



CENSUS STATISTICS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

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ON AUGUST 28, 1963, the Chicago Board of Education passed a resolution creating an Advisory Panel of five members to study the problem of segregation in Chicago's public schools (see Reference). The Board's resolution followed an agreement to effect an out-of-court settlement in the suit *Webb versus the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* in which the Board was being sued to remedy the adverse consequences of segregation in the schools.

In its resolution, the Board stated that "without design on the part of the Board of Education or the school administration, there are schools under the jurisdiction of the Board which are attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes"; and that "there exists public controversy as to the racial composition of such schools, and the psychological, emotional, and social influences that may be brought to bear on the pupils in such schools and any harmful effects thereof on educational processes." The Board assigned to the Panel

the following task: "to analyze and study the school system in particular regard to schools attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, define any problems that result therefrom, and formulate and report to the Board as soon as may be conveniently possible, a plan by which any educational, psychological, and emotional problems or inequities in the school system that prevail may best be eliminated." The resolution contained a provision to the effect that on the receipt of the Panel's report "the Board shall promptly take such action as it may determine is appropriate or required to work toward a resolution of any problems involved and any inequities found to exist."

The Panel, fully appointed by October 30, 1963, was confronted with the exploration of a problem that, while restricted to the City of Chicago, was actually a nationwide problem of major importance: the problem of racial segregation in the schools. It remains a major source of cleavage and conflict on the domestic scene, constituting a major element in the nation's "urban crisis." The report of the Panel, submitted to the Board of Education on March 31, 1964, constitutes an interesting example of the use of census statistics in an effort to analyze this crucial national problem as manifest in Chicago and to make recommendations for its resolution.

Census statistics were utilized by the Panel in four distinct ways: first, to place the problem of segregated patterns of residence and schooling in its historical and national context; second, to show the relationship between school and residential segregation at the time of the investigation; third, to differentiate the socioeconomic status of neighborhoods by race in Chicago to see how such differences affected the educational process; and fourth, to project the trends discernible in the census data to anticipate the future. Each of these uses is described in what follows.

HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT

In a section of the Panel's report entitled "Demographic and Social Background," census statistics were analyzed for the nation and for Chicago to provide the historical and national context for consideration of the problem of racial segregation in the schools. The use of the census data in relation to other data and in the framework of sociological and demographic interpretation is best demonstrated by actually quoting from the report:

Although Negroes have resided in the United States for over three centuries, they have not, in general, been able to enter the main stream of American life until the present generation. In 1860, 92 percent of all Negroes in the nation resided in the South. . . . By 1960, 73 percent of the Negroes, a higher proportion than of the white population, lived in cities; and 40 percent lived in the North and West. Half the Negro population, in 1960, resided in the central cities of metropolitan areas; that is, central cities having fifty thousand or more population.

The Negro population in Chicago, 44 thousand or 2 percent of the total population of the City in 1910, increased over eighteen-fold to reach a total of 812 thousand, or 23 percent of the population by 1960. . . . The growth of the Negro population has been of unprecedented magnitude and speed for any one ethnic or racial group in the history of the City.

As the Negro population has increased in Chicago, as in other metropolitan central cities, the white population has spread outward into surrounding suburbia. . . . In 1960, Negroes made up 23 percent of the population of the city but only 14 percent of the six counties that make up the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

The entree of the Negro to Chicago paralleled that of the early white immigrant groups in at least three respects: . . . [they] entered the city in the inner slum areas in concentrated or segregated fashion; they did the dirty work with the lowest pay; they were greeted with suspicion, hostility, and prejudice, and subjected to discriminatory practices.

The concentration or segregation of Negroes, like that of white immigrants, was not only the result of external pressures, but also of internal forces. Negro in-migrants, like white immigrants before them, usually came to live with relatives, friends, and people from the same town or area of origin. . . . [I]t must be anticipated that enclaves of Negroes will continue to exist on a voluntary basis for a long time even after all economic and social barriers to integration have been removed.

As a result of residential concentration, the Negro population, like white immigrants before them, find their children attending *de facto* segregated schools. . . .

In 1960, non-whites (97 percent Negro) made up 23 percent of the total City population, but they constituted 34 percent of the population of elementary school age and 27 percent of the high school age population. In 1963, according to the October 3 Board of Education headcount, non-white pupils made up 54 percent of the elementary school pupils in the public schools and 36 percent of the high school pupils. (Parochial and private schools include a disproportionate number of Chicago's white students.) (*Report*, 1964, pp. 4-6)

The census data, analyzed over time for the U.S., for metropolitan areas, and for Chicago, enabled the Panel, as indicated above, to place the problem of segregation in the schools in the broad context of national historical developments.

THE RELATION OF RESIDENTIAL AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Statistics from the 1960 Census were used to construct maps showing the areas of Negro residential segregation. Into these maps were plotted the location of the various types of schools: elementary, "upper-grade centers" (grades 7 and 8), and high schools by designation as "segregated white schools," "segregated Negro schools," and "integrated schools," as determined by school

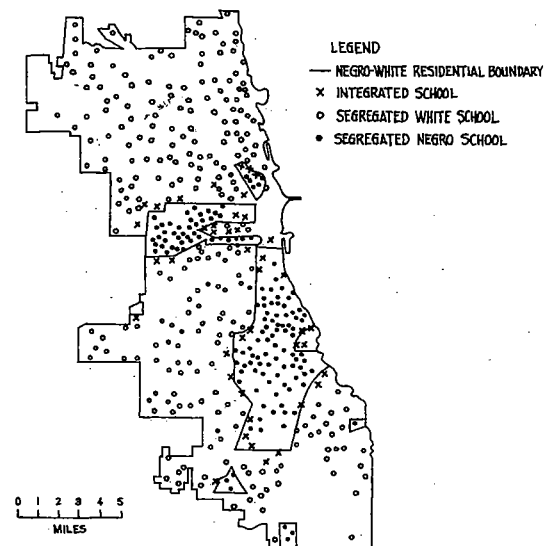


FIGURE 1

Location of integrated and segregated elementary schools and elementary school branches in Chicago

enrollments. An example of this procedure is shown in Figure 1 (*Report*, 1964, p. 57) for elementary schools.

It is clear from the map alone that the segregated Negro schools were located in the segregated Negro residential areas, that the segregated white schools were in the segregated white residential areas, and that the "integrated schools" were clustered at the boundaries between the white and Negro residential areas. It was clear also from this combined use of census and school enrollment data that school integration could be achieved, as long as segregated residential patterns persisted, only by massive movements of white and Negro pupils. Certainly integration could not be achieved with the continuation of "neighborhood schools," a fact that led to great controversy over the neighborhood school concept. Finally, it could be seen that more integrated schools could be achieved by more admixture of white and Negro pupils at the peripheries of the white and Negro residential areas.

The use of census data in conjunction with data from the schools permitted the Panel to reach the following significant conclusion:

Negro children and teachers and other staff in Chicago Public School System are, by and large, concentrated in predominantly Negro schools located in pre-

dominantly Negro areas in the City. This *de facto* segregation in the public schools is not unique to Chicago. It is a pattern common to many central cities with relatively large Negro populations in the metropolitan United States, even when there is no *de jure* segregation; that is, legally enacted provision for segregated schools.

This conclusion, in turn, led to some of the more important recommendations of the Panel on "student open enrollment patterns" which could increase the number of integrated schools (*Report*, 1964, p. 27 ff.).

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOODS AS A FACTOR IN SCHOOLING

The Panel was faced with the need to ascertain not only the background and extent of school segregation but also the assessment of "any harmful effects" resulting from such segregation. It was decided, therefore, to obtain such measurements as were possible of "ability" and "achievement" in the white, Negro, and integrated schools, respectively, and to do this separately for neighborhoods of different socioeconomic status. By analyzing the data separately for different socioeconomic levels of neighborhoods, it would be possible to see whether the differences in ability and achievement were entirely a matter of race or whether the socioeconomic background of the population also played a part.

To classify neighborhoods by socioeconomic status the 1960 Census data were employed. Many other studies had previously demonstrated that "median years of schooling" (that is, the number of years of schooling above which and below which half of the population fall) was an excellent index of the socioeconomic status of a neighborhood. Neighborhoods were classified by using "years of schooling" of the population as reported by the census. The city's neighborhoods were divided into three groups: those of "high education status," "medium education status," and "low education status." For each category of neighborhood and for white, integrated, and Negro schools measurement of "ability" and of "achievement" were examined as shown in Table 1 (*Report*, 1964, p. 86).

The scores shown in Table 1 are "stanine scores," that is, scores based on nine classes of individual scores. A higher score means a higher ability or achievement. The average stanine score for the city was 5.

The Panel was aware, of course, that there is no "culture free" measurement of mental ability. That is, all tests of mental ability involve the use of language or other forms of expression acquired by the person in the process of socialization—the process that transforms the newborn infant into a member of society. All tests of mental ability are, therefore, in some sense also a test of achievement. The Panel believed, however, that the mental ability test could be used, with caution, as an indicator of what the pupil could

TABLE 1. Median Stanine* of Ability and Achievement Test Scores by Race, Composition of School, and Socioeconomic Status of Neighborhood.

NEIGHBORHOOD	WHITE		INTEGRATED		NEGRO	
	Achieve†	Ability#	Achieve†	Ability#	Achieve†	Ability#
High education status	6	7	5 ⁺	6½	5	5
Medium education status	5½	6	4½	5	4	4
Low education status	5	5	4	4	3	3½

* Medians are based on seven to nine schools in each group for which data were available. Stanines are statistical summary measures for distributions. The higher stanine figure indicates higher ability or achievement. Five is the average stanine for the city. A stanine of 7 indicates that the students score on the average higher than three-quarters of the students in the city, but below the top one-tenth.

† Metropolitan Achievement Test, sixth grade, "Word Knowledge."

California Test of Mental Maturity, sixth grade.

be expected to achieve. In the guarded interpretation of the data the Panel felt justified in making the following generalizations:

- (1) The median mental ability of students is highest in predominantly white schools, is lowest in predominantly Negro schools, and falls between these two medians in integrated schools.
- (2) Achievement test medians in all areas of basic instruction are highest in predominantly white schools, are lowest in predominantly Negro schools, and fall between these two medians in integrated schools.
- (3) Achievement test medians of students in each of the three groups of schools, when compared with achievement prediction as reflected by mental ability test data, show that students in predominantly Negro schools do fully as well as those in either predominantly white schools or in integrated schools. This significant fact suggests that Negro students, as a group, profit from instruction fully as much as other groups. It also suggests that intensified educational opportunities for Negro boys and girls would result in a major closing of the achievement gap between group performance of Negro students and other groups.
- (4) It should also be noted that students from low education areas in white, integrated, and Negro schools had lower achievement and mental ability test scores than their counterparts in high education areas; and their achievement test scores, when compared with achievement prediction as reflected by mental ability test data, also show they did fully

as well as students in areas of high educational background (*Report*, 1964, pp. 20-21).

The Panel might have also observed that the children in the white schools did not come as close as did those in Negro schools to achieving what their ability tests predicted. Because the objective of the Panel was to explore possible adverse effects of segregated schooling and to recommend what could be done to improve the education of segregated Negro pupils, emphasis was placed on the finding that Negro children have higher ability and achievement with better neighborhood backgrounds and were able to reach achievement levels predicted by their ability tests. With a different orientation the Panel might also have concluded that white pupils could be induced to achieve more with whatever additional inputs might have been necessary to get them to reach achievement levels equal to the predicted levels given by their ability tests. Moreover, to the extent that the ability tests were also achievement tests it could also have been concluded that since the ability scores were lower for Negro than for white pupils, the former got less rather than more from instruction. But such an interpretation of the data would have ignored the disadvantaged backgrounds of Negro children that would be expected to lower both their mental ability and achievement scores.

In any case, whatever the best interpretation of the data might be, the fact is that the use of the census data in conjunction with the test data made it possible to take into consideration the neighborhood background as well as race in studying the impact of segregated schooling.

ANTICIPATION OF THE FUTURE

The Panel in performing its function felt it desirable to outline to the Board of Education what the population trends, for whites and blacks, indicated for the future. Accordingly, population trends as analyzed from the 1960 and preceding censuses were projected to 1980. This enabled the Panel to state the following:

Population projections indicate that the non-white population of Chicago, if present trends continue, will increase from 838 thousand to 1.2 million, or by 40 percent between 1960 and 1970. Non-whites 5 to 19 years of age may increase by 62 percent, and those 10 to 14 years old by 106 percent between 1960 and 1970. Non-whites of high school age (15-19) may increase by 135 percent during the decade. (Projections by the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago.)

In contrast, the white population in Chicago by 1970, present trends continuing, will decline by an additional 285 thousand persons to total 2.4 million. White children 5 to 9 years will increase by only 11 percent and those 10 to 14 years by 30 percent. White children of high school age will increase by about 46 percent during the decade.

In consequence, by 1970, non-white children may make up about 44 percent of the elementary school age children and 40 percent of the children of high school age. It is possible with present trends that by 1970 non-white children will make up about 65 percent of all children in the public elementary schools, and approximately 45 percent of those in the public high schools.

Projections to 1980 show the same pattern of change—a more rapid increase in non-white than white school age population and, therefore, in the proportion of non-white children of school age and in the public schools.

Thus, demographic and social trends are exacerbating the problem of *de facto* school segregation and its consequences. The Negro population in the City is increasing rapidly while the white population continues to decrease. Moreover, the Negro school population, because of relatively high Negro birth rates, the enrollment of many white students in parochial schools, and the exodus of whites to the suburbs, is increasing more rapidly than the total Negro population (*Report*, 1964, pp. 6-7).

The projections and conclusions based thereon were presented to the Board to enable it and the school administration to anticipate the course of enrollments and to plan accordingly.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It should be mentioned that the Chicago Board of Education approved the Panel's report "in principle" within nine days of its transmittal. It is beside the point, for purposes of this essay, that little has actually been done to implement the recommendations of the Panel in the years that have elapsed since March 1964. The basic policy issues are difficult ones, ethnic and racial hostilities continue to plague the city of Chicago as they do the entire nation, and Chicago, as well as the rest of the nation, is still struggling with the problem of residential and school segregation.

The report of the Advisory Panel, based in part on the use of census data and in part on data acquired locally in Chicago, contains 13 recommendations designed to reduce segregated schooling and to eliminate its adverse consequences. These recommendations include some relating to forms of integration, some to improving the quality of education, some relating to improved school-community relationships, and some relating to meeting the costs of the proposed changes. The report has had wide circulation not only in Chicago but throughout the nation and has probably influenced public school programs in other cities more than in Chicago. There are, of course, varied reactions to the recommendations made and wide divergencies in judgments on educational policy. But the Panel's report, based on census as well as other forms of data, has provided a set of facts that illuminates the situation, and constitutes a sound basis for continued public consideration of this perhaps most difficult of all of our domestic problems.

REFERENCE

The Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools.

Philip M. Hauser, Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago; Sterling M. McMurrin, Professor of Philosophy, University of Utah, and former United States Commissioner of Education; James M. Nabrit, Jr., President of Howard University; Lester W. Nelson, formerly principal of Scarsdale High School, and retired as Associate Program Director of the Education Division of the Ford Foundation; and William R. Odell, Professor of Education, Stanford University. Philip M. Hauser was elected Chairman, and Sterling M. McMurrin Vice Chairman of the Panel. 1964. *Report of the Board of Education, City of Chicago.*