

1980

Conflict Theory and Segregation Academies: Application and Refinement of Dahrendorf's Theory.

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CONFLICT THEORY AND SEGREGATION ACADEMIES: APPLICATION
AND REFINEMENT OF DAHRENDORF'S THEORY

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col. PH.D.

1980

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CONFLICT THEORY AND SEGREGATION ACADEMIES:
APPLICATION AND REFINEMENT OF DAHRENDORF'S THEORY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

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August 1980

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful to Dr. William W. Falk whose guidance and support throughout my doctoral studies have made the completion of this dissertation possible. His own high level of professionalism has provided me with a role model worthy of emulation, and I feel extremely fortunate to have been associated with him.

I also appreciate the support and time given by the other members of the committee, Dr. Alvin Bertrand, Dr. Quentin Jenkins, Dr. J. H. Jones, and Dr. Sepncer Maxcey. Dr. Maxcey's appreciation of my work was one of the more important rewards that I received from doing it.

I am grateful to the subjects of this study who gave so willingly of their time, reflections, and ideas. This work obviously depended on their cooperation.

I appreciate Rita Smith and Janet Austin who were so patient and perservering in their typing of this, and Frank Smith and the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad who transported the manuscripts so expertly and safely.

Finally, I thank my wife, Linda, and my children, Abram and Jenna, who understand so well and who provided the energy to fuel this work.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploratory case study which applies and refines Ralf Dahrendorf's theoretical work in an effort to understand the social organization of segregation academies. One location is studied intensively through guided interviews with a variety of subjects who had some role in one of four local private schools or some relationship to them. School documents and other recorded data are also used to trace the development of these schools.

Variables suggested by Dahrendorf and by Nevin and Bills are explored and further developed. Enrollment figures are used in a state-wide analysis of the effect of potential black enrollment on the enrollment in these private schools.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Until very recently the theoretical orientation of sociologists in the United States was so pervasive that Mullins (1973) characterized it as "standard American sociology." This orientation was the structural-functionalism found in the writings of Durkheim (1933), and, especially Parsons (1937, 1951). Given the predominant influence of Parsons' writings (Gouldner, 1971) and Harvard as a major training center for sociological theorists (Mullins, 1973), that a view would be so widespread is not particularly surprising. Additionally, given that Parsons' ideas appear to have been so slightly influenced by the work of Marx and given the American political climate of the 1950's (again, see Gouldner), it is also not particularly surprising that a conflict perspective was held by a relatively few American sociologists. However, recent descriptions (e.g. Warshay, 1975) indicate that sociology in America has become more diversified, and its multi-paradigmatic character (Ritzer, 1975) does reflect a growing interest in conflict and other perspectives. This suggests that structural-functionalism will increasingly have its suitability and applicability challenged by competing paradigms. Collins (1971), Hurn (1977) and others have shown this to be the case

in the emerging analysis of schooling from a conflict perspective, and it is toward this "other" view that this study is directed.

At a theoretical level, this study is intended to be an application of conflict theory in an analysis of resistance to public schooling in the United States. Variables are developed that are derived from conflict theory and empirical tests are proposed. The particular phenomenon to be examined is the emergence of segregation academies in the South.

The general issue to be addressed by this study is: Does it make sense to conceptualize schooling in the United States as a battleground in structural and cultural conflict? It will be shown how conflict theory leads to that expectation. Implicit in this approach is an indirect comparison of this perspective with the rival perspective of structural-functional theory. The thrust of the latter perspective is that schooling has expanded to its present state primarily to provide training and selection of workers in a complex division of labor (Bertrand, 1971). It thus functions as a key institution in the maintenance of the system of which it is a part. This perspective has traditionally had widespread support in American sociology (Gouldner, 1971), and it is in response to structural-functional theory that Ralf Dahrendorf formulated his conflict theory in Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (1959).

The comparison between the functionalist and conflict perspectives will only be implicit because this study is limited to developing theory derived from a conflict perspective. Support for hypotheses drawn from conflict theory will not of logical necessity somehow refute a functionalist approach, nor will a failure to support such hypotheses necessarily support a functionalist approach. Each perspective may hold valuable insights--society may be "Janus-headed" as Dahrendorf (1959) acknowledges. The best understanding may lie in some synthesis of those two approaches, if that is possible, or in some entirely fresh alternative approach. Resolving such larger issues is far beyond the scope of this study, and the comparison of approaches is implied only to the extent that structural-functionalism and conflict theory are competing perspectives. The study itself will contribute directly only to conflict theory, trying to assess its explanatory potential for this particular problem and perhaps to further develop it.

There is a parallel to these rival perspectives in sociology in the writing of the history of schooling. This field of scholarship is usually called "educational history," although, as Greer (1972) points out, authors often carelessly use the concepts of "education" and "schooling" interchangeably, thus exposing a rather narrow conception of education. This study will use the term schooling to mean that activity which goes on in institutions known as

schools. Education seems to be a far broader idea and more problematic; its use will be avoided except when quoting other sources.

The traditional approach in the history of schooling is perhaps most prominently exemplified by Cubberly (1919), but it has more contemporary and sophisticated practitioners like Bailyn (1960) and Cremin (1965). They chronicle the history of American "education" primarily by telling the story of the emergence of the public school. This approach is based on the assumptions that schooling promotes democracy and equality of opportunity and that the usually egalitarian rhetoric associated with support for public schools represents the reality both of the motives of the supporters and of the effect.

On the other hand, a group of revisionist historians, exemplified by Tyack (1974), has tried to show that public schooling has been a device for social control that has been promoted and resisted by various contending cultural groups. According to this version, the expansion of public schooling represents less the progress toward egalitarian ideals than it does the dominance of groups whose interests were served by the content and organization of the schools (Greer, 1972). The parallels of these two approaches in historiography to the functionalist and conflict perspectives in the sociology of schooling seem apparent. Thus, this study is also proposed as a

contribution to this literature by developing a theory that should be supported if the revisionist versions of history are more insightful than the traditional one.

Significance of the Problem

The study is significant in at least four ways: First, there is an absence of research on schooling that employs the particular theoretical perspective that will guide this study. Also, the sociology of schooling has been dominated recently by quantitative research, much of it atheoretical (see Richer, 1975), that has focused on the outcomes of schooling (e.g. Coleman, et. al., 1966; Jencks, 1972; 1979). This study is proposed, in contrast to that trend, as a theoretically-guided, qualitative inquiry into the dynamics of social organization in schooling--an area in need of research. As an indication of that need, it should be noted that the National Institute of Education recently sponsored a grants competition calling for research into social organization of schooling.

Second, as an extension of the first point, this study is an important exercise in theory development. Glaser and Strauss (1965) have shown how qualitative, empirical research can serve to "ground" theory in an effort to refine it. This study does that, as will be demonstrated.

Third, this study is of timely importance. At present virtually nothing is known about segregation

academies. Nevin and Bills (1976) estimate that approximately 750,000 students attend these academies in the South. This qualifies these schools as a significant derivative of the school desegregation process--and an element of rather important social change. These schools have recently emerged and may either wither away or become lasting institutions. In either case, the phenomenon of emergence is temporarily bound. Pettigrew and Back (1967) decried the lack of original research on school desegregation because it, too, was historically bound in its newness. If these schools do wither away, then now may be our only chance to study them while they still exist. If, on the other hand, they become institutionalized, it will be important to have baseline information on their emergence which was drawn as close in time as possible to their beginning, in order to compare it with their status at a later stage of development.

Fourth, the study may serve to inform social policy decision making. The relationship between the state and private schools became an important issue in the debate over the Tuition Tax Relief Act of 1978 which would have allowed income tax credit to families who pay tuition for private schooling. Voucher plans that would reduce the state's involvement in providing and controlling schooling are being proposed and tried (Jencks, 1972 and Tidbits, 1978). The National Institute of Education, in its Educational

Equity Research Grants Program (1978), calls for studies which compare the desegregation process with other strategies for educational change and which investigate school and community interaction on desegregation issues. This study does the first of these implicitly by investigating one of those alternatives and does the second directly. (A later section will briefly recount the origins of these academies in the desegregation crisis.) So, in several ways, this study has social policy implications.

Organization of the Study

This first section is meant as an introduction to this study. The second section will describe Ralf Dahrendorf's theoretical perspective. The third section will review the relevant literature. The fourth section will develop variables from Dahrendorf's work in an application to the study of segregation academies and will show how such an application was made. The fifth section describes the methodology that was employed in the case study. The sixth section presents and analyzes the material that was gathered. The seventh section will develop formal, substantive theory. This section will be the result of refining tentative theoretical notions through intense involvement in an empirical setting. This will be followed by a section of summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER II

RALF DAHRENDORF'S THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Conflict theory in sociological thought has a long and multi-faceted history which includes theorists like Ibn Kaldhoun, Hobbes, and Malthus. Ralf Dahrendorf is recognized by writers like Ritzer (1975), Turner (1974), and Zeitlin (1973) as the most important contemporary conflict theorist, and it is he whom they choose as the exemplar of this perspective. His theory is developed most thoroughly in his Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (1959), and it is from this work that the theoretical basis of this study is drawn.

Dahrendorf's theory is deliberately drawn in distinction to the image of society presented in the work of structural-functionalists in general and Talcott Parsons in particular. Dahrendorf reduces what he calls the "integration theory" of society to four basic assumptions:

1. Every society is a relatively persistent, stable structure of elements.
2. Every society is a well-integrated structure of elements.
3. Every element in a society has a function, i.e., renders a contribution to its maintenance as a system.
4. Every functioning social structure is based on a consensus of values among its members (p. 161).

Dahrendorf's contention is not that this perspective provides no insight at all, but rather that it is inadequate for understanding much of social reality. By focusing attention on stability, integration, functional coordination and consensus it may serve adequately in some situations. For example, in some places and at some times state schooling may have been surrounded by such consensus, but, if revisionist historians of schooling (see next section) are at all accurate in their versions of what has happened, conflict over and resistance to state schooling has been a constant element in its development. To understand such conflict, a different image of society may be necessary.

Dahrendorf suggests the imagery that society is "Janus-headed." There is consensus, but there is also dissension. He cites the need to look with equal attention at the disharmony and bases his "coercion theory of society" on a set of four assumptions. They are:

1. Every society is at every point subject to processes of change; social change is ubiquitous.
2. Every society displays at every point dissensus and conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
3. Every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change.
4. Every society is based on the coercion of some of its members by others (p. 162).

Not only is every society in general characterized by these dynamics, but every form of social organization is,

too. Social organization is called "imperatively coordinated association," a translation of Max Weber's Herrschaftsverband. Imperative coordination means that there is inherently an authority relationship. By authority, Dahrendorf means that there "are people whose actions are subject to legitimate and sanctioned prescriptions that originate outside them but within social structure" (p. 168). This legitimacy distinguishes authority from power. Authority rests in a role relationship in association; power is not thus legitimated or necessarily restricted and rests with an individual.

In every imperatively coordinated association there are two aggregates, one is superordinate (possesses authority) and one is subordinate (excluded from authority). Each aggregate of positions and their incumbents have latent interests. For the superordinate aggregate, it is the maintenance of the legitimacy of the existing authority relationship, and for the subordinate aggregate, it is the modification of the status quo. These interests are in conflict. This is why the legitimacy of authority relationships is at all times precarious and problematic.

These aggregates may be considered quasi-groups so long as they share only latent or structurally inherent interests. Latent interests are a theoretical construct that may not have psychological existence among the role incumbents. Manifest interests, on the other hand, are conscious and articulated to individuals. They are

psychologically real goals. When manifest interests are shared by an organized collectivity of individuals, an interest group is said to exist.

A social class is an aggregate which may include both unorganized collectivities and organized collectivities with common manifest or latent interests based on authority relationships in an imperatively coordinated association. From within social classes, interest groups are formed. Antagonistic relationships between interest groups are called group conflict or class conflict to the extent that they are related to authority structure.

Although in Dahrendorf's conception of an association there are only two quasi-groups, he concedes the possibility that one quasi-group might give rise to multiple interest groups. He uses the example of the emergence of both Christian and Socialist labor unions from the quasi-group of industrial workers. While organized interest groups are related to an authority structure in an association, this may be only one aspect of their nature. They may have other goals and programs as well.

The interests of the dominant group are values that constitute the ideology that legitimates the existing authority relationship. The interests of the subordinate group challenge the ideology and the authority relationship. Once formed from quasi-groups, interest groups are assumed to be always promoting their programs. They are assumed to never be neutral about or working against their interests.

After the formation of interest groups from different classes has taken place, they are in conflict. One can, indeed must, however, consider each association separately. There are a large number of any given society. Each has its own authority pattern, and interest groups form that may only be relevant to that particular association or that exist in several associations and are dominant in some and subordinate in others. Whether an interest groups shares any common culture beyond its manifest interests is an empirical question not to be answered by assumption. Always these groups exist as situated phenomena and must be understood as such. Dahrendorf rejects the notion of a generalized ruling class or elite that shares a common culture and dominates every association of which it is an element.

In this connection, he invokes Riesman's (1950) idea of "veto groups." These are situational (or associational) and may gain authority or lose it. They exist as "defense groups," responding to particular issues in particular associations. For example, government may not represent a stable interest group but may instead operate as a situational switchboard responding to various defense groups, depending on the issue and depending on the organizational (party, for example) or individual incumbents of government roles.

In applying this to the analysis of contemporary Western societies, Dahrendorf says:

Thus, if the ruling class of post-capitalist countries in the West is "situational," this is not because it consists of ever changing veto groups, but because political parties "may be defeated at the polls." It has but one stable element, the bureaucracy of the state. While the bureaucracy is an impotent participant of political conflict in the ordinary course of affairs, its conservative effect on all modern societies, and especially on those whose governments change rapidly, must not be overlooked. The governments of Western societies are often mere switchboards of authority; the decisions are made not by them but through them. In this respect, the political parties from which the personnel of governmental elites is recruited do not differ very greatly from these elites. But there is, associated with every party, a number of veto groups that enjoy the particular favor of this party. If this party is in power, then the ruling class of the society in question consists of the four elements: Bureaucracy, governmental elites, majority party, and its favored veto groups. If it is not in power, then its favored veto groups are like its members, defense groups that represent the interests of the subjected class (p. 306).

Presumably, this analysis of government on a societal scale could be applied to one of its subsets--in this study, state schooling. The notion of defense groups (as well as the other concepts) may prove useful.

In a section which is important for this study (and for any application of Dahrendorf's theory), he proposes "Empirical Conditions of Conflict Group Formation" (pp. 182-189). He outlines variables which determine whether or not interests groups will form out of quasi-groups. Since Dahrendorf assumes that the conflict is latent, he says "Perhaps the negative side of this problem is of even greater importance. We shall want to ascertain the conditions

under which the organization of interest groups does not take place despite the pressure of quasi-groups of latent interests in an imperatively coordinated association" (p. 182). These are intervening variables which have to be investigated in empirical situations.

The first of these is leadership personnel. "For an organized interest group to emerge from a quasi-group, there have to be certain persons who make this organization their business, who carry it out practically and take the lead" (p. 185). This condition, like the ones to follow, is a necessary, but not sufficient condition.

Second, such groups must have a charter. This is the articulation of the manifest interests of the group. A charter deals specifically with the issue of authority. Either members of a group articulate and codify the charter or there must be an "'ideology' available" that is capable of serving as a charter. This notion of an available ideology is a crucial one that will be extended in a later section of this study. These two conditions, leadership personnel and charter, are called "technical conditions of organization."

A third variable is the "political conditions of organization." This simply refers to the degree to which voluntary associations are politically tolerated by the regime. Despite the fact that such freedom of association is guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, and despite the fact

that the propensity of Americans to form such associations has been noted since at least de Tocqueville (1945), various groups have, in particular situations, been harrassed by the government to one degree or another.

Next come "social conditions of organization." One of these is communication among the incumbents of the quasi-group. Dahrendorf takes this to be a given in modern industrial societies, really a constant in that he assumes communication to be easily available. The present analysis will, however, treat it as at least somewhat problematic and variable since it seems reasonable to conceive that some potential groups and their would-be leaders may have differential access to some forms of communication, namely mass media.

The last condition which is necessary for conflict group formation is that the members must be recruited from the quasi-group according to a structural pattern rather than chance. That is to say that potential members of intersts groups must be incumbent in the quasi-group according to the legitimate rules of the association and not merely by some accident or residual classification. Thus Marx's lumpenproletariat are not potential members of political interest groups.

These intervening variables are to be seen as continua. Various constellations are more or less favorable to conflict group formation. The empirical situation most

likely to result in conflict group formation is one where the quasi-group has effective (this adjective is itself an extending variable) leadership, an articulated charter, is found in a setting with a tolerant regime, has effective means of communication, and is made up of structurally constituted incumbents.

The preceding pages are meant to provide a vocabulary and set of assumptions on which a meaningful application to the analysis of public schooling can be based. It is recognized that what has been discussed does not constitute "theory" in any strict sense. Rather, this is more closely akin to what Di Renzo (1966) has called a "theory sketch," or what Rudner (1966) calls "partial" theory. Dahrendorf himself was cognizant of this and stated that:

It may appear premature, if not over-ambitious, to have used the word 'theory' in connection with the approach outlined in the last two chapters. I have suggested a number of premises, concepts, models, and empirical generalizations which appear to have a bearing on problems of social conflict and social change, but these suggestions do not display a degree of formalization and rigidity that warrant calling them a theory...I would admit that formalization in sociology is desirable...I hope that this (theory sketch) may enable other students in the field to advance beyond the limits of my own...formalization (pp. 236-237).

This study is an attempt at such an advance.¹

CHAPTER III

THE CONCEPT PERSPECTIVE IN EDUCATION AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Among the earliest analytical works based upon a perspective that saw schooling as an issue over which interest groups contended were those by Nearing (1917a; b). His dismissal as a professor at the University of Pennsylvania was apparently a result of his outspoken opposition to child labor (Spring, 1972). This seems to have been a catalyst for his research which showed how businessmen (and by implication, male and business interest) dominated local school boards and boards of college trustees. Dahrendorf has written, "Identification of variously equipped authority roles is the first task of conflict analysis" (1959, p. 165). Nearing's work can be seen as identifying dominant roles and their incumbents.

Counts (1927) sought to replicate Nearing's work. He also found evidence that there was a plutocratic control of boards of education. He modified the findings somewhat by showing that smaller cities were twice as likely to have "laboring class" representation than larger cities. The greater the jurisdiction of the board, the more restricted were the elements of the population from which the members were drawn. And further, the smaller the

size of the board, the less representative was its membership. These were important refinements, and the structuring of school boards remains a strategic issue in public schooling today.

In two related studies of American schooling, Sinclair (1922; 1924) tried to show that not only did business concerns dominate the authority structure of colleges and public schools, but that this had a direct bearing on the ideological content. In Dahrendorf's terms, he was mustering evidence that the superordinate group indeed had a program to promote their interests by maintaining and justifying the authority relationship both in the schools and in the larger community as it existed. His evidence of this is not statistical, but instead consists of mounting examples that illustrate what Nearing's statistics had shown about boards and implied about ideology. Teacher firings, the content of Chamber of Commerce promotions in the schools, and the refusals to allow union promotions in the schools are the kinds of illustrations that Sinclair uses to document the ideological bias in public schooling.

In a book directly related to Dahrendorf's perspective and to the thrust of this study, Raup (1936) analyzes the connections between organized interest groups and schooling. He assumes, as does this study, that schooling is by its nature a cultural process. He assumes that cultural conflict rages continuously, as Dahrendorf assumes

that structural conflict is ubiquitous, and he tries to show that these issues produce groups with plans that sometimes deliberately and sometimes inherently relate to schooling. It is primarily an analysis aimed at understanding the forces which influence public schooling so that public school personnel may come to make sense out of their roles and to plan their own strategy in an enlightened way. He calls for professional school people to become an organized force themselves, to "in good faith accept the defense of the larger good or to be rendered worse than futile by private interest" (p. 229). Beyond Raup's analytical framework, worth noting is his methodology which utilized content analysis of organizational literature, secondary observations, and direct interviews with officers and members to arrive at assessments of a group's position.

In 1962, Callahan published a book which traced the present organization of schooling to a movement in the first twenty years of this century called "scientific management." This movement swept through business organizations producing, in Callahan's terms, a "cult of efficiency." When this movement was carried into education, it produced a standardization of practice and content with important cultural consequences.

Raskin (1971) has maintained that the "Channeling Colony" (as he calls the schooling system) is designed to get children to accept authority structures. This assumes

a generalized ruling class, in a sort of grand imperatively coordinated association of which schooling is only an element for exercising one particular form of control. Raskin asserts that this domination colonizes everyone but a dominant elite. This assumption of an elite ruling class is a recurring theme in conflict literature, despite Dahrendorf's warnings of its dangers.

Spring (1972) and Gumbert and Spring (1974) try to trace the origin of some of the ideas that produced the present form of public schooling. Spring makes the case that the form of our present schooling system emerged to serve industrial owners who required factory labor. Justifications for more schooling were often made in terms of channeling potential laborers and of effective social controls to protect propertied citizens. In discussing Sinclair's work, Spring makes the supposition that some particular alternative schools emerged in opposition to the ideological content that Sinclair described. This linkage is important conceptually to the present study. Gumbert and Spring continue this tact of tracing the origin of ideas to their social context and describing their importance for schooling.

Katz (1970; 1971; 1975) has documented some of the manifestations of group conflict over schooling. For example, he has described the forces of "democratic localism" which fought Horace Mann for control of their children's

schooling in Massachusetts. After losing the battle for control, the working classes simply refused in large numbers to send their children to school. Not to be denied, Mann pushed the first compulsory school attendance law in the United States through the Massachusetts legislature in 1851.

Tyack (1967; 1968, 1974) has shown how centralization of school boards was a deliberate ploy by dominant cultural groups to wrest control of schools from ethnic minorities. Centralization as a tactic for control is consistent with Counts' (1927) findings. It continues to be an issue as battles fought by interest groups over de-centralization rage. This is an obvious example of conflict over authority structure.

Burgess (1976) describes the push for compulsory schooling as "class legislation directed at the poor and at ethnic and racial minorities" (p. 212). He describes these laws as a shift in majority opinion from a commitment to individual liberty to a demand for standardization when the individuals to whom liberty might be extended were too different to tolerate.

Field (1976) compares two rival theses about the expansion of public schooling. One is that increased demands for skilled labor necessitated a better trained work force. The other is that elite groups pushed for public schooling to lend stability to the status quo

from which they profited. These two theses may be viewed as roughly equivalent to functionalist and conflict perspectives in sociology. He debunks the notion that working classes demand schooling and also the notion that reformers brought in compulsory schooling over the opposition of wealthy classes. He marshalls statistics to show that the labor market did not really require more schooled workers. Instead, Field has noted that the support for public schooling came from economic and political elites and was justified in the rhetoric of social stability, that is, to wipe out "Ignorance, the mother of crime" (p. 550). It was, in Dahrendorf's terms, a strategic instrument of a dominant group.

Collins (1976; 1977) develops a conflict theory of schooling that emphasizes cultural conflict in a way only alluded to in one of his earlier works (1971). He says that cultural conflict should be on an analytical par with economic conflict. In criticizing Bowles and Gintis (1976), he writes

My own hypothesis is that the solidarity of alien ethnic or cultural groups is the biggest threat to dominant groups....It argues that cultural means (the solidarity of cultural groups, whether based on prior class, ethnic, or sex lines) may be used to achieve economic ends (the various rewards in power and material returns of positions)...(1976, p. 250).

While the present study is also concerned with cultural rather than economic conflict, Collins seems to

have lapsed into two conceptual traps against which Dahrendorf's theory sketch warns. The first is that he writes of dominant groups as cutting across the society, not in particular associations. The second is that despite his criticism of Bowles and Gintis, he apparently can only conceptualize cultural conflict as a means to economic ends. This reintroduces Marxian economic determinism, which would seem an unnecessary assumption in the analysis of cultural conflict aspects of authority relationships attached to public schooling.

Probably the most thorough and theoretically-based of recent analyses from this perspective is Carnoy's Education As Cultural Imperialism (1974). Although he writes often and loosely of a dominant ruling class and asserts that imperialism must have an economic base, his notion of cultural domination through schooling is still a useful idea. In a global historical analysis, he makes the case that colonialists use schooling as a means of cultural dependency that in Dahrendorf's terms, legitimates the existing authority relationships. In analyzing American schooling, Carnoy calls it "internal colonialism" to describe the superordinate aspects of its cultural content. To rectify this situation, Carnoy calls upon those who would liberate people to stress, "'defense'--self-protection against colonized knowledge" (p. 367).

In addition to these works, there is a considerable body of literature that looks upon schooling from a conflict perspective but with an emphasis on its effect on adult stratification. Some of the literature already cited does this to some extent, but the emphasis in these former works is on cultural conflict. The present study is concerned primarily with consideration of structural and cultural conflict within schooling associations. Some examples of work relating schooling to adult stratification from a conflict perspective are Turner (1960), Collins (1971), Greer (1972), and Bowles and Gintis (1976).

CHAPTER IV

APPLICATION, WITH ASSUMPTIONS, DEFINITIONS AND VARIABLES

In applying Dahrendorf's perspective to an analysis of public schooling, the most obvious thing to note is that public schooling systems will be viewed as imperatively coordinated associations. Public schooling is defined as schooling that is controlled and sponsored by the state (including local manifestations thereof). It is a political association, like the state itself, and may be seen as a subset of the state.

It is important conceptually to note that this study will not be considering public schooling in the United States as if it were monolithic. Despite many similarities, tremendous local variations have existed historically and many continue to exist. To consider public schooling as one giant association would assume one national dominant group which seems on the face of it to be unwarranted.

To be sure, there are issues in schooling that are decided on a national level. When this happens it may make sense to conceive of an association of aggregates and their interest groups which try to influence such national policy making. An empirical example is national

policy on racial desegregation. Still, for many, perhaps most, issues related to schooling, state and local associations may prove to be the most relevant levels for analysis.

In the quasi-groups associated in public schooling may be considered all individuals whose actions are somehow associated with school related policy. This would include anyone who pays taxes used to support schooling, votes on schooling policy referendums or votes in elections of school policy makers, is a policy maker, is employed in public schooling, is a school-age child, and conceivably, others. It is probably worth noting, prima facie, that there are inherent elements of coercion. Some of these individuals make compulsory policy that affects others (for example, taxes and compulsory attendance laws).

Dominant interest groups in this case will be those professional public school people, lay school board members, and legislators (all at least indirectly representing constituents who may be considered a dominant quasi-group). The incumbents in these roles together control the organization and cultural content of public schooling. They form a group in that it may be assumed that they have a consciousness of kind (of themselves as policy makers and executors, the latter almost always being policy makers too, informally) and that they are in communication about their common interest in schooling. The subordinate quasi-group are all those in the association

who are neither in authority themselves nor feel themselves represented by the incumbents of the authority positions. Within this subordinate quasi-group may exist various interest groups.

As summarized in a previous section, Dahrendorf provides a theoretical framework for analyzing structurally produced conflict. Yet conflict over schooling nearly always can be expected to be largely cultural, since nearly all analysts agree that schooling involves the transmission of culture. As Raup (1936) puts it "...the schools, whether they will it or not, are involved instrumentally in the process whereby a civilization and a culture are continually remade" (p. 3). Conflict over schooling may still be expected to be conflict over authority, but, because of the nature of the association, it is important to note that this authority is the authority to control the cultural content of schooling.

Introducing the issue of cultural conflict may provide an important extension of Dahrendorf's empirical conditions for conflict group formation--at least for the present analysis and conceivably for others. At a minimum, one might hypothesize that when the division over authority is identical with a cultural division, then conflict groups are more likely to form than otherwise. Thus, Cross (1975) traces the emergence of the Catholic parochial schools in the U.S. to the time when Protestant power groups (perhaps

only quasi-groups until that time) asserted control over neighborhood schools. Previous to that time, the schools in Catholic neighborhoods had been controlled by local Catholics. Losing their authority--and thus the authority to control the cultural content--to a culturally (religiously) different group precipitated the formation of interest groups that produced the parochial systems. This conflict was resolved by withdrawal--dissociation by the subordinate group.

So it seems that cultural differences between superordinate and subordinate groups may make manifest conflict more likely. From Dahrendorf's perspective, one would expect that in an inherently cultural association like schooling, the dominant group defines the cultural content. One may expect that the manifest interest of the dominant group in public schooling may not be articulated in terms of this interest (the maintenance of their authority) but rather in terms of values that are assumed to have more general appeal. One might not expect the dominant interest group to say, "We want to insure that it is our values which are taught," (although this has sometimes occurred). One might rather expect phrases like "extending the blessings of education to all." Thus the rhetoric may be strategic subterfuge.

Not only may the manifestly cultural, substantive content of schooling be offensive to subordinate and

culturally different groups, but the structural arrangements may be unacceptable to them in cultural ways above and beyond their own subordinate structural status. When the Supreme Court (in Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954) said that separate schools are inherently unequal, the judges were acknowledging that structural arrangements have inherent cultural content. That the inverse (desegregated schools imply racial equality) might also be true is not lost on whites who oppose desegregation. This brings us to the formation of a particular type of interest group, the segregation academy group.

Following the Brown decision, the interests of the white segregationist subcultural group were represented by state and local governments (governors, school boards, sheriffs, et cetera) and by nascent interest groups (e.g., the Citizens Council) and existing ones (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan). These fought against the civil rights movement in general and school desegregation in particular. The court litigation was more or less strenuous and protracted according to locality, but district by district, school desegregation orders proved inevitable. On this issue (and, in many localities, only on this issue) white segregationists lost their superordinate position in the school system. They were replaced by the authority of the federal government as exercised by federal judges.

The white segregationist interest groups had exhausted the state and local governments as vehicles for fighting public school desegregation. Only school closing (as in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1959) could prevent state schooling from being desegregated, and this too was eventually disallowed by the federal courts (1964). To soften the impact, three southern states repealed their compulsory attendance laws. These three, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia, have since reenacted compulsory attendance laws. Mississippi's, passed in 1976, lacks any enforcement mechanism.

Once it became obvious that the state and local governments would lose control of the racial policy in schools, white segregationists turned by necessity to extragovernmental interest grouping to avoid desegregated schooling. In some cases already activated organizations like the Citizens Councils led drives to establish private schools. In other cases, organizations developed solely for the purpose of establishing schools, sometimes, but not always, attaching their programs to church institutions. There is considerable variety in the patterns of emergence and continuing viability (or lack thereof) of these segregation academy groups. It is in an attempt to understand this variability that Dahrendorf's empirical conditions of conflict group formation hold apparent promise.

It seems reasonable to assume that the same variables that Dahrendorf views as relevant to the emergence of conflict groups should be important in their success if, as in this case of segregation academies, success means dissociation and the establishment of parallel alternative associations. That is, those variables that seem to influence the emergence of segregation academy groups could also be expected to be predictors of these groups' ability to successfully establish viable schools.

The definitive work to date on segregation academies is The Schools That Fear Built by Nevin and Bills (1976). It is based on an extensive, unstructured survey of academies in 13 southern states and an intensive, structured survey of 11 particular academies. It is a valuable source of information, yet its findings can be used here as only preliminary indications for two reasons. First, it only coincidentally deals with Dahrendorf's variables, not being designed to test any particular sociological theory. And, second, it deals almost entirely with successful (existing) segregation academies. The conclusion that these schools are permanent (p. 36) is interesting and important, but a more crucial question theoretically may be the differences between attempts that succeeded and those that failed. It is important to remember Dahrendorf's suggestion that the negative side may be more important. Besides being the best source of preliminary evidence,

Nevin and Bills' book may be a valuable source of ideas for other variables not included in Dahrendorf's list. What follows draws on this source.

Dahrendorf's first variable is leadership personnel. This seems to mean the mere availability of such people. One might hypothesize in addition that the status of the leadership personnel prior to the desegregation trauma might affect the group's eventual success. Nevin and Bills' note that the leadership of clergymen seems to have legitimated the movement for many. Also, they recount how in Memphis, which has the largest enrollments in segregation academy systems in the country, people who had not been leaders became overnight successes, riding the crest of popular sentiment. This still leaves upon the tactic of comparing groups that lacked leaders with those that had them and comparing characteristics between leaders to see what effect, if any, these had.

The issue of a charter is the next technical condition of organization. Where academies grew out of existing resistance organizations, such as the Citizens Council schools in Jackson, Mississippi, the charter was, from the beginning, intact. Likewise, church sponsored schools seemed to often use "Christian education" as their official charter although their people make no attempt to deny that white flight is the reason they exist. The more amorphous concept of "available ideology"

may be operant in rural, secular academies, where whites have nearly unanimously abandoned the public schools but where there is no formal organizational charter. An interesting question then is: Why do some rural districts have academies and others not? Is it that this available ideology (the value attached to segregation) is more "available" (salient, intensely held, et cetera) in some places than in others? Nevin and Bills hint that the percentage of blacks in the potential school population may be a factor, and this seems reasonable and relevant to this issue of "available" ideology. Still, further research seems critical on this variable.

The political conditions of organization is a variable that describes the degree to which voluntary organizations are tolerated by the regime. Various political groups have met official opposition in this country despite constitutional guarantees. On the issue of schooling, bitter battles have been fought over resistance to compulsory school attendance laws. In 1972, the Supreme Court supported the Amish position that they should not be required to attend more schooling than their religious beliefs allow. A less known but more drastic case, was the 1925 Supreme Court decision in Society of Sisters of The Holy Name vs. Pierce. It found to be unconstitutional a 1922 Oregon law which made attendance of public schools compulsory. This law had

been promoted by the Ku Klux Klan and certain elements of the Masons as an openly anti-Catholic move. All of this gives evidence that schooling is a cultural battleground and that the state may be more or less tolerant of non-state attempts at schooling.

In the case of segregation academies, one way to look at this variable is to see to what degree state and local governments may have supported the academies. Another is to see whether the federal government has made it difficult for them. Toleration may vary from one locality to another and from one level of government to another.

The condition of communication, taken to be a given by Dahrendorf and not examined by Nevin and Bills, remains worthy of study. Treatment in the popular media of emergent attempts to establish academies seems at least conceivably influential. Local newspapers and broadcast media may have varied in their cooperation in publicizing organizational meetings and in their news and editorial treatment. These needn't be ignored.

Dahrendorf's last consideration is that the potential members of a conflict group be members of the quasi-group as a result of the authority relationships. Since the association of state schooling can be seen as embracing nearly every citizen--at least as a taxpayer--then segregationist whites lost their authority collectively

over racial policies and Dahrendorf's condition seems to be met. It may be treated as a given.

Two additional types of variables relevant for this analysis may be gleaned from Nevin and Bills' work. One is ecological variables. For example, Nevin and Bills note that the city of Memphis has annexed much of the surrounding area, bringing outlying schools under its court order to desegregate schools. Some flight to neighboring Mississippi and Arkansas has occurred, but most of the white students who have fled the public schools (some 44,000) have enrolled in segregation academies. Atlanta, on the other hand, has a much smaller number of and less populous academies, but has experienced a similar decline in white enrollments. The difference seems to be the greater availability of more acceptable public schools outside the city's jurisdiction. Dahrendorf's ideas might be refined in this particular application to a consideration of available alternatives to conflict--pressure release valves that might allow subordinate quasi-groups a withdrawal to parallel but more appealing associations without the necessity of organization.

Another interesting ecological variable seems related to the rural-urban dimension. Nevin and Bills describe how rural academies are more often secular than urban ones and are more likely to be seen as the white

school system. Even poor white students are rarely turned away and wealthy members of the community make up for what might be lost in tuition revenues. County boundaries are often the organizational focus. This upper class support for poor whites seems to be a classic example of what Marx would call the fostering of false class consciousness. In urban settings this white solidarity seems to be less viable as an organizing focus. In Memphis, the Citizens Against Busing group, a city-wide and secular organization, organized the first segregation academies, but gave way after only a year to decentralized, church sponsored schools. The churches proved to be a more effective organizing base. These findings suggest a rural-urban dimension as a variable that might predict the organizational focus of conflict groups. Rural groups may be more inclusive of the quasi-groups, having a smaller recruitment field and perhaps more homogeneity on variables outside of the particular association and issue. Urban groups may be more differentiated, given the possible heterogeneity within the quasi-group. This may be seen as an example of Dahrendorf's notion that quasi-groups can give rise to more than one interest group.

The second type of variable suggested by Nevin and Bills is economic. They demonstrate that if a group is able to achieve financial support initially, it is

likely to persist. Thus high capital outlays give supporters a stake in the schools' continuance. Either by signing loan notes or by buying bonds, people may commit themselves to the school's success. This may seem tangential to the emergence of these groups, but operating schools takes money, and this would seem to be a significant variable in the potential success of the school. While, in general, financial support might be seen as dependent on other variables, the potential consequences for success or failure are apparent. In relatively poor rural areas, for example, the unwillingness of wealthier whites to support a school (thereby not allowing poor whites to attend for free) might break the white solidarity and result in the failure of the school.

In summary, the key theoretical variables of interest in this study include: (1) leadership personnel, (2) charter, (3) political condition of organization, (4) communication, (5) source of members, (6) alternatives to organization, (7) solidarity, and (8) financial status. This list, however, is not exhaustive. Given the methodological approach to be outlined in the next section, it will be apparent that other variables, not included in the list, may emerge as important. The list, as codified, is primarily intended to initially guide the research, but not to unnecessarily restrict it. In this

way, this study is an attempt at grounding theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Rather than beginning with formalized theory, this study proposes to advance toward it, as Dahrendorf has encouraged (see section two). Thus, the study, while theoretically informed, will not fit actors into predetermined parts, but, rather will allow them to develop their own scripts as the research unfolds (see Falk and Pinhey, 1978).

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Justification of a Case Study Design

Case studies are widely accepted as valuable in exploratory research (cf. Sindell, 1969). A case study is an especially appropriate strategy (1) when little application has been made of a given theory to a particular topic; (2) when little research has been done in a substantive area; (3) when one is attempting to ground a theory by analyzing a social setting and thus to refine it; and (4) when one is planning a long range commitment to an area of research. The present study meets all of these criteria.

None of the literature on schooling, even that from a conflict perspective, is explicitly based on Dahrendorf's ideas. If his theoretical position holds promise for analyzing and understanding the dynamics of associations, those associations whose content is schooling should be no exception. This study is a tentative first application.

Little research of any kind has been done on segregation academies. The Nevin and Bills (1976) book, while valuable, has several shortcomings. It is not

written from a sociological perspective; it is atheoretical, and it does not deal in any depth with the variables that affect the formation of alternative schools. This study is intended to provide a detailed contribution to what is known about these schools and particularly about how they emerge.

Glaser and Strauss (1965) have made the case that qualitative research should be seen "as a strategy concerned with the discovery of substantive theory" (p. 6). Particularly when one is entering a new field of inquiry, discovering the relevant variables and hypotheses is probably best accomplished by qualitative research. Glaser and Strauss contend that qualitative research is (or should be) the source of substantive theory--formal theory that is grounded in data (p. 12). This study aims at just such a purpose. Using Dahrendorf's formulations as a tentative guide, they will be further developed, refined, grounded by conducting an open inquiry into this substantive area. Dahrendorf's ideas will thus serve as "sensitizing concepts" as Blumer (1955) has called them. They will give the study a general sense of reference and guidance, and, hopefully, they will not constrict the inquiry in such a way as to rule out their own refinement.

Glaser and Strauss (1965) describe it as a point of general agreement that qualitative research is a legitimate preliminary to quantitative research. They

cite a long list of authors who concur on the issue, notably Merton (1957). While Glaser and Strauss' point is that such research has inherent value beyond the preliminary status accorded it by these authors, the present study is intended to be valuable in both regards--as theory development (see the preceding paragraph) and as preliminary. The present study develops a more formalized theory to the point that it will be ready for more rigorous, quantitative test. Future studies with greater generalizability are contemplated as natural extensions of this first work.

The Study Site

Hickok, Mississippi, is a small city of approximately 43,000 people. Of these, approximately 60% are white and 40% are black. It is a trading and medical center for a rather extensive rural area that surrounds it. It is the site of the main campus of the University of The Pine Forest with an enrollment of approximately 9,000 students. There are several sizeable industries, including a chemical plant and an electrical appliance manufacturer. A large summer camp for national guardsmen and reservists is located south of the city. There is a daily newspaper, a student paper at the university, a recently established weekly paper, one television station, and several radio stations. There is a mayor and two councilmen form of municipal government.

Although Hickok has not been the site of dramatic confrontations in race relations, Ku Klux Klan activity has been widespread in the surrounding area. An adjacent county seat was the scene of a notorious lynching in 1959, and fire-bombings have occurred in several localities in the area. A local rabbi was pressured into leaving in the early sixties when his commitment to civil rights proved too embarrassing to his congregation.

The Hickok school system is a separate municipal school district, governed by a school board appointed by the mayor. The public schools have been desegregated in a process that began in 1966 with a "freedom of choice" plan. Segson Academy, the school that is the subject of this study, opened in 1965. It has a large physical plant located, ironically enough, in a nearly all-black neighborhood on the southern edge of the city. It is on the historical development of this academy and its present status that this study will focus.

Sources of Data

The data used in this study are both primary and secondary. The primary data was gathered from intensive interviews and from direct observations. The secondary data was gathered in the analysis of several kinds of documents.

Interviews

Following Lofland (1971, Chapter 4), the intensive interviews were attempts at guided conversations rather than forced-category answers to a rigid schedule of questions; that is, no actual questionnaire was constructed for use in the study. Rather, the aim was to have interviewee "speak freely and in his own terms about a set of concerns (that the researcher brings) to the interaction, plus whatever else the interviewee might introduce" (p. 84). This is consistent with the approach discussed above.

Thus, a flexible guide was utilized for the interviews which sought to insure that all of the preconceived variables are discussed at some point, but which was left open enough to permit the interviewee to introduce his own perception of the phenomenon under investigation. The researcher's more focused questions were asked only after the interviewee had ample opportunity to describe what he saw as the relevant variables. Then, if the researcher's variables had surfaced spontaneously, he was able to be more confident that they were indeed important to the actors. At any rate, the interviewee's responses to less directive questions were a crucial source of discovering what the issues were in the minds of the actors. Then the more focused questions served as a check on the researcher's own tentative hypotheses.

A general guide to the interviews is presented below. It should be remembered that the interviewees were purposefully selected (this will be described later), and therefore variations were appropriate in particular cases.

1. Introduction and Ice-Breaking Questions

The interviewer introduced himself and described the nature of his research. He assured the interviewee of confidentiality and anonymity. Small talk and innocuous questions served to initiate the conversation. Extensive notes were made during the interview, and supplemented immediately after it.

2. Accounts of the Emergence of the Academy

The interviewee was asked for a general account of the emergence of the academy. Probes included: How did the idea get started? Who were the principal organizers? Were other academies attempted at about the same time or since? What became of such attempts, if any? How were students recruited? Were the students recruited from any particular social group? Are they now? In general, what problems were encountered? How were they solved? Was there any opposition to the establishment of the private school? If so, from whom and in what form? How was the money raised? How much tuition is paid? To what extent are scholarships available? Has the academy changed over time? If so, in what way?

What do you predict in the future for the academy?

What sort of developments may influence its future?

What do you think are the important things that influence whether a private school will succeed or not?

3. Check on the Preconceived Variables

If not already covered by this point in the interview, the following questions were then asked (note that they follow the variables developed in a previous section).

a. Leadership personnel: Who were the leaders? Were they leaders in other areas of community life before this organization was formed? Have they become (or remained) leaders in other areas since the academy was established?

b. Charter: Did the academy grow out of any existing organization? If so, was there an existing statement of principles? If not, was a statement of principles formalized? If a statement of principles was formalized, at what point in the emergence of the academy was this done? If a formal statement was not adopted, was one considered and, if so, why was it not adopted? If one exists, what does it say? (Even though this was available as a document, individual perceptions of its content were sought.)

c. Political condition of organization: What was the response of the local government, if any?

What was the response of the local school board, if any?

What was the response of public school officials?

d. Communication: How was word of the organization of the academy spread? Were popular media used? To what extent? Were the people in charge of the media cooperative?

e. Source of members: Were there any people involved in the organization of the academy whom you were surprised to see involved? If so, who were they? Why were you surprised? Why do you suppose that they were involved? Were there people whom you expected to be involved who were not? Who were they? Why do you suppose that they were not involved?

f. Alternatives to organization: Did some people who were dissatisfied with the Hickok schools take any other action besides joining the academy? If so, what was it? Were there other schools to which they might have gone? If yes, which ones, and did many do this? Was the Catholic school considered as an alternative? Did any people who were dissatisfied with the public school remain in it? If so, how large a group was this? Why do you suppose they did that? Have there been any noticeable consequences from dissatisfied people remaining in the public schools?

g. Social base and white solidarity: Is there any identifiable social group that is most closely

associated with the academy? If so which is it? If not, are the students recruited from the white population at large? Are children of poorer white families able to attend? If so, how is this arranged?

h. Financial status: What is the financial status of the academy? How has this developed over time?

4. Thanks and Disengagement

Interviewees were asked if they might recommend others who are knowledgeable about the academy (snowball sampling). They were asked if they might be available for a brief follow-up interview at a later date.

Notes on Data Collection

Before presenting the material gathered in this study, a description of how it was gathered is appropriate. Since access to interviewees and their degree of frankness were anticipated as potentially major methodological problems, it is important to show that these proved to be negligible in order to have some confidence in the reliability of the information to be analyzed. Negative anticipation of the problem of access had been heightened somewhat by two top university administrators, who, when informed by the researcher of his intentions, responded that they thought that it might be too sensitive a subject about which to gain information.

As planned, the interviewing process began early in June, 1978, with two colleagues of the researcher, faculty members at the University of The Pine Forest. One of these had recently enrolled one of his children in the Hickok Preparatory School (the new name of Segson Academy). The other had been among the early parent-patrons of the school and a local leader of the resistance to the desegregation of public schools. These interviews were conducted on campus, and the interviewees were very cooperative, apparently anxious to help a colleague. Part of each of the interviews was devoted to gathering names of people presently and historically involved with the school.

The most significant lead gained in these interviews was the name of the woman who had served as the guidance counselor at Segson Academy for ten years. She had recently resigned in an administrative shake-up, and, in a two hour interview in her home, proved to be a rich source of information and names. At the time of the interview, the researcher was inclined to attribute this respondent's openness and cooperation to a combination of disenchantment with the recent shake-up which affected her own employment and possible empathy with the researcher's task, since she had recently completed her own doctoral dissertation.

This explanation of the cooperation may or may not have been accurate, but at that point in the investigation, the researcher was not yet confident that he would attain a high degree of access and honesty. However, it became obvious, as the interviewing of other people proceeded, that the anticipated hostility to the investigation did not develop. People with various backgrounds and various relationships to the topic under investigation proved to be surprisingly forthright. Probably no general explanation of this cooperation would apply, but it is accurate to say that the cooperation was so broad that the few exceptions to it were glaring in their departure from the others.

One general factor in promoting responsiveness may have been the non-threatening approach of the researcher. When initial telephone contact was made with the potential interviewees, the researcher's local university affiliation was mentioned immediately. The purpose of the research was described as an investigation of how and why people set up private schools, and a previous contact in the research was normally mentioned as the source of the individual's name. The snowball sampling that was employed made this last tactic both easy and obvious.

The interviews themselves were arranged totally at the convenience of the interviewees, nearly always in their own homes or offices. The interviews were

scheduled at times when there would be few, if any, disruptions, and the modal length of the interviews was two hours. Only one was less than an hour long, and it was terminated by the researcher because the respondent proved valuable only as a source of names, having been only peripherally involved in the situation in question. There were a few notably lengthy interviews--one with the only original parent still involved with Hickok Prep (a 4½ hour interview) and one with the immediate past headmaster of Hickok Prep who had been fired a few months before (two 4 hour interviews).

The researcher decided early in the investigation not to use a tape recorder. This decision was made on the basis of the anticipated sensitive nature of the questions and the answers and the length of the interviews which might make changing the tapes disruptive. It cannot really be determined to what extent tape recording might have reduced the quality of the responses, but it can be safely asserted that the general quality of the material is high. Extensive notes were taken during the interviews and augmented immediately afterwards. The researcher acknowledges that some material is inevitably lost in the absence of verbatim recording.

The researcher took pains to appear serious but unassuming. Lofland (1971) counsels that one should "exploit acceptable incompetence..it yields a great deal

of information," (p. 101). It is socially acceptable to be a young graduate student or professor who doesn't know much and needs to be told. The researcher was both a graduate student and a professor and young relative to nearly all of the respondents. This role of needing to be told what the world is really like was studiously played in all of the interviews and may have been a positive factor in eliciting responses.

This strategy failed in one notable exception. During the interview with a young university professor who is a member of the board of Hickok Prep, he appeared impatient with the open-ended questions which he evidently mistook for a lack of background information. In his own research, he is oriented toward experimental designs and seemed to have little understanding of or patience for this type of inquiry. This interview is also notable for the striking lack of congruence between his and others' versions of what had happened. Either he decided to try to mislead this researcher, who seemed to him to be reprehensibly ignorant, or he may have been misinformed himself. Lofland (1971) also advises the researcher to:

assume a non-argumentative, supportive and sympathetically understanding attitude...A small duplicity tends necessarily to be involved in signifying understanding.--even though one may privately find the report reprehensible, distasteful, or wrong--interviewees tend to read one's signification of understanding as signification of agreement.
I see no way of avoiding this if one is to be

non-argumentative and still indicate that one has understood what someone has said. One may, then, have to live with giving at least some people the impression that you agree with them when in fact you do not. (pp. 89-90)

This was certainly a factor in doing some of these interviews. The frankness of the respondents sometimes led them into discussions of race relations when talking about the origins and maintenance of the schools. Often after making a remark of unmistakable racial prejudice, they would pause to gauge the interviewer's reaction. The interviewer's response was usually stated in the form, "I understand what you mean." This was an attempt to preserve the interviewer's integrity and hide his personal disapproval or disagreement without discouraging the respondent. It seems never to have discouraged the respondent, but it is probably safe to assume that some respondents interpreted what was said as approval of their position.

Some situations called for more diplomacy than that. Two examples stand out. Once the interviewer was asked directly, "Did you ever see a nigger have a nigger fit?" Another time the question was, "Do you know what happened to the niggers in Italy?" In both cases, the questions seemed to come from "out of the blue" and were not directly related to what preceded them. The interviewer stalled by writing the questions in his notes slowly and then pleaded ignorance and

asked for clarification. The clarification process led the respondents back into a declarative mode which allowed the interviewer the final response, "I see what you mean," or, in the case of the Italy question, a promise to accept the challenge to "look it up" to confirm the respondent's theory.

Before exploring some individual factors which seem to have promoted responsiveness from the interviewees, it should prove helpful to tabulate people to whom the researcher talked. As proposed, the central focus of the study was Segson Academy, now renamed Hickok Prep. In addition, however, as the actual study evolved, some other private schools were more briefly investigated. These are: The Independent Baptist Schools, a private school of the Independent Baptist Church of Hickok; the Hickok Academy, a relatively short-lived segregation academy with some personnel overlap with Hickok Prep; and Rock Hill Academy, a rural academy adjacent to Hickok which closed just before this study began. Interviewees will be grouped by their association with these schools, with a residual category of unaffiliated people whose perspectives were considered relevant. They are listed in the chronological order in which they were interviewed within each heading. The interview period lasted from early June, 1978 until early January 1979.

Interviewees

I. Hickok Prep

- A. University professor who recently enrolled one of his children.
- B. A university professor and former leader of the resistance to desegregation whose children attended the school in its early years.
- C. The recently resigned guidance counselor/ elementary school principal and former president of the statewide private school teachers' association.
- D. A founding mother, now a public school teacher in a nearby district. Her children no longer attend Hickok Prep.
- E. An elderly medical doctor, the chief organizer of the school at its inception.
- F. An assistant fire chief and contractor who was the only original parent still with the school when the study was done.
- G. A university administrator, former board member, and parent.
- H. The university administrator's (directly above) daughter, an alumna of Hickok Prep and one of its recently hired teachers.
- I. A university professor, board member and parent.
- J. A timber company owner, current chairman of the board.
- K. A retired school administrator, first headmaster for whom the school was originally named.
- L. A veteran fourth grade teacher, with the school from the start.
- M. A circuit court judge, former board member, and parent.
- N. The recently fired headmaster. He also had experience as an administrator in another private school.

- O. The long-time secretary/bookkeeper.
- P. The daughter of the assistant fire chief (see "F", above), high school senior at the school.
- Q. A soft-drink bottler, former chairman of the board.
- R. The current headmaster, experienced as an administrator in a North Carolina private school.
- S. A former student, recently transferred to the public schools.

II. Independent Baptist Schools

- A. The minister and founder of the school.
- B. The headmaster of the school.
- C. A computer analyst whose children formerly attended this school.

III. Hickok Academy

- A. The wife of a wealthy real estate broker, one of the founders of this school.
- B. A medical doctor, one of the founders of Segson Academy. He broke off to help organize this school.

IV. Rock Hill Academy

- A. A bicycle store owner. Her children were once enrolled in this school.
- B. A car dealer, member of the board, parent.
- C. A dry goods store owner, treasurer, parent.
- D. A minister, former public school teacher in Ohio and Mississippi, administrator at several academies (including a previous stint at Rock Hill), and its final headmaster.
- E. A minister, founder of the school, and first chairman of the board.

V. Unaffiliated Interviewees

- A. The superintendent of Hickok Public Schools.
- B. A public school teacher in Hickok.
- C. A graduate student and university employee who did a marketing study for and about Hickok Prep.
- D. A black businessman, officer in two local civil rights groups, resident of the black suburb in which Hickok Prep is located.
- E. The first headmaster of one of the first academies in the state, then the first executive director of the state private school association, now retired.

Factors Influencing the Interviews

Besides the approach of the researcher, which was common to all of the interview situations, some other factors that influenced cooperation can be suggested. These are public relations, pride in one's role, catharsis and self-justification, emotional detachment, and disenchantment. How these helped and with whom is described below.

One element that worked to the interviewer's advantage was the timing of the study. The board of directors had changed the name of Segson Academy to Hickok Preparatory School only a few weeks before the study began, and, as will be discussed later, this was part of a very deliberate attempt to change the image of the school. Part of that image-changing strategy was to include careful cultivation of positive relations-- particularly with the university community. So for nearly all of people currently associated with Hickok Prep (with

the exception of the one professor mentioned earlier) this resulted in a very open-about-the-past, up-beat-about-the-future presentation. In addition, this created access to documents that might have otherwise been hard to obtain.

Those in the study for whom this public relations factor seems significant include the current headmaster, the chairman of the board, a former board member, a veteran parent, an alumna and beginning teacher, the veteran bookkeeper/secretary, and a veteran teacher. These last two were less open than the others about the past, perhaps due to their lack of confidence as spokespersons for the school and/or the tenuousness of their own positions with a new administration. They may not have yet been sure of what were approved statements. The beginning teacher confessed at the end of the interview that she had been more frank than she had planned to be. In her case, the fact that she is a daughter of a prominent former board member and well-practiced at exercising her father's influence in another situation known to the researcher may have made her less reticent to express her opinions than the other two employees of her approximate rank.

This public relations issue may also have been a factor in two of the interviews done concerning the Independent Baptist Schools. Both the minister who

conceived the school and the current headmaster seemed interested in developing a positive relationship with the researcher. It was impossible to determine whether it was the researcher's association with the university, his membership in the general public, his perceived potential as a possible member of the church, or something else that was operative.

A second factor that facilitated the information gathering in this study was the pride that many of the interviewees took in their part in the development of the schools. Included in this group from Hickok Prep were the chief organizer at the founding of the school, two of the original parents (one still associated and one not), the guidance counselor for ten years, the chairman of the board, a former board member, the original headmaster whose name gave the original name to the academy, a veteran teacher, the most recent headmaster, and a former chairman of the board. This pride was a factor in two interviews done with the organizers of the Hickok Academy, the local school that failed, and in the interviews with the minister and headmaster of the Independent Baptist Schools. Also, pride seems to have been a factor in at least two of the five interviews about Rock Hill Academy, the rural school which closed. These interviews were with the chief founder of the school and with its final headmaster. Finally,

the interview with the recently retired director of the state private school association was to some degree facilitated by his sense of accomplishment.

Somewhat related to this pride, but different from it was what can be called a catharsis and self-justification factor. Some respondents were especially anxious to discuss their involvement in the school, and this interview gave them a chance to do that. Others had played various roles in controversies and seemed to need to justify their actions. These reactions varied greatly in intensity, but in almost any interview in which they were a factor, they seem to have promoted a great deal of disclosure.

Interviews with people from Hickok Prep which seem to have been influenced by this factor include the guidance counselor, two of the original parents (the same ones mentioned above), the beginning teacher, the board chairman, one former board member, the original headmaster, the former board chairman, the most recent headmaster, and a former student. The young university professor and board member described earlier also seemed defensive and interested in self-justification, but in his case this resulted in his giving false information rather than dropping his guard. Both catharsis and self-justification seem to have played a part in the interviews with organizers of Hickok Academy. Self-

justification seems to have figured into some of the headmaster's responses at the Independent Baptist Schools. Catharsis and self-justification were factors in the interviews with the founder of Rock Hill Academy, its final headmaster, and a parent and member of its final board.

A fourth factor which promoted cooperation from some individuals was emotional detachment from the situation. These interviews were generally characterized by a lack of defensiveness and tension. Interviewees in this category include the first two professors (one with a child enrolled in Hickok Prep and one whose children had been enrolled formerly), the car dealer who was a board member of the Rock Hill Academy, the public school teacher, and the man who did the marketing study for Hickok Prep.

As used here, the phrase "emotional detachment" is not intended to connote complete emotional neutrality and objectivity--discussing issues related to these schools evoked some emotion from nearly everyone. Yet it would be accurate to describe the four people above as relatively dispassionate. It should also be understood and hopefully will become clear that most of the other respondents were, to greater or lesser degrees, capable of analytical and insightful comments, their emotional involvement notwithstanding.

A final factor that played a role in some individuals' disclosures was disenchantment with a particular school or situation. This was true in varying degrees of responses from the following Hickok Prep people: the guidance counselor; the founding mother no longer with the school; the recently fired headmaster; the former board chairman, and the former student. Others who could be characterized as disenchanted include the organizers of Hickok Academy, the computer analyst who withdrew his children from the Independent Baptist Schools, the former headmaster of Rock Hill Academy, and the dry goods store owner and treasurer of the Rock Hill Academy. The black civil rights leader was very responsive and had some hostilities, but he never had been enchanted with the school.

There were a few interviews that must be characterized as relatively unproductive. The young professor who has been described as impatient with the researcher provided some information and perceptions which were not supported by anyone else. This individual served primarily as an exceptional case which highlighted the agreement in the others' accounts--an important point in this type of research. Some of his rationale for the parental decision to enroll his child paralleled the reports of others (i.e., the "quality education" buzzword).

As mentioned earlier, the veteran teacher and the bookkeeper/secretary can be characterized as holding back when compared with the others. The explanation offered earlier, that they may have been less confident than others of their roles and scripts, tends to be supported at least in the bookkeeper's case. She cheerfully made copies of documents for the researcher when explicitly directed to do so by the board chairman. But her own accounts of events lacked confidence.

The bicycle store owner, whose children had been enrolled at one time in the Rock Hill Academy, appeared willing to cooperate, but the interview yielded little more than names. She had been only peripherally involved in the school and had a hard time trying to articulate whatever thoughts she had about it.

The interview with the student at Hickok Prep was marred by two factors. One was that her father (who had been interviewed at length separately) was unexpectedly present during the interview. He is a dominant sort of figure and interrupted the conversation at will. The daughter seemed very conscious of his responses to her answers, and this led the researcher to conclude that her answers were inhibited by his presence. A second factor which may have operated, even if the father had not been present, was the student's apparent inability to formulate analytical

responses. It was impossible to determine to what degree this may have been a result of the first factor or of a personal characteristic.

In addition to those problems cited, there were a few potential respondents who proved to be elusive. One can never be sure whether repeated inability to arrange an appointment time is an evasive tactic or a legitimate excuse. In any case, such failure to arrange an interview only occurred with four people and substitutes were readily available to provide the perspective being sought.

The brief descriptions of the people interviewed and the explanations of their responsiveness are offered to convey the breadth of the inquiry and to help to build a case for confidence in the data that was gathered. The strongest argument for the reliability of the data is the high degree of agreement between the perceptions of people in different positions. This will be demonstrated in the substantive discussion in a later section.

The Use of Documents

In addition to interview material, this study utilizes selected documents of relevance. One is a collection of fragmentary records that were kept by Hickok Prep; the collection includes some lists of former boards of directors and some recent listings of students and parents. These and some other materials

were supplied by the chairman of the board. The headmaster of the Independent Baptist Schools made curriculum material and application forms available. The state private school association supplied their current membership list and enrollment figures for several years. Even beyond these items' inherent value, their availability is a further indication of the cooperation that the researcher received. Other documents consulted were publications of the Office of Civil Rights of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Mississippi State Department of Education.

This section was intended to give the reader a "feel" for how the research proceeded and was accepted. Resistance to the inquiry was negligible. Interviews were conducted in settings in which the respondents were comfortable. The interviews were conversational in tone and serious but friendly in mood. As previously stated, responses were seldom capricious, and there was reason to believe that reliability in the study was not a serious problem (the problem of validity and reliability, which haunt all social science research, will be addressed in the last chapter of this report). Descriptions and analyses of their content will be presented in the section that follows.

CHAPTER VI

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Theoretical Cornerstone and Participant Consciousness

Just as the Brown vs. Board of Education decision in 1954 marked the beginning of the massive resistance to desegregation by white segregationists, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a June 30, 1965, decision by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals may be said to mark the beginning of the end to the united front of resistance. As Aiken and Demerath (1968) put it, with this ruling, "Mississippi's schools were put firmly within the control of the Office of Education itself" (p. 56).

This loss of control is both the theoretical cornerstone in the conception of this study and a key motivational variable in the consciousness of the subjects of the inquiry. As described above, this loss of control over governmental agencies, a process which began in 1954 and culminated in 1965, made a subordinate group out of those that would still resist school desegregation. This group's attempt to dissociate from public schooling (an association in which their goals were no longer viable), and to establish parallel

alternative associations (over which they would have control) is the subject of this research.

That this is more than a theoretical conceit of the researcher is evident from comments of the interviewees. The first executive secretary of the state-wide private school association emphasized this theme repeatedly in his analysis of the movement. At the opening of the interview, he conceded that integration was the catalyst, but traced the beginnings of the movement to the drive to consolidate rural schools.

It was a bitter fight. The bitterness still exists. They like their own little school--where they know the teachers, the board, and the principal. When it's consolidated, they lose the feeling of control. The integration issue gave them an excuse to get their schools back. People want their own school--'on the hill.'

At the close of the interview, he returned to this theme in a very intense, emotional way, saying:

...What disturbed me the most were trends toward government domination of everything. I don't want the government to decide. That's the prime thing now--control over the education of our children...The schools are totally operated by the government. Total power corrupts totally. If there's no alternative, there's no alternative. It's like China, like Hitler. Children shouldn't be taught against their parents' belief. The most important advantage of these private schools is to destroy government control over our kids...

I know how government got into the local situation. They were trying to enforce the laws. But now they're trying to take the kids away...

People ought to be left with something to do--to school their kids. If the government wants to help, that's fine--but they have to do it without strings.

So went the most fully developed articulation of this consciousness about control. It serves to establish Dehrendorf's idea of subordinate group goals rather well. And, while it is the best articulation of that position, other brief examples of this recurring theme should be noted. The assistant fire chief (one of the founding parents of Segson Academy) opened his comments with "It's just like any organization. It starts with a bunch of people who don't like the program--just like the American Revolution." In Dahrendorf's theoretical framework, his analogy is correct.

The minister who founded the Independent Baptist Schools put it this way, "The government is not responsible for educating our kids; we are." A board member of the Rock Hill Academy said, "Just dodging blacks wasn't the chief thing. Government control was more important. The dope thing was getting bigger. This was more like a family. You could keep your finger on it." And the final headmaster of Rock Hill Academy said, "They are government schools, not public schools. There are teachers who are not teachers but they can't be fired..I've been able to fire teachers in private schools..Private education is the only hope for America." .

The preceding discussion about control is meant to establish the subjects' consciousness of the theoretical construct which formed the basis for this research. It is not intended that the rhetoric of the control issue should obscure the issue of control over what. Only one of the respondents quoted above (the minister who founded the Baptist school) failed to acknowledge that desegregation produced these schools, and only three respondents in the entire project did that. The other two were the administrator of the Baptist school and the board member of Hickok Prep whose account of the history of the school was also otherwise erroneous.

A Brief History

Genesis: Enrollment, Growth and Decline

The Segson Academy opened its doors in the fall of 1965 with 34 students in grades one through six. The idea began with a nucleus of five people who met in the Vardaman County Freedom Bookstore (a John Birch Society bookstore) and was led by a local doctor who was a John Birch Society member. He had done research on private schooling by visiting those in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

This first meeting was followed by a public meeting which approximately 250 people attended. Approximately 200 children were tentatively enrolled by their parents after this "emotionally charged" meeting.

Throughout the summer of 1965, various churches were approached for use of their educational facilities. Some made tentative promises, but, one by one, all of these faded. Members of that original founding group report that they were perceived as radicals by others and that the churches and other people didn't want to be associated with them.

At the end of the summer, a second doctor donated a house that he owned as a site for the school. The retired former principal of the white junior high school was hired for a token salary. He recruited teachers, got supplies and books, and six days after the public schools opened their fall term, so did Segson Academy.

By May of 1966, the Vardaman County School Foundation (the charter foundation which ran the academy) broke ground for an elementary school building on the outskirts of Hickok. The location was adjacent to an all black suburb. Some of the land was donated, and the rest was sold to contributors who in turn deeded it to the foundation. The total site was approximately 39 acres.

During this first year, the second doctor left the school. He reports that he left because he discovered that there was a Ku Klux Klansman in the group (confirmed from other sources) and because he couldn't tolerate the long indecisive meetings. He went on

to help organize the short-lived Hickok Academy. One of his co-founders at that school attributes his leaving the first school to the fact that he could not run it. Whatever the case, the Segson Academy moved from his house, in its second year, to a rented house and had an enrollment of 48 in eight grades.

By the fall of 1967 the elementary school building was ready, complete with central heat and air conditioning. The enrollment climbed to 124 in eight grades. According to participants, these were heady times. There was a high level of commitment and sacrifice. People donated goods, services, and money. The clientele represented a broad range of income levels. The founder was the only doctor in the school. Approximately twenty scholarships were given. One member presented a bill for \$500 to a general meeting for his having built an announcer's stand at the football stadium. The others were shocked. They paid him the money, but, observers say, he suffered great embarrassment for having violated the norms which demanded sacrifice. In the words of one of the group, "That wasn't the true spirit of (Segson)."

The group valued their independence. They refused to sign a compliance document to apply for tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service. They accepted a donation of concrete from the Citizens' Council, but refused to affiliate with the Council schools

that were appearing in other cities in the state.² One of the original founders says of this period, "We had rich and poor, cultured and uncultured, but they all loved the Lord and believed in free enterprise and basics."

This broad base was a negative factor in the eyes of some other people who wanted a private, segregated school. The Hickok Academy opened in 1967. One of its founders said that she had watched the "Citizens' Council school" (Segson Academy) and didn't like what she saw. "They were against something; I was for something." She was the wife of a wealthy real estate developer, and with the disenchanted doctor from Segson Academy, another doctor, and several other wealthy people started this second academy. It operated in a rented house. It lasted for four years, started with six grades, increased to eight, and its enrollment never rose much above 100.

It was conceived as a school for those "who could afford quality." The doctor who was involved in both schools analyzes Hickok Academy's failure to last as a failure to "attract those of the same social class." He perceives those who founded it as far-sighted. He says that many of the wealthier people who scoffed at the Hickok Academy now send their children to Hickok Prep. It is certainly true that a greater number of doctors and university professors now send their children to Hickok Prep than supported either Segson in the early years or Hickok Academy.

The Hickok Academy folded after four years--in debt. The Segson Academy bought out its assets--"which turned out to be liabilities," as the founder of Segson puts it. Many of the students enrolled in Segson. Some of the participants say that the town just could not support two academies. A founder of the Hickok Academy says that they lacked the organization of the "Council School" (Segson). A founder of Segson says that there just wasn't "enough of the social indigestion crowd" to support it (translation: not enough snob appeal). At any rate, one of the founders of Hickok Academy says that Hickok Prep is now approaching what they originally had in mind.

For the 1968-69 school year, the enrollment at Segson was 95 for the eight grades. In 1969-70, it expanded to eleven grades and had 147 students. The Hickok Public Schools had been operating a "freedom of choice" desegregation plan until 1970, when a consent decree was signed combining the junior high and high schools. The elementary schools operated under a "neighborhood school" concept. The enrollment at Segson Academy climbed in 1970-71 to 204 in twelve grades. A high school building was constructed in 1972, and in 1971-72, the enrollment climbed to 354 for twelve grades. It was in 1972 that the Hickok Academy closed, producing additional students for Segson. Also in the 1972-73 school year, a court order placed many white

students in the suburban Rosebud schools in a formerly all black rural school. These people fled to Segson in large numbers, and the enrollment climbed to 434, an enrollment figure not again equalled. This necessitated the addition of some temporary classrooms.

After this peak year, an accommodation was reached in Rosebud making it more agreeable for local whites; thus rural white students found their way back, through various tactics, into the Rosebud schools. As they did, the enrollment at Segson began a gradual decline. The chronology, with enrollment figures, is presented in Table I.

TABLE 1
NOTATED ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR SEGSON
ACADEMY (1965-1979)

School Year	Grades	Enrollment	Comments
1965-1966	1-6	34	Hickok Public Schools under "freedom of choice". Segson located in house provided by doctor
1966-1967	1-8	48	Located in a rented house
1967-1968	1-8	124	New building opened (Hickok Academy also opened.)
1968-1969	1-8	95	
1969-1970	1-11	147	

TABLE 1--Continued

1970-1971	1-6 7-12	136 68 (204)	Hickok Public Schools combined junior and senior high schools to desegregate. High school building at Segson completed.
1971-1972	1-6	177 177 (354)	New group of five recruited to board (see text below).
1972-1973	1-6 7-12	145 289 (434)	Hickok Academy closed. Rosebud students fled to Segson.
1973-1974	1-6 7-12	146 253 (399)	Rosebud students began to drift away. Transition of clientele and rhetoric was developing (see following text).
1974-1975	1-6 7-12	125 240 (365)	
1975-1976	1-6 7-12	110 211 (321)	
1976-1977	1-6 7-12	107 216 (323)	
1977-1978	1-6 7-12	115 196 (311)	
1978-1979	1-6 7-12	109 192 (301)	Name changed to Hickok Prep.

Financial Woes and the New Class Structure

By 1971, Segson Academy was beginning to experience financial problems. The new high school building and gymnasium had created a large debt, and it was a constant struggle to meet the notes. The founder went to a local

soft drink bottler to invite him onto the board. He agreed to it if he could bring four others with him to help reorganize the financial basis of the school. This was done. All of the new members were agreed that their participation marked a turning point in the school's history. None of these five board members had been involved in the school before.

This "turning point" can be characterized in one of two opposing ways. Critics describe it, variously, as "when the social indigestion bunch came in," or "when they started to run the rednecks out." As could be expected, critics were members of the school's founding group. Alternatively, it is described as "when people interested in quality education began to take over from the racists," or as "when educated people started trying to create a financial base to support a real private school;" these favorable descriptions came from those who came to control the school and still do control it. A somewhat more detached observer, a university professor who sent his children there during this time but no longer does, remembered that "the division between the rednecks who created the school and the wealthier, more professional types was obvious in all the meetings."³

The loans were refinanced and the tuition was gradually raised. The board was conscious that this would cause some to have to leave. Many did. A replacement of

clientele began with more university people and conspicuously more doctors participating. The board make-up and parent list reflects this shift. The older students were conscious of a new influx, and the new students were aware of a sharp division, too. All acknowledge a period of cliques drawn along class lines during this transition.

By 1978, all observers within the school and those no longer with it agreed that it was almost completely a school for people with a substantial amount of money. During the transition, some scholarships were offered; no one will say exactly how many were granted, but most agree that they were largely offered to good athletes in an attempt to make the athletic program attractive for potential students.⁴

As the assistant fire chief (one of the founding parents) reported about this transitional period, "I'm the last of us rednecks still with the school." It is worth noting that he also reports that his financial status has also considerably improved in the interviewing years. (He is a contractor on the side.)⁵

The present parents differ conversationally from the founders. They use the word "blacks" instead of "niggers" or "nigras." They acknowledge that the school was founded by segregationists (with the exception mentioned earlier), but say that that is all in the

past. Their buzzword is "quality education." They are fond of quoting standardized test scores. They bemoan the lack of discipline in the public schools,⁶ and accuse the public school administration of hushing-up problems. They consider themselves supporters of public education, but want to see their own children better groomed for college.

The present chairman of the board is very open about the cultivation of a new image. The change of the name from Segson Academy to Hickok Prep was a deliberate attempt to remove the image of its segregationist origins. The "Prep" is a conscious allusion to Jackson Prep, an expensive segregation school in Jackson that these people seek to emulate.

The recently hired headmaster is quite willing to admit "qualified" black students. These qualifications include: (1) an I.Q. score of 100; (2) being in good standing with the present school; (3) not having a learning disability; (4) being in the 68th percentile on reading achievement tests. And, of course, an ability to pay. The board seems to agree with this position, primarily as part of a drive to achieve tax-exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service. This would make contributions tax deductible, and the board chairman perceives that this would help increase contributions considerably.

The school advertises a policy of non-discrimination in the local newspaper. One parent has actively tried to recruit black students from the neighborhood adjacent to the school, without success. At least one black student has applied, but "wasn't qualified." The present headmaster anticipated that admitting a black student would be very controversial and that some whites would leave the school. A black community leader who lives in the neighborhood anticipated that no local blacks would apply and that any others who might be admitted would soon be made unhappy enough to leave. At any rate, for the present, Hickok Prep is segregated.⁷

The headmasters that have been hired represent a consciousness about image. The first headmasters had previously been administrators in public schools. When the soft drink bottler took control of the board, he was dissatisfied with the headmaster, he says, because the headmaster was too indecisive. Others say that the headmaster did not have a "class" enough image for the bottler. For whatever reason, a new headmaster was hired from one of the more prestigious academies in Jackson. He was later replaced with an administrator from a private school in North Carolina. The present chairman says, "We wanted someone who could make a good impression at the country club--among people who we want to get involved."

This change in image can be viewed in terms of a broad market strategy of an institution trying to survive. A market research study was, in fact, commissioned through the local university. Part of the planning included trying to move the school to the western edge of Hickok--the direction of the white suburban sprawl. Parents whose children presently attend the school concede that segregation, as an issue, will not be enough to maintain the school. This struggle to survive is a measure of some degree of social acceptance of school desegregation.

If school desegregation were still such a salient issue one might expect a steady supply of new recruits to segregationist schools. This has not developed in Hickok, where desegregation has been relatively calmly achieved. Several parents whose children have returned to public schools reported, "Things have not turned out as bad (in the public schools) as we expected." This school was begun in reaction to a perceived crisis. The present struggle to maintain enrollment may indicate that, in the minds of potential supporters, the crisis has passed.

Acceptance of Desegregation and Private School Woes

The evidence from Rock Hill Academy would seem to support the conclusion that there is growing acceptance

of desegregation. The Rock Hill Academy was founded in 1970 largely through the organizing efforts of a local Baptist minister. It opened with an enrollment of about 110 in twelve grades and stayed at approximately that level until it closed after the 1977-78 school year. The peak enrollment was 150. The anticipated enrollment for 1978-1979 had been approximately 80.

While there was some mild acrimony between the members of the final board and the final headmaster, all concerned agreed that the school died from apathy. It was in a very sound financial position. An important reason for this was that it was housed in an empty school building that had been abandoned in a consolidation plan. (Thus the establishment of this academy was the reopening of a rural school under local control.) There had been only minor outlays of capital (mainly for a modest classroom addition), and there were enough assets to retire the small outstanding loan note. The final headmaster said that this lack of indebtedness may have contributed to the apathy. No one needed to keep it going because they had signed a loan note. (This was precisely the situation that did occur at Segson.)

A former board president put it this way, "The parents just don't care enough about quality education. They'd rather have a color t.v....People changed (to Rock Hill Academy)at first to get away from the

nigger. That is wearing off." All of the parents, who were with the school when it closed, said they would rather be back in private school, but two conceded that the public schools were not so bad as they had supposed.

Officially, Rock Hill Academy "merged" with Hickok Prep. The board chairman of Hickok Prep reported an expectation of 65 to 75 students from Rock Hill for the 1978-79 school year. Four enrolled; two of them quit. Perhaps six to ten Rock Hill students went to other rural private schools on the far side of Rock Hill from Hickok. The rest returned to public schools.

The Independent Baptist Schools are somewhat more difficult to categorize as a segregation academy. The minister who founded it spontaneously denied that it was founded to avoid desegregation. "Other churches started schools against integration. We didn't. There are no scriptural grounds for it. They folded and we didn't." This minister and the administrator of the school describe it as "Christian to the core." And the minister said, "We are struggling against the materialism of the public schools."

The curriculum materials are certainly distinct from other schools. They are published by Accelerated Christian Education, Inc. Every subject is taught from a fundamentalist Baptist perspective. Some examples from the packets are included in an appendix as illustrations.

There are other differences, too. The minister noted that teachers are required to have "a B.A. degree. That is, a born again experience." Many of the teachers do not have college degrees, although in "every room there is a degreed teacher" and one or two other teachers. Such a room has fifty individual, red, white, and blue carrels, all arranged to face the wall. If a student has a question, he/she raises an American flag. When he/she completes a packet, he/she raises a Christian flag.

Dress codes are strict. Behavior codes are strict. Corporal punishment is practiced. There is no parent-teacher organization. The school is run by the deacons and the minister. Signs with rules at the school say, "By order of the Pastor."

These distinctions make at least a superficial case that these people have more on their minds than segregation. Still, some evidence suggests that segregationist sentiments may be operating. The school began in 1972. The year before, the minister's son had attended Segson Academy. The church is located in the middle of a black neighborhood, but there are no black members of the church. The school is located several miles away from the church in a non-residential area, and the church is being moved to that site. None of the 130 students in the 1978-79 school enrollment were black.

The administrator of the school said that blacks would be accepted "if they could come up to our standards." He doubts that they would be accepted into the church. A former parent from the school said that whatever the minister's own motivation, segregation was certainly a goal of much of the clientele. In his words, "It was understood that they would not accept blacks."

The school seems to be maintaining a steady enrollment of over 100. Tuition has been kept low, and the minister hopes to move to a tuition-free program soon. Scholarships are given to "anyone" who needs them. All of the funds are channeled through the church.

The administrator resents government attempts to check on any phase of the operation. The school aspires to no official accreditation standards. Government attempts to make the school pay workmen's compensation are seen as interference with religion and militantly resisted. The administrator is convinced that such moves are anti-Christian persecution by the government. He reported that he and the minister are prepared to go to jail to resist the state's interference. He said, "Our philosophy is that parents and churches are responsible for education. We yield to Caesar what is Caesar's, but kids don't belong to Caesar."

Analysis of the Proposed Variables

The variables suggested by Dahrendorf and other variables previously discussed are examined in this section. The interviewer did not intentionally probe these variables until those issues which the interviewees spontaneously thought were most salient had been exhausted. Those which had not been covered spontaneously were then raised by the interviewer to see what extent they were important factors in the perception of the interviewees.

Leadership

Leadership personnel is Dahrendorf's first variable. In three of the schools examined in this research, there was one clearly identifiable leader. For Segson Academy, it was the doctor who had examined the schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia. For Rock Hill Academy, it was a Baptist minister who did the organizing. For the Independent Baptist Schools, it was the pastor of the church. In the Hickok Academy, there was a small group of founders, rather than one identifiable leader.

Leadership at Segson

Although the doctor is identifiable as the founder of Segson Academy, the other original members do not perceive themselves as having followed his leadership because of his status in the community. In fact, other

original members are rather cynical about doctors in general. Instead, what seems to have happened is that the situation had produced a number of highly motivated people, and the doctor was simply the organizing agent at the start.

Once started, the Segson Academy was run very democratically with frequent and open meetings of the entire membership. The apparent openness of the meetings is evidenced by the many reports of frequent disagreements. For example, some people left the group because a prominent member took a job as head of an anti-poverty agency--what one observer called "a nigger program." Despite the internal conflict, there was such a high degree of commitment that the leadership may accurately be described as shared. Individual members would assume responsibility for different projects, depending on their skills or positions. One couple put on a horse show as a fund-raiser. People in the business would supervise construction projects. Someone else would be responsible for a loan negotiation.

Particular leadership personnel emerged as an important issue only as the school began to experience financial difficulty. It was then that five entirely new people were recruited to the board of directors to help restructure the financial base. This was the

beginning of the rift and the shift in clientele and in the image people wished to project of the school.

Within the leadership structure, changes were made that reflect this shift. An executive board was created. The leader of this particular change had attended a prep school in Tennessee, considered himself an astute businessman, and felt that a successful school simply could not be run with such direct client control. Occurring simultaneously with this concentration of leadership was an increase in tuition, the drifting away of some of the original members, and the waning of the high level of emotional commitment and participation. The first shift, to a more formally educated and monied leadership, culminated when a new headmaster was hired. In the words of the board chairman who hired him, "We needed someone to present a better appearance. We were looking to middle and upper income groups. We needed an image man--someone capable of recruiting people who were able to pay."

Accounts of the early period of Segson Academy suggest that little centralized leadership was necessary. The group was so oriented toward participation and the morale was so high that, except for some initial organizing, there was an emergent momentum that carried the school for the first six years. The change and centralization of leadership that occurred at that point can be

understood as an adaptive response--an undercapitalized enterprise was trying to survive financially. This was accomplished (at least temporarily) but at the cost of dividing the members along class lines.

One may analyze the leadership situation as diffuse and secondary at the beginning, but perhaps crucial for survival at the turning point, and certainly decisive in determining the direction that the school ultimately went. Dahrendorf says, "...there have to be certain persons who make this organization their business, who carry it out practically and take the lead" (p. 185). In the early days, there was an abundance of such persons. Dahrendorf's second variable seems to have influenced this first one. The "available ideology" was so strong that leadership, in the sense that he defines it, was a common thing. After the initial success of organization, concentrated leadership proved to be more important for longer term survival.

Leadership at Rock Hill

The Rock Hill Academy experience seems to support this perspective on leadership. The minister who organized it was its board chairman for the first four years. He provided leadership, but there was apparently a high level of support and participation by the members. When he resigned from the board in 1973, he said,

"Everything looked like it was o.k." As the years passed, apathy set in. As the minister said, "People grew tired." One of the parents at Segson had said, "A school uses people up. Then you need new ones." Rock Hill did not have any new ones.

Leadership at Independent Baptist

Independent Baptist Schools represent a different pattern. Its leadership was already intact in the church organization and particularly in the person of the minister. It has remained so.

Leadership at Hickok Academy

The Hickok Academy leadership was more diffuse than the others. It seems that the leaders' level of commitment was as high as in the other cases, but their articulation of their ideology--a sort of an elitist segregationist stance--failed to recruit enough of "their class" as followers or as a second wave of leaders. The transition at Segson seems to reflect the adoption of this elitist ideology. As one of the leaders of Hickok Academy put it, "(Hickok) Prep is now becoming the kind of school that we had in mind."

Hickok Academy's leaders may have simply spent their energies too soon. The leader of the shift at Segson was certainly attuned to the Hickok Academy conception, and he described the surviving school at

Segson as "...a combination of (Segson) and (Hickok) Academy." He had not previously been involved in either school and had (with the others that he brought to the board) been "suspicious" of Segson, but he agreed to take on its leadership at the time when the failure of Hickok Academy to survive became apparent.

Charters and Documents as Reified Ideology

According to Dahrendorf, interest groups like these must have a charter--an articulation of the manifest interests of the group. It deals with the issue of authority. Indeed, the Segson Academy had a formal charter of incorporation for the parent organization--the Vardaman County School Foundation.

This document spells out in detail how the corporation is to be governed. It never mentions segregation, or, for that matter, education. However, the only mention of the word "school" in the body of the document asserts the board's authority over what may be the key issue: "The Board of Directors is vested with full power to pass upon, and to approve or disapprove, all applications for enrollment in schools operated by the corporation," (Vardaman County School Foundation, 1965, p. 4). Hickok Academy and Rock Hill Academy had similar documents. Independent Baptist Schools do not have such a charter, but their application forms

make clear that the school administration has authority over admissions--as well as dress, language, corporal punishment and other matters.

Perhaps even more important than a formal charter, in the case under consideration, is what Dahrendorf calls an "available ideology" that can serve as a charter. In the case of these schools, the ideology that was available was the will to control their children's schooling. In three of the schools, the catalytic ideological issue was clearly control over the racial composition. In the fourth, the Baptist school, the available ideology was "Christian education." As mentioned previously, separating this rhetoric of religion out from segregationist motivations is very difficult.

Authority over the racial composition of schools seems to have had a limited life-span as an ideology/charter in this locality. It was not enough to sustain Rock Hill Academy and, with no replacement ideology articulated, a declining enrollment, and money in the bank, it folded. A segregationist ideology launched Segson, but it was in danger of failing when new leaders articulated a new charter. The "(Segson) Academy Philosophy" was drafted in 1972. It includes these lines: "Its purpose is to provide educational opportunities of a superior quality and standard. For no other purpose does this school exist." This last

sentence is a pointed disclaimer of the segregationist origins. Nowhere in the "Philosophy" or "Objectives" which accompanied it are admission policies mentioned.

This change in rhetoric need not be interpreted as an indication that the later arrivals to the Segson board were not segregationists. It is conceivable that they were/are partly motivated by the same concerns as the earlier group. That these newer board members were appointed just as desegregation began in earnest in the Hickok Public Schools suggests that interpretation. So, too, does the fact that there were, until the 1979-80 school year, no blacks enrolled. The point being made here is that this group found overt segregation as an ideology/charter unacceptable, but segregation has been practiced nevertheless.

A university vice-president and former board member of Segson typifies this group and was one of its leaders. The issue of race came up spontaneously at several points in the interview with him, and each time he discussed it in an emphatic, intense way:

I'm interested in quality education, quality education...

Many people seem to feel that (Segson) is racist and a bunch of bigots. This is absolutely, unequivocally false. It's made up of people interested in quality education and willing to pay through the nose for it...

There is some credibility that ten years ago segregationists formed it, but--I'm going to be careful--more liberal-minded people sneered

at it. Over the last seven or eight years it has been changing. Since I got there. Why, segregation hasn't even been discussed over the last five years. There's a little hard-shell influence, but it's nearly gone...

The public may be understanding more. I hope people don't think I'm a redneck.

This last line may be the key. Many of this group were in public positions--professional educators, doctors, owners of large businesses--and may have perceived the social costs of accepting a segregationist label as being too great.

This may explain why this group of people avoided participating in Segson and why they had not joined the Hickok Academy either. As the daughter of the vice-president, just quoted, remembers it,

A whole crew from our neighborhood went together...There were twenty-five or thirty being sent for the same reason. Our parents didn't think the school board was ready for busing and the problems...two years earlier the upper-class had moved to the (Whitehaven) school district. When busing came, a lot of us went to (Segson)...

Hickok didn't need a private school until 1968. There was the stigma of it being a segregation school, but it wasn't...

My grandfather donated the land...

And then, lest the interviewer get the (wrong?) idea, she said "The size of (Segson) will double in ten years. More people are interested in quality education." She either remembered the new charter or, at the least, was well imbued with the available ideology; in this case, the call was/is for "quality education."

The Tolerance of Voluntary Organization

Dahrendorf's third variable is the degree to which voluntary organizations are tolerated by the regime. Just as state and local governments had contended with the federal government over desegregation in public schools, the struggle continued between the levels of government over support for these private schools. The state legislature passed a law that offered a rebate of \$185 to parents who sent their children to private schools. A law suit was filed, and a federal court found the law unconstitutional. Ironically, the state association for private schools resulted due to this lawsuit. This occurred because all of the private schools named called a meeting to plot legal strategy. Many had not even been aware of some of the others' existence until they were named as co-defendants.

Similarly, books were often loaned by public school officials to private schools. This was done at Segson. O. S. Segson, the first headmaster, was a retired public school administrator. He used his contacts to "borrow" books, desks, and other supplies. This was done very quietly. The federal courts disallowed this practice, and the public school superintendent reluctantly abandoned it. "I just hate to waste books," he said.

In Hickok, public school facilities were never used by the private schools, but in other places, this sometimes happened. For example, in a small Delta town, (the Northwestern part of the state), for a token payment, a school board sold the building of a previously all white school to the people forming an academy. In the same area, one of the first private schools joined an athletic conference with public schools which were still segregated. And the newly formed Academy (athletic) Conference played its first tournaments at a public junior college.

Another issue in governmental response has been whether or not contributions would be tax deductible. Early newspaper advertisements of the school foundation announced that contributions were tax deductible. The Internal Revenue Service soon disallowed that unless a school would sign a non-discrimination agreement and advertise such a policy. For a long period, this was totally unacceptable to the Segson membership, but they are trying to achieve tax-deductible status now, and they do advertise a policy of non-discrimination. Although none of the academies in the state have had blacks enrolled, a few of the schools have achieved tax-deductible status.

The original support by the state and local governments may have given Segson crucial financial

support. It also may have helped to give some legitimacy to the effort. This support had the net effect of providing the blessing of state and local authorities to the schools, even if such blessing came by fiat. (i.e., without publicly open support, but more importantly, without publicly open denial).

Despite this help, a few of the Segson people saw the local public school superintendent as antagonistic toward Segson. He denied this and said that, in fact, the creation of Segson may have helped to ease desegregation by filtering out white people who were most likely to have caused trouble. Most Segson people concede that the public school people have not been antagonistic and that they were discretely helpful at first. The reports of antagonism come from people who were denied public school jobs; these may be cases of individual bitterness since others once associated with Segson have been given public school jobs. One thing upon which all Segson respondents agree is that the public school superintendent is a skillful politician who has kept damaging news about the public school out of the media and thus hurt the potential drawing power of Segson.⁸

One would also have to conclude that the federal courts and Internal Revenue Service have been antagonistic toward these schools. While not directly challenging

their right to exist, various rulings have hurt them. This may be changing. Some schools are qualifying for tax-deductible contributions, and broad support for the so-called Packwood-Moynihan bill in Congress is building. This would allow tax credits for parents who pay tuition for private schooling.

If the Segson people see themselves as fighting off the federal government, the Independent Baptist Schools administrator feels absolutely persecuted. He expects to be taken to court any time now.

This school is a part of the church...The federal government has said any Christian school is not part of the church. The state is obligated to make Christian schools pay workmen's compensation or face loss of funds...

The fundamental Christian schools have been singled out. That's the way the government is set up. You should understand, being a Jew. Your people have been persecuted by governments all over the world.

It's the infiltration of Communism. If they can control these schools, they can control the country...

We're a patriotic school, but we believe in complete separation of church and state.

He showed the interviewer a copy of Ohio's Trojan Horse by Alan N. Grover (Bob Jones University Press) which tells the story of a minister and a set of parents who went to jail in Ohio fighting "the government's interference in the education of their children." He said he and the pastor are also prepared to fight the

government "to the end" rather than submit to any government regulation.

While one may objectively say that there is government tolerance for the existence of these schools, it is also safe to conclude that the conflict over authority between them and government is as ubiquitous as Dahrendorf assumes. And the degree of that tolerance seems to be a matter of perception.

Communication

One of Dahrendorf's "social conditions of organization" is communication among the incumbents of the quasi-group. Dahrendorf takes this to be a constant, easily available in modern industrial society. Although access to mass media is conceivably quite variable, Dahrendorf's assumption seems to have held in this empirical case.

None of the groups made extensive use of media in organizing their schools. The founder of Segson said, "We ran a few newspaper ads, but we relied on word of mouth." The founder of Rock Hill commented, "A thing like this advertises itself."

Most respondents report the media, especially the local daily newspaper, to have been cooperative, but the former guidance counselor complained about the television station. In 1974, she was elected president of the state private school teachers' organization.

"The local radio stations," she said, "were really nice, but Channel (42) asked a lot of loaded questions about segregation."

The only other incident related to communication was that in the early days of formation, one of the eventual founders of Hickok Academy told one of the leaders of Segson to be careful, that the Justice Department was bugging the phone calls. It is unlikely that this report dramatically inhibited communication. Only one respondent reported it or anything like it, and she did so only as an afterthought.

Group Memberships and Authority Relationships

Dahrendorf's last condition is that the potential members of conflict group be members of the quasi-group as a result of authority relationships. Segregationist whites collectively lost their authority over state schooling. Those who joined these groups had to be recruited from this aggrieved quasi-group. This condition is met.

Alternatives to Organization

A variable suggested by Nevin and Bills has to do with available alternatives to organization--in this case, white flight into parallel public school systems which are more acceptable (i.e., more segregated). This factor, together with the particular nature of Hickok's

growth pattern, perhaps limited its private school movement.

First of all, Hickok's desegregation plan, even after "freedom-of-choice" was abandoned, left one of the most affluent white neighborhoods with a 9 to 1 white to black ratio in the first six grades. Even today this ratio holds, and only three formerly all-white elementary schools have percentages of 30% or more black students, despite the fact that approximately 54% of Hickok's school-age children are black. Two of these three desegregated elementary schools are in lower socio-economic class neighborhoods. The junior and senior high schools, under a rather complex plan, more closely reflect the racial composition of the school-age population. The most glaring exception is that, in the particular affluent neighborhood mentioned above, the seventh and eighth grades also are kept at a 75% white enrollment. As a former headmaster of Segson put it, "Those best able to pay for private schooling were least effected by the desegregation plan."

Ecologically, a very significant factor is that Hickok lies on the western edge of Vardaman county. Adjacent to its present city limits is rural Magnolia County. Many subdivisions have been created and occupied in Magnolia County in the last ten years and suburban Hickok has grown tremendously in that direction. The

highway that crosses an interstate and serves as the connecting link between these subdivisions and Hickok has been widened to four lanes. A Methodist hospital located near downtown Hickok is moving to Magnolia County, And, as expected, many white school-age children have moved there, too.

The public school superintendent said, "(Magnolia County) drained our students." In Magnolia County, suburban Hickok students attend a consolidated county school with a 2% black population in its twelve grades. One of Segson's founding parents said, "A lot of working people decided to sell their houses and go to (Magnolia County). Lots did. There's not but seven nigger children in that school. And its cheaper in the long run." Although this parent had presented himself as supporting Segson since its inception, he later revealed that there was one point at which he sent his children to Magnolia County schools for a year. He owned a lot in the county and parked a mobile home on it and listed that as his home address. It could be that he couldn't actually move because he is a city employee. At any rate, this didn't work out for him. The Magnolia County school officials checked the address repeatedly and finally forced his children out of the schools. "A lot of other people got away with the same sort of thing. Said the kids were living at grandma's. Things like that."

Real estate developers play on this school theme. Newspaper ads tout a new subdivision as located in the "Sound and Secure (Magnolia) County Schools." The city government

TABLE 2
ENROLLMENT FIGURES
1966-1979

Year	Hickok Public Schools			Suburban Hickok's Magnolia County School		
	Elementary	Secondary	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Total
1966-67	4,291	3,697	7,988	375	275	650
1967-68	4,333	3,719	8,052	390	294	684
1968-69	4,210	3,707	7,917	411	315	726
1969-70	4,229	3,740	7,969	449	335	804
1970-71	4,237	3,468	7,705	517	431	948
1971-72	4,730	2,580	7,310	603	521	1,124
1972-73	3,822	3,055	6,877	680	608	1,288
1973-74	3,642	3,050	6,692	766	695	1,461
1974-75	3,460	2,985	6,445	752	724	1,476
1975-76	3,305	3,023	6,328	776	806	1,582
1976-77	3,269	2,859	6,128	810	876	1,686
1977-78	3,139	2,922	6,061	810	882	1,692
1978-79	3,111	2,820	5,931	818	873	1,691

has tentative plans to annex some of this suburban area. Real estate developers are moving on further west. One sign in Magnolia County reads, "This marks the proposed new city limits. One mile (further out) to Westover West Subdivision." Looking at the growth of the suburban Hickok school in Magnolia County is very suggestive. See Table 2.

The increased enrollment in the Magnolia County Schools has been nearly all white. Its persistent increase dramatically accompanies Hickok Public Schools' persistent decline. Flight was definitely available and vigorously executed. From 1976-1979 suggests a "leveling off," although there has been only one year since 1969-1970 when Hickok has not lost at least 100 students. Conversely, from 1969-1970 to 1976-1977, Magnolia County gained at least 100 students. The school year, 1969-1970, is especially important as a turning point since that is when court-ordered desegregation was most widely implemented in southern states.

The significance of this available flight factor may be accentuated by comparing Hickok to Washington, a town of approximately 10,000 located some 20 miles to the west and in the middle of a rural county. Both the Washington public schools and its surrounding county schools have a school population that is approximately 42% black. Adding the city and county schools together, one gets a total enrollment of approximately 5000. Hickok Public Schools' enrollment is about 6000. The Washington segregation academy enrollment is 600, and the school is financially sound. Hickok Prep has

about 300 students and is struggling financially. To draw any firm conclusions from this one comparison would be precipitous, but the ecological evidence on this issue is highly suggestive that available flight has had an important limiting effect on Hickok's private schools.

Rural-Urban Factors

Another variable suggested by Nevin and Bills' work is a rural-urban difference. They note that rural academies are more often secular than urban ones and are often more inclusive of the white population. This inclusiveness is certainly the case in some rural locations in Mississippi. The first headmaster of one of the oldest academies in the Mississippi Delta said, "It would have been seen as callous to turn poor (white) people away." The five counties with the highest percentages (all above 70%) of white students in private schools are all in sparsely populated counties. This might indicate that the white solidarity is less in cities.

This certainly seems to be the case in Hickok. The factionalism even within the ranks of those who wanted segregated private schools has already been described. In addition, there was a group of whites that openly supported the public schools and took out a full page newspaper ad to try to inhibit any panic. Conspicuously, the white president of a local Baptist college sends his children to a mostly black elementary school. And many Hickok Prep supporters say that the local state university has been a limiting influence on the development of the

school. The anonymity and heterogeneity of larger numbers may make the white solidarity less likely. These factors also reduce the pressure on the private school to try to be all inclusive, and scholarships are less likely in this situation.

Still, the rural Rock Hill Academy failed to rally white solidarity either, without the diversity of an urban population or the moderating influence of a university community. So, while the issue of white solidarity is certainly important, it doesn't seem to be a rural-urban issue only, at least not in this locality.

Finances

The last variable suggested by Nevin and Bills has to do with financial status. They predict that large early commitments of money or loan signatures or bond purchases may be good predictors of eventual success. The location studied in this research certainly seems to support that.

Hickok Academy never received any large financial investment or did any building. It folded. Rock Hill Academy never required any huge capital outlays. It folded. Independent Baptist Schools are supported through the sound finances of the church and are surviving. Hickok Prep may have survived a financial crisis just because those whose names were on the note recruited new people to refinance the loan and redirect the school.

It is easy to imagine that, if no one had a large financial stake in the school's continuance, it might have been allowed to close, the way that Rock Hill was. Several people who were involved assume that the debt was instrumental in keeping the school alive. As one of the five new board members at Segson's transition put it, "Those responsible for the debt were desperate for us to help them out, because the school might have closed."

The current plan to move the school into Magnolia County (and nearer the potential clientele) hinges partly on finding a buyer for the present facility. If a buyer is found, and the present loan can be paid off, it will be the acid test of the present clientele's commitment to see if they want to exercise their option on the new site and embark on a whole new round of large scale financial obligations.

Race of Student-Age Population as a Factor For Segregation Academies

One suspects the apparently limited life-span of the segregationist ideology as a charter might be directly related to the percentage of school-age children who are black. The ideology of segregation may remain more salient in places with large black populations. Nevin and Bills suggest that the percentage of blacks in the population will influence the success or failure

of these schools, and so did several of the respondents in this research. One former headmaster of Segson said,

Alternative schools do well in communities where there is a higher black to white ratio. You could use this as a corollary, although private school people don't like to admit it.

Private education will last longer at a lower level of quality in those communities that have higher black to white ratios. Some private schools will exist that are not in this situation--those that become concerned with the educational product. But you certainly can't say that those with the highest educational quality will last the longest.

Trying to measure the quality of these schools is beyond the scope of this research. So is trying to determine how many may have disavowed their segregationist charters in favor of more "sanitary" ones the way that Hickok Prep did. However, a superficial and unobtrusive examination of the relationship between black-white ratios of school children and private school enrollments as a percentage of all white school children can be made on a state-wide, county-by-county basis. These data are presented in Table 3. The data presented are for the 1972-1973 and 1976-1977 school years, the only years for which all of the necessary data was available. The public school enrollment figures for blacks and whites were obtained from publication of the Office of Civil Rights of The Department of Health, Education and Welfare for those two years. Thirteen counties' data were incomplete in the 1972-1973 publication. This leaves

67 cases for that year, and, since there seems to be no pattern represented by those missing counties, the results are not seriously distorted. The private segregation school enrollment figures for 1972-1973 were gleaned from a publication of the Mississippi State Department of Education. Long-existing parochial schools (most of which were desegregated by 1972-1973) were not included. These were identified as Catholic Schools in the publication and were concentrated in the coastal counties with less than ten outside of that region, and a total of less than twenty. By 1976-1977, the state department of education had discontinued this publication, and the figures for that year were made available by the state private school association.

Mississippi has eighty-two counties. Only eighty counties are included in this compilation because two rural counties along the Mississippi River have a combined school district, and another rural river county has less than one per cent white enrollment in the public schools and no private school enrollment. Research by Harper (1979) indicates that nearly all white children in that county attend private schools in adjacent counties. Since no totally accurate accounting could be made of the numbers involved, this county has been excluded from the tabulation although it is safe to assume that this case is consistent with the predicted trend.

TABLE 3
ENROLLMENT PERCENTAGES BY COUNTY

County	% Black of Total Enrollment (Public and Private)		% of White Enrollment in Private Segregated Schools	
	1972-73	1976-77	1972-73	1976-77
Adams	56%	58%	40%	26%
Alcorn	15%	12%	0%	0%
Amite	64%	65%	65%	56%
Attala	55%	55%	0%	0%
Benton	58%	57%	22%	15%
Bolivar	Not available	76%	N.A.	21%
Calhoun	39%	36%	7%	10%
Carroll	69%	67%	44%	53%
Chickasaw	N.A.	38%	N.A.	7%
Chocktaw	N.A.	43%	N.A.	0%
Clairborne	N.A.	78%	N.A.	83%
Clarke	N.A.	44%	N.A.	8%
Clay	57%	64%	25%	23%
Coahoma	72%	73%	61%	51%
Copiah	N.A.	60%	N.A.	41%
Covington	44%	45%	9%	7%
Desota	36%	27%	2%	6%
Franklin	43%	45%	30%	0%
George	15%	13%	0%	0%
Greene	24%	26%	0%	0%

TABLE 3--Continued

Grenada	54%	53%	47%	41%
Hancock	14%	14%	0%	0%
Harrison	N.A.	25%	N.A.	0%
Hinds	51%	53%	35%	29%
Holmes	83%	78%	79%	72%
Humphreys	79%	78%	60%	59%
Itawamba	6%	6%	0%	0%
Jackson	19%	19%	2%	1%
Jasper	60%	59%	33%	32%
Jeff Davis	62%	62%	21%	23%
Jones	30%	30%	0%	0%
Kemper	72%	71%	56%	51%
Lafayette	45%	44%	8%	0%
Lauderdale	40%	40%	16%	9%
Lawrence	37%	36%	8%	9%
Leake	47%	46%	22%	25%
Lee	27%	25%	0%	0%
Leflore	67%	68%	36%	29%
Lincoln	38%	38%	15%	13%
Lowndes	44%	46%	12%	11%
Madison	72%	70%	66%	66%
Magnolia	14%	13%	0%	0%
Marion	N.A.	39%	N.A.	16%
Marshall	62%	65%	45%	24%

TABLE 3--Continued

Monroe	39%	39%	0%	0%
Montgomery	54%	55%	23%	9%
Neshoba	N.A.	31%	N.A.	0%
Newton	42%	39%	7%	7%
Noxubee	80%	82%	98%	91%
Panola	63%	61%	27%	22%
Pearl River	N.A.	19%	N.A.	2%
Perry	30%	28%	0%	0%
Pike	N.A.	54%	N.A.	16%
Pontotoc	20%	20%	0%	0%
Quitman	67%	65%	32%	35%
Rankin	27%	27%	11%	16%
Scott	38%	39%	7%	3%
Sharkey- Issaquena	63%	73%	65%	60%
Simpson	39%	39%	12%	11%
Smith	27%	28%	0%	0%
Stone	30%	31%	0%	0%
Sunflower	75%	73%	71%	66%
Tallahatchie	71%	72%	31%	19%
Tate	N.A.	46%	N.A.	24%
Tippah	20%	20%	0%	0%
Tishomingo	5%	5%	0%	0%
Union	17%	17%	0%	0%

TABLE 3--Continued

Vardaman	32%	36%	5%	4%
Walthall	55%	55%	19%	19%
Warren	48%	46%	4%	5%
Washington	65%	66%	34%	33%
Wayne	40%	41%	9%	11%
Webster	28%	24%	0%	0%
Wilkinson	73%	75%	94%	99%
Winston	47%	48%	17%	15%
Yalobusha	51%	53%	14%	8%
Yazoo	N.A.	63%	N.A.	31%

Certain limitations of using the county as a unit of analysis are acknowledged. In some cases, as mentioned above, students commute to segregation schools across county lines. It is assumed that these numbers do not greatly distort the figures in the tables. The reasons for this are, (1) because there is likely to be some commuting out from as well as into a county, and (2) because the numbers involved are not assumed to be great.

Another limitation of the data is that many counties have separate municipal school districts and rural consolidated districts, the racial composition of which may vary from the county considered as a whole.

This undoubtedly affects the enrollment in or even the likelihood of segregation schools in some localities. There is considerable within-county variance between some school districts; that is, some districts have much higher white-black ratios than others in the same county. Still, dramatic examples of this are relatively rare since the percentages of blacks in the population vary much more by geographic region than within a county.

Further, evidence of drawing lines that maintain segregated situations seems to be found more obviously on a school-by-school basis within a system than on a district basis within a county. This can be detected in the maintenance of "neighborhood" elementary schools in the Hickok Public School System as presented in Table 4.

A close examination of this table (taken from the Office of Civil Rights publication) shows that only one elementary school out of eleven closely approximates the racial composition of the district as a whole and that eight of the eleven have a racial composition of 75% or more of one race or the other. Thus a large degree of segregation is maintained in a district which overall is 54% black. At the junior high level and above, the schools are combined in a way that achieved desegregation. The effect of this plan on Hickok's private school has been described above.

TABLE 4*

District Name: Hickok Mun. Sep. De Code: 3401800	RACIAL COMPOSITION IN HICKOCK PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY SCHOOL											Special Ed- ucation Iden- tified: 735 Served: 719
	AM	IND	PCT	ASIAN	PCT	BLACK	PCT	WHITE	PCT	HISP	PCT	
Enrollment	0	0	22	0	3271	54	2780	46	4	0	6077	
Vocational Education	0	0	2	0	1131	65	596	34	2	0	1731	
Suspensions	0	0	0	0	225	69	102	31	0	0	327	
ESL Enrollment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Les/Nes Pupils
Special Education	0	0	0	0	376	53	334	47	0	0	710	Identified:12
EMR/EMH	0	0	0	0	202	91	21	9	0	0	223	
SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS FOR 15 SCHOOLS REPORTING:												Grade Span:
A Elementary School	0	0	0	0	80	38	131	62	0	0	211	1-6 s
B Elementary School	0	0	0	0	125	66	64	34	0	0	189	1-6 u s
C Elementary School	0	0	0	0	188	89	23	11	0	0	211	1-6 u s
D Elementary School	0	0	1	0	45	15	252	85	0	0	298	1-6 s
E Elementary School	0	0	0	0	586	99	5	1	0	0	591	1-6 s
F School	0	0	2	1	25	8	303	92	0	0	330	1-6 u s
G School	0	0	8	5	79	45	88	50	0	0	175	1-7 u s
H Elementary School	0	0	0	0	157	100	0	0	0	0	157	1-7 u s
I Elementary School	0	0	0	0	266	92	22	8	0	0	288	1-7 u s
J Elementary School	0	0	0	0	194	84	36	16	0	0	230	1-7 s
K El Jr High School	0	0	7	1	291	25	884	75	2	0	1184	1-8 s
L Jr. High School	0	0	2	0	306	61	195	39	0	0	503	7-9 u s
M Jr. High School	0	0	1	0	201	57	149	42	1	0	352	9-9 s
N High School	0	0	0	0	273	54	234	46	1	0	508	10-10 s
O High School	0	0	1	0	455	54	394	46	0	0	850	11-12 s
TOTAL	0	0	22	0	3271	54	2780	46	4	0	6077	

*Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1976).

The complexity that would confront an analysis of each separate school district in this way is beyond the scope of this research. However, the data grouped on a county-wide basis is still highly suggestive, as presented in Table 5:

TABLE 5
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF COUNTIES'
ENROLLMENT PERCENTAGES

Year	Cases	Correlation Between % Black of Total School Enrollment by Counties and % of White Students in Segregated Private Schools	R-Squared	Signifi- cant at
1972-73	67	.846	.716	.00001
1976-77	80	.809	.654	.00001

It seems safe to interpret these figures as supporting Nevin and Bills' notion that the ratio of potential black enrollment to white enrollment will affect the enrollment in private, segregated schools. This factor statistically accounts for 71.6% of the variation in the percentage of white students in private schools in 1972-1973 and 65.5% of the variation in 1976-1977; both of these figures are at a highly significant levels of statistical confidence. The decisiveness of these data seems to compensate for the accepted limitations

of using the county as a unit of analysis and establishes the percentage of black students as an important variable in understanding the segregation school phenomenon. It is very clear that the two variables vary together: The greater the potential percentage of black population in the public schools, the greater the likelihood of whites being enrolled in private schools.

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS

Dahrendorf's theoretical perspective provides an insightful way to view segregation academies. Describing the groups that formed these schools as "conflict groups" within an "imperatively coordinated association" yields a valuable basis for the analysis of their development. The segregationists who lost control over state schooling formed a subordinate class; from this class, interest groups formed to start their own schools and to regain control over the structure of their children's schooling. This movement can be described as the establishment of an alternative school association in which they could have power. Yet, in a broader way, it represents a conflict within the largest imperatively coordinated association, society. Dahrendorf describes society itself as an imperatively coordinated association in which conflict may arise over the power to control various issues. In this case, the struggle is for power over schooling--specifically, the issue is: "Who will have the power to determine the racial composition of the schools?"

Constitutional guarantees (the Pierce case) protect the establishment of private schools, but the

state has various strategic mechanisms with which it can encourage or discourage non-public schools. These include the power to grant or withhold tax-exempt status, to enforce with some discretion health and safety codes, to grant or withhold accreditation, to devise or disallow various forms of public funding, to cooperate or refuse to cooperate through other state schooling entities, to pass and enforce compulsory attendance laws. Groups who control public schools may not be threatened by private schooling, but the two groups are definitely in competition for resources and students. The public schools stand as a constant competitor for private schools by offering free schooling--the form and context of which (as "schooling") is not much different from that in private schools (with the exception of religious instruction). The major difference is that different interest groups are superordinate and so different ground rules apply. This conflict is not really over radically different educational philosophies, it is over control of the schooling institution. When Rock Hill Academy closed, the parents, however reluctantly, sent the students back to public schools. Like the victors in war, the public schools took the vanquished back as slaves. Or, if this sounds over-dramatic, they took them back under their own desegregated ground rules. To do that they had to have been on the battlefield.

In other words, it is not whether or not public schooling is to be desegregated, it is whether or not schooling, in whatever form, will be desegregated.

The declining enrollments in the segregation academies in Mississippi may indicate that the interest groups which want schooling desegregation may be winning a war of attrition with the private schools. From 47,471 students in 1972-73, the state-wide enrollment declined to 36,756 by 1976-1977 and to 33,785 in 1978-1979. Locally, the Rock Hill Academy closed, and Hickok Prep is struggling to try to halt or reverse its gradually declining enrollments.

Yet compromises have been made as evidenced by Hickok's desegregation pattern. Total segregationists may have lost control, but one could hardly argue that full integration has been achieved in the elementary schools, with the exception of one in a politically weak neighborhood. Real estate agents and many in the white middle class speak of Hickok's "good schools" as those in which black students make up only token percentages. The suburban Magnolia County school is also generally perceived as a "good school," with its 2% black enrollment.

What is important to understand in this connection is that these private schools are primarily a reactionary phenomenon. "Reactionary" is meant in the analytical

sense, that these schools formed in reaction to other developments, not in the more common (and often perjorative) political connotation. Their strength and appeal depend greatly on what happens in the public schools. When respondents in this research were asked to predict the future, nearly all agreed that much depended on what happened in the public schools.

Thus, in the Hickok situation, if the status quo is maintained in the public schools, with little integration in the elementary schools and the absence or minimization of racial strife in the higher grades, then one might expect Hickok Prep to remain weak, or to eventually fold. However, the Hickok Public Schools signed a consent decree in 1970 that gave sanction to "neighborhood" elementary schools but also promised an effort to have these reflect the city-wide racial ratios. No apparent changes in that direction have taken place. At least one complaint about this has been filed with the U. S. Department of Justice by a largely white neighborhood association which is protesting the boundary-making which has produced an 84% black elementary school in their neighborhood.⁹

If enough pressure is brought by the Justice Department and federal courts to have the public schools fulfill the terms of the consent decree, then it is quite possible that a renewed white flight into Magnolia

County and/or into Hickok Prep might occur. The result would depend on the extent to which those white families now in public schools really accept the idea of integrated schooling in the lower grades or are only tolerating what they perceive to be an acceptably low level of desegregation. The housing patterns and "good school" mythology would lead one to expect some reactionary flight. Many parents in the affluent, white neighborhoods might become vitally interested in the "quality education" and college preparation offered at Hickok Prep.

The expectation of renewed white flight, if elementary schools were desegregated, is based on the same hypothesis that leads one to expect the proportion of blacks to be related to the percentage of whites that flee on a statewide basis. Certainly, many rural counties with large proportions of blacks in the population and school populations too small to gerrymander bear out the notion--as shown above. Yet the entire picture is more complex than simply one of black percentages predicting white flight into private schools. Despite the relatively high explanatory variance obtained in the regression analysis, there is considerable variation left unaccounted for, and considerable range when one looks at particular cases. Attala County had, in 1976-1977, at 53% black population in the schools, and no segregation academies. Grenada County, with only

one county geographically separating it and Attala, had 53% black population in the schools and 41% of the white students are in segregation academies. Bolivar County had a 76% black student population with only 21% of the white students in private schools, while adjacent Sunflower County had a 73% black student population and 66% of the white students were in private schools. Phenomena like these require further investigation and theory development. A key question, still largely unanswered, is "Under what conditions do individuals seek out and support alternative schools?"

The research reported here offers some valuable leads for developing theory that could be used as a basis for further investigation. It is grounded in an empirical situation and thus provides the basis for refining some broad theoretical ideas into hypotheses, the variables of which can be operationalized. A discussion of these variables and the formulation of hypotheses follows.

Formulation of Hypotheses

Certainly Dahrendorf's idea that "there have to be certain persons who make this organization their business, who carry it out practically and take the lead," (p. 185) seems to be true, especially in an undertaking as ambitious as setting up a school. That there were such people in the case investigated here has been

described. Yet an aspect of the leadership with which Dahrendorf does not deal needs attention--the social standing (i.e., reputational status) of the leadership in the quasi-group.

Nevin and Bills describe how the clergy in Memphis supplanted the lay group of leaders and achieved greater success. In this research, the original leadership of Segson was perceived by others with similar sentiments, but of a higher social class, to be not worthy of their support; this is important in understanding the events that developed. Members of this higher socioeconomic class, within the quasi-group, founded their own organization. This related directly to Nevin and Bills' variable of solidarity, which will be given further consideration below.

The history of Hickok suggests that had the original leadership of a segregation academy been able to command the allegiance of all of those in the quasi-group aggrieved enough act, a stronger organization might have been created from the start. This would have prevented the emergence of a second academy and, quite conceivably, prevented the social class division that occurred after the Hickok Academy closed and those of a higher social class moved into Segson. The class conflict may have been averted had the original leadership included a greater number of community leaders and monied people.

A reasonable hypothesis can be offered: (in all following hypotheses, the subscripts g and s are used to denote the general and specific applications):

Hypothesis 1_g:

The greater the proportion of leaders of the interest group that are identifiable as community leaders before the formation of the group, the greater its chances for success in numbers and longevity.

Sociometric techniques and reference to organizational hierarchies can be employed to measure the proportion and cases could be compared in at least an ordinal level of measurement. In this case, such a measurement would have shown that the early leadership of Segson included practically no one who was otherwise a community leader. The later and current leadership would be relatively higher--though certainly still not as high as in other localities.

The issue of a charter or an available ideology, Dahrendorf's second variable, seems to be relatively minor in the early period of organizing a school. Certainly the available ideology of keeping their children's schooling segregated was the single most important catalyst in the organizing effort. Yet this constituted a sort of dominant assumption, not even mentioned in the formal charter and mentioned primarily when making invidious comparisons between their own school and the desegregated public ones. Members of the school were

aware that a formal charter existed, but it was not referred to as some sort of manifesto, and the available ideology was taken-for-granted.

As the transition occurred at Segson, a new "Philosophy" was formally adopted which stressed notions of "quality education." This, indeed, was occasionally referred to as a manifesto, although its saliency may have been greater among the leadership of the transition than among the rank and file. Regarding the charter issue, the following expectation/hypothesis seems in order about segregation academies.

Hypothesis 2s:

The available ideology of segregated schooling is the crucial catalyst.

Yet, partly for strategic reasons, it is not likely to find its way into the formal charter, and is likely to take the form of a domian assumption. This is a perfect example of what Schutz (1964) calls "taken-for-grantedness." It is not usually given explicit articulation because it is so widely agreed upon. Of course, those in control should exercise their power to steer the organization in the direction in which they want it to go. Ipso facto, segregation. Little crucial variation should be expected in its articulation in the early phases of developoment.

Hypothesis 2a_s:

If an alternative school encounters problems (financial or otherwise) such that it is threatened with closing, a new ideology will be articulated and incorporated into the school's charter.

When an academy is struggling to survive, one may expect the drafting of a new charter which will emphasize an ideology to replace the one under which the school is floundering. This new charter will try to appeal to sentiments other than those on which the school emerged. More specifically, an academy that is in trouble may be expected to replace the original available ideology of segregation with a more sanitized appeal to those interested in "quality education," or perhaps "Christian education."

The third variable that Dahrendorf proposes is the degree to which the regime tolerates voluntary organizations. As mentioned previously, basic formal tolerance has been established for private schooling. Still, the degree to which various state entities have been antagonistic or helpful seems to depend a great deal on the perspective of the observer. This fact makes this variable a very complex one to analyze.

Probably the most general and safest statement that can be made about this is that the agencies of the federal government have not been helpful. It was, after all, the federal government which wrested control over the structure of schools away from local whites and thus

set up the power relationship which resulted in the resistance organization. The federal government is the superordinate antagonist in this conflict. The federal courts blocked state government attempts to aid these schools, and the Internal Revenue Service has kept at a minimum the tax exemptions that would have helped the schools financially. This is certainly to be expected from Dahrendorf's notion of ubiquitous conflict and may be stated in the form of this hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3g:

Agencies of the superordinate group may be expected to be antagonistic to efforts of the subordinate group to resist its control--within the limits deemed legitimate in the imperatively coordinated association.

In this case, the federal government's agencies can be expected to be antagonistic in areas in which it has jurisdiction over private schooling--although it may not (at present, at least) make a frontal attack on their existence. The "limits deemed legitimate" are subject to variation from continuing legislation, litigation, and bureaucratic interpretation.

The issue of tolerance by the regime is complicated by the fact that there are three levels of government involved in this situation. In Mississippi, the state government led the resistance to school desegregation and made every effort to encourage the newly created private schools. These efforts were

systematically disallowed by the superordinate federal courts. The state superintendent's office is still described as "very cooperative" by officers of the state private school association, but the range of help allowed by the watchful federal agencies is rather limited.

Likewise, local officials have been generally sympathetic to the private schools' establishment, although this may vary by locality according to two variables--the vigilance of those opposed to public help for these schools (whether local citizens or federal agents) and the status of the personnel involved in the school. When comparing Hickok with rural Inverness in the Mississippi Delta, one discovers a much higher level of official support for private schooling in the latter case. In Inverness, the formerly all-white school facility was sold, quickly, quietly, and cheap, to a private school group led by a prominent local planter (the term used in the region for wealthy farmers, much as "rancher" is used in the Southwest). This was never challenged. Further investigation would conceivably uncover other such incidents which would make Hickok's modest and short-lived public support seem very minor. In anticipation of such research, one may hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3a_s:

The less the vigilance of those who oppose such action, the greater the likelihood that local public officials will aid private schools, and the greater the chance that the schools will succeed.

Hypothesis 3b_s:

The higher the status of the leadership of the private school (see hypothesis number one), the greater the chance that the local public officials will aid the effort, and the greater the chance of success.

Dahrendorf takes his condition of communication among incumbents in the quasi-group as a given in Western industrialized democracies. At the outset of this research, it was suggested that communication might be more important than Dahrendorf suggested. However, no evidence in this investigation seriously challenged Dahrendorf's position. The organizational meetings were open and widely known. Access to the mass media was not considered important by the participants and had negligible impact either positively or negatively. Face-to-face and telephone communication were sufficient. So, while communication is a necessary condition, it need not be taken as problematic or variable from one local situation to another so long as the communication technology and constitutional protections remain intact.

Similarly, Dahrendorf's condition that all of the members of conflict group will be recruited from the subordinate quasi-group is not problematic or variable.

As described above, segregationist whites collectively lost their control over the structure of schooling, hence by definition became the subordinate quasi-groups from which the private schools were formed.

An alternative to the formation of conflict groups as private schools is the available flight factor described by Nevin and Bills. This factor's influence on the situation in Hickok has been described in some detail above. While all public schools in Mississippi have been officially desegregated, settlement patterns and the drawing of boundary lines both between and within particular school districts have produced some situations where the degree of desegregation differs dramatically in schools which are geographically close to one another.

Various strategies enable parents to enroll their children in schools where the desegregation is less and thus more tolerable to them. These strategies include moving to districts perceived to be more acceptable, listing relatives' addresses as the home address or obtaining a transfer based on the parents' job locations or after school care arrangements. These latter strategies are sometimes forbidden by court order (as in Hickok) but these prohibitions are at least sometimes informally ignored, depending on the watchfulness of those concerned about enforcement of the court orders and on the inclination of the public schools officials.

The degree to which this white flight takes place depends, of course, on its accessibility within a school district or in a neighboring district. Based on this research in Hickok, this would seem to be a crucial variable in the success or failure of the private school attempt. The following hypothesis seems important:

Hypothesis 4_S:

The greater the availability of alternative public schools with desegregation levels that are acceptable to parents, the less likely is the success of a private, segregated school.

There seems to be a tendency to avoid the expense and organizational effort required by a private school if public schools can be found with tolerable ratios of black-white student enrollment. What these toleration limits are is a very important question and one directly related to the variable of black enrollment that emerged in the research and was examined at least superficially on a state-wide basis. The high correlation found in that investigation yields the following hypothesis, closely connected theoretically to the preceding one:

Hypothesis 5_S:

The greater the percentage of potential black enrollment in the public schools, the greater the percentage of enrollment of white students in segregated private schools.

Hypotheses 4_S and 5_S are intimately linked. The strength of Hypothesis 5_S is assumed to be modified in an important way by the thrust of Hypothesis 4_S. That is,

the simple ratio of black-white enrollment in the entire system may lose some of its effect by the particulars of the desegregation plan. Individual schools may be largely segregated within a school system which, overall, has a high percentage of blacks. And the availability of other school systems may cause flight that is undetectable at the level of analysis employed in the present study for the whole state, but which is quite obvious in the Hickok case.

And both these hypotheses have something to do with "tipping points" (Wolf, 1963). More detailed research on the whole state would be required to see what factors operate to produce what toleration limits among whites and thus effect the potential for private schools.

Nevin and Bills suggest that white solidarity may be greater in rural areas than in urban areas. Some of the evidence in this study supports that, but it is not a decisive variable by itself. Urban areas seem less likely than rural ones to have very high black to white potential enrollments. The ratio of black to whites depends, of course, on the total school-age population for a school district. Thus rural areas can have black to white ratios which vary (from low to high) to the same degree as urban areas. What rural areas lack is the density of urban ones. It is density

which helps to foster residential segregation hence school segregation. As was the case in Hickok, the actual black to white student ratio may be realized in only a few of the schools. This is less likely to occur in rural areas, especially where the district is a consolidated one.

There is considerable variation among rural and urban areas. Much of this variation may be explained by the variables percentage black and leadership. Some cities may be more heavily black than the surrounding rural areas (Hickok is), but no Mississippi city is as heavily black as some of the rural counties are. Also, the leadership in cities is, by definition, more likely to be diffuse and heterogeneous than in rural areas. This, of course, affects the potential for white solidarity. So what emerges is an independent variable of a second order, to be considered after Hypotheses (1_G), (4_S) and (5_S) have been allowed to account for as much variation as they will and with those variables held constant.

Hypothesis 6_S:

Controlling for leadership, available flight, and percentage black, urban areas are more likely to have lower percentages of whites enrolled in private, segregated schools than in rural areas.

Similarly, Nevin and Bills' final suggestion about financial commitment seems to be a secondary variable. The extent of financial commitment seems dependent on the nature of the leadership (Hypothesis 1_G), on the

availability of alternatives to organization (Hypothesis 4_s), and on the potential black to white ratio (Hypothesis 5_s).

Once these other variables have been considered, it is conceivable that the fate of a particular school would depend on the nature of the financial arrangements.

Thus the hypothesis:

Hypothesis 7_s:

After considering the issues of leadership, available flight, and potential black to white enrollment, the greater the financial commitment, the more likely a particular school is to survive.

Beyond this, indebtedness may be an important financial issue. The Segson example leads to this related variable:

Hypothesis 7a_s:

Private schools which are experiencing declining enrollments will be more likely to survive if there are outstanding debts.

This relates to Hypothesis 2a_s and is a predictor of change in charter or ideology. Debt may inspire adaptability, in a struggle to survive, which will further engender commitments.

A Theoretical Model

The purpose of this research has been to develop grounded theory. Hypotheses cannot be tested in an inductive, exploratory case study, but the hypotheses developed in this research, taken together, provide a model for understanding the segregation academy phenomenon. They are grounded in a thorough investigation of a

particular situation and provide "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer, 1963), that constitute a promising basis for further research. This research represents a development of broad theoretical ideas to a point where they can be more systematically tested and provides some baseline data and insight into the social organization of at least this particular form of private schooling.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) strongly argue for formal theory as the result of inductive theorizing. Formal theory, in any strict philosophy of science sense, would entail considerable specification about one's theoretical statements. Rather than provide that, which would be premature at this stage of the research process, the researcher, has chosen to summarize the theoretical hypotheses just discussed in the form of axiomatic theory. These statements, however, are tentative, and rather than providing complete formalization, they come closer to being what Rudner (1966) calls "partial formalization."

The dependent variable is conceived as the success of private, segregated schools in a given locality. This can be measured in two ways, and both are mentioned in the hypotheses above. One concerns the longevity of the schools as organizations. The second is the percentage of white student enrollments that such private schools attract. The first is important in understanding these schools as a form of

social organization. The second is important in measuring the schools' impact in the general social setting. And, of course, the two are closely related if for no other reason than that there is some minimum enrollment necessary to keep a school in operation.

THEORETICAL MODEL

I. External Considerations

- A. Creation of a subordinate quasi-group which lost control over the racial composition of schooling.
- B. Communication available to the members of the quasi-group.
- C. Members of the conflict groups recruited from the quasi-group.
- D. A crucial catalyst for the formation of the conflict group in the available ideology of segregated schooling (Hypothesis 2_s).
- E. General antagonism from the super-ordinate group (Hypothesis 3_g).

II. Independent Variables

- A. Direct independent variables
 - 1. Status in the community of the conflict group leadership (Hypothesis 1_g).
 - 2. Local public officials' potential aid modified by those who oppose such aid (Hypothesis 3a_s).

3. Available flight into alternative public schools (Hypothesis 4_S).
 4. Potential black enrollment in public schools (Hypothesis 5_S).
- B. Interactional independent variables
1. Local public officials' potential aid modified by the status of the leadership (see Hypothesis 1_G) of the conflict group (Hypothesis 3b_S).
 2. The effect of the potential black enrollment (Hypothesis 5_S) modified by the availability of flight (Hypothesis 4_S).
 3. Controlling for the status of the leadership (see Hypothesis 1_G), available flight (see Hypothesis 4_S), and percentage black (see Hypothesis 5_S), urban segregation schools likely to attract lower percentages of white enrollment than rural ones (Hypothesis 6_S).
 4. Controlling for the status of the leadership (see Hypothesis 1_G), available flight (see Hypothesis 4_S), and percentage black (see Hypothesis 5_S), the greater the financial commitment,

the more likely the success of a particular school (Hypothesis 7_S).

5. If a particular school is struggling to survive, one may expect:
 - a. An adaptation in the charter to try to articulate other than segregationist concerns (Hypothesis 2a_S).
 - b. That outstanding debts increase survival chances (Hypothesis 7a_S).

III. Outcomes

- A. Survival potential of segregation schools as form of conflict group.
- B. Impact of segregation schools in the social setting as measured by the percentages of white students who attend them.

The presentation of this model concludes the theoretical synthesis.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Weingart (1969), in his critique of Dahrendorf, states:

What Dahrendorf has not explained is the evolution of new social groups into positions of political relevance...

An explanation of this nature would have to show that social conditions can develop contrary to the intentions of the rulers. It would have to enumerate the circumstances under which social power asserts itself independently of the prevailing normative system (p. 161).

This study has explored the social conditions which led to interest group formation within a subordinate group. It enumerates the circumstances under which a group which lost power was able to reassert it. This suggests that Dahrendorf's theoretical sketch does have potential explanatory power for particular empirical situations. It may require, in each application, the kind of refinement done in this study before it can be rigorously tested, but it has been demonstrated that such refinement is possible. Demonstrating the potential of Dahrendorf's work is the first contribution of this study.

The second contribution of this study is the insight of offers into the segregation academy phenomenon.

Nothing that was theoretically based had been written about these schools, and this study offers a beginning toward understanding them. Further development is certainly needed, and it may proceed from different theoretical assumptions. It is hoped that this work will promote further professional investigation in an effort to understand this important aspect of current social change.

Final Methodological Notes

In concluding this study, some final comments about its methodology are in order. Some are specific to this research, some applicable to any research of this type.

First (and specific to this study) is the explanation of why several schools were examined in what was intended as a case study. When the researcher began to learn the history of Hickok Prep, it became apparent that other local private schools were extremely relevant to understanding the case. One might say the case seemed to necessarily include other manifestations of the same segregation school phenomenon in the community. For this reason, the Hickok Academy was studied. Similarly, the Independent Baptist Schools were examined to see whether they might be considered a rival in the same field or something different. They seemed to be some of both. And, finally, the Rock

Hill Academy was examined because it was "merging" with Hickok Prep and might therefore be considered part of the community under examination. It proved not to be a part of the community, but information gathered about it did indeed provide instructive comparisons for understanding the situation in Hickok.

Second, the issue of anonymity in this study is somewhat problematic. While professional readers of this research are not likely to be able to identify the principle role incumbents, readers familiar with Hickok and particularly with these schools might be able to identify the city, the schools, and the actors. It has proven to be impossible to reconcile the ethical requirement to provide respondents with complete anonymity with the necessity of giving enough description to "locate" the social context and to try to convey the perspectives of the respondents. Having acknowledged this failure, however, it is important to understand that most of what is reported here is novel and revealing primarily to a professional audience. Most of the respondents' ideas are well-known to the other participants and their acquaintances. Whatever value and interest this study has relies on the sociological analysis and interpretation of the data, and it is highly unlikely that any of the respondents would perceive themselves as having been misled, misquoted, or betrayed.

The problem of being unable to completely disguise Hickok accentuates one of the chief (and previously acknowledged) limitations of the approach used in this study. It is qualitative research and a case study design. Some of what is learned in such an approach is unique to the situation and not generalizable. The idea is that the depth of the insights gained through such an approach provides firm grounding for the theory being built and, therefore, aims different from those of verification research are simply accepted from the beginning.

On the issue of validity, the spontaneous comments of many of the interviewees in terms quite similar to Dahrendorf's and on issues raised by Nevin and Bills give evidence that the researcher's reality was not forced upon the respondents. There are undoubtedly other ways to make sense out of these people's actions, but the ones suggested in this study seem to be valuable sensitizing concepts that are congruent with the actors' own interpretations. This would seem to be a crucial requirement for the validity of grounding any sociological theory.

Qualitative, in-depth interviewing of the type employed in this study is undoubtedly a valid way to build theory. As Lofland (1971) puts it,

The fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being is face-to-face

interaction. Face-to-faceness has the ir-replacable character of non-reflectivity and immediacy that furnishes the fullest possibility of truly entering the life, mind, and definitions of the other. Through taking the role of another face-to-face, one gains a sense of understanding him (p. 2).

If the researcher's "sense of understanding" has been achieved face-to-face, this knowledge may hold the promise of a firm basis for a theory that helps him and others to understand similar situations. This is the rationale for the present research.

The reliability of research of this type may be discussed at two levels. First, there is the reliability that is suggested by the agreement between the subjects. As discussed above, there was a high degree of this, inspiring a great deal of confidence on that level. Second, there is the issue of the researcher's own reliability as an interviewer, recorder, interpreter and analyst. This is difficult to prove in research such as this. However, since this research is exploratory and not aimed at verification, the researcher's reliability as a measuring device may be less important than his ability to help build theory. Ultimately, the issue of the reliability of his insights must wait for resolution upon the testing of the theory. Beyond professional trust at this stage lies professional theory testing at a later stage.

A Final Conceptual Comment

Metaphorically, this segregation academy phenomenon can be related to Troeltsch's (1931) church-sect dichotomy. One may conceive, with Illich (1970), of state schooling as the Church. It claims universality; one is born into this imperatively coordinated association as one of the privileges/requirements of the birth-right of citizenship. One is removed only through sectarian will.

Some of the private school people view schooling in these terms. The headmaster of the Independent Baptist Schools described state schooling as promoting "the religion of secular humanism. We reject that." A leader in Hickok Prep, when asked about financial aid for poorer students used a religious metaphor, "You can't save a fellow who doesn't want to be saved. They have to show a little sacrifice and ask." The former head of the state association said, "Public schools are like established churches. If someone gets upset, they will go on. In private schools, it can kill you. You have to be responsive."

Just as Troeltsch describes the Church as alligned with the powers that be and the state, state schooling is an agency of the state and exercises its power. The sectarians of private segregated schooling are fighting this state power just as surely as their religious analogues fight the Church. And just as Niebuhr (1929)

has shown religious sectarians to have been recruited from among the dispossessed, these schooling sectarians are recruited from those who have lost power.

The question in need of answer is to what degree these schooling sectarians can continue into the next generation. In some localities, they seem well-established as the principal white school. In others, they have not supplanted the public school for all whites, but they constitute, in varying degrees, what Yinger (1957) calls an "established sect." In still other places, they are dead or dying out. This work is an attempt toward understanding that process and its variation.

POSTSCRIPT

In 1979, Hickok Prep admitted its first black student, a five year old first grader with a high I.Q. score whose parents live in a community thirty miles from Hickok. As the black leader in this study had predicted, the parent couple was not local. They had tried unsuccessfully to get other (public) schools to accept their son, but had been turned down because of his age.

Also in 1979, Hickok Prep hired a new headmaster. Its enrollment dropped by nearly one third to approximately 200. Local news media reported that the school was on the verge of closing, and reports circulated that it would be taken over by one or another church. Then benefactors announced a new financial commitment to try to keep it going independently. As this is written in the spring of 1980, the condition of the school is not strong, and its future is uncertain.

FOOTNOTES

¹Two important points must be mentioned here. First, Dahrendorf's theoretical perspective has not been well received by many of the Marxians, primarily because it deviates from primary emphasis on the importance of class as being economically rooted. For Dahrendorf, the issue is not only ownership of the means of production but their control as well. Control becomes a matter of authority, the pivotal concept in Dahrendorf's scheme and a concept well-suited to 20th century bureaucracy as it is found in Western societies (see Hummel, 1977; Antonio, 1979). Despite criticism (Weingart, 1969) and comment (Turner, 1975) on Dahrendorf's perspective, it would appear that it may be taking hold in current stratification research (see Wright and Perrone, 1977; Robinson and Kelley, 1979). This observation is related to the second point. Dahrendorf's perspective has thus far had very little empirical work to either support or refute it. That work which has been done has focused on the notions of command and obey classes (Lopreato, 1968; Fox, et al., 1977; Robinson and Kelley, 1979), leaving the area of interest groups as relatively unexplored.

²The "Citizens' Council" is the new name for the old White Citizens' Council. "Council" schools were for a time especially successful in Jackson, Mississippi, with a Citizens' Council school district, the administrative offices for which were located directly across the street from the state capital.

³This financial control yielding social control closely follows the Marxian premise about the importance of controlling money. Hence, the ideas of the ruling elite become the dominant ideas. In this case, local businessmen (i.e., capitalist-owners) redefined the school's fortunes in terms of their own interests--interests which, as the selected quotes show, did not coincide with those of the group previously in control. Here we see, again, Dahrendorf's extension of Marx to emphasize "interests," but with control, however gotten, as the key element to be considered. As it is, wealth and control have evolved as mutually inclusive elements in the management of this school.

⁴This strategy seems to have not been particularly successful. Several public school graduates reported to the researcher that they turned down scholarships to Segson because the level of competition and the possibility of being scouted by colleges was higher in the public schools. At least two parents who could afford to send their children to Segson (and did) report their athlete sons returning to public schools for the same reason.

⁵An interesting aside about this respondent is that, at the time of the interview, he was preparing to back Charles Evers, a black independent candidate for U. S. Senator. He reasoned that it might be profitable in construction contracts, and besides, as he put it, "Evers believes in neighborhood schools. The only thing I've got against him is that he's a nigger." This pragmatic approach from a self-described "redneck" is evidence of the politics of color--or the color of politics--green.

⁶The discipline issue seems to be a paradox. Most parents mention strong discipline as a virtue of private schooling. Yet students describe the discipline as lax. A former Segson student reported that the teachers were intimidated by the possibility of parental reprisals. Thus, another touted virtue, control over faculty, may work at cross purposes with the stated desire for strong discipline. The former guidance counselor and elementary principal at Segson conceded that the discipline was often "uneven" and that the headmaster was not given strong enough support.

⁷After this was written, one black student enrolled in 1979. For a description of the circumstances, see the postscript.

⁸The authenticity of this charge was very difficult to validate. Reported fights which are interpreted as racial incidents sometimes appear to be products of rumors. A reluctance to release test scores may be (as Segson supporters said) an embarrassment about their relatively low level or it may be (as the superintendent said) a reluctance to promote invidious racial comparisons since white scores are higher than black--but both have improved since desegregation. And, while Segson people view the superintendent as a skillful perpetrator of integration, local civil rights lawyers view him as a skillful resistor of desegregation. One would have to agree with all sides--the man must be skillful to survive in such a volatile political position over the past ten years.

⁹The prime movers in this complaint are white liberals who, nevertheless, do not want their children to be token whites in a nearly all black school. They currently send their children to a desegregated Catholic parochial school in the same neighborhood.

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APPENDIX A
CURRICULUM MATERIALS
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Title of Thesis: CONFLICT THEORY AND SEGREGATION ACADEMIES: APPLICATION AND REFINEMENT OF DAHRENDORF'S THEORY

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July 3, 1980