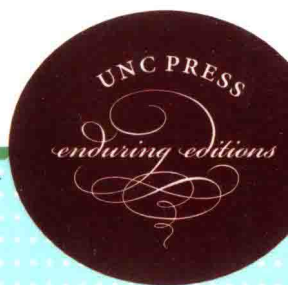


STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE IN THE SOUTH

.....
THOMAS H. NAYLOR

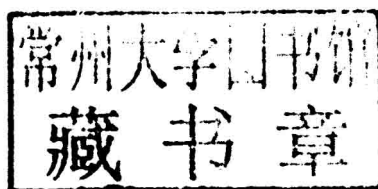


Strategies for Change in the South

**Thomas H. Naylor
and
James Clotfelter**

Foreword by Alan W. Steelman

**The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill**



Copyright © 1975 by
The Twentieth Century Fund
All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 74-16219
ISBN 0-8078-1236-6

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Naylor, Thomas H 1936-

Strategies for change in the South.
Includes bibliographical references.

1. Southern States—Economic conditions. 2. Education—
Southern States. 3. Southern States—Politics and government—
1951- 4. Southern States—Social conditions. I. Clotfelter, James,
joint author.

II. Title.

HC107.A13N36 309.2'5'0975 74-16219
ISBN 0-8078-1236-6

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE IN THE SOUTH

To Susanne Naylor
and Caroline and James Clotfelter, Sr.

The "South" is me, and I am it. For anyone who grew up there, it is difficult to think of the South in objective, impersonal terms. The region has its quota of lawyers, doctors, preachers, politicians, and loafers. It has its stores, mills, churches, schools, homes, banks, hotels, undertakers, Ford agencies, and Dairy Queens. But in a distinguishing sense, it is different. As was once said of one of my hometowns, Fordyce, Arkansas, it also has more flowers than weeds, more dogs than fleas, more homes than houses, more children than troubles, and more smiles than tears. Therefore, you will pardon, I hope, this bit of romantic musing; for you see, I am rooted as are most native-borns to its soil, its mores, its customs, its music, and its love for life and living.

Tom Naylor and Jim Clotfelter give us here an agenda for thought and action. Both are "thinkers," and to that extent, this is a work designed to raise our sights, to inspire us as Southerners to the kind of action that will preserve our regional "soul" as we build a structure whose change and growth will be at our direction.

For the first time since Reconstruction, we are in the driver's seat as far as national development is concerned, and we must realize that great responsibilities accompany this role of eminence. This agenda is meant to help us shoulder that burden. I do not endorse every proposal herein. Indeed, I strongly disagree with several. But I have been prompted to thought, and I for the first time have seen the interdependence of these problems and their solutions. I recommend its reading by all who feel for the South and who wish to be a part of its future. We as citizens and/or elected representatives must make the right decisions over the next several decades, and this work gives us some alternatives to choose from.

Alan W. Steelman

Washington, D.C.
27 February 1974

Preface

This book is the result of a project begun in the fall of 1970 that was co-sponsored by the Center for Southern Studies at Duke University and the L. Q. C. Lamar Society. The Twentieth Century Fund aided in financing the research for this work.

Since a study of Southern institutions and public policy is a major undertaking, a number of people have had a hand in shaping this book. Congressman Alan W. Steelman, who has written the foreword, played an important role in the initial formulation of the project. In the summer of 1971 a group of student interns from throughout the South gathered at Duke University to collect material for this project. Their contribution to this volume was substantial.

Three people played a major role in assembling this book—Katherine Savage, Susan Clubbe, and Sandra Kőszegi. The authors also wish to thank the following people for their comments on sections of the book (with the usual waiver of any blame for errors): Charles Clotfelter, Horst Schauland, Robert Mosteller, Robert Clark, Albert Karnig, Lawrence Goodwyn, and Suze Carlson.

Part of James Clotfelter's work on this book was done while he was at the Duke University Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development on a research appointment supported by NICHD Grant HD00164. Professor Clotfelter also wishes to thank Lewis Bowman and Jack Hopkins for their general encouragement.

Thomas H. Naylor
James Clotfelter

Contents

Foreword by Alan W. Steelman	xiii
Preface	xv
1. Introduction	3
2. Out of the Quagmire and into the Economic Mainstream	10
3. Whither Public Education?	77
4. Adapting Higher Education to Changing Needs	129
5. Toward a Responsive Southern Politics	177
6. Controlling Urban Development	222
7. Agrarianism: Through a Different Looking Glass	264
8. Summary and Conclusions	281
Notes	285
Index	309

Tables

- 2.1. Per Capita Personal Income for the United States and the South, 1900-1970 [10]
- 2.2. Per Capita Personal Income for the Southern States, 1920-72 [11]
- 2.3. Manufacturing in the South, 1850-80 [21]
- 3.1. Estimated School-Age Population and Fall Enrollment in Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, 1970-71 [78]
- 3.2. Estimated Average Daily Attendance in Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, 1970-71 [79]
- 3.3. Estimated Populations and Public High School Graduates, 1969 [80]
- 3.4. Southern Disqualifications on Selective Service Mental Examination, 1971 [80]
- 3.5. Extent of Desegregation in the South, 1970-71 and 1968-69 [82]
- 3.6. Estimated Number of Instructional Staff Members in Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, by Type of Position, 1970-71 [85]
- 3.7. Classroom Teachers, Estimates, 1970-71 [85]
- 3.8. Average Annual Salaries of Total Instructional Staff and of Classroom Teachers, 1970-71 [86]
- 3.9. Teacher Characteristics: Selected Qualities [87]
- 3.10. School Characteristics: Age and Capacity [90]
- 3.11. School Characteristics: Selected Facilities [91]
- 3.12. Estimated Number of Basic Administrative Units, Board Members, and Superintendents, 1970-71 [94]

- 3.13. Student Characteristics: Selected Qualities [95]
- 3.14. Student Enrollment, Fall 1970 [96]
- 3.15. Estimated Revenue Used for Education, 1970-71 [97]
- 3.16. Federal Grants to State and Local Governments for Elementary and Secondary Education Programs, by State: Fiscal Year 1969 [98]
- 3.17. Per Capita Income and Direct General Expenditures of State and Local Governments, 1969 [99]
- 3.18. Annual Expenditure Per Pupil and Average Annual Salary of Instructional Staff and Classroom Teachers, 1970-71 [100]
- 3.19. Average Annual Salary of Instructional Staff in Full-Time Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, by State: 1929-30 to 1969-70 [101]
- 3.20. Per Capita Income and Direct General Expenditures of States with Approximately the Same Per Capita Income as the South, 1969 [108]
- 3.21. Enrollment in Special Education Classes in Southern States [117]
- 4.1. Operational Appropriations for Higher Education [130]
- 4.2. College Enrollment [133]
- 4.3. College Enrollment as a Percentage of College-Age Population [133]
- 4.4. Lifetime and Mean Income of Males Twenty-five Years Old and Over, by Years of School Completed [135]
- 4.5. Level of Education and Racial Attitudes of White Southerners [136]
- 4.6. In- and Out-migration in Public and Private Educational Institutions, 1968 [140]
- 4.7. Educational and General Funds Income by Source, Public Institutions, 1966-67 [141]
- 4.8. Educational and General Expenditures at Institutions of Higher Education [142]
- 4.9. Black Undergraduate Enrollment, by Institution, and as a Percentage of Black College-Age Population, Fall 1970 [164]
- 5.1. Voting Turnout as a Percentage of Voting-Age Population, 1960 and 1968 Presidential Elections [181]

- 5.2. Ranking of Southern Legislatures by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, 1971 [184]
- 5.3. Composition of State Legislatures, by Party Affiliation, 1970 [185]
- 6.1. Population Living in Urban Areas, 1890-1970 [223]
- 6.2. Metropolitan Population Growth, White and Nonwhite, 1960-70 [224]
- 6.3. Percentage of South's Metropolitan Population, White and Nonwhite, in Central Cities and Suburban Rings of Ten Southern States, 1960-70 [226]
- 6.4. Estimated Mean Annual Percentage Changes in Employment for the Central Cities and Suburban Rings of Forty Large SMSAs [227]
- 6.5. Percentage of Occupied Housing Lacking Complete Plumbing Facilities or Rated Dilapidated, 1968 [230]
- 6.6. Metropolitan Housing Lacking Complete Plumbing Facilities or Rated Overcrowded, 1970 [231]
- 6.7. Governments of All Types within SMSAs [233]
- 6.8. Number and Types of Governments within Southern SMSAs over 300,000 in Population [234]
- 6.9. Functional Classification of Cities over 10,000 Population, and SMSAs, 1963 [238]
- 6.10. SMSAs: Their Growth by Population Size, 1960-70 [239]
- 6.11. Blacks and Urban Growth in the South [241]
- 6.12. Mean Annual Population Growth for Urbanized Areas Attaining Population Size of 100,000 by 2000 [243]
- 6.13. Property Tax, 1968-69 [248]
- 6.14. State Support of Public Education, 1968-69 [248]
- 7.1. Rural and Urban Population, 1970 [264]
- 7.2. White and Black Population, 1960 and 1970 [265]

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE IN THE SOUTH

1. Introduction

The shopping centers and the housing developments, the new factories and football stadiums testify to the fact that the South is no longer in the backwaters of American prosperity. It may be economically underdeveloped, but it is developing. In 1972 *Business Week* ran a special report entitled "The New Rich South: Frontier for Growth."¹ And, indeed, in the 1970s the Southeast and Southwest have been outstripping other areas in economic growth.

But what will growth bring with it? How will it affect the region's persistent racial, educational, and political problems? Will growth narrow or widen the region's disparity in income distribution? Will the South become a part of a homogenized nation—will it assume the virtues and embrace the mistakes of the rest of the country? Or will it follow a different path of development? What kinds of choices must be made and what will the region get from and pay for alternative policies? In this book we will examine these and other questions. We will lay out an agenda for institutional and policy change in the region that we hope will be useful in stimulating and directing discussion and action.

Why a Regional Focus?

"The South" endures, and not just as an abstraction of the Department of Commerce. "The South has seemed to live inside its people like an instinct," it has been asserted. And even in the face of economic development and a pervasive mass media, Southern distinctiveness persists. John Shelton Reed shows that the South is a regional subculture, that it is a reference group for white Southerners particularly, that white Southerners feel a solidarity at least as great as that binding ethnic group members, and that Southerners have distinctive attitudes on a number of issues.² Southerners are more like non-Southern Americans than they are different, of course, and increasingly they are subject to similar economic, social, and political pressures.

This book will not attempt to make a case for Southern distinctiveness; rather, it will accept the evidence that there is enough distinctiveness to permit study of the problems and opportunities of the Southern states together. The book will attempt to do what one analyst has cited as the major need of research on the region: to bring order and systemization to regional studies, to overcome the prevailing fragmentation of research.³

Many excellent books have been written on the history, arts, education, politics, and economy of the South. For the analysis of institutional change and public policy problems, however, an interdisciplinary approach that emphasizes interdependence seems preferable. To understand the South one should view the region as an integrated system of economic, social, educational, and political subsystems. For example, one cannot understand the region by looking at its political system as if Southern politics were independent of the economy and the social structure.

This book is designed to be useful and to serve a variety of purposes. Specialists in one of these institutional or policy areas may be able to see how their areas are related to other institutions and policies in the South. Government, media, labor, academic, professional, and business people, and civic and interest-group leaders with knowledge of one of the Southern states might find this treatment of the region as a whole a spur to rethink their assumptions about their states. Students and others may find their understanding of the region and its institutions enhanced. We hope this book can help anyone who is interested in how best to direct change in the region. The book is ambitious in scope because the region's problems and opportunities do not admit of narrow disciplinary categorization.

The time is opportune for such a study because the South has passed the point at which we could ask ourselves whether we wanted change or no change. Rapid change—called progress and sometimes other names—is upon us, and there is no more time to waste. Hard decisions must be made in each of the areas examined here. Leaders within the region need to bring to the decision process a knowledge of the interrelationships of institutions and the intended and unintended impacts of policy decisions.

A Framework

This book uses a systems analytic framework to analyze the institutions of the region. Particular emphasis is placed on the interrelationships between the important economic, educational, and political subsystems.

This framework is general and may be applied to the analysis of a broad range of different types of social systems, including countries, regions, states, and cities. (We have previously used it to analyze a number of developing countries—Brazil, Chile, Nigeria, and Pakistan.) Our framework consists of three elements. First, we define a set of specific problems that block the South's progress (although the problems are not peculiar to the South). Second, we narrow the scope of the study by focusing on three institutional subsystems. Third, we analyze the institutions to determine what may be causing or aggravating the problems that have been defined.

Problem Definition

The approach here is pragmatic. Major problems of the region that different people might name would include the following: low per capita income; inequitable distribution of income; unemployment; stimulation and control of economic growth; insufficient control over working conditions by working people; an archaic welfare system; inadequate health care; racial discrimination; lack of responsiveness of the political system; population growth and geographic distribution; an inferior education system; and environmental pollution. In developing a set of strategies for change in the South we shall concentrate on increasing the level of per capita income, reducing the degree of racial discrimination, and improving the quality of education. We shall pay attention to the ways in which the political system can be made more responsive, because it is through that system that changes in regard to income, race relations, education, and other problems often can be affected. We will be concerned with the means to control growth.

The reasons for devoting special attention to per capita income are that the South still is the poorest region in the United States and the region with the most inequitable distribution of income. While the level of income and the distribution of income do not tell the whole story about a region, these are important measures of social well-being and quality of life.

Racial discrimination underlies most of the problems listed above. It is impossible to analyze the South's economic, political, and educational institutions without making race an integral part of the analysis.

There is considerable controversy as to whether education directly affects productivity and income levels. However, it appears that the South's inferior school system has done less than could be done to instill progressive attitudes in Southerners toward social responsibility, economic development, racial equality, and participatory democracy. As

the largest expenditure item in the budgets of state and local governments in the South, education merits emphasis in this study. A primary objective will be to develop strategies to improve the effectiveness of public and higher education in the South.

Institutional Scope

The South can be viewed as a collection of four major types of institutions—economic, educational, political, and social. Each of these subsystems may be further subdivided. For example, the economy of the South consists of agriculture, commerce, industry, labor, and public finance. The social subsystem is something of a residual category: the family, religion, fraternal organizations, civic organizations, professional organizations, and the mass media might be included among the more important social institutions.

We shall focus our attention on the economic, educational, and political institutions in the South. We shall consider the effects that social institutions have on their behavior; that is, we will treat the outputs of social institutions as inputs into the economic, educational, and political institutions in the region. The urban South and the rural South are treated in the book as composites of economic, educational, political, and social institutions. Finally, we should mention one important subsystem of the South that is not an institution—the environment. It is treated in several places in the book. For example, in chapter 2 concern is expressed for the environmental implications of alternative economic development strategies. Environmental pollution also is closely associated with urban growth, treated in chapter 6.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INSTITUTIONS

Southerners do not express great confidence in the responsiveness of the institutions to be examined in this book. In attitudes toward economic, educational, or governmental institutions, and in attitudes toward “the system” generally, Southerners are even more skeptical than Americans generally. In public opinion surveys conducted between 1968 and 1973 in Southern states, the proportion of respondents agreeing with standard alienation items usually was three times the number disagreeing. On items that ask whether certain institutions or groups have treated them fairly or unfairly, respondents in several Southern states have rated their treatment from hospitals and insurance companies as the least fair, with more mixed evaluations of public utility companies, big