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THE DESEGREGATION OF A HISTORICALLY BLACK HIGH SCHOOL
IN
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

by

Judith Bockel Poppell

A dissertation submitted to the Department of Educational Leadership
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN SERVICES

October, 1998

Unpublished work c Judith Bockel Poppell

APPROVAL PAGE

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Acknowledgments

In 1985, I accepted a position as Director of Pupil Accounting with the Duval County Public Schools in Jacksonville, Florida. Shortly after assuming the job, I learned that I would be assisting legal counsel in the school district's attempt to gain unitary status and find relief from the long standing desegregation order. As the office with custodial responsibility for the student assignment, enrollment and racial balance data of the school district, my staff and I were intimately involved in the legal proceedings. This involvement led to my ultimate interest in this research topic.

Subsequent events over the next several years and frustration over failure to achieve lasting desegregation at William Raines High School prompted a yearning to know more. A professional association with Dr. Andrew Robinson, the school's founding principal, and several of the original faculty members had provided some insight into the rich history of Raines High School. Later participation in and responsibility for the school system's desegregation efforts shed some light into the unique culture of the school and its community. Many questions remained that could only be answered by those who were part of the school's history. This research is the result of the author's attempt to learn more. Most especially, I wanted to know about the events and perspectives of those who experienced that period of Jacksonville's desegregation history.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance of many people. Without the cooperation and support of the former students, parents and faculty

members of William Raines High School, it would have been impossible to capture the events surrounding the school's desegregation with any degree of personal recollection and insight. All of the participants were willing and open to tell their stories and assisted me in identifying other potential interviewees. They welcomed me into their homes and businesses and shared their warm hospitality along with their memories. Some even contributed personal memorabilia to the effort. Sharing the very personal, and often painful, recollections of the participants was a humbling experience. I will be forever grateful to them for their openness and trust.

This research effort owes so much to my committee. My chair, Dr. Katherine Kasten, has guided and supported my work at every step. The research result is infinitely better because of her counsel. I will be forever grateful to Dr. Kasten as a mentor and a friend. The support of Dr. Warren Hodge, Dr. Dan Schafer and Dr. Pritchy Smith will also never be forgotten. Thank you.

Many friends and colleagues assisted me in the research process. I am especially grateful to Bonnie Susan Cole for ably transcribing the audio taped interviews with the participants. I would also like to thank Dr. Sally Hague for her support, encouragement and technical assistance. Others who aided me in this effort include Ms. Eris Northern and Ms. Laurice Hunter, to whom I am immensely indebted.

The cohort model for doctoral work at the University of North Florida provided support and encouragement to complete the requirements for this degree. Close friendships were made with others in the cohort who shared the same demands on time and energy. I am especially appreciative of Dr. Madeline Cosgrove, Dr. John Luciano, Dr. William Boyd, and David Gilmore who served as friends and colleagues throughout

the course of the program and inspired me to see this work through. Many thanks to you all.

Most of all, I owe so much to the sacrifices of my family. They have all endured a great deal in order to assist me in my efforts. I would like to express my love and appreciation to my sons Rick and Jeff for their confidence in their mother. To my wonderful husband, Ron, your support and encouragement has been the greatest of all. You gave me the time and space that I needed to complete my work and did so with patience and love; I hope that I have made you all proud.

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Abstract

This historical study examines the desegregation of a historically African-American high school during the period between 1965-1975. The *Mims v. The Duval County School Board* (1971) decision brought about radical changes in the operation of the Duval County Public Schools. The mass transfer of teachers and reassignment of students as a result of the federal judge's order in this case resulted in a school system that was dramatically different from the one that previously existed. The author seeks to determine why the desegregation of William Raines High School was short-lived and questions the continued effort of the school system to desegregate this school.

The author conducted a multi-faceted investigation to answer the research questions. Following a case study approach, both archival and oral data were collected and examined. Focused interviews were conducted with former William Raines High School students, faculty and parents. In addition, written documents and local newspaper accounts were studied. The oral interviews support and expand the findings of the archival documents.

The findings of the study indicate that the history and traditions at William Raines High School are founded on a strong sense of pride and identity. However, changes in the school over time have resulted in a school that has lost its focus on academic excellence. In order for lasting desegregation to take place, substantive changes will be required. The pride that was the school's legacy must be restored. Excellence in all aspects of school life should be the overarching goal.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

School desegregation has its foundation in philosophical, legal and educational considerations. Philosophically, the United States was founded on the principles of freedom and equality. Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address affirmed a "new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." The ideas of liberty and equality are at the very foundation of our Constitution and provide the framework for American citizenship. Freedom is like love -- it must be shared equally with someone else in order to realize it fully. According to Guy Johnson (1964), "the very essence of freedom is that the restraints which make it possible and the privileges which it confers must be applied equally to all citizens. When restraints are unequal, privileges are unequal, including the privilege of struggling for equality"(p.91).

Following the Civil War, a series of amendments to the Constitution of the United States caused the states to seek interpretations. The Thirteenth

Amendment outlawing slavery and involuntary servitude was followed shortly by the Fourteenth Amendment which prohibited any state from making or enforcing laws that abridged the privileges or immunities of citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment affirmed the right of all citizens to vote regardless of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." These amendments, each ratified by individual states including Florida, generated legal explanations regarding the practice of "separate but equal" policies in the South.

The segregation of public schools in the South was largely perpetuated by a legal interpretation of "separate, but equal." The 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) served as the rationale for the "separate, but equal" doctrine which later evolved into functional policy throughout the United States. Justice Brown, in the *Plessy* decision, interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause as follows:

> The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either....The distinction between laws interfering with the political equality of the Negro and those requiring the separation of the two races in schools, theaters, and railway

> carriages has been frequently drawn by this court...In determining the question of reasonableness it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races...is unreasonable... (p.258)

It was this landmark decision that served as the basis for the segregated society in the South that endured for almost fifty more years.

As for education, southern slaves were forbidden the opportunity for schooling. Following the Civil War and the subsequent freeing of slaves, southern states established laws that required separate facilities for blacks and whites, including schools. It was such state law in Florida and elsewhere that created the *de jure* system of segregated schools. Schools for blacks were usually inferior facilities, inadequately financed and staffed by poorly qualified teachers. A 1927 report on the Duval County Schools conducted by Teachers College, Columbia University and directed by George D. Strayer described the "colored schools" as follows:

> The colored schools can hardly be considered as part of the system. They have a few reasonably satisfactory buildings and a good many earnest

teachers, but there is practically no supervision and conditions are, on the whole, extremely poor. In their present state, the colored schools are a neglected appendage. (p. 48)

The Duval County schools, in their operation of a dual school system, had clearly neglected the education of black students.

Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka (1954) set the tone for school districts across the nation in interpreting the requirements of school desegregation. At the time of *Brown*, the practice of "separate, but equal" was pervasive and school districts across the country sought to justify the education of minority students. Asa Hilliard (1978) discussed the stages of the mis-education of certain cultural groups in America, particularly African-Americans. Hilliard stated:

> It must be remembered that the present push for "integrated education" had its roots in the general belief that the education which most white children were getting was a quality education, and that if only Afro-American and other cultural groups could be present when this quality education was offered, they would be better off than under segregation. There was special notice of the fact that not only was American education both legally segregated and de facto segregated, its financial, physical and teaching resources were inequitably distributed among the various cultural

groups. At least this resource problem could be remedied by requiring a desegregation of the schools, it was thought. (p. 100)

The doctrine of "separate, but equal" legitimized by *Plessy* (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) was brought to an end by the 1954 *Brown* (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 1954) decision. It was the *Brown* decision, fifty years after *Plessy* , that created the notion of a unitary school system, one free of the vestiges of prior segregative practices, thus changing the course of public schooling throughout the United States for years to come.

The desegregation of public schools in the United States has brought about major changes in public education that still occupy much of the time and effort of educators and policy makers. For over forty years, since the Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," the problem of racially isolated schools is still with us. Local school boards and school officials in cities across the nation continue to spend great amounts of time and money on the issue of school desegregation and how to eliminate racially isolated schools. The more things have changed, the more they have stayed the same.

During the period of time between *Brown (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 1954*)* and the implementation of court-ordered desegregation plans, the notions of race-mixing and busing students to achieve racial balance were

strongly resisted by school boards and their constituents all over the South. In *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* (1964), suit on behalf of Negro school children was brought against the county for its failure to operate free public schools for the Negro students and for using public funds to operate private schools for whites. The Duval County school district in Jacksonville, Florida, also resisted racial balancing of its schools. Judge Gerald Tjoflat, United States District Court, Middle District of Florida, stated in his 1971 memorandum of opinion and final judgment in the *Mims v. The Duval County School Board* (1971) *case*, "almost six years passed... before any steps were taken to integrate the Duval County Schools." When freedom of choice plans were later ruled unconstitutional and the school district was under greater pressure as a result of the *Mims* decision, the school district was forced to implement a more aggressive plan.

The *Mims v. The Duval County School Board* (1971) decision brought about radical changes in the operation of Duval County's public schools. A mass transfer of teachers to bring racial balance to school faculties and the subsequent reassignment of students based on the pairing and clustering of schools resulted in a school system that was dramatically different from the one that previously existed. School buses began to transport students to locations distant from their homes and the concept of neighborhood schools for all no longer existed. In

Jacksonville, the closing of several elementary schools in black neighborhoods and the subsequent reassignment of black elementary school children to suburban white neighborhoods placed the burden of the desegregation efforts on those black children. In most cases in Jacksonville, black students were bused outside of their neighborhoods for ten of the twelve school grades while white students were bused outside of their neighborhoods for only two grades. Truly, the burden of desegregation was borne by black students. The implementation of this plan continued for twenty years without widespread community support.

In 1998, school desegregation continues to be a major community issue in Jacksonville, and community resistance is much the same today as it was in 1965. A public opinion survey commissioned in August 1982 indicated that an overwhelming majority of black and white parents favored an end to busing and a return to neighborhood schools. Arguments from both sides have changed very little over the years. A strong desire for neighborhood schools and the distaste for busing students, especially young students, great distances from their homes is still vocalized by a majority of both blacks and whites.

The *Florida Times-Union*, the only daily newspaper in Jacksonville, conducted two public opinion polls between 1995 and 1996 that addressed the issue of busing students. The first surveyed parents on their 1) desire for neighborhood schools, 2) interest in their child's school being racially balanced,

and 3) the impact of integration on the quality of education. In interpreting the survey results, Jim Saunders (1995) stated: "The poll shows that less than 1 in 5 white parents think increased racial balance has improved the quality of education in Duval County. Also, it shows that more than half the white parents say they would defy possible busing plans by enrolling children in private schools, moving to other counties or taking steps such as home schooling." (p. A1) In another survey conducted by the *Florida Times-Union* nine months later, staff writer John Daigle (1995) reported that "more than half of them [respondents from the Mandarin-San Jose-San Marco areas] say there's no circumstance under which they'd support forced busing..." (p. A1) Clearly, public opinion on the issue of busing students to achieve racial balance objectives indicates a lack of acceptance by many parents in Duval County.

After 25 years of court ordered desegregation, Duval County has yet to achieve racial balance in all of its schools. It is significant that in the late 1990s, the school district continues to face court action related to school desegregation and students continue to attend schools outside of their immediate neighborhoods for the purpose of creating racially balanced schools. Although a mandatory student assignment plan to achieve racial balance has been replaced by a voluntary plan using magnet schools, the elimination of racially isolated schools continues to be a major concern of the school district as it seeks to

become a unitary school system and freed from court supervision. Eight years after the vountary plan was adopted, approximately one-third of the elementary, middle and high schools still have student populations exceeding 75% single race enrollment.

One of the schools with a racially isolated black enrollment is William Raines High School. Raines High School opened in 1964 with an all-black faculty and student population. Built as a state-of-the-art high school to serve the black community prior to desegregation, the school has a capacity of approximately 1600 students. Raines operated as an all-black school until the early 1970's when a federal judge's desegregation order significantly changed the school. The judge's order required a faculty ratio of seventy percent white to thirty percent black in all Duval County schools. In addition, William Raines was paired with neighboring Ribault High School, then all-white, and the attendance boundaries of both schools redrawn to create integrated student bodies. Although a modest level of desegregation was initially achieved, the effect of the revised student assignment plan for Raines and Ribault was short-lived. In 1997-98, both of these high schools enrolled student populations that were more than ninety percent black. Despite efforts by the school district to achieve a racially balanced student enrollment there, William Raines is as racially identifiable today as any time in the school's history.

In 1990, a Stipulation and Agreement between the Duval County Public Schools and the local Branch of the NAACP required the implementation of a magnet program at Raines to attract a racially balanced population at the school. Although initially it appeared that the magnet would be a success, almost all of the white students had withdrawn from Raines by the conclusion of the 1990-91 school year. On the 20th day of school during the 1990-91 school year, enrollment records indicate that 41 white students were enrolled in the school. The same enrollment report in the Fall of 1991 indicates that only 21 white students were enrolled. The magnet program has continued to fail to attract white students to the school.

Purpose of the Study

There are two major purposes for the proposed study. The first is to examine the history of one school district's effort to achieve a racially diverse enrollment at a historically African-American high school. Built as a showcase high school for the city's black community, the school was fundamentally changed by desegregation efforts of the 1970s. The second purpose of this study is to determine why that desegregation was short-lived and why the school very quickly returned to a racially isolated status. Additionally, the study will provide insight into the issues and challenges encountered when desegregating such a school.

The study is designed to address several issues related to the desegregation of William Raines High School in particular. The following questions guide the research.

- What events led to the desegregation of Raines High School?
- What was the experience from the perspective of school administrators, teachers, parents and students?
- How did the community react to court ordered desegregation?
- Why did desegregation efforts fail?
- What are the strengths and limitations of racially isolated schools?
- Will the school district ever succeed in desegregating William Raines High School and, more importantly, should the efforts be continued?

Through an examination of these issues and interviews with those who were directly involved in the desegregation process, knowledge of the outcomes of desegregation will be expanded.

Much has been written about school desegregation plans in all parts of the United States, particularly in the South where *de jure* segregation was pervasive. Analyses and commentaries on the desegregation plans in many major cities in the South and the various techniques used to desegregate schools are included in the literature. Numerous studies and journal articles deal with the attitudes of teachers and students who were involved in desegregating public schools in the

sixties and seventies. What is lacking in the literature is research that provides an understanding of the events surrounding school desegregation during this period through the eyes of those who were part of that history. This study is an effort to add this missing perspective to the literature.

Significance of the Research

This study adds to the documented history of Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida. The events that preceded and followed the implementation of a court order to desegregate the Duval County Public Schools in 1970 are recorded with a focus on the desegregation of William Raines High School, a historically African-American public school in the Duval County school district. The study concentrates on the school district's efforts to desegregate Raines and the issues that arose from that effort. Through an examination of the issues that were significant in the late sixties and early seventies, the concerns of the nineties can be more effectively addressed. Furthermore, the results of this study draw attention to the continued need to focus on race relations in the public schools.

This study fills a void in the analysis of school desegregation implementation by presenting the experiences of those who were directly involved in effecting the desegregation plan at William Raines High School. No history of the desegregation effort in Jacksonville from the perspectives of administrators, teachers, parents and students has been written. Listening to the voices of the

past is a way to prevent making the same mistakes in the future. A recorded account of the experiences of those who lived desegregation implementation in 1970 can serve as that important link in dealing with the issues of the nineties. If, in fact, we learn from our history to avoid making the same mistakes again, this study can be useful to those leaders who are trying to deal with the ongoing desegregation dilemma.

This study augments the history of desegregation efforts in education. From a historical viewpoint, this study provides a recorded account of what took place in the implementation of the desegregation plan in 1970 from the perspectives of those affected by it. It is anticipated that this study may be valuable in extending the knowledge that exists about the history of desegregation in Duval County, Florida, and in providing an understanding of racial attitudes that may have contributed to that history.

This study also contributes to the practice of education. In addition to expanding the present knowledge of educational history, this study identifies needs for staff development and community programs in the area of racial understanding. The study has potential for guiding further efforts towards improving race relations among faculty and students in desegregated schools.

Additionally, the study provides direction to school leaders concerning continued efforts to desegregate historically African-American schools. In recent

years, much effort and expense have gone into the development of magnet programs to achieve racially balanced populations in historically African-American schools throughout the country. Some attempts have been successful, others have been dismal failures. As a result of this study, educators will have a more thorough understanding of the attitudes toward school desegregation on the part of those that make up the school's community. It is hoped that this understanding will guide future efforts to desegregate this school and others like it.

The strengths and limitations of education in a racially isolated setting are also explored. Forty years after *Brown* (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* 1954), many African-American educators advocate separate schooling for black students. This study has the potential of guiding policy makers and educators who still struggle with the challenge of eliminating racially isolated schools by pointing out the consequences of educating students in such a setting.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in three ways. The first limitation is that it focuses on only one school in one school district. Secondly, the study focuses only on the time period between 1965 and 1975 and concentrates primarily on 1970-1975. The purpose of concentrating on these years is to deal with those events that immediately impacted the desegregation of Raines High School and not the Duval County schools as a whole.

A third limitation is the lack of availability of key individuals to interview. Since this study is being conducted almost thirty years after the events took place, several of the important persons associated with this time period at Raines High School are deceased or inaccessible. These include founding principal Andrew A. Robinson and community leader R. Grann Lloyd. The author attempted to compensate for this through interviews with other individuals who had direct involvement with the desegregation of William Raines High School, while realizing that this is clearly a limitation of the study.

Several terms relevant to school desegregation are used in this study. African-Americans, as a racial/ethnic group, may also be referenced in the literature as Negroes, colored or blacks. Recognizing that the use of these terms has changed throughout history, all of these terms will be used as appropriate to the particular era being discussed. "Freedmen" is a term that is used to reference former African-American slaves after the Civil War. The term "unitary school system" refers to one defined by the courts as free from all vestiges of past racial discrimination and, thus, eligible to be free of continued court supervision. In contrast, a "dual school system" is one that maintains the practice of separate schooling for blacks and whites in all phases of school operation. The term "forced busing" refers to the practice of using school buses to transport students

to assigned schools in areas non-contiguous to their previous schools in order to achieve court-ordered desegregation goals.

The terms "desegregation" and "integration" are also often interchanged although their meanings differ. Desegregation, in this study, refers to the actions taken to eliminate the segregation or isolation of African-Americans as a group in a particular setting. Since this study focuses on school desegregation, the term will usually reference education as the setting. In the same context, integration will refer to the process of incorporating black students into the educational system as equals with their white counterparts. Although the nuances of the terms differ slightly, they both relate to a condition of equity of educational opportunity and access guaranteed to all citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

Summary

The study focuses on the desegregation of Raines High School from a perspective not found in earlier literature. Until now, there has been no examination of desegregation in the Duval County Public Schools which focused on the experiences of those persons who were directly involved in the process. This study looks at those experiences and attempts to explain the outcomes that resulted from them. The study first examines the historical elements of schooling for African-American students in Duval County and the eventual movement

toward abolishing the concept of separate but equal education. Other areas examined include the culture of the school, attitudes toward school desegregation, the advantages and disadvantages of desegregated schooling and changes in the perspective toward people from different racial backgrounds that result from attending a desegregated school.

The face of public education has forever been changed by the practices that resulted from Supreme Court decisions over the past 100 years. The deliberate separation of the races in public education under the notion of "separate, but equal" is no longer legally defensible. Various attempts to desegregate schools have met with mixed acceptance and mixed results. The long-term effects of attending desegregated schools have been studied longitudinally as a whole generation of students has participated in court-ordered desegregation plans. As more school districts previously under court order to desegregate are declared unitary, the future of desegregated schooling is a concern of many educators and social scientists. This study will attempt to frame this concern in the context of one school, William Raines High School, and in the stories of faculty, parents and students who experienced the school desegregation process.

The study looks at the history of desegregation in the Duval County Public Schools following the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision and

the conflict between the elected school officials and black community leaders over school desegregation issues that climaxed with the *Mims v. The Duval County School Board* (1971) decision. The history of William Raines High School between 1965 and 1975 is discussed with particular attention given to desegregation efforts at the school following the *Mims* decision. The study examines extra-curricular and social life at the school, academics, and parental involvement during the post-*Mims* years. In conclusion, the researcher identifies reasons for the short-lived desegregation of the school and offers her view regarding continued efforts to desegregate William Raines High School.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature related to school desegregation is rich and diverse. For this study, two broad categories of research related to this study were reviewed. By examining both of them, it is possible to gain a deep understanding of the events and challenges associated with the efforts to desegregate William Raines High School.

The first area of research on the subject of school desegregation deals with the historical aspect from a national and regional perspective. Writings in this area include the identification of early leaders, court activity including decisions that affected the future of desegregation across the nation, and community reactions to these decisions.

The second area of research consideration focuses on the evaluative aspect of school desegregation. This research examines the effectiveness of the various plans that were implemented and how the plans actually affected

education. Much of this literature deals with the outcomes of desegregation from both a demographic and a sociological point of view.

A great deal of debate has occurred in recent years concerning the results of the desegregation efforts made over the past forty years since *Brown* (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* 1954). The courts appear to be growing weary of dealing with the desegregation issue and more and more school districts are appealing to the courts to be lifted from their continued jurisdiction. Social scientists and some educators, including Gary Orfield (1995, 1996), James Coleman (1975), Amy Stuart Wells (1995), Christine Rossell (1985, 1990), Carl Grant (1990) and Benjamin Sendor (1994), debate the merits of desegregation and argue its value in light of the sacrifices that have been made in its behalf.

Limited research has been conducted on the desegregation of the Duval County Public Schools. Much of what has happened since 1970 in this school district closely mirrors desegregation efforts in other large school districts in the country. Duval County's 1970 plan parallels the plans adopted in Hillsborough County (Tampa), Florida, Nashville, Tennessee, and Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina. In all of these school districts, plans which relied on the pairing and clustering of schools to achieve racial balance outcomes have given way to the increased use of magnet schools for desegregation purposes. The success, or lack of it, in Duval County can be measured somewhat by the success of these

school districts in using the same strategies, including magnet schools, to desegregate their schools. In examining the desegregation history of the Duval County Public Schools, it is important to review literature related to the history of desegregated schooling and the sequence of federal court decisions that have resulted in current school desegregation plans.

Historical Literature

Segregated schooling for whites and blacks pre-dates the Civil War era. It was the conclusion of the Civil War and the subsequent abolition of slavery that caused the education of Negroes to be an issue to be addressed by state governments and the federal courts. Until the post-Civil War period, education was a matter of state jurisdiction with little, if any, federal involvement. The following sections highlight court decisions and other events that frame the study of school desegregation from a national, regional, state and local perspective.

Major Court Decisions Impacting School Desegregation

Several major court decisions, including significant decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States, were milestones in the history of public school desegregation. These decisions provided interpretation regarding the rights of black students to receive a public education in a desegregated setting. Early court decisions left education matters to the states and supported a doctrine of "separate, but equal." Most Southern states operated segregated

school systems under these opinions. The Supreme Court's *Brown v.The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision changed the status of segregated schooling in the United States as well as the role of the federal government in the operation of public schools.

The history of segregated schooling can best be examined through a study of significant court cases. John C. Hogan analyzed selected court decisions dating from 1849 to 1973 concerning the organization, administration, and programs of the public schools. In an article in *Phi Delta Kappan*, Hogan (1973) traced the origins of segregated schools to court cases dating back as early as the mid-1800s. Hogan summarized the provisions of *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849) which included provisions such as:

1. Education is a state matter, and cases affecting it are to be disposed under state law.
2. The "neighborhood school" concept does not apply to Negroes (and other minorities).
3. The state may close its public schools, if it chooses, thereby leaving all education to private means.
4. There is no *right* of the individual to demand a public education.
5. The Massachusetts constitutional provision that "all persons...are equal before the law" is but a platitude - a principle - and we must therefore look

elsewhere in the law to find out what rights of the individual it covers.

6. Educational classifications requiring separation of the races ("separate but equal") are *reasonable* and therefore permissible. (p. 58)

Hogan (1973) found that this case, and a long line of others following *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), supported the "separate but equal" position. These early Supreme Court decisions reinforced the power of the states to establish separate schools and the constitutional responsibility of the states to provide equal educational opportunity. Whether or not these separate schools were, in fact, equal was of secondary importance. It was not until *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was questioned in the courts. In the landmark *Brown* decision, the court ruled: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (p.881). This decision changed the entire course of history regarding school desegregation in the United States.

In 1954 seventeen Southern and border states based their segregated educational systems on the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) decision. These states, required by their state constitutions to enforce segregation, were identified by O'Riordan (1989) as Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina,

North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. The autonomy of state governments to set up segregated schools remained in effect until the historic *Brown* decision in 1954.

The Supreme Court's decisions in *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) and later in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* (1968) created a crisis in the South and especially in Florida. The South's segregated social structure suffered a serious setback as school desegregation orders took effect. In a report by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1966) titled *The Survey of School Desegregation in the Southern and Border States 1965-1966*, it was stated:

> Subsequent to the Brown decision, all Southern states adopted pupil placement laws. These laws give state and local officials the authority to assign students according to certain specified criteria other than race. Under Alabama law, which served as a model, local school officials were directed to consider many factors before assigning a student to a particular school including 1) available facilities, including staff and transportation; 2) school curricula in relation to the academic preparation and abilities of the individual child; 3) the pupil's personal qualifications, such as health, morals, and home environment, and 4) the effect of the admission of the particular pupil on other pupils in the community. Under these laws, the

parent or guardian of any pupil could request his transfer to another school after the appropriate board had made an original assignment. (p. 11)

The enactment of the pupil placement laws allowed the states to legally use factors other than race in the assignment of students. Each school district was given independent authority to implement the law as it saw fit to do so, leaving room for wide interpretation.

State governments reacted differently to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954). According to O'Riordan (1989), there were two main reactions to the *Brown* (1954) decision. The first reaction was that of die-hard segregationists who refused to recognize the validity of the Supreme Court's decision and who blatantly refused to even pretend to change their segregated school systems. The second reaction, more common, was a reaction to the later *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1955) decision. In that decision, Chief Justice Warren held that lower courts, in implementing the Supreme Court's determination that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, may consider problems related to administration, physical condition of the school plant, school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas, revision of local laws and regulations as well as the adequacy of any plans proposed by school authorities to effectuate a racially nondiscriminatory school system.

O'Riordan (1989) referenced the enactment of the pupil placement laws as he stated:

> These laws kept within the letter of the law but not the spirit. In theory, they provided for students to be assigned by local school board authorities to public schools, regardless of race. In practice, however, they kept their segregated systems of education by permitting a mere handful of blacks to enroll in previously all-white schools. (p. 3)

The next significant Supreme Court decision following *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) was *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia,* in May of 1968. James Harvey and Charles Holmes (1972) reviewed major court decisions after *Green* (1968) and identified the importance of the *Green* (1968) decision in striking down the "freedom of choice" approach to school desegregation. Freedom of choice plans essentially provided for parents to make application to the School Board if they wanted their child to change schools and the Board would then consider the application and render a decision. In many instances, this was desegregation in theory, but not in practice since very few students were granted such reassignment. In *Green*, the Supreme Court held that such delays were no longer acceptable in those Southern and border states still having legally sanctioned dual school systems. Freedom of choice methods were declared to be inadequate if they did not end school

segregation as rapidly as other methods would. School authorities were charged with the affirmative obligation to eliminate racial discrimination "root and branch" and "with all deliberate speed." This decision required school districts to be more accountable for desegregation results.

The impact of the *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* (1968) decision was enormous. According to William Taylor and Corrine Yu (1997), Southern schools by 1970, which had been almost entirely segregated in the early 1960s, were far more desegregated than those in any other region in the country. New federal court orders expedited school desegregation in communities throughout the South.

Other cases that followed *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* (1968) helped step up the pace of desegregation efforts. A later case, *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* (1969), was important for its shift from the earlier "all deliberate speed" language in *Green* to the obligation of every school district to terminate dual school systems "at once" and to operate "now and hereafter" only unitary schools. Forced busing was seen as a tool that could rapidly and effectively be used to achieve the required desegregation. Harvey and Holmes (1972) argued that political events and public policy issues at that time, including President Nixon's proposal to place a moratorium on forced busing and Governor George Wallace's presidential primary win in Florida, could

best be understood through an examination of Supreme Court decisions relative to the busing issue. The new timetable for desegregating schools was soon to include more aggressive measures for achieving immediate desegregative results.

The recognition of mandatory busing as a remedy for desegregating schools changed the nature of court-ordered desegregation plans throughout hte country. The *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* decision in 1971 set a new precedent for school districts across the nation including Duval County. This landmark case authorized compulsory busing of students, among other means, to dismantle "dual school systems." In reinforcing *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the *Swann* decision states:

> The constant theme and thrust of every holding from Brown to date is that state-enforced separation of the races in public schools is a discrimination that violates the equal protection clause. The remedy commanded was to dismantle dual school systems.
>
> We do not reach in this case the question whether a showing that school segregation is a consequence of other types of state action, without any discriminatory action by the school authorities, is a constitutional violation requiring remedial action by a school desegregation decree. This

case does not present that question and we therefore do not decide it.

(p. 23)

As a result of *Swann*, busing for racial balance was widespread and court-ordered racial balancing was seen as fact, not opinion.

<u>Florida's Desegregation History</u>

Prior to 1865, there were no schools established for the education of blacks in Florida. In fact, laws were passed that made it difficult to establish black schools. J. Irving E. Scott (1974) stated that during Florida's territorial period, a law was enacted which prohibited blacks from assembling or congregating for any other purpose than to work or to attend divine worship at places attended by white persons. In 1865, shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation, northern benevolent associations began the program of establishing schools for freedmen throughout the state, and in 1866 the Florida legislature enacted provisions for the education of blacks. Florida schools, while not segregated by law until 1885, were in fact separate and unequal. By the close of that school year, the number of Negro schools had increased from thirty to sixty-five; the number of teachers employed in those schools, from nineteen to forty-five; and black school enrollment from 1900 to 2726 (Scott, 1974). Black students were finally gaining access to a free public education.

Following the Civil War, almost all of the high schools for black students in the South were located in urban areas. This was during a time when, as a result of the agricultural nature of the South and the history of slavery, most black families lived in rural environments. As southern local and state governments expanded opportunities for white students to receive a secondary education, they refused to provide those same opportunities for black students. James Anderson (1988) noted that blacks in the urban South were not affected significantly by the expansion of public secondary education until after 1920, when increased migration, changes in the labor market and a growing population of black adolescents forced attention to the need for black public secondary education.

In 1885, a new Florida constitution provided for a strict observance and maintenance of a segregated pattern of education. The state constitution (as cited in Scott, 1974) established, in no uncertain terms, separate schools for whites and blacks and stated:

> The schools for white children and the schools for Negro children shall be conducted separately. No individual, body of individuals, corporation or association shall conduct within this state any school of any grade- public, private or parochial- where white persons and Negroes are instructed or boarded in the same building or taught in the same classes or at the same time by the same teachers. (p.8)

Another section of the law (as cited in Scott, 1974) provided for the following:

> No white teacher shall be regularly employed to teach in any Negro schools, and no Negro teacher shall teach in any white schools in this state; provided that this section shall not operate to prevent the employment of white supervisors for Negro teachers or schools. (p.8)

Between 1885 and up until 1920, public high schools for black students were established throughout the state and emphasized a classical curriculum that required such subjects as Greek, Latin, algebra, history, physics, and English. The Cookman Institute located in Jacksonville was one such school. This school was the first established by private agencies for blacks in the state of Florida. It was supported by the Freedmen's Aid and the Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The school, led by its first principal, Rev. S. B. Darnell, offered a program of studies that included both collegiate and theological work. Successful in its mission, the Cookman Institute enjoyed a reputation of graduating many teachers and religious leaders (Scott, 1974).

Another early school established by the Freedmen's Bureau was the Jacksonville Graded School which later became Stanton High School. In 1868, Jacksonville blacks organized an educational society and raised $850 to purchase the property on Ashley and Broad Streets to erect a school building which was named the Stanton Institute. The school was originally conducted by

the Freedmen's Bureau and, for several years, employed mostly white northern teachers (Scott, 1974). Turned over to the county for use as a free public school for blacks, Stanton and its successor New Stanton High School played a prominent role in the history of Jacksonville's black community.

During the 1920's, there was a shift from a classical education for black students to one which was considered more practical. Northern philanthropic agents contributed sizeable funds to reshape the education of black secondary students. Foremost of these was the Rosenwald Fund whose trustees and agents promoted industrial education for black students. Rosenwald's experts promoted the notion of an industrial education for blacks to replace the traditional liberal arts curriculum (Anderson, 1988).

James D. Anderson (1988) noted how Franklin J. Keller advanced the argument that because black people were denied access to occupations in which they could apply academic skills, it was the duty of school officials to provide a curriculum for "hand-minded Negro boys and girls whose opportunities were restricted." (p.222) According to Keller, "the culture of the hand-minded person was not that of the scholar." Using the bricklayer as an example of an occupation for a "hand-minded" individual, Keller argued:

> It would appear that for boys preparing to be bricklayers, for instance, algebra and plane geometry would be too heavy mental fare. While they

should have command of the elementary operations they certainly should not be required to prove the propositions of Euclid. It is therefore suggested for boys and girls of this type there be substituted for the more advanced subjects, such as mathematics, chemistry and history, two general subjects. History might well be replaced by that type of information known variously as social science, current events, vocational civics and the like. All of this is designed to adjust the worker to the society in which he lives and therefore to make him a more desirable and worthy member of the community. Mathematics and chemistry might well be replaced by that type of information sometimes designated as related technical knowledge. For the bricklayer, this includes topics such as kind of clays and lime from which bricks are made, methods of making bricks, various kinds of brick and the purpose for which they are used, the history of building materials, the theory of arches, etc. (p.223)

It was through this increasingly prevalent philosophy that secondary education for black students changed its emphasis.

The Boylan-Home Industrial Training School in Jacksonville, also called Boylan Haven, was a school established in 1886 by the Woman's Home Missionary Society for black girls. Beginning with a staff of two, the number grew to seventeen teachers in 1926, most of whom were white. Courses taught at the

school included domestic arts, Bible and special training for homemaking. The school merged with the Mather Institute in Camden, South Carolina, in 1958 (Scott, 1974).

During the era of the Great Depression, the scarcity of jobs for whites as well as blacks created new areas of concern. Urban adolescents could not be absorbed into the industrial labor market and were forced into roaming the streets creating a huge problem of juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, as jobs continued to be scarce, many jobs which were formerly perceived to be "Negro jobs" were transformed into "white jobs." This was especially true in the urban South.

James Anderson (1988) discussed an organization in Jacksonville, Florida, at this time known as the "Blue Shirts," which he described as a kind of Chamber of Commerce for the white working man. The Blue Shirts demanded that black workers be displaced by whites. White employers who failed to comply with the demands of the Blue Shirts were identified as "nigger lovers" in the organization's newsletter. As the displacement of black workers increased, a complete reversal of the white South toward menial labor occurred. A white man no longer feared losing his social status as a result of digging ditches or driving a garbage truck. In effect, black students were not served well by either an industrial education or a classical education.

As a result, by the arrival of the 1930's, black students of high school age were being drastically under served by public education. Table 1, taken from James Anderson's study of education for black students in the South (1988), illustrates the disparity between high school enrollment for blacks as compared to whites in Florida:

TABLE 1

High School Enrollment by Age, Race and Southern State, 1933-1934

	Florida	
	White	Black
Number of children 14 to 17 years of age, inclusive 1930	78,055	33,775
Enrollment in secondary grades	52,415	5,550
Percentage ratios of enrollment to number of children	67%	16%

Note. From The Education of Blacks in the South (p. 236). By J.D. Anderson, 1988, Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

The disparity continued through the 1940s and the World War II era. As public secondary education expanded in general for most American students, southern black youth continued to be blocked from the advantage of a public high school education.

R.A. Vinson (as cited in Scott, 1974), in his *Survey of Colored Schools in Duval County*, presented a grim picture of the state of education in black schools in 1941. Noting that blacks comprised approximately forty percent of the Jacksonville population, he denounced the fact that double sessions were prevalent in the black schools. Vinson stated:

> An examination of this survey will reveal the need for major improvements to the Negro schools. Overcrowded conditions permit only a half-day session in most of the city schools. This means that hundreds of young Negro children are without the influence of a school most of the day. (p.15)

The education of black students did not appear to be a priority in Jacksonville.

The preparation and qualifications of black teachers were also of concern. Strayer and Englehardt (1927) pointed out that the average black teacher had less than a high school education. By 1941, the situation was gradually improving and by 1953, only one black teacher in the county had less than a college education.

Disparity in salaries for white and black teachers was a major issue. In Vinson's 1941 survey (as cited in Scott, 1974), he stated:

> When compared with other counties in Florida and taking into consideration higher living conditions in Jacksonville, salaries paid the

> Negro teachers in this county are too low. The State of Florida pays in to the Duval County School Fund a total of $800 per year per teaching unit. Yet, the salary schedule in use at the present time gives only $675 average yearly salary per Negro teacher. (p.17)

In response to a suit filed in the United States District Court, Judge Long ruled on July 3, 1941, that all teachers, respective of race or color, should have equal pay for their services as public school teachers. This decision, preventing county school boards from discriminating in the payment of salaries to teachers, was a great victory for black public school teachers in Florida.

In 1947, the Florida legislature enacted into law an educational program that was designed to address disparity in educational opportunity. This program, known as the Minimum Foundation Program, made the assumption that all students in Florida, regardless of the wealth of the county in which they lived, were entitled to the same minimum opportunity for an adequate education and that it was the joint responsibility of the county and the state to provide such educational opportunities. Although this law did not address racial discrimination and the inequities that existed between schools for black and white students, it did accomplish much for the education of blacks in Florida. Better salaries for black teachers, construction of school buildings for black students and improved transportation were all to be provided as a result of this law. The Minimum

Foundation Program did provide better educational opportunities for black students within the framework of segregated schools.

In reaction to the *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision, the Florida State Legislature (1956) enacted Florida's pupil placement law. This law was an example of strategies used by the states to delay school desegregation. According to O'Riordan (1989), county school boards were given sole authority to assign pupils and teachers to schools to which they were best suited on the basis of intellectual ability and scholarship, with due consideration also for sociological and psychological factors (p.3).

In 1959, five years after the ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court (*Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka*, 1954), Dade became the first county in the state of Florida to desegregate its public schools. The Dade County school district acted voluntarily in averting a court suit. In September 1959, twenty-five black children in Dade County were admitted to two previously all-white schools. This initial effort was termed a success by school officials (Scott, 1974).

However, most of the South was not as visionary as Dade County. Until 1965, most school districts in the South could be described as highly segregated. The courts and the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) were primarily active in intervention in the southern states. HEW had particular clout in that they could threaten to withhold federal funds from school districts,

thus causing many southern school systems to take steps almost overnight to change from segregated to desegregated systems as Dade County did in 1959.

The recalcitrance of other Florida school districts to voluntarily devise plans that would positively impact school desegregation and do so expeditiously gave rise to court-ordered desegregation plans. Years of delay as a result of implementing district-designed plans that achieved little, if any, desegregation of all-black schools caused Federal district judges to order more comprehensive plans that would maximize desegregation. The *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971) decision that legalized forced busing to achieve maximum and immediate integration opened the door for district courts to order busing as a viable strategy to integrate all-black schools (O'Riordan, 1989). Thus, school districts that had not acted proactively to prevent lawsuits were faced with court decisions that resulted in court-ordered plans.

Much of the literature regarding school desegregation during the late sixties and through the seventies deals with descriptions of court-ordered plans and various techniques found in those plans to desegregate schools. Gordon Foster (1973), director of the Florida Desegregation Center at the University of Miami, chronicled the desegregation efforts of urban school districts in the years following *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971). Foster noted that desegregation had been fully accomplished in "seven large Southern cities--

Charlotte, Ft. Lauderdale, Jacksonville, Nashville, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Tampa" (p. 8). Foster's desegregation statistics for the 32 largest southern school districts indicate that these cities had made the most significant reduction in the percentage of black students attending all-black schools and the greatest increase in the percentage of black students attending schools that were majority white. He also noted that "Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and Miami have begun desegregation. Atlanta and New Orleans have remained mostly segregated with over seventy per cent black pupils" (p. 10). Foster continued,

> This review of school desegregation in the major urban centers of the country has indicated that about half of the large school districts with significant black populations are engaged in the desegregation process and that the South is making the most rapid change. (p. 13)

By the beginning of the 1970s, the South led the nation in school desegregation efforts.

Actions by the federal courts expedited school desegregation during the 1960s. Although state and local school districts were slow to react to the *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision, the *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* (1968) and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971) court decisions were effective in eliminating segregated schools in most of the country. The process of school desegregation was met with mixed

sentiments. The next decade was characterized by vocal opposition to desegregation efforts.

The National Scene in the 1970s

The 1970s saw a shift in the support for school desegregation. Writers such as H. Stuart Smith (1973) contended that court rulings in the late sixties and early seventies forced the schools to be the promoter of racial integration for the whole society. Smith maintained that extensive, forced interracial schooling was not a valid means of achieving this goal. He further stated that schools had not functioned effectively as primary instruments for social change and argued:

> Forced interracial schooling involving highly prejudiced groups, a large proportion of disadvantaged students, and indiscriminant mixing of social classes will result in educational and social chaos and not in integration...This is not the proper function of schools of this nation; neither is it the function of the courts to impose such a mandate on the schools and the public. (p. 42)

Public sentiment towards school desegregation was increasingly negative.

The *Milliken v. Bradley* decision in 1974 signaled the beginning of declining support of the courts for desegregation of the public schools. The United States Supreme Court in *Milliken* aided "white flight" and middle class migration by nullifying a plan in Detroit that would have incorporated predominantly white

suburbs into a metropolitan plan that would have desegregated the predominantly black schools. *Milliken* held that a multi district remedy is only possible when *de jure* segregation is found in each and every school district involved in the remedy.

In April 1975, Dr. James S. Coleman raised new concerns regarding school desegregation and "white flight" in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. In this paper, Coleman acknowledged that almost all of the decline in school segregation had occurred in the South. In other geographic regions of the United States, little if any reduction in school segregation had taken place. Characterizing "white flight" as a natural consequence of mandatory desegregation plans, Coleman stated:

> The extremely strong reactions of individual whites in moving their children out of large districts engaged in rapid desegregation suggests that in the long run the policies that have been pursued will defeat the purpose of increasing overall contact among races in schools...Thus, a major policy implication of this analysis is that in an area such as school desegregation, which has important consequences for individuals and in which individuals retain control of some actions that can in the end defeat the policy, the courts are probably the worst instrument of social policy. (p. 12)

Coleman's paper quickly became an item of wide discussion because Coleman had contended that wide scale busing was not achieving its goal of integrating schools. Coleman's paper supported opponents of desegregation while critics of Coleman found fault with his research. Critics such as Bosco and Robin (1976) viewed Coleman's paper as destructive to the effective gains that had been made in desegregating schools.

Foster (1973) noted that larger metropolitan (county) school districts, such as those in Florida, made the transition from dual structure to unitary structure more easily because the school districts were neither wholly black nor wholly white. He further noted that by the end of 1970, school districts in the South, which had previously operated as *de jure* segregated systems, had effectively accomplished desegregating their schools. Table 2 illustrates that fact:

TABLE 2

Blacks in All-Black Schools and Majority White Schools in the South: Fall, 1968, 1970

Year	Blacks in 100 Per Cent Black Schools		Blacks in Majority White Schools	
1968	2,000,486	68.0%	540,692	18.4%
1970	443,073	14.1%	1,230,868	39.1%

Note. From "Desegregating Urban Schools: A Review of Techniques," by G. Foster, 1973, Harvard Educational Review, 43, p. 7.

Violence or the threat of violence associated with school desegregation in the South became a pervasive fear. Weldon James (1957) characterized the period between 1954-57 as a "battle for the schools" with a mushrooming growth of pressure groups and propaganda groups. Drawing a parallel with the Civil War, James saw the struggle of this period as one "between custom and conscience." The South was steeped in history and tradition and mixing of the races was contradictory to the southern custom of separation. Although the doctrine of "separate but equal" recognized the moral right of equality in educational opportunity, custom prevented that education from being conducted in a desegregated setting.

Those communities that managed to desegregate their schools in a nonviolent manner did not do so by accident. In a study of 189 communities in the Southern or border states, Sheldon Stoff (1967) identified six variables that were significantly associated with nonviolence in public school desegregation. Those variables were 1) favorable school leadership, 2) lack of opposition by significant groups or individuals, 3) characteristics of the urban center, 4) the practical community, 5) active community support, and, 6) residual support. In the conclusion to his study, Stoff further stated:

> It is evident, on the basis of this broad study of school desegregation, that nonviolence does not simply happen. Careful preparation very often

> precedes its achievement. There are many factors which provide a favorable social set for nonviolent school desegregation. If a favorable social set is to be provided, many forces and individuals in the community must actively fulfill their responsibilities. (p. 67)

Violence and the perception of violence in the school negatively impacted the desegregation efforts of the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s.

Desegregation in Florida after 1969

Prior to 1969, little had taken place in the area of school desegregation in Florida. As stated earlier, Dade County was the first school district in Florida to desegregate its student population in 1959 in response to the *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision. In a study designed to assess the degree of school desegregation and the nature and seriousness of problems associated with the desegregation of Florida high schools, William A. Byrd (1969) determined that faculty desegregation at the time of the study was practically non-existent. He also identified the greatest number of students attending integrated schools were enrolled in South Florida. The court orders that were so widespread in Florida during the late sixties and early seventies, including the *Mims v. Duval County School Board* (1971) decision in Jacksonville, immediately impacted the status of desegregation of faculties and student bodies.

Most Florida school districts waited as long as they could to implement a desegregation plan. A historical study of desegregation in the Polk County Schools indicated that Polk County officials, too, resisted the call to desegregate the schools. In his doctoral dissertation investigating public school desegregation in Polk County, Florida, Thomas Milligan (1967) reported that Polk County would not have desegregated schools on its own volition. Neither the school leadership nor the citizens of the county expected the 1954 ruling of the Supreme Court to be enforced. The county leadership waited as long as it could to avoid confronting the issue with the necessity for a decision finally coming about as a result of legal action in a suit against the board of instruction.

Most large school districts in Florida found themselves in much the same position as Polk County; and from a black perspective, desegregation was not always perceived as a positive change. In a study of the desegregation of the Palm Beach County, Florida, schools, Bryant Carleton (1975) interviewed 361 black citizens. His study addressed six basic issues that had the greatest impact on the black community: 1) the desegregation of secondary schools in Palm Beach County, 2) the phase-out of all-black secondary schools, 3) the re-assignment of black administrators and teachers, 4) forced busing, 5) curriculum change, and 6) secondary migrant education. Carleton (1975) concluded that in reassigning black administrators the school district had refused to accept black

educators as equals. By purging the system of black leadership, the school district sought to "retain patterns of segregation and institutional subordination." Carleton (1975) expressed frustration over the actions of the Palm Beach County school officials, acknowledging that attitudinal changes could not be legislated nor laws for such changes enforced.

A news report in a daily Florida newspaper illustrated the devastating toll that desegregation had on black teachers and administrators in Florida. The Florida Education Association [FEA] report (as cited in Scott, 1974) claimed:

- More than 1,000 black teachers and 57 administrators were dropped from county school employment rolls in the past three years.
- Forty-two of Florida's sixty-seven counties are involved in "the black backfall" with 39 showing a loss of black administrators.
- Twelve counties showed no change in employment of black administrators, while eight show not a single black principal or assistant principal for the 1969-70 school year. The counties are Calhoun, Franklin, Gilchrist, Hardee, Liberty, Sumter, Osceola and Washington.
- Some blacks were promoted to "high visibility" positions in school board offices but promotions into "old-line established positions of

real and powerful leadership" are closed to blacks, [Wally] Johnson [FEA Executive Secretary] said.

- Individually, county systems established new community-oriented posts for black administrators "they wouldn't place at the helm of schools where the prominent families' white children were enrolled," he contended.
- The FEA official said many former principals of all-black schools are serving as assistants in integrated schools. (p. 114)

Additionally, Johnson (as cited in Scott, 1974) reported in *Florida Education*, a FEA publication, "The statewide figure on teachers employed during this period indicated an even 7,500 increase, which made the decrease of black teacher numbers still more startling." (p. 114). Black teachers and administrators, influential in molding the lives of black students in segregated schools, were clearly destined for new and different roles under desegregation as their numbers diminished.

It should be noted that, strictly speaking, courts in and of themselves were never a "source of pressure" to desegregate. When all else failed, local parents and civil rights groups brought suit to achieve their rights. In Duval County, as in many other school districts, the resulting court orders from such litigation created the major impetus to desegregating the public schools. The *Mims vs. The Duval*

County Public Schools (1971) decision was the "source of pressure" that began the substantive desegregation of schools in Jacksonville.

Desegregation and the Duval County Public Schools

In the years following the *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) Supreme Court decision, school leaders in Jacksonville's Duval County Public Schools had reacted slowly to the mandate to dismantle segregated schools. The 1956 unanimous decision by the Duval County School Board to adopt the pupil placement law produced no desegregation. In fact, O'Riordan (1989) stated that by the 1960-61 school year, no black student was attending a white school in Duval County or vice versa. A subsequent suit filed by NAACP attorney Earl M. Johnson (1960) on behalf of black parents and their children (as cited in O'Riordan, 1989) eventually resulted in a ruling by Judge Bryan Simpson (1962) terminating the system of pupil-placement that the Board had adopted.

In response to Judge Simpson's order (1962) that the School Board submit a new plan to bring about ordered desegregation, a plan was developed and submitted to the United States District Court. The plan (as cited in O'Riordan, 1989) submitted on October 30, 1962, provided for the following:

a) School administrators would draw boundaries for school attendance zones and all pupils living within these zones, regardless of race, would be allowed to enroll at the school within their particular area of residence.

b) Pupils thus assigned to a school within an attendance area could apply for a transfer to another school of their choice, regardless of race, provided each applicant met certain racially non-discriminatory criteria, as expressed in the Florida Pupil-Placement law.

c) The desegregation plan would be implemented starting in September 1963 and would affect only first graders for the 1963-64 school year. In September 1964 the plan would affect first and second graders and each year thereafter the plan would go into effect at successively higher grades. (p. 7)

Despite objections from the NAACP, Judge Simpson approved the plan in May, 1963.

The plan approved by Judge Simpson in 1963 resulted in minimal desegregation and local black leaders were becoming increasingly frustrated with the lack of desegregation progress and the condition of black schools. A School Desegregation Chronology (1990) in the *Florida Times-Union* noted that in September 1965 former NAACP President Rutledge Pearson and School Board member Wendell Holmes were arrested for calling on black students to boycott the schools to protest their dilapidated condition.

In reaction to the inadequate pace of desegregation under the 1963 plan, Judge Simpson overturned his earlier ruling and issued a new order in January

1967. This new order, based on then recent Health, Education and Welfare Department (HEW) guidelines, provided for the redrawing of attendance zones to maximize integration, ordered yearly progress reports on integration with comparison data from the previous year and ordered immediate reassignment of faculty members to eliminate one-race faculties. In August of that same year, Simpson found school officials "either incapable or unwilling" to comply with the January 1967 desegregation order and ordered the School Board to ask the South Florida Desegregation Center at the University of Miami to study the system and recommend a desegregation plan (School Desegregation Chronology, 1990).

In August 1968 the Desegregation Center's plan was submitted to the School Board. O'Riordan (1989) reported that the plan was considered reluctantly by the School Board and eventually filed with the U.S. District Court in January 1969. Judge William McRae, replacing Judge Simpson at the district level, approved the recommendations of the South Florida Desegregation Center. He ordered the School Board to submit a comprehensive and specific plan by December 1, 1969, which would lead to maximum student integration and would integrate the faculties on a 70:30 ratio by the 1970-71 school year.

The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans announced on December 1, 1969, that all public schools must become

desegregated by February 1, 1970, overruling all timeframes ordered by the district courts. Judge McRae was then forced to rescind his earlier ruling and reissue an order based on the directives of the appellate court (O'Riordan, 1989). Because the appellate ruling occurred in the middle of a school year, Judge McRae ordered full faculty integration to begin on February 1, 1970, but allowed students to remain in the schools in which they had enrolled for the 1969-70 school year.

In August 1970 Judge McRae made changes to the school district's plan. Noting that enrollment projections for 1970-71 showed 27 all-black schools, McRae ordered that they be paired and clustered with white neighborhood schools and forced busing be used to effect desegregated enrollments. There were an additional 18 all-black schools in the core city that were untouched by McRae's order (School Desegregation Chronology, 1990). As the school district appealed this latest order, the *Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971) decision was handed down by the Supreme Court.

Becoming desegregated was neither popular nor without costs to some segments of the Jacksonville community. A mass transfer of teachers in February 1970 to achieve the 70:30 ratio ordered by Judge McRae was followed by a complete re-design of the school district's student assignment system. While most teachers were reassigned administratively as part of McRae's order, there

were others who volunteered for their assignments. J. Irving Scott (1974) quoted the following by an anonymous white teacher who volunteered to teach in a predominantly Negro school:

> I volunteered to teach in a predominantly Negro school and encouraged a friend of mine to do likewise. We are in the throes of a social revolution and it will take understanding and thoughtfulness to accomplish the goal. Fortunately for me, I was trained in mixed schools and know well that many of the Negro boys and girls in my high school and my college were not only good in conduct, but in scholastic and extra-class activities. The president of my high school class was a Negro, the debating team had two Negroes on it, and one-third of our football team was made up of Negro players. I am particularly happy on the decision I have made, and I feel that I have been able to contribute much to a better understanding of the white and colored students and also the mixed faculty of the school in which I work. (p.108)

This type of attitude on the part of those teachers who voluntarily took part in the mass transfer assisted other teachers who were administratively reassigned and experienced their first association with students of a race different from their own.

On June 23, 1971, U.S. District Judge Gerald Tjoflat ordered massive crosstown busing in Jacksonville in response to the *Swann* (1971) ruling. The

plan closely paralleled the plan in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina, school system and provided for the following:

1) closing eight all-black inner city schools

2) pairing the remaining black schools with white schools

3) assigning black students in the early grades to the white schools

4) designating previous black schools as sixth and seventh grade centers

5) assigning black students to white junior high schools

6) converting a black senior high school, Stanton High School, to a vocational school and reassigning its college preparatory students to white senior high schools. (Entin, 1972)

The court retained jurisdiction over student assignments, school attendance zone changes, the opening and closing of schools and ordered school officials to file semiannual reports on the racial balance of teachers and staff ("School Desegregation Chronology," 1990).

The 1971 plan also provided for the pairing of Raines and Ribault High Schools. William Raines High School and Jean Ribault High School were located less than a mile apart and Raines enrolled a student population that was all black while Ribault enrolled a population that was all white. The pairing of these two schools, with revised attendance boundaries for each, was projected to result in desegregated enrollments at both schools.

Judge Tjoflat's final judgment (1971) complied with the requirements mandated by *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971) and other court decisions at that time. The plan met the most important test of the court - achieving student enrollment in the various schools that met numerical racial balance goals.

David Entin (1972), in *The Black Burden in Jacksonville Desegregation*, described the 1971 plan implemented by the Duval County Schools and the "sweeping degree of desegregation" that resulted. While accurate at the time, Entin's assessment of the status of school desegregation in Jacksonville proved to be overly optimistic. According to Entin:

> Less than five percent of the black students and no white pupils will be attending one-race schools. By any criterion of measurement, the amount of desegregation is exceedingly high and in most schools will approach the total school community balance. This, in fact, represents a veritable social revolution of major proportions and unforeseen consequences. Rarely, if ever, in the history of American public education until the very present have so large a number of black students gone to school with white students in a single school system. (p.6)

Entin (1972) further observed that Jacksonville's county-wide plan left no haven of all-white schools to which ardent segregationists might flee. Private schools were the only other alternative, and an estimated four thousand students

did choose this route in the first year of the plan's implementation. All sections and neighborhoods experienced desegregation at nearly identical levels, especially in the elementary schools. According to Entin's (1972) assessment, desegregation of the Jacksonville schools was an apparent success.

Another report by James T. Campbell (1972) reported that the complete desegregation of Florida schools was becoming a reality, however interracial friction was also on the increase. According to Campbell:

> Thus in 1971-72, desegregation of pupils in Florida schools is approaching totality. At the same time, disruptions of schools because of interracial friction appears to have increased, though it may directly involve only a small percentage of pupils. Integration of all schools into institutions where students of all races work together harmoniously and peacefully to achieve their educational objectives remains a goal to be sought. (p.15)

Thus Florida struggled with making true desegregation of its schools a positive and peaceful experience.

The Duval County Public Schools continued to operate under Judge Tjoflat's 1971 decision through the 1970s. The mandatory busing plan was popular with neither the black nor the white constituency, but it became the accepted pattern of student assignment. Black parents objected to the long bus rides for their young elementary-age children and white parents avoided

assignment of their students to the sixth and seventh grade centers. By the beginning of the 1980s, most citizens resented the busing plan and sought a return to the neighborhood school concept.

In 1982, community interests in Jacksonville sought to end the unpopular forced busing plan. A 27-member citizens advisory commission was appointed by Superintendent of Schools Herb Sang who charged them to "review and analyze the existing court order" (*Mims et al.v. The Duval County School Board Memorandum Opinion and Final Judgment*, 1971). After extensive telephone interviews of a random sample of households in Duval County, the Superintendent's Advisory Commission reported in its findings:

> The parents of Duval County School children would like to see a return to neighborhood schools...The differences in black and white perceptions of the effects of busing on school children is based on the fact that blacks and whites view busing differently. The white community views busing as the physical transportation of children, while the black community views busing as the physical transportation of children and also as a physical transportation away from inferior schools that existed here in the past, into a system which gives their children the opportunity to have a future. The black community would like to have their children attend schools close to

their homes, but these neighborhood schools must provide a quality education. (MRA/SAC Public Opinion Survey on School Busing, 1982, p. 20)

The conclusions of the commission further stated:

> One of the few positive effects of busing that was mentioned in the sample was the elimination of distinctions between the races. This response was made in a positive sense. The forty-five responses of this nature all suggest that busing was helping to erase racism by promoting through contacts in schools a better understanding of the cultural differences between blacks and whites in Jacksonville. (p.20)

R. Grann Lloyd (1983) took exception to the findings of the advisory commission. In compiling the results of a survey of black high school students and recent black high school graduates, Lloyd concluded:

> a) 58 percent of the respondents identified a lack of interest in whether black students learn or not by teachers and administrators;
> b) 37 percent cited a low opinion of black students' abilities by teachers and administrators and this, in their opinion, leads to low teacher and administrator expectations;
> c) 36 percent of the students and recent graduates identified eagerness of teachers and administrators to assign black students to remedial and/or

non-academic programs; and

d) 35 percent cited deliberate isolation of black students by teachers and administrators as a major problem for black students. (p. 96)

In conclusion, Lloyd stated that "the overwhelming response by all respondents is that busing to desegregate the public schools is the least serious problem black children face in the Duval County Public Schools." In Lloyd's opinion, the physical desegregation achieved by the initial plan, did not provide true integration in the district's schools.

Evaluative Literature

Evaluative literature on the subject of school desegregation tends to focus on the advantages that result for black students who attend desegregated schools. Most researchers studying the effects of school desegregation acknowledge that there is clear evidence of the value for blacks who attend desegregated schools. That value relates to increased academic achievement, improved life chances, positive intergroup relations and enhanced self esteem. Numerous studies by educators and social scientists have addressed the outcomes enumerated above. (Eaton & Jellison, 1997; Crain & Mehard, 1978; Schofield, 1995; Wells & Crain, 1994; Braddock & McPartland, 1989).

Desegregation and Academic Achievement

Numerous studies have been conducted relative to academic achievement and school desegregation. Research exists that supports the positive effects on black students who attend desegregated schools. James Coleman's Equality of Education Opportunity (EEO) study (1966), commonly known as the Coleman Report, significantly influenced school desegregation policy and research. Coleman (1966) found that black students' academic achievement increased as the proportion of white students in their school increased. Crain, Mahard and Narot (1982) contended that "desegregation benefits blacks not because of the presence of white students per se, but because going to school with white students is almost the only chance some blacks have to attend middle class schools" (p. 69). Thus, they argued that student achievement is a function of socio-economic condition rather than race. Later studies confirmed this finding.

As more and more court-ordered school districts request to be declared unitary and freed from continued court supervision in the area of desegregation, the issue of educational vestiges is of paramount concern. School districts must show that the pervasive achievement gap between black students and their white counterparts is not attributable to prior segregation. Unlike student assignment issues, which are clearly within the control of school authorities, educational vestiges are more difficult to address. Lindseth (1997) cited various

interpretations of the courts concerning the educational vestiges issue. Lindseth stated:

> Because the federal courts have made it increasingly clear that they have no authority to address general societal problems not attributable to prior *de jure* segregation and because of increasing difficulty in obtaining continued relief under federal law, plaintiffs have turned in some instances to suits brought under State law. (p. 9)

The multi-generational effects of low socio-economic status, which most educators agree has an effect on student performance, must be interpreted by the courts as they debate the educational vestiges issue.

Supporters of school desegregation have expressed concern about the return to neighborhood schools in school districts that have dismantled school desegregation plans as a result of court decisions to declare them unitary. A study by Susan Eaton and Jennifer Jellison (1997) investigated student achievement in Norfolk and Oklahoma City, the first cities in the nation to gain court permission to return to a pattern of neighborhood school enrollment. School officials and community leaders had theorized that neighborhood schools would bring about increased achievement and parental involvement for minority students. Although Eaton and Jellison (1997) declined to place the blame on resegregation, they did show that "student achievement (in both Norfolk and

Oklahoma City) did not improve after resegregation in the way that district administrators said that it would" (p. 11). Thus, the need for continued study on the relationship between desegregation and student achievement still exists.

The research of other social scientists presents conflicting evidence about the relationship between desegregation and academic achievement. Reviews of studies of the achievement growth of students participating in desegregation programs have drawn mixed conclusions (Armor, 1972; Bradley & Bradley, 1977; St. John, 1975; Weinberg, 1975). In determining whether desegregation "worked," many researchers used standardized test scores as the measure for drawing their conclusions. Crain and Mahard (1978) were unable to draw any overarching conclusions about the effects of racial balance on student achievement. They argued that due to the distinct situations in different desegregated settings, such conclusions are difficult. Wells (1995) contended that "school desegregation means different things in different settings and thus more attention should be paid to the implementation processes in those schools that had more positive results in terms of test scores" (p. 695). This argument contends that measures other than standardized test scores must be used to determine if desegregation positively impacts academic achievement.

Some researchers have found little, if any, evidence that desegregation has positively affected the student achievement of blacks. Janet Schofield (1995)

concluded that school desegregation does not appear to have any consistent negative affect on the achievement of African-Americans, and there is research that shows that desegregation has had some consistently positive effects on the reading skills of African-American students. According to Schofield (1995):

> The effect is not large, nor does it occur in all situations, but a modest measurable effect does seem apparent. Such is not the case with mathematics skills, which seem generally unaffected by desegregation. (p. 610)

Most researchers agree that the effects of desegregation on student achievement were greatest when black students began their desegregated experiences in kindergarten or first grade. Crain and Mahard (1978) found no increase in test scores for black students who began their desegregated experiences in late elementary or junior high school. Because most court-ordered desegregation plans affect students in the elementary grades, this comes as good news to those who support such plans.

A longitudinal study by Gable and Iwanicki (1986) of the effects of the school desegregation program in Hartford, Connecticut, compared the achievement of students bused to suburban schools with similar students remaining in the Hartford Public School system. The study focused on the achievement effects of the Hartford Project Concern Program, an intervention for

students in Title I schools. The study concluded that "there were no major systemic differences in reading and mathematics achievement patterns between students who were bused to suburban schools and the comparable group remaining in inner city Hartford schools" (p. 76). The authors suggested that the findings of their study point to the efforts to improve the quality of inner city schools. These efforts have resulted in some parity between urban and suburban schools and the effects on student achievement are not attributed to desegregation.

A number of studies examined the relationship of school desegregation and the achievement of white students. Since desegregation is usually viewed as a strategy for improving the achievement of black students, there is little reason to expect that desegregation in and of itself will improve the academic achievement of whites. According to Schofield (1995), the "overwhelming majority suggest no impact in either direction." Orfield (1978), too, concluded:

> What is remarkable, however, is the consistency of the finding that the desegregation process itself has little if any effect on the educational success of white students, as measured by achievement test scores...Researchers operating from very different scholarly and ideological starting points support this general finding. (p. 124)

The effect of desegregated schooling on student achievement is still inconclusive. Other factors, in addition to desegregation, influence how well students learn. Evidence suggests that desegregated schooling, when begun at an early age, has a positive impact on the achievement of blacks and does not negatively affect the achievement of white students.

Long-Range Benefits of Attending Desegregated Schools

The long-range benefits to blacks who experienced desegregated schooling has also been studied. Research by Wells and Crain (1994) examined the long-term effects of school desegregation, looking at whether black students who attend desegregated schools have significantly improved life opportunities over black students who attend segregated schools. The research concluded that desegregated black students are more likely to 1) have desegregated social and professional networks later in life; 2) find themselves in desegregated employment; and 3) work in white collar and professional jobs.

Wells and Crain (1994) refer to a concept developed by J. H. Braddock and J.M. McPartland called "perpetuation theory." Braddock and McPartland's study (as cited in Wells and Crain, 1994) states that segregation tends to repeat itself "across the stages of the life cycle and across institutions when individuals have not had sustained experiences in desegregated settings earlier in life" (p. 533). Furthermore, Braddock and McPartland (1989) contended that "Blacks

who grow up in largely segregated environments are more likely to lead their adult lives in segregated situations. And, at any given age, blacks who are segregated in one institutional sphere -- be it in education, residential location, employment, or informal social contacts -- are also likely to have mostly segregated experiences in other institutional environments" (p. 267).

Gary Orfield and others (1997), in examining the effects of desegregation forty years after *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), expressed concern for the growing resegregation that is taking place in "neighborhood schools." Orfield considers the problem to be greatest in the southern and border states and is particularly affecting the nation's African-American and Latino populations. In a study with Susan Eaton (1996) titled *Dismantling Desegregation: The Quiet Reversal of Brown V. Board of Education*, Orfield spoke to the value of a desegregated education. He pointed out that, as a result of desegregation efforts, African-American and Latino students usually move from schools with concentrated poverty to schools with fewer burdens and greater resources. Orfield and Eaton (1996) see the value in desegregation derived from the institutional processes that are at work in middle class schools and are absent in poorer, segregated schools.

Another theory, network analysis, is similar to the "perpetuation theory" of Braddock and McPartland (1989). Network analysis theory seeks to explain the

segregation that is perpetuated across generations. This theory is based on the assumption that African-Americans often lack the access to informal networks that provide information about and entrance to desegregated institutions or employment. Granovetter (1986) contended that cross-racial ties, however strong, are important to economic success. According to Granovetter (1986):

> Because employers at all levels of work prefer to recruit by word of mouth, typically using recommendations of current employees, segregation of friendship and acquaintance means that workplaces that start out all white will remain so. (p. 103)

The ultimate socioeconomic results for African-Americans who attend desegregated schools is important in that it addresses the essence of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision, segregated education is inherently unequal.

Other social scientists, including Kenneth Clark (1988), have studied the impact of the *Brown* (1954) decision as it relates to the broader areas of racism, education and human values. Clark (1988) recognized the burden that was placed on public education by the Court to not only desegregate schools, but to eradicate racism. In a speech presented at Howard University, Clark discussed the biracial system of higher education in southern states:

> While traditionally white colleges do not now exclude black students, publicly supported traditionally black colleges remain racially homogeneous, are unable or unwilling to attract white students, and justify their continued existence on the need to meet the educational inferiority of their black students who cannot meet the admission standards of traditionally white schools. (p. 129)

If the perpetuation and network analysis theories are accurate indices of the life chances for black students, then the role of traditionally black colleges and universities must be re-examined.

Desegregated Schooling and the Self-Esteem of Black Students

A number of studies have been done related to the impact of desegregated schooling on the self-esteem of black students. It has been widely accepted among sociologists and psychologists that blacks in desegregated schools tend to exhibit lower self-esteem than whites. Darrell Drury (1980), in a study of students in 194 southern high schools, concluded that a paradox exists regarding the self esteem of blacks in desegregated settings. Drury states:

> Thus, two paradoxical conclusions emerge: first, that blacks normally manifest self-esteem equal to, and often greater than, that of whites (especially those of comparable social backgrounds) and second, that

blacks in desegregated environments tend to exhibit lower self-esteem than those in segregated environments. (p. 89)

Drury's findings confirmed that the self-esteem of blacks differs based upon the racial makeup of the group.

Other research exists that indicates that a student's self-esteem is related to how he views himself as part of a particular racial/ethnic group. Morris Rosenberg (1986) examined this issue and reported that "for most social scientists, it has been a short and easy step to conclude that children in segregated settings would feel inferior and have low self-esteem..." (p.197). Rosenberg argued that the reality of the matter is very different. He further stated: "the fact that black children in segregated schools appear to have higher self-esteem than those in desegregated schools may surprise those who view social structures as symbolic affirmations of principle rather than as contexts of experience" (p.197). There is also evidence to indicate that younger black children are less likely to suffer from low self-esteem in desegregated schools and more likely to show academic improvement in such settings.

The major reviews of school desegregation and the impact on the self-concept or self-esteem of blacks is generally inconclusive. While research by some such as Stephan (1978) indicates that self-esteem for African-Americans was higher in some segregated schools, other research shows no statistical

significance on the impact of desegregation in many other schools. For the most part, it seems sensible to assume that desegregation is likely to have a varied effect on self-esteem, depending on the student's specific experiences.

Racial Stereotypes and Interracial Relations

Attending desegregated schools also impacts the development of racial stereotypes on the part of whites. Living in isolated communities and attending schools with little or no interaction with people of color only perpetuates the myths and stereotypes that are prevalent in the majority community. An earlier article with Robert Crain, Braddock and McPartland (1984) noted the value of school desegregation for whites stating, "School desegregation also changes the attitudes and behaviors of whites, by reducing racial stereotypes and removing whites' fears of hostile reactions in interracial settings" (p. 262). Yinger (1986) also addressed desegregation and the opportunity for interracial contact. Yinger contended:

> Without imaginative teaching methods, classroom contact among persons of widely different levels of preparation can reinforce stereotypes. Large amounts of cooperative team learning and small amounts of tracking can help to prevent that reinforcement. Unhappily, school policies more often reflect the opposite choice. (p. 245)

Opportunities for interracial experiences during the formative childhood years

help break down the social and psychological barriers that affect interracial interaction later in adulthood.

Improved human relations is an expected outcome of desegregated schools. In their book *The Dynamics of School Integration: Problems and Approaches in a Northern City*, Donald Bouma and James Hoffman (1968) discussed the achievement of human relations goals as a byproduct of desegregated education. Bouma and Hoffman (1968) stated:

> The desegregated school is seen as serving a number of significant purposes of human relations whereby differences are not eliminated but understood for what they are....Those oriented toward human relations goals hope that both teachers and pupils will undergo a transformation of sorts as they begin to see the difference between race and culture. (p. 17)

Desegregated schools have an opportunity to build positive human relations by creating an understanding and appreciation for cultural differences.

The importance of desegregation in our growing multiracial society cannot be overlooked. For the most part, white education professionals continue to hold the power in communities and in the schools. As a consequence, there are underlying problems for African-American students who attend desegregated schools. Social scientist Mary Haywood Metz (1994) argued that " it is White-dominated rather than segregated or desegregated schools that create problems

for African-American students" (p. 73). Schools that are dominated by white teachers and traditional white pedagogy reflect the values of the white middle class. Metz (1994) also contended:

> The United States is an irreversibly multiracial society, and none of its children are well-served by being brought up in isolation from other races or by having to interact with adults from their own or another race who were so raised. (p. 74)

As the numbers of minorities continue to increase in the United States, the desegregated school provides a vehicle for promoting positive interracial relations that can extend to the greater community.

School Desegregation Research and Issues

During the seventies, the National Institute for Education (NIE) sponsored research in the area of school desegregation. In a paper entitled *School Desegregation in 1970s: Problems and Prospects*, Harold Hodgkinson and Ray Rist (1976) examined factors related to the dissatisfaction and anxiety associated with school desegregation. Hodgkinson and Rist (1976) determined that:

1) The problem is not busing per se.
2) The problem is not *de facto* segregation in either the South or the North.
3) The problem is not school achievement.

4) The problem is not a rejection of the principle of desegregation.

5) The problem is not that school desegregation cannot go smoothly.

But rather, that:

1) The problem is the apparent random policy of desegregation in the North.

2) The problem is that segregated metropolitan housing patterns has [sic] made desegregation nigh unto impossible in some large cities.

3) The problem remains *de jure* segregation.

4) The problem is resistance to federal control.

5) The problem is that many remain unconvinced of the educational merits of desegregation. (p. 4)

It is interesting to note that in their analysis, Hodgkinson and Rist (1976) do not use the term "neighborhood schools" in discussing dissatisfaction with school desegregation. It is also significant that none of the authors previously cited attribute the problems associated with desegregation to racism. The issues of "white flight", white resistance to integration, and other indicators of pervasive racism are largely ignored in the literature.

The research involving school desegregation over the past forty years has been varied. Research in this area has focused extensively on the methodology

for desegregating school districts and the results of desegregation policies. The long term effects of school desegregation efforts and the ultimate success or failure of those efforts have received limited attention. Major themes in the literature include 1) significant court decisions related to school desegregation, 2) techniques employed in desegregating schools, 3) statistical analyses of desegregation efforts in various locales, 4) cultural and social issues related to desegregation, 5) school desegregation policy issues, 6) the effects of desegregation on student achievement, 7) attitudes towards desegregation and 8) historical background related to segregated schooling. Forty years after the *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision, issues such as busing, the racial composition of the teaching force and the disparity in achievement between black and white students are still concerns.

Summary

In summary, this literature review provided a comprehensive examination of the historical aspects of desegregation as well as research into the long-range benefits of desegregated schooling for black and white students. Significant court decisions related to desegregation; public reaction to desegregation efforts; efforts to desegregate schools in the South, including those in Florida; and the impact on self-esteem and life opportunities for blacks who attend desegregated schools were also examined. School desegregation has had a significant impact on the attitudes and lifestyles of both blacks and whites over the past thirty years,

yet many of the problems associated with early desegregation efforts still exist. Racism, in its many forms, is still prevalent in this country. The pervasive achievement gap between black students and their white counterparts is an issue of concern for school districts across the nation. The persistent cry for "neighborhood schools" hinders acceptance of efforts to achieve racially balanced schools that require mandatory or voluntary assignment to other school sites. Yet, many believe that school desegregation is still a worthy goal with long-term benefits for both white and black students.

The review of literature in this chapter focused on the process and outcomes of school desegregation. Through a thorough examination of both the historical and evaluative literature on the subject, a framework for this study has been developed.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This historical study was conducted to address two purposes. First, it examined the events leading to and surrounding school desegregation in the Duval County, Florida, public schools during the period of 1965 through 1975. Special attention was given to the school district's efforts to achieve a racially diverse enrollment at a historically African-American high school, William M. Raines High School. Second, the study determined why the results of those efforts were short-lived and why William Raines very quickly returned to a racially isolated status following the implementation of a court-ordered desegregation plan in 1971. In so doing, the strengths and limitations of racially identifiable schools were also explored. Chapter III describes the elements of the study and how it was conducted.

Context

The literature reviewed for this study offers insight into the dilemma of desegregating Raines High School. Community attitudes towards desegregation, the effectiveness of the techniques employed to desegregate the school, current trends in school desegregation and the ultimate life choices and opportunities for students who attend a historically black high school were examined to determine if the situation at William Raines High School was consistent with other findings in the literature.

The design employed in this case study was emergent. In focusing on the study of William Raines High School, the various events and issues related to the desegregation of the school were explored and recorded in order to understand why desegregation attempts at this school have not been successful. The study involved a two-tiered approach examining the roles of 1) the local school district and 2) the school itself in implementing the court's desegregation plan. The study also assessed the general atmosphere towards school desegregation in Duval County when the court order was implemented and determined how attitudes toward desegregation and the schools influenced the failure to eliminate racial isolation at William Raines High School.

The study also examined individual reaction to and interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the desegregation of Raines High School. The

researcher determined what it was like to experience the desegregation of this school during the period of history examined from the perspectives of students, faculty members, parents and community members.

Research Site

The researcher selected William Raines High School and Duval County, Florida, for a number of reasons. The primary reason for the selection of this site is the researcher's inherent interest in the school and its rich and unique history. Familiarity with the Duval County Public Schools and access to people and documents related to the desegregation of William Raines High School were secondary reasons for selecting this research site. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggested that researchers should "study something in which you are not directly involved." (p. 60) Because it is often difficult to distance oneself from personal concerns and "common-sense understandings" (p. 60), they suggest that a site in which the researcher has no direct involvement is preferable. By selecting a time frame that was more than twenty years past, this pitfall has been addressed.

Another reason for selecting this school is the elusive nature of desegregation at William Raines High School. Although different attempts at enrolling a racially diverse student population have been made since 1971, the results have never been lasting. A brief improvement in racial balance was only temporary and the school eventually returned to its former racially isolated status.

In addition, because the site is near the author's residence, it provided a cost efficient research site. As a veteran educator in the school system, the researcher is known and trusted, which was helpful in identifying additional data sources.

William Raines High School is located in Jacksonville's northwest area and less than a mile away from another high school. The second high school, Ribault High School, served as the white high school for the area prior to desegregation. Raines was constructed in 1963 as a state-of-the-art high school to serve the black population in northwest Jacksonville. Its construction mirrored that of another high school built for white students in the distant Beaches community. As the first high school built for blacks in decades, William Raines High School was a source of pride for the entire black community.

The tone for the school was set by its founding principal, Dr. Andrew Robinson.[1] Robinson, a 35 year-old native of Jacksonville, earned a doctorate degree from Columbia University and was recognized by school officials and community leaders for his scholarship and leadership ability. Dr. Robinson selected an outstanding faculty for the school which included both black and white teachers. He led by example and constantly reminded teachers and students of the "gem" which the school district had provided for them. The school

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[1]Dr. Andrew Robinson, African-American

enjoyed a reputation of academic excellence, particularly in the area of science. With the benefit of excellent, well-maintained facilities and dedicated teachers, students were expected to perform to the best of their ability in all areas of school life. Students were expected to adhere to a well-defined dress code and take responsibility for keeping their school clean and uncluttered.

The desegregation order of 1971 paired neighboring Raines and Ribault High Schools. By redrawing attendance areas for both of the schools, each was expected to enroll a desegregated population thereby eliminating, respectively, their all-black and all-white student bodies. Over the years, whites have moved out of the areas served by both of the schools and, as a result, in the 1990s both schools enroll a population that is greater than 95 percent black.

While William Raines High School currently has an enrollment that is overwhelmingly black, it presents a site of great interest. Much of the community pride that was instilled by Dr. Robinson still exists. Many of the traditions that were begun under his leadership still exist, including the slogan "Ichiban." Despite the school's rich heritage, or perhaps as a result of it, the school has not sustained lasting desegregation.

Data Sources

In order to document the evolution and impact of desegregation on William Raines High School, the researcher designed and conducted a multifaceted

investigation. In the case study, both archival and oral sources of data were collected and examined. Historically, the study creates a sequential account of the events which took place preceding, during and after the court orders to desegregate faculties and student bodies in 1970 and 1971.

The case study approach is an appropriate method for studying the process by which change is brought about in an existing institution. Edward Suchman, John Dean and Robin Williams (1958) recommended that the process by which school desegregation within the school system takes place should be carefully reported. In their recommendations for conducting case study research in this area, they offer the following advice:

> Various methods and techniques of desegregation should be described, including an account of the actual procedure by which the technique was introduced and carried through. Incidents taking place in the schools should be documented. Such reports on the process of desegregation should come from all levels: school administrator, teachers, pupils, school organizations, etc. (p. 87)

The use of multiple data sources in the case study process was important. These sources assisted in seeking and corroborating different perceptions by different persons at various times. In addition to focused interviews, the author examined archival records including an in-depth study of written documents

including school board minutes, copies of court orders, intra-district memoranda and local newspaper accounts of desegregation events and issues. The study of these artifacts was important in understanding the events that took place and their relationship to the oral interviews that followed.

In order to "triangulate" the findings of the written information, the researcher began the oral history component of the study. Because this was an educational history, the researcher initially selected educators for the oral interviews. From this initial sample, a "network" or "snowball" selection of participants emerged. This strategy allows for successive participants to be identified by a preceding individual.

Several educators who had direct involvement with the desegregation of William Raines High School were interviewed (see Appendix A).Their experiences in the desegregation process varied. In order to gain an understanding of the broad issue of desegregation of the Duval County Schools, three individuals who were administrators at the time of the study were interviewed. They included Dr. Cecil Hardesty,[2] former Superintendent of the Duval County Schools; Billy Parker,[3] former Director of Secondary Education;

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[2]Dr. Cecil Hardesty, white

[3]Billy Parker, white

and Dr. Ezekiel Bryant,[4] former principal of William Raines High School. Dr. Hardesty provided the researcher with an article from the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce magazine that highlighted his involvement in the desegregation case. Dr. Bryant shared written information that was useful in this study.

The researcher located several former teachers at William Raines High School who experienced the desegregation of the school. The sample included both white and black faculty members. Among the black faculty members were Jimmie Johnson, coach and Athletic Director; Grace West, counselor; Dr. Hortense Williams Grey, Dean of Students; and Quentin Messer, social studies teacher. Jimmie Johnson was later named principal of the school and in 1996 was elected to the Duval County School Board. Dr. Hortense Williams Gray has participated in presentations on the history of Jacksonville's black community and led the researcher to a book on local African-American history. White faculty members interviewed included Arthur Roberts, science teacher, and Alee Browning, mathematics teacher. Interviews with these former faculty members provided information on the mass teacher transfer to desegregate faculties in February 1970 and the preparation of faculty and staff for the student reassignment in 1971.

Another source of oral data were students. Again, both white and black

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[4]Dr. Ezekiel Bryant, African-American

former students were identified for the interviews. The first white student interviewed was Rick Buckley, who was generous in providing names and telephone numbers of other white students who attended Raines High School with him. Other white students who participated in the interviews included Sherry Jameson, Doug Jennings, Gina Stevens and Bill Tyler. Black students who were interviewed included Carla Bronner, Wilene Dozer, Greg Coleman and Darryl Wilson. The former students were especially helpful in recalling observations of their experiences in the classroom in addition to extra-curricular activities.

Parents and community members were also interviewed. It was important to gain the perspective of both white and black parents. White parents interviewed included Don and Carolyn Buckley, Ray Jennings and Art Tyler. Grace West, who was also a faculty member at the school, was the parent of a black student, as was Dorothy King.

In addition to the parents, another important community member was interviewed. Eddie Mae Steward[5] was one of the plaintiffs in the *Mims v. Duval County School Board* (1971) case and served as former chairman of the NAACP's Education Committee. Her insight into the conditions in black schools and Jacksonville's desegregation history was invaluable.

The archives of School Board minutes and legal files were especially

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[5]Eddie Mae Steward, African-American

useful. Bonnie Susan Cole, secretary to the School Board, was most cooperative in assisting the researcher with locating correspondence, copies of school board minutes and copies of court documents that related to the desegregation of the Duval County Schools.

Student enrollment records and copies of the school district's pairing and clustering plan (1971) were obtained from the Pupil Accounting Office of the Duval County School Board. Mr. Ed Wechsler and his staff were especially helpful in locating archival records and data for use in this study.

The two local newspapers that operated during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s were the *Florida Times-Union* and *Jacksonville Journal*. Accounts from both of these daily newspapers provided color and insight in their accounts of the events that surrounded Jacksonville's desegregation history. The *Florida Star*, a newspaper focusing on the interests of African-Americans in Florida, provided additional information. Information gained from the newspaper articles were corroborated by other sources, both oral and archival.

Methodology

The objective of an historical study is to present a descriptive narrative that depicts events studied as closely as possible. This picture is based on the exploration of documentary material, artifacts and archives in order to compile the evidence of what actually happened. The information that was collected and

examined were primary sources. Little was available from secondary sources. The primary sources were both archival and oral.

The search for archival information was based on computer searches of the literature. Using the descriptors of public schools and desegregation, the author used the LUIS system at the University of North Florida to identify potential sources. Microfilmed issues of the *Florida Times-Union*, *Jacksonville Journal, and* the *Florida Star* were researched at the University of North Florida library using school desegregation and public schools as the descriptors. Additional historical information was researched in the Florida collection at the Haydon Burns branch of the Jacksonville Public Library.

The study of the written documentation and the oral interviews sought to answer several questions. The questions specifically included:

1. What events led to the desegregation of Raines High School?

2. What was the experience like from the perspective of school administrators, teachers, parents, and students?

3. How did the community react to court ordered desegregation?

4. Why did desegregation efforts fail? Is this really a failure or a misguided effort?

5. What are the strengths and limitations of racially isolated schools? Do schools with predominantly minority population serve the needs of their students?

6. Will the school district ever succeed in desegregating William Raines High School and more importantly, should the efforts be continued?

The purpose of the interviews was to learn what it was like to experience the desegregation of William Raines High School and the changes that took place in the culture of the school as a result. It was important in the interview process to corroborate the accounts of events from other interviewees for accuracy and confirmation.

All of the interviews were audio taped and transcribed. Because this study represents historical research, it was important to gain the consent of the interviewees to being identified by name in relation to their interview. All subjects were asked for permission prior to being interviewed and their signature on a written permission form was requested. The resulting data from this study will be offered to local archives so that they might be used to further the understanding of both the oral history and the desegregation of the Duval County Public Schools. Audiotapes and transcriptions will be donated to the library at the University of North Florida.

Ethical considerations in conducting this type of research were a part of the study. The interviewees were provided with information as to the reason for

their selection, an explanation of the study and an opportunity to give their written consent to being interviewed (see Appendix B). In addition, participants were offered a transcript of their interview to review.

Data Analysis

A systematic approach to analyzing the data was used. All of the data, archival and oral, were categorized according to major themes. The themes emerged from the literature review and the interviews. The author identified patterns and relationships among the categories by examining the data in as many ways as possible. In so doing, the author attempted to understand and make meaning from the various events and perceptions recorded in the research process.

All of the data collected contributed to the chronological narrative that makes up Chapter IV of this study. The narrative account describes the events and perceptions surrounding the desegregation of the Duval County Public Schools from 1965 - 1975 and particularly the desegregation of William Raines High School during the period from 1970 - 1975. Other material collected from other time periods was directly related to the topic of this study.

Summary

The "social history" perspective of this study gave the author a framework through which to examine a local historical event in great depth. This perspective

was employed in order to explore the experience of desegregation on a very personal level.

This study has provided insight into the process of desegregating a historically black high school and the issues that resulted. Through a historical case study approach, barriers to successful school desegregation were identified. While substantial research on school desegregation exists, very little has been conducted from the perspective of the participants. Therein lies the value of this study.

CHAPTER IV

THE DESEGREGATION OF WILLIAM RAINES HIGH SCHOOL

1965-1975

In 1965, more than ten years after the historic *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) decision, integration of the public schools in Duval County had barely begun. In fact, the Duval County Public Schools continued to operate as a dual school system, one for white and one for blacks. Both the white and black schools suffered from deplorable conditions and the county's high schools became disaccredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in December 1964. A *Florida Times-Union* news article (Cook, 1964) spoke of double sessions for almost 7,000 of the county's students with School Superintendent Ish Brant[6] predicting an end to the half-day classes by the end of the 1964-65 school year. Even though this was less than the record 20,000 students on double session in 1960, overcrowded facilities and inadequate

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[6]Superintendent Ish Brant, white

financing were at the heart of the troubles that plagued the school system.

Desegregation of the county's public schools was a simmering issue. In 1962 Judge Bryan Simpson[7] ordered school officials to submit a plan for integrating the schools. The plan submitted by the school system to Judge Simpson was a phased in grade-a-year plan and yielded little in the way of desegregative results. The plan also provided for freedom-of-choice, allowing pupils an opportunity to make written application to attend a school other than the one assigned to their geographic district. By the fall of 1964, a total of 62 black students were approved to enroll in several previously all-white schools, ("Duval White Schools," 1964) and no white students were enrolled in any of the black schools. The school district did not furnish transportation to students making a desegregative choice. There was neither the resolve on the part of the district, nor a vehicle to make such a plan successful in desegregating the schools, thus yielding few desegregative results.

Meanwhile, conditions in the black schools worsened. NAACP leaders began to protest dilapidated conditions and instigated school boycotts. For example, a three-day boycott resulted in about 17,000 of the 31,000 black students staying out of school for at least one day in protest of the conditions in their schools ("State Can't Waive," 1964). Allegations of discrimination and

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[7]Judge Bryan Simpson, white

inequities were also charged by the Citizens Committee for Better Education, a black political action group chaired by Wendell Holmes.[8] Holmes, a leader of the boycott, also headed the NAACP's Education Committee. In addition, the Citizen's Committee for Better Education complained of job-selling for black teachers. The job-selling essentially involved the payment of a fee by a prospective black teacher to an intermediary who then used influence with school district officials to secure a teaching position for the teacher applicant. These charges initiated an investigation by the State Attorney's office into the matter ("School Group Wants Talks," 1965). By the end of 1965, an air of open hostility existed between black community leaders and public school officials.

William Raines High School

Duval County's largest high school, No. 165, opened in the Moncrief area of Jacksonville on January 25, 1965. The opening of the school brought about the reassignment of 1,305 black high school students in grades nine through twelve from Northwestern Junior-Senior High School to the new school. An earlier proposal to place sixth, seventh and eighth graders at the new school had been opposed by members of the black community and was a factor in the black student boycott mentioned in the last section. The school had been scheduled to open on December 7, 1964, the first day of the boycott. In response, school

[8]Wendell Holmes, African-American

officials agreed to leave the younger students at Northwestern and to assign the high school grades to the new school. The 2,000 student capacity high school was a $2 million project and duplicated the new Fletcher High School in the Beaches community. The school also contained a Trade and Industrial area, which was not part of the Fletcher design. The school opened unnamed and was referred to simply as School No. 165 until later that Spring.

Dr. Andrew A. Robinson was appointed principal of the new school. Robinson, a 35 year-old African-American and Jacksonville native, held a bachelor of science degree from Florida A&M University and a doctorate in education from Columbia University. According to Dr. Ezekiel Bryant:

> Dr. Andrew Robinson was given a year's release time to work downtown to organize and implement and he had connections in the administration to allow him to collect whatever faculty he wanted. So he reached around throughout the system and he pulled together one hundred of the best black faculty that he could find and he pulled them all together to go into this new school, No. 165. (Interview, December 3, 1997)

And so it was that Dr. Robinson set out to hire an outstanding faculty for the new school and to create the culture and traditions that were to serve as its guide.

There was a unique sense of pride at School No. 165. Dr. Robinson and his staff were proud of their "million dollar school" and sought to develop that

same kind of pride in the students. Much of that pride was manifested in a slogan --Ichiban -- that is still in use today. Dr. Bryant related:

> Dr. Robinson served in the Pacific. He was in the Korean War, so he was in the Pacific, and while he was in Japan, he heard the term Ichiban which meant "number one" and that was kind of like a slogan that he would use. He instilled a lot of pride in the faculty and urged them to move forward, almost with a missionary zeal, to establish a special kind of school of which everyone could be proud. (Bryant interview)

One of the early black students at Raines, Darryl Wilson, linked Dr. Robinson and his Ichiban philosophy as he said:

> It is sort of a saying [Ichiban]. When you talk about Dr. Robinson, you are talking about someone who believed in strong roots and ties. There are expectations of things you can do as an individual and in society. You are a representative of society. From picking up a sheet of paper to putting your shirt tail in. The characteristics... if you are going to be number one, you have to behave like Ichiban. (Interview, June 5, 1998)

So, students were expected to think of Ichiban and be "number one" in all areas of school life. The terms Ichiban and "million dollar students" became part of the everyday language of the school. The first curriculum guide for New Senior High School No. 165 includes this salutation in the message from the principal: "To the million dollar students of School #165."

Ichiban was the school's watchword and rallying cry. It became the war cry for athletic teams and the catch phrase whenever faculty and coaches wanted to motivate the students. Carla Bronner,[9] a former student, recalled what the slogan meant:

> Of course, it means number one, and that pride. He really spent a lot of time talking before morning messages, before pep rallies, programs, there would be banners all over the school. Everything was about being number one and being special, because of the new school. It was in an area, part of town, that was black. We, my generation, was the first , I think, where we had a large number of people go to college. So there was that ... We all took the SATs together, the ACTs, all those things, lots of encouragement. To show people, number one, that we were a black school and that we could do it. To have pride in ourselves, in our school, in our community, which in those days we weren't afraid to say from a spiritual standpoint. (Interview, February 17, 1998)

Wilene Dennis Dozier, a black student, recalled first hearing the term Ichiban:

> Well, when I got there in the tenth (grade), the twelfth graders were the ones who told us about it. It stayed with the school. We wondered what in the world was Ichiban. They told us we were number one and Dr.

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[9]Carla Bronner, African-American

Robinson told us we were number one in everything, from the band, athletics, to academics. Even today, there is a lot of pride in the students who went to Raines. (Interview, March 6, 1998)

When asked if Ichiban had any meaning for him, former Raines student Greg Coleman[10] responded:

> Oh, you better know it. That was part of what we lived by. Even today, if you remember Ichiban to anybody who graduated from Raines, you will get a reaction from it... It is almost sacred. (Interview, June 29, 1998)

And later when the first class of white students came to the school, Ichiban was used to draw the student body together. Doug Jennings was one of the white athletes who attended Raines during the first year of desegregation. Jennings remembered:

> Ichiban, oh yes. That was like his catch phrase. Yeah, the catch phrase for the year. We were going to be number one. Everybody was going to get along. (Interview, February 16, 1998)

Ichiban was the phrase that tied the Raines staff and student body together. Former principal and coach Jimmie Johnson[11] said this about Ichiban:

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[10]Greg Coleman, African-American

[11]Jimmie Johnson, African-American

> You can tell by the frequency of its use by some of its graduates. Dr. Robinson tells this story. One time he was on a commission with state penal corrections institutions, and he was visiting an institution and going across the yard of the prison, high on the top floor. A man yelled to him from a jail cell, "Ichiban." Even in jail he was number one. (Interview, December 8, 1997)

Ichiban and being number one, that was what Raines was all about.

The pride that was exemplified in the term Ichiban carried over into other aspects of the school's culture. The school had a reputation for cleanliness. Dr. Robinson was known to have circulated the building hourly, setting an example by picking up pieces of paper and other trash and the students and faculty followed suit. Quentin Messer,[12] one of the original Raines faculty members, recalled how Dr. Robinson set the tone for the school. According to Messer:

> The tone, the $3 million school and you were $3 million students and I want you to act that way. And you would have students to take responsibility who would report other students who were in violation. That was the beauty. And, I mean, if you told me, "Someone went in the restroom and marked it up in A wing" or wherever it is, before you could get off the mike, three or four people would say, "Yeah, I saw John or I

[12]Quentin Messer, African-American

> saw Mary." That was it. The students policed each other. That was the beauty. (Interview, November 24, 1997)

The lines of open communication, coupled with the school pride that was instilled in the faculty and students was attributed to Dr. Robinson's leadership. Messer remembered him as a leader:

> A great amount of pride. Dr. Robinson had a way, you would think he could walk on water. When he spoke, he had that kind of charisma, a charismatic personality. It was not unusual to look up and find four to five visitors to your classroom almost on a daily basis. People were just in and out all the time. (Messer interview)

Dr. Robinson was also a frequent visitor to classrooms and often brought guests to the school with him. According to Quentin Messer:

> He didn't tell you when he was coming or bringing somebody by. He would just show up, and you had better be about your business. I remember one teacher saying, "Gosh, I'm in D wing and I see Dr. Robinson, I come up on B wing and I see him. How many Dr. Robinsons are there around here?" He was everywhere. (Messer interview)

Dr. Bryant, Robinson's successor as principal, recalled the school:

> The first thing that impresses anybody is its cleanliness and order. It is kept that way by the students, faculty and staff. That was one of the

> things Dr. Robinson had started and I wanted to maintain. (Bryant interview)

From Dr. Robinson, to his successors, Raines High School pride and the legacy of Ichiban was handed down.

However, the pride at Raines High School was not confined to the neatness of the school building. The faculty and students were also known for their professional dress and appearance. Carla Bronner related that Raines girls were expected to live up to a certain standard. According to Bronner, "You behaved a certain way and acted a certain way, dressed a certain way. The kids took pride in themselves and the building." (Bronner interview)

Arthur Roberts[13] spent his first year as a science teacher at Raines. As for the dress for teachers, Roberts recalled, "All teachers (male) were expected to wear a shirt and tie" (Interview, November 13, 1997). It was clear from the expectations that the climate of the school was exemplified by the dress and demeanor of the faculty and students.

The abbreviated first year (January to June, 1965) saw many accomplishments. The track team won its first championship and the band received a rating of "superior" at the District Band Contest. The senior class performed *Othello* as its first senior class play in the school auditorium. The first

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[13]Arthur Roberts, white

commencement exercises were held in the school auditorium with 173 graduates in the first class. Since the seniors were products of both Northwestern and the new school, having attended the latter for only the last semester of their senior year, both principals and faculties participated in the graduation ceremonies. New School No. 165 was off to a successful start.

In June of 1965, the School Board adopted the name William M. Raines High School for the new school. William M. Raines was a prominent black educator who served as principal of Matthew Gilbert High School in Jacksonville from 1938 until his death in 1950 (Mason, 1997). The students selected the Viking as their mascot and their colors, red and grey. They also adopted the motto "Knowledge is Power." New School No. 165 now had an identity of its own.

William Raines High School implemented a comprehensive curriculum for its students. The curriculum guide for the 1965-66 school year included a wide variety of courses in the academic subjects as well as in elective offerings. Students were advised to select from several suggested four-year programs of study based on their vocational interest, avocational interest, plans for the immediate future, long-range plans and their ability. In Bulletin No. 1 to the faculty from Dr. Robinson, dated August 1965, he directed them regarding registration and scheduling of the students:

> Kindness and concern for the individual student, his dignity, his worth and his growth potential shall direct our conduct in welcoming and assisting our

students to make the best possible use of the experiences provided here. An academic climate that challenged students to reach their potential, yet did so in an atmosphere of care and concern for the individual student, was encouraged.

1965-1970

Events Leading to Implementation of the Desegregation Order

The five-year period that began in 1965 was characterized by racial unrest in Jacksonville and growing problems in the Duval County schools. In March 1965 a team of educators from George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee, studied the county's schools and made recommendations to assist the high schools in regaining their accreditation with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Duval County's fifteen public high schools had been disaccredited as a result of inadequate financial support and the failure to correct instructional and administrative deficiencies. The Peabody report indicated that the problems were so extensive that it would take time and legislative support to correct the deficiencies. The major problems identified in the Peabody study related to overcrowded classrooms and inadequate financial support (Cook, 1965). Public confidence in the school system was at an all-time low.

On January 24, 1967, Judge Simpson recognized that the integration plan that he had previously approved was a failure. Black elementary schools continued to feed into black junior high schools which continued to feed, in turn,

to black high schools. The same situation existed for the white schools. In his opinion, Judge Simpson noted:

> In September of 1965, approximately 118,000 students of which about 30,000 were Negro, were enrolled in the public schools of Duval County, Florida. Approximately 137 Negro students were attending twelve previously all white schools. No white students attended any Negro school. (*Braxton v. The Board of Public Instruction of Duval County,* 1967)

Judge Simpson also attacked the school system for assigning instructional personnel based on race. No white faculty members were employed in any black school and no black faculty members were employed in any white school.

As a result, he charged the school system with drawing attendance areas so that "they absolutely prevent any school desegregation." Judge Simpson issued a new desegregation order to be implemented with the 1967-68 school year. He required the school district to establish non-racial attendance zones and to develop feeder patterns that would not perpetuate or promote segregation. Student transfer to a school other than their attendance zone school would be permitted only if it met one of the following requirements:

1) Transfer for special needs - based on a course of study not available at the attendance zone schools or because of a physical handicap, or

2) Minority transfer policy - permitted a student to transfer from a school

where students of his race were a majority to any other school where students of his race were a minority.

Judge Simpson further ordered the school system to take "positive and affirmative steps" to desegregate faculties in as many of the schools as possible for the 1967-68 school year. He also ordered that the supervisory staffs be assigned to serve all schools, thereby eliminating the supervisory positions for black schools and for white schools.

The press for full integration of the Duval County schools continued through the summer of 1968. Wendell Holmes, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Better Education and chairman of the NAACP Education Committee, held a press conference to reaffirm that "black children and white children will learn together, that black and white teachers will teach together, and the central administrative staff will be integrated." Holmes also charged " a woefully inept and incompetent administration and a school board which has not in the past, and cannot even today, delineate and define board responsibilities as opposed to administrative function" with responsibility for the inadequacies in the school system ("Holmes Asks," 1968). He voiced the intent of his group to press forward with an undetermined course of action.

In August of 1968, Judge Simpson found school officials "either incapable or unwilling" to comply with his January 1967 desegregation order. He then

ordered the School Board to request the services of the South Florida Desegregation Center to study the system and recommend a desegregation plan.

In the fall of 1968, William M. Raines High School was visited by a team of educators representing the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to determine its initial accreditation. The team was headed by Dr. Herbert W. Wey,[14] Associate Dean at the University of Miami. The Visiting Committee's report included the following in the section on Philosophy and Objectives:

> It is not alone that the building and grounds are clean and well kept, that the boys and girls are neatly dressed and quiet and orderly. These things can be accomplished in a police state or any army barracks atmosphere. The important thing is that it is done out of a sense of pride which administration, faculty and students inculcate to all new people who come to Raines. The sense of pride is obvious as soon as one comes into the school. (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1968, p. 8)

The Visiting Committee, in its report, validated the values and climate which Dr. Robinson and his staff had worked so hard to establish.

The recommendations of the Visiting Committee included two that were relevant to the existence of a segregated school system. They were:

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[14]Dr. Herbert W. Wey, white

5. The Central Administrative Staff of the Duval County School System should organize its interscholastic contests so that this high school would not be forced to travel long distances in order to compete with other high schools of similar size. In addition, the school should have access to a nearby stadium for its interscholastic contests or have a stadium of its own. [15]

8. Although the committee feels that the administration and faculty of this school have provided a good learning climate for boys and girls, we further feel that one of the most important objectives of education -- learning how to live and work with others -- cannot be achieved in a learning climate of racial isolation. Therefore, the committee recommends that the administration of the Duval County schools take steps to eliminate the condition which exists in this school. (p.70)

Noting the Visiting Committee's report, Dr. Herman Frick,[16] Chairman of the Florida Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, communicated his intent to recommend the accreditation of William Raines High School at their annual meeting in Atlanta in December 1968.

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[15]In 1968, athletics were also segregated. No white schools competed against Negro schools or vice versa. Raines was a member of the Big Nine Conference that included other black schools. Only three of the schools (Stanton Vocational, New Stanton and Matthew Gilbert) were located in Jacksonville.

[16]Dr. Herman Frick, white

The long-awaited report, eighteen months in preparation, of the South Florida Desegregation Center was presented to the Duval County School Board on August 1, 1968. The 223-page report outlined a general plan by which the school district could achieve racial integration in the schools. Among the recommendations was one which called for specific percentage increases for faculty integration so that by the 1969-70 school year, predominantly black schools would have 60% white and 40% black teachers and white schools would have 70% white and 30% black teachers (O'Riordan, 1989). The report was considered advisory and it fell on the school board to make a determination regarding the implementation of its recommendations.

In August 1968 the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected the Duval County School Board's bid to overturn Judge William McRae's[17] decision ordering a speedup of the desegregation process. In their decision, the appeals court noted that the freedom-of-choice plan tried several years earlier was "longer on promises than on performance" ("Duval Loses," 1968). A Supreme Court ruling earlier in the year (*Green v. New Kent County, Virginia*, 1968) held that freedom-of-choice plans are unacceptable when "there are reasonable available other ways such for illustration as zoning, promising speedier and more effective

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[17]Judge Simpson was moved up to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeal in August, 1967. Judge McRae, a white, replaced him at the District level.

conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system." This ruling foretold the possibility of a new District court order based entirely on zoning.

Protests and discord continued over issues associated with desegregation. Largely a result of protests by parents of students at Matthew Gilbert School, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeal upheld an earlier District court ruling that provided for majority-to-minority transfers. The September 1968 decision ruled the transfers both constitutionally valid and "an appropriate step towards disestablishing the dual system of segregated schools that prevails in Duval County" (Murphy, 1968). In rendering their decision, the appeals court also ordered the District Court to retain jurisdiction in the case "until it is clear that state-imposed segregation is completely removed" (Murphy, 1968). In responding to the Duval County School Board's claim that majority-to-minority transfers were "racially discriminatory," the Court of Appeals further stated, "The district judge was fully aware of the history of the litigation, the ineffectiveness of the plan, and the board's lack of enthusiasm for its affirmative duty to desegregate" (Murphy, 1968). Fifth Court Justice James P. Coleman, in concurring with the ruling of the appeals court wrote, "We must assume the Duval County Board is capable of understanding and obeying the Constitution of the United States without having HEW (Health, Education and Welfare) serving as ex-officio board members."[18]

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[18]The regional Desegregation Centers, of which the South Florida Center was one, were agencies of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The courts were clearly tiring of the appeals and recalcitrance of the Duval County School Board.

Eddie Mae Steward became chairman of the Education Committee of the Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP in 1968. Steward recalled her organization's proposal to desegregate the schools. According to Steward:

> At that time, the NAACP was asking for a full discrimination suit...We advocated... dividing the county into more districts and using natural boundaries to achieve that [desegregation]. Anybody in one district could go to [any] school in that district. We did not ask for a certain percentage of desegregation....The most we were asking for, in terms of desegregation, was in one district with twenty percent desegregation. (Interview, June 24, 1998)

The NAACP's proposal was never incorporated into the plans of the court or the school district. School Board attorneys continued to remind school officials of the necessity for adopting an affirmative desegregation plan.

In a letter to Superintendent Cecil Hardesty dated March 4, 1969, School Board attorney Yardley Buckman[19] reviewed the long-standing *Braxton* desegregation case, and drew some conclusions and suggestions. Buckman wrote:

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[19] Yardley Buckman, white

A. The School Board is faced with the necessity of adopting a plan to be proposed by the staff which will within a reasonable time obtain the goals mandated by the January 1967, order and the *Green* and *Jefferson* cases mentioned hereinabove. If the Board fails to come up with a plan of its own and do it swiftly, it will be faced with a summary disposition of this matter by the United States District Judge who may incorporate most, if not all, of the recommendations contained in the Desegregation Center report.

B. Any plan proposed by the Board to the court: (1) Must be done promptly, (2) Must be comprehensive, (3) Must fairly meet the issues involved in the January 24, 1967, Order of the Court, and if approved, (4) Must be strongly implemented by the staff in order to secure successful execution.

In outlining the litigation and drawing his recommendations, Buckman sent a clear message to the School Board regarding its legal obligations.

In response to the South Florida Desegregation Center's report filed in the district court in January 1967, Judge McRae issued a new order in August 1969. The new order directed the School Board to submit a comprehensive and specific plan by December 1 which would lead to maximum student integration and would also integrate faculties on a 70:30 ratio (O'Riordan, 1989). Noting that he was pleased with the work that the School Board was doing to end racial segregation

in the system, he declined to make any changes that might prove disruptive for the 1969-70 school year (Perkins, 1969). The formal order also included two other important provisions that were to be effective immediately (Perkins, 1969). Those provisions were:

- Student assemblies must be called Tuesday in 22 Negro schools and students advised that they may attend schools of their choice if they have transportation to them. There will be no public busing.
- The school board must phase out Matthew W. Gilbert Junior-Senior High School and Stanton Vocational High School, both all-Negro, this school year.

There was no disagreement between the lawyers and school officials regarding the closing of Matthew Gilbert and Stanton High Schools. All agreed that the schools were "grossly inferior". (Perkins, 1969) Judge McRae set September 1, 1970, as the absolute deadline for ending the dual school system. In essence, the school district was given a year's grace period to effect its major desegregation effort.

In a letter to principals of the black schools, Superintendent Hardesty directed them to conduct the assemblies that Judge McRae's order required. The "opportunity to choose and enroll in a predominantly white school of their choice" was to be given to the students in the assemblies. A letter signed by black Principal Ben Durham to students at New Stanton High School and dated

September 2, 1969, stated the following:

> Dear Student:
>
> You have the month of September to decide whether you want a transfer from the school in which you are presently enrolled to a school in Duval County where your race is in the minority. If you and your parents want to make a transfer, you may secure the necessary forms from the Principal's office during the school day.

The first step to implement Judge McRae's order was taken.

<u>The Beginning of Faculty and Student Desegregation</u>

However, events were not to transpire as Judge McRae had outlined. On the date that the new plan was due to Judge McRae, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans overruled all previous time frames established by district courts and ordered all public schools be fully desegregated by February 1, 1970 (O'Riordan, 1989). Based on the *Green* (1968) decision, the court's ruling directed that faculties and staffs must be integrated, as well as transportation, facilities, athletics and other extra-curricular activities. The court prescribed a two-step process. "The first step must be reached not later than February 1, 1970. It will include all steps necessary to complete the conversion to the unitary system, with the exception of student body mergers. The second step must be reached by the fall term of 1970" ("Florida Counties Given," 1969). This decision by the Court of Appeals forced Judge McRae into a new posture.

Judge McRae rescinded his order of August 29, 1969. Because the date set by the appeals court was February 1, 1970, there was concern on the part of school officials about the amount of desegregation that Judge McRae would order by that date. However, in compliance with the ruling of the Fifth Circuit, Judge McRae's latest order called for full faculty desegregation to begin no later than February 1, 1970. Additionally, majority-to-minority transfers were to be continued and the transportation system re-examined to insure the transportation of all eligible students on a non-discriminatory basis. Further, school construction, school consolidation and school site selection were to be conducted in such a manner that the recurrence of a dual school structure would be prevented (*Braxton v. The Board of Public Instruction of Duval County Supplemental Order*, 1969). Students were allowed to complete the 1969-70 school year in the schools in which they were enrolled. School Superintendent Cecil Hardesty was quoted as saying, "The court has spoken...I feel confident that all staff members will accept without question the responsibility which history has given us in our time" (Foley, 1969). It was now finally necessary for the Duval County School Board and its administration to put the wheels in motion to meet Judge McRae's deadline for integration of the faculties.

In response, school district officials began a series of staff meetings to plan for the transfer of teachers. Assistant Superintendent for Personnel Buford Galloway was charged with developing the procedures for the transfers.

Teacher reactions to the order varied. Spokesmen for the two integrated teacher organizations, the Duval Teachers Association and the Jacksonville Federation of Teachers, expressed the positions of their respective organizations to school system officials. C. Lynwood Lee,[20] an English teacher at Raines, was president of Jacksonville local of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO). Lee's organization favored volunteers and then transfers based on seniority. Lee said that while he would not have any reservations about teaching in a predominantly white school, he would prefer to remain at Raines which he called the No. 1 school in Duval County (Kerr, 1970). Duval Teachers Association executive director Carl Davis[21] indicated that his organization favored the creation of a pool of black and white teachers needed to carry out the plan and then matched on a one for one basis by school, subject and grade level (Foley, 1970a). A white English teacher at Terry Parker, Tom Doyle, was quoted as saying: "Most of the white men teachers don't care one way or the other, but most of the white women teachers feel they would be in a dangerous situation teaching in a predominantly black neighborhood" (Kerr, 1970). Duval County teachers faced an uncertain future with fear and apprehension.

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[20]C. Lynwood Lee, African-American

[21]Carl Davis, white

Dr. Ezekiel Bryant became the principal of William Raines High School in the fall of 1969, when Dr. Andrew Robinson was assigned to a district-level position to assist with the desegregation effort. Dr. Robinson had hired Bryant when the school opened in 1965, and Bryant had served as both a teacher and assistant principal at Raines prior to the 1969-70 school year. Bryant recalled his appointment:

> In November of 1969, Dr. Robinson was transferred to a downtown position to assist in the desegregation process. Of course, the rule was to have the 70:30 and Dr. Robinson was to provide leadership in that area. To my surprise, I became principal of Raines. (Bryant interview)

After only a few months in the position of principal, Bryant faced the huge challenge of overseeing the desegregation of the Raines faculty. In a *Florida Times-Union* article published shortly after McRae's order was given, Bryant is quoted as saying: "Education is our most important business. So we plan to continue in a business-as-usual atmosphere where learning can take place. And our outlook is optimistic. Right now we have the best black faculty we could find" (Sercombe & Tieslau, 1970). He expressed confidence that the new integration order could be carried out successfully.

The first order of business facing Bryant in early 1970 was to make a decision regarding which of the seventy teachers required to transfer out would be identified. Bryant called that a "very, very difficult task." While the white

schools needed only to have a 30% black teacher population, the black schools needed a teacher population that was 70% white. As a result, many if not most, of the excellent faculty that Dr. Robinson had worked so hard to put together would be reassigned to other schools.

Quentin Messer remembers Dr. Bryant's decision this way:

> Well, I would have hated to be in Dr. Bryant's position. He had a difficult time trying to decide who would remain and go. How he went about it? I remember having a couple of conversations with him. Take myself for example. At that time, I had been teaching for five years in the social studies department. There were some who were let go. I had a feeling that I would not be one of those let go. For one reason, I had had that large class (team teaching situation), and he just couldn't afford to dicker with that. That was one factor. The other thing was, I think he also wanted to see... I was fairly energetic. He just made a selection based on those facts, at least in my case. The department head was let go. (Messer interview)

Bryant also discussed the process of selecting teachers to remain:

> In the place of my white counterpart principals who had 100% white faculties, all they had to do was select thirty percent to send out. They had a lot more options in terms of experience, and I had to select seventy. So I had to select seventy, I could only keep thirty. If I could only keep

> thirty, then I had to keep thirty who could do many, many things. They had to be sponsors of clubs and activities. They had to be a super thirty. (Bryant interview)

Raines teachers with years of experience soon found themselves assigned to other schools.

Bryant began the task of preparing for the new teachers and attempting to restore a cohesive faculty for the school. He described his task in this manner:

> So, having made that decision of what thirty I was going to keep, we had to prepare to receive seventy white teachers in the middle of the year. These teachers, in the most part... They sent the young teachers. So, my task was to take these seventy new teachers and use the thirty teachers I was able to keep and transfer and build a transition of trying to hold on to the traditions... and it got off to a great, great start. Then suddenly, it became my task to somehow try, and because this was a crucial part, I considered myself as an architect and engineer to build the bridge for the transition. Raines had a great tradition and reputation as a great black school and how could we continue. (Bryant interview)

Bryant next addressed the transition itself and the introduction of the new faculty to the Raines student body.

Bryant did not meet the new teachers until they showed up on their first day of assignment to Raines. Bryant recalled greeting the new teachers in an

assembly setting:

> I can recall that we went into the gymnasium and had a special program when the new faculty arrived at the campus where we tried to exhibit to this new faculty what Raines was all about. I recall the chorus performing, the band performing, the honor students speaking, special gifts. We tried to reach out and embrace them, and trying to send out a subtle message to the students, "Let's try and show these people that we are somebody special and they should be glad to be here." (Bryant interview)

Messer also recalled the assembly:

> I can remember like it was yesterday. We had a welcoming assembly for the new teachers. It was one of the most impressive programs that I have ever witnessed. I recalled saying, "They will be so proud to be here because the kids were wonderful." It was just something. In the gym and the entire student body was in there. There were smiles on their faces. (Messer interview)

There was an excitement and commitment to making the integration of the Raines faculty successful.

No less serious than the impact on the faculty was the traumatic effect that the mass teacher transfer had on the Raines students. Suddenly, they were without seventy percent of their teachers in the middle of the school year. Carla Bronner recalled her concern:

> Because all of our best teachers, teachers who had come from Gilbert, teachers who had opened Raines, a lot of the teachers had known our parents. A very familiar community-type feeling was being dispersed. A lot us were angry, confused, hurt. How could tradition go on...? These people were coming over. They were not like us. They didn't want to be there. (Bronner interview)

Bronner continued with the following observations:

> The younger teachers adapted easier than some of the older one. We did get a lot of teachers who had only been teaching a year or two...But you had some people who were very obviously afraid of black children. And you know how children are, if they think you are afraid of them or don't like them, they will take advantage of you...But mostly, we felt we were losing our tradition. (Bronner interview)

Fellow student Greg Coleman had a different recollection of the teacher transfer. According to Coleman:

> I don't think it was traumatic for us [the students]. I mean, as African-American kids, we were always looking for an advantage. In our mindset, whether or not it was wrong, we were getting the "cream of the crop". Yes, there was some apprehension, but there was also an air of excitement. (Coleman interview)

So the new faculty and students tried to keep things together and complete the

school year. The next hurdle would be the desegregation of the Raines student body in the fall of 1970.

While the desegregation of faculties was generally accepted, the desegregation of the student population was a different matter. Shortly after McRae's December 29 order was issued, more than 1500 telegrams were sent to members of the U.S. Supreme Court from Jacksonville citizens urging the Court not to order the massive transfer of black and white students to meet integration requirements (Tieslau, 1970). George Linville,[22] Chairman of the Citizens School Action Committee, addressed the School Board at its January 12, 1970, meeting. Linville urged the Board to meet with Earl Johnson,[23] attorney for the plaintiffs, and NAACP leaders and, according to School Board minutes:

> ask them to ask the Federal court to remove that portion of the case that is currently being considered which affects the desegregation plan for students in this county so that this School Board and this administration can carry out, as it sees fit, whatever order the Supreme Court comes out with rather than operating under the jurisdiction of a Federal court or, in effect, under the jurisdiction of the local chapter of the NAACP.

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[22]George Linville, white

[23]Earl Johnson, African-American

The School Board, with affirmative votes of white board members Charles Bassett, Cecil Jones, William Carter, Carl McAllister, Gene Miller, Robert Storey and the dissenting vote of black member Wendell Holmes, passed a motion authorizing the School Board attorney to explore this recommendation.

State governmental leaders were also working actively to avoid compliance with the Supreme Court's latest ruling. Governor Claude Kirk[24] and the State Board of Education adopted a resolution defining a "unitary school system" (Williard, 1970) which included the following:

- There shall be a geographic zone for each school and, generally, that only those pupils residing within the zone shall attend that school.
- That all reasonable attempts be made to assure that blacks and whites are fairly represented in the pupil population of each school.
- That no school board shall purposely delineate a zone so as to intentionally cause the existence of racially identifiable schools.
- That each school district shall permit a student attending a school in which his race is the majority to choose to attend another school, where space is available and where his race is in the minority.

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[24]Governor Claude Kirk, white

- There shall be no duty on the part of the board to bus black or white children out of the school zones of their residence for the sole purpose of alleviating racial imbalance that the school board did not purposely cause. (p. A1)

It was this last provision that give parents and school officials cause for hope that forced busing might be averted. Tensions began to mount and were manifested throughout the district.

Phase I of Judge McRae's 1969 desegregation order had called for the integration of the school district's junior high schools. Two months of racial unrest and violence at Highlands Junior High School erupted in the spring of 1970 creating new tensions as the deadline for student desegregation drew near. Numerous arrests and the recommended expulsion of thirteen students followed the closing of the school for one day in order for school officials to get a handle on the situation. The nine black students and four white students were charged with physically attacking other students, parents and teachers, using racial slurs, throwing rocks and fighting. An additional fifty students were suspended indefinitely following the violence (Foley, 1970b).

Problems were also experienced at Ribault Junior High School when black students were assigned to integrate that school. In recalling his memories of Ribault Junior High, Greg Coleman shared the following:

So, you know, we had a lot of history. A lot of things to fall back on. What we lived through. We rode the back of the buses. The crap that I went through at Ribault Junior. Spitballs in the face. (Coleman interview)

Coleman continued:

It was a living hell. And, even though we were playing football, I mean some of the guys would respect us because my brother and a couple of other guys, Jenkins and a couple of other guys, played football. But for the most part, you are not going to stand around and see somebody get the crap beat out of them, whether they are on the football team or not. It was ongoing. (Coleman interview)

Dorothy King[25] was a teacher at Ribault Junior when it integrated and her son also attended the school. King recalled the unfairness with which black students were treated at Ribault Junior:

It was really bad. And in working at Ribault [Junior High], the short time that I was there, there was so much that went on. I remember, there were some white boys who blew up the bathrooms at Ribault with some homemade chemicals. They were sent to the office until their parents came. The next day, they were given some little measly task to do. Yet,

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[25]Dorothy King, African-American

the same principal had a policeman stationed outside the school every day for black kids who did anything. (Interview, June 29, 1998)

Many of the white students who attended Highlands and Ribault Junior High Schools during this turbulent time would later be assigned to all-black Raines High School, bringing their memories of racial unrest with them.

The manner in which the school system hired teachers was also brought into question. In June 1970, Earl Johnson, attorney for the NAACP, filed suit against the School Board for using the court ordered 70:30 ratio as a means of rejecting Negro teacher applicants. The suit claimed that the school system had rejected applications submitted by teachers with master's degrees in favor of white teachers with lesser credentials (Perkins, 1970a). Superintendent Hardesty responded to the suit saying, " We will hire more black teachers, even if it means exceeding the thirty percent faculty ratio required by law, if they are the best qualified for the position" (Perkins, 1970a).

The School Board returned to court again in August 1970 to defend the implementation of its desegregation policy and respond to a plan offered by the plaintiffs in the *Braxton* case which called for the pairing and clustering of certain schools to achieve greater integration (Jones, 1970). At a special board meeting to adopt its response to the court, Wendell Holmes, the only black board member, charged the school system with "a new kind of subtle, sophisticated racism" and an "attitude of negativism" in its desegregation philosophy (Foley, 1970c). Holmes's complaints centered around the racial composition of all-black William Raines High School and the shortage of blacks in administrative

positions. In addressing the Raines situation, Holmes called the situation at Raines "a classic example of gerrymandering of school attendance boundary lines. There's no reason for an all-black Raines. The attendance boundary meanders in a weird sort of way" (Foley, 1970c).

The board's response to the court argued extensively in favor of the concept of "neighborhood schools" earlier endorsed by the court. The response addressed the plaintiff's proposal to pair and cluster elementary, middle and high schools as "effectively destroying the neighborhood concept of schools." (*Braxton v. The Board of Public Instruction of Duval County Defendant's Response to Suggestions of Plaintiff*, 1970)

The School Board's response specifically addressed the plaintiff's proposal to pair neighboring Raines and Ribault High Schools. Raines and Ribault, located less than a mile apart, were built for two distinctly different student populations. Raines was constructed as a high school for black students and Ribault as a high school for whites. One option under consideration was to make Raines a school for 9th and 10th grade students and Ribault the companion school for 11th and 12th grades. In the Board's response it was stated:

> All schools, elementary, junior high and senior high develop school spirit, school organizations and school traditions. Raines High School is an excellent example of a school where student behavior has been favorably influenced by the "we are number one" spirit. A proposal to pair junior high

schools has a negative effect on this aspect of school operation just as a proposal to destroy Raines High School and replace it with a 9th and 10th grade school would have. (*Braxton v. The Board of Public Instruction of Duval County Defendant's Response to Suggestions of Plaintiff*, 1970)

Later in the response, the following reasons were cited by school officials for making the pairing or changing of attendance areas for Raines and Ribault impracticable:

1. The number of Black families moving into the area increases daily;
2. The assignment of any white pupils to #165 Raines would speed the resegregation of #96 Ribault. The number of black students at Ribault will increase by 310 for the 1970-71 school year.
3. Every elementary school in the area feeding #96 Ribault has an increase of black pupils. (*Braxton v. The Board of Public Instruction of Duval County Defendant's Response to Suggestions of Plaintiff*, 1970)

The School Board continued to argue that it was operating a unitary school system and that existing racial patterns were the result of residential patterns and not contrived by race.

Desegregation of Students at William Raines High School

With the opening of the 1970-71 school year a month away, the School Board conducted a special meeting to respond to the August 6, 1970, order by

Judge McRae which required the pairing and clustering of certain schools and the reassignment of students on the junior high school level in order to desegregate the 27 all-black schools remaining in the system. Judge McRae's order paired and clustered certain elementary schools, closed Matthew Gilbert and Eugene Butler High Schools, and denied the plaintiff's request for modifications to the attendance pattern for Raines and Ribault High Schools due to changing demographics in that area. (Minutes of a meeting of the Duval County School Board, August 6,1970)

Desegregation suits were prevalent throughout the South in 1970. A pending case in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina, was one whose outcome would be precedent-setting for many other school systems that were awaiting the decision of a federal judge. With the result of an appeal in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case pending, and against the counsel of School Board attorney Yardley Buckman, the School Board voted in favor of the following motion at its August 6, 1970, meeting:

> The motion on the floor is to instruct counsel to seek a stay order of Judge McRae, further to direct him if denied, to take an appeal to the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals seeking a reversal and/or stay, further to request a writ of certiorari of the United States Supreme Court for relief. (Minutes of a meeting of the Duval County School Board, August 6, 1970)

In addressing the motion in a roll-call vote, School Board Chairman Charles Bassett[26] stated:

> Ladies and Gentlemen, I think that Duval County is facing the possibility of being one of the first counties in the State of Florida that may face the death of public education as we know it. I think that we are on the verge of taking a risk that may destroy this county educationally - possibly further ramifications than that. I've gone on record in a number of speeches for the last year to the effect that I would assure the citizens of this county that there would be no busing this school term. I apologize to these people that I made that statement to. I would assure you that I made it in good faith. I made that statement and I generally made the public statement at the time. I made that statement because Judge McRae had said in the hearing that he would give this Board adequate time for deliberations and proper planning before he made any further motions that would disrupt this school system. I do not think that an order entered on August 6th with school opening on September 8th is adequate time, but I believed in the Judge when he gave his word and made the statement. I believed further that we would not have time to implement the order. When we met May 12, I did not believe we could order buses adequate for what his order

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[26]Charles Bassett, white

would be and, therefore, based my judgment on that and assured the people that we would not bus this year. Finally, because I had worked for equal education for everyone in the county, I've done what I could and spent many hours at it. I find no logic, no reason, no educational basis for Judge McRae's order. I think that the Board is very possibly making a mistake, but I will reluctantly also vote for the motion. (Minutes of a meeting of the Duval County School Board, August 6, 1970)

An editorial in the *Florida Times-Union* on August 7, 1970, decried Judge McRae's order and voiced support for a neighborhood school system ("A Dilemma," 1970). Noting that the possibility of a stay of McRae's order was dim, the editorial closed by noting that "School systems across the South are undergoing agonies of doubt, uncertainty and upheaval and the Supreme Court is on vacation, not to return until October" (p. A-4). The avenues for relief were indeed running out.

There was mixed reaction to the contemplation of an appeal by the School Board. Governor Claude Kirk voiced support for the appeal of McRae's order and termed the judge's order an "educational tragedy" (Foley, 1970d). The Duval Teachers Association and the Florida Education Association urged acceptance of the order and pledged their cooperation. Legislators Fred Schultz[27] and John E.

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[27]Fred Schultz, white

Mathews[28] criticized the judge's decision and decried the use of formulas and numbers and voiced support for neighborhood schools (Foley, 1970d).

At its regular meeting on August 10, the Duval County School Board voted to "go for broke" and ask for a stay in Judge McRae's order (Cox, 1970). The stay would be in effect pending a decision by the Supreme Court in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case. At that same meeting, the board voted to approve "Procedures for Prevention of and Coping With School Disorders" in order to avoid the kind of disturbance that had occurred earlier at Highlands Junior High School.

School Board legal counsel moved ahead to seek a delay in the implementation of Judge McRae's order. Acting at the School Board's direction, a notice to appeal was filed in U.S. District Court on August 20, 1970, by Jacksonville General Counsel James C. Rinaman, Jr.,[29] and School Board attorney Yardley Buckman. With the knowledge that such an appeal risked even harsher orders by the federal court, Buckman stated that he was "acting against his own better judgment" (Perkins, 1970b). As an appointed official, Superintendent Hardesty was not a party to the appeal. Board member Holmes, the only black board member and the lone dissenter in the board's vote to appeal,

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[28]John E. Mathews, white

[29]James C. Rinaman, Jr., white

was also exempted from the list of defendants in the appeal notice. Meanwhile, plans for redrawing attendance boundaries in accordance with Judge McRae's order and the rental of additional school buses moved forward in preparation for the beginning of the 1970-71 school year. Arguments in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case were scheduled for October 1970, and a Supreme Court decision in that case would guide the appeal by the Duval County School Board.

The 1970-71 school year began as school system officials and the community awaited the Charlotte-Mecklenburg decision. William Raines was still an all-black high school with a desegregated faculty. Principal Bryant continued to work with his new faculty to help them understand the students they were serving. Arthur Roberts, a white first-year teacher in 1970-71, recalled the following:

> The principal at the time was Ezekiel Bryant, and he made a big point during pre-planning of encouraging all of his teachers, the new and the veterans, to hop aboard a school bus the first day of pre-planning and tour the neighborhood. He had buses that were taking faculty through the neighborhood so you could see where they (the students) were coming from, what the neighborhoods looked like, so you could better understand and appreciate something about the background of the students was the idea, obviously. (Roberts interview)

When asked about the bus tour, Bryant responded:

> Well, as a part of the orientation of the faculty, the seventy white faculty coming to the northwest community and Raines for the first time, they have a whole view of where they were coming from. When you looked at a kid in the classroom, you would have a better reference rather than this student was five minutes late today. I wanted them to see the homes, there were homes that were well kept, beautiful homes, there was a mix. I wanted them to see where the kids came from. It was a neighborhood school. It must have made an impression because somebody mentioned it to you years later. (Bryant interview)

The school year began and proceeded smoothly until spring when the Charlotte-Mecklenburg decision and a new court order would change things again for William Raines.

Duval County, 1971

Equity in school facilities for all areas of the county continued to be an issue. In February 1971 the School Board backed a recommendation from the State Department of Education's School Plant Survey which proposed two new high schools. One of the recommended high schools was a new high school on the Eastside to replace Matthew Gilbert (98% black). A new Eastside high school had long been sought by members of that area's black community. The other high school was proposed for north of the Trout River. Both proposed schools

would take students then attending Andrew Jackson (33% black), Ribault (19% black), Stanton (100% black) and Raines (100% black) high schools (Foley, 1971a).

The long-awaited Charlotte-Mecklenburg decision was handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court on April 20, 1971. While the Duval County School Board's appeal was still pending, the high court ruled that it was lawful to use forced busing to achieve maximum and immediate integration (O'Riordan, 1989). This decision opened the door for district courts to mandate busing to integrate all-black schools when there were no adjacent white schools with which they could be paired or clustered. This landmark decision changed the whole process of school desegregation throughout the South.

The Supreme Court's decision rendered the School Board's appeal moot. In acknowledging this fact, the Board voted on April 29, 1971, to withdraw its appeal. In asking the appeal be dismissed, the Board requested that the case be returned to the jurisdiction of Judge McRae to be interpreted within the guidelines of the Supreme Court's decision (Foley, 1971b).

Superintendent Hardesty was poised for action. With less than four months remaining until the opening of the 1971-72 school year, Hardesty requested on May 8 , 1971, that a special meeting of the Board be scheduled to discuss implications and a plan to develop possible solutions (Foley, 1971c).

The School Board studied their position in light of the withdrawal of their appeal and the recent Supreme Court decision. A special School Board meeting on May 24, 1971, was called for the purpose of approving a staff recommendation for attendance boundary changes and to consider correspondence from attorney Yardley Buckman. Superintendent Hardesty informed the Board of communication with Mr. Buckman that revealed two alternatives: 1) a motion by the judge to name one or two agencies to study the situation and recommend plans from which the judge could choose, or 2) allow a staff committee to develop one or more plans to present to the judge for his consideration and decision. In responding to Board member William Carter[30] concerning what action would be needed by the Board in order to "get it back where we can make our decision," Buckman responded:

> Mr. Carter, I think in line with what Dr. Hardesty has indicated, we will need permission from this board to state to Judge Benn that we would agree to his court entering an order (1) remanding the case back to Judge Tjoflat, the local district judge,[31] and (2) the order setting forth within a time certain that the School Board would propose to Judge Tjoflat a series of alternative plans along the lines as set forth by Dr. Hardesty and that

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[30]William Carter, white

[31]Judge Tjoflat, a white, had since replaced Judge McRae at the local district level.

> thereafter Judge Tjoflat would be the so-called expert to make the decision as to which plan would be utilized in carrying out any further action. To put it bluntly, that we would prefer to have the United States District Judge the expert, rather than some outside agency or individual. (Minutes of a special meeting of the Duval County School Board, May 24, 1971)

By adopting Buckman's recommendation, the Board was hoping for a plan that they would consider workable and easy to administer. With affirmative votes by Charles Bassett, William Carter, Carl McAllister, and Gene Miller and dissenting votes by Wendell Holmes and Jim Hornsby, the Board approved Buckman's recommendation (Minutes of a special meeting of the Duval County School Board, May 24, 1971). School district staff began their work of putting together a new integration plan to submit to Judge Gerald Tjoflat.

By June 1, a new plan was prepared by staff to present to Judge Tjoflat. The plan included the pairing and clustering of additional schools, the closing of nine all-black schools and the continuation of Northwestern Junior High School and Raines Senior High School as all-black schools (Jones, 1971). A conference with representatives of the black community was scheduled to discuss the plan and make a decision on whether the 11 year-old desegregation suit could be settled or whether a final plan would be drawn up by Judge Tjoflat. Foes of the plan indicated that it was unfair to black children since they were to bear the brunt of the busing. Also at issue was the proposal to leave Northwestern and Raines

all-black. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Charlotte integration case ruled that the vestiges of "state-enforced" segregation must be removed. Since Raines was located near all-white Ribault High School, it could have been viewed as a classic example of state-ordered racially separate schools. Leaving Raines all black could raise the spectre of past actions which brought about a dual school system. (Perkins, 1971a) The school board's plan called for no white students to be bused into the old core-city schools. Judge Tjoflat had given the parties a deadline for coming up with a negotiated and acceptable plan. If one could not be agreed upon, Tjoflat would see that the case was remanded to him and he would draw up the final integration plan (Perkins, 1971a).

Agreement on the desegregation plan could not be reached. Spokesmen for the plaintiff NAACP called the school system's plan "totally unacceptable" (Perkins, 1971b). With no good-faith agreement reached, Tjoflat was faced with no other choice but for the court to resolve the issue. Tjoflat could adopt all or part of the School Board plan or totally reject it (Perkins, 1971b). The schools and their teachers were in a "wait-and-see" mode while parents flooded the School Board offices with unhappy calls. Student walkouts to protest the school closings and a flurry of calls to private schools were indications of the climate of unrest in the community ("Busing Plan Has," 1971).

Judge Tjoflat rejected a proposal to involve outside experts in developing the new plan. The NAACP indicated that they would not offer a plan of their own.

Supporting the School Board's objection to bringing in the Florida Desegregation Study Center in Miami to develop a plan, Tjoflat was left to develop his own. A series of open hearings were scheduled (Perkins, 1971c). In addition to the School Board and the NAACP, two other groups requested to participate in the hearings on a friend-of-the-court basis. The two groups were the Duval Teachers Association (DTA) and the Jacksonville Council for a Creative Curriculum. The DTA, a professional organization composed of both black and white teacher members, generally supported school desegregation. The Jacksonville Council for a Creative Curriculum was an organization funded by tax money through the Greater Jacksonville Economic Opportunity, Inc. (GJEO). The curricular organization had submitted its own desegregation plan which closed no schools and bused black and white students on a percentage basis (Perkins, 1971d). Following two days of evidentiary hearings, Tjoflat was to develop his plan which would, in turn, be presented to the appellate court.

Judge Tjoflat's final judgment was rendered on June 23, 1971. In his ruling, Judge Tjoflat used the April 20 Supreme Court decision as a basis and ordered each elementary school in Duval County to have a student body comprised of 24%-34% black enrollment; junior high schools were to have a 21%-34% black student enrollment and senior high schools would have black enrollment between 7% and 40%. This was to be achieved by grouping all elementary schools into 21 clusters, by grouping junior high schools into 5

clusters, by pairing Raines and Ribault High Schools, and by closing eight all-black inner city schools. To effect this plan, Tjoflat ordered massive crosstown busing and ordered the School Board to purchase 100 buses immediately for use during the 1971-72 school year (*Memorandum Opinion and Final Judgment*, 1971). Slightly more than two months were left before the opening of the 1971-72 school year.

Tjoflat's decision prompted vandalism, rioting and racial violence in late June on the Eastside of Jacksonville. Among the demands on government officials made by Eastside residents was a call for the needs and feelings of black students to be considered in the school desegregation plan ("Jaxons Uniting," 1971). A climate of racial unrest in the community threatened to hinder the implementation of the new desegregation plan.

School officials wrestled with the logistics of implementing Judge Tjoflat's plan. They predicted that it might be mid-August before students could be notified of their school assignment for September (Kerr, 1971). Nonetheless, school district staff continued their work and by mid-summer had worked out the details of school assignment changes for the fall including boundary changes and the subsequent reassignment of students from Raines and Ribault High Schools.

William Raines High School, 1971-1972

A memorandum to the School Board from Superintendent Cecil Hardesty on July 7, 1971, detailed changes in attendance boundaries for William Raines

and Ribault Senior High Schools. In a belated order in early August 1971, Judge Tjoflat clarified the status of Raines and Ribault High Schools (Perkins, 1971e). His earlier order in June had declared that the schools would be paired, but did not say when. The August order indicated that the schools would be paired for the 1971-72 school year. A subsequent stipulation to Tjoflat's final judgment provided that students who were in the eleventh grade in the two schools during the 1970-71 school year were allowed the choice of remaining in those same schools during the 1971-72 school year or attending the school assigned to their new attendance zone (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board Stipulation*, 1971). It was time for Principal Bryant and his staff to get ready for their new students.

Bryant knew that it would be necessary to lauch a public relations campaign and reach out to the white students who were being reassigned to William Raines. In regards to developing his plan, Bryant stated:

> Now that we had the faculty in place, we came to the point of getting the students. The boundaries had been drawn, and so there, if you will, the students were... So then I had to strategize how to receive these students. Everything was in reverse for me. The seniors were allowed to stay throughout the system. We had a lot of game playing, people changing their addresses, transfers because it was inconvenient for them to transport the students. In spite of that we still received somewhere in the

vicinity of 500 students from that area and we did some things prior to the opening of school in August.

I personally set out on a public relations campaign to try and let the people in Highlands know that they were welcome and we wanted them to come. I went to church services in the Highlands area. We got the football team in the park at Highlands. We worked with the coaches to identify the students that were athletes, the students who were musicians. We tried to elicit the cooperation of the coaches at their schools.

We identified a group of students to serve as hostesses for the open house prior to the opening of school. Hortense Gray,[32] as the Dean of Girls, had the responsibility to use her Ladies of Raines and to incorporate a number of white students to come out early so they could be guides and everything, and had this big open house.

The facility was clean and beautiful. We already knew before school started, who was going to be on the football team, who was going to be in the band with the cooperation of the sponsors in the junior high schools. So when we opened school, we had an integrated football team, integrated band, cheerleaders, everything. (Bryant interview)

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[32]Hortense Gray, African-American

Bill Tyler, a white student-athlete, recalled learning of Judge Tjoflat's order that reassigned some white Ribault students to Raines. According to Tyler:

> Notification came late in my sophomore year at Ribault. I had already been elected junior class president at Ribault. The baseball team was all set. We were off of state tournament performance. Things were looking real good, then came the notification [the desegregation order]. (Interview, June 12, 1998)

When asked if he remembered being contacted by Raines coaches over the summer months, Tyler offered:

> I don't recall necessarily any summer meetings. I recall being actively contacted early on in the junior year by Carl Burton,[33] who was the baseball coach, and Jimmie Johnson, who was the football coach. And I think they [the coaches] went out of their way to make the transition process positive. (Bill Tyler interview)

Another white student from Highlands Junior High School, Cheri Philbrick Jameson, recalled her transition to Raines:

> I was in the ninth grade at Highlands at the time (of the desegregation order reassigning her to Raines). We had been groomed by the Student Council at Ribault High School to prepare us for our social and academic

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[33]Carl Burton, African-American

aspect of attending a senior high school. Ribault had taken great care of working with us and involving us and making us feel welcome.

I have a twin sister and at the time, we were trying out for cheerleading.... We were on the Student Council. We were in a select group to gear up for that area. Then school let out and the summer proceeded. Being teenagers, being aware of the news was not a priority in our lives and all of a sudden about two weeks before school had started, we heard that the powers-that-be, through the bureaucracy and whatever, had decided that we would not go to Ribault, but to go to Raines because of where we lived.

We were extremely upset. At the time I think a lot of people, not just my family, but a lot of families, thought that there was nothing you could do about it. You get on the bus and go to the school you were sent to. Raines was wonderful about making the transition as easy as possible and as comfortable as possible. Because we had been so involved at Ribault, we were among a select group that went to Raines before school started. (Interview, June 3, 1998)

Grace West,[34] the school's Curriculum Assistant, remembers making preparation for the new students:

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[34]Grace West, African-American

But I remember preparing for them. The school always had been immaculate. And it was new compared to the other schools. And I remember sending out all kinds of communication to the parents about an open house we were going to have... The parents seemed to have been amazed by what they found. And by the attitudes of the people who were welcoming them with open arms. They just seemed to be so appreciative of what we were trying to do. And really, all we were trying to do was make them welcome. (Interview, March 24, 1998)

Shortly before school was to begin, an article in the local newspaper (Foley, 1971d) described the efforts that had been made by the Raines faculty over the summer months. According to the article:

> "We're going to have one school," says Principal Ezekiel Bryant. "We're going to have people who are proud to be black and we're going to have people who are proud to be white, but we're all going to be proud to be Vikings. Raines High School is going to be a truly All- American school." (p. D-1)

With the work of the faculty and student ambassadors completed, Raines was ready to receive its new population and become that All-American school.

The 1971-72 school year opened smoothly (Foley, 1971e). School administrators had predicted a smooth opening, but there were doubts regarding how the court-ordered desegregation requirements would be met. Aside from the

usual first day problems, there were few concerns even as the situation at Raines and Ribault was being closely watched. Wendell C. (Billy) Parker, Associate Superintendent for Operations, expressed his pleasure at the opening, "We couldn't be happier. Those meetings held at the schools for students and parents have really worked out" (Foley, 1971e). According to faculty member Arthur Roberts, "But so far as the desegregation process, it went just as those with the best of hopes would have hoped it would. It was a model..." The stage had been set for a successful school year. (Roberts interview)

The white students who enrolled at Raines in the fall of 1971 were impressed by what they heard and saw. The demeanor and dress of students and faculty at Raines differed from that of other schools. Students were expected ti dress appropriately and model good behavior. These expectations were especially true for female students. Dean of Girls Hortense Gray initiated the Ladies of Raines, a group of female students who served as hostesses for various school events. A newspaper article described the Ladies of Raines as "girls in velveteen dresses of cardinal red and silver grey who welcome visitors and show them around." Grace West recalled: "The students at Raines had a great deal of pride. The Ladies of Raines, that was an organization we were so very proud of." (West interview) The Ladies of Raines were established as the models for ladylike dress and behavior.

Cheri Philbrick Jameson fondly remembers Dean Gray and how she assisted the white girls in making the transition to Raines:

> The Dean was Dean Gray, we called her Dean Gray at the time. Her name was Hortense Gray and she was wonderful. She was one of the first black women that I had ever really known and she was just precious and extremely helpful in guiding us into this new culture that essentially none of us had been exposed to before. (Jameson interview)

Jameson continued to speak of how Dean Gray met with the white and black female students in mixed groups. According to Jameson:

> She pulled sophomores, junior and seniors who were already attending Raines and incorporated them into the group...She had taken some of the key figures of those who were really active in the Ladies of Raines. This was really new to us because the black people seem to be very ceremonious kind of. They take very seriously their position as a woman, as a lady, and how to dress and she really instilled in us, that it is not what you wear, but how you wear it.
>
> We met at school. We had a luncheon in her home before school ever started. Just so that when we went to school, you were not a stranger in a foreign area. You knew somebody. And the girls were wonderful. They did not look down on us. I think that they did not care for the judgement order any better than we did, but they bent over backwards

> to make it the best they could for us. It was a good experience. (Jameson interview)

These informal meetings hosted by Dean Gray, black and white girls together, helped pave the way for understanding and the development of relationships that bridged whatever cultural differences existed between them.

However, pride in one's dress and ladylike behavior was not limited to the student leaders and the Ladies of Raines. Cheri Philbrick Jameson remembered Ms. Gray and her strict enforcement of the school's dress code. According to Jameson,

> She had a sign in her office that said, "If you wear pants, you wear them well." And if you came in with slacks that were too tight or too short, or they just didn't ... She would not hesitate to send you home to change. (Jameson interview)

Carla Bronner, a black student, recalled, "You didn't want to come to school looking all ragged. You didn't want to come to school with your hair any kind of way." (Bronner interview) When the white students arrived, Bronner was appalled at their dress and behavior. Bronner adds:

> We were still under the tutelage of our very formal parents...We still wore hats and gloves to church, for God's sake. We saw these white kids in very casual dress, we were appalled. They wore jeans to school and God forbid you did not touch each other and hold hands and kiss in the

hallways. We were just so appalled. We thought it was rude and it was bad taste and Dean Gray would have had a fit. You didn't do that. Walk and hold hands. And you did not kiss a boy. Plus that was the way you were raised. There were some things that you just didn't do. The white kids, it was like, they had no home training. Who are these people? (Bronner interview)

Both groups of students had to adjust to the ways of the other, and the adjustment extended to the athletic program as well.

Athletics played an important role in helping to make the transition a smooth one. Charlie Coleman,[35] a former Ribault coach and owner of a sports equipment store, was credited with "giving the word" to white parents and students about the Raines athletic program. Doug Jennings recalled:

> Charlie Coleman was a friend of my dad's. He knew all the coaches in all the schools and he may have been the one who gave us the word... And if Charlie said the program was a good program, then we all trusted him because he knew football. (Doug Jennings interview)

One by one, white male students made their way to the practice field to get a shot at making the Raines football team. Doug Jennings,[36] a tenth grade student at the

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[35]Charlie Coleman, white

[36]Doug Jennings, white

time, continued:

> I think there were ten or fifteen of us when it started out. I don't remember a large number. There may have been more, but I don't remember a large number... I played on the junior varsity. We played all together at first, and when the season started, they cut us. They let us dress for varsity games. They would bring some of those white legs in there... They didn't just ignore us and say, "You guys go over there and do this." Nobody was treated any differently than anyone else. (Doug Jennings interview)

In speaking of the leadership of the senior football players that included Greg Coleman, Don Gaffney,[37] and Charlie "Horse" Williams,[38] Jennings said: "They took care of us as far as working into the system and not letting us get pushed around." Rick Buckley[39] also recalled, "When I got involved with the football team and became friends with them [the black football players], I would say if I had gotten in a fight, 80% of them would have been on my side." (Rick Buckley interview) The white athletes were made to feel an integral part of the team and looked up to the senior players for inspiration and protection.

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[37]Don Gaffney, African-American

[38]Charlie "Horse" Williams, African-American

[39]Rick Buckley, white

The new white students soon learned the significance of Ichiban and its relation to athletics. Rick Buckley recalls football game day at Raines:

> That was the first school I had been to where the day of the football game, you didn't go home and come back for the game. They would keep you there all afternoon and cater in a meal for you. And about thirty minutes before you got dressed for a game, Jimmie Johnson had this little routine to get you fired up and that [Ichiban] was part of what he said, I do remember. (Rick Buckley interview)

The blending of experiences and cultures was no easy undertaking. Athletics played a key role in the acculturation of the white students to Raines.

Through the initial leadership of Dr. Robinson and continued by that of Dr. Bryant, Raines had begun to develop a reputation for its strong academic program, particularly in the areas of science and mathematics. Nell Norman, a respected science educator, was one of the first white teachers at Raines. Dr. Bryant recalled that "Ms. Norman was a white teacher who volunteered to come over and teach science" (Bryant interview) before the mass transfer of white teachers in 1970. Ms. Norman was known for her involvement in the regional Science Fair and her students were consistently among the winners of that competition. Arthur Roberts was a beginning science teacher who co-taught with Ms. Norman. Roberts recalled the strong science program at Raines:

> There were three classes of AP (Advanced Placement) Chemistry that year, Nell Norman had two, I had one. There was Physics, AP Physics. She had all physical sciences, I believe. There was AP Biology...Very strong in science. Nell was the department head and she was a very strong advocate of science projects. All of us pushed students to do science projects. (Roberts interview)

Regarding the science program and the school's emphasis on science projects, Jimmie Johnson added, "It was the latest of science facilities in the district. One of the things that I think happened too is that we had every youngster in science make a science project. We had 1,000 students making science projects." (Johnson interview)

Additionally, Roberts recalled how the school scheduled the students to facilitate science project work:

> There were some curriculum innovations that were being done to make it [science project work] possible. For example, the Chemistry and the Physics had both the Level 1 and Level 2, which were the AP classes. For a student to be in those classes, they were required to take a course called Science Research, which was set up at various levels to correspond with different classes. If you were in Chemistry, for example, you were in both Chemistry and Science Research, which went along with classroom experience. So students had a lot of laboratory experience, laboratory

experience every day, which was used to work on science projects or do things you normally would not get a chance to do in labs. In addition to all the normal things you do in labs, plus more than that, it was good. (Roberts interview)

Many of the newly enrolled white students participated in the advanced level courses. Roberts remembered:

> Most of the students who were taking Chemistry then were 10th grade students. That was the predominant group. There were a few 11th and very few 12th graders. Most of the white students there were 10th grade students coming from the Highlands area."

The visibility of science fair winners and the variety of Advanced Placement courses offered in that subject area sent a message to white students and parents regarding high academic expectations at Raines.

Capable students who were enrolled in advanced level courses received an excellent education. However, a different perspective was presented by white students who were not enrolled in the advanced classes. There was an apparent difference between the advanced classes and those that were considered basic or standard level. Rick Buckley remembers that his geometry class was "predominantly white, but some of the other basic classes I signed up for were not." Buckley continued, "I remember taking advantage of the system. I remember one teacher who never actually learned my name the whole year, but I

passed her course." (Rick Buckley interview) When asked about the academics at Raines, Doug Jennings commented, "It was pretty loose and wild in a lot of them [classes]. The teachers did their best to do what they had to do. I don't remember any problem passing." (Doug Jennings interview) From the perspective of the non-college bound participants in this study, the academic program at Raines was not reported to be a significant part of their experience.

This difference between the advanced and basic classes was also reported by the black Curriculum Assistant, Grace West. West had also served in this position at Wolfson High School, a predominantly white high school on the south side of Jacksonville. West made the following observation regarding classes that were grouped by ability level, such as those classified basic or advanced:

> You know what I noticed? They call this segregated assignment of students. I was at Wolfson, I was [also] in curriculum at Raines. And I noticed it myself at Wolfson, that when we tried to group kids by ability, we would end up with a room full of blacks and a room full of whites. That made it look like we were segregated. But that wasn't true. It was that they fell that way on scoring. They fell that way. (West interview)

West did not attribute the makeup of the classes to any deliberate segregation of the students at Wolfson. She continued:

> When I got over to Raines, I got this big group. Yes, it fell the same way.

And I was truly in charge of the [scheduling of the] whites.

When asked about the composition of the Advanced Placement classes, West agreed that those classes were mostly white. In attempting to explain, she added, "But this was not a black/white thing. The same thing was happening all over... Give a class in Ebonics and see who would pass." There was not only a difference in academic expectations between the advanced and basic classes, but in their racial make up as well.

White students participated in a wide range of extra-curricular activities. The band program, under the leadership of Julian White,[40] embraced the addition of the white students. According to the local newspaper, "Julian White, the band director, went after musicians. They're practicing with the band right now. Black and white majorettes are working together. So are the cheerleaders." White seized the opportunity to expand his program and incorporate the white students as an integral element of it.

So, the pride identified by Ichiban was seen in the band as well as in other aspects of campus life. Wilene Dennis Dozier, a black student, was a member of the Raines band. In speaking of that pride, Dozier recalls:

> I was in the band, of course, and our band director is now at Florida A&M. He optimized excellence. I don't see how someone could sit down and

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[40]Julian White, African-American

design band formations.

> Speaking of pride and the band, even though you could play an instrument, when I was a freshman, the upper classmen would make us - it wasn't really hazing... Yeah, it would help instill pride in the up and coming freshmen. In order to keep that pride, so that Mr. White would know, he would go down the line, that is what we would call it, and you never knew when he would ask that particular section to play in front of everyone. That is why we practiced. There was a sense of pride. (Dozier interview)

When Dozier was asked by the researcher if the band competed in festivals, she replied, "Always number one." The pride of Ichiban lived on in the band.

The pride of the band and the closeness of the group helped foster communication and build a bridge of understanding between the black and white band members. Dozier, a senior band member, remembered one of the white band students:

> ...There was one white student in my band class, her name was Suzanne, I don't remember her last name. The band, as I said before, was a close type of community, real close. But, Suzanne was in the band. I believe she must have been, she evidently was, one of the tenth graders. But she could play the flute very good. (Dozier interview)

Dozier continued discussing her first conversation with another white student at Raines:

Anyway, I remember one story. Neither had had any dialogue with the other. This is the first time, other than at Ribault Junior High, that we had an opportunity to talk with someone [who was white]. We thought that all white people were rich. So we were talking one day with Suzanne and we said, "Suzanne, are you rich?" And I guess she thought we were crazy. And she said, "No." We asked here where she lived and she said she lived somewhere in Oceanway. "My dad is a highway patrol," I believe she said. We said, "Don't you live in a mansion?" you know. She said, "No."

She really tried to fit in, and it wasn't that she was overly trying. She naturally fit in. And we accepted her. Especially when she started dating one of our buddies, because a lot of the students didn't like it. First she comes to our school and now she is taking our boys. (Dozier interview)

In speaking of the young man that Suzanne dated, Dozier continued:

Ricardo was a nice looking young man. We had known... I had been knowing Ricardo since the second grade. He was like a brother to me. And I said, "If you like her, then it is OK." I think there was a fight, or a potential fight, but we were always with Suzanne because we didn't want anything happening to Suzanne because she could play the flute well. (Dozier interview)

Another band student, Darryl Wilson,[41] also remembers white students who were members of the band at Raines:

> It was terrific. They [the white students] were wonderful people. We had this one guy who played trumpet in the band. And when I was in the 12th grade, we had this majorette [a white student] who was in the 11th. There was participation in doing things. We always had white children [in the band]. They were accepted. We got along fine. (Interview, June 5, 1998)

Extracurricular activities became a vehicle for teaching the students to respect each other for their talents as well as individuals.

The 1971-72 Viking yearbook pictured white students involved in all aspects of school life. There was a concerted effort to include white students in the cheerleading squad, on the homecoming court and other high profile activities. Election to the homecoming court was by popular vote of the student body and was an honor coveted by most female students. Committed to building his "New Spirit" at Raines, Principal Ezekiel Bryant recalled, "I wanted us to have an integrated court. The New Spirit. I said , 'I will help you.' All the students voted on the court." And so it was that a white student was selected as "Miss New Spirit." (Bryant interview)

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[41]Darryl Wilson, African-American

White students were represented in many other campus activities. "Miss Chorus" was a white student, Judith Householder. White students were members of the Photo Club, the Thespians, the annual staff, the Art Club, the Foreign Language Club, and the newspaper staff and they represented the school as winners of the Science Fair. In athletics, whites participated on the football teams, girls' volleyball team, track teams, swim team, soccer team and the baseball team. There was a place for almost every white student who wished to participate in extra-curricular activities.

Parents of students who participated in after-school activities had to make a sacrifice as well. No activity buses were provided by the school district to transport the white students home to their respective neighborhoods. Ray Jennings[42] (Interview, February 2, 1998) recalled, "Another interesting thing is that they didn't give buses to our kids. I had to pick my son up...I had to go to school and pick him up every night after football practice." In spite of this obstacle to participation, many white students found a place in the clubs and teams at Raines High School.

Both black and white students agree that although the white students participated in clubs and sports teams, there was little other socialization between the two groups. Doug Jennings, a white student, offered the following:

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[42]Ray Jennings, white

> There wasn't [sic] any social activities. Whatever social activities we had, we generated amongst the kids out here. We didn't go over in that part of town because it wasn't our part of town. If you went to that type of event, you were taking a chance. You didn't know what you were going to come away with. Like I said, the mothers wouldn't let their daughters. (Doug Jennings interview)

Jennings continued:

> The athletic events we would go to. I never went to the dances. Primarily because we were just, the parents of the girls would not let them go... I didn't have any interest in dating a black girl. In those days, that just wasn't acceptable here. We just didn't go. Other than athletic events. We would go to ball games, basketball games and things like that, pep rallies.

Former students interviewed recalled at least one instance of interracial dating. Jennings conveyed his reaction on learning about the dating of a white female student and a popular black athlete:

> Just kind of being shocked. I don't know if it was a curiosity thing with her, but it was definitely a curve ball nobody expected, knowing her from Highlands. They were a rich couple and they were nice girls. Nice girls just didn't do that. People just kind of accepted it. The white kids just kind of shied away from her. I didn't know how to take it. How are you doing

kind of thing. We weren't friends, we were acquaintances. It just kind of shocked everybody.

When asked about how long this relationship lasted, Jennings replied:

> As long as I was there. They went to several basketball games, all the dances. All the normal things that white boys and girls do, just the normal kind of thing. It was just odd. It was very odd and just took you back.

Although white and black students participated together in school activities, their socialization was, for the most part, limited to the school.

One example of the phenomenon is the lack of participation of white Raines graduates in later school reunions. Rick Buckley shared information about the non-traditional reunion of white students that attended school with him. Rick's father, Don Buckley,[43] told the researcher, "And they don't have class reunions at Ribault or Raines, they have class reunions of the kids they went to junior high with." (Don Buckley interview) Rick Buckley added:

> We go back to our sophomore year (before desegregation) before we got broken up... This year will be our 27th sophomore reunion. We have one every five years and this will be our fifth one. (Rick Buckley interview)

These Ribault Sophomore Class reunions provide evidence that, despite all of the efforts described in this study, the white students did not adopt Raines as their

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[43]Don Buckley, white

own high school, their alma mater.

The adjustment of the white students to Raines was aided by the involvement of a core group of parents. Because of the success of its athletic program, Raines had an active booster organization that met regularly. Several white parents attended the meetings and became active supporters of the Raines program. When asked who were the white parents who became involved in the boosters clubs, Jimmie Johnson remembers, "There were four white men in the white community, one was an insurance man." (Johnson interview) Ray Jennings was the insurance man and Art Tyler and a Mr. Rinehart were two of the other white men of whom Johnson spoke.

Jennings's son, Doug, and Tyler's son, Bill, were athletes and their fathers were eager to be of help. Ray Jennings told of his motivation to become involved:

> [Freddie] Stephens[44] was a defensive coach under Jimmie Johnson. And of course, I have known Earl Kitchings.[45] Earl has been a customer of mine for years. And Zeke Bryant, you know. We worked real hard through the athletics to take these boys and help them work within the framework, which has really helped. (Ray Jennings interview)

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[44]Freddie Stephens, African-American

[45]Earl Kitchings, African-American

Jennings recalled meetings of the athletic booster organization:

> I'll tell you a story. We went to Booster meetings in the auditorium, and we went in there and I don't know who gave us the straw hats. The Boosters. And I am sitting there and they were going to take a picture. And I said, "I don't know..."

And eager as he was to give his support to the Boosters Club, there was a limit to Jennings's participation in club activities outside of the school campus. Jennings continued:

> And then they had their Booster dinners at Patty's Daddy's Restaurant which is on Soutel and Moncrief. And I wouldn't go up there and eat at Patty's Daddy's Restaurant. Not in those days... Just the other day, I was somewhere and some guy came up to me and said, "I remember you come to the Booster meetings at Patty's Daddy's Restaurant."

Jennings also spoke of efforts to involve other white parents. He recalled:

> We had a lot of orientation things at the school, but not too many [white parents] coming out to us. But, we went over and they tried real hard to try and integrate the parents into the booster clubs, and the band parents and these type of things... I think they knew the uncomfortableness. It was a unique experience. White people coming in as a minority.

The failure to provide activity buses for the white athletes had some advantages in the area of parental involvement. Because it fell on the white parents to pick

up their athletes after practices, they came to the school and saw what was happening there. Doug Jennings remembered the presence of white parents after school:

> We were there after school. There were usually two or three parents running around making sure everything was all right. Especially after school activities. That was a big concern... We rode the bus over [to school] and got picked up in the evening by our parents after practice. There were always parents around. (Doug Jennings interview)

Parents were involved because their students were involved. However, sometimes that involvement showed another, less positive side.

At least one set of involved parents felt resented by the parents of the black athletes. Don and Callie Buckley, parents of Rick, attended his football games and followed their son's participation on the baseball team. Callie Buckley recalled, "I had the feeling that whenever we went to an activity when Rick was there, that we were not being welcomed by the general population. If it was the parents or kids, I don't know." (Interview, January 24, 1998) When asked if she and her husband sat with the black parents, Ms. Buckley responded, "By ourselves."

A particular incident seemed to stand out in Ms. Buckley's memory. In response to the researcher's comment about Dr. Bryant and his staff preparing to make the white students welcome, Ms. Buckley recalled:

They weren't able to convey some of that to the parents at Raines, the black parents who felt ownership of the school. The worse experience we had was that Rick won a starting position on the baseball team. And he was good at it. (Callie Buckley interview)

Don Buckley added, "Along with several other white kids." Ms. Buckley continued:

We went to the game, and the father of one of the kids who had been the catcher was ranting and raving on the sidelines about the white boy who was playing [Rick].

The researcher responded, "Not knowing you were his parents?" Ms. Buckley concluded:

Probably not caring. We were obviously white. He said, "That is going to change." He was going to talk to the coach. And Rick never started another game after that.

Rick Buckley told of the power and influence of the Booster Club and the young man who replaced him as the catcher on the baseball team:

Raines athletics is kind of like a college. The Booster Club was very powerful and very supported. The kid who took my place, his name was David Harper. I liked him a lot. He was a running back on the football team. He was real quiet, an introvert. He was a nice guy. I had no problem with him at all. I didn't have a problem with him catching, but if he was going to catch, let me play somewhere else. (Rick Buckley interview)

Don Buckley recalled his version of the incident:

> I recall, when we were sitting there, someone came in and said, "What are all those white boys doing on the field? Our kids have to come in and earn their positions on these teams, and these guys just come over and start playing."
>
> I saw him talking to the coach after he said he was going to, and the next game, there were several of the white kids who weren't playing. A couple still played, but a lot of them played outfield, catcher, didn't play. (Don Buckley interview)

Some resentment and hard feelings are still present with this set of white parents. The efforts that went into helping the athletes accept each other and get along were not translated to their parents.

The involvement of white parents was not restricted to athletics. Ray Jennings was a trusted confidant and Principal Bryant used him as a "sounding board" when there were rumors of problems with racial overtones at the school. Jennings recalls how he and Bryant would discuss the problems, "We would talk and he would say, 'How can we handle this problem,' and 'What do you think about this problem,' and we would work things out that way." (Ray Jennings interview)

Several participants referred to an interracial dating situation that caused some concern for the white parents. Jennings remembers being called upon by Principal Bryant:

> There was another incident and it was the only time I saw Zeke really panic. There was a girl skipped school. A white girl skipped school and went to the zoo with some black kids. And poor Zeke. He called me here to the office. This father [the girl's] was coming to the school with a shotgun. (Ray Jennings interview)

So, there was at least one white parent, Ray Jennings, who made a difference at Raines. His loyalty to and confidence in Principal Bryant and what he was attempting to achieve proved invaluable and helped prevent incidents of a racial nature from exploding and getting out of hand.

The enrollment and racial balance projections for William Raines High School did not materialize as anticipated. When the official enrollment count was taken, 408 white students had enrolled at Raines, accounting for just 21% of the school's population. Judge Tjoflat's Stipulation regarding the pairing of Raines and Ribault had projected a white enrollment of 41% (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board Stipulation*, 1971). Even taking into account the fact that senior students were allowed to stay in their previous school, the percentage was still smaller than had been expected. A large exodus of white students from the school district probably accounted for part of the reduction (Foley, 1971f). School

officials were disappointed that more of the white students had not appeared. So much time and effort had gone into preparing for them and extending a welcoming hand. Quentin Messer, a black Raines faculty member, put it this way:

> I think the biggest disappointment that I had in this whole desegregation thing is that we didn't get more response from the white students. I say that because Dr. Bryant went, he outdid himself. We went over in the Highlands area, the white areas, on Sundays, Saturdays and Sundays, had meetings, had teas on Sundays, socials, did everything I think you could possible do to say to the white parents, "We want you. Your child is going to be okay." We left after each one of those little socials with the feeling that everything was fine. The day came and no kids. I don't think at the peak we got above 15 to 20% white." (Messer interview)

Although Messer's estimate was a little shy of the actual 21% of white students who enrolled, it was obviously a great disappointment that the number did not come nearer to the 40% that was anticipated.

The white students who did enroll at Raines were welcomed, for the most part, and began to find their place in the school community. Every effort was made to assure their safety and security. Administrators took strong measures to guarantee the security of the students. In an apparent effort to keep intruders out of the school, it became policy to keep the doors that opened to the outside of

the building chained and locked during class time. Rick Buckley, one of the white students, recalls the policy of chaining and locking the doors. Buckley described the situation as follows:

> One of the things that stands out in my mind, I will never forget. One thing they did which was against every fire code was that they would lock the doors during classes and you could not get outside... I had never been to a school where they chained the doors. The courtyard wasn't, but anything leading to the outside was chained. (Interview, January 24, 1998)

Parents were also aware of the practice of locking the outside doors. Ray Jennings, a parent of one of the white students, adds, "When you got there during the daytime, after you got in there, the doors were chained. I mean chained and locked." (Interview, February 2, 1998) This simple act that was meant to make the students and parents feel safe may have actually had a different effect. Rather than feeling safe and secure within the school's walls, some students indicated that they felt trapped behind the locked doors of the school. Nonetheless, students attended classes, became involved in school activities, and the administration and student leadership worked hard to create an inclusive community that valued all of its students.

Principal Bryant and his staff were proud of their students and the extent to which they were making the integration of Raines High School a successful effort. Bryant had retained the school slogan -- Ichiban -- initiated by founding

principal Andrew Robinson, as a reminder of the school's endeavor to always be "number one," the best. In the December 1971 edition of the school newspaper, *The Viking*, Assistant Principal Charles Ahearn[46] wrote the following message to the student body:

> Hi Vikings!
>
> I am proud of the manner in which Raines High School has begun the 1971-72 year. It has been said that the eyes of Duval County are upon us, because this is our first year of substantial intergration [sic]. We can be proud of what those eyes have seen and we will make them know what this year, what the Ichi Bon [sic] tradition, is all about.
>
> William Raines will be a shining example to other high schools this year. This example will be set by the student leadership embodied in young men such as Gus Williams, Greg Coleman and Don Gaffney. Also in young ladies such as Brenda Onfroy, Tracy Gonzalez, Cheri and Terri Philbrick and Sheryl Manor. These and many more I could mention are making certain that we will not falter, but continue to be William M. Raines - Ichi Bon [sic] - Number One!

Principal Bryant also used the school newspaper as an opportunity to praise the

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[46]Charles Ahearn, white

students and reinforce the tradition of Ichiban. Bryant's message to the students included:

> Togetherness, spirit and pride spell success at Raines. In September of this year, Raines High School, along with other high schools in this city, was faced with the challenge of integration. All of the schools involved faced...a mutual amount of apprehension, mixed emotions, and to some degree, fear about the effect of the problems upon each school involved in integration. One thing was certain, however, about the situation -- the schools would solve the problems and move forward or the problems would overcome them and the school would lose its momentum and perhaps, its progress.
>
> At this point, three months of the school year have already passed and, as we evaluate the effect of the integration process upon the secondary schools, we must say that the situation at Raines High School is excellent. I am proud of you for what you have accomplished thus far. At this time Raines High School is considered by many school administrators and concerned parents of the community as being the model school. As far as solving the problems of integration are concerned, although we have had problems, for no school is perfect, we definitely have made tremendous progress and we are moving forward. Now the question arises - what has brought us to this success?

> The only answer to these questions is that the success of our efforts is due to the attitude and cooperation of the entire student body. While many of our sister schools are still wrestling with these problems, Raines fortunately is moving forward. It also seems to me, that because of the problems that faced us at the beginning of the school year, there now exists in our school a "New Spirit." This New Spirit has developed because of the wonderful attitude of the students of Raines, now a wonderful, motivating, challenging New Spirit.
>
> In true Ichi Bon [sic] tradition, we stand together: students, parents, teachers and administration. Together we shall remain hand in hand, heart to heart, and spirit to spirit. Together we stand for the glory of dear old William Raines and the traditions we hold so dear. Success is and shall continue to be ours.

Dr. Bryant had conceived a new slogan, "New Spirit," which represented the new Raines High School brought about by the incorporation of the white students into the Raines family. This "New Spirit" coupled with the legacy of Ichiban would guide the students and all of their activities.

A Bi-racial Committee was organized at the school to foster interaction between the black and white students. The committee was sponsored by faculty

member Phyllis Hood,[47] and Greg Coleman, a respected black student-athlete, was the chairman. Rick Buckley recalls his participation on the Bi-racial Committee, "It was an equal number of blacks and whites sitting around a table discussing things, basically." (Rick Buckley interview) When recalling his one year at Raines, Buckley continued, "Over all, my high school years, that one year I felt proud of the accomplishments I had there. The Bi-racial Committee, playing sports and all of that." (Rick Buckley interview)

It is evident that the Bi-racial Committee was an important element in the peaceful integration of Raines High School. In recalling the work of the Bi-racial Committee, student Greg Coleman, who chaired the committee, offered the following:

> I think the Bi-racial Committee laid the groundwork during the summer. In communicating not only with the students, but with their parents. Also with the teachers and coaches. We knew how many guys were going to come out for the football team, who was going to run track, who was going out for the cheerleading team... We welcomed them with open arms.
> (Coleman interview)

In welcoming the white students to Raines, the Bi-racial Committee had laid the foundation for a successful and harmonious school year.

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[47]Phyllis Hood, white

The school year progressed with the customary student activities. Football season and a championship team, homecoming, holiday celebrations and the like. Quentin Messer recalled the efforts of Phyllis Hood, the white teacher who assisted him with his duties as Administrative Assistant:

> One year she really went out to get the white kids involved. During homecoming each day, there was a special event and she really went out to get the white kids involved and she was very successful. I recall, also, that she tried to get them involved in cheerleading, Student Council, Miss Raines pageant. Every aspect of the school, she wanted to be sure. Not only in the students, but the faculty sponsors. We kept a running count, before the county suggested it, of each activity, how many black and how many whites participated. (Messer interview)

However the peaceful co-existence of the white and black students at Raines was soon to be disturbed by events at Ribault High School, less than a mile from Raines. Ribault, like Raines, was experiencing its first year of court-ordered desegregation and the transition was not going well.

Racial Disturbances at Ribault High School

In February, during Black History Week, riots erupted at neighboring Ribault High School. Ribault's black student population had increased from 5% in the 1969-70 school year to 53% in the 1971-72 school year. Once an all-white school, Ribault very quickly became a schools with a majority of black students.

The riots occurred after no black students were chosen as student-selected senior superlatives and the school was closed for several days ("School Desegregation Chronology," 1990). Injunctive relief to prevent the school from reopening was filed by the parent of one of the white students at Ribault *(Radford vs. Dr. Cecil Hardesty and William E. Carter Complaint*,1972). In his denial of injunctive relief and citing the efforts made by school officials to insure the safety and security of Ribault students, Judge Major Harding[48] declared:

> It is a sad state of affairs when a school must establish such elaborate precautions to insure safety, security and order. The entire blame for this situation cannot be laid at any one person's or administration's feet, nor would it serve any useful purpose to point the finger of blame in any particular direction. The situation which ultimately resulted in the closing of the school should indicate to students, parents, faculty and staff and the school administration that new and innovative efforts should be sought to allow all concerned to live and learn in an appropriate productive atmosphere.

Tensions at Ribault High School continued, however. In response to a petition by Superintendent Hardesty and Sheriff Dale Carson, Judge Tjoflat issued an order restraining Ribault students from harassing, threatening or intimidating behavior

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[48]Judge Major Harding, white

and prohibiting outsiders from entering the Ribault campus (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board Order*, 1972). The racial tensions at Ribault threatened to spill over to Raines and other local high schools.

The fact that the Ribault and Raines campuses were less than a mile apart caused many white parents to fear for the safety and security of their children. Fear for white students and parents was rooted in several different causes. First, racial tension in Jacksonville had been high in the years immediately preceding the desegregation court-order and characterized by sit-ins, boycotts, demonstrations and even riots on Jacksonville's Eastside. Jacksonville was not exempt from the events of the Civil Rights movement and suffered from the spillover from racial violence and confrontation that occurred in nearby St. Augustine. Most whites viewed these events with anxiety and fear for their own safety and security.

Secondly, many of the white students who were reassigned to William Raines had attended Highlands Junior High School. Although predominantly white, Highlands had a 13% black population during the 1970-71 school year. Highlands had been the scene of rioting and other violence when these students were in eighth grade and the memories of that violence was fresh in their minds. And finally, although there was no evidence of racially-motivated incidents at Raines, the riots and eventual closing of neighboring Ribault High School created fear in the whites that this unrest might spread to the Raines campus. Raines

administrators, faculty and students are to be credited for the manner in which they avoided such conflict at their school. All together, these occurrences gave white parents and students justified cause for fear and concern. Although there had been no racial incidents to speak of at Raines, it was feared that the problems and distraction of outside influences would result in violence at Raines. The athletes were called upon to be "an arm of the administration" and to help look after the white students and make them feel safe at school.

Dr. Bryant and Coach Jimmie Johnson met with black student athletes and solicited their support in making the white students feel safe. Greg Coleman shared the following:

> We sat and we met. And we said, "We have a good thing going. Number one, we have a chance to go to the state [championships]. Number two, we have a reputation to uphold." Because there was a lot at stake and a lot at risk. As a result, we embraced those kids who came in and we embraced the fact that we were determined not to let any of the outside interferences and what was happening at Ribault and Paxon, was not going to happen at Raines. So when we got word before the administration did, whether they were coming from Ribault or Paxon, coming over, we manned the doors. (Coleman interview)

Coleman continued and offered a different perspective on the locked doors:

> Athletes manned the doors. We had stations that we went to. That was something we chose to do.... I think, for the most part, they may have been locked at some stages.... But if we had word that somebody was coming over, from any school, we manned the doors because there were automatic locks from the outside. All you had to do was slam them. But you couldn't get in. (Coleman interview)

When asked if students were excused from class to man the outside doors, Coleman responded:

> It was almost like an unwritten rule.... We didn't disturb classes. There were no announcements. We didn't want to alarm anybody. We knew. There was an unwritten rule. Guys had certain doors to go to.... Somebody would get the word to an athlete. There were so many athletes in that school. We knew where everybody was in class. (Coleman interview)

It was clear that the white students looked up to the athletes and counted on them for protection. Doug Jennings, a white student at Raines, recalls the racial violence at Ribault and its effect on Raines:

> It [the riot] happened at Ribault. It was the same day. It was a big explosive day. There was just kids running in the hall [at Raines]. And it was later in the day, after lunch, it seemed very late in the day. There were kids running all over. They may not have been from Raines, but there were kids, gangs of them, moving through the halls. I got cornered

up in the hall and then if Greg [Coleman], and Terry [LeCount] and Don [Gaffney] hadn't have shown up, I would have been mincemeat. They showed up and [the group] just backed on out. I think they [the athletes] were roaming. I think they were roaming the halls looking for these people [intruders]. They [the athletes] just turned them [the intruders] right on out. I was the only one there. I can remember right now. I don't know why I was there. I went down the hall and there were a ton of people and they were not looking very friendly... Between Greg and Don, they put them out the door. (Doug Jennings interview)

Another white student, Cheri Philbrick Jameson, also remembers the violence at Ribault:

> The Ribault incident sparked it all...As far as I know, we never had any incidents at Raines. It was such a major incident at Ribault. There were a lot of rumors, but you don't know. There were some truly tragic things. But it was enough to frighten. (Jameson interview)

Jameson continued after being asked whether white parents from Raines considered keeping their students at home in response to the rumors:

> They, Ribault had a problem. It was horrible. But, we did not have that problem at Raines. But there was an overflow because of that and Raines

was close to Ribault. And because of our experience at Highlands,[49] it created a fear. You can't see how it can be prevented and you just think, "Oh, mercy, This is the same thing all over again." I remember that Dolphous Jordan[50] and Don Gaffney and Greg Coleman (black student-athletes) came to my house and talked to my daddy... They told my daddy that if he let us come to school, they would see that we were taken care of. (Jameson interview)

When asked about her father's response, Jameson continued:

We lived with my grandmother at the time. She carried us back and forth to school. He [my daddy] was very impressed and they just assured him. And sure enough, when my grandmother carried us to school the next morning, they were standing on the sidewalk and every time the bell rang, Dolphous Jordan was my guardian angel, Every time the bell rang, there he was to walk me to my next class. (Jameson interview)

The violence and racial tensions that existed at Ribault never materialized at Raines during the 1971-72 school year or any time thereafter.

The historic initial year of desegregation at Raines High School came to a close with the usual end-of-year activities. The school yearbook, *The Viking*,

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[49]Racial violence and riots had occurred at Highlands Junior High School two years before, 1969-70.

[50]Dolphous Jordan, African-American

contained the following message from Principal Ezekiel Bryant, which fairly sums up the year and its significance:

> Each year, in the seven year history of our great school, has been marked with some kind of special challenge to test the tenacity and perseverance of the mighty Viking family.
>
> The Ichi Bon [sic] tradition, magnified by intense school spirit and personified by senior class leadership, has lavished repeated success upon our beloved institution. Because of you, we have met every challenge successfully and, now, look to the future optimistically.
>
> Your leadership as seniors, in academics, in athletics, in vocal music, in publication staffs, in the bands, in dramatics, and in the additional variety of school activities has enabled us to meet this year's prime challenge -- integration. We have seen the reality of "togetherness" in "one school - All American." (p. 12)

Graduation in 1972 was the capstone event to a successful school year. Although seniors were exempted from the initial year of implementation of the court order and given the choice to remain at the school they attended for the eleventh grade, two white seniors from Ribault chose to attend Raines. The black seniors at Raines had looked forward to the distinction of being the last all-black class to graduate from William Raines High School. Greg Coleman referred to his

graduating class and the two white seniors who transferred from Ribault to Raines:

> There were two seniors who came over [from Ribault]. Because we were glad of the fact that we were going to be the last all-black class to graduate from Raines. You know what they did? They graduated. They came and got their diplomas. But out of respect for us, I believe, this is what went down. They did not march with us at graduation. They had their robes and they got their diplomas, but they didn't march in. (Coleman interview)

Coleman spoke of the character of these two white seniors and saw their decline to march in with the black Raines seniors as a sacrifice that allowed what they believed to be the last all-black graduating class from Raines to end their tradition as a black high school by marching in together. Whatever the motivation of the two white seniors, black members of the graduating class realized their expectation and the 1971-72 closed on a historic note.

The first year of desegregation at this historically black high school was an exemplary year by any standard. Black and white students at Raines generally got along, participated in all facets of school life, and were the model student body that Dr. Bryant and his staff had worked hard to achieve. Thus Dr. Bryant's vision for the school and its students had been realized.

1972-1975

The 1972-73 school year brought another significant change to William Raines High School. Principal Ezekiel Bryant was replaced by another black principal, Kernaa McFarlin. Bryant left the school to accept an administrative position at Florida Junior College in Jacksonville. Bryant had successfully faced the challenge of integrating the faculty, staff and students at historically black William Raines High School and guided their rich heritage from segregation to integration.

Principal McFarlin appointed black faculty member Quentin Messer to the position of Administrative Assistant. According to the school's yearbook, Messer's duties in this position included planning the activities of the Bi-racial Committee, organizing rumor control, promoting better human relations among students and faculty and striving to create a harmonious atmosphere in the school.

The yearbook also indicates that white students continued to be involved in all areas of school life. White students were represented on the Miss Raines Court, selected as "Miss Football," chosen as a "Lady in Waiting" on the Homecoming court and were selected in the Who's Who section of the school yearbook. White students continued to be represented on the Student Council, National Honor Society, "It's Academic" team, and numerous clubs and activities.

There were white students participating in most athletic teams. White students excelled both within and outside of the classroom.

A strong emphasis on academics, particularly for advanced students, continued at Raines. Mathematics teacher Alee Browning[51] addressed the offering of advanced classes in the area of mathematics. According to Browning, "We did not start AP Calculus until 1974, I think. But at the time, we were the only school on that side of the river offering that and we were really proud of that" (Browning interview). Gina Stevens, a white student who was the valedictorian of the Class of 1975 at Raines and later earned a degree in engineering, recalls Raines's reputation in the area of mathematics. She remembers attending an orientation meeting for prospective students when she had an opportunity to inquire about the mathematics program from Oscar Whalen, a white Raines teacher who later became Duval County's Supervisor of Mathematics. She recalled, "He was telling us that Raines really had a good math department. Probably the best in the city" (Stevens interview). A college preparatory curriculum was emphasized and students who were enrolled in that program of study were challenged to meet high academic standards.

Two white Raines faculty members later left the school to take positions of leadership in the central office. In addition to Oscar Whalen, who became the

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[51]Alee Browning, white

Supervisor of Mathematics, Mary Hackenberg became the Supervisor of Science and Environmental Education. The promotion of these individuals to positions of district responsibility provided further recognition and distinction to Raines High School.

The 1972-73 student population included a slightly higher percentage of white students, 23%, than the year before. Judge Tjoflat's decision to allow the previous year's seniors to graduate from the high school they had been attending was no longer in effect and white students were enrolled in every grade level at Raines High School. However, as a result of a new student transfer policy and changing demographics, the numbers began to drop dramatically beginning in 1973-74. The transfer policy permitted students to attend a high school other than the one to which they were assigned in order to take a course not offered at their assigned school. White students sought elective courses offered in other schools that would allow them to exercise this transfer option. By the fall of 1975, white students made up only 12% of the student enrollment.

Gina Stevens was a white student and valedictorian of the graduating class of 1975. Gina was one of 231 white students who enrolled at William Raines during her 10th grade year. In her senior year, that number had dropped to only 37. As an honors student, Gina was enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) classes for the most part. The classes were small and the same group of

students seemed to be scheduled together for the greater part of the school day. Ms. Stevens describes her group of AP students in 1975:

> It [her AP cohort] was mostly black. But there was a more, it was more 50/50 in that class than any other classes. Friends of mine who were not in AP classes were predominantly black. There would be one or two whites. We had about six whites, so it was a lot different. (Interview, June 3, 1998)

Although white students enrolled at Raines in significant numbers during the first couple of years of desegregation, very few of those students remained at Raines for the entire three years of high school.

Dissatisfaction with the desegregation process and the implementation of Judge Tjoflat's 1971 order was growing. Principals and other administrators conveyed their impressions and openly expressed their concerns to those in charge of implementing the desegregation plan. In an April 21, 1972, memorandum to "To Whom It May Concern," Hal Pearman, white principal of Arlington Junior High School, concluded with the following comment:

> In conclusion, may I state that Phase I has been in operation this year, and the majority of students have adjusted and learned to accept one another. If I were to try to determine the success of Phase I academically, socially, physically, and morally, I would be less than honest if I stated that this

program has proven to be unequivocally successful and that it is educationally sound.

Another memorandum dated April 25, 1972, from Francis Brown, the white Director of Transportation, to Robert L. Varn,[52] Supervisor of Pupil Accounting, stated:

> A general reaction this office has sensed in numbers of complainant phone calls seems to center on the question in the "public mind" which asks, "If the schools in the black communities were in such deplorable condition that busing of these black students from these areas to outlying areas was and is necessary, how does it then follow that bringing white students from outlying areas into these inner city school centers will assist in achieving desirable educational goals?" (Our staff has no answer for this type of question.)

Earl Silas, white principal of Fort Caroline Junior High, also wrote a memorandum to Mr. Varn dated April 25, 1972, which included the following observations:

> 2. Our discipline problems have increased threefold. Suspensions have increased because of fighting, profane language, and general student unrest. While we have had a minimum of racial conflict, the administrators and teachers have a feeling of sitting on a "time bomb." This feeling runs

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[52]Robert L. Varn, white

throughout the student body and the two communities.

3. Academic achievement has been affected because many students from the Cookman area are not educationally motivated due to their environment and social backgrounds. This school for the past six years has ranked number 1 or number 2 on all State tests. The tests this year show a marked difference.

6. Busing cannot bring about an end to segregation. In the classroom, the students segregate themselves. In the lunchroom, where students can sit wherever they please, they choose to sit with members of their own race. Busing can only integrate the school; only the students involved can bring about an end to segregation.

Resistance to the busing plan and Judge Tjoflat's order was widespread. Other schools had not experienced the nonviolence and success in student participation that had been achieved at Raines High School.

The Duval County School Board returned to court again in July 1972 to request a stay in the implementation of Phase II of Judge Tjoflat's 1971 order. The request cited "unavailability of funds for additional transportation costs; unanticipated risks to health and safety of students and significant impairment of the educational process; and growing local and national sentiment adverse to massive busing" as reasons for the stay. The school district continued to fight the court's desegregation plan and its expansion to include elementary school

students. The court failed to act on the school district's request for a stay and Phase II of Judge Tjoflat's 1971 order and the desegregation of the school district's remaining schools was accomplished in the fall of 1972 as outlined in the court order.

The 1973-74 school year saw a decline in the white student enrollment at Raines High School. This would signal a downward trend that continued over the next several years until the school once again became racially isolated. In addition to fewer new white enrollees, students who had attended William Raines the previous year were requesting and receiving transfers to other schools. White students soon became such a minority in the school that it was difficult to sustain the limited amount of desegregation that had been realized. The lack of new white students and the inability to retain those that did enroll, coupled together, was devastating to the desegregation effort.

A general laxness toward approving student requests for transfer contributed to the problem of retaining the white students. Former principal Bryant offers the following perspective on the situation:

> Well, I left in August of 1972, and when I left there were still about 400 white students there. The departure of the white students can be kind of colored with the change of attitude of the administration. They became more and more lax in student transfers. When they began to... ask and you got it. (Bryant interview)

Grace West, former Curriculum Assistant, offered the following:

> Somebody important got the word around that if a student requested a subject that was not being offered, that student could request...Yes, admission to another school. And that thing got around. There was a special slip from the School Board. (West interview)

When asked about the "slip," West continued:

> Sally Daniels[53] worked with that. She said, "Every time I turn around, they are bringing another slip for me to sign and that is all that has to be done. And after a while, we won't have any white students here." (West interview)

West recalls discussing the matter with her principal. According to West:

> At that time, my principal was Ezekiel Bryant and I talked to him about it. I said, "How is it they can just bring in a slip, you sign it and that is it? You don't have to have any authorization or nothing?" And he said, "No, that is the way it is handled." I don't know if that is the way they understood it. (West interview)

This looseness of the transfer process was confirmed by Don Buckley.[54] Buckley was the principal of predominantly white Andrew Jackson High School at this

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[53]Sally Daniels, African-American Dean of Students

[54]Don Buckley, white

time. Buckley recalled:

> There was a feeling among the principals that you really didn't want to keep anybody that did not want to be there because you knew they would cause you more trouble. Anything that went wrong would be multiplied. (Interview, January 24, 1998)

Alee Browning, a white teacher at Raines, also remembered, "I know that a lot of parents were told that if their kids signed up for Latin, they could go to Ed White, or they could go for ROTC that we did not have" (Interview, December 2, 1997). It did not take long for parents and students to find out how to play the game and attend the school of their choosing.

Some students accepted their new school assignment and tried to make the best of the situation. Bill Tyler, a white student, recalled the temptation to transfer to another school, but Bill's father believed in following the rules and Bill remained at Raines through graduation. According to Tyler:

> I went into it with a fairly open mind. Again, we are products of our heritage. No matter, we learn what you are brought up with... I was fairly open-minded through the whole process. That was where we lived, and that was where we were supposed to go [to school]. I remember that we talked about it [transferring to another school]. We had a lake house in Keystone. Maybe we should go there. But he [my father] was a man of principle and great character. That [accepting the new assignment] is what

we were supposed to do, and that was what we would do. (Bill Tyler interview)

Not all of the white students who left Raines or failed to enroll there attended other public schools. Some, like Doug Jennings, found their entrance into the area's private schools. Ray Jennings, Doug's father, recalled:

> So, Chuck McKinney[55] was trying to build a football program at Bishop Kenny [High School]. And Doug played defensive end on the Raines junior varsity. And somebody told Chuck that I was trying to get Doug in a school and he called me. And I took Doug over, and I am trying to think of the principal's name. But anyhow, they said if Doug wanted to play football, they would help him get into the school. (Ray Jennings interview)

Recruitment for athletics also contributed to the transfer of whites from Raines. However, athletic eligibility for transfers was contingent upon the signing of a waiver by the principals of both the sending and receiving schools. There was a unwritten understanding among the principals regarding waivers as well. According to Don Buckley, a former white principal:

> When, after they got their transfer to Raines or Wolfson, you still had to go get an athletic waiver, which Raines could have stopped and not signed the waiver... There was an unwritten rule among principals that you did not

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[55]Chuck McKinney, white

> do that. You didn't buck the system. There were very hard feelings about that. When I was involved, I don't remember a whole lot of resistance when a kid wanted to go.
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> At Jackson, there was a very good basketball player. He came in and transferred to a church school and he wanted me to sign a waiver and I signed it. The coaches were mad and the players were mad, but if he is not going to play at Jackson, let him play somewhere else. (Don Buckley interview)

Former NAACP Education Chairman, Eddie Mae Steward, condemned the permissive attitude of principals described by Don Buckley. Steward placed the blame on principals for failing to enforce student assignments. According to Steward:

> I thought principals were responsible for that [enforcing the assignments].... It was their responsibility to see that they carried out the plan. It was their responsibility, and they allowed parents and students [to attend other schools], and many of them knew where these children lived. They allowed them to change their addresses.... It should have been the principal to make sure. (Interview, June 24, 1998)

The unspoken agreement among school officials negatively impacted the enforcement of student assignments under the court-ordered desegregation plan. This laxness in permitting student transfers and the failure of school

administrators to enforce established policies contributed to a school system that virtually allowed any student to attend his or her school of choice.

However, permissiveness in allowing student transfers was not the only reason that the white enrollment at Raines declined. School district officials had predicted a growing black population in the previous Ribault attendance area. In essence, the neighborhood in this Northside area suffered from almost overnight "white flight." In speaking of that "white flight," Greg Coleman reflected on the situation:

> I don't think it was the kids' fault. I don't think a lot of the parents understood, or chose not to understand. As a result, I mean, kids had to go where their parents moved.... I think that [white] parents were unwilling. Let's face it. There were some hostile attitudes and primitive attitudes in race relations in Jacksonville during that time. (Coleman interview)

Coleman's remarks conveyed a feeling of overall helplessness where "white flight" was concerned. In addition, a diminished pool of white students resided in the redesignated Raines attendance area and this, too, had a major impact on the white enrollment at Raines High School.

The initial desegregation of William Raines High School was of mixed success. A great deal of planning and many hours of hard work on the part of the principal and his staff resulted in a peaceful process with significant white student involvement in the early years. However, the success was short-lived. Within a

few years, the number of white students attending the school had dropped dramatically and the school was well on its way to becoming racially isolated once again. Although in many respects the desegregation of Raines High School could not be considered a failure, it also could not be labeled a success.

This study has focused on the history of the desegregation of William Raines High School between 1965 and 1975. Although efforts to desegregate the school did not end in 1975, events beyond that date are not included in this study. In the concluding chapter, the researcher will analyze the successful early desegregation of Raines High School and attempt to explain why desegregation at this school was not sustained. Additionally, the implications of the findings of this study on continued efforts to desegregate William Raines High School will be discussed.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

It was the intent of the researcher to determine, through the research process, what the desegregation of William Raines High School was like from the perspectives of those involved. The design included two major purposes of the study: 1) to examine the history of the school district's efforts to achieve a racially diverse enrollment at this historically African-American high school, and 2) to determine why that desegregation was short-lived and why the school very quickly returned to a racially isolated status. These purposes guided the study of the events leading up to and including the implementation of the district's court-ordered desegregation plan and the selection of participants who shared their stories with the researcher.

Several themes emerged in the analysis of the research data. The written transcript of each interview was analyzed and comments by the respondents categorized and coded. These broad categories led to the identification of the major themes identified in the study. The themes are significant in understanding

the history of the desegregation of William Raines High School. The sections that follow will discuss each of these themes briefly.

Emergent Themes in the Study

School Pride and the Legacy of Ichiban

School pride and student pride were features which distinguished William Raines from other high schools. Before the desegregation process was even conceived, Principal Andrew Robinson created a culture at William Raines High School that was centered on pride and brought to life in the Ichiban slogan. There was hardly a participant interviewed that did not know of the slogan and, additionally, how that slogan had been a part of the school's culture. White and black athletes told of how that slogan motivated the teams to create a winning tradition in athletics. Former faculty members recalled the slogan being part of every aspect of the school. Early issues of the school's newspaper and yearbook included references to Ichiban and the researcher has observed the slogan still in use today at the school. The development of the Ichiban tradition was the first observable element of pride at Raines High School.

The pride at William Raines was also evident in other aspects of the school's culture. The uncommon, almost fanatical, cleanliness of the school facility stood out in the memories of most participants. The Ladies of Raines organization established a standard of behavior for young women at the school. The school's dress code that was rigidly enforced also sent a message that this

was a special place where self-respect and respect for the education process were important. The school's award-winning band and its precision honor guard that performed at school events also helped set the tone. The rare sense of pride in this historically African-American institution was evident.

School pride continued to thrive under the leadership of Dr. Ezekiel Bryant. That pride was evidenced in the cleanliness of the school building, the dress of faculty and students, the participation of students in various competitions and the participation of parents. It was apparent that there was something special about William Raines High School.

Extracurricular Activities and Social Life

A deliberate effort was made to welcome the white students and involve them in all aspects of school life. Athletic Director Jimmie Johnson and his staff scouted out former Ribault students and those who would have been slated to attend Ribault, visited their homes, met with their coaches and encouraged them to come out for the various teams. Similar efforts were made to recruit white students in the band, cheerleading squad and other extracurricular activities. Principal Bryant developed a process to assure that white students would be represented in the homecoming court. The overall result was that white students participated and were warmly included in all school activities.

Academics

William Raines High School had a tradition of high performance in the areas of mathematics and science. The school offered a wide range of honors and Advanced Placement classes and white students who were enrolled in them perceived the quality of their education to be on a par with that of other high schools. White and black students excelled academically and earned recognition for the school in the regional science fair and other district-wide academic competition.

Students who were enrolled in classes offering the standard curriculum did not view their academics as highly. Some felt that teachers of these classes neither challenged students nor had high expectations for them. Other former students recalled poor teaching and disruptive behavior in these classes. An obvious difference existed in the perception of the quality of education offered based on the academic level of the classes.

Parental Involvement

Encouraging white parent involvement was a challenge for the Raines administrators and staff. As might be expected, parents were most likely to be involved with activities in which their children participated, such as athletics. Several white parents were recognized for their efforts to assist in gaining the support of other white parents for the school. One parent in particular, Ray Jennings, was especially noted for advising the principal and staff in times of

controversy and for his sustained involvement in the school and its activities. A core group of white parents, including Ray Jennnings and Art Tyler, were committed to making this initial desegregation effort a successful one.

Fear and Apprehension

Another theme that emerged during the research process was fear. That fear was expressed by both black and white participants, but for different reasons. Black students feared the loss of their high school's identity as a result of desegregation. Their all-black faculty was completely reconfigured and black teachers made up only thirty percent of the staff as a result of the court-order. There was a fear that white teachers would not understand nor even like their black students. There was a fear that the pride and traditions that had been so much a part of the school would be lost with the integration of the white students.

The fear on the part of white students and their parents regarding safety and security at the school was expected. The recollection of serious disturbances with racial overtones at Highlands Junior High during the year prior to the initial desegregation of Raines created fear in many of the white parents and students. Many of the white students assigned to Raines had attended Highlands and had personally observed or experienced the violence there. There was also fear and concern that riots at neighboring Ribault High School would have a spill over effect at Raines. Good communication and planning on the part of Raines officials prevented these fears from being realized.

Resistance

Resistance and a lack of visionary leadership at top levels were other major themes emerging in this research. From the outset, in the years following the historic *Brown v. The Board of Education* (1954) case, the Duval County School Board and its officials openly resisted the mandate to desegregate the Duval County Public Schools. Delay after delay and appeal after appeal characterized the sequence of events that led to Judge McRae's order in 1969 to proceed with immediate desegregation of the school system's teachers and followed by Judge Tjoflat's decree in 1971 that ordered massive crosstown busing to effect student desegregation. Letters from principals and others to school district administrators expressed an openly hostile attitude regarding the implementation of the court order which resulted in another appeal by the School Board requesting a stay in the final implementation of the desegregation plan. Little, if any, evidence exists that the Duval County School Board was committed to desegregating its public schools.

Resistance was not confined to the School Board and its top administrators alone. White students and parents also resisted the order to desegregate. White flight from the school system in the initial year of implementation of the court-ordered plan and subsequent requests by students to transfer to schools where they would be in the racial majority are evidence of this resistance. Principals who permitted such transfers and were lax in enforcing

school assignments and athletic waiver policies also participated in this resistance to desegregate. The climate was right for resistance and school officials appeared to turn their heads to the methods that were being used to subvert the court-ordered desegregation plan.

Evaluation and Critique

The Success of Raines as a Segregated School

There is a commonly held misconception that segregated schools were without merit. The research conducted for this study contradicts that belief. The early history of William Raines High School is testimony that segregated schools could, and often did, provide an excellent education for their students. Student, faculty and community pride in segregated Raines High School was evident.

Founding principal Andrew Robinson had a vision for the school that was based on excellence. Students and faculty were expected to exemplify the best that they could be, Ichiban. The goal was excellence in the classroom, on the athletic fields, and in every representation of school life. A spotless campus and well-behaved students contradicted the perception of the white public concerning segregated black schools. Parents, students and faculty rallied around Robinson's vision and created a school climate that supported it. When the order to desegregate Raines was finally handed down, Raines had already built a reputation as an outstanding segregated school.

The Success of Raines as a Desegregated School

The desegregation of William Raines High School represents the best efforts of many dedicated people to make a court-ordered desegregation plan successful. The school was fortunate to have the latest in facilities and a climate that fostered academic excellence. A unique sense of pride had been instilled in the school's community. It was a positive environment that should have been appealing to the white students who were reassigned there as part of the school district's court-ordered desegregation plan.

Leadership

Although Dr. Robinson set the initial tone for the school, it was the committed leadership of Dr. Ezekiel Bryant, his successor as principal, who continued the legacy of Ichiban and dedicated his efforts to creating a model school, one that would educate all students in an atmosphere of high expectations and appreciation of the differences of others. The first hurdle in implementing the desegregation plan was the mass transfer and reassignment of teachers. Only a few months after assuming the principalship, Bryant was faced with the difficult task of identifying seventy of his one hundred teachers for transfer to other schools at mid-year. The seventy were replaced with white teachers whom Bryant had never met or interviewed. He organized welcoming activities for the new teachers and worked diligently to meld them with the few existing faculty that had been permitted to remain. It was a demanding test of

Bryant's leadership, but he was up to the task and successfully blended the new faculty with those he retained. The result was an almost seamless transition for a student body that had lost almost three-fourths of its teachers.

The following school year presented the greatest challenge yet. The order that paired all-black Raines with neighboring all-white Ribault High School heralded the desegregation of both schools' student bodies. Bryant worked hard to bring together his newly integrated faculty and student body and involved their parents in making William Raines an "All-American" school. Even though the initial number of whites who enrolled at the school was far short of the projection, those who did attend found a place in the school's academic and extra-curricular activities. Top athletes and other student leaders were mobilized to assist in making the white students feel welcome, safe, and secure in their new school. Parents were encouraged to become involved in the school's booster organizations. Bryant envisioned a "New Spirit" at Raines that would help make the school a model of successful desegregation.

After a little more than a year of Bryant's vision and leadership, another change in principals occurred. In August 1972, Kernaa McFarlin was tapped as the school's principal. McFarlin continued to work towards the vision of those who preceded him, however his personality and leadership style differed greatly from those of Robinson and Bryant. Black and white students continued to participate

together in athletics, clubs, and other activities and did so harmoniously even as the percentage of white students in the school declined.

The Culture of Excellence

A major factor in the effort to desegregate Raines High School was the culture of excellence symbolized by the Ichiban slogan and permeating all aspects of the school. White parents who visited the school saw a clean, well-maintained, up-to-date facility and well-behaved, neatly dressed students and faculty. They observed a school where excellence was not only expected, but realized in the performance of students in curricular and extra-curricular activities. The message was clear. Raines High School provided an academic setting in which students were expected to learn at high levels and to excel outside of the classroom as well.

Ichiban and the excellence that it signified was an integral part of the school's culture. Every former student interviewed in this study remembered the slogan and its widespread use. From athletics and other extra-curricular activities to messages from the administration to faculty and students, Ichiban was the watchword for the school. It was evident to black and white parents and students that excellence was clearly the goal for this school.

This culture of excellence was reassuring to white parents who feared that attending a historically black school might equate to receiving an inferior education. White students Bill Tyler and Gina Brown Stevens, who remained at

Raines High School for their entire high school career, felt that they received an excellent education there and were well-prepared for college study. Even more important, the students felt that their experience in attending a desegregated school prepared them with the life skills necessary to be successful in the workplace and other desegregated settings.

Parent and Community Involvement

The involvement of white parents in the life of Raines High School had a substantial impact on the successful and peaceful desegregation of the school. White parents who readily participated in parent organizations and booster clubs served as ambassadors of the school to other white community members. They also served as advisors to the black administrators and staff members when they were needed. The white parents who sent their children to Raines generally wanted desegregation to be successful and were willing to do their part to make it so.

The visibility of white parents at the school and their participation in school events also sent a positive message to students. Students, both black and white, observed that the white parents were willing to do more than simply send their children to the school. In working side by side with black parents and faculty, they contributed to the continued success of the school and the peaceful implementation of the desegregation process.

The Failure of Efforts to Desegregate Raines

The initial degree of desegregation at William Raines High School fell far short of the projections of school district officials. Although officials had predicted that Raines would have a white student population exceeding forty percent after pairing the school with neighboring Ribault, the prediction did not hold. In fact, the white student population at Raines never exceeded twenty-three percent.

Failure to meet the projected white population at Raines can be attributed to two major reasons. First, the northwest area of the county which was served by both Raines and Ribault High Schools was undergoing a change in population. White families were moving out of the area in large numbers and black families were taking their place. In a very short period of time, areas that had been historically all-white became racially mixed or all-black. Consequently, the pool of white students that would contribute to a desegregated Raines no longer existed.

Another reason for the less than anticipated white population at Raines was an increase in the number of white students choosing to attend private or parochial schools. The desegregation order was the impetus for the start up of several new schools and other established private and parochial schools benefited from the enrollment of white students whose parents feared sending them to schools that were historically black. Some participants in this study referred to the active recruitment of white students by the private and parochial

schools. White students scheduled to attend Raines were a target population for this recruitment.

Sustaining desegregation at Raines was also a failure. After the second year of desegregation, the white population declined rapidly and the school soon became all-black once again. Just as success breeds continued success, the loss of white students contributed to fewer and fewer white students attending the school. White students were uncomfortable as they saw their numbers dwindle and sought transfers to other schools.

Liberal district transfer policies aided the transfer of white students to other predominantly white schools. Students and their parents soon learned the parameters for requesting and receiving transfers and made their applications accordingly. Principals also aided the transfer process. An unwritten agreement among the principals essentially allowed students to choose their schools. There was not a commitment from the district or at the school level to enforce desegregated student assignments.

Conclusions and Implications of the Study

A great deal of sentiment concerning what the black community lost as a result of desegregation was expressed by participants in this study. The desire for faculties that mirror the composition of a school's student body is one manifestation of the feeling of loss that is often voiced by black parents and community members. Students aspired to role models who looked like them. The

sense of pride and identity that is a reflection of a neighborhood school speaks of a longing that many people have for "the good old days" when home, school and religious institutions blended together in a sense of community. In this setting, students were well-known, common values were reinforced and home-school communication was facilitated. But in longing for the best of the past, the worst of the past is often forgotten.

However, one cannot turn back the clock or calendar to step back in time. Jacksonville, Florida, as we approach the 21st century is not anything like the community that existed thirty-five or forty years ago. The Jacksonville community is more populous and diverse than at any time in its history. The small town atmosphere that was so much a part of Jacksonville's political and social scene has given rise to an emerging city in which black citizens are involved in all aspects of community life. This involvement can be viewed as one positive outcome of the many years of struggle on the part of black citizens to gain acceptance in Jacksonville's educational, economic, social and political arenas. One must rethink the potential outcome of educating children in a racially isolated environment.

The pride that was embodied in the Ichiban of Andrew Robinson and the "New Spirit" of Ezekiel Bryant had no racial boundaries. Robinson was seeking excellence in all aspects of school life and Bryant envisioned an "All-American" high school in which all students, regardless of race, equally participated and

obtained a quality education. Both gentlemen left the school district to take positions of responsibility in the field of higher education and did so in settings that were racially diverse. In so doing, they were role models for other African-Americans proving that race was not of necessity a barrier to achievement and influence.

It is important to note that William Raines High School is not nearly the same school that it was during Dr. Robinson and Dr. Bryant's tenure as principals there. The school has experienced major changes in its attendance boundaries resulting in a greater diversity in its population. Although the population in the attendance area is still almost all African-American, the socio-economic levels of the students have changed with a high percentage now coming from a number of low-income housing projects. This contrasts sharply with the large number of Raines students whose parents were employed in professional occupations in the late 60s and early 70s and who held different aspirations for their children as a result of their educational backgrounds. Also, academic magnet schools such as Stanton College Preparatory School and Paxon School for Advanced Studies have given students in the Raines attendance area other options for school attendance and many academically capable students have elected this option. Although athletics has earned the school some recent distinction, high teacher turnover and low student achievement plague the school. Times have changed and the school and its students have changed as well.

The research questions that remain must be addressed. Will the school district ever be successful in desegregating Raines High School? What will it take to attract and retain white students at Raines? In order for white students to attend the school in large numbers, the academic image of the school must undergo a dramatic change. Poor student performance on most student achievement indicators has earned the school a reputation for inferior academics. In order for significant desegregation to take place, white parents and students must see evidence of academic excellence at Raines High School.

Creating a climate of academic excellence at Raines will require substantive changes in staffing, curriculum and student placement. A challenging curriculum taught by highly qualified teachers with expectations of high student performance is an absolute necessity. The principal must make the recruitment and retention of outstanding faculty a primary objective. The current superintendent of schools lists high expectations for student achievement and accountability of principals and teachers among his major goals. The time is opportune for making substantive change at this school. Does this sound like the "legacy of Ichiban?" The researcher believes that it does. A school that emphasizes excellence in all aspects of school life should be the overarching goal for William Raines High School.

A new vision for Raines High School, built on excellence, must be developed. The limited success in desegregating Raines over the past twenty-six

years indicates that, short of a major change in student assignment to the school, achieving a racially balanced student population there will just not happen. Its most recent history as a magnet school with a school-within-a-school type of program has not been successful in attracting white students. Other options for desegregating Raines, including making the school a dedicated magnet or identifying all Duval County high schools as dedicated magnet schools, might be considered.

Florida's system of county school districts provides an opportunity for school desegregation that is more difficult to achieve in areas with city-suburban school systems. In most instances, city school systems today are largely populated by minorities and suburban school systems by whites making desegregation within the city school districts an impossibility. The Duval County school district, encompassing the county's diverse population, has the potential for desegregating all of its schools.

Although the county's population is diverse, neighborhoods are not. Many areas of Duval County are entirely black and others almost entirely white. For the most part, high schools in wholly black neighborhoods are contiguous to other predominantly black high schools so that the redrawing of attendance boundaries is not a viable option for desegregation purposes. In addition, the St. Johns River serves as a natural boundary separating a majority of the city's black and non-

black populations. Other techniques must be examined if full desegregation of the district's high schools is to be achieved.

The Jacksonville branch of the NAACP has advocated a system of controlled choice in the Duval County schools. This type of open enrollment system would eliminate all school attendance boundaries and require parents and students to exercise choice in school assignment. Students would make application for up to three school choices, at least one of which would be a desegregative choice. School district officials would then assign students to schools based on their choices taking into consideration school capacity and racial balance requirements. Under such a system, no student would be guaranteed assignment to a neighborhood school. Although NAACP leaders indicate that most students in a controlled choice system receive their first or second choice, there is no guarantee that such would be the case in Duval County. Current School Board members, including Stan Jordan, Billy Parker and Linda Sparks, have been vocal in their opposition to controlled choice as an option in Duval County. Without some type of theme or reason for choosing among schools, the open enrollment or controlled choice option for high schools is not likely to be successful.

Another possible strategy for desegregating the high schools in Duval County would be to designate them all as dedicated magnets. A county-wide system of dedicated magnet high schools holds greater promise for success than

the open enrollment model. All high schools would have a program of study unique to their school and students would have a valid reason for choosing among them. The size and geography of the school district would still be issues which could be alleviated with the possible replication of programs in different regions of the county. The strong attraction of the neighborhood high school would continue to be a factor in the choices that students might make. Although preference could be given to neighborhood students for a designated portion of the seats at each school, racial balance considerations would preclude all students from attending their neighborhood high school. Strong historical allegiances to these neighborhood high schools would make such a technique difficult to implement. An option that would maintain some sense of neighborhood identity and provide for parent and student choice holds the best opportunity for success.

One participant in this study made a suggestion that would give consideration to both magnet and neighborhood schools. The participant suggested that Raines might become a dedicated magnet school and neighborhood students reassigned to Ribault High School, located less than a mile away. She proposed that in creating such a magnet school at Raines, a vision of excellence and unity of purpose could be reinstituted. Neighborhood students who wished to be part of the new vision and mission of the school could opt to attend. This recommendation would identify Ribault as the neighborhood

high school and provide for a desegregated Raines, however the continued existence of Ribault as a racially isolated black high school would be a concern.

Dedicated magnet schools have a record of success in the Duval County school system. Eight dedicated magnet schools at the elementary, middle and high school levels have achieved desegregated student populations. Four of these schools have lengthy waiting lists. Historically, this type of magnet school has been more successful in achieving a desegregated student population than school-within-a-school magnet programs. Converting Raines High School to a dedicated magnet school with an academic theme has potential for achieving significant and lasting desegregation.

Program continuity at the elementary, middle and high school levels is an important consideration in the identification of magnet themes. Raines High School was required by the 1990 desegregation agreement between the Duval County School Board and the Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP to offer a magnet program focusing on mathematics and science. The program that was implemented has not been effective and has not been successful in achieving the agreement's desegregation goals. As a dedicated magnet school with this theme, Raines would provide the opportunity for program continuity for students enrolled at Kirby-Smith, the dedicated magnet middle school for Mathematics/Science/ Pre-Engineering. The recent conversion of Kirby-Smith from a school-within-a-school program to a dedicated magnet resulted in almost immediate success in

desegregating the school. Kirby-Smith presently enrolls a student population that is approximately 45 percent black and 55 percent white. If these students were to continue their studies at Raines High School, a similar enrollment would be expected.

Creating dedicated magnet schools offers additional opportunities beyond the immediate desegregation of the student population. The negotiated contract between the school system and the teacher's union provides for a reconstitution of the faculty when such a change occurs. Identifying Raines as a dedicated magnet school would provide the principal with an opportunity to identify and recruit outstanding teachers who could assist in developing an excellent academic program. Additionally, this type of magnet school would provide a focus and direction uniting the faculty in a common mission centered on the school's magnet theme. Innovative and creative teachers, relishing the opportunity to participate in the design of a unique and innovative program, would be expected to seek assignment to the school.

A unique and innovative curriculum is essential to the success of any magnet school. Limiting certain mathematics and science courses to Raines High School would make the school attractive to students with a talent or interest in those areas. Specific opportunities to provide science, mathematics and engineering-related experiences outside of the classroom would enhance the magnet program's uniqueness. Visionary leadership and the involvement of

competent faculty in the design of the program are key elements in building a successful magnet school. It is possible to create such a school at Raines and it is reasonable to expect that white students would choose to attend if a quality program were offered.

The final research question is not as easily answered. Should the effort to desegregate Raines High School be continued? The answer is not simple and does not come easily. In order to address the question, one must look at a response that takes into consideration the best interest of students.

The early history of Raines High School indicates that students who attended the school, albeit in a segregated setting, received a very good education. There was also a strong sense of community within the school and school pride was evident. The neighborhood identified with the school and parental involvement was fostered and encouraged. The legacy of that identity and pride is evident today.

Today's pride at William Raines High School is not centered on excellence in academics. Raines has achieved a reputation for an outstanding athletic program, but that excellence has not carried over into the classrooms. The school has lingered among the school district's lowest achieving high schools. Quality faculty have been difficult to recruit and retain. Most Raines students matriculate from racially isolated middle and elementary schools with little, if any, contact with

white peers. Schooling has not prepared Raines graduates for success in a diverse, global society.

Although it may be more comfortable to educate students in a setting where everyone is of the same racial makeup, doing so does not serve students well. By law, Americans are no longer required to live in a racially isolated society. Although racism and bigotry still exist, our lifestyles are, for the most part, much more diverse than they were thirty or forty years ago. Furthermore, demographic predictions for the next thirty to forty years indicate an even more diverse society in this country. It is imperative that students of all races and ethnicities learn, at an early age, to value all people and work with them harmoniously. A population that values diversity cannot be achieved by educating any group of students in racial isolation. To best serve their needs, it is important that efforts to provide a desegregated education for students at William Raines High School be continued.

The value of this study for this researcher has been the in-depth look at the efforts to desegregate a historically black high school through the stories of those who were part of the process. The richness of the study lies in the personal histories of the participants. All of the participants, both black and white, were exceedingly gracious and more than willing to tell their stories sharing personal, reflective information with the researcher. The openness and candor with which they responded to the questions permitted the researcher to provide a human

touch to the recorded events. Sharing the recollection of those events and the emotions that the memories evoked was a humbling experience. The interview process was rewarding, yet painful and deeply moving. No agreement among the participants emerged concerning the value and need for a desegregated education at Raines High School.

While this research offered an in-depth look at school desegregation at one historically black high school, additional cases in other locales need to be examined. What was the experience like in a smaller rural area? How was the experience different in other areas of the country? What were the long-term effects of desegregation efforts in other historically black high schools? It is hoped that this study will become the basis for such investigations.

Appendix A

Individuals Interviewed for This Study

Bronner, Carla: Ms. Bronner was an African-American student at William Raines High School during the period of this study. She is currently an English/Language Arts teacher at Ed White High School in Jacksonville, Florida.

Browning, Alee: Ms. Browning was a white mathematics teacher at William Raines High School during the period of the study. She retired from the Duval County Public Schools in 1997 after completing her entire teaching career at Raines High School.

Bryant, Dr. Ezekiel: Dr. Bryant, an African-American, was the second principal of William Raines High School and served as principal during the initial desegregation of both the faculty and student body. Dr. Bryant left Raines to serve on the faculty of Florida Community College at Jacksonville. He is currently retired from that institution.

Buckley, Carolyn (Callie): Ms. Buckley, wife of Don Buckley and mother of Rick Buckley, resides in Jacksonville with her husband.

Buckley, Don: Mr. Buckley, husband of Callie Buckley and father of Rick Buckley, is retired from the Duval County Public Schools after many years of service as a teacher and administrator. Mr. Buckley was a high school principal prior to his retirement. He also served as a member of the Duval County School Board.

Buckley, Rick; Mr. Buckley was a white student at William Raines High School during the initial year of student desegregation. Rick attended Raines for one year before transferring to Wolfson High School where his father was employed. He is currently employed as a sales representative for an engineering company and resides in Jacksonville with his family. His children attend public schools.

Coleman, Greg: Mr. Coleman was an African-American student at William Raines High School during the initial years of student desegregation. He was an outstanding student-athlete and later played professional football for the Minnesota Vikings. He is currently employed by Ericsson, Inc. In Bloomington, Minnesota where he resides with his family.

Dozier, Wilene Dennis: Ms. Dozier was an African-American student at William Raines High School during the time of this study. She currently resides in Jacksonville with her children who attend public schools. Ms. Dozier is a practicing attorney.

Gray, Dr. Hortense Williams: Dr. Gray, an African-American, was the Dean of Girls at William Raines High School from the time that the school opened through the early years of desegregation. Dr. Gray left Raines to continue her career at Florida Community College at Jacksonville. She is currently retired and resides in Jacksonville.

Hardesty, Dr. Cecil: Dr. Hardesty was Superintendent of the Duval County Public Schools prior to and during the early years of desegregation. Dr. Hardesty is currently retired and lives in Jacksonville with his wife.

Jameson, Cheri Philbrick: Ms. Jameson was a white student at William Raines High School during the initial year of student desegregation. She is a hair stylist and resides in Jacksonville with her husband, a teacher/coach at Highlands Middle School, and two children who attend public schools.

Jennings, Doug: Mr. Jennings was a white student at William Raines High School during the initial year of desegregation. He transferred to Bishop Kenney High School, a Catholic parochial school, where he also played football. He currently resides in Jacksonville with his wife and children who attend public schools.

Jennings, Ray: Mr. Jennings, father of Doug Jennings, was an active parent supporter of Raines High School during its initial year of desegregation. Mr. Jennings is a State Farm Insurance Company agent and resides in Jacksonville.

Johnson, Jimmie: Mr. Johnson, an African-American, was the head football coach at William Raines High School during the period of the study. He enjoyed a successful career as coach and athletic director at Raines prior to his retirement. He is currently a member of the Duval County School Board.

King, Dorothy: Ms. King was the parent of an African-American student who attended William Raines High School during the period of this study. She was also a science teacher at Ribault Junior High School at that time. She is now retired and resides in Jacksonville with her family.

Messer, Quentin: Mr. Messer was an African-American faculty member at William Raines High School during the time of this study. Since that time, he has held various administrative positions in the Duval County Public Schools. Mr. Messer is currently a school principal and resides in Jacksonville.

Parker, Wendell (Billy): Mr. Parker was Assistant Superintendent for Operations for the Duval County Public Schools during the time of this study. He held several other administrative positions with the school system prior to his retirement. Mr. Parker has been an elected member of the Duval County School Board for several terms. He resides in Jacksonville with his wife.

Roberts, Arthur: Mr. Roberts was a white science teacher at William Raines High School during the early years of this study. He has continued his career with the Duval County Public Schools in several administrative positions and currently serves as Vice-Principal of Kirby-Smith Middle School, a magnet school for Mathematics and Science.

Stevens, Gina Brown: Ms. Stevens was a white student at William Raines High School during the period of this study and graduated from Raines as class valedictorian. Ms. Stevens graduated from Jacksonville University with a degree in engineering. She is currently on leave from her position as an engineer with the City of Jacksonville, devoting her time to her husband and young children.

Tyler, Art: Mr. Tyler is the parent of a white student, Bill, who attended William Raines High School during the initial years of desegregation. He was an active supporter of the school during that time. Mr. Tyler owns a business and resides on the north side of Jacksonville.

Tyler, Bill: Mr. Tyler was a white student-athlete at William Raines High School during the period of this study. Unlike many of the other white students, he attended Raines through graduation. Mr. Tyler was active in athletics and other school activities at Raines. He is currently employed as a supervisor with the U.S. Postal Service and also serves as pastor of a church on Jacksonville's north side.

West, Grace: Ms. West, an African-American, was the Curriculum Assistant at William Raines High School during the years of this study. She is now retired from the Duval County Public Schools and resides in Jacksonville with her husband.

Wilson, Darryl: Mr. Wilson was an African-American student at William Raines High School during the time of this study. He is currently a band instructor at Martin Luther King Elementary School in Jacksonville and has won numerous honors for his outstanding elementary school band program.

Appendix B

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

Purpose of the Study - The author is conducting a historical study of the desegregation of Raines High School to fulfill the requirements for a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Florida. The study will focus on the period of time between 1965 and 1975 and will require interviews with individuals who were involved with or who had knowledge of the desegregation efforts at that school. It is the intent of the author to capture the history of the desegregation of Raines High School during that period and to tell the story from the perspective of those who experienced the events in that history. In addition, the author seeks to identify the factors contributing to the short-lived success of those desegregation efforts.

Procedures - Interviews will be conducted with selected administrators, teachers, students, parents and community members involved in the court-ordered desegregation of Raines High School. The interviews will be audio taped and transcribed. The transcriptions will be used in compiling the historical research for this study. At the conclusion of the study, the audio tapes and transcriptions will be donated to the University of North Florida Library along with the completed dissertation.

Interviewees must consent to being identified by name in this historical study. There is always the possibility that the identification of interviewees by name in this recorded history could be used in reprisals of some type by individuals or groups that have a special interest in the desegregation of Raines High School. The risk to interviewees in this study is considered minimal to non-existent since the period of time studied is over twenty years ago and the individuals have no current affiliation with Raines High School.

The author will be happy to answer any inquiries regarding the procedures of this study. Inquiries may be directed to Judy Poppell, 1700 Park Terrace East, Atlantic Beach, Florida 32233 or Dr. Katherine Kasten, Dean of College of Education and Human Services, University of North Florida. Interviewees are free to withdraw their consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time without prejudice.

No monetary compensation will be awarded to participants in this study.

Statement of Consent -
I have read and I understand the procedures described above. I agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

Signatures:

______________________	____	______________________	____
Participant	Date	Witness	Date
______________________	____	______________________	____
Relationship if other than Participant	Date	Principal Investigator	Date

Appendix C

Stanford Achievement Test
Mean National Percentile Scores
Grades 10 -12
1977

SCHOOL	Rdng Gr 10	Rdng Gr 11	Rdng Gr 12	Eng Gr 10	Eng Gr 11	Eng Gr 12	Math Gr 10	Math Gr 11	Math Gr 12
#33 Robert E. Lee	45.93	45.91	46.00	44.59	43.30	47.30	45.79	48.58	53.33
#35 Andrew Jackson									
#38 Baldwin									
#75 Paxon									
#86 Terry Parker									
#90 Englewood									
#96 Ribault									
#153 Stanton									
#165 William Raines									
#223 Fletcher									
#224 Wolfson									
#237 Sandalwood									
#241 Forrest									
#248 Ed White									

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