused to allow their children to attend a desegregated school, or failed to exercise the choice for a desegregated school. Many pupils who attended a desegregated school returned to the all Negro school after one year.

Evolution of the Problem

There has been a widely held opinion that desegregation affects academic achievement regardless of whether fear is present or not. The

writer's interest in this problem was provoked by the reactions which came to his notice when, after a year in white schools, Negro pupils returned to their former all-Negro schools. Hence, the writer was led to believe that this problem would be an excellent one for a thesis project.

The hue and cry of many that Negroes are inferior to a comparable group of Caucasians is countered by others who contend that, under normal circumstances, Negroes will be able to compete with Caucasians.

Contribution to Educational Knowledge

It is believed that this study will serve to reveal to what extent the racial fears held by Negro pupils significantly affect the level of academic achievement of Negro pupils who are so plagued.

Further, it is hoped that the findings of this study will serve to indicate, not only the types of fears, but how these fears affect both parents and their children who attend desegregated schools.

Statement of the Problem

The problem involved in this study was to determine the nature and impact of racial fears upon the academic achievement of Negro pupils who attend desegregated schools, together with what fears concern the families of these children.

Purpose of the Study

The major purpose of this study was to identify, analyze, and evaluate the effects which racial fears engender upon Negro school
children and youth and Negro families in a desegregated school situation.

More specifically, the objectives of this study were:

1. To determine the nature of racial fears which exist in Negro parents and their children enrolled in segregated and desegregated elementary schools.

2. To determine the influence of the fears of Negro parents on pupil transfers.

3. To determine whether racial fears affect the achievement of Negro pupils attending desegregated elementary schools.

4. To identify and evaluate the administrative efforts made to insure success of the "freedom of choice" plan in the implementation of school desegregation.

5. To determine the extent to which racial fears have provoked the re-registration of Negro pupils in Negro schools.

Definition of Terms

The significant terms used throughout this research are defined below:

1. "Segregation" refers in this study to the administrative organization that maintains separate schools for Negro and white pupils as decreed by law or custom or both.

2. "Desegregation" refers in this study to the administrative organization that maintains a public school without racial differentiation in the pupils.
3. "Returnees" refers to those pupils who attended a desegregated school after one or more school terms.

4. "Transferees" refers in this study to those students who transferred to the previously all-white school and remained.

5. "Non-transferees" refers in this study to those pupils who remained at the all-Negro or previously all-white school and did not transfer.

Method of Research

The Descriptive-Survey method of research, utilizing the questionnaire and standardized test was used to collect the data necessary to fulfill the purposes of the research.

Locale and Period of the Study

This study was conducted during 1968 at J. W. Holley Elementary School and the Sylvester Elementary School, both located in Sylvester, Georgia.

Description of the Subjects

The subjects in this study were four Negro school children who attended a formerly all-white school for one year; four Negro children who remained at the formerly all-white school; four white students who spent five years at the formerly all-white school; and eight Negroes who spent five years at the all-Negro school, four of whom are now residing with parents and four of whom are now residing with grandparents. The white and Negro pupils were equated, as far as possible, on the
variables of sex, age, mental ability, and grade level. Achievement test scores in reading and arithmetic did not reveal any appreciable differences for any of the groups.

The subjects were chosen from the sixth grade classes in the schools they attended during 1967-68.

Description of the Instruments

Three questionnaires, one for pupils and two for parents, were specifically designed to identify the fears which concerned pupils and parents as the pupils registered for and attended desegregated schools. These instruments were constructed by the writer with the advice and assistance of faculty from the Atlanta University School of Education.

The California Achievement Test (CAT) was administered to determine the mathematical and reading levels of school-age subjects.

The Otis Quick-Scoring Test of Mental Ability, Beta, was administered to determine the mental ability of school-age subjects.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to twenty of the sixth grade pupils enrolled in segregated and desegregated schools in Sylvester, Georgia.

The sample is small and from a specific locality, which limits the inferences to be drawn from the study.

Data to be gathered through questionnaires are subject to the usual limitations imposed by such instruments.
Research Procedure

The procedural steps used in the collection, analysis, interpretation, and preparation of the data were:

1. The thesis outline was prepared and presented at a summer, 1968, seminar.
2. The related literature pertinent to this study was reviewed, summarized, and incorporated in the final thesis copy.
3. Permission to conduct this study was secured from the proper school officials.
4. The subjects for all groups were equated, as nearly as possible, for sex, age, and mental ability.
5. The school-age subjects were interviewed, tested, and asked to fill out questionnaires.
6. The questionnaire was administered to the parents of twelve and the grandparents of four of the school-age children.
7. The data derived from the instruments were assembled in appropriate tables as dictated by the purposes of the study.
8. The treatment of the data was in reference to frequency of responses on the questionnaire-items and the grade placement indices on the tests.

Survey of Related Literature

The related literature pertinent to this study is presented in the following categories: (1) the effects of desegregation on racial groups; (2) the effects of desegregation on academic achievement;
(3) the attitudes of teachers toward desegregation; and (4) the attitudes of pupils toward desegregation. The related literature pertinent to this study will be presented in this order.

The effects of desegregation on racial groups.—A review of the literature pertinent to this area reveals the attitudes and effects of desegregation between the races, and particularly within the white race. The attitudes of both races are basic to the development of more than a tokenly integrated society.

Today, there are problems other than blindness facing many people living in southern regions. A large number of people have awakened to the racial problems. A large number of whites were not sensitive to the numerous limitations of the Negroes. The Supreme Court Decision of 1954 had a tremendous impact on the attitudes of the white race. Substantiation of this fact was revealed in a study by Hill, who reported that the impact of the court's decision would not be the same throughout the South as there are "many souths"; that most southern communities lie between the extremes of willing acceptance and rejection; that population ratio of Negroes to whites would be a powerful but not a final determinant force on racial attitudes and action followed; that the court's decision would not change "established structure" of southern communities immediately but would quicken and facilitate change. In his study, Hill reports that many southerners are beginning to take a new look at their communities. However, there are others who will effect defensive devices and procedures, comply with the court's decision super-
officially, or even make it possible to comply with the court's decision. He states that segregation has been on its way out for the past fifty years and quotes Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution as saying, "religious and secular forces are partly responsible."¹

Coles states, "We all have our hates, but most of us do not get involved with social and political issues to a degree that becomes frantic and all-consuming."² Genuine integration is a slow and subtle educational process. Yet, it is remarkable and almost frightening to see how quickly a new generation can abandon the ruthlessly indoctrinated and maintained ideology of its predecessor. Researchers say that in the South, as segregated customs have collapsed, most white people have yielded to what they once said they would never accept.

Group antipathies are evidenced almost universally throughout the population. Thurstone established the order of Nationality preference of a group of American students. They preferred to associate with persons of other nationalities in the following order: American, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italian, Greek, Japanese, Hindu and Negro. Bogardus has developed a "social distance" test which confirms this ranking and which is most interesting in showing where the individual would draw the line of contact with persons of other races. Using this test on over 1,700 native born white Americans from all over the United States,


it was found that from 94 to 97 percent would admit their desire to associate with Englishmen while only 6 to 3 percent desired to associate with Negroes.¹

In some communities, schools are making attempts to ameliorate the problems of intolerance, racial bias, and discrimination by programs of intercultural education and teaching about civil rights.

Dwyer, in his study, found that Negro students participated freely in practically all campus affairs. They have won membership in various clubs. It is only in the intimate private social world that interracial contacts have remained at almost zero. Here traditional taboos are in full force. Both sides have recognized them and have behaved with such restraint that few occasions for friction have arisen.

Dwyer says, "it is the Negro who faces the biggest problem of adjustment in this new era." It is felt that the Negro's maladjustment may stem from two paramount problems. First, and foremost, it is a matter of academic adjustment. The majority of Negroes are handicapped by an inferior educational background as well as by other social and economic factors. Researchers think that Negroes are not able to compete with white students on equal terms. The second problem is the strain of day-to-day interpersonal contact. Negro students differ, of course, in their definition of their situations, but we are convinced that most of them carry constant malice which arises from the conflict

between their desire to feel completely accepted and their awareness of the whites' touchiness on the question of social equality.  

The effects of desegregation on academic achievement.--Studies in this section are concerned with desegregated schools as they relate to the academic achievement of Negro pupils.

Desegregation is no panacea, but it can improve the performance of Negro students by inspiring school reform. Ross states that "throughout the country, wherever school systems have been segregated, Negro schools, on the average, have been inferior to white schools. It can be inferred that inadequate education is one factor in the underachievement and declining IQ of culturally deprived children."  

There have been many inconsistencies of various research studies concerning the academic achievements of Negroes. These inconsistencies have brought much concern to teachers. The weight of sociological and anthropological findings support the lack of indifference in innate abilities of Negroes and whites. This evidence appears to be disputed by other studies showing that Negro students in a given geographical area score consistently lower than whites in the same geographical area on standardized ability and achievement examinations. It should be noted also that Negro students in some geographical areas score higher than whites in other areas. The observed difference in achievement be-

---


between Negroes and whites on standardized tests must, therefore, be related to factors other than differences in innate ability. The difference in achievement of the white and Negro pupils is related primarily to their social and environmental life and to their previous education.  

To substantiate Bush's study, Pettigrew, using 565 references, refuted the charges made by a few writers who say that there is scientific evidence to prove that, as a race, Negro Americans have inferior intelligence.  

Noar found that, in a desegregated school, Negro children do not respond readily to classroom discussion unless they are real eager beavers. They will wait until the teacher involves them in whatever is going on in the classroom. Usually, a recitation period will permit such participation.  

Very often Negro children are unwilling to speak up loudly enough to be heard or to volunteer answers, opinions, or comments. This type of attitude prevails because of fear—fear of being wrong, ridiculed or of being scolded for not knowing.  

Williams and Ryan made a study of twenty-four communities where

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4 Noar, op. cit.
desegregation was required or permitted. The twenty-four communities represented six states. School educational systems in these states had changed from segregated to integrated. Research teams went into each community to collect information. Their findings were: (1) desegregation is an uneven, shifting process, not a sudden, massive change; (2) each community has its own special blend of factors that are at work to produce integration or resistance to it; (3) some of the regularities that may be applicable to many communities and some conclusions to be drawn from them are: (a) there are always situations and processes internal to the community that powerfully affect its responses—the economic base of the community as a whole and for its schools, the functioning of its leadership, and the communication between groups; (b) when the white community is not strongly opposed, or where attitudes are unstructured, confused, and in flux, decisive importance attaches to the policies and actions of school boards and officials.

The findings of the research team revealed that tension and conflict can become opportunities for learning new skills, new concepts, and new values.¹

In order to determine the educational consequences of desegregation, a research team went to Delaware in February, 1953. Despite limitations, the researchers found that (1) Negro children included in this study who changed from segregated to integrated schools made dis-

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tinctly better academic progress than they had shown before; (2) Negro and non-Negro children adjusted on a whole to the new situation in a constructive and friendly manner; (3) there was an absence of disturbing incidents. The foreboding of adults did not materialize.¹

When Negro pupils in some schools were asked to evaluate the integrated program, they placed emphasis upon the importance of the treatment afforded to them. They said the general atmosphere was not comfortable in the mixed school and that some of the faculty members showed prejudice. Negro pupils may fall behind in subject matter as one result of the unreality of "separate but equal" education.

The attitude of teachers toward desegregation.—Researchers are interested and concerned about the attitudes of teachers who are employed in an integrated school. Teachers may or may not harbor biased attitudes toward the instruction of an integrated student body.

In a study conducted by Doody on the apprehension of Negro teachers, it was revealed that the subjects fall into two categories: those which are related to the employment and other rights of Negro teachers, and those which involved the anxiety regarding interpersonal relations between Negroes and whites in a desegregated school system. Though both of these areas are generally of concern to Negro teachers at present, there is every indication that the apprehensions related to job rights

and economic security are stronger.\(^1\)

Amos, in his study, discovered the "nature of some of the feelings and attitudes which desegregation provoked in Negro teachers with reference to the Negro's general ability to compete and adjust in an integrated system.\(^2\) His subjects were twenty-five Negroes enrolled in graduate courses pursuing a master's degree in education at Howard University, including twenty females and five males whose teaching experiences ranged from one to nineteen years. The subjects were graduates from sixteen different Negro colleges in southern states and the District of Columbia. The basic approach was qualitative; subjective responses were elicited without structuring the situation in advance. The cartoon technique was used. A drawing was presented to the group, and the following statement made. "Let us assume the artist released the drawing after the Supreme Court ruled that segregation is unconstitutional in public education. Let us assume further that the student publication staff at Georgia Tech released it." The subjects were to look at the drawing carefully and write their reaction. The cartoon showed a male figure on the campus of a southern white college. He had on slacks and wore a sweater with a "T" on the front of it. He had books under the left arm and the left hand in his trouser pocket.


Under the right arm he carried a "T" square. The building in the background had TECH engraved on it. Beneath the drawing was a musical note in front of these words, "Ah's a ramblin wreck from Georgia Tech." The drawing was placed where it could be seen as each member wrote an essay-type reaction. There was no time limit. The reactions were finally analyzed under six categories by three trained judges who looked for statements which implied an attitude toward Negroes in public education. In the order of frequency they were: intellectual, rejection, social inadequacy, stereotyped beliefs, acceptance, and ambivalent attitudes. The author observed a negative aspect in the attitudes—it would appear that an individual who holds such negative attitudes as these would never enter an integrated school system and would have inhibitions which would prevent him from competing on an equal basis with his peers.

Moreover, the attitude expressed in the ambivalent category seems to have this same negative element. The high esteem which the Negro holds for the majority group and the desire to enhance his status by attending integrated schools were detected, but the Negro expressed the feeling that he is more comfortable with the minority group of whom he is most critical.

Wendt revised sixteen attitude scales into an inventory and administered it to teachers to get their opinion on attitudes toward administration, pupils, and adults outside the professional group. He found that the experience of the teacher was not a significant factor in forming or changing opinion. There was a correlation between the
level of grade taught and opinion held. Elementary teachers held a more favorable attitude to all three groups—administration, pupils and adults.¹

Granib, in her "how-to-do-it pamphlet to give guidance and suggested ways of wording to public school educators" in making the change from segregated public schools, states that:

Attitudes of individual teachers should be assessed; that a child should not be permitted to suffer because of teacher rejection.

She suggests that a questionnaire be administered to find the areas of concern to teachers. The questionnaire should contain problems and topics similar to the sample below, which was adopted from a questionnaire prepared by sub-groups on integration.

**Teacher-Pupil Relationship**

- How will the teacher's subject matter be affected by integration?
- What can the teacher teach and what can she not consider suitable in an integrated class?
- Are there certain types of training one should have?
- How can a teacher establish good rapport with pupils of the opposite race?²

**The attitude of pupils toward desegregation.** Since pupils are involved in the desegregation of public schools, researchers have developed a keen interest in the feelings of pupils in an integrated school.


Brunner says that there are definite patterns as to the way Negro and white children get along in the schools of the South which are desegregated. There are factors which may influence the establishment of a wholesome relationship between the Negro and white child. Such factors are age, the nature of the school and its neighborhood, the specific climate, both within the school and in the city, and, of course, the children who are involved. Cities and districts differ. Needless to say, policemen may perform differently, papers vary in their messages, and community leaders are not all the same.

Summary

Together at six is not being together at sixteen, regardless of all the other factors. Young children of the two races play together and work together, even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. A game means more to a child than an idea.

Innate abilities of children remain the same regardless of race. Fear may be a factor that affects the academic achievement of pupils, but other factors may be present and have an equal effect.

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CHAPTER II

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introductory Statement.—The major purpose of this chapter is the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data for the sixteen subjects who attended segregated and desegregated schools in Sylvester, Georgia.

Sources and treatment of data are organized under the following captions:

1. Questionnaire for pupils.
2. Questionnaire for parents of transferees and returnees.
3. Questionnaire for parents and grandparents of non-transferees.

The Questionnaire

In Tables 1-3 are presented data which represent students' responses to thirty questions about their school experiences during a year at a desegregated school; responses from parents of pupils who attended the desegregated school; responses from parents of pupils who remained at the all-Negro school; and responses from grandparents of pupils who remained at the all-Negro school.

In each Table, columns entitled "yes" and "no" are the choices of students, parents, and grandparents who were asked to check the response
which best represented their situation. The Arabic numbers indicate the total affirmative and/or negative responses. For each group responding to that questionnaire, totals are given for the number of "yes" and "no" answers by group and sub-group. Columns are appropriately labeled.

Items are arranged on each table according to the relationship of the questions and nature of information sought. On the original questionnaires, items appeared in a random arrangement to give more validity to the answers. The questions that concerned students covered nine areas of interest: decisions to enter school, concern about grades, feeling about being challenged, fear of physical harm, making friends, being socially rejected, receiving encouragement from home, retaliation against heckling, and receiving administrative cooperation and assistance. Questions that concerned parents whose children attended the desegregated school covered six areas: fear of economic reprisals, fear of physical harm, threats by telephone, other threats, ability to secure credit, and place of employment. Questions that concerned parents of Negro pupils who reside with them and who remained at the all-Negro school covered three areas: fear of physical harm to their children, personal attitude toward desegregation, and course of the choice for children to remain at the all-Negro school. The questions for grandparents concerning children who reside with these grandparents and who remained at the all-Negro school covered the same three areas as those asked of parents whose children remained at the all-Negro school.
Copies of the questionnaires used in this study will be found in Appendix B.

Students' Responses to the Questionnaire

Decisions to transfer.—Table 1 shows unanimous consent, by the eight pupil subjects, that the final decision to enter the desegregated schools was their own.

These data indicate that transfers were sought by the students of their own free will. If the influence of others existed, it was not recognized by the students.

Concern for grades.—To the Question, "Did you feel that your grades were as good as they always were?" six subjects replied "no," while two replied "yes."

In response to the question about receiving grades lower than those previously made due to teacher bias, seven subjects indicated no concern, while one felt this was a factor.

Subjects were asked if they were confident that they could achieve grades comparable to those earned in their old school. The majority answered "yes," with one student choosing "no" as the most suitable response to this particular question.

This group of questions was climaxed with, "Did you feel that you would fare better in your old school?" Five of the subjects answered "yes" and three answered "no."

The group as a whole was not concerned about the decrease in
Table 1

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES FOR STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS:

A IS GROUP OF TRANSFEREES, AND B IS GROUP OF RETURNEEES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Group A Yes</th>
<th>Group A No</th>
<th>Group B Yes</th>
<th>Group B No</th>
<th>Totals Yes</th>
<th>Totals No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decisions to Transfer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was the final decision to enter previously all-white school yours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for Grades</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you concerned about not receiving grades as high as those previously earned due to bias of new teachers?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you feel that your grades were as good as they always were?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you confident that you could achieve grades comparable to those earned at your old school?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Awareness of Challenge</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did you feel you were being challenged to your greatest capacity in your old school?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you feel there was a greater challenge in the desegregated school?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class Participation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you refuse to answer questions because of fear of giving the wrong answer?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you feel other classmates had more class participation because of superior instruction?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fear of Harm</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did you fear physical harm?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you had fear of physical harm, was it sometimes great enough to make you want to leave the desegregated school?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Group B</td>
<td></td>
<td>Totals</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to Retaliate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I retaliated against hecklers by using a few epithets myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you ever feel like retaliating against name calling by calling a few names yourself?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>Reasons for Remaining at Desegregated School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Did you complete the year because you do not like being defeated?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you stay because of a desire to attain?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouragement from Home</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you receive any encouragement from home?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents gave me encouragement at home because they felt I was not getting any encouragement at school?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings of Conspicuousness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you feel conspicuous?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you felt conspicuous, did the feeling last all year?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Atmosphere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did any of the students ever give you words of encouragement or words that carried a friendly air?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I enjoyed a great degree of social acceptability among the student body.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was there ever total rejection of you by students and teachers?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents gave me encouragement at home because they felt I was not getting any encouragement at school?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings of Conspicuousness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you feel conspicuous?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>If you felt conspicuous, did the feeling last all year?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Atmosphere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did any of the students ever give you words of encouragement or words that carried a friendly air?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I enjoyed a great degree of social acceptability among the student body.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was there ever total rejection of you by students and teachers?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did teachers refer to you by given name?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings of distance between me and my classmates lessened by the end of the year.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The principal disciplined students responsible for disturbances</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The principal was sympathetic toward me and any problem I carried to him.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for Returning to Segregated School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I returned to the all-Negro school because I felt that I could make better grades.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I returned to the all-Negro school because of fear.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Group B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I returned to the all-Negro school because I wanted to be with my own race.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I returned to the all-Negro school because my parents insisted that I return.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
grades resulting from teacher bias, but a majority did express that grades were lower than those previously made, and in one case it was felt that teacher bias might have been a contributing factor.

Some students indicated that they felt they could do better in their old school, but most expressed confidence that they could achieve as well in the new situation.

**Awareness of challenge.**--Two questions elicited responses from students concerning their feelings on the degree of challenge, or lack of it, in their new and old schools.

To the question, "Did you feel there was a greater challenge in the desegregated school?," the subjects gave seven "yes" responses and one "no." "Did you feel you were being challenged to your greatest capacity in your old school?," drew one "yes" and seven "no" responses.

Analysis of these responses indicated that a majority felt they had not been challenged in their old school, and they felt a greater challenge to their intellectual capacities at their new school.

**Class participation.**--Students stated unanimously that they refused to answer questions because of fear of giving the wrong answers. Five students felt that other classmates had more class participation because of superior instructions, while three did not agree that this was true.

**Fear of physical harm.**--Two questions were formulated to elicit students' responses about fear of personal harm. When asked if they feared that physical harm might come to them, one replied "yes" while
while seven answered "no."

The second question, "If you had fear of physical harm, was it sometimes great enough to make you want to leave the new school?," also produced one "yes" and seven "no" responses.

Apparently, a majority was not bothered by fears of physical harm. Only one of the group possessed this fear to the point of considering it to be a factor that would motivate him to withdraw from the school.

Desire to retaliate.—Two questions were devoted to retaliation. To the question concerning retaliation against hecklers by using a few epithets, two answered "yes" and six answered "no."

Asked if they ever felt "like retaliating against name callers by calling a few names" themselves, all students replied "yes."

Subjects apparently possessed an inward desire to retaliate, but possessed enough self control not to resort to verbal retaliation.

Reasons for remaining at desegregated school.—There were two questions dealing with reasons for remaining throughout the school term.

To the question, "Did you stay at the new school because you do not like being defeated?," four students answered "yes" and four others answered "no."

Students were asked, "Do you feel that you stayed because of a desire to attain?" This question also produced four affirmative and four negative responses.

It seems that one-half of the group remained at the school from a
desire to attain, and the other half because of a distaste for being defeated.

**Encouragement from home.**—The group gave a unanimous positive response to the initial question regarding encouragement from home. A seven-to-one majority replied that their parents had encouraged them at home because they believed no encouragement was being given at school.

Subjects tended to feel that more encouragement was given because of their new experience.

**Feelings of conspicuousness.**—An attempt was made to determine if students felt "conspicuous" in their new school surroundings to a point where adjustments might be hampered.

To the first question, "Did you feel conspicuous?," all answered "yes."

The second question pursued the feeling further. "If you felt conspicuous, did this feeling last all year?" Four of the eight answered negatively and four gave positive answers.

In accordance with the uniqueness of the situation, students were aware of their differences within the group, which persisted for half of them during the entire year.

**School atmosphere.**—These questions sought to find out if a friendly atmosphere existed for the students in their new surroundings. Two students answered "yes" to the question, "Did any of the students ever give words of encouragement or words that carried a friendly air?"
while six answered "no." Two students stated that they enjoyed a great degree of social acceptability among the student body, but six had not experienced these feelings. All students said that there was, at times, total rejection by students and teachers, but indicated that all teachers referred to them by their names. Two students felt the distance between their classmates and themselves lessened by the end of the school term, but six did not feel this was true for them.

**Administrative assistance.**—The writer was concerned about the administrative assistance provided for these students. All students agreed that the principal did discipline students who caused disturbances, and only one felt the principal was unsympathetic toward him and his problems.

The answers in this section indicate that administrative assistance was given, even though one student felt the principal was unsympathetic.

**Reasons for returning to desegregated school.**—The writer's interest in the reasons four of the transferred pupils returned to the segregated school prompted three questions. "I returned to the all-Negro school because I felt I could make better grades" was answered unanimously "no" by the eight subjects.

The students return to the all-Negro school because of fear was also denied unanimously by the subjects.

Four "no" and four "yes" answers were given to the question, "I returned to the all-Negro school because I wanted to be with pupils of my own race."
The final question in Table 1 asked, "Did you return to the all-Negro school upon the insistence of your parents?" All eight subjects replied "no."

It seems apparent from the responses that these students who returned to the segregated school did so because of a desire to be with pupils of their own race.

Responses of Parents of Children Who Attended the Previously All-white School

Table 2 contains tabulations of the data from the questionnaire administered to the parents of the children who attended the previously all-white school. The questions recorded in this table sought to obtain the parents' negative or positive responses to questions concerning fear of economic reprisal, fear of physical harm, threats by telephone, other threats, ability to secure credit, and employment.

The group gave a unanimous negative response to the initial question, "Were you fearful of losing your job because your child transferred to the previously all-white school?" This same unanimity was reflected in the no answers to "Were you fearful of physical harm to your family because your child attended the previously all-white school?", "Did you receive any threats by telephone?", and "Did you receive any other threats?"

Seven of the parents replied that they were able to secure credit as in the past, while one indicated that he was not.

Six reported that they were employed by the Federal government
Table 2

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES OF PARENTS OF TRANSFEREES
AND RETURNEES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Were you fearful of losing your job because your child transferred to the previously all-white school?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you fearful of physical harm to your family because your child transferred to the previously all-white school?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you receive any threats by telephone?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you receive any other threats?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you able to secure credit as in the past?</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you work for the Federal government?</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you work for a private company?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and two stated that they worked for private companies. All eight of the parents said that they were not afraid of losing their jobs.

It appears from the responses that fear was not present in the Negro parents whose children attended the previously all-white school.

Parents' and Grandparents' Responses Concerning Non-Transferes

Tabulated data on responses of parents and grandparents whose children, or grandchildren, did not choose to attend the previously all-white school are presented in Table 3.

The writer sought to determine why these children did not exercise the choice to transfer, especially to determine if their refusal was related to fear.

The parents and grandparents were asked, "Did your children or grandchildren remain at the all-Negro school because of fear of physical harm?" One grandparent responded positively, but the remaining grandparents and all parents indicated this was not a factor.

To the question, "Did your children or grandchildren remain at the all-Negro school because of your personal attitude toward desegregation?" six said "yes" and two said "no," of the six responding "yes," three were parents and three were grandparents. To the question, "Did your children or grandchildren remain at the all-Negro school because you feared you would lose your job?," all parents and grandparents answered "no."

When asked whether their children or grandchildren remained at
### Table 3

**QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES OF PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS OF NEGRO NON-TRANSFEREES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Parent Responses About Pupils Who Reside With Them</th>
<th>Grandparents Responses About Pupils Who Reside With Them</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did your children (or grandchildren) remain at the all-Negro school because you feared physical harm?</td>
<td>0 4</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>1 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did your children (or grandchildren) remain at the all-Negro school because of your personal attitude toward desegregation?</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>6 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did your children (or grandchildren) remain at the all-Negro school because you feared you would lose your job?</td>
<td>0 4</td>
<td>0 4</td>
<td>0 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did your children (or grandchildren) remain at the all-Negro school because of their choice?</td>
<td>0 4</td>
<td>0 4</td>
<td>0 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the all-Negro school because of the children's choice, all responded "no."

These data indicate that, while a majority of the parents and grandparents admit no fear, there is at least some feeling that races should not be mixed, and, because of their attitudes, they refuse to allow their children or grandchildren to attend the desegregated school.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Problem and Methodology.—The problem of this study was to determine the nature of racial fears upon the academic achievement of Negro pupils who attended desegregated schools, together with what fears concern the families of these children.

The purpose of this study was to identify, analyze, and evaluate the effects which racial fears engender upon Negro school children and youth and their families in a desegregated school situation. More precisely, the writer proposed to determine the nature of racial fears which exist in Negro parents and their children enrolled in elementary schools, and to determine the influence of the fears of Negro parents on pupil transfers. This study sought to determine whether fears affect the achievement of Negro elementary children, and attempted to identify and evaluate the administrative effort made to insure success of pupil transfers.

This study was conducted at the J. W. Holley Elementary and Sylvester Elementary Schools, Sylvester, Georgia, during 1968.

The method used in this study is the Descriptive-Survey, and a form of case study utilizing a questionnaire, a mental ability test, and
an achievement test.

The writer, with the assistance of faculty advisors, prepared a questionnaire which were given to students, parents, and grandparents in order to obtain information from the participants and their parents in this study.

The questionnaire for pupil subjects concerned the types of problem they encountered, the social interaction or lack of it, effects of fear, and academic problems confronted.

The parents of these subjects, and parents and grandparents of pupils who did not transfer, were given questionnaires concerning problems they encountered, attitude toward desegregation, and reasons for failure to select desegregated schools.

The Otis Quick-Scoring Test of Mental Maturity and the California Achievement Tests were administered to the twenty pupil subjects involved in the study, in order to determine ability and achievement levels.

Summary of Related Literature -- The literature surveyed for this study has been synthesized and presented through the basic ideas about effects of fear on academic achievement, psychological effects of segregation on Negro personality, and experiences Negro students have had in desegregated institutions.

The authors tend to agree that there is a great social distance between Negro and white students. One author pointed out that Negro students, while participating freely in all campus affairs, will find the intimate social world closed to them.
Still another author points out that group antipathies are evidenced throughout the population.

During the year, Negro children get their satisfaction from simple survival, from survival with good performance, and from signs of welcome and friendship which may never come. During the year the white child may slowly begin to recognize the Negro child and speak with him, or steadfastly avoid him. Many white children say they are afraid to talk with Negro children at certain times or in certain places, such as the cafeteria or crowded corridors. The Negro students in many places felt that many of their classmates were sympathetic or curious about them, but afraid to reveal any relationship with them because of fear of ridicule or rejection. Many of the Negro students often saw themselves victimized more by their own anxiety than by the others.

Among the segregationist’s children who may change their minds over the year, this change may be attributed to what had happened at school, to noticing and getting to know a particular Negro child, to thinking about the problem because they are a part of the desegregated school, to responding to their friends and their ideas and examples and influences.¹

One author stated that use of racial epithets, consciously or unconsciously, is likely to provoke animosity. If whites refer to Negroes as niggers, Negroes are apt to react in a belligerent manner. On the

other hand, if Negroes refer to whites as crackers, whites—to a lesser extent—may be inclined to react.

Summary in the literature about the Negro students in the desegregated environment points out that the general atmosphere at first was not comfortable in the mixed schools, and that the Negro school subjects appeared to have felt inferior as a result of the unrealistic principal of separate but equal.

One author points out that Negro children have the same innate ability as white children but, even where fear is not present, their years of inferior education will have a direct bearing upon their performance.

Another author indicates that fear of failure or of being wrong is the result of the past experiences of Negro children.

**Summary of Findings.**— The significant findings of this research were summarized and are presented for the three instruments in the following paragraphs.

The students elected to attend the previously all-white school of their own choosing. They remained through this first year in an atmosphere they perceived as unfriendly, with rapport not being established easily. In a majority of instances, grades were lower than those in previous years, but students felt this was not a result of teacher bias, but primarily due to superior instruction.

These students expressed a desire to complete the year, despite the lack of acceptance, because of a desire to attain and not because of fear. They felt that they received the usual degree of motivation
in the varied socio-economic elements from which they came, as in previous years.

The students went through this new experience without physical violence befalling them, and possessed enough self-control not to return epithets aimed at them. But four of the eight students returned to the segregated school after one year.

The parents of these pupils were not fearful of physical harm to their families or economic reprisals. These parents received no threats, and a majority were able to secure credit as in the past.

The parents and grandparents of Negro pupils who remained at the all-Negro school expressed a negative attitude toward desegregation, but their attitude was not influenced by fear.

Conclusions—The analysis and interpretation of the data concerning the sixteen Negro students in this research would seem to warrant the following conclusions:

1. Social acceptance or rejection probably was not a determinant affecting the achievement of the subjects.

2. With two exceptions, grades were reported to have been lower primarily because of new teaching methods.

3. According to students' perceptions, the level of encouragement by parents increased due to their new experience.

4. Fear was not present, and therefore could not have affected academic achievement.
5. Achievement tests in reading and arithmetic indicate that the achievement levels of all Negro pupil subjects were essentially equivalent to each other, but were slightly below the achievement levels of a comparable group of white pupils.

The conclusion drawn from the California Achievement Test was that though these Negro pupils had an I.Q. comparable to a similar white group, their performance was one to three years below the grade level of the white students.

The conclusion drawn from the parents and grandparents response to the questionnaire was:

These parents felt that there was no need to fear desegregation, but some students did not transfer because of the attitude of parents toward desegregation.

Implications.—The results of this study have far reaching implications, namely:

1. The nature of learning and academic achievement is not totally disciplined by social acceptance or rejection.

2. Racial fears and inhibitions, as they existed in Negro parents and students, are not sufficient to cause them not to choose a desegregated school.

3. The administrative efforts within desegregated schools are not made for the purpose of helping Negroes, but to have discipline in the school.

4. Negro pupils re-register in all-Negro schools because of
inward feeling of uneasiness while in the presence of white pupils.

Recommendations.—Careful analysis and interpretation of the findings, conclusions and implications from this research would appear to warrant the following recommendations:

1. Negro students should acquire an interest in and a desire for relevant knowledge, in order to become prepared for the undeniable opportunities that are unfolding in today's world.

2. Parents and teachers of Negro students should become aware of the physical and psychological needs of their youth, in order to assist and motivate them in making wholesome adjustments to different, but real, educational needs.

3. The administration and faculty of schools that are all-Negro should evaluate the inadequacy of their methodologies, concepts, and teaching techniques in engaging young people in broad and challenging situations.

4. The administrators and faculties of desegregated institutions should strive to establish a psychological climate in keeping with democratic spirit and tradition that would allow all students to profit from instruction.

5. The writer recommends that further research be done in this area of interest, in regard to the resegregation of Negro pupils.
Summary Statement.—Fear did not exist in the pupils of parents of the transferees or returnees and there was no significant difference in their achievement.
APPENDIX A

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS FOR THE GROUPS INVOLVED IN STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Transferees</th>
<th>Returnees</th>
<th>Non-Transferees Negro</th>
<th>Non-Transferees White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>119</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>108</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Means: $M = 119$  $M = 109.5$  $M = 119$  $M = 119.75$

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST
ARITHMETIC
GRADE LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Transferees</th>
<th>Returnees</th>
<th>Non-Transferees Negro</th>
<th>Non-Transferees White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Returnees</td>
<td>Non-Transferees</td>
<td>Non-Transferees</td>
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<td>6.1</td>
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</table>

Means: $M = 5.5$, $M = 5.5$, $M = 5.0$, $M = 5.8$

**CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST**
**READING**
**GRADE LEVEL**

<table>
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<th>Returnees</th>
<th>Non-Transferees</th>
<th>Non-Transferees</th>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>4.9</td>
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<td>6.3</td>
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</table>

Means: $M = 4.6$, $M = 4.7$, $M = 5.0$, $M = 5.6$
**APPENDIX B**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Was the final decision to enter previously all white school yours?  
   - Yes   - No

2. Was there ever total rejection of you by students and teachers?  
   - Yes   - No

3. Did you receive any encouragement from home?  
   - Yes   - No

4. Did any of the students ever give you words of encouragement or words that carried a friendly air?  
   - Yes   - No

5. Did you feel physical harm?  
   - Yes   - No

6. My parents gave me encouragement at home because they felt I was not getting any encouragement at school.  
   - Yes   - No

7. I retaliated against hecklers by using a few epithets myself.  
   - Yes   - No

8. Did teachers refer to you by given or sir name?  
   - Yes   - No

9. Did you feel there was a greater challenge in the desegregated school?  
   - Yes   - No

10. Did you ever feel that you could fare better in your old school?  
    - Yes   - No

11. Did you complete the year because you do not like being defeated?  
    - Yes   - No

12. Did you feel conspicuous?  
    - Yes   - No
13. If you felt conspicuous, did the feeling last all year? Yes___ No___

14. Did you feel that your grades were as good as they always were? Yes___ No___

15. Did you stay because of a desire to attain? Yes___ No___

16. I returned to the all-Negro school because of fear. Yes___ No___

17. Did you feel that you were being challenged to your greatest capacity in your old school? Yes___ No___

18. Did you ever feel like retaliating against name calling by calling a few names yourself? Yes___ No___

19. Were you concerned about not receiving grades as high as those previously earned due to bias of new teachers? Yes___ No___

20. I feel that I enjoyed a great degree of social acceptability among the student body? Yes___ No___

21. The principal was sympathetic toward me and and problem I carried to him. Yes___ No___

22. I returned to the all-Negro school because I wanted to be with pupils of my own race. Yes___ No___

23. Did you refuse to answer questions because of fear of giving the wrong answer? Yes___ No___

24. The principal did not help discipline students responsible for disturbances. Yes___ No___

25. I returned to the all-Negro school because my parents insisted that I return. Yes___ No___

26. Were you confident that you could achieve grades comparable to those earned at your old school? Yes___ No___

27. Feeling of distance between me and my classmates appeared lessened by the end of the year. Yes___ No___
28. Did you feel that other classmates had more class participation because of superior instruction? 
Yes ___ No ___

29. I returned to the all-Negro school because I felt that I could make better grades.
Yes ___ No ___

30. If you had physical harm, was it sometimes greater enough to make you want to leave the desegregated school?
Yes ___ No ___
APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you work for a private company? Yes ___ No ___

2. Were you fearful of losing your job because your child transferred to the all-white school? Yes ___ No ___

3. Do you work for the federal government? Yes ___ No ___

4. Were you fearful of physical harm to your family because your child transferred to the all-white school? Yes ___ No ___

5. Were you able to secure credit as in the past? Yes ___ No ___

6. Did you receive any threats by telephone? Yes ___ No ___

7. Did you receive any other threats? Yes ___ No ___
APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Did your children remain at the all-Negro school because of their choice?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Did your children or grandchildren remain at the all-Negro school because you feared physical harm?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Did your children or grandchildren remain at the all-Negro school because you feared you would lose your job?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Did your children remain at the all-Negro school because of your personal attitude toward desegregation?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Amos, Robert. "The Dominant Attitude of Negro Teachers Toward Inte-
gration in Education." Journal of Educational Psychology, XLV (December, 1955), 470-476.


Unpublished Materials

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