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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, *TESTIMONIOS*: A TWENTY FIRST CENTURY COLONIAL PROJECT AND THE CLOSURE OF HISTORICALLY BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS, by Elizabeth K. Jeffers, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education and Human Development, Georgia State University.

The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chairperson, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty.

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Testimonios:

A Twenty-First Century Colonial Project and the Closure of Historically Black High Schools in New Orleans

by

ELIZABETH K. JEFFERS

Under the Direction of Janice B. Fournillier

ABSTRACT

TESTIMONIES:

A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY COLONIAL PROJECT AND THE CLOSURE OF HISTORICALLY BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS

by

Elizabeth K. Jeffers

Integral to communities and neighborhoods, historically Black public high schools fostered traditions, heritage, as well as collective identity and awareness. The aim of this inquiry was to explore various perspectives on what happened to historically Black public high schools in New Orleans and to learn about the experiences of those who lived through these changes. Moreover, this dissertation chronicles struggles for Black public education in New Orleans to show how current struggles for Black education are a continuation of the past. Primary data sources include in-depth interviews with 30 students, alumni, parents, teachers and administrators; public testimonies; archival documents; photographs; governmental documents; and court records. Findings illustrate that while the State of Louisiana's Act No. 35 (2005) enabled the newly created Recovery School District (RSD) to assume the control of a total of 107 of the 128 Orleans Parish schools just after Hurricane Katrina, the dismantling of historically Black public high schools must be understood within a broader historical context that considers previous policies as well as community led struggles that forced the opening of these schools. Different than most qualitative research on school reform in New Orleans, this study presents narratives on how educational policy was lived and experienced by those whose lives have been affected.

INDEX WORDS: School Closures, Black Education, *Testimonios*, Teachers and Race, White Supremacy, New Orleans

TESTIMONIES:

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Elizabeth K. Jeffers

A Dissertation

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Degree of

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in

Social Foundations of Education

in

Department of Educational Policy Studies

in

the College of Education and Human Development

Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA 2017

DEDICATION

This research study is dedicated to the children as well as the educators in New Orleans who experienced school closure, particularly those whom I worked with and learned from at Laurel Elementary School, Walter L. Cohen High School and John McDonogh Senior High School. Thank you for your dedication to education and the education of future generations. I completed this dissertation to honor children who lost their lives, in-part, as a result of educational violence and abuse in New Orleans: Mathew Boutte, James Johnson, James Jones, Gervais Nicholas, Guy McEwen, Brandon Cotton, Shaquille Cooper, Rodney Morris, Jasilas Wright, and too many others. I am also dedicating this work to all of the young men and women who were pushed out of schools and subsequently incarcerated: Justin Collins, Brian Cook, Kerry Pittman, Ronald Thompson, Eric Shelbia, and too many others whose stories I cannot recall. Memories of your smiles, actions, words, and lives have moved me to embark upon this journey and to continue serving children in New Orleans and across the world.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEHR Advocates for Environmental Human Rights

AP Advanced Placement

ARRA American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
ASD Tennessee Achievement School District

BESE Board of Elementary and Secondary Education

CCP Cohen College Prep

CCS Coalition for Community Schools

CLU Community Labor United CEO Chief Executive Officer

CMO Charter Management Organization

CREDO Center for Research on Educational Outcomes
CRPE Center for Reinventing Public Education

DNIA Downtown Neighborhood Improvement Association

EMO Education Management Organization EPA Environmental Protection Agency ERA Education Research Alliance

ESEA Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as Amended

FEMA Federal Emergency Management Agency

FINS Future Is Now Schools
FINNOLA Future Is Now New Orleans

HANO Housing Authority of New Orleans
HEAP Hurricane Educator Assistance Program
HPSI High Performance Schools Initiative
IEP Individualized Education Program

i3 Invest in Innovation

KIPP Knowledge is Power Program

LABI Louisiana Association of Business and Industry

LCTJ Louisiana Colored Teachers Journal LDOE Louisiana State Department of Education

LEA Local Educational Authority LEP Limited English Proficiency

MASP Magnet Schools Assistance Program
MFP Minimum Foundation Program
MOU Memorandum of Understanding
MPOC Master Plan Oversight Committee

NACSA National Association of Charter School Authorizers

NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NCLB No Child Left Behind

NOCCA New Orleans Center for Creative Arts

NOCP New Orleans College Prep NOPS New Orleans Public Schools

NORD New Orleans Recreation Department

NSNO New Schools for New Orleans
OPSB Orleans Parish School Board

PTA Parent Teacher Association PTSD Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

RSD Recovery School District
SAC Students at the Center
SEA State Education Agency
SIG School Improvement Grant

SNNC Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

TFA Teach For America

TNTP The New Teacher Project

UTNO United Teachers of New Orleans

DOE United States Department of Education YWCA Young Women's Council Association

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

We hope this book inspires you to pursue the past, present, and future in the spirit of Sankofa—a West African concept that means to remember the past in order to understand the present and prepare for the future.

—Students at the Center in Sankofa: SAC Writing about African American and Local History (2003)

Current trends and policies are not isolated incidents; they are a continuation of the past. The quotation that opened this disertation, "to pursue the past, present, and future" (Students at the Center, 2003), demonstrates how African epistemologies are integrated within Black New Orleans epistemologies. Alridge explained: "As a methodological construct for doing and writing history, Sankofa guides historians to think of history, not as events frozen in time, but rather as occurrences that are one with the present and future" (2003, p. 29). This worldview explains why it was central for me to use a historical approach in this study.

Hence, my introduction provides a history of Black public education in New Orleans to illustrate that from inception to contemporary times, there has been a constant struggle for Black education. Public education was never handed to Black children or their tax-paying parents. Organized and collective struggle took root prior to the opening of Black public high schools in New Orleans. Struggles that resulted in the opening of these schools are highly instructive because they confirm the power of social movements and collective struggle.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore various perspectives on what happened to historically Black public schools in New Orleans and to learn about the experiences of those who lived through these changes. This dissertation study presents *testimonios* on the closure of historically Black public high schools in New Orleans, like George Washington Carver, Joseph

S. Clark, Walter L. Cohen, Lord Beaconsfield Landry and Booker T. Washington. Particularly, it centers on Booker T. Washington, Walter L. Cohen, and George Washington Carver.

Research Questions

The following questions frame the study:

- What are perspectives of various community members on public education in New Orleans, and particularly, the city's historically Black public high schools?
- How is the closing of historical Black high schools in New Orleans related to larger sociohistorical and sociocultural issues?

The Context

In this section, I first provide background on the Louisiana's antebellum three-tiered racial caste system, which is fundamental to understanding racism in New Orleans and throughout Louisiana. Then, I offer a historical overview of Black education in New Orleans. In doing this, I hope to illustrate the importance of these schools and their histories to the communities in which they are embedded. Further, I illustrate the legacy of White supremacy that has impacted contemporary public education, as well as educational policies and practices.

Louisiana's Three-Tiered Racial System

Louisiana's antebellum three-tiered racial caste system included: Whites, slaves and *les gens de couleur libre*, which is French for free people of color. Most free people of color identified as Creole and were descendants of French, Spanish, African and Native American people in Louisiana.

Les gens de couleur libre. As a French and Spanish colony, people of color had different rights in New Orleans than they did within the rest of the South. New Orleans was

under French rule from 1719 to 1763, thus the dominant culture and language of New Orleans was French, and the religion was Catholic. French Catholics in Louisiana favored an assimilationist approach to colonization. Hall (1992) noted that as colonists became increasingly dependent on Native Americans, they enslaved Native American women to harvest food. Woods pointed out: "Students of history who chose to romanticize the colonial assimilation policies of the French chose to ignore the foundations of these regimes: enclosure, genocide and slavery" (2017, p. 7).

When the Natchez Indians aligned themselves with African slaves and revolted in 1729 (Hall, 1992), French authorities created a permanent free Black military force of free people of color (Bell, 1997). In 1763, New Orleans became a Spanish colony, which lasted until 1800. While New Orleans was under Spanish rule, slaves were allowed to purchase their freedom (Foner, 1970). Christian noted that under Spanish rule free Blacks and free men of color were "an integral part of the colonial militia whose duties were the patrolling of the streets in New Orleans after dark and the maintenance of law and order" (1965, p. 5).

Many of the free people of color and Whites living in the French colony, St. Domingue (Haiti), escaped from a massive slave revolt and came to New Orleans by way of Cuba in 1809 (Lachance, 1992). Of those who emigrated to New Orleans in 1809, Lachance noted that 2,731 were White, 3,102 were free people of color, and 3,226 were slaves; however, gender groups along racial lines were imbalanced with a larger number of men who were White and a larger number of women who were free people of color and slaves. During the Battle of New Orleans, two free colored militia battalions and volunteers of color played a decisive part in defeating the British (Christian, 1965). By 1860, free people of color owned two million dollars, or one-fifth,

of the property in New Orleans, which was 88 % of the total accounted for wealth belonging to American Blacks (Martin, 2003).

Historically, both Whites and Blacks native to Louisiana had identified as Creole, but after the Civil War, many White Creoles, who were descendants of French and Spanish settlers, insisted that Creoles be pure-blooded White (Fairclough, 2008). With the coming of the Jim Crow era, the three-tiered racial system became a dual American system of White and Black. While White creoles assimilated into the dual system and started identifying with their race rather than their ethnicity and culture, according to Logsdon and Bell, Blacks retained divisions that were "rooted in ethnocultural differences, not simply color or legal status" (1992, p. 195). White Democrats and White Republicans often exploited these differences in order to make it difficult to achieve political unity during Reconstruction (Logsdon & Bell, 1992).

The Jim Crow era instituted an era of terror for the whole Black population in New Orleans. Events during this time, however, provided groundwork for a new Black political class, whose members were oftentimes descendants of *les gens de couleur libre*. Black revolt was detrimental to White elites who were members of the Crescent City Democrat Club and the exclusive Carnival krewes and organizations: Comus, Momus, Rex, the Boston Club, etc. Robert Charles had come to New Orleans as a day laborer, and when two policemen attacked and tried to arrest him, he began a duel in the streets (Wells-Barnett, 1900). In self-defense, Charles killed two officers on the spot and several others in the manhunt that followed. The lynching of Charles illustrates how the police state was used to enforce a racial state.

Following desegregation, which I discuss in chapter 2, from the late 1970's until 2005, for the first time since the Reconstruction Era, the Black political class gained a stronghold in government. Ernest "Dutch Morial" became the first Black member of the Louisiana State

Legislature since Reconstruction, the first Black American to hold the elected position as Louisiana Fourth Circuit Court of Appeal judge and, subsequently, in 1978, the first Black mayor of New Orleans. After serving in the Louisiana State Senate and the New Orleans City Council, in 1986, Sidney Barthelemy became the second Black mayor of New Orleans. Dutch Morial's son, Marc, also served on the Louisiana State Senate and as then as the mayor of New Orleans from 1994 through 2002. New Orleans had Black congressmen, on both the local and federal level; Black school boards; Black principals; Black teachers; Black universities; and Black public schools. However, political analysts have noted that having a Black political regime has not always equated with support for collective Black interests (Johnson, 2006; Reed, 1999, 2016).

The plantation bloc. France colonized Louisiana in the early eighteenth century and founded New Orleans in 1718. Gwendolyn Mildo Hall noted that of the Company of the Indies' 13 voyages that brought slaves from Africa to Louisiana, all but one came from Senagambia, the region between Senegal and Gambia. In 1777, Spain authorized slave trade between Spanish Louisiana and the West Indies (Hall). And in 1782, Spain authorized friendly or neutral countries to import slaves, so British, Scotch and America slave traders began to import slaves into Louisiana (Lachance, 1979). Hall noted that during Spanish rule, almost all ships brought in by traders from St. Domingue, Jamaica, the United States and Cuba came directly from Africa, and the slaves "came from relatively few, and/or closely related nations" (p. 288). She argues that common languages under both French and Spanish colonial rule allowed slaves in Louisiana to organize and resist the plantation regime.

From the 1830s until the Civil War, New Orleans was a center for the slave market.

Hundreds of thousands of persons were separated from there families and sold on the auction

bloc in New Orleans (Woods, 2017). While the United States ended the formal plantation system with the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, it showed no interest in dismantling White supremacist structures. The U.S.'s Bureau of Free Labor set up home colonies on former plantations where "vagrant freedmen" were sent to work. Thomas Conway, the Superintendent of Freedmen wrote: "I have desired to impress upon the minds of all who came into my charge that work could in no ease be avoided... they must work as hard as if they were employed by contract on the plantation of any private citizen" (U.S. Army, Department of the Gulf, Bureau of Free Labor, & Conway, 1865/1923, p. 5).

Elite Whites in New Orleans continued to celebrate the plantation, which Clyde Woods (1992) referred to as the "Plantation Bloc." While Carnival krewes are known for their annual parades through the streets of New Orleans as a prelude to Lent, the oldest of these organizations define the city's racial and caste systems. After the Civil War, a Confederate General who served as the city's sheriff became President of the Pickwick Club and worked to reorganize the Boston Club, which had begun in 1841 (Gill, 1997). The Mystic Krewe of Comus came out of the Pickwick Club (Gill, 1997). The Knights of Momus, associated with the Louisiana Club, began during Reconstruction (Gill, 1997). The Rex Society was formed during Reconstruction to "provide a monarch to lead and add spectacle to the city's Mardi Gras celebration and to help New Orleans recover from the lingering effects of the Civil War" (Pro Bono Publico Foundation, n.d.). These prestigious White gentlemen's clubs have maintained the plantation tradition through secretive memberships, business dealings and access to the city's wealth.

However, in 1991, City Councilwoman Dorothy Mae Taylor passed the anti-

discrimination ordinance that stated that for Carnival krewes to receive a parade permit, they could not discriminate memberships based on race, gender or several other traits (Rohter, 1992). Taylor's ordinance required each krewe to provide an affidavit that they have:

[N]o written or unwritten provision in its charter, bylaws, rules, regulations or policies which call for the refusal, withholding or denying of membership, or any of the services, accommodations, advantages, facilities or privilege offered by the respondent to members or others, because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sexual orientation or ancestry. (City of New Orleans, New Orleans City Code 34.3)

Following the ordinance, the Mystic Krewe of Comus, the Knights of Momus and the Krewe of Proteus ceased their public parades, but they have continued their society debuts and balls. However, the local paper reported that Rex invited "three prominent black New Orleanians to join" (Finch, 1992). Subsequently, a Black businessman from California wrote the clubs and applied for membership, and he filed a complaint with the Human Rights Commission alleging that he had been denied entrance because of his race (Gill, 1997). However, the U.S. District Judge ruled that the clubs were strictly private, and it barred the commission from investigating them (Finch, 1994).

Woods explained that the plantation was "painfully alive among those still dominated by the economic and political dynasties of the South which preserved and reproduced themselves through diversification and through new mobilizations" (1998, p. 4). Rex's controversial history sheds light upon the significance of Pro Bono Publico Foundation's financial backing of post-Hurricane Katrina school reform in New Orleans. On Mardi Gras day in 2015, former chairman of the foundation, Christian T. Brown, toasted Mayor Mitch Landrieu on the success of charter schools (WDSU, 2015). Pro Bono Publico Foundation's (n.d.) website states:

New Orleans has become a model of educational reform, and our children now have access to a network of successful and accountable schools, predominantly charter schools. ... Organizations such as Teach for America and KIPP have joined local organizations such as New Schools for New Orleans to assure that the process of renewal

and reform succeeds. Rex members have helped lead and support these organizations, and many have received grants from the Pro Bono Publico Foundation.

Yet, it was actually prior to Hurricane Katrina, when the White elite began to reclaim New Orleans and the stronghold that they felt that they had lost after the Jim Crow Era. This was iterated through publications like the Committee for a Better New Orleans' *Blueprint for a Better New Orleans* (2000). The *Blueprint's* critical issues and goals included:

Create an effective and innovative business attraction strategy, formally aligning the City's public and private sectors, which encourages private sector job-creating investment. This strategy will encourage economic growth in neighborhoods, while preserving the City's unique character and benefiting all citizens. [emphasis added] (Committee for a Better New Orleans, p. 21)

The White elite supported the Black candidate, Ray Nagin, who was an executive for Cox New Orleans, the city's cable television franchise, as their mayor (Hirsch, 2007).

A Historical Overview of Black Education in New Orleans

1840 Henriette Délile, Juliette Gaudin and Josephine Charles founded the first order of Black nuns as early as 1840, The Sisters of the Holy Family (Desdunes, 1973/2001). The Sisters of the Holy Family dedicated themselves to taking care of the sick and the elderly, taking care of orphaned children and educating Black children.

1841 Under the tutelage of Horace Mann, the former slaveholding planter, John A. Shaw, arrived in Louisiana from Philadelphia to launch the first public school system (DeVore & Logsdon, 1991/2011). Shaw recruited White teachers from his home in New England to begin the first public education system in New Orleans in 1841 (DeVore & Logsdon).

1848 Madame Bernard Couvent, a Black African woman, left a legacy in her will, when she passed around 1832, several small houses and money to the Catholic Church to establish a school for Black orphans (Desdunes, 1973/2001). The school opened as the School for Colored Indigent Children, and private contributions from wealthy free Blacks maintained the school (OPSB,

September 16, 1867). Since the state denied children of color a public education, and children of color could only attend private schools, the *Couvant School* also educated non-orphans. It was co-educational, and teachers who were educated in France or Haiti taught in both French and English (Medley, 2012). Desdunes, a benefactor of the school, wrote: "All teachers were of the Black race; thus, they were able to develop sympathetic relationships with the children in their care. The pupils received a well-rounded education, intellectually, morally, physically, and spiritually" (p. 104).

1850 The Louisiana legislature banned the incorporation of all religious groups by free persons of color and revoked the charters of all such organizations already in existence (Quigley & Zaki, 1997). This discriminatory legislation undermined the work of Black run religious institutions like the Sisters of the Holy Family and St. Augustin Church.

1852 Louisiana's Constitution of 1852 established that public education funds be distributed to the parishes "in proportion to the number of free White children. ... shall be fixed by the general assembly" (Title VIII, Art. 136).

1857 The Supreme Court Chief Justice Taney implemented the *Dred Scott Decision*.

1862 L'Union, the first Black newspaper in the South, which was also bilingual, was established. Paul Trévigne, a teacher at the Couvant School for 40 years, served as editor for L'Union and assistant editor for the first Black daily newspaper in the United States, La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orléans, or The New Orleans Tribune (Medley, 2003).

Before Reconstruction, Blacks were educated in private schools or by private tutors. In New Orleans, many of the wealthy people of color sent their children to Europe or New England for their education. In the first years following its establishment in 1827, the Ursulines' school accepted Whites, Indians, Negro slaves, and free people of color, both resident and day pupils.

Although they were taxed like other citizens in the support of education, Black children were excluded from public schools (Desdunes, 1973/2001).

W. E. B. Du Bois and Dill noted that there were well documented accounts of the efforts that Black communities took to build, fund and operate their own schools during and following the Civil War (1911). Prior to the establishment of the Bureau of Freedman and Refugees' schools, private schools included, the Soulé Chapel School, a private school located in a Methodist church where parents of nearly 100 youth paid tuition; the Superintendent and his two assistants were Black educators (OPSB, 1867). Additional private schools included: Fourth Baptist Church; the Republican School, operated by educators with more than 30 years of experience; a school at 280 St. Claude Avenue that the Association of Post Number 4, Grand Army of the Republic supported and where teachers volunteered (OPSB, 1867).

At the conclusion of a rally that Black and White Republicans held outside of the temporary state capital, the Mechanics' Institute in New Orleans, there was a march of nearly one hundred Black men, led by members of the Louisiana Native Guard and other Black Union army veterans (Desdunes, 1973/2001; Du Bois, 1935/1998; Hollandsworth, 2001). Woods (2017) wrote:

Despite harassment and attacks, they were intent on securing their freedom, their right to vote, and their right to legally challenge the restored rebel government and to press for Black suffrage ... More than 137 unarmed leaders and spectators, overwhelmingly African American, were assassinated. ... A year later, the U.S. House of Representatives' Select Committee on the New Orleans Riots concluded that Mayor Monroe organized the massacre... New Orleans offered the nation a bloody vision of the South's future. Also revealed was a president who systemically sowed the seeds of the massacre and many more to come. (pp. 48-49)

The Union Army created a separate Board of Education for Black education in Louisiana (DeVore & Logsdon, 1991/2011). The Bureau of Freedom and Refugees funded schools through student tuition and a voluntary taxation scheme for Black New Orleanians (Blassingame, 1973,

chapter 5, para 20). The system of double taxation without representation remained intact.

According to school board meeting minutes, in October, November, and December of 1867, City

Council appropriated \$17,500 for colored schools, while in December alone, it appropriated

\$30,000 for White schools, and for the whole year, \$349,568 for White schools (OPSB, January

10, 1868). Black citizens paid \$84,000 in state and municipal taxes that year, but the State of

Louisiana allocated the education portion of this money exclusively for the education of White

children. During this time, the school board bought used books from the Freedman's Bureau and

spent no money on coal for heating the school houses (OPSB, January 10, 1868).

Ratification of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Louisiana's Constitution Title VII, Article 135 provided for the desegregation of schools. But as Anderson noted, the Reconstruction Congress deliberately chose "to leave the regulation of the elective franchise in the hands of the rebel states... [which] planted the seeds for long-term political exclusion and the resulting education inequality" (2015, p. 320). In New Orleans, Black property owners paid taxes to fund public schools, but the Union army did nothing to assure their children had access to those schools. Black civic organizations and attorneys in Louisiana would demand suffrage and equal access to public education, a struggle that has continued for 150 years.

Republican Governor Henry C. Warmoth vetoed the Civil Rights Bill of 1868 because he felt that enforcing it through fines or imprisonment for unjust discrimination was "not merely novel and unprecedented, but impracticable and pernicious" (*La Tribune de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, January 12, 1869). The Board of Directors of Public Schools of New Orleans continued separate schools on account of race and color, after the success of Black-led demonstrations against the segregation of the city's streetcars, the all-White school board endorsed integrated schools, which lasted three years (DeVore & Logsdon, 1991/2011).

- 1871 Formerly all-White schools admit Black students, including Oscar J. Dunn's, the first Black Lieutenant Governor's, three adopted daughters (*Daily Picayune*, 1871).
- 1874 More than 84,000 members of the White League ambushed 600 members of the city's integrated police force and 3,000 members of the Black militia in the Battle of Liberty Place (Woods, 2017). White students forcibly ejected Black students from schools (DeVore & Logsdon, 1991/2011). The *New Orleans Times* on December 17 referred to the group as "Youthful Knights," and the following day, reported that in connection with their visit to the Keller School, there was a death of "a colored man" (*New Orleans Times*, 1874a, 1874b).
- **1891** A group of men descended mostly from free people of color established the Comité *de Citoyens*, or the Citizens' Committee. Committee member, Rodolphe Desdunes, wrote that its mission was "to protest the adoption and enforcement of the statutes that established unjust and humiliating discrimination against the black race in Louisiana," (1973/2001, p. 142).

1892 OPSB adopted a resolution to remove all children of color from White schools.

Resolved, that the superintendent be and is hereby directed to address a letter to the principals of all White schools where a request may come from a district committee or the committee on high schools, to the effect that all children of colored extraction withdraw from said White schools within a reasonable time and inform them that in default of their withdrawing there from, that they will be expelled (*Daily-Picayune*, 1892).

The Louisiana Public Teachers' Association, the local chapter of the National Educators Association, was established in 1892, and its membership was limited to White educators (Middleton, 1984, p. 49).

1896 The Citizen's Committee challenged the constitutionality of Louisiana's Act No. 111 (1890), known as the Separate Car Act. *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the separate but equal clause.

"Separate but Equal" meant that all of the state's public high schools were reserved for whites in 1900. ... It meant that the school system spent an average of seven or eight times as much money for education of white children as they did for black children. This new policy enrolled white students for seven to nine months a year, while enrolling blacks as little as three and no more than six months. (Cassimere, 1977, p. 4)

1900 A special committee of the OPSB recommended "a change in the curriculum and character of work" in the colored schools to the full board, which meant a reduction of grades to the fifth grade (OPSB, 1900).

It was probably a mistake in the early organization of these schools to attempt so much or to expect so much of colored pupils....Your committee and superintendent are convinced that a thorough and well-instructed primary education in the colored schools will be much more satisfactory to pupils and to the administration than a continuation of work on the present lines... the work in these grades extended by the addition of primary manual and mechanical training and work well taught, the complete instruction in rudimentary education, with, in our opinion, be the desideration and curriculum appropriate and necessary today. From an investigation of the subject we have concluded that our colored school work should be reduced down to the fifth grade as constituted today. (*Daily-Picayune*, 1900a)

A White mob burned Thomy Lafon Elementary School (*Daily-Picayune*, 1900b). This occurred after two Black men were assaulted by White police officers, and one of the men, Robert Charles, in self-defense, killed two of the police officers and wounded another. Subsequently, according to Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1900/1997), there was a citywide manhunt for Charles, and mobs of White youth lynched and terrorized Black citizens throughout the city. Charles fought off a mob of 20,000 people (Wells-Barnett, 1900/1997).

1908 Alfred Lawless, pastor of Beecher Memorial Church, led a group of men known as the Seventh Ward Educational League to raise funds to purchase four lots and petition the board

to lease a small building, which became the Bucket of Blood School (Anderson, 201; Emanuel & Tureaud, 2011).

- **1909** Black children, families, educators, and leaders regained the sixth grade (DeVore & Logsdon, 1991/2011).
- 1913 Black children, families and community leaders regained seventh grade. Southern University, which at the time included a high school, moved to Baton Rouge and deprived students in New Orleans of a public high school (DeVore & Logsdon).
- 1914 Black public education for the eighth grade returned (DeVore & Logsdon).

 Historically Black public high schools in New Orleans.
- 1917 A group of citizens petitioned the OPSB to convert McDonogh 13 Boys School from a White elementary to a secondary school for Black students. McDonogh 35 Senior High became the first Black public high school (DeVore & Logsdon, 1991/2011). The school had been built in 1883, and it opened under the leadership of a Haitian Creole, J. W. Hoffman (Anderson, 2011).

 1918 The OPSB designated funds for a three-room annex at Thomy Lafon Elementary School

only because Joseph Kohn had pledged \$1,200 to purchase industrial equipment for black

vocational classes if the board provided the facilities (DeVore & Logsdon, p. 197).

1928).

- **1920s** There were 86 public schools, and less than 20 were designated for Black students with only two with new buildings (Emanuel & Tureaud, 2011). Walter L. Cohen, Dr. Joseph Hardin and Attorney A. P. Tureaud led the Seventh Ward Civic League held fundraisers and appealed to the OPSB to build a replacement for Valena C. Jones Elementary School (*Times-Picayune*,
- 1930 Notes from the Julius Rosenwald Fund stated: "For eighteen months the Board of Education did not secure the money for this proposed unit.... At the time the appropriation was

made, about \$2.2 million was made available to white projects" (Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1930, p. 22). The OPSB authorized an appropriation of \$275,000 for the construction of an industrial high school for Black students, which would supplement the Rosenwald Fund's appropriation of \$125,000 (Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1930). This money came out of the school board's threemillion-dollar bond issue for the erection of school buildings in Orleans parish (Louisiana Weekly, 1930a). When consultants from the Rosenwald Fund met with school board officials to formulate final plans local papers reported: "The conference decided that the trades to be taught at the school would be exclusively those which are largely occupied by colored labor at this time" (Louisiana Weekly, 1931), and this school would "not result in increasing competition between whites and Negroes" (Louisiana Weekly, 1930a). There were conflicting public opinions on this decision. The Colored Educational Alliance, which was made up of civic leagues, ministers and educational leaders, passed a resolution thanking the board for appropriating funds to erect the trade school and also asking them to construct four more schools for Black children as well as an evening school for Black adults (Louisiana Weekly, 1930c). On the other hand, John Guillaume, president of the Guillaume College, presented a letter to the School Board saying that the trade school was not their greatest need, and that they should instead build two high schools. (Louisiana Weekly, 1930b)

1931 The site that the officials from the Rosenwald Fund inspected and approved became the location of an elementary school (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1931). The Rosenwald Fund withdrew from the project (Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1931).

1938 The second historically Black public high school, Lord Beaconsfield Landry Senior High, opened in the Algiers section of Orleans Parish with Israel M. Augustine, Seniorⁱⁱ as principal

(Friends of Landry v. Recovery School District (through) the Louisiana Department of Education, 2012).

1940 The Works Progress Administration allocated funds for a trade school, which became Booker T. Washington (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2002).

The third historically Black public high school, Booker T. Washington Prevocational School for Negroes opened for 1400 students, and the *Times-Picayune* reported: "[S]ubjects for girl students include sewing, cooking, interior decorating, childcare, fundamentals of home nursing, fine laundering and training for the position of maids. Boy students will be taught agriculture, masonry, painting and decorating, woodwork, motor mechanics, graphic arts and shoe repairing" (1942). On January 28, 1943, Washington High School held its first graduation ceremony with twelve students and nearly 2000 parents, relatives, friends and patrons (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1943a).

Education of the New Orleans Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) submitted a petition to the School Board outlining 11 "glaring inequalities" that were violations of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment (1946, p. 1). Black teachers, on average, had a 27 % heavier pupil load than White teachers (Citizens Committee on Equal Education, p. 1). Two White schools had gymnasiums, while there were none in Black schools; White high schools had access to the City Park Stadium, but the school board did not provide Black high schools with the use of a stadium (Citizens Committee on Equal Education, 1946, p. 2). The Southern Association had not accredited any of the Black high schools, even though it accredited seven White high schools (Citizens Committee on Equal

Education, p. 2). The committee described additional costs to Black children and their families at Landry:

In the event children attending Landry High School desire to pursue a college career, it is necessary for them to leave Algiers and come across the [Mississippi] [R]iver, creating an extra amount of expense, namely: Ferry Fare and Carfare on the New Orleans side of the river and attend McDonogh #35. This is not required of [White] students residing in Algiers because White children attending the Martin Behrman High School can receive sufficient credit to qualify them to enter into college. (Citizens Committee on Equal Education, p. 1)

The Colored Educational Alliance also requested another high school in the Uptown Carrollton area (Dunn, 1946).

The OPSB agreed to have a conference with a delegation of the Citizens Committee on Equal Education. Tureaud attended the conference and commented on the fact that a number of the Black schools could be fire traps, and they responded that they would give due consideration to their petition, but funds for new buildings were unavailable available (OPSB, 1946). The OPSB requested a state survey of the city's schools, and it reported that the 62 school buildings for White children were "inadequate" and "poorly planned, poorly lighted and poorly equipped with sanitary facilities" (LDOE, 1947, p. 64). Of the 29 school buildings for Black children, the report noted that none contained facilities adequate for a modern school program "[e]xcept for Booker T. Washington High School, which is uncrowded to an unreasonable degree and is, therefore, inadequate, and the L.B. Landry School, which should be relieved of pupils below grade VII" (LDOE, p. 65). McDonogh 35's enrollment was 188% of its normal capacity, "and no part of the building is fit for use in conducting a modern high school"; Washington's enrollment was 161%; and Landry's enrollment was 100% (LDOE, 1947, p. 83). School sites, buildings and equipment for White children had a value of \$17 million; whereas, those for Black children had a value of \$3.6 million (LDOE, 1947).

OPSB converted Benjamin Franklin School to the fourth Black high school, Joseph S. Clark High School (Parents of children attending Franklin School, 1947).

1948 Superintendent Lionel J. Bourgeois submitted a 30-point program to the board with a 40 million dollar building plan for new schools, as well as replacements, consolidations and conversions of others (Lebreton, 1948, p. 4). His plan included a new White technical coeducational high school; a gradual transformation of Washington into a technical high school; a transformation of one White high school into a co-educational college preparatory school; closure of three White elementary schools and a White high school; a conversion of four White elementary schools to Black schools; and a conversion of five White elementary schools to Black schools, but only when White population no longer needs them (Lebreton, p. 4). Afterward, the Times-Picayune reported that parents informed the Superintendent that they would protest consolidations or conversions, and so he had asked principals to call meetings with parents to study and take action (1948a). Two months later, the Superintendent told members of the Freret Street Businessmen's Association that the Edwin T. Merrick school would not be converted to a Black school (*Times-Picayune*, 1948b). The White activists unsuccessfully took the matter to court (Freret Civic Improvement Association v. Orleans Parish School Board, 1952) while Tureaud reminded the OPSB of their pending petition:

As citizens, taxpayers, and parents of Negro children attending public schools of New Orleans, these petitioners are entitled to immediate relief; that any delay on the part of your honorable body will be attended with irreparable injury. ... It becomes necessary, therefore, to advise that unless these inequalities herein complained of are removed immediately, we shall be compelled to take such legal action as may be warranted in the premises. (1948)

A few weeks before students returned to class, Assistant Superintendent Ernest O.

Becker announced a reversal of school board plans to open a Black high school and provide additional space for Clark (*Times-Picayune*, 1948c). Three months later, the superintendent yet

again recommended that the School Board approve the conversion of three schools for the following term and approve the conversion of four schools as soon as possible (*Times-Picayune*, 1948d). The board voted to close the White school, Joseph Kohn High School of Commerce for repairs and convert E. B. Kruttschnitt Elementary to a Black school at the end of the term (*Times-Picayune*, 1948e). Immediately, in the society section of the local paper, the 12th Ward Civic Association, an organization of White homeowners in the Kruttschnitt neighborhood, publicized a mass meeting (*Times-Picayune*, 1948f).

become an annex to Clark High School (*Times-Picayune*, 1949a). In response, Chairman of the Sixth Ward Civic and Improvement Association read a letter to the school board: "We wish to go on record informing you that we will avail ourselves of every possibility, including court action to prevent such a conversion" (*Times-Picayune*, 1949a). Close to 100 petitioners contended that the conversion of E. D. White School from a White school to a Black school violated Act 483 (1948) because the school board failed to post printed notice of the proposed change, and they also failed to secure the required permission of seventy percent of the property owners within 600 feet of the school (Patton & Parent-Teachers Club of Edward Douglas White School, 1947; *Times-Picayune*, 1949b). Initially, Judge Walter B. Hamlin issued a restraining order against the OPSB (*Times-Picayune*, 1949b). In support of the school board, A.P. Tureaud represented Black property owners who lived within 600 feet of the school property and contended that federal and state supreme court decisions held the State of Louisiana's Revised Statute 483 unconstitutional (*Times-Picayune*, 1949c).

Under court order, OPSB converted E. D. White to a Black school in March of 1949, and it became part of Clark (Brown et al., 1955). For 15 months, Clark operated on a regular school

day, but in June of 1950, it went back to the platoon schedule, which continued until the opening of George Washington Carver Sr. High School (Brown et al., 1955; Glapion & Joseph S. Clark Parent Teacher Association, 1956).

Just before the opening of the 1949-1950 school year, the local paper reported that the School Board recommended double shifts for overcrowded Black schools, and within three days, the Citizens Committee on Equal Education of the New Orleans Branch of the NAACP submitted a letter to remind the OPSB of their petition from 1946:

the OPSB was notified of discrimination existing in Negro schools in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the School Board has been made the defendant in a cause of action in the federal court. ... The Negro Community feels that if the citizenry has elected a School Board that reacts to antagonism and pressure instead of a full day schooling under ideal conditions for all pupils, then we are ready, and ready now, to start our antagonism and pressure.... [W]e want the board to know that the conversion of second-hand White schools to Negro use is not equality. (1949, p. 1)

The petition, furthermore, asked for an explanation on why the Superintendent's issued statement listed the cost of a Black high school at \$90,000 but a new White technical high school at \$250,000; and why it listed furniture and equipment for White high schools to be more than seven times as much as what it listed for Black high schools (Citizens Committee on Equal Education of New Orleans Branch NAACP, 1949).

Even though there were only 224 registered students at Kruttschnitt Elementary (LDOE, 1947), White parents and civic organizations fought the conversion of it becoming Walter L. Cohen High School. Inside of Orleans Parish Mayor Chep Morrison's office, Superintendent Bourgeois met with citizens representing the Kruttschnitt neighborhood who were seeking a commitment to keep Kruttschnitt a White elementary school (OPSB, 1947c). Bourgeois said if enrollment did not meet 250 in five years, they would convert it to a Black school, or it could become a special adjustment school for White children. However, he noted that he but did not

concur with the Mayor's proposition that "we give the Commission Council a chance to purchase the building and site for use as a White community center" (OPSB, 1947c). The Kruttschnitt School Delegation met with the OPSB and Robert Smith, representing the Twelfth Ward Civic organization, who argued:

I talked to four competent realtors by putting my house on the market... [and they] said if the Kruttschnitt School were Black, depreciation would be from 15 to 45,000 dollars... If I were willing to sell my property to some Negro doctor or other, what becomes of the property next door? A White person is living next door to me. She would have to sell that piece of property, 18,500, to a Negro doctor. We feel that in the aggregate the amount of money lost by property owners would approach the cost for the erection of a Negro school. We agree that the Negroes should have equal facilities, but we do not feel that the particular group of White people in the neighborhood of the Kruttschnitt School should be required to pay for it.... You would have 650 Negro students within two blocks of St. Charles Avenue. (OPSB, 1947a, p. 2)

On the other hand, 1955 alumnus and Walter L. Cohen Alumni Association President, James Raby, researched the situation and explained:

When I said that Booker Washington was only the second-high school, that's not necessarily true because you had Gaudet [Normal and Industrial School], which was a private school, and you had Gilbert Academy that was a private school. ... I will always believe that Cohen's location was selected primarily because of its proximity to Gilbert Academy. Now, where was Gilbert Academy located? Gilbert Academy, I'll tell you right now. Gilbert Academy was located on St. Charles Avenue exactly in the same location where De La Salle High School is now. And I am totally convinced that that was a tradeoff: "We have got to get these Black folks off of St. Charles Avenue! And so, what we are going to do is we are going to give you a school in close proximity." (James Raby, personal communication, September 19, 2016)

In addition to the simultaneous timing between opening Cohen and the closure of Gilbert Academy on St. Charles Avenue, under pressure from an existing lawsuit and with the promise of federal funding, OPSB President Robert M. Hass did not budge: "We are facing the suit of the Negroes for equal facilities. I feel sure that the courts will decide in favor of the Negroes" (OPSB, 1949a, p. 3). Hass avoided the ethical issue, as well as the legal issue of "separate but equal" by arguing that the federal government would provide monies, but U.S. Superintendent Jackson said: "We would be compelled to have certain size schools of 300 or 400" (OPSB,

1949a, p. 3). Nonetheless, two weeks later, Smith and others brought a petition to Civil District Court, and Judge F. J. Stitch ordered an injunction that ordered that the OPSB refrain and desist from closing Kruttschnitt and/or changing its classification to a Black school (McCarty, 1949).

A committee of "interested citizens" that included Mayor Chep Morrison sent a letter to the school board stating that they were exploring the possibility of purchasing Kruttschnitt in order "to convert it to a non-profit hospital or convalescent home for crippled children" (Robin, 1949, p. 1). Elizabeth Miller Robin, who lived nearly two miles from Kruttschnitt School but two blocks from Gilbert Academy, retorted that federal and state legislation approved "a program designed to afford proper facilities for the care and treatment of crippled children" (1949, p. 1).

Like the petitioners of E. D. White school, Robert Smith and community organizations argued their case under Louisiana Act 463 (1948),

[that] prohibited parish school boards of cities having a population in excess of 300,000 from changing the classification of a school from negro to White, or vice versa, without having first obtained the written consent of 70 % of the property owners within six hundred feet of the location of the school. (Student Board of the Louisiana Law Review, 1948, p. 77)

Orleans Parish was the only parish in the state with a population of more than 100,000, and so, therefore, Act 463 only applied to it. However, Judge Stitch ruled in favor of the OPSB.

Louisiana Act 100 (1922) and defined a local or special law as one that intends to apply to a "limited number of persons or things or within a limited territory" (*Smith v. OPSB*, 1949, p. 7). While, the legislature had discretion on the classification for the special law, the judge argued that this was only "if the classification is reasonable, not artificial, or arbitrary, and rests upon some substantial difference of situation or circumstances indicating the necessity or propriety of legislation restricted to the class created, it will be upheld" (*Smith v. OPSB*, p. 7). Stitch asserted that the distinction that Act 463 used was a "fictitious classification" and it did not meet the requirement of a local or special legislation, hence, negating the legality of Act 463 (*Smith v.*

OPSB, p. 7). With the pressure from the Citizens Committee on Equal Education, and numerous petitions for equal facilities, the OPSB opened Walter L. Cohen High School a block off St. Charles Avenue for 125 Freshmen in the building of a former all-White elementary school, Kruttschnitt Elementary.

1952 Clark High School's building was renovated to accommodate 600 children, but during the 1952-1953 school year, enrollment was at 1282, and for the next four years, enrollment was steady (Glapion & Joseph S. Clark High School PTA, 1956). Before the opening of Carver High School, Clark utilized a platoon system to accommodate all children below Canal Street, and its basement served as a multipurpose room for the school's cafeteria, health classrooms, and the gymnasium (Glapion & Joseph S. Clark High School PTA).

1955 Clark's PTA petitioned the OPSB "to render immediate relief from the evils and hardships of the existing platoon system, and therefore to offer the same or equal opportunities."

1957 Clark's PTA joined with the Andrew J. Bell Parent Teacher's Association, the Johnson Lockett Parent Teacher's Association, the Robert R. Moton School Parent Teacher's Association, the Alfred Lawless Parent Teacher's Association, the Macarty Elementary School PTA, the Ladies Auxiliary of the Alfred Lawless School and the Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League to formulate the Special Committee of the Downtown Schools for the Elimination of the Platoon System and Construction of Additional School Buildings (1957). Together, they petitioned the school board on behalf of the safety and health of their children who attended public schools in the downtown area of New Orleans.

Andrew J. Bell Junior High School – which is constructed to house about 300 children has a present enrollment of 1156; the entire school being on the platoon system. Joseph S. Clark Senior High School – which is constructed to accommodate approximately 600 pupils, has a present enrollment of 1258 students all of whom are on the platoon system;

Alfred Lawless Elementary School – which is a Kindergarten-sixth grade unit of the New Orleans Public Schools was built to accommodate 780 pupils and now has a total registration of 1750 pupils, with 41 Teachers, 34 classes on the platoon system, and an average classroom load of 40;

Johnson Lockett Elementary School – which has an enrollment of 1492 pupils and was off the platoon shift system for a short while has 254 pupils on the platoon shift; Macarty Elementary School – which has a total enrollment of 2213 in a school that was originally constructed to house 1200 pupils has 1492 pupils on platoon shifts, the First through the Sixth Grades. (Andrew J. Bell PTA, 1957)

In addition, the Andrew J. Bell PTA suggested their own solutions to the board: 1.) constructing additional portable classrooms; 2.) an additional junior high school on adjacent school board properties; 3.) one or more schools housing White pupils in the Bell-Clark area to be used by Bell and Clark students and transfer the White pupils to other White schools with low enrollment figures.

A. P. Tureaud took legal action around the 14th amendment that eventually led to the desegregation of New Orleans Public Schools (NOPS) (Medley, 2003, p. 222). Oliver Bush, an insurance salesman with the all-Black Louisiana Industrial Life Insurance Company, father of eight school-aged children, and president of the Macarty School PTA, volunteered to have his children be the lead plaintiffs in the suit, which became known as *Bush v. OPSB* (1956/1960) Defendants contested that there was an average one teacher to 29 students in White elementary schools and one teacher to 21 students in White secondary schools, while there were only one teacher per 43 plus elementary school pupils and one teacher per 30 secondary school pupils in Black schools (*Bush v. OPSB*, 1956/1960).

Several parent and teacher organizations launched similar petitions to the OPSB and other school boards in Louisiana. The OPSB's Director of Research, Census and Planning noted in a letter to OPSB Superintendent James F. Redmond that 6,326 Black elementary and 2,272 Black secondary students were attending public schools in New Orleans on a half-day basis

(Fitzpatrick, 1955, p. 1). The scheduled occupancy of the Desire Street Housing Development was going to create the need for additional elementary facilities in the Ninth Ward, and Fitzpatrick stated that occupancy of Carver Jr. High and Senior High School "at the beginning of the 1957-1958 session [was of] the greatest importance in helping to eliminate platooning" (p. 3).

The Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League petitioned the School Board for the promised construction of an additional school and portable classrooms by documenting the overcrowded conditions at the Macarty School and Alfred Lawless School (Luke & Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League, 1957). The letter further argued for a junior high school in their area to relieve the overcrowding and to platoon:

We do not have facilities for high school instruction for our own pupils who reside below the Industrial Canal. Macarty School is promoting to high school 260 pupils. Our high school pupils attending Bell and Clark school are on the platoon shift. All the evils of this high school arrangement have been called to the attention of the Board by petitions from Parent-Teacher groups at these schools. ... The present plans call for the construction of this Junior High School to serve the pupils of the area below the Industrial Canal. ... If that school was ready for the use in September, we could accommodate the 665 pupils in seventh and eighth grades, the 260 pupils promoted to the ninth grade, making a total of 925 pupils at the junior high school level not counting the many high school pupils who leave the community to attend private and parochial schools, and who have dropped out of school during the present session. (Luke & Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League, 1957, pp. 1-2)

1958 Carver Junior and Senior High schools opened.

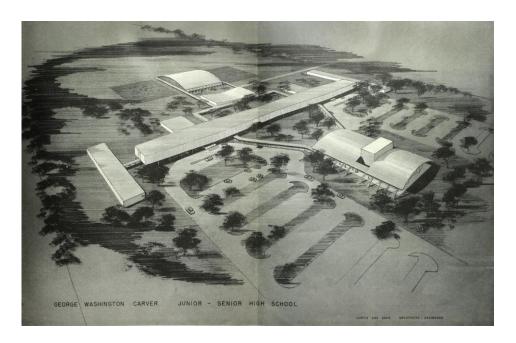


Figure 1. Carver Senior and Carver Junior. These schools were connected and shared a common auditorium, gymnasium and cafeteria. Both were destroyed during Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

Note. Orleans Parish School Board Collection (MSS 147), Louisiana and Special Collections Department, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans. Reprinted with permission.

Historical Significance

In light of these perspectives and narratives on public education in New Orleans, this study illustrates the importance of using a historical framework to understand the decimation of Black public schools in New Orleans. Only after considering historical educational injustices and the community-based struggles that forced the opening of Black public high schools can we begin to understand the sociohistorical and sociocultural implications of dismantling of them. These schools and the community struggles that led to their opening offer lessons for educational policymakers and researchers. Framing school closures within a historical context allows us to grasp how the past repeats itself. With this understanding, we may shape capacity for a truly transformative future.

It is important to note that prior to the *Brown* decision in 1954 and prior to the decades of desegregation policies that followed, Black communities fought for equal facilities. As legal scholar Derrick Bell (1983) noted, "hoping to forestall the invalidation of the 'separate but equal' doctrine," school boards took "substantial steps to eliminate the most obvious and odious disparities between black schools and white schools" (p. 574). Many complaints found in petitions and litigation from the 1940s and 1950s mirror current educational injustices discussed in chapter 4.

Significance of the Study

Research on Black children is not new, but it must be understood as part of a larger colonial project that has taken root internationally. In utilizing an anti-colonial approach, I referred to Linda T. Smith's work (1999/2012, 2014) for guidance in this study. Smith asserted that "research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary," (1999/2012, p. 1). Building upon Smith's groundbreaking work, Walter and Anderson (2013) argued that statistics are "nation-states' chief tool for ascertaining and presenting the official 'who,' 'what,' 'where' and 'how' of indigenous life" (2013, p. 8). While results are accepted as objective truth and used to create and implement policies for Indigenous people, they actually "reflect and constitute, in ways largely invisible to their producers and users, the dominant cultural framework" (Walter & Anderson, p. 9). On a similar note, Muhammad (2010) asserted that post-emancipatory writers of the late twentieth century used the earliest census data from 1870, 1880 and 1890 and the development of "new social scientific theories of race and society and new tools of analysis, namely racial statistics and social surveys" that proved "Black criminality would emerge alongside disease and intelligence, as a fundamental measure of Black inferiority" (p. 20).

I argue in this dissertation that Social Science research is integrally connected to the colonial project in New Orleans, just as it has been integral to colonial projects throughout history and throughout the world. This study considered how the creation of charter schools and the importing of inexperienced and ill-trained educators in New Orleans is an experiment on predominantly Black children. The State of Louisiana's Act 192 designed the Charter School Demonstration Project Law (1995): "to authorize experimentation by city and parish school boards by authorizing the creation of innovative kinds of independent public schools for pupils." The original legislation was a pilot project designed for a limited number of schools across the state. Two years later, Governor Mike Foster expanded the Charter Schools Demonstrations Programs Law,

to provide a framework for such experimentation by the creation of such schools, a means for all persons with valid ideas and motivation to participate in the experiment, and a mechanism by which experiment results can be analyzed, the positive results repeated or replicated, if appropriate, and the negative results identified and eliminated. Finally, it is the intention of the legislature that the best interests of at-risk pupils shall be the overriding consideration in implementing the provisions of this Chapter. (State of Louisiana, 1997).

Subsequently, and increasingly so in post-Hurricane Katrina New Orleans, the U.S.

Department of Education (DOE), universities, foundations, and think-tanks have participated and supported this experimentation. For example, DOE awarded New Schools for New Orleans (NSNO) in partnership with the Louisiana Recovery School District (RSD), and the Tennessee ASD an Investing in Innovation Fund (i3) grant of \$28 million "to invest in charter school start-up and expansion in New Orleans and Tennessee; to develop district-level performance management systems and stakeholder engagement processes to monitor and support turnaround efforts; etc," (NSNO, 2010, p. 1). NSNO awarded New Orleans College Prep (NOCP), which was operating two elementary schools, an Invest in Innovation (i3) grant to restart a high school

(NSNO & RSD, 2012), which would be located in Cohen's building (NOCP, 2011). Moreover, through the state's High-Performance Schools Initiative, the Louisiana Department of Education (LDOE) allocated a one-million-dollar School Improvement Grant (SIG) grant to the RSD for Cohen to implement the Restart Model for the 2012-2013 school year (LDOE, n.d.). DOE stipulates that states may award a SIG grant a LEA that is "not be less than \$50,000 or more than \$2,000,000 per year for each Tier I, Tier II, and Tier III school that the LEA [Local Education Agency] commits to serve" (Final Requirements for School Improvement Grants Authorized Under Section, 2010).

The Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO) at Stanford University, "was established to improve empirical evidence about education reform and student performance at the primary and secondary levels" (CREDO, 2016). NSNO, a post-Katrina non-profit that incubates charter schools through private and federal funding, allocated a \$394,801 grant to CREDO in 2010 (Internal Revenue Service, 2010). Subsequently, NSNO contracted with CREDO for a fee of \$535,863 in 2012, \$605,959 in 2013 and a fee of \$702,225 in 2014 (Internal Revenue Service, 2012, 2013a, 2014) to serve as an external program evaluator. CREDO conducted four years of formal interviews with RSD, Tennessee ASD and NSNO leaders, program staff in each organization and Charter Management Organization (CMO) leaders who led the transitions of the charter restart schools, but they did not interview students, parents, educators or alumni of these schools (2016). CREDO's final report on *Scaling the New Orleans Restart Model* (NSNO, 2010) found that: "Much of the evolution of the Charter Restart Model was tied to a growing understanding that the risks assumed by the CMOs when they agreed to undertake a school transformation had been underestimated" (2016, p. 17).

Other entities have supported the experiment on predominantly Black children in New Orleans (Arce-Trigatti, Harris, Jabbar & Lincove, 2015; Babineau, Hand & Rossmeier, 2016,

2017; Barrett & Harris, 2015; CREDO, 2013, 2015, 2016; Cowen Institute, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, Holly et al., 2015; Gray, Ableidinger & Kebschull, 2012; Harris, 2015; Harris, Valant & Gross, 2015; Raymond, 2009; Rossmeier & Sims, 2015; Sims & Rossmeier, 2015). The Education Research Alliance (ERA) branded itself as "objective, rigorous, and useful research to understand the post-Katrina school reforms" (Barrett & Harris, 2015, p. 1). Indeed, it is clear that foundations have provided immense funding to the non-profits and think-tanks that produce research that support the reforms in New Orleans. For example:

- Walton Family Foundation funded the University of Washington's Center on Reinventing Public Education (CRPE) with \$500,000 for a two-year study on the effect of unified enrollment systems on families and schools (CRPE, 2013);
- the Broad Foundation funded CRPE to produce *On Recovery School Districts*and Stronger State Education Agencies: Lessons from Louisiana (Hill & Murphy,
 2011); and
- the Laura and John Arnold Foundation funded \$71,524 to Massachusetts Institute of Technology to support an econometric model and produce a feasibility report on evaluating New Orleans schools (Internal Revenue Service, 2013b).

Others have critiqued this research. Miron & Applegate (2009) and Hoxby (2009) critiqued the CREDO study (2009) that laid the foundation for NSNO's i3 application. Hoxby explained: "It contains a statistical mistake that causes a biased estimate of how charter schools affect achievement" (p. 1). Maul and McClelland (2015) pointed to the methodological challenges in CREDOs (2013) study. They note that, "given the small effect sizes, even a minor methodological issue could play a decisive role—it seems clear that advocacy claims regarding the results of this study must be interpreted with extreme caution" (Maul & McClelland, p. 10).

Dixson (2015) challenged Holly et al. (2015) and stated that while this report claimed "remarkable improvements" in education over the past ten years in New Orleans, it relied on non-peer reviewed research reports funded by foundations that "support similar education reform initiatives" (p. 4).

This dissertation study contributes to this body of scholarly work in that it is the first written document to present oral histories and *testimonies* from various local perspectives. The Journey for Justice Alliance (2014) documented school closures in several different cities including New Orleans. However, the public has not directly heard from many others with first-hand experiences, such as a colleague who was fired for reporting cheating in the RSD and again for placing his name on a Title VI complaint (Journey for Justice Alliance, Conscious Concerned Citizens Controlling Community Changes, & Coalition for Community Schools-New Orleans, 2014). Overall, students, parents whose children experienced school closure, alumni, and educators have been silenced within the national discussions on the subject of school reform in post-Katrina New Orleans. From the perspective of someone who has participated in community organizing work as both a scholar and educator in New Orleans for nearly two decades, it was more than clear that many students, parents, educators and citizens were eager to testify about personal experiences with school closures.

Overview of the Study

In this chapter, I introduced this dissertation study by stating my research purpose, research questions and significance. Then, to provide context, I provided a historical overview of Black public education in New Orleans.

In chapter 2, I examine how education researchers have used oral histories approach to as much as possible allow teachers and educators to speak for themselves (Altenbaugh, 1997; Foster, 1997; Walker, 1996). Chapter 2 provides a review of empirical literature that helped to

frame the design and implementation of this study. It reviews five bodies of literature: desegregation; teachers, culture and race; punishment and criminalization; disaster capitalism; and school closures.

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive description of the theoretical foundation and the research methodology grounding this study. This study about public schools in New Orleans was built upon ways that researchers have used decolonizing methodologies and *testimonio*.

Testimonio draws on participants' accounts, therefore, allowing me to credit the narrators and preserve subaltern narratives that financial interests have marginalized, at all levels. Testimonio adds another dimension by bringing a sense of "urgency to communicate, a problem of repression, poverty, subalternity, imprisonment, struggle for survival, and so on, implicated in the act of narration itself" (Beverley, 1989, p. 14). My goal was to learn from families and communities what children have endured in the Recovery School District and with the closure of historically Black public high schools.

Chapter 4 presents the data findings using four claims. To present my findings, I focus on my research questions: What are perspectives of various community members on public education in New Orleans, and particularly, the city's historically Black public high schools? How is the closing of historical Black high schools in New Orleans related to larger sociohistorical and sociocultural issues?

Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the findings as they relate to the literature and the implications. The chapter also offers recommendations for additional research studies, as well as points brought forth in the research worthy of further interrogation.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Research participants' narratives about their experiences and perspectives on historically Black high schools have contributed to the decisions I made about this literature review. Five bodies of literature: 1.) desegregation; 2.) teachers, culture and race; 3.) confinement, punishment and criminalization; 4.) school closures and 5.) disaster capitalism framed this study. This is not an exhaustive representation of the literature concerning Black education, but it provided a framework for this dissertation study.

Desegregation

W. E. B. Du Bois (1935) questioned whether Black students should attend separate schools in his essay *Does the Negro Need Separate Schools*? Informed by this work, I argue that it is important to consider empirical literature on desegregation because this legacy connects to the present state of Black education. Moreover, this body of literature shows how it is important for policymakers and researchers to consider the experiences of those whose lives are impacted by policies. Bell (1983, p. 573) wrote:

The lessons of the first three decades following Brown were learned at great cost. They should not be ignored. We should have learned by now that, in the absence of shockingly overt racial discrimination, constitutional protections alone will not be read as authorizing an effective remedy for blacks when that remedy threatens the status of middle- and upper-class whites.

Contrary to the master script on desegregation (Wells & Crain, 1994, 1999; Wells, Duran, & White, 2008), there is a strong body of literature that illustrates the ways that Black children carried a disproportionate burden of the desegregation of public schools. This burden was manifested through school closures (Larkin, 1979), busing (Mickelson, 2001), the loss of their teachers and administrators (Fairclough, 2004; Smith & Smith, 1973; Tillman, 2004a, 2004b), tracking (Mickelson, 2001; Oakes, 1986, 1995, 2005), increased discipline referrals,

everyday suffering (Dumas, 2014), disintegration of communities (Dempsey & Noblit, 1996), and a disconnect between parents and the school (Edwards, 1996; Lightfoot, 1980;).

Community Relationships

In the introduction to Foster's *Black Teachers on Teaching*, Delpit questioned the dominant narrative about Black people who fought for desegregation because they wanted access to "White culture, White teachers, White schools, and White leadership" (1997, p. ix) and clarified that the struggle was actually for equal resources and economics. Research has shown that before desegregation, administrators, teachers, parents, and students were members of a community where there was a significant overlap in the relationships between teachers and family members (Irvine & Irvine, 1983; Walker 1996). In a case study of a segregated Black high school in North Carolina, Walker explained that parents maintained involvement in the school because of the teachers' and principals' presence within the community and the fact that teachers and principals proved to be genuinely interested in their children. Additional research has found that parents and educators held *communal bonds* (Morris, 1999), and that teaching personnel were accountable to the community because "in many instances, teachers and administrators were their friends, neighbors and church members" (Edwards, 1996, p. 147). I argue therefore that segregated schools served as a stronghold within Black communities (Horsford, 2011; Morris & Morris, 2002; Noblit & Dempsey, 1996).

School Closure and Busing

Following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the use of within-district mandatory busing as a remedy for segregated schooling in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1971). Subsequently, there was a wave of second generation desegregation cases. Second generation educational discrimination (Meier, Stewart, & England,

1989) generally refers to "the use of academic grouping, disciplinary processes in order to separate Black students from White students," (p. 9) which results in inferior education for Black students, and in contemporary times, Latino students.

Closure of Black schools was widespread during desegregation. Larkin (1979) noted that while much of the desegregation was accomplished by providing city-wide specialty schools and programs for children of all races on a voluntary basis, in Milwaukee Public Schools, "the majority of the student movement [was] not voluntary... [and] by reducing school enrollments, closing schools entirely, or converting regular schools into specialty schools, large numbers of students [were] forced to transfer to other schools" (pp. 487-488). I elaborate on school closures in the fourth section of this literature review.

Cultural Incongruence

When districts closed Black neighborhood schools and bussed students to formerly White schools so that Black and White students could, supposedly, share classroom space with a Black and White teaching staff, pupil-teacher relationships significantly changed. Empirical studies on: teacher expectations; teacher-student interactions, suspension and expulsion rates; ability grouping; placement into special education and compensatory services made these issues quite apparent. Two decades after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), Gay (1974) contended that there was, a lack of empirical data on teacher-pupil interactions in desegregated classrooms. Gay stated: "To date little substantive research has been done on how teachers' and students' ethnicity affect how they relate to each other within the context of the teaching—learning process" (1974, p. 4). Demographic data of teachers in New Orleans has drastically changed and therefore calls for a better understanding of race and culture of teachers and students.

Socio-cultural and often unrecognized ramifications of desegregation included disproportionate numbers of sanctions on children of color compared to White students. Gay (1974) found that Black and White teachers interacted differently with Black and White students in desegregated classrooms. White teachers initiated more procedural contacts such as "running errands, distributing equipment and sup plies, assisting in keeping the classroom clean, and taking care of students' personal and immediate needs" with Black students (Gay, p. 272). Cornbleth and Korth (1980) conducted a systematic investigation of teacher perceptions and interactions with students in desegregated elementary, junior high and high school classrooms. They found that teachers rated White students as "more efficient, organized, reserved, industrious, and pleasant while Black students were rated as more outgoing and outspoken" (Cornbleth & Korth, p. 261).

Tracking

Numerous studies have looked at how post-desegregation grouping re-segregated children by race and class and resulted in disproportionate numbers of children of color in lower level classes (Findley & Bryan, 1971; Epstein, 1980; Esposito, 1971; Mickelson, 2005; Mills, Bryan & Southern Regional Council,1976; Oakes, 1986, 1995, 2005). Green and Griffore (1978) showed that there was little chance for promotion once schools assigned students to lower groups. Earlier studies (Brophy & Good, 1969a, 1969b) confirmed that teacher expectations function as self-fulfilling prophecies. Moreover, Rist (1970) revealed that decisions as early as kindergarten often permanently channel children, and often leads to high school career tracking. While Oakes (1980) showed that teachers provided less time and attention to students whom they perceived as less able.

Discipline Referrals

Subsequent studies found that there was an immediate increase in discipline referrals for Black students bussed to previously White schools with all White teachers (Columbus Public Schools, 1979, 1980, 1981; Meier, Stewart & England, 1989). Studies have further shown that during the desegregation era, Black students were two to five times more likely to be suspended as White students in all areas of the United States (Arnez, 1976; Children's Defense Fund, 1975; Larkin, 1979; Kaeser, 1979; Thornton & Trent, 1988). Thornton and Trent's study on school desegregation and suspensions in East Baton Rouge Parish public schools analyzed suspension data for Black and White students preceding and during the first year of implementation of a court mandated desegregation order. Thorton and Trent indicated that Black students were, "(1) much more likely to be suspended than White students and (2) more likely to receive suspensions in much higher proportions than their proportionate share of the student population in the various schools" (p. 499). Findings from this study confirmed that desegregation efforts amplified racial disparities and showed that there were "higher suspension rates for Blacks in the desegregating schools and an even higher rate if these schools happened to be higher [socioeconomic] status schools" (Thornton & Trent, p. 499). The third section of this literature review elaborates on punishment and confinement.

Morris and Goldring (1999) examined disciplinary practices in Cincinnati Public School District and found that even though magnet schools were created to diversify student bodies in response to desegregation orders, there was not a statistically significant difference between suspensions of Black students at magnet schools and district schools. Moreover, Morris and Goldring (1999) confirmed that Black students were disciplined significantly more than White students across all school types.

Suffering

During desegregation, Black children carried a disproportionate part of the burden. By considering narratives of Black school and community leaders, Dumas moved beyond acknowledging racism and theoretical understandings to a "deeper social explanation of how racialized subjects make meaning of the confluency of school malaise and racial melancholia" (2014, p. 4). During desegregation, Black children carried a disproportionate part of the burden. He explained that participants, "viewed the past as so connected to the present and future fate of [B]lack children and communities that they would move effortlessly from recounting events that occurred decades before to experiences from earlier in the same week" (Dumas, p. 11). This finding that connects the past to the present and future is relevant to my study.

As chronicled in chapter 1, in New Orleans, the OPSB closed many White schools prior to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which White residents unsuccessfully challenged. Therefore, desegregation did not result in school closures or busing. Instead, White teachers and students left New Orleans Public Schools for parochial schools and moved to suburban areas. Similar phenomenon occurred in other major cities (Ladson-Billings, 2004; Bell, 2004). From the late 1970's until 2005, Orleans Parish's population was predominantly Black with majority Black leadership in the school system and political leadership.

Similar to pre-Hurricane Katrina public education in New Orleans, segregated schools in the South allowed for a type of autonomy. Segregated schools "acted as a protective mechanism to screen out the harmful effects of racial diatribes hurled at members from the larger hostile society" (Irvine & Irvine, p. 416). With Black administrators, many Black school board members and Black superintendents, much like de-jure segregated schools in the South, Black schools in New Orleans had governing and regulatory norms and were to some extent were "Black

controlled" (Irvine & Irvine, 1983, p. 416). Irvine and Irvine noted that "these schools represented and took on uniquely stylized characteristics reflective of their members – patterns of communication, cultural preferences, and normatively diffused modes of behavior" (1983, p. 416). There was a level of autonomy, however, the School Board still had to answer to a state board that was predominantly White, as well as a White state superintendent, a White governor, and predominantly White institutions.ⁱⁱⁱ

Even though separate and unequal were the norm, Bell (1983) wrote that prior to the *Brown* decision, "not every Black community nor every Black school teacher or principal succumbed to the pressure to accept inferior Black schools. In far more cases than we can document, individual teachers rose above the inadequate resources and the stifling atmosphere" (p. 574). Modeling my work off of Foster (1997), Irvine (1991), Walker (1996) and Walker and Byas (2009), this study considered the sociohistorical and sociocultural importance of historically Black public high schools.

In the following three sections of my literature review, I will focus on literature relative to third-generation desegregation problems. As chapter 4 of this study illustrates, many of the same unintended social ramifications of desegregation have continued and solidified as a result of the takeover and closure of historically Black schools in New Orleans.

Teachers, Race and Culture

Research has framed children of color and their communities as genetically inferior and pathological (Jensen, 1968, 1969, 1972; Herrnstein & Murray, 1994), culturally deprived (Lemov, 2010; Lewis, 1968, 1969; Monyihan, 1965; Payne, 2005; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003), and at-risk (Carter, 2000; National Committee on Excellence in Education, 1985; Kruger, 1990). My dissertation study builds upon a different tradition of research that considers children,

communities, and teachers as solutions within inequitable systems. Studies that have worked to capture the culturally relevant pedagogies are particularly relevant to this study (Foster, 1991a, 1991b; Irvine, 1991, 2002; King, 1991b, Ladson Billings, 1994).

Irvine (1991) explained that "cultural synchronization is rooted in the concepts of Afrocentricity and the cultural distinctiveness of African American life (p. xix)." Irvine investigated communication interactions between teachers and students as a function of the students' race, gender and grade level in ten schools in four public school systems in the Southeast. Irvine concluded that Black children often experience cultural discontinuity in schools with White faculty (1991, p. xix). Through a professional development center called the Center for Urban Learning/ Teaching and Urban Research in Education and Schools (CULTURES), Irvine (2002) as well as the participants in her professional development, Archung (2002), Karunuńgan (2002) conducted empirical studies to understand how culture and race influence African American teachers. Irvine's (2002) work contained case studies written in the voices of the teachers in their own words. Similarly, my study uses a *tesimonio* approach to emphasize voices of teachers, students and community members of historically Black high schools.

The purpose of Ladson-Billings' (1994) ethnographic research was to document the practice of highly effective teachers of African American students so that her results might be useful for teacher preparation and professional development. Employing Collins' (1991) Black feminist epistemology and Asante's (1987) Afrocentricity, Ladson-Billings implemented a true collective style where the participants all agree that the "African American child and community were subjects and not the objects of the study" (1994, p. 146). Ladson-Billings used "community nominations" (Foster, 1991b) to select the teachers who participated, and these teachers collaboratively engaged by analyzing and interpreting the data to develop a collective

understanding of their expertise (1994, p. xi). Howard (2003) built upon Ladson-Billings' (1995) concept of culturally relevant pedagogy, through a qualitative case study of four elementary teachers to show how culture impacts the learning process.

Additional studies (Goodwin, 2005; King, 2012; King & Swartz, 2014; Murrell, 1997; Swartz, 1996) have challenged cultural deficit thinking and advocated instead for emancipatory pedagogy. King found that "African American children must be given the opportunity to experience an appropriate cultural education which gives them an intimate knowledge of and which honors and respects the history and culture of our people" (2012, p. 53). In this article, she described the Songhoy Club, an "emancipatory pedagogy teaching and learning laboratory" where "afterschool program middle school students (aged 11-15) learned about their heritage and Songhoy culture –'From the Nile to the Niger to the Neighborhood'" (2012, p. 55).

Furthermore, King and Swartz (2016) illustrated that during the Jim Crow era, Jeanes teachers, who were Black supervisors, mostly women, navigated the local White supremacist power structure and engaged in collective responsibility and struggles for equity.

Education researchers have provided sufficient documentation to illustrate how race and culture play important roles in influencing teachers' pedagogy (Delpit, 1995, 2012; Foster, 1993, 1997; Irvine, 1991; King, 2012; Lee, 2006; McCollum, 1989; Murrell, 1997, 2001; Walker, 1996). This should not be a surprise as Williams (1991) found that the process by which Black middle-class children are socialized into literacy is through stories of children's own experiences, and she noted the importance for those educating Black children to encourage and continue this process.

Nearly two decades ago, McCollum (1989) used micro-ethnographic methods to examine the social organization of interaction in two classes, one in Chicago, Illinois with a European

American, and the other in Puerto Rico with Puerto Rican students. McCollum's (1989) results demonstrated that the two participation structures were different, and that "expectations about appropriate ways of speaking in various participation structures are not explicitly taught to children... [and] culturally and linguistically non-mainstream students may have special difficulty learning to effective participate in classroom discourse" (p. 134). Moreover, McCollum (1989) found that the language use patterns in Puerto Rican classrooms signal a different social relationship between students and teachers (p. 151). Sheets (1998) compared students' and teachers' perceptions about classroom conflict that lead to disciplinary actions. Sheets (1998) found that ethnicity was a distinctive feature in students' perceptions; conflicts of an interpersonal nature were more frequent and significant for Black and Chicano student. Whereas, interpersonal and procedural conflicts affected Filipino and White students; ethnicity was a significant factor in students and teachers handling classroom conflict. And, a common factor affecting interpersonal conflicts across individual, ethnic, and gender groups was a lack of opportunity to be heard, and the communication styles of teacher (9-11).

Moreover, Black teachers, along with being instructional leaders have shown dedication to students' needs (Foster, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993, 1997; Irvine, 1989; Walker, 1993, 1996; Walker & Byas, 2009). Collins (1991) discussed other mothers where Black teachers have contributed an integral role in community care for children. Additionally, empirical studies have demonstrated that teachers have served as mentors who helped Black students to manipulate the school's culture (Irvine, 1989; King, 1991b; Foster 1993). Studies have shown how Black teachers prepare Black students to resist racism (Foster, 1991, 1993). Irvine (1989) showed students who identified teachers as mentors who helped them to navigate the school culture.

King conducted a qualitative study of "dysconscious racism," the tacit acceptance dominant White norms and privilege, that teacher educators had, and found that they devalued African American culture and "devalue[d] diversity by not recognizing how opportunity is tied to the assimilation of mainstream norms and values" (1991a, p. 138). King's findings (1991a) provided insight into Meier, Stewart and England's (1989) quantitative study, which demonstrated that the higher the percentage of Black teachers in schools, the lower the number of Black students placed in special education or subjected to expulsion or suspension. Meier et al. (1989) found a positive correlation between the presence of Black teachers and the number of Black students placed in gifted programs and graduating from high school. They concluded that "Black teachers are the single most effective force in limiting the amount of second-generation discrimination and provide equal access to educational opportunities" (Meier et al.,1989, p. 6).

Likewise, Valenzuela (1999) conducted a three-year ethnographic investigation of schooling practices and academic achievement of Mexican and Mexican American children in the Houston, Texas area. Valenzuela found that schooling is a subtractive process, meaning that it "divests these youth of important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure" (p. 1).

My study regarded the above empirical studies as guidance in examining changing racial demographics of teachers and school leadership, as policymakers partake in closing almost all of the Black public high schools in New Orleans.

Confinement, Punishment and Criminalization

Woodson (1993) concluded that the purpose of the American education project for African Americans was the maintenance of a status quo that oppressed them. As he wrote: "If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action" (Woodson, 1993,

pp. 84-85). Indeed the dynamics of race, gender and criminalization have provided further contextual understanding for this study. In demonstrating how punitive discipline measures have negatively affected school learning environments, growing research has considered: (i) zero-tolerance policies (Advancement Project, 2010; Advancement Project & Civil Rights Project, 2000; Skiba & Knesting, 2001); (ii) racial disparities (ACLU, 2008; ACLU, 2009; Alexander, 2012; Dei, Mazzuca, McIsaac & Zine, 1997; Ferguson, 2002; Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010; Losen, 2005; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Skiba et al., 2011; Vanderhaar, Munoz & Petrosko, 2014) and (iii) gender disparities in suspensions, expulsions and school disciplinary practices (American Bar Association & National Bar Association, 2001; Crenshaw, Ocen & Nanda, 2015; Morris, 2016).

Skiba et al. (2002) studied one year of disciplinary data for an urban school district and found an overrepresentation of Black students in the administration of school discipine; and the disproportionality among males and African American students increased as one moved from suspension to expulsion. Sheets (1998) found Black and Chicano students were more likely to be disciplined for interpersonal conflict, while Filipino and White students were more like to be disciplined for interpersonal and procedural conflict. Similaraly, Skiba et al. (2002) found that Black students offenses were more subjective in nature, and teachers were more likely to refer White students for smoking, leaving the campus without permission, vandalism and obscene language.

Dei et al. (1997) conducted a three-year longitudinal ethnographic study in Canada to investigate students' points of view and "to link research knowledge, social commitment, and political action for educational transformation and social change" on the issue of Black students and school dropout or "fading out" (p. 6). Dei et al. used the term "fading out" to refer to

"students who appear to be in school in body, but who are absent in mind and soul" (p. 6). Seeking to examine all the possible factors related to student disengagement, Dei et al. interviewed 200 students, as well as Black parents, guardians, caregivers, and community groups.

Laura (2014) used personal writing to narrate her brother's education history and social reality that led to his incarceration. Laura searched for clues about how her brother understood his own schooling experiences and how family members, educators, and policymakers could shape his life outcome. Laura stated that her family decided to reveal their identity in order to connect with families with similar economic and social realities that were struggling with similar issues, to dispel the myth of dysfunctional Black families. Laura's (2014) goal was to "disrupt the dominant narrative of 'bad' Black boys" typically associated with economically disadvantaged youth and to show a more realistic understanding of what is like to be someone caught in the school-to-prison pipeline (p. 115).

On the other hand, Crenshaw et al. (2015) used an intersectionality approach and focused on the the voices of Black girls and other girls of color "affected by punitive policies" (p. 9). Looking at quantitative data on student discipline, suspension rates and expulsion rates from Boston and New York, Crenshaw et al. (2015) disaggregated data by race and gender using intragender comparisons. Similarly, Morris (2016) conducted a three-year qualitative study across multiple states and presented their narratives to center Black girls' experiences "in our discussions on zero tolerance, school discipline, dress codes, child victimization, and the impact of increased surveillance in our nation's public schools," (p. 188) in order to advocate for new policies and "for efforts that move beyond the 'deliberate speed' rhetoric that has for too long underserved low-income, girls of color, Black girls in particular" (p. 8). Most recently, and

highly relevant to this study, Nelson, Ridgeway, Baker, Green, & Campbell (2017) used quantitative approach to assess the impact of state takeover district on Black girls' disciplinary outcomes. Nelson et al. (2017) asserted that "the state takeover of locally governed schools and school districts in predominantly Black communities fails to enhance (and sometimes reversed) movements towards educational equity for Black girls" (p. 2).

Scholars have begun to incorporate an intersectional approach to understanding punitive measures in schools by disaggregating gender and racial disparities (Crenshaw, 2012; Crenshaw et al., 2015; Morris, 2016). In addition, a few studies have explored relationships between state takeover districts and the school to prison pipeline (Nelson et al., 2017; Tuzzolo and Hewitt, 2006). However, there is a need for research to explore how school closures, "transformations" and "restarts" of traditional Black high schools relate to criminalization of Black youth. It is essential for future studies to highlight the voices of youth, those affected by punitive policies (Crenshaw et al., 2015). Despite research regarding punishment and criminalization in schools, systematic investigations in naturalistic settings regarding relationships between race and culture of teachers; school closures; and punishment and confinement is lacking.

Sojoyner (2016) posited that Woods' lens of enclosure (1998) is the most comprehensive manner to understand the relationships between schools and prisons. Joyner critiqued the traditional absence of cultural, political and historical analysis within the literature on the school to prison pipeline. Sojoyner (2016) shined light upon "ideological enclosures [that] must be reinvinted (often upon previous iterations) in order to remake Black subjects as the purpoted enemy or problem... through curriculum, discipline policies, pedagogical practices" (p. xiii). Sojoyner's research assisted the framing of my study in that he considered the historical and

contemporary realities that lead to incarceration. This guided me in understanding how school closures are a part of a larger system of enclosures.

School Closures

Much of the literature on school closures has been quantitative in nature and existing evidence is mixed. However, an emerging body of qualitative literature addresses the impact of school closure on students, families and communities. Since there are very few peer reviewed studies, this review of literature discusses findings from both peer reviewed journals as well as reports from think-tanks and policy centers. My study extends research on school closure by focusing on children, teachers and educators' personal experiences.

Studies that focused on student outcomes after school closures have led to mixed results. Research has demonstrated that student mobility is counterproductive to learning and academic achievement (Engec, 2006; Kerbow, Azcoitia, & Buell, 2003; Smith, Fien, & Paine, 2008). Lipman, Person and Kenwood Oakland Community Organization (2007) conducted a qualitative study of the reform package in Chicago, Renaissance 2010, to learn about effects of school closings on receiving schools. They found:

Disruptive and demoralizing climate ... Problems with safety and discipline... Schools felt they were "set up for failure": Teachers and administrators believe that a history of declining resources and lack of support created conditions in the Midsouth that set up schools to fail and be closed. ... Lack of consultation with the school community/disregard for their knowledge. (Lipman et al., 2007, pp. 6-7)

After Lipman et al. released this report on school closures in Chicago, de la Torre and Gwynn (2009) published a report analyzing the performance of students from 18 elementary schools in Chicago that were closed between 2001 and 2006. In the year of the closure announcement, students' test scores declined. In subsequent years, however, student achievement bounced back. De la Torre and Gwynn (2009) found neither positive nor negative effects on academic performance. But this investigation did not study teachers, students or parents'

perspectives, and it blamed staff, parents and community leaders for lower academic achievement:

After [Chicago Public Schools] identified schools for closing, there were typically protests by school staff, parents and community leaders. Parents and community leaders were irate that children would be forced to endure the upheaval of relocating to new schools. Teachers were frustrated by the news that they would soon have to find new employment. And, despite recognizing the importance of continuing to educate students, some teachers also reported difficulties staying motivated. These events were likely to impact students, which may explain the drop in learning gains. (de la Torre & Gwynn (2009), pp. 18-19)

Peer review studies include Engberg, Gill, Zamarro and Zimmer (2012), which evaluated the impact of school closures on student test scores and absenteeism and found that while students may experience temporary adverse effects, these effects can be minimized when students transfer to higher performing schools. Like de la Torre and Gwynn (2009), Engberg et al. failed to consider discipline and the impact school closures have on the social and emotional development of children. Studies such as these illustrate that there is a need for social science research to consider the perspectives of those whose lives have been impacted by school closures.

Another report, Bross, Harris, and Liu (2016) studied school closure in New Orleans where the RSD turned schools over to charter schools. Without making note of the fact, this report considered historically Black public high schools in New Orleans. It reported that the intervention had a statistically significant positive impact on graduation. In their sample, they excluded one school because "the nature of the intervention reported publicly did not match what we saw in the administrative data" (Bross et al., p. 17). Bross et al. acknowledging that student attrition was a threat to validity, stated: "This is especially true in the present high school level since closure and takeover may induce treated students to leave the public-school system and therefore become omitted from the data" (pp. 20-21). Again, this study failed to consider the impact school closures have on the social and emotional development of children; and it did not

consider punishment and school pushout. My study, however, did not treat children as subjects to be experimented on and, instead, explored their thoughts about this treatment. My study considered the social-historical and socio-cultural implications of closing historically Black high schools.

Emerging studies have shed light upon the ways school closures impact parents, students, teachers and administrators (Deeds & Patillo, 2015). Some focus on youth voices on school closure (Steggert & Galletta, 2013; Dill, Morrison & Dunn, 2016; Kirshner, Gaertner & Pozzoboni, 2010). Kirshner et al. (2010) developed and implemented a participatory action research project using mixed methods to study the academic performance and the experiences of Latino and African-American high school students in the year following the closure of their high school and found "a decline in test performance, an increase in the probability of dropping out, and a decline in the probability of graduating" (p. 421). Qualitative data showed that while students managed academic and relationship tasks, the researchers "observed variation in how students managed these tasks, [and] two powerful themes were social disruption and academic struggle (Kirshner et al. 2010, p. 421).

Studies have investigated parents' experiences with school closure (Kirshner & Pozzoboni, 2011; Hernandez & Galletta, 2016, Valencia, 1984; Witten, McCreanor, Kearns & Ramasubramanian, 2001) and community experiences (Ayala & Galletta, 2012; Briscoe & Kahalifa, 2015; Finnigan & Lavner, 2012; Kretchmar, 2014; Toneff-Cotner, 2015). Specifically, Toneff-Cotner's (2015) qualitative dissertation studied long-term effects of school closure on individuals and their communities in Ohio. She noted psychological dimensions of school closure such as identity, social capital, relational trust, community connectedness and engagement, tradition and sense of belonging and found that "participants have sustained

connections to their community, particularly in terms of maintaining a sense of pride, tradition, and identification to that community" (Toneff-Cotner, 2015, p. 312). Indeed, these are some of the issues that came up in my study.

Valencia (1984) conducted a follow up study on predicted adverse effects of Santa Barbara School District's closing of three predominantly Chicano elementary schools and the subsequent scattering of students to five predominantly White schools. Parents of Chicano students sued because the burden of the change was exclusively placed on minority children (Angeles v. Santa Barbara School District, 1979). Valencia served as an expert witness in court and testified that the closures would have "adverse psychological and educational effects on the Chicano children" (p. 146). The study confirmed Valencia's four hypotheses: adjustment, achievement, parental involvement, and overall impact; the closures adversely impacted a significant proportion of the parents and their children (1984, p. 161). While Valencia's study was based on school closures in 1979, research participants in my study also mentioned adverse psychological and educational effects. My study focused on addressing the impact of school closure on students, families and communities.

Disaster Capitalism

Disaster capitalism has intensified ideological enclosures that have led to criminalization, confinement and school closures. Klein (2007) explained that the disaster capitalism complex emerged after September 11, 2001 and it is "a global war fought on every level by private companies whose involvement is paid for with public money" (p. 14). Its goal, she posited, is "for the corporations at the center of the complex to bring the model of for-profit government, which advances so rapidly in extraordinary circumstances, into the ordinary and day-to-day functioning of the state—in effect, to privatize the government" (Klein, 2007, p. 15). Where

much of this literature comes short is that it does not consider the cultural and historical processes that have led up to the closure of Black public high schools, nor does it consider children's lived experiences.

While Hurricane Katrina was characterized as the worst natural disaster in American history, Johnson (2011) contended that many dimensions of the disaster were "a consequence of human agency and ideological prerogatives," being neoliberal governance at the local, state and national level (p. xix). Catastrophes have the potential to trigger processes of *accumulation by dispossession*, which Harvey (2003) defined a process by which resources previously belonging to one social group are transferred into capital for another group. Akers (2012), Buras (2013), and Saltman (2007) have adopted Harvey's term, accumulation by dispossession, as a way to conceptualizing education privatization post-disaster. On the other hand, Dixson (2011) used Critical Race Theory to consider the free market, legislative policies that the State of Louisiana signed into law shortly after Hurricane Katrina. Specifically, Dixson considered how the firing of Black teachers and principals rivalled the loss of employment for Black educators after *Brown v*. *Board of Education*.

Growing empirical research has challenged the dominant narrative about the education "miracle" in post-Katrina New Orleans (Adamson, Cook-Harvey & Darling-Hammond, 2015; Buras, 2013, 2014; Cook, 2008; Cook & Dixson, 2013; Dingerson, 2006; Dixson, 2011, 2015; Dixson, Buras & Jeffers, 2015; Henry & Dixson, 2016; Michna, 2009, 2011). Building upon Klein's (2007) concept of disaster capitalism, Arena (2012) considered how the co-optation of grassroots organizations and foundation funded non-profits that began before the storm have led to an elimination of public housing in New Orleans.

Summary

Taken together these five bodies of literature: desegregation; teacher culture and race; punishment and incarceration; school closures; and disaster capitalism enabled the construction of a more nuanced explanation of understanding the context of public education in New Orleans. These bodies of literature provided the foundation for my selection of a theoretical foundation and methodological approach. Specifically, I argue that there is a need for research to continue to highlight the voices of the participants in exploring how school closures, transformations and restarts of traditional Black high schools relate to the criminalization of Black youth.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This dissertation study about public schools in New Orleans built upon ways that researchers have used *testimonio*^{iv}, decolonizing methodologies, and constructivist grounded theory. In selecting a methodology for this research study, I considered issues of congruence. It would be incongruous to use an anti-colonial framework as my theoretical perspective and then implement a colonial research methodology. Therefore, I worked to align my theoretical perspective, epistemology, methodology, and methods.

In this chapter, I first discuss how my positionality impacted this study. Then, I discuss the theoretical framework that informed this study and my epistemological orientation. Finally, I will discuss the methodological approach, collection of data, analytic procedures, and ethical considerations.

Positionality

We are asked to put our local cultural knowledge in secluded compounds, not in the open arena of intellectual and public discourse. This is a stark reminder that a vital aspect of the decolonizing project involves the intersection of the whole self into knowledge production and the process; the individual experience and narrative are powerful tools in dislodging universal, colonial tropes that posit a universal subject. (Dei, 2011, p. 16)

My firsthand experiences and what I have witnessed as a student, teacher, sister, and aunt influence every aspect of my scholarly research from the framing of my research questions, to the bodies of literature that I have scrutinized and carefully selected to frame my work, to my data collection and analysis, my construction of language, and representation of the findings. Within the context of this study, I hold multiple insider and outsider positionalities, or emic and epic perspectives. My race, gender, age, historicity, place of location, as well as personal and professional experiences, influence my insight and perspective. My interpretations of Black or African American perspectives are those of an outsider. Understanding these positionalities has been extremely helpful in my use of reflexivity (Etherington, 2004), as I reflected upon my own

assumptions, worked to understand and navigate power dynamics within the research process, developed an awareness of how my participants saw and responded to me, and explored how challenges affected the research process.

As a White woman from Louisiana who has lived nearly all of my life in Louisiana, my relationship to this study fluctuates between an insider and an outsider. In this vein, I am not attempting to deny what has already been written about public education in New Orleans, whether it be the dominant narrative or the counter-narrative.

I am speaking with the voice of someone who was a student in New Orleans Public Schools in the early 1990s, as someone who attended class in a dysfunctional Chemistry laboratory and sat on the floor of my physical education class with one of the few other White children in my class and ate sunflower seeds in a foyer that resembled more of a hallway than a gymnasium. I am speaking as someone who was born in a predominantly White city less than 100-miles from New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and attended religious schools where I fell behind my public-school peers. I am speaking from the voice of someone whose veteran teachers in New Orleans Public Schools taught my classmates and me to think about "how," "why" and "what if," rather than "what," while we read and discussed authors like Toni Morrison, Chinua Achebe and Gabriel García Márquez. Magnet schools, and this one, in particular, were reserved for the elite and Black children from highly educated families in Orleans parish. (See Table A.3) However, what made Eleanor McMain Magnet School unique, in addition to its college preparatory curriculum, were students who had immigrated with their families from Vietnam, Central and South America and Eastern Europe, as well as a few White working-class and middle-class children.

Many of us were not interested in becoming an SAT score at the predominantly White and highly, selective magnet school, Ben Franklin High School. Many spent half of the day at McMain in gifted and talented classes, as was the case across the state and country, and the other half of the day at New Orleans Center for Creative Arts (NOCCA). At NOCCA, we studied creative writing, visual arts, ballet, theater and music with economically and/or racially privileged children from across the parish. In our spare time, we talked about Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, pretended to understand Søren Kierkegaard and Friedrich Nietzsche and attended our classmates' art exhibits and theatrical productions. But by age 16, just about everyone had begun working on the weekends and in the summertime in the service industry as waitresses, runners, and cashiers.

Little did we know, accountability reforms were tiptoeing into Orleans Parish, as they were across the country, but they did not impact our education or our passion for learning. In providing transparency, I must add that our first encounter with TFA would haunt me decades later. While we were not familiar with the term at the time, we were attending a "school of choice." I place this term in quotation marks because by the end of the decade, community members asserted that magnet schools in Orleans Parish had discriminatory, race-based admissions standards. The *Times-Picayune* quoted Carl Galmon, a participant of this study, saying:

They have used magnet schools to create a caste system... If you are politically connected in the city or if you contribute to a school board member, there is no problem getting your child in a magnet school. But if you are poor and living in the projects, nine chances out of 10 your child will not get into a magnet school no matter how bright he is. (Meitrodt, 1998)

As a "school of choice," the School Board distributed bus tickets for public transportation to its students, which was most of us since we came from all over the city. I can remember being told

to get straight on the bus, and we knew it was because Alcée Fortier High School let out shortly afterward. Fortier was a district high school just a few blocks away. Its students were distinguishable because they wore light blue shirts with dark blue pants or blue plaid skirts for the girls, while we did not wear uniforms.

During this era, and increasingly so, most White families and Black middle-class families, who had not migrated to the suburbs paid tuition for their children to attend private schools, and often worked two to three jobs to do so. This was not the picture that desegregation policies expected or desired. Interest convergence (Bell, 1980) in Orleans Parish had gone amiss.

In my teenage years but increasingly in my early twenties, I became involved in and community and political organizations. In the late 1990s, a co-worker of mine invited me to a Community Labor United (CLU) breakfast forum, which was a monthly forum at Dillard University where community groups and students that were organizing for education, labor, housing and prison reforms learned from each together. This was where I met Curtis Mohammad, a former organizer from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Pat Bryant, the co-founder of Justice and Beyond; Bill Quigley from Loyola Poverty Law Clinic; and Jim Randels from Students at the Center (SAC). While CLU provided an excellent starting point to learn about social justice issues, most young people wanted to agitate for change! One of the groups that I started to meet with were recent public-school graduates who had formed a group called the Fred Hampton Youth Action Committee who were meeting at Community Book Center. vii While the organization was only for Black youth, I participated in a trash pickup around Frederick Douglass High School and observed in New Orleans Public Schools, while members of the organization participated in a residency at district schools like Fortier and Douglass. Some of the youth also worked with the National Coalition the Free the Angola 3,

which was led by two former Black Panther Party members, Althea Francois and Mirion Brown and facilitated the release of Robert King Wilkerson. During the late 1990s and the early 2000s, there was a lot of community work going on in the city, and I remember discussing Fanon's *A Wretched of the Earth* (1963), debating whether magnet schools were a brain drain from district schools, attending a spoken word festival for youth that was put on in the streets of the Tremé community. In addition, Critical Resistance South had begun "to bring together prisoners, family members, former prisoners, teachers, activists, communities of faith, and community members from across the South to strategize resistance to the [Prison Industrial Complex] in the region" (Critical Resistance, 2018). In 2003, Critical Resistance, an organization that seeks to build a movement to eliminate the prison industrial complex held its national conference in New Orleans in 2003. I believe that the community organizing and education that occurred during this era is part of a larger story about what led up to the creation of the RSD.

All this to say: my positionalities are parts of all aspects of my research. My study is limited and not representative of others. Understanding these positionalities assisted me in being reflexive throughout the research process. Introspection has helped me to unravel how my biography intersects with my interpretation of field experiences, and thus become more explicit and transparent about my knowledge claims. The journal entries that are throughout this chapter come from writings that I did during my time working in the school system. In using a *testimonio* methodology, I understand that this study is a collaborative transaction, which includes my positionality and social location in the world. Denzin explained, "an inscribed story is only one version of different versions of different, not the same stories" (1998, p. 326).

Anti-Colonial Framework

Colonialism is not satisfied with snaring the people in its net or of draining the colonized brain of any form of substance. With a kind of perverted logic, it turns its attention to the past of the colonized people and distorts it, and disfigures it, and destroys it.

—Frantz Fanon (1963/2004, p. 149)

But this here is not educating our kids. This is colonization. We are going back to slavery. We are going to servitude. They are not trying to teach the kids to advance. They do not want them to think out of the box. No thinking allowed. Just react, react to what we tell you.

—Ernest Charles (personal communication, July 15, 2016)

This section of this chapter addresses the theoretical framework that informed my inquiry. Blumer (1954) explained that researchers bring "sensitizing concepts" to their work, meaning that they "lack precise reference and have no benchmarks which allow a clean-cut identification of a specific instance" (p. 7). Anti-colonial theory has allowed me to place this study within an international and historical context. International contextualization allows me to connect the findings of this study Algeria, Jamaica, Martinique, Chile, and Puerto Rico.

Historical contextualization allows me to illustrate how my present findings connect to events of the past. In this chapter, I elaborate on why this theoretical foundation is the most appropriate one for this study, the ways in which it informed this study, and how it offered an understanding of limitations of this study. Kovach explained: "Explicit conceptual frameworks allow an opportunity to be honest about our perspective and to illustrate how this perspective impacts chose methods" (1964/2010, p. 42).

Why Anti-Colonial Theory?

There is a history that explains why I decided to frame this study from an anti-colonial theoretical perspective. A little over a month after Hurricane Katrina, I returned to the city of New Orleans for a reunion at Frederick Douglass High School, a school located in the Upper

Ninth Ward just before the industrial canal and less than a mile away from one of the levee breaches.

My former students from Colton Middle School and their sisters and brothers from Douglass held a reunion in November of 2005 in the yard of Douglass. One student, along with her mother and two sisters came from Idaho, where they evacuated to after living six days in the Superdome. Rodneka and Robin came from Baton Rouge. Others came from Texas. Students at the Center (SAC), a creative writing program where the students had been mentoring my students at Colton the previous year, had sponsored their return. The only part of Douglass that had flooded was the band room, so the students considered taking their instruments home with them. However, adults persuaded them not to leave the instruments since they might be contaminated with mold and toxins. Everyone sat in a circle and made a moral commitment to public education in New Orleans. At the time, there were no public schools open on the East Bank of the city, and people were rapidly returning. The school board had recently given the building of Alcée Fortier High School, which had been populated with all-Black students, to Lusher, a school with an entirely different demographic of students. So, students, parents, and teachers from Douglass evaluated whether or not they should apply to charter Douglass under SAC, but instead, they decided to advocate for the state to open it as a public school. The main reason the group made this decision was to assure that Douglass enrolled children in the surrounding neighborhood.

Temporarily, I was teaching evacuees in Baton Rouge, but I came back to the city every time there was a school board meeting. The second school board meeting in the city was packed. It was the day that Lusher applied for their charter, which they had been working on prior to the storm; Benjamin Franklin High School, in collaboration with the University of New Orleans, applied for their charter; Tremé Charter Schools, a newly formed group, applied for a charter organization; and Algiers Charter Schools Association, another newly formed group, applied for a charter that would operate five schools. When I spoke out against the conversion of Fortier's building to Lusher, the board provided no plan for where the Fortier students would be going to school that year. I was able to speak with some of the leaders in the public-school community and offer my services as an educator. VIII On January 3rd, 2006, Algiers Charter Schools Association hired me to teach at O. Perry Walker Charter High School. While I accepted the position, I remembered the Douglass students and remained committed to fighting for public schools on the East Bank, so I continued to meet with the Frederick Douglass Community Coalition at Holy Angels Church, which was located at 3500 St. Claude Avenue, a block away from Douglass. We were fighting for the children in the eighth ward and upper ninth ward to have a school to come back to. (Fieldnotes, 2008)

As we sat in a circle and planned how we, as educators, students, parents and community members, would collectively confront the absence of public high schools in Orleans parish (Michna, 2009), the elders in our circle (Reggie Lawson, from Crescent City Neighborhood;

Kalamu ya Salaam, former member of the Free Southern Theater, founder of BLACKARTSOUTH and co-director of SAC; Katrena N' Dang, a veteran educator from Lawless High School^{ix}) referred to colonization in explaining what was going on with public education in New Orleans.

As a supporter of the Fred Hampton Youth Education Committee, I was familiar with Fanon's work. But it was not until children with whom I had worked, and children that lived in my neighborhood were killed from violence that I began to understand the significance of his work. In the spring of 2006, an eighth grader I knew from Colton Middle School was killed downtown, and around the same time, six young men were executed in a mass shooting. As children sat on waiting lists to enter schools (*Bentley v. Louisiana Department of Education*, 2008; *Boisseau v. Picard*, 2007; Ritea, 2007), crime and violence in Orleans parish had multiplied. It was not until teaching in one of the RSD's first direct-run high schools the following fall that I witnessed violence destroy my current students and many children in my neighborhood's lives, that I sought out Fanon's work to understand the situation and to help myself and my students emotionally and spiritually survive. Through a grant from ExxonMobil in 2008, I was able to order a class set of *A Wretched of the Earth* for my classroom at John McDonogh Sr. High School (Strecker, 2008).

Fanon's work continued to come up at community events and in conversations, including a racial healing circle at the teacher's union, a book discussion at an independently Black-owned bookstore, Community Book Center, etc. Recently, a colleague informed me that his father, who was an organizer in the St. Bernard Housing Development in the sixties and seventies, recommended that everyone in the Black community read Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963/2004). Therefore, from these and other conversations, I believe Fanon's writings exist

within New Orleans worldviews, especially in Black activist circles. Just as Fanon's home, Martinique, New Orleans was a French colony. Fanon is to New Orleans like W. E. B. Du Bois is to Atlanta. Thus, since grassroots people in New Orleans are familiar with Fanon's work, it is appropriate for his work and the work of other anti-colonial authors to be central to this study's theoretical foundation.

Anticolonial literature has brought "sensitizing concepts" into my understandings and analysis (Blumer, 1954, p. 7). I believe that all researchers bring a theoretical foundation and that transparency contributes to trustworthiness. Kelle stated that qualitative researchers always bring with them their own lenses and conceptual networks and that without them "they would not be able to perceive, observe and describe meaningful events any longer" (2005, para. 5).

Relevance to this Context

Many authors have asserted that colonization, slavery and racism have built a foundation for this country (Carmichael, 1967; Feagin, 2010; Jensen, 2005). This study contends that the United States is a colonial empire and that not only does it enforce its colonial power onto its political territories, but as a hegemonic nation, this colonial imposition is enforced onto non-dominant populations at home. Colonialism is not only about political control; in order for a country to dominate, it has to maintain economic, military and psychological control. Fanon (1963/2004) explained that when colonialism understands that it is incapable of providing material conditions for colonized people, "it adds political reinforcements, dispatches troops and establishes a regime of terror better suited to its interests and psychology" (p. 147). Post-colonial and anti-colonial theory assist us in placing our experiences within a historical context so that we will understand our current predicament, and we can prepare to decolonize our lives,

communities, and schools. Thus, post-colonial and anti-colonial thinkers provide context for this study on the closure of historically Black public high schools in New Orleans.

While anti-colonial refers to an approach to theorizing "colonial and re-colonial [reorganized colonial] relations and the implications of imperial structures on process of knowledge
production and validation, the understanding of Indigeneity, as well as the pursuit of agency,
resistance and subjective politics" (Dei, 2010, p. 13). Rather than neo-colonial, anti-colonial
approaches consider re-organized colonial relationships and the power of colonial and colonized
mindsets (Dei, p. 13). In New Orleans, White financial efforts and White policy-makers (Buras,
2013, 2014; Dixson et al., 2015; Jeffers, 2015; Rex, 2015) have controlled knowledge production
and validation around charter schools. A similar phenomenon has occurred throughout the
country (Farrell, 2015, 2016). Therefore, this study used the Fanonian sense of colonialism to
understand the overlapping manifestations as it relates to the usurpation of Black public
education in New Orleans.

There is a reciprocal link between the United States as a colonial power and its relationships with non-dominant populations within its own borders. Wynter (2003) used the term "ethnoclass Man," which she referred to as the Western bourgeois conception of human that overrepresents itself and subjugates Fanon's (1963/2004) wretched of the earth (pp. 260-261). Beginning with the European Renaissance in the eighteenth century, according to Wynter, (2003) "the West has used the construct of race to replace previous religious dualities that determined who was human and who was subhuman" (p. 264). What the West referred to as human, which was really an "ethnoclass Man," excluded and institutionalized indigenous and Black Africans as Other (Wynter, 2003).

Our country's relationships with its own citizen's parallel ways this country invests itself in global interventions on behalf of democracy and free-markets (Klein, 2007). Postcolonial theorist, Bhabha (1994), suggested that to measure global progress, the "hegemonies that exist at 'home' provide us with perspective on the predatory effects of global governance however philanthropic or ameliorative the original intention might have been." (p. xv). Thus, in understanding this country's global relationships, in this study, I listed to perspectives of the non-"ethnoclass Man," or "their 'racial' anti-type Other" (Wynter, 2003, p. 223), on the local level.

As stated in the quotation that opened this section, colonization takes an aggressive attempt to distort and disfigure the history of the colonized people. Albert Memmi's (1991) theory of the colonizer and the colonized explains how the colonizer's destruction of institutions serves to erase the colonized person's memory of his or her history. According to Memmi (1965/1991), "Finally, the few material traces of the past are slowly erased, and the future remnants will no longer carry the stamp of the colonized group" (p. 104). In New Orleans, one of the results of school reform has been the renaming of schools that were named after national and local, Black leaders have been changed. One of the tragedies resulting from the takeover of New Orleans public schools is that the schools' powerful legacies of struggle are disappearing. For many reasons, including limited post-secondary opportunities, culture, and histories of struggle, high schools in New Orleans are a source of pride and identity. Euro-American school reform policies have attempted to erase that history. Billie Dolce, who taught for 32 ½ years in New Orleans Public Schools explained:

What was wrong with the name? Ok, change what you're doing within the building, the facilities, but why would you have a need to change the names? So now a veteran teacher, when they talk about the schools, I say: What school is that?" I don't know the schools anymore because they all have new names and that's sad. (Blalock, Dolce, Goodwin, & Jackson - Ndang, 2013)

Teaching children both explicitly and implicitly that they have no history imposes psychological damage on children and on society. Post-colonial and anti-colonial authors discuss the implications. Smith stated: "Indigenous children in schools, for example, were taught the new names for places that they and their parents had lived in for generations" (1999/2012, p. 53), and she said that this had an ideologically powerful effect. Similarly, Wynter explained that while Jamaica was under British colonial rule from 1866 to 1938:

[T]he majority of the Jamaican people underwent what was perhaps the most damaging years psychologically of their existence. When one is a slave one maintains, at least a vestige of self-respect; one is a slave because of a superior force. During Crown Colony rule, the very structure of the society and the value system which it created caused the majority of Jamaicans to come to accept that whilst they were free men, they were conditionally free. And that they were conditionally free not only because they were poor, but because they were Black. The majority of Jamaicans came to accept, too, that they were poor because they were inherently inferior, and they were inherently inferior because they were Black. (1971, pp. 18-19)

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2010) narrated a story that illustrated how colonial schooling in Kenya had a psychological and ideologically impact on his life and sense of self. He and his brother went to play sports, and his mother allowed him to wear his school uniform, but his brother did not have a uniform because he was not in school yet.

I saw some students I did not even know well, coming toward me. Suddenly, I was aware, as if for the first time, that my brother was in his traditional garb...

The embarrassment that had been seeping into my consciousness of the world around me since I first wore new clothes came back intensely. Panic seized me. I did the only thing that I thought would save the situation. I asked my brother if whether we could take two different paths around the field and see who would get to the other side first... By the time my brother and I met, I was already remorseful, while he was bubbling with joy at having beaten me to the spot. My behavior ruined the rest of the day for me. I might have found my predicament easier to bear if I had voiced it to my brother... The problem, I came to realize, was not in my brother or the other boys but in me. It was inside me. I had lost touch with who I was and where I came from... it made me realize that education and lifestyle could influence judgement in a negative way and separate people (2010, pp. 72-74)

As the history of self-sufficiency is erased from the collective memory of the colonized, and the self-concept of inherent inferiority becomes the standard, the colony starts to believe they need the mother country as provider and protector. Sylvia Wynter (1971) contended that the Crown Colony rule "extended certain benefits like free elementary schooling and rudimentary medical services to the Black majority," while these schools only provided children with skills to work and not skills to rise in economic or social status (p. 19). Similarly, Fanon wrote:

[T]his effort to demean and erase history prior to colonization takes on a dialectical significance... when we consider the resources deployed to achieve the cultural alienation so typical of the colonial period, we realize that nothing was left to chance and the final aim of colonization was to convince the indigenous population it would save them from darkness. (1963/2004, p. 149)

Thus, because the native population had no history prior to the colonizer's intervention, there is a need for the mother country to save the indigenous population from their own darkness. Klein (2007) explained the power of "intellectual imperialism" (p. 77) in her description of the Chile Project, an exchange program between Chile's Catholic University and the University of Chicago's School of Economics whose goal was to produce "ideological warriors who would win the battle of ideas against Latin America's 'pink' economists" (p. 73). As I listened to oral histories and *testimonios*, anti-colonial theory guided me in seeing how ideological imperialism is manifested through renaming historical landmarks, neighborhoods and institutions.

Education market-based reforms have introduced many foreign cultural aspects, especially the notion of individualism. In Euro-American schools throughout the United States, Dei (2010) asserted that there is "an absence of a collective consciousness of belonging to a community of learners" and that these schools create "hierarchies of difference either through the privilege of knowledge, bodies, experiences or histories including demarcations of successes and failures" (p. 22). The United States' implementation of high stakes testing, grading of teachers and schools, curriculum tracks, school rankings and even separate school systems fuel divisions,

hierarchies and individualized mindset and approach to learning rather than a collective and community-based approach. Under the market-based reforms in New Orleans, each charter network is a different education agency unto itself, and it must compete for its students and teachers. Fanon's analysis shows how this phenomenon is compatible with colonization: "A colonized people is thus reduced to a collection of individuals who own their very existence to the presence of the colonizer" (1963/2004, pp. 219-220). At one school board meeting that I attended, I observed this phenomenon. Several groups of citizens came to speak at the board meeting for their specific school, and when the agenda item that addressed their school was complete, rather than support the other school communities, they left (Fieldnotes, 2015).

With the loss of collective consciousness and the erasure of one's history and culture, Fanon eloquently explained that the colonized often take their frustrations out on one another. "Such behavior represents a death within the face of danger, a suicidal conduct which reinforces the colonists' existence and domination and reassures him that such men are not rational" (Fanon,1963/2004, p. 18). This is most definitely the case with the murder rates in New Orleans, especially involving youth as they annihilate each other.

Methodological Approach

Re-membering history is a process of putting the members of history back together. This process produces a more accurate representation of those who were there, and is powerful enough to correct the omission and misrepresentation of African descent people in the United States - a people with a central historical presence that exists alongside a persistent absence in the teaching of it. (Swartz, 2007, p. 173)

History has played an imperializing role, just as other research methodologies. Revisiting history is a significant part of decolonization (Smith, 1999/2012, p. 35). History is more than a stringing together of "facts." Historical narrative is driven by the questions a historian asks, the historical data, the historian's interpretation and the argument created (Rousmaniere, 2004, p.

33). In light of Swartz's (2007) call to democratize knowledge through "re-membering" history, this study sought strove to move beyond grand narratives and builds upon silenced histories.

My decision to pursue *testimonio* as my primary research methodology was guided by several considerations. Primarily, a *testimonio* draws on participants' accounts, therefore, allowing me to credit the narrators and preserve subaltern narratives. *Testimonio* adds another dimension by bringing a sense of "urgency to communicate, a problem of repression, poverty, subalternity, imprisonment, struggle for survival, and so on, implicated in the act of narration itself" (Beverley, 1989, p. 14). My goal was to learn from families, communities, and educators what they have endured with the closure of historically Black public high schools.

Testimonios are grounded in the lived experience, and they are a way to reveal subaltern voice. Testimonio as a methodology has features that distinguish it from oral history because "it represents the voice of many whose lives have been affected by particular events, such as totalitarian governments, war violence, displacement, or other types of broad social affronts on humanity" (Reyes & Rodriguez, 2012, p. 528). This methodology challenges objectivity by situating the individual within a collective experience (Delgado-Bernal, Burciaga & Carmona, 2012; Beverley, 1989). Early on in my interview with Mr. Larry M. Smith, a 1957 alumnus of Washington High School and a community activist who worked alongside the Deacon's for Defense in Bogalusa, Louisiana, noted: "I'm not speaking just for me. I'm speaking for everybody else too. Because a lot of people are afraid to open their mouth. They are afraid to speak truth to power because they figure: 'This might cost me'" (personal communication, November 27, 2016). Akin to Smith's collective narration, a testimonio is intentionally political, and it "aims to raise awareness to the oppressive reality of the individual and his or her

community in order to engender change" (Alemán, 2012, p. 492). Developed in Latin America (Cabezas, 1982; Jonas & McCaughan, 1984; Menchú, 1984; Montejo & Barnet, 1968; Randall, 1974; Randall & Tijerino, 1978; Randall & Yanz, 1981), *testimonios* are a means through which oral evidence is presented by the *testimoniante* (person giving the *testimonio*) (Alemán, 2012, p. 492). Chicano/a and Latino/a researchers (Alarcón, Cruz, Jackson, Prieto, Rodriguez-Arroyo, 2011; Blumenreich & Rogers, 2016; Cavanaugh, Vigil & Garcia, 2014; Cervantes-Soon, 2012; Chang, 2017; Delgado-Bernal et al., 2012; Fernández, 2016; Huber, 2009; Pour-Khorshid, 2016; Priesto & Niňo, 2016) have increasingly utilized this methodology to understand educational contexts for Chicano/a and Latino/a students.

The *testimonio* is told in the first person by a narrator who is a witness to an event. The forms it may comprise include: autobiography, autobiographical novela, monologue, a performance, oral history, memoir, confession, diary, interview, eyewitness report, life history, novels-testimonios, non-fiction novel, "factographic literature" (Beverley, 1989, p. 13). *Testimonios* can be triangulated and crystallized with other forms of evidence. "There is a formality to testimonies and a notion that truth is being revealed 'under oath,'... [testimonies are] a form through which the voice of a 'witness' is accorded space and protection" (Smith, 1999/2012, p. 144).

With the closure of nearly all historically Black public high schools, the destruction of neighborhood schools throughout New Orleans and the subsequent displacement of students, parents, and educators, made *testimonio* an appropriate methodological approach. *Testimonio* as a methodology goes beyond just recorded personal stories, as the lived experiences represent a collective experience. This methodology is a "crucial means of bearing witness and inscribing

into history those lived realities that would otherwise succumb to the alchemy of erasure" (Latina Feminist Group, 2001, p. 2). It is appropriate, moreover, for me as a researcher, because in *testimonio*, the story connects to the narrator's life. *Testimonio* "is an account told in the first person by a narrator who is the real protagonist or witness of events" (Reyes & Rodríguez, 2012, p. 527). To explain why I have incorporated *temimonio* as a methodology, I point to students' testimonies at a BESE meeting on their experiences in the RSD:

I've come here today to talk about the gifted and talented students. When I say gifted and talented, I mean students with *special needs*!... There are no records at the school. Five of my teachers do not know I am in special education. I do not know where my individual education plan is... In the first quarter, I went to the counselor's office to ask about one of the gifted teachers, to see if they would come help us because there is more than one gifted students in my classroom. The counselor told me to go to the gifted teachers, and I went. They said they didn't even know I was in special Ed! They said they were going to find someone to come and help me in my class. I never saw the gifted teacher in my classroom. We demand a *resource room*! We demand *special teachers* who are *equipped* to handle children with special needs! Where are the people who are supposed to be reading my tests to me? I have one more suspension before I get expelled. ... I have no plan to help me with my behavior. (Allen, 2007)

This testimony signified one of the youth's demands that the state-operated RSD comply with federal and state special education policies. Another student testified on the same day about the culture that the state-operated RSD provided, which introduced the students' contention for a decreased number of security guards and hiring of social workers and counselors.^x

When John McDonogh Senior High School re-opened after Hurricane Katrina, there were 35 security guards on staff and only 23 teachers. When I first walked into the school, I saw 5 security guards, two at the door, 1 on the corner and 1 on patrol. I also saw three armed police officers. I felt like I was visiting one of my relatives in prison. (Short, 2007)

These are excerpts from students' speeches that were compiled as part of the press packet the night before a "Take it to the Top" protest in Baton Rouge at the Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE). In these excerpts, the students speak for themselves and narrate John McDonogh's story, which is our collective story-- a part that *my* language and voice cannot retell.

Using a decolonizing methodology, I am able to document local voices, narratives, and histories on public education. According to Mutua and Swadener, decolonizing research lies in the "motives, concerns, and knowledge brought to the research process" (2008, p. 33). Thus, holding to a belief that New Orleans people have a right to define their own experiences, I focused on oral and written works by New Orleans. "Indigenous people want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes... but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying," explained Smith (1999/2012, pp. 29-30). Explicitly included in my methodology are the cultural protocols, values, behaviors and ways of knowing within the place of research. Throughout my research process, I maintained a critically, reflexive journal.

Epistemology

They act like we have no expertise. We are the people who actually experience all of their experiments in schooling... representatives from the national NAACP came to town to host a public hearing to collect evidence on the state of New Orleans schools as part of a national project to investigate the impact of charter schools on youth and families. If I had a dollar for every person who comes to New Orleans to 'collect evidence' and 'study the effects of charters or poverty, or inequality,' I would be able to fund free college education for all students in New Orleans.

—big sister love rush, 2017

Just as the 2017 graduate of Algiers Technology Academy, a charter school operated under the RSD in New Orleans, articulated above, power plays a crucial role in the construction of what is known, what it means to know and what knowledge is worth. The scientific legitimization of knowledge is constructed upon a colonial framework and hegemonic system, and at the same time, this legitimization process is a fundamental factor in sustaining colonial systems of power. Historically, knowledge keepers, or gatekeepers, those in power and with historical-racial status have had the absolute right to decide what is official or true knowledge and what is dismissed. The dominant and those in power assume their truth or reality is

universal, subjugating and dismissing other peoples' experiences and research. Sylvia Wynter contended, "our present ethnoclass (i.e. Western bourgeois) conception of the human, Man, which over-represents itself as if it were the human itself," (2003, p. 260) and "enables the interests, reality, and well-being of the empirical human world to continue to be imperatively subordinated to those of the now globally hegemonic ethnoclass world of 'Man'" (p. 262).

"They act like we have no expertise," exclaimed the student. Those with expertise who are part of Wynter's (2003) "ethnoclass Man" assume other people's experiences do not even exist, and they justify this by erasing history and invalidating diversity of thought, experience, and expression and then classifying difference as subhuman. Experts evaluate knowledge within a colonial context from a European paradigm, and in turn, academic disciplines are used to retain and reinforce this Western epistemological order. For example, in the field of natural sciences, social sciences, and even the legal courtroom, testimonies of individual or collective experiences are dismissed as empirical evidence. We must ask why this is the case? Whose purpose does this serve? Why is the second or third-hand whitewashed reiteration the valued knowledge? If we considered testimony as legitimate knowledge and empirical evidence, this would rupture the Western epistemological order and, hence, colonial structures of dominance. This dissertation is presented from within this philosophical tradition.

In this vein, according to Fanon (1967/1991), European psychology has provided no real solutions in African cultures because they have operated within a European framework and failed to even considered a colonial world order where people are dehumanized and socialized to see themselves through the eyes of the colonizer. Since the colonized does not create or define the meaning of his or herself and is instead constructed by the colonizer, Fanon (1967/1991)

stated, "Beneath the body schema I had created a historical-racial schema" (p. 94). We see this phenomenon play out in classrooms internationally when schools and textbooks dismiss the history of colonization and racial violence, while child psychologists and school social workers do not even consider racialized situations that create alienation, cultural trauma and experienced racial violence. Meanwhile, in New Orleans, students in New Orleans Public Schools, their parents, and their teachers have not defined, in either the narrative or counter-narratives, their own experiences that have been based on their struggles for education in post-Katrina New Orleans.

After waiting for two hours to speak at the NAACP Education Task Force Hearing in New Orleans, Inez Shelby, a freshman at McDonogh 35 College Preparatory School, which is the sole direct-run high school under the Orleans Parish School Board, interrogated: "This is about us, so why can't we speak?" (Perry, 2017). As Inez noted, in New Orleans, there are unresolved issues about the right to represent, who has a right to define "the New Orleans experience," and "tell the story." This is because so often our experiences, just as the experienced of colonized people around the world, have become a misrepresentation or a stop on someone bus tour—all at the community's expense and for the profiteering of someone who does not give back. So often we have seen our stories misrepresented, bought, whitewashed, sold and retold. As noted above, Bhabha (1990) eloquently explained: "The barred Nation It/Self alienated from its eternal self-generation, becomes a liminal form of social representation, a place that is internally marked by cultural difference and the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonistic authorities, and tense cultural locations" (p. 299). At the same time, it is essential that a European-American scholar, such as myself, does not seek to define Black experiences in New Orleans or to be deferred to as the expert. Inez and the young lady whose quotation opened

this section were not alone in their view of knowledge legitimization, as the late scholar, Vincent Harding, believed that people are experts on their own lives and struggles (1974, pp. 11-12).

There are many histories that are not something for which to claim or take credit. My interest is to provide an example of the diverse histories that exist. Smith (1999/2012) articulated: "Indigenous people want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes" (pp. 29-30). In a similar way, New Orleanians would like to tell our own stories, on our own terms. In this project, I navigated what was appropriately included in this narrative. Ultimately, the scattered people are my intended audience, in hopes that this story will encourage the multitude of diverse stories. Thus, I agree with Wynter (2003) and Fanon (1967/1991) and assert that knowledge is situated in a temporal, historical-racial context. Lived experiences are crucial to the conception of knowledge, but in the hegemonic system that we live under, the meanings and our interpretations of our experiences are controlled by a Western epistemological order. Therefore, I *value* the knowledge that narrators have shared, acknowledge that all interviews are co-creations and have included narrators in the analysis phase. Throughout this write-up, I have sought to situate narrators' voices as knowledgeable and truthful about their experiences that deserve attention from academe and a worldwide audience.

Prior to and throughout this study, I attempted to situate myself as a researcher-narrator in reciprocal relationships with narrators. Rather than the traditional participant-researcher binary, Kinloch and Pedro advocate for "researcher-as-participant-as-listener-as-learner-as-advocate" (2014, p. 28). In this sense, I took my time to listen and care, and give back in ways to assist my participants, particularly those who were my elders. Kinloch and Pedro (2014) explain that with Projects in Humanization, "the interactions, teachings, and knowledge do not take

precedence over interactions we have and relationships we build with (and not for) people" (p. 40). Relationships developed and the work became *our work*. Thus, I am indebted to the participants who participated in this co-construction of knowledge.

In my epistemological positions, I built upon scholarship on decolonizing methodologies and anti-colonial theorists. First, anti-colonial theorists provide me with a lens with which to approach my methodology. Using decolonizing methodologies, I engage oral histories and *testimonios* to document local voices, narratives, and histories on public education in New Orleans. In utilizing *testimonio* as a methodological tool, my role is an interlocutor and an ally.

Ethical Considerations

Georgia State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this study. I explained to each participant that they could withdraw from the study at any point of the study. Participants over 18 signed informed consent forms, and they selected whether they would like for their identity to be anonymous or known. Participants under age 18 signed an informed assent form, and their parents signed a parent permission form. All children's identities are anonymous.

In this study, my ethical considerations went beyond IRB. "Ethical values, practices, and expectations are continually being negotiated throughout the research process and the onus for behaving most ethically, all the time, falls squarely upon the shoulders of researchers," explained Smith (2014, p. 18). Since ethics are continuously negotiated during research, as Smith noted, it is important to acknowledge the expertise of participants, to be of service and to create long-lasting genuine relationships. Throughout my research, I used "reflexivity" (Etherington, 2004), a process that challenged me, as the researcher, to examine how my research agenda and assumptions, positionality, personal beliefs, and emotions enter into my research. In the

inception and throughout my research, I have acknowledged my positionality as a White female, and also as a former public-school teacher in New Orleans.

Authorship is a Eurocentric concept that permeates individualism and individual profit. "The commodification of knowledge has been in practice for 500 years. At their core, Eurocentric research methods and ethics are issues of intellectual and cultural property rights," wrote Marie Battiste, a member of the Mi'kmaq Nation's working group that developed principles and guidelines for assuring the protection of Mi'kmaq knowledge under the *Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch* (2008, p. 503). The concept of intellectual property rights runs antithetical to Indigenous and Afrocentric ways of knowing. Similar to Battiste's account, in New Orleans, I have found that knowledge sharing has different norms that knowledge sharing in the academy. For instance, New Orleans' culture is rooted in resistance and community organizations. Knowledge is shared with community members and alliances to organize for self-determination. Battiste wrote: "Indigenous knowledge is constantly shared, making all things interrelated and collectively developed and constituted" (2008, p. 500).

However, with New Orleans under ongoing colonization, this is changing. In the communities that I have worked in in New Orleans, and in the grassroots struggles that I have been a part of, using knowledge for personal gain or "self" is seen by many as a form of exploitation of the situation. Thus, my approach to knowledge gained is for it to be a community tool used by the citizens of New Orleans who are struggling for self-determination. Similarly, in describing her comfort zone as a researcher, Fournillier wrote: "I was not just doing fieldwork, but I was making mas' and contributing to the production. I felt valued now not as a researcher but a Trinidadian who had some ideas about what should be done" (2009, p. 758).

Using decolonizing methodologies, participants had the option of using their name or remaining anonymous. Academic researchers often assume that it is ethical to conceal the identities of the participants; however, I argue that participants have a right to claim their knowledge and stories under their own names and when the researcher takes this option away from participants and retells someone else's story, this is a form of co-optation and appropriation. When researchers assume to know what is best for participants, how is this not colonization?

I chose a *testimonio* methodology because I do not want to extract peoples' experiences for personal gain. "How can ethics processes and responsibilities in them ensure protection for the heritage and benefits that accrue to Indigenous peoples for their knowledge and not only to the researchers and/or their institutions?" (Battiste, 2008, p. 501). Furthermore, I have reported back at all stages of the research process and diffusion the results and knowledge in ways that community leaders request.

An undergirding goal of this investigative project is to aid in democratizing the knowledge process. Unfortunately, research in the academy has not traditionally trained people to organize, research collectively or understand how knowledge is co-constructed. Research is tied to organizing, and it becomes politicized when it ties in the concept of reciprocity. Reciprocity built foundation for this study, and it was essential for data collection, data analysis and presentation of results.

Research Purpose

The aim of this inquiry was to explore various perspectives on what happened to historically Black public high schools in New Orleans and to learn about the experiences of those who lived through these changes.

Research Questions

Using a *testimonio* methodological approach, my research questions are:

- What are perspectives of various community members on public education and, particularly, historically Black public high schools in New Orleans?
- What is the relationship between the closing of historically Black public high schools in New Orleans and other sociohistorical and sociocultural issues throughout the city?

Methods

Whose history is available in newspapers, archives, state records, etc.? Thompson (1978) argued that historical writing has reflected the priorities of those with authority. "When there are no or few written documents available, oral histories can serve as a rich source," asserted Wall, Dhurmah, Lamboni and Phiri (2015, p. 23). Written documentation on historically Black public high schools in New Orleans is scarce. "Until more written sources emerge, historians must turn to the oral record," continued Wall et al. (p. 23). It is worth noting that as time passes, the number of educators who have taught in both systems, prior to and after the colonization, and who will be able to provide their stories is diminishing. The number of former students who attended schools in both systems will continue to diminish. It is vital to document narratives from people who lived during both eras. Smith noted that "the story and the storyteller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story" (1999/2012, pp. 146-146). Thus, if researchers do not take the time to preserve subaltern narratives, the next generation will only have the colonizer's version of New Orleans. Preserving the subaltern is a form of resistance against the colonial project and narration of history.

Since the context and identity is an essential part of the *testimonio*, the narrators are

typically identified by name, unless there is a situation where anonymity is appropriate. I negotiated this in advance with my participants as part of the informed consent process.

Data Collection

My methodology framed my research questions and determined the instruments and methods that I employed. The *testimonios* emerged from a two-year-long study that I conducted in Orleans Parish.

Duration of the Study

This was a 20-month study conducted from December of 2015 through August 2017.

Preliminary Research

I carefully prepared this research by conducting extensive preliminary research and developing reciprocal relationships with retired educators and community activists. This entailed attending social, political and cultural events; observing local, state and charter school board meetings as well as Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO) meetings where residents spoke out; participating in community efforts that opposed school closures in New Orleans; talking with teachers, students, and relatives of students; archival research; and working with retired educators to document "transportation racism." Some of the community events that I attended at the inception of this study included: an event at the Rosenwald Gym, which is located next to the Booker T. Washington site, where Fred Hampton Jr. spoke; criminal court hearings where students from around the city supported a plaintiff; an event at the Tremé Community Center; bus rides to the state legislative hearings with Justice and Beyond, a coalition of ministers and community organizers that meets weekly at Christian Unity Baptist Church in the Tremé community; a Journey for Justice event located at a community center; Walter L. Cohen's Annual Alumni Picnic, etc. Attending and participating in these events, and others, opened up

lines of communication, built trust between my participants and me, and provided me with background knowledge that became useful during interviews.

While doing this, I kept a critically reflexive research journal to reflect on my relationships to others and to reflect on my own experiences, thoughts and emotions (Etherington, 2004). Building rapport and relationships with participants required my time, commitment and sincerity. It has taken years to develop trusting relationships. Before this study began, beginning in the summer of 2014, I volunteered my time by providing educational research skills for several community organization, such as the John McDonogh Steering Committee, Justice and Beyond's Education Committee; Concerned Citizens of New Orleans. I moved back to New Orleans in April 2015, which was eight months prior to the study, and I continued volunteering my time and professional services to these community groups.

After attending the State of Louisiana's House of Representative's Education Committee meetings with Justice and Beyond and travelling to Birmingham with the Concerned Citizens of New Orleans, a loose network of parents, alumni, and former and current educators, many of whom were parents, alumni and former or current educators from these specific schools, I began my interviews at the home of Mr. Carl Galmon, a community activist and alumnus of Booker T. Washington High School.

Once this study began in December of 2016, I continued to attend community events and build relationships. In doing this, I continued to write in my research journal to reflect on myself in relation to others. Several individuals became bridges between my participants and me.

However, Mrs. Barbara Cook, a retired educator and 1958 alumni of Cohen provided immeasurable assistance. She helped me to schedule interviews with parents whom she had worked with, and her friends. Her presence during many interviews helped me to develop trust. I

was able to build a relationship with Mrs. Cook through my participation in various community events as well as my support of her, and her colleagues' work. Their organization, BEST, had been documenting what they referred to as "transportation racism" by going to bus stops as early as 5:30 a.m. to speak with families and children travelling from one end of the city to the other in the school choice landscape.

My fieldnotes titled "'Transportation Racism' at Moton School" from March 22, 2016, stated:

I met Mrs. Barbara Cook, a retired educator (35 years) who graduated from Walter L. Cohen & Mrs. Labertha McCormick at 6:00 a.m. We scheduled to meet at 6:00 a.m., but I spoke with them around 5:50 a.m., which was the time I left my house. As I left the West Bank, it was dark, and no one was around, so with New Orleans crime, I was scared to walk from my house to my car, which was parked on the street directly in front of my house. This gave me a sense of what the children, their parents/guardians may experience early in the morning catching the bus. I live in a lower crime area across the Crescent City Connection (which crosses the Mississippi River) in Algiers Point, but more than one teenager has gotten into my car because I probably didn't lock my door. But getting up at this time and being on the street for just a few seconds was a reality check.

As I drove down Opelousas Avenue, I started seeing the buses, but the kids weren't standing on the main streets, they were on the side streets, which was more dangerous, but less likely they would be hit by a car or another bus while crossing the street. However, I saw several while driving to the interstate. I saw the fourth bus coming up Newton Avenue, as I came up to Behrman Highway. One at the gas station and buses surrounded me. When we finally made it to Press Park, I saw a young man waiting for his bus on Higgins Boulevard to Walker-Landry, which is in Algiers close to me. He lived a few blocks from the new Carver site (which had not opened yet), but he said he liked his school, so that was why he traveled back and forth across the Mississippi River every day.



Figure 2. Waiting for the bus on the Agricultural Street Landfill, a Superfund site.

Imagine a young girl out there on the streets, and sometimes the buses are late? (As we heard from the young man waiting for his bus in front of the abandoned Press Park in the Upper Ninth Ward). The subdivision was developed on top of an Agricultural Street landfill in the early eighties...Press Park is an abandoned housing project developed by the Housing Authority of New Orleans on the Agricultural Street Landfill Superfund site. I wondered where the city deposited debris from Hurricane Katrina? Where did they dump the toxins that came into the city?

So, they showed me that the children were waiting for the buses early in the morning right next to Press Park's HANO site is surrounded by a gated that is broken in places. It is more than two decades since EPA declared the Agricultural Street Landfill a Superfund site. ... We took pictures and stopped and spoke to one young man and gave him flyers about the Supersite and EPA Hazard "Call Patrick Dobard"! Mrs. Cook noticed that the older kids were out later and the younger kids were out early. She said that sometimes when students finally get to school, they wait 30 minutes in the bus. ... In 2016, Carver was rebuilt on Higgins Boulevard across the street from the Supersite.

Two weeks ago, Carver students walked out (about 10) because of the "RC Room" where they have to nearly put their faces on the wall for hours. Patrick Dobard, the Superintendent of the RSD, was bragging that suspension rate for RSD schools went down, but now we know why. A young lady who is a student at Carver took a picture of the "RC room" that was on Mrs. Cook's cell phone. She said there was a meeting with Carver tomorrow with the Micah Project and XXXX were involved, an alumnus of Carver who has been working with Collegiate Academies, apparently told parents they couldn't write anything down.

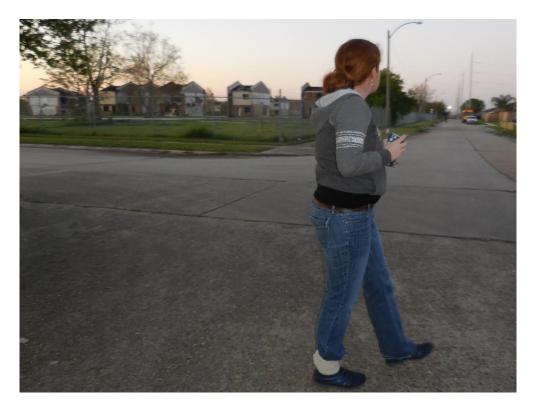


Figure 3. "Transportation Racism": Press Park at the crack of dawn.

Evidence

My study focused on in-depth interviews and testimonies. Supporting materials used in my analysis include visual artifacts, documents, archival data, and statistics. Audio-visual and visual artifacts include direct recordings of field events; archived recordings; graphic work; photographs of artifacts that participants showed me like photographs of their children, yearbooks, pictures of former teachers, as well as photographs taken during fieldwork.

Documents. This study considered the following documents: expanded fieldnotes; transcriptions of interviews and recorded field events; government records including court records, school board minutes, resolutions and information that may require records requests; meeting agendas; local newspapers; periodicals; community flyers; and email communication.

Archival Data. This study considered the following archival data from the OPSB Collection of the Louisiana and Special Collections Department, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans: school board meeting minutes, letters, personnel reports, press releases, meeting transcriptions, correspondence and notes from meetings, yearbooks, reports from hearings, newsletters, etc. Within the OPSB Collection, OPSB's desegregation files were particularly helpful. Archival data from the Amistad Research Center included: the A.P. Tureaud Papers, 1798-1977; the Julius Rosenwald Fund records, 1920-1948; and the Robert Perry, Jr. and Lillian Dunn papers. At the New Orleans Public Library, I reviewed newspapers on microfilm.

Interviews. Using the guidelines of the Oral History Association (2009), I conducted one-on-one, face-to-face interviews. I interviewed various stakeholders from three historically Black public high schools, including current and former administrators, current and former teachers and faculty, alumni, as well as current and former parents of these three schools. My questions were broad in nature so that I could record as much as possible in hopes of gaining an understanding of each person's life histories, which may better explain their perspective in relation to others. Thus, to allow my participants to give their story to the fullest that they desire, interview times were flexible.

Overall, I obtained well over 40 hours of interviews with 30 narrators. I worked to include narrators with various identities and genders: Black, White, female and male. My narrators range from ages 16-82. I included veteran teachers, mid-career teachers as well as three teachers who began teaching with an alternative teacher certification program, TeachNOLA. My choice of interviewees was based on the following criteria:

• Alumnus of Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver or Walter L. Cohen

- Current or former student at Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver or Walter L. Cohen
- Current or former parent or guardian of a child who attended a Historically Black high school
- Current or former faculty member at Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver or Walter L. Cohen

Illustrated in Table 1, I have noted the criteria(s) that each participant meets. The "capacity" column notes whether each participant is considered an alumnus, teacher, administrator, former or parent/guardian, or student at Carver, Cohen or Booker T. Washington. If the participant has a relationship to more than one of the schools, subscripts note the specific years for each school.

I conducted one-on-one and face to face interviews using open-ended questions according to the guidelines of the Oral History Association (2009). I returned all transcripts to interviewees, and I allowed them time to read over the interview. A second interview was conducted for clarifications, review, analysis and member checking. The interviews were sound recorded. Conducting the interviews in people's homes or their place of choice was necessary for the sake of confidentiality and also because I wanted each narrator to feel comfortable and not inconvenienced. During the interview process, I was open and flexible based on the narrator's line of narrative so that an authentic life story would be obtained. Thus, my interview protocols varied with some being monological and others being more dialogical with questions and answers. To protect confidentiality, I provided code names for narrators who chose to have anonymous identities Teacher 1, Teacher 2, Teacher 3, Alumni I, Alumni 2, etc. In addition, I did not disclose the courses that these narrators taught or any other identifiable data.

Table 1

Narrators

								Other	
First Name	Last Name	Race	Gender	Capacity	Carver	Cohen	Washington	HBPHS	Year(s)
Teacher	1	W	F	T		X			2007-2011
									class of 1974,
Alumnus	2	В	F	Al, T	X				2004-2005
Teacher	2	W	F	T		X			2007-2011
Alumnus	1	В	F	Al, (T)	X				class of 2005
Student	2	В	M	S	X				2012, 2015-2016
Teacher	3	W	F	T		X			2007-2009
Student	3	В	M	S	X				2015-2016
									2000-2005,
Teacher	4	В	F	T	$X_{2000-2005}$	$X_{2011-2012}$		Landry	2011-2012
Teacher	5	В	M	T		X			1987-2005
Teacher	6	W	F	T	X				2011-2012
Beldon	Batiste	В	M	P				Clark	2012-2016
Donald	Brown	В	M	Al		X			class of 1958
Willie	Calhoun	В	M	Al	X				class of 1968
Ernest	Charles	В	M	Al, (T)	X				class of 1965
Margaret	Chopin	В	F	Al			X		class of 1965
Barbara	Cook	В	F	Al, (T)		X			class of 1958
Carl	Galmon	В	M	Al			X		class of 1960
									class of 1952,
Elaine D.	Hayes	В	F	Al, P/G, (Tu)		X			class of 1975
Jherell	Johnson	В	M	S	X				2012, 2016-2017
Katie	Jones	В	F	P/G	X				2012
Darryl	Kilbert	В	M	Ad, Al, (T)	X ₂₀₀₃₋₂₀₀₅		X ₁₉₉₀₋	McDonogh 35	1979-2012
Gavin	Lewis	В	M	Ad, Al, (T)	2003 2003	X	1,7,0	McDonogh 35	2012
Terrell	Major	В	M	Al		X		inez onogn ee	class of 2013
1011011	1.111/01	2							class of 1965,
					X _{1995, 1996,}				class of 1995,
					1996, 2006,				class of 1996,
					2012, 2016-				class of 2006,
Labertha	McCormick	В	F	Al, P/G	2017		X_{1965}		2012, 2016-2017
Ngozi	McCormick	В	M	Al	X		21965		class of 2006
TIGULI	MICCOLLING	ש	141	711	Λ				class of 1955,
James	Raby	В	M	Al, P/G, (T)		X			class of 1973
Brother	Rob	В	M	Al, F/G, (1) Ad, (T)		X			2012
Rowena	Robinson	В	F	P/G, (T)	X	11			2012
Larry	Smith	В	M	Al	Λ		X		class of 1957
Rick		В	M	T		v	Λ		2007-2012
KICK	St. Amant	В	IVI	1		X			2007-2012

Note. Codes are as follows: Ad = Administrator of Historically Black Public High School (HBPHS), Al = Alumnus of HBHS, T = Teacher at Carver, Cohen or Booker T. Washington, (T) = Current/former teacher in another school within Orleans Parish, P/G = Parent/Guardian, S = Student, (Tu) = Tutor in Orleans Parish school

Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretation

A number of grounded theorists have criticized researchers who assert that they collect and analyze without any theoretical knowledge and preconceptions (Bryant, 2009; Charmaz,

2014; Kelle, 1995, 2005; Lempert, 2007; Thomas & James, 2006). In line with this understanding, I utilized constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2005, 2014) to analyze data from intensive interviews, direct observations of local and state school board meetings as well as archival data and documents.

Analysis began in my critically reflexive journal, fieldnotes from field experiences, and interviews. I used an iterative design meaning that after defining my research questions and collecting data, I adjusted my "various tools of questioning, sampling approach, design aspect and data collection in light of emerging issues, and [went] back into the field to find out more" (Grbich, 2009, p. 22). I repeated this process until no new data was apparent and all aspects of my research questions appeared to have been answered.

Initial Coding

Saldaña (2009) defined a code as "most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p. 3). Coding is the pivotal link between collecting data an emerging theory (Charmaz, 2014, p. 114). I used as many In-Vivo codes as possible. Strauss defined In Vivo codes as "the terms used by [participants] themselves" (1987, p. 33). I also used open coding, affective coding methods and values coding (Saldaña, 2009, pp. 81-93). I wrote analytic memos during the transcription and coding process to reflect on my coding process and coding choices.

Other than false starts, which I omitted, I transcribed all interviews and field recordings verbatim, other than false starts. While transcribing, I made analytical memo notes in my research journal noting things that I needed to follow up on, as well as reflections on my interviewing skills and ways that I could improve. I stored my field notes and analytic memos...

Initial coding was a process that took several months. There were 591 codes and subcodes and three composition books of handwritten analytic memos. NVivo qualitative data software helped me to manage and focus this data.

Focused Coding

During focused coding, Charmaz explained that the researcher should "concentrate on what your initial codes say and the comparisons you make with and between them" (2014, p. 140). The researcher should attend to how initial codes account for the data. To generate my theories or findings as I extrapolate upon in Chapter 4, I used Glaser's comparative analysis (1978). This helped me to understand the similarities and differences between each code and develop abstract codes along with their dimensions and properties. It also allowed me to collapse and group codes.

NVivo software allowed me to generate reports of references to specific codes. These reports were organized references by source. Using colored pens and a paper copy of a report, I color coded one source and used those codes to code other sources within that report. Then, I used a different color to code a second source and used those codes to code other sources within that same report. I repeated this process until there were no additional codes.

Throughout this process, I wrote analytic memos in composition books on meanings, reflections, and relationships. By labeling each memo with a code or codes, and then typing up the memos, I was able to organize memos by code. Then, I printed out hand copies of these compilations and coded again to look for additional meanings or relationships.

This process also allowed me to collapse categories and develop core categories that became conceptual. As Glaser explained constant comparison "generates generalized relations" or hypotheses that,

at first [have] the status of suggested, not tested, relations among categories and their properties ... as categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction, and become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated theoretical framework—the core of the emerging theory. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/1999, Kindle Locations 691-693)

Theoretical/Conceptual Coding

In theoretical coding (Saldana, 2013, p. 163) all categories and subcategories now become "systematically linked" into a central/core category. Conceptual coding was essential to developing relationships between my empirical data and theory (Glaser, 1978). This allowed me to transcend the empirical data and conceptually group into specific codes. "In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept" (Glaser & Strauss, Kindle Location 430-431).

Throughout my theoretical coding, I referred to my research questions to determine my focus. Table 2 shows one of my core conceptual categories: community school and guerrilla warfare. These tables show how the codes that I developed were raised to categories. The codes in italics are in-vivo codes. To facilitate my writing process, I used coding families (Glaser, 1978, pp. 72-84) to understand each relevant code and the interrelations among codes. While coding, I maintained journals where I wrote down memos about the codes and their relationships. Furthermore, I found diagrams like Figure 4 to be extremely helpful in organizing my data, understanding relationships and integrating theory.

Conclusion

My usage of *testimonio* distinguishes this study in that, as the researcher, my personal testimony in New Orleans is a part of the larger narrative. Researchers have taken bits and pieces of what participants in studies have said to develop theories and analysis on New Orleans public schools; however, no studies have used *testimonio* as a methodological approach. Through this

research, I have sought connections and to illuminate relationships between the past, present, and future. Harding explained that "whenever possible, the meaning of the present must be drawn out of its often-hidden relationship to the past and firmly connected to its tendencies toward the future" (1974, p. 11).

Table 2

Conceptual Category: Community School

Code / Sub-code	Sources	References
1. PRIDE	14	49
Student Camaraderie	9	18
Ownership	3	4
 fundraising 	6	9
• parental involvement	13	22
 alumni involvement-multi-generational 	12	18
• family school	16	32
• teacher	2	3
• community	2	2
Alumni Relationships	8	20
2. CULTURE	20	107
Traditions-Heritage	13	33
Black	3	3
New Orleans	3	3
Discipline with Dignity	11	13
Expectations	3	3
Collaboration	8	22
input valued	1	1
Family	8	15
Kinship	3	6
Care	2	4
3. NEIGHBORHOOD TIES	20	55
Church Ties	3	3
Black Businesses	5	7
Neighbors	4	4
Families Connections	4	5
NORD	2	2

4. CONTINUITY	12	40
Students Grew up Together	7	11
Family School	5	7
Administrators Looped with Students	5	7
Build Relationships with Community	4	5
5. MENTORING-ROLE MODELS	13	43
Teacher Mentors	5	8
6. COMMUNITY-BASED LEADERSHIP	15	45
Relationships with Churches	1	1
Trust	1	1
Relationships with Families	4	7
Advocate for Education	1	1
Discipline with Dignity	2	2
Knew Students	2	2
7. CURRICULUM	19	84
Community-based Curriculum	7	11
Developed Student Strengths	7	9
Self-Sufficiency - Life Skills	15	27
College & Career	7	12
Relatable	5	7
Black History	2	2
• pride	1	2
Citizenship	5	7
8. ENJOYED	9	17
9. ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN	7	29
10. COMMUNITY TEACHERS	26	231
Families of Educators	8	11
Black Teachers	3	6
Continuity	5	6
Dedicated	12	19
Care & Personable	17	42
Conveyed Knowledge	7	19
Motivated Students	6	7
Relationships-Trust	15	45
• family ties/parents	11	18
• neighborhood ties	5	11
• with students	5	15
• churches	1	1
Other Fathers	3	9
Discipline with Dignity	7	18
Revered	1	2

Expertise	4	7
Intergenerational Relationships	6	11
11. DIVERSITY-SCHOOL CHOICE	8	12
12. MORE THAN A SCHOOL	5	7
13. HEALTHY	4	8

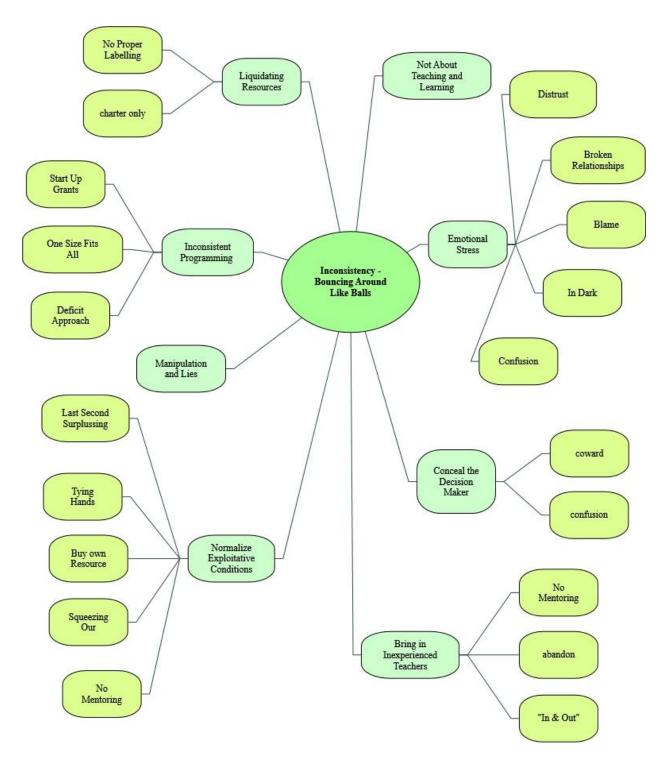


Figure 4. Properties and dimensions of inconsistency.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS



Figure 5. Mural on the outside of the former building of George Washington Carver Senior High School. Students from the school's Gifted and Talented Program painted the mural illustrating the programs that Carver offered: auto-mechanics, woodwork, band and vocal music. This building was destroyed in 2005.

This chapter describes and discusses the findings derived from the analysis and interpretation of the data collected during the research process. As illustrated in Table A.2, each claim addresses one or more aspects of the underlying research questions and draws on multiple data sources to support it. I will address four major claims, but within each claim there are multiple dimensions.

Claim I:

Historically Black public high schools were integral to the communities in which they were located.

There are three institutions which have for their sole purpose the care, nurture, development and growth of the young. These institutions are the home, the church and the school. All are vital essentials of the community, the state, the national

commonwealth. Each institution has its special work to do—instilling, guiding and giving children a chance to grow in health, intellect, spirit and emotional attitudes.

—Fannie C. Williams (1931)

This claim is central to this study because it helps us to understand the loss that people spoke of when they spoke about school closures. The examples in this claim illustrate what is absent from the present. I discuss five dimensions of historically Black public high schools: 1.) a history of community involvement and struggle; 2.) community-based administrators; 3.) community teachers; 4.) central role of families; and 5.) integral part of surrounding communities. These dimensions, build a foundation so that we may begin to conceptualize the implications of dismantling these schools as well as the passion behind struggles for the schools to remain open and return to local control.

A History of Community Involvement and Struggle

Even with repeated attempts to undermine Black public education, community-based administrators and teachers sustained the heritage that led to the opening of Black public schools. Mrs. Elaine Hayes, who wrote the alma mater at Cohen High School, provided an illustration of her elementary school principal, Leonnie Agnes Bauduit, who exemplified this heritage.

[McDonogh 6] was an all-Black school, *of course*, where the principal didn't take *no mess*! Like she called the school board and said her school needs a piano, and they sent her a piano, and she was downstairs, and she said: "Wait! Don't you dare move!" She said: "Take it *back* where it came from! *I don't want that old piano*." ... And, yes, they brought a new one. (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, October 16, 2016)

McDonogh #6 was a historically Black public elementary school that, along with Fortunatus P. Ricard and Thomy Lafon, fed into Cohen. While the School Board sold McDonogh 6's building, they named another school less than a mile away after Mrs. Bauduit.

Community-based administrators and community teachers incorporated the legacy of struggle for Black public education. In the "Principal's Message" of Cohen's 1973 yearbook, "Twenty Giant Steps,"xii Robert Perry, Jr. wrote:

Yes, you have much to do; but you must never forget to remember that whatever you become is a result of those who have struggled to get you this far on your way, your parents, your teachers, and friends. You should thank them and be grateful for your heritage and never forget that when pride and dignity go hand and hand excellence is accomplished. (1973, p. 12)

Reminding students and Cohen's community of the school's heritage of struggle, Mr. Perry exemplified the concept of a community-based administrator. Even though he was born in North Carolina, he resided in New Orleans for 49 years and spent nearly thirty of those years serving as a counselor and then principal at Walter L. Cohen (Amistad Research Center, n.d.).

Communities from historically Black public schools continued this heritage through collective struggle. Teachers and communities came together when their rights were violated. Examples of teachers, parents, students and communities coming together in Louisiana is particularly noteworthy during the Jim Crow Era. Police violence and harassment of Black people in New Orleans and across the state was notoriously common during this time (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1947b, 1947g).

In one instance, the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD) arrested three teachers from Washington High School, and the courts charged the teachers with refusal to move on, resisting arrest and interfering with police (NOPD, Third Precinct Station, 1948). These teachers were chaperoning more than 700 children on a field trip to the French Quarter to see the American Heritage Foundation's "Freedom Train," an exhibit of documents that symbolized America that travelled a 33,000-mile tour of the nation (Bourgeois, 1948a; Delandro & Cooperative Club, Booker T. Washington High School, 1948; *Louisiana Weekly*, 1947e). According to the *Louisiana Weekly*, the American Heritage Foundation had announced that

"because of the nature of exhibits no segregation because of 'race, color or religion' could be tolerated" (1947f). The Black newspaper also reported criticism of the tour because it did not include any Black people (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1947e).

The New Orleans Teachers Association submitted a petition that included Washington High School principal's signature and more than 300 other signatures to the board in support of the arrested teachers (Bourgeois, 1948b). The petitioners requested that the School Board protest the judge, the mayor of the city and the police superintendent: "What happened to these three gentlemen could happen to any teachers. WE [sic] vigorously protest this action by an agency of the city who would deprive students of the protection of their teachers" (Pecot, Hill & New Orleans Teachers Association, 1948). Washington High School's Cooperative Club, an organization made up of community members, parents, and teachers, requested that the School Board and the Superintendent use their influence "to right a wrong," and they explained that after waiting five hours with students, these arrested teachers "were deprived of viewing the exhibit and likewise prevented from performing their duties," (Delandro et al., 1948). The mobilizing of the larger community around this issue was telling.

Community involvement and struggle were also exhibited through voter registration drives. Teachers from the New Orleans League of Classroom Teachers, Local 527 of the American Federation of Teachers, joined intensive voter registration campaigns where they worked alongside the NAACP youth group; the Peoples Defense League; the General Longshore Workers, Local 1419; civic leagues from different neighborhoods; churches; businesses; and parent-teacher organizations (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1947c, 1947d). According to an editorial, the Local 527 set up voter registration classes throughout the city (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1947a). Black teachers' involvement in voter registration during the 1940s is particularly significant. The

Louisiana State Conference of the NAACP reported discriminatory practices against Black voters, which the to the U.S. Attorney General (1947f). Throughout Louisiana, humiliation and violence were often imposed against those who attempted to register to vote (Fairclough, 2008; Woods, 2017).

Community-Based Administrators

The office of the Principal... [is] where the particular business of school management is performed and where personal services are rendered to all – the community in general, to parents, guardians, and their children, to teachers, to patrons, and to the central office.... [Pupils] are assured of sympathetic understanding of their problems, and are admonished when it is for the good of their individual growth. The office functions in a position of trust, and it shares an understanding of this duty it is to perform rather than in an opinion of prescribed authority.

—Washington High School Printing Department (1958, p. 15)

Community-based administrators continued this heritage of struggle through fostering schools that were integral parts of communities and by nurturing a sense of collective identity and awareness. These administrators were rooted within the larger school community, and they brought intergenerational relationships. As noted in the quotation above from *Washington Senior High School Student Handbook*, Principal Lawrence Doresmond Crocker, Sr. not only offered his office as a place of service for parents, guardians, children, and teachers but also to patrons and the community in general. Washington School's philosophy said, "we believe we should... regard individuals in terms of their *social heritage*... see that democracy exists in the classroom... encourage pupil activities to supplement the curriculum... see that the school library *serves both school and community*" [emphasis added] (pp. 13-14).

A quality that distinguishes community-based administrators and community teachers from others is that they fostered collective awareness rather than competitive and individualistic models. They fostered "we" instead of "I." At 81 years-old, Mrs. Hayes picked up a picture of

Mr. Perry that sat on her dining room mantle with pictures of several other Cohen teachers, she said:

This is Mr. Robert Perry, very brilliant man who was a counselor. Moreover, Mr. Perry was everything to us. I mean, when days were bad, and we went to Mr. Perry: "Okay, sit down, Elaine," he would say. He loved to bake, and he would bake cakes, and he would have these slices, individual, and all of the slices had a green "C" in the middle of it. And he was a fantastic musician, and we loved him. We loved him dearly. (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, October 16, 2016)

Mr. Perry's cupcakes fostered school pride, as the "C" symbolized Cohen and the green symbolized the school's colors, green and white. Under Robert Perry's leadership as Principal, in 1963, Cohen offered numerous student organizations and enrichment programs, which brought students together and fostered camaraderie: Camera Club; National Honor Society; Leadership Council; Biology Club; Library Club; Boys Reading Club; Teen Age Girls' Reading Club; Homemaking Club; All Boys Club, Y Teens, which was a part of the YMCA; All Girls Club; Newsletter Staff; Girls Chorus; Girls Glee Club; band; vocal ensemble; Foreign Language Federation; Future Teachers of America; Cohen's High Steppers; tennis; cheerleaders; track; gymnastics; Weight Lifting Club; the Green Hornets Football Team; basketball, etc. (Students & Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1963). It is no wonder that Cohen students became life-long friends. No one would question this after attending Cohen Alumni Association's Annual Picnic where alumni and family members returned to Cohen in green and white attire to fellowship and eat with their classmates (Fieldnotes, 2016).

Principal Crocker cultivated Washington's school culture through weekly assemblies that provided students with opportunities to perform; clubs and departments to present their work; and candidates or officers of the student council to make campaign speeches and hold presentations (Washington High School Printing Department, 1958, p. 35). Once a year, the New Orleans Chapter of the Tuskegee Institute Alumni put on an annual Booker T. Washington Day

(Washington High School Printing Department, p. 75). This fostered students' knowledge of Black history and school pride. 1960 alumnus of Washington High School, Carl Galmon, explained:

You had a homeroom, and it was mandatory that you learn your school's Alma Mater. And you had to know the history of Booker Taliafano Washington....But the thing about it, they taught pride in the school, and the reason there was so much pride in the school was because he was an African American. (personal communication, May 4, 2016)

In addition, Mr. Crocker expected that students to practice etiquette within the larger community:

You couldn't help but respect [Mr. Crocker] ... "When you get to school, you come straight up the steps, and you are supposed to have a tie on, and you aren't supposed to be hanging down here, son." Nobody likes to be choked up, so when they'd come to school, they'd have their tie maybe this low. "And before you get to those steps, you got to bring it up where it's supposed to be. And the ladies have to be dressed like ladies." They did not have uniforms.... It was just the idea that we had to have ties, you know, the boys. (L. M. Smith, personal communication, November 27, 2016)

Just as Mr. Smith noted, Washington High School's handbook stated: "Appropriateness in dress is imperative" (1958, p. 40). "Regardless of what mode of transportation he may use to and from school, the people with whom he comes in contact should be shown consideration... At all times, common courtesies should be exhibited" (Washington High School Printing Department, p. 40). Mr. Crocker served public schools in Orleans Parish for 42 years, and similar to Mrs. Bauduit, the School Board named Crocker Elementary School after him (*Times-Picayune*, 1970).

Community-based administrators often came from feeder elementary schools; thus, bringing inter-generational histories with families in these communities. Mr. Crocker came from Hoffman Junior High School (*Times-Picayune*, 1941a), which was a feeder school for Washington High School. Evidence in this study illustrated other examples of this. Former OPSB Superintendent, Dr. Darryl Kilbert, explained how "cyclical" relationships, meaning

working with children at different points in their lives and then interacting with them as adults, made a difference.

I am born and bred in New Orleans.... As a college student, I had the *good fortune* of working for the New Orleans Recreation Program at McDonogh 38, which [was] *a feeder* to [Carter G.] Woodson [Middle School] and [James] Derham [Junior High School], which were [both] feeder [schools] to Booker Washington. I had the *good fortune* of being an employee, a teacher, an administrative assistant at Derham School.... So, by the time I got to Booker Washington, I knew a lot of the families and a lot of the students from that process, so I had a relationship with the community. *So, they knew me, I knew them, so I did not have to learn them, they did not have to learn me.* So, kids who may have had some unique needs, I knew what they were, so they could be addressed right away. Many of the young people whom I had the pleasure and the good fortune of working with when they were children in the recreation program, were now parents of children who were at Booker Washington. So *again*, it's about relationships. (D. Kilbert, personal communication, August 8, 2016)

Bringing intergenerational knowledge and community ties to his leadership of the OPSB, Dr. Kilbert's 2012 retirement was symbolic to the history of struggle for New Orleans Public Schools.

Similarly, Margaret Chopin graduated from Washington High School in 1968 and told of her long-term relationships with teachers and the principal:

Basically, some of the teachers that I had *in middle school* followed us to *high school*. *Even* the principal, Mr. Boucree, was our principal in middle school, and then he became our principal in high school. We had gym teachers, about five or six of them that were at Woodson. They also came to Booker Washington. *So*, it always felt like a comfortable setting because a lot of the people we knew. The teachers knew us, and we knew them, so that made a difference. We had the same teachers. And it wasn't like *one or two*. Ms. Fountenberry, um, Ms. Evens, Mr. Barns, Ms. Miller, and I think, Ms. White. So, that's about five gym teachers. (personal communication, October 7, 2016)

Likewise, there was a similar trend at Cohen, where the first principal, Eli Whitney Sorrell, arrived with some of his teachers from one of Cohen's feeder elementary schools, Ricard (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, December 8, 2016). When Mr. Sorrell retired, his counselor, Robert Perry, Jr. became the Principal.

Mr. Perry exemplified a community-based administrator. The Amistad Research Center wrote that Robert Perry, Jr. and his wife Lillian Dunn Perry "were educators, musicians, Christian leaders, journalists and civil rights activists. Their multifaceted work was dedicated to preparing children and youth intellectually, culturally and spiritually, to facilitate their lives as responsible citizens" (ca. 2004a). In addition to serving as Cohen's principal for 17 years, Mr. Perry served in various leadership capacities outside of the school. He was District Director of the Boy Scouts of America; President of the "B-Sharp" Music Club; a member of the Young Men's Council Association's (YMCA) Board of Directors; and served as the Superintendent of Sunday School, a Lay Minister, and a member of the Deaconate at Central Congregational Church (Amistad Research Center, ca. 2004a).

Not only was Mr. Perry rooted in the community, so was his family. His wife, Mrs. Lillian Dunn Perry, served as a ranking music teacher in New Orleans Public Schools (Amistad Research Center, ca. 2004a; B. Cook, personal communication, July 27, 2016). Mrs. Perry was a direct descendent of leaders in the struggle for Black public education in New Orleans. Her grandfather was Oscar Dunn, who served as the first Black Lieutenant Governor in Louisiana during Reconstruction and whose three adopted daughters desegregated an all-White school in 1871 (*Daily-Picayune*, 1871). Mrs. Perry was the daughter of Reverend Henderson H. Dunn, the founder of the Colored Educational Alliance (Amistad Research Center, ca. 2004b). And the struggles for Black education and political representation.

Community Teachers

"The teachers before Katrina, we mainly had community teachers. Teachers who understand not just the children, but you understand the culture of the people," explained Ngozi McCormick, who was a senior at Carver during the 2005-2006 school year, the year that

Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans (N. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016). Ngozi was among the eight siblings in his family who attended Carver in a family with three generations of Carver students. "All of my teachers were community teachers. They were teachers who taught my older siblings.... So, when I got there, they were already: 'Oh, you are a McCormick. Oh, you are a such and such, all right." Community teachers had intergenerational relationships with families and within communities. These teachers met the intellectual needs of children, served as role models, and prepared students for life beyond high school.

Retired educator, Barbara Cook, who is a 1958 alumnus of Cohen, narrated a story about her Civics teacher, Charles Joseph Kilbert, not to be confused with his son Dr. Darryl Kilbert, who exemplified love and care.

Mr. Kilbert was my Civics teacher, and he was a *very* good teacher, a very, very good teacher. Well, I could tell you what kind of teacher Mr. Kilbert was. Mr. Kilbert had been calling my house [laughter] to report my behavior for hollering out the answers, speaking out of turn in the classroom. So, he kept calling, but I kept catching the phone, and so he never could get a chance to talk to my mama. So, what he did was he just came by the house after school, and just stayed there on the porch, and said: "I'm not leaving until I see her." Well, of course, when my mom came home, I was punished: No allowance! [laughter] But he came to tell her that he had been trying to call her for the longest, and every time he called, I said she was at work. He said he knew she had to get off work at some time or another. [laughter] So, he just waited. He did. He just waited and said: "I'm not going anywhere." So, then, the behavior changed. (B. Cook, personal communication, July 27, 2017)

When Mr. Kilbert left Cohen to become an administrator at another school, Cohen students referred to his life as "A Story of Success" and honored him in their yearbook: "Cohen misses Mr. Kilbert as an all-around person and a wonderful friend. The students at A. J. Bell are indeed fortunate" (Students & Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1967, p. 85). However, it was not just Mr. Kilbert who went to his students' homes, Cook continued:

But that's the way the teachers did. If they saw, anything you did, they called your house whether you were in their class or not because they knew the family. They knew the older ones who came through, so by the time you came through, they knew everything about you. I didn't have any siblings, but I had kinfolk because she had a lot of sisters and

brothers, and I had cousins that were right over me. And, these teachers knew everything, and they would call and say: "I saw that she did such and such a thing today," or "she didn't do such and such a thing today;" "she went around there, she snuck around there and got a sandwich, and she knows she's not supposed to leave school." [laughter] (B. Cook, personal communication, July 27, 2016)

In this quote, Mrs. Cook shed light upon how intergenerational relationships between teachers and families facilitated teacher and parent communication. Furthermore, Mrs. Cook showed how whole families attended schools together, and how this was another factor that contributed to teachers' communication with parents.

Since most students lived in the school's immediate neighborhood, and many teachers also lived within the immediate neighborhood, this provided a strong sense of accountability for children. Mr. Donald Brown, shared a story about how Mr. Robert Lee and Mr. Charles C. Coffey made sure Cohen students were at school.

One of my classmates—his name was Sylvester Temple—decided that he was going to play "hooky" one day. And he took off and.... while he was running away, one of the teachers saw him, which was Mr. Lee. Mr. Lee was a big guy that was a "no-nonsense" kind of guy. He was a very *soft-spoken*, very low voice guy. But he would *get into your stuff*, and he and Mr. Coffey followed Sylvester to the Holy Ghost Church on Louisiana Avenue. And Sylvester went into the church and got on his knees and stayed there. So they didn't want to go in and raise any ruckus inside the church, so they waited for him. Sylvester was a very mischievous young man. You know, he was always getting himself into all kinds of trouble. So when he came out, they got him! [laughter] (D. Brown, personal communication, September 17, 2016)

Along with Mr. Robert Perry, Mr. Robert Lee and Mr. Charles Coffey also served on the Dad's Club after-school (Students & Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1953).

Community teachers taught life skills in addition to academic knowledge. Mrs. Hayes, who taught as a reading tutor at Crocker Elementary School in her neighborhood explained that their teachers "taught us how to be."

They taught, and they taught *every* little thing. It's just like your mom when she teaches you how to make French toast or whatever. She said: "Now, let me tell you something. A little thing I would put in there is this." She would tell you: "Don't tell anybody." Because my daughter makes brownies, and she makes the best brownies. She wants me to make

those brownies.... Because what I'm saying to you is: *They gave you* the *little thing* that makes you understand *what you have to understand*. They weren't your friend, but they were still friendly. You know, it's like you are petting a dog, they lick your face. It was that kind of thing. *You know who I am*. I am your teacher. But I can smile with you too. I can tell you a little silly joke. But you *knew* how far to go. And I still say: They taught us how to be. They taught us how to dress. The way they carried themselves. They were neat and clean.... You are a role model all the way. The alumni, all that means a lot to us as a people. (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, October 16, 2016)

Mrs. Hayes used the symbolism of her mother making French toast or brownies to illustrate how her teachers "gave you the little thing that makes you understand what you have to understand." Her use of "us" rather than "me," illustrates how the school fostered a collective identity: "All that means a lot to us as a people."

Likewise, Ernest Charles provided examples of how his male teachers at Carver, whom he originally referred to as "professors," were mentors. Mr. Charles told of how his father had passed and explained how these teachers "were teaching us how to be men not just, you know, not just educational things" (E. Charles, personal communication, July 15, 2016). In the example below, Mr. Charles narrated how his science teacher, Mr. Guy, helped him with his self-esteem.

They would call you on the side, and I'll never forget this as long as I live. When I was in ninth grade, like science, and Mr. Guy called me to the side, and he said: "Man, 'Red,' you know, your stuff," and I was a little shy, and he put me with these kids that were what I called richer kids. "Heah, Ernest, come here. Man, you can be just as good as those kids. You are *just as good* as those kids." And, you know, they had a group of them, they are doing a project, I am thinking he's going to pick all these [richer kids]. He said: "Ernest, you get in there too." I got in there, and I said: "I'm just as good.... They ain't smarter than I am." And they realized it too. And we got to know each other, and we found out we were just kids. It brought me out. Like I said, I was a little scared, and I wasn't self-reliant. My self-esteem was pretty low, and when we did the [science] project, I had a new respect for them, [and] they respected me.... We all grew together. That was in ninth grade, so we grew to be good friends from ninth to twelfth grade. (personal communication, July 15, 2016)

This example also points to the economic diversity within historically Black public high schools and their surrounding neighborhoods.

With community teachers, children would see their teachers on a regular basis outside of school because the school was part of the "fabric of the community" (D. Kilbert, personal communication, August 8, 2016). Many community teachers lived in the neighborhoods where they taught, which fostered a further sense of accountability because children knew that if they did not complete homework or if they talked back to a teacher, it would get back to their parents.

Mrs. Copper taught me in the seventh grade. Mr. Gilmore taught me in the—and these people stayed within less than a block away from my house. Mrs. Lee taught English. I think that was eighth grade. But all those people lived less than a five-block radius of my house. So what that did was, and that's the problem we are having now because we don't have that community built structure of a school, especially in the Desire-Florida area, we don't have that building block. You know, the family was known in the school, you know what I'm saying. (W. Calhoun, personal communication, June 8, 2016)

Reverend Calhoun also noted a current disconnect in the "community-based structure," which I will discuss in the next section of this claim.

A veteran educator who now commutes from downtown New Orleans across the Mississippi River to teach in Jefferson Parish, picked up where Reverend Calhoun left off.

When I worked pre-Katrina, before this charter school, *RSD takeover*, I could have walked to work.... I *lived* in the community. I know the people, and I taught the people so long, really, that when it came to class, I didn't have problems because I taught the big brother. I taught the auntie. They *saw* me at the store.... So, it's different me traveling way out here. *I'm all right*. I don't have problems. But it *still* makes a tremendous difference *if* you are in a grocery store the children are in, or in the community cutting the grass, when they see you, they know you are real people. (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016)

It was not uncommon for community teachers to keep in touch with their students' years and even decades afterward. Mrs. Chopin narrated how her second-grade teacher at Thomy Lafon Elementary School, which was a feeder school for both Cohen and Washington, kept in touch with her over the years (personal communication, October 7, 2016).

Community teachers understood their children's needs and abilities. As Fannie C.

Williams, the Principal of Valena C. Jones Elementary School and Valena C. Jones Normal and Practice School, wrote:

[I wish] for a school where teachers understand children, their needs and their varying abilities, so that John Doe who loves to do with his hands will not be forced to use only his memory and Mary Roe who wants to make jingles and rhymes will not be considered a nuisance; a school that provides vocational guidance so that each child shall be reached through his individual interest; a school that teaches children how to work and live together; a school that is a center to the community and provides for the play life and efficient citizenship of its children. (Williams, 1931, p. 6)

At Cohen's 1956 Annual Class Night, seniors read a poem to express their gratitude to their teachers. This poem shows that Mrs. Williams' wish had been fulfilled.

In all your years of guidance / you've succeeded all too well, / In preparing children like us, / for the life in which we dwell. / We may be attorneys and lawyers / or scientists and doctors true. / We may even be good counselors, / to give our good guidance too. / But, may we go out into the world, / to do the best we can, / even if it's a paperboy, / or a mother, or just a man" (Walter L. Cohen Senior High School Class of 1956).

Central Role of Families

Families were an integral part of the historically Black public high schools. Students in Mrs. Hayes' graduating class dedicated their yearbook to their dads who were a part of the "Dad's Club" (Students and Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1953). She explained:

Whenever there was anything at Cohen, [The Hostesses] would have teas to make money or whatever. Or even during the week, when we had something, they would come and serve drinks or [food] to the group.... That was when we had our real big tea, and they wore their gowns.... Oh, they always had something going on at Cohen. Always something to raise money. We were a new school. We needed money. We did not have anything. We did not have decent books. But whatever the school board gave us, the parents did as much as they could to enhance our education.

Whatever the band needed that they could not get through the school system, the parents in the Band Parents Club raised money to get their uniforms or whatever. I don't think people realize how much we in our schools did for ourselves. *We* did it. Well, the parents did a lot of things. My mother-in-law... would come there and do whatever she could, make candies and sell them. (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, December 8, 2016)

The *Louisiana Weekly* reported that 500 fathers and sons filled Washington's cafeteria for the YMCA's Father and Son banquet, which the Booker T. Washington Hi-Y Club had helped to sponsor (1943e). Moreover, Washington's Cooperative Club consisted of parents and patrons of the school, who provided full tuition scholarships to the top ranking graduates each school year and "worked to improve the curriculum for children who wished to continue their education after leaving the school" (Washington High School Printing Department, pp. 11-12).

It was not uncommon for teachers and administrators' children to attend the school where they taught. While he was a counselor, Principal Robert Perry's daughter attended Cohen (Walter L. Cohen Senior High School, 1961). Likewise, William Emerson Clark, Jr. taught at Cohen for nearly 30 years; his two children graduated from Cohen; and his wife, Valda Brewster-Clark, served until her death as the clerk-receptionist at Cohen (Students & Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1969).

Mr. Charles explained how "we" celebrated everything through banquets and awards ceremonies. One person's success was the whole community's success. Parents made the most of what they had to provide support for school teams and activities.

Mr. Johnson [pseudonym] used to make hot dogs and bring cold drinks and stuff for us at the baseball game. This man had a house that was so raggedy and torn up, but that's what he did for the children to let us know that he appreciated. (E. Charles, personal communication, July 15, 2016)

Mr. Smith recalled his teachers at Washington High School telling him: "This will get you to a position where you in turn or your generation will get your children to the next step. And it's not about *me*, do you understand?" (L. M. Smith, personal communication, November 27, 2016). Mr. Smith's re-enactment of his teachers through this quotation also highlights how his teachers nurtured collective identity and intergenerational struggle.

Integral Part of Surrounding Communities

Community-based administrators, like Fannie C. Williams, as illustrated in her editorial "A New Year Wish" that opened this chapter, built "schools that [taught] children how to work and live together; a school that is a center to the community and provides for the play life and efficient citizenship of its children" (1931, p. 6). Like Valena C. Jones Elementary School, where Williams served as the principal, community-based schools like Cohen, Washington, and Carver served as strongholds in their surrounding neighborhoods and communities and nurtured culture, heritage, and traditions. Principal Robert Perry wrote:

Throughout the history of Cohen School, the philosophy of the school has been based on the needs of the community and the capabilities of the students. By preparing young people to be good citizens and well-equipped workers in the community, the philosophy of the school has become more a way of action than wishful dream. (1963, p. 12)

Community-based administrators like Principal Perry shaped the school so that it was embedded within its surrounding community.

Washington High School provides an excellent illustration of a historically Black high school that was embedded within its surrounding community. This was especially the case during the school's first decade of existence. According to the 1958-1959 Washington Senior High School Student Handbook, the auditorium had a seating capacity of 2,000 and was "open for public meetings, other schools' programs, big band or orchestra concerts and recitals, demonstrations, out-of-school socials, church affairs and other activities permitted there by the school board" (Washington High School Printing Department, 1958, pp. 15 - 16). While some events held in the auditorium were non-political in nature, it was an institution that brought community memebers together and built Black culture and identity.

Under the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1954 or "G.I. Bill," the School Board established the Booker T. Washington Afternoon Center for Veterans, which met 12 months out

of the year and a 10-week summer school session of vocational training for Black veterans (*Times-Picayune*, 1946d). Whereas, the school board provided an educational program at Delgado Trades School for White veterans (*Times-Picayune*, 1945h). When Washington's Afternoon Center for Veterans opened, it was overflowing with a waiting list (*Times-Picayune*, 1946d).

Washington's auditorium hosted music events for the school system as well as the larger community. Mr. Carl Galmon, a 1960 alumnus, explained:

And the students came from all around for the symphony.... They used to have operettas there, okay. And some of the top entertainers used to come to the auditorium: Cab Calloway, all of them, Ray Charles, because we could not go to the Municipal Auditorium. (personal communication, May 4, 2016)

The Youth Concerts Committee of the New Orleans Symphony Society put on youth concert series (OPSB, 1949b). Other events that took place in Washington's auditorium included: commencement ceremonies for other schools; annual public school music festivals and rehearsals for the "All City Senior High School Chorus"; Annual Instrumental Music Festivals sponsored by the New Orleans Music Association; Annual Athletic Award Day Programs for Black Elementary Schools; etc. (OPSB, 1954a, p. 3, 1954b, p. 6, 1955, p. 2). Larger performances included Paul Robeson; Mahalia Jackson, Marian Anderson; Dorothy Maynor, famous soprano singer, and Fairfield Four (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1942a, 1943b, 1943c, 1944c). In the evenings, on weekends and during the summer, Washington's auditorium held numerous community events and meetings. The auditorium was a place where local, regional and national leaders exchanged information and brought members of the larger Black community together. Meetings were sponsored by the Urban League, a New Orleans Business League, the New Orleans Teachers Association, the Young Women's Council Association (YWCA), the Colored Educational Alliance; the New Orleans Tuberculosis Association; the "B" Sharp Music Club^{xv};

Black beauticians from across the state (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1944b; *Times-Picayune*, 1943, 1944a, 1944c, 1945c, 1945b, 1945f, 1945g, 1946a, 1946f). It also hosted church conventions, such as the Negro Baptist Church convention (*Times-Picayune*, 1942).

According to archival records, Washington's auditorium played a central role in political organizing within the Black community. In celebration of the 18th anniversary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the New Orleans Division presented A. Phillip Randolph, President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in a public forum (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1943d). The International Longshoreman's Association hosted a Sunday afternoon mass civic meeting in Washington's auditorium where Thurgood Marshall spoke (*Times-Picayune*, 1945i). In addition, the People's Defense League, which had spearheaded voter registration drives in Louisiana hosted national speakers in the auditorium (*Times-Picayune*, 1946b). The Good Citizens' Insurance Company held meetings in the auditorium and invited international and national labor leaders from the Brotherhood of Railway Workers, the General Longshore Workers and the Freight Handlers Union (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1944a). The Good Citizens' Insurance Company, owned by Black businessmen, was the only insurance organization in the South whose employees were members of a recognized labor movement (Fairclough, 2008).

In addition, Washington High School hosted the NAACP's annual youth conferences where future Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall; Albert W. Dent, the President of Dillard University; and A. P. Tureaud spoke (*Times-Picayune*, 1945c, 1946g). According to the local newspaper, Washington High School hosted presidents and deans of several southern Black colleges, as well as publishers and editors of Black newspapers for the Southern Conference for Equalization of Educational Opportunities for Negroes where Black

educators from Mississippi presented a report on the equalization of education (*Times-Picayune*, 1946c).

Washington's auditorium also served as a central role for the country's Black press.

Delegates from 10 different states attended the National Newspapers Publishers' Association two-day conference at Washington High School. Speakers included the director of Chicago's Associated Negro Press, the editor of the Oklahoma City Black Dispatch, an editor of the Central Advocate of the Methodist Church, and a representative of the Western Negro Associated Press (*Times*-Picayune, 1945a).

Washington's auditorium played a special role during World War II. For example, the New Orleans Negro Board of Trade hosted a war bond dinner in Washington High School's auditorium where William Pickens of the interracial division of the U.S. Treasury Department spoke (*Louisiana Weekly*, 1942b). A local newspaper reported that at a Sunday afternoon rally at the school, that attendees purchased \$22,800 in war bonds (*Times-Picayune*, 1944b). The Office of Price Administration held meetings for merchants on price regulations (*Times-Picayune*, 1945d), while the Army Air Force demonstrated equipment that they were donating to NOPS for Black principals and teachers across the city (*Times-Picayune*, 1945e). The raising of this money fueled the Black struggle for equal facilities and voting rights.

Conclusion

In looking at the past, we can begin to understand the present, and we can begin to plan for the future. The examples in this claim assist us in framing the experiences of students and communities today. These depictions assist us in understanding the losses that participants spoke of in this study and the larger sociohistorical and sociocultural implications.

Claim II:

Community resistance has led to policies that have contributed to and maintained the closure of historically Black public high schools in New Orleans.

If there ever was a time for the African American community to go to war, it was after the storm when the state took over all our schools in Orleans Parish. That was it! ... That was by design. What they do, every time we back them up, they take it, [and] they just put it on the shelf. [gestures as if putting on a shelf] They said: "They look like they're mad! And this thing looks like it'll get out of hand if we push it now. So, we'll put it back. Because they are buying a lot of ammunition, a lot of guns. Looks like they are ready to go to war over this issue!"

... My wife was a part of the teachers' strike at Carver. "And they, ooh-ooh! We are not going to forget about it, but we just are going to put it right here, the game plan, and pull it out at some later point." ... When the union struck, Carver was one of the strongest schools out there. Carver said: "Yeah, ya'll can talk that shit, but you come back here in this Goddamn project, we can carry ya'll out here in a box!" (L. M. Smith, personal communication, November 27, 2016)

Perspectives of various community members from these historically Black public high schools help us to understand sociohistorical and socio-cultural implications of school closures in New Orleans. Participants in this study stated that the closure of historically Black public high schools began before Hurricane Katrina. In more than one situation, policies aiding the closure of historically Black public high schools came in response to resistance and unity within Black communities. In this claim, I look at ways that community resistance and subsequent policies may have precipitated the closure of historically Black public high schools in New Orleans. I consider: 1.) teacher strikes and community resistance; 2.) faculty desegregation; 3.) magnet schools; 4.) accountability and charter school legislation; 5.) the creation of the Recovery School District (RSD); 6.) and post-Hurricane Katrina legislation.

Teacher Strikes and Community Resistance

Different from the pacifist approach of the NAACP, as detailed in Chapter 1, which used litigation to challenge discrimination, his view on community struggle is similar to the labor

organizing took place in the 1940s at Washington High School. His perspective in the quotation above reflects a working-class approach to struggle. Mr. Smith, who graduated from Washington and became a bricklayer worked with the Deacons for Defense. The Deacons for Defense were a group that "consciously built a highly public, regional organization that openly defied local authorities and challenged the [Ku Klux] Klan" (Hill, 2004). Mr. Smith explained that teachers went on strike in 1966 and 1969 at Carver Junior and Carver Senior, which was just shy of the desegregation of high schools in New Orleans. Being a community organizer in the St. Bernard Housing Development, Mr. Smith compared the teachers' strike at Carver to the Black Panther Party's standoff with the New Orleans Police Department in the neighboring Desire Housing Development.*

And the same thing—That's why they destroyed all those projects. When the [police] vamped on the [Black] Panthers in Desire [Housing Development], none of them got wounded. They shot those buildings up! The buildings were about... 12 bricks thick. That's why none of them got killed or anything. I'm talking about the thickness, the walls, and to top that off, they prepared for it. They had sacks of sand stacked on the outer walls [and] on the inside. And they said: "Damn, how did they survive in that?" You know, and when they'd stop shooting, and the Panthers started shooting back at them, they said: "Damn, what's going on here?" (L. M. Smith, personal communication November 27, 2016).

This illustrates a concept that I explained in my previous claim: historically Black public high schools were integral to their surrounding community. When the community defended itself, repercussions impacted the neighborhood schools.

Archival records confirm that the Carver teachers, like Mr. Smith described, stood strong in both the 1966 and 1969 teacher strikes. In 1966, Carver Junior, along with other historically Black junior high schools had the highest percentage of teachers in the parish that went on strike (Darby, 1966b, p. 10). In a document titled "Grievances of Carver Junior High," faculty members wrote that they would like the union to intercede on their behalf (Faculty of Carver Junior High, 1966). They stated that their principal, Walter E. Morial^{xvii}, was prejudiced and that

he would constantly make statements like he "comes from a very fine 'Creole family"; he did not solicit input from teachers in the disbursement of funds even though teachers "*must* help" in raising funds; he used the intercom to berate teachers; and teachers who participated in the strike had significant changes in their ratings (Faculty of Carver Junior High, 1966).

In the 1969 strike, Carver teachers and community stood firm once again. But, the all-White School Board quickly moved to suppress resistance at historically Black public schools. The local White-owned media and White led police force played a role in the suppression. Two weeks passed before the school board re-opened all grades at Carver Senior High. The OPSB had closed 29 of the city's 130 schools, all of which were Black schools, and as some teachers returned to their classrooms, it gradually re-opened the schools, grade by grade (New Orleans Public Schools, 1969). However, when the OPSB passed a resolution to hire teachers to replace the striking teachers (Lafourcade, 1969), and instructed Carver's seniors to return to classes, according to the local paper, 300 students walked out; two policemen were hit in the head with bricks; and police arrested three students (*Times-Picayune*, 1969).

Several days after the Carver students walked out, teachers staged a demonstration at the board meeting. Police arrested nine teachers, including the co-Chairman of the Grievance Committee (Endom, 1969). According to the *Morning Advocate* there were 200 teachers present, and "Police Superintendent Joseph I. Giarrusso asked the teachers to leave the school board office, and later a police captain approached each teacher individually and asked them to leave" before the arrest (1969, p. 1). The newspaper continued: "As the teachers were driven away in unmarked police cars, other picketing teachers who remained outside the building beat on the cars with their hands" (*Morning Advocate*, 1969, p. 12). This depiction of these teachers beating on police cars illustrates control of the narrative, a point that I discuss in my next claim.

We can infer from these documents that mobilization of Black professionals threatened the White power structure. Mr. Smith explained the OPSB's reaction:

What they did was they busted those teachers up. I mean, they scattered those teachers. "None of these teachers can be together again because they came out; the community came out." And [they] said: "Ya'll can come back here if ya'll want, but ya'll are going to leave from back here in boxes!" (personal communication, November 27, 2016)

OPSB's Director of Personnel wrote in a memorandum: "Acting pursuant to a Board directive, an active recruitment program was inaugurated to staff the classrooms which had been abandoned" (Hebeisen, 1969). Citing the personnel handbook, Hebeisen recommended 45 teachers for transfer to the Division of Personnel where they were assigned as relief teachers. Subsequently, teachers filed a lawsuit to prevent transfers, and community groups like the New Orleans Branch of the NAACP supported them (New Orleans Branch NAACP, 1969).

Nevertheless, shortly afterward, in the words of Mr. Smith, the school board "scattered those teachers." This process began when the Local 527 called an end to the strike that spring. When 45 of the teachers returned to their classrooms, including Mr. Smith's wife, the board had filled their positions with other teachers and transferred them to other schools. I will discuss this further in my next claim under the section, retaliation and isolation. The following school year, Orleans Parish teachers had the right to vote on a union and a centralized bargaining unit developed. Shortly afterward, the OPSB systematically scattered Black teachers from these traditional Black schools through faculty desegregation.

Faculty Desegregation

In 1972, the district mandated an increased formula for faculty desegregation. Faculty could be no more than 50 % of any race at each school, which resulted in transferring of more than 800 teachers (Lafourcade, 1972). The previous policy had mandated that faculty at new

schools were to be no more than 50 % of any race, but schools that were already in existence, it allowed for a faculty that was 75 % of one race (Lafourcade, 1970).

As we learned in claim I, community-based administrators fostered collective identity and etiquette, or respect, within the larger community. The *Wa-Lo-Co's* "Principal's Message" offers rich insight into changes that came with desegregation.

In the message to you of our school family, I speak to you of small and simple things. The world has seemed to have become too busy or too thoughtless for the little things, like courtesy, kindness, thoughtfulness, decency, and respect for ourselves and others. We seem so busy trying to "do our thing" that we forget all else. We seem set on mediocrity rather than excellence, asking that the inferior be judged "good enough" and shunning ourselves away from competition which will refine and polish us for a brilliant future. We are so anxious to have our "rights and privileges (which we usually turn into license) that we have forgotten our responsibilities that are part of those rights and privileges. We are so woefully ignorant that we would fail a simple test given on material taken from this same heritage. The superficial does not make reality, and we should not be deceived by superficiality." (Students & Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1972, p. 12)

Robert Perry expressed his sentiments on this era: "We," being those in the Cohen family, are so busy trying to 'do our thing," that "we" are "woefully ignorant" of our heritage. Individuality had begun to creep into the value systems and culture.

Mr. Raby, whose adopted niece graduated from Cohen in the late 1970s, explained:

That worst thing that happened to Black education was integration.... But *the good teachers*: the "Mrs. Bradley's" and the "Mrs. Speaker's," those teachers were *taken* from Black schools and sent to the *White* schools, and *the bad White teachers* were sent to the Black schools. The teachers who really couldn't care less whether little Johnny got his diploma or not. It was a job. Whereas, with *my* teachers, it was a career. And so, I say that you had "the best and the brightest" that were school teachers. They were committed.... During my day, *Black school teachers* were the doctors and the lawyers, and so forth, and so on.... [But] when they integrated, then, it also made it possible, for instance, for what ultimately would have been best teachers, they were able to go in different areas, okay? And then, they also moved out of the neighborhood. (personal communication, September 19, 2016)

In comparing yearbooks, I found that just a little over 50 % of Cohen's teachers had been there at least ten years, but most of the other teachers were young and White (Students and Faculty of Walter L. Cohen, 1963, 1973). 1974 was Margery Sartor's final year as Cohen's yearbook

sponsor, and the 1975 yearbook's theme, with Mrs. Hayes' daughter as the editor, was "One More Time." After serving as the schools' principal for 17 years, Mr. Perry retired from Cohen in 1976 (Amistad Research Center, n. d.; Walter L. Cohen Sr. High School Staff, 1976). When I asked Mr. Raby when the closure of Black high schools began, he explained: "It happened prior to [Hurricane Katrina]. ... I'm going to say that schools in New Orleans started to deteriorate in the mid-eighties" (personal communication, September 19, 2016).

Magnet Schools

Federal courts accepted magnet schools as a method of desegregation, and Congress added amendments to the Emergency School Aid Act (1977), which was designed to "encourage the voluntary reduction, elimination, or prevention of minority-group isolation." To assist local school districts in their desegregation efforts, Congress authorized the Magnet Schools Assistance Program (MASP) in 1984 under Title VII of the Education for Economic Security Act (Public Law 98-377), as amended, to "provide grants to eligible school districts for projects in magnet schools" (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1987, p. 7). Under Everett Williams, the first Black superintendent of the OPSB, xix the OPSB applied for the program's second round of grants in 1987 and were not awarded (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1987).

Teacher 5 began working at Cohen in the late eighties and stayed there until its last days as a direct-run school under the local board shared another perspective on the closure of historically Black public high schools. He explained that magnet schools, which became known as "citywide access schools," created a brain drain for historically Black public high schools.

They realized that Black middle-class kids score exactly the same as *White* middle-class kids. "So, what we do is, we *scoop* up all the best students, and so we cannot be called racist because *now* we have Black kids in our school." But the thing that *no one ever* accounts for, when you take *the best* out of a school, when you take the best out of a school, *what do you leave behind*? (Teacher 5, personal communication, January 13, 2017)

As Teacher 5 suggested, the majority of magnet schools in New Orleans had almost all Black students.

On the contrary, Barbara Cook and Elaine Hayes, who graduated from Cohen during the 1950's, as well as Ernest Charles and Willie Calhoun, who graduated from Carver in the 1960's, all spoke about how there was no separation between "the haves" and "the have-nots."

A lot of my classmates, we went from Thomy Lafon [Elementary] all the way to high school graduation because everybody went to school in his or her own neighborhood.... Flint-Goodridge Hospital was the only Black hospital we had here in the city. The front of Flint-Goodridge was on Louisiana Avenue, but the back of it you could see the project [C. J. Peete Housing Development], and I am saying that to say this: In my class, we had two classmates whose parents were doctors: Dr. Smith and Dr. Duncan, and they lived on Louisiana Avenue. All of these children and the project children, we all went to the same school. There was no separation. The administrator over the hospital's daughters went there. So, at that time, regardless whether you were a doctor or a lawyer, you went to school in your neighborhood. Everybody was the same. Nobody felt different. I mean, children who lived in the project didn't feel any different about themselves than the children who had the daddy's [who were] doctors. And then, there was another big heart surgeon.... He was a big heart surgeon who did surgery at Touro Hospital. His son went to Thomy Lafon also. It's just that the people were different, and you know, everybody was equal to me. There wasn't any such thing as "because I'm a doctor, I don't want my child in a school with the children from the project." (B. Cook, personal communication, July 27, 2016)

After desegregation, Black middle-class families and Black teachers began to move out of their neighborhoods in New Orleans. In addition to that, as Teacher 5 explained, they started to leave schools like Cohen and Carver to attend schools of choice, or magnet schools. While alumni from the 1950's and 1960's noted a shift in economic diversity of Black families, Teacher 5 explained a shift in academic diversity. Explaining his experience with the brain drain of Black students from historically Black public high schools in New Orleans, Teacher 5 continued:

Until the movement to have these city-wide schools, Cohen was fine because you always had a stratum of students. You had upper [strata] students; you had middle [strata] students; you had lower-performing students, but you had enough middle- and upper-performance students that kind of canceled out these folk at the bottom.... So, if you're in a classroom with a bunch of kids who are working hard, then you don't really have time

to act crazy, because — why? — you don't want to stand out. But when you took *all* those kids out...because when they formed these magnet schools in the early '90's—that's when they really began to affect—When you took *all the kids* — I'm not talking about just the *upper*-performing kids, but even the *middle* kids... *and then you sent* the problem kids from *everywhere else* to fill their places, [you] couldn't have anything but problems. (personal communication, January 13, 2017)

Charter Schools Demonstration Programs Law and Accountability Legislation

In 1995, Louisiana legislators enacted the Charter Schools Demonstration Programs Law, a pilot program that authorized a small number of charter schools (See Appendix C) Two years later, Governor Mike Foster signed Act 477 (1997) into law, which eliminated the pilot nature of the law and permitted any local school system to propose charters for new schools or for preexisting schools. The statute capped the number of charter schools at 42. It also created the Louisiana Charter School Start-Up Loan Fund to fund no-interest loans from the state treasury to assist start-up charters. Louisiana Representative Joseph Bouie, who is an alumnus of Washington High School, explained: "So, what [the Charter School Demonstration Law] did... was establish a state sanctioned experiment on our children—Louisiana's children in general, but New Orleans' in particular" (April 13, 2016).

Subsequently, legislators in the State of Louisiana approved numerous accountability laws. In 1997, they approved the School and District Accountability Advisory Commission and the School and District Accountability Fund (Act 478). Through Act 1373 (1999), the State of Louisiana began to aggressively identify its persistently lowest-achieving schools. This law mandated that school provide each member of the legislature an electronic copy of the state, district, school and parent level progress profiles (Act 1373). In using high stakes assessments to label schools and districts as "failing" (Decuir, 2012), these statutes paved the way for the creation of the RSD. Moreover, the State of Louisiana's accountability legislation served as a model for the rest of the nation and paved the way for NCLB.

The Creation of the Recovery School District

The voters of Louisiana voted on a Constitutional Amendment, Act 1293, in 2003, which enabled the LDOE to administer schools through the RSD. Act 9 (2003) spelled out the procedures that BESE was to follow regarding the RSD. The State of Louisiana's Revised Statute 17:10.5 (2005) stipulated that a school shall be removed from the jurisdiction of the city, parish, local school board or any public entity and transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSD if it:

- (a) fails to present a plan to reconstitute the failed school to the state board, as required pursuant to such an accountability program, or
- (b) presents a reconstitution plan that is unacceptable to the state board, or
- (c) fails at any time to comply with the terms of the reconstitution plan approved by the state board, or
- (d) the school has been labeled an academically unacceptable school for four consecutive years

This statute created a new type of charter school that would be based upon a contract with the state Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE).

Meanwhile, schools in Orleans Parish experienced systemic neglect. Former PTA President, Mrs. McCormick, told of her struggle for Carver to have air condition during the 1990s.

I kept going down to the school board meeting them, writing them, pleading with them, talking with them, [and] had them come and view the school. ... And I heard that they did get it afterward, yeah, well, it took a while anyway. I was told that they had it because I was in there for four years. ... They didn't get it right away, but they got it within the next year. (L. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

Similarly, Alumnus 1 narrated: "Well, we never used that auditorium... because when I was in elementary school, they closed that auditorium down because they had bats" (Alumnus 1, personal communication, December 30, 2016). Alumnus 1 had experienced the folding of Urban Heart, a program where students from Carver Senior tutored students on a daily-basis at the neighboring elementary, Helen S. Edwards. As a member of the final class to graduate from Carver under the local school board in 2005, she explained: "I feel that a lot of schools were already being phased out. ... I feel like this state was going to come and take over some schools

anyway because they were failing... and Katrina was just their ticket to do it (Alumnus 1, personal communication, December 30, 2016). As you read Claim III, you will find more information on systemic neglect.

Disaster Capitalism

As noted in chapter 2, numerous works provide excellent chronologies, analysis and interpretation of Act 35 (2005) and the teacher terminations that took place just after Hurricane Katrina. Therefore, I only provide a brief synopsis, as my work seeks to build upon other existing work.

While National Guard members were still searching for bodies after Hurricane Katrina, Governor Kathleen Blanco signed Executive Order KBB 05-58 and Act 35 (2005). The order, available in Appendix D, suspended constitutional statutes and removed restraints on the authorization of charter schools. All schools with a school performance score that was "below the state average" on the state's accountability system were transferred from the local school board to the jurisdiction of the RSD. Expanding school choice, enrollment would be citywide. The federal government had recently announced that it was providing a grant of 20.9 million dollar grant through NCLB's Charter Schools Program to re-open charter schools within the hurricane effected areas (DOE, 2005). According to a report that Tulane University released: "The creation of the RSD was directly aimed at New Orleans and became the vehicle for the radical change in the city's public education system," (Vaughn, Mogg, Zimmerman & O'Neal, 2011, p. 1).

Carl Crane, a Republican from East Baton Rouge Parish, was the primary author of House Bill 121 (2005), which eventually became Act 35. Co-authors included: Steve Scalise, the current Majority Whip of the U.S. House of Representatives and other representatives from

outside of Orleans Parish. A proposed amendment to House Bill 121 was a clear violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

Relative to proposed law provision designating certain schools as failed schools that have a school performance score below the state average in a school system that has been declared to be academically in crisis pursuant to law, specifies that such provision is applicable to such schools in a school system in any parish having a population of at least 475,000 persons according to the latest federal decennial census rather than such schools in a school system in which such declaration occurred by not later than Aug. 31, 2005. [emphasis added] (State of Louisiana, 2005)

At the time, Orleans Parish had a population of 484,674, and it was the only parish in the state with 475,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). However, the Louisiana Senate deleted the provisions specified in this amendment.

Teacher terminations. Within a few weeks of the disaster, Louisiana State

Superintendent Cecil Picard requested federal funding from the U.S. Secretary of Education,

Margaret Spellings, which included more than \$777 million in funding for employee

compensation and severance (*Oliver v. OPSB*, 2014, Plaintiffs Exhibit P-41). "The damaged

districts are very concerned, not only with securing educational services for the students while

the districts are closed, but in providing some type of compensation for their staffs during the

period the districts are closed" (Picard, 2005, para. 9). The federal government allocated 435

million dollars to the LDOE in an Immediate Aid to Restart Schools grant (DOE, 2006). Since

the RSD had jurisprudence over 107 out of 127 schools in Orleans Parish, the funds did not end

up with the local school board.** Not long after the initial allocation of \$100 million, the OPSB

placed its employees on "disaster leave without pay," which was not a legal employment status

under Louisiana law. Following this decision, the OPSB dismissed over 7,500 school employees

(Dingerson, 2006).

Rather than utilizing the recall list of Orleans Parish teachers who had signed an "Intent to Return" form to re-staff schools, the RSD required certified educators in Louisiana to take a

"basic skills assessment." Teacher 1 who began teaching at Cohen in 2007 through TeachNOLA explained:

[Teach For America and TeachNOLA] had a contract with the district. So, once again, unbeknownst to me, *at the time*, we were bumping out veteran teachers because of this contract.... I did *not* have to [take the basic skills assessment]. I saw that happen to some of the [veteran educators]. I had to do the ACT instead of [Praxis 1], and then like the Praxis [Subject Matter and Principles of Learning and Teaching] Exams and things like that... I feel so guilty over that, especially what it did to the Black middle class in this city. (Teacher 1, personal communication, August 11, 2016)

Through the Hurricane Education Recovery Act (HERA) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Hurricane Relief – Hurricane Educator Assistance Program (HEAP), the federal government awarded the State of Louisiana with more than 22 million dollars, which was allocated to Local Education Agencies (LEAs) for salary premiums, performance bonuses, housing subsidies, signing bonuses, relocation costs, loan forgiveness, and other mechanisms aimed at recruiting and retaining educators (*Oliver v. OPSB*, 2014, Plaintiff Exhibit P-147, August 1, 2007). During the 2007 – 2008 school year, the state of Louisiana provided teachers from out of state with a relocation incentive of more than a \$17,000 (Louisiana Legislative Auditor, 2009, p. 4).

All non-Louisiana candidates who [were] certifiable in Louisiana, who make a three-year commitment to work, and who [were] hired for the 2007-2008 school year for teacher and certified/licensed school staff positions with the RSD [were] eligible to receive the benefits of the Out-of-State Relocation/Signing and Retention Incentive Package... [including] a \$2,500 relocation stipend/signing incentive, a \$400 per month housing subsidy for one year, and a \$5,000 (per year) end-of-year lump sum signing and retention payment for a maximum of two years. (Louisiana Legislative Auditor, 2009, p. 4)

However, the legislation required that employees who received the funds must have a satisfactory performance evaluation for work provided during the 2008-2009 school session. The RSD, however, did not follow requirements. When the Louisiana Legislative Auditor did a test of 30 of these employees who received out-of-state relocation/signing and retention incentives, he noted:

Seven (23%) employees received relocation and retention incentives totaling \$25,000 and housing subsidies totaling \$22,800 that did not remain employed by RSD for the required three-year commitment period. Additional payments made to or on behalf of these individuals included a tuition reimbursement payment in the amount of \$2,650 and benefit payments totaling \$8,686.... For four (13%) employees tested, no three-year commitment letter was on file. For four (13%) employees tested, RSD failed to provide a satisfactory performance evaluation for work provided at an RSD school during the 2008-2009 school session. (2010, pp. 6-7)

In response to findings noted during a DOE on-site review of the HEAP program, the RSD entered into an agreement with the LDOE to repay the grant from state monies in the amount of \$1,255,462 (Louisiana Legislative Auditor, 2010, p. 7). More than a year later, the La. Legis. Auditor reported that the RSD had not repaid the monies (p. 7). Nearly ten years after the State of Louisiana signed Act 35 (2005) into law, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the illegal teacher termination case.

Resistance within Black Communities

Resistance to these reforms breathes within Black communities. While Orleans Parish residents were under mandatory evacuation orders during much of the legislation for these reforms, communities have organized for the return of schools. Mr. Smith proclaimed in the quotation that opened this claim: "If there ever was a time for the African American community to go to war, it was after the storm when the state took over all our schools in Orleans Parish—that was it."

Beginning with the Fyre Youth Squad in 2006, several groups of young people have organized demonstrations. Other youth groups from Cohen, Carver and Landry followed in their direction (Dixson et al., 2015; Dreilinger, 2013; Swanson, 2013; WDSU News, 2012), which I discuss in claim III. Most recently, a group called Rethink has been speaking out against education and other social policies that impact their lives (big sister love rush, 2017). In addition, OPSB employees brought the terminations to court, and they won in District Court for the Parish

of Orleans and the Louisiana Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals (*Oliver v. OPSB*, 2014). However, the Louisiana Supreme Court ruled against the employees, and then, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the case.

On the ninth anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, a community organization of parents, students, former faculty and the lead attorney for *Oliver v. OPSB* (2014) held a candlelight vigil on the front steps of a closed public high school (Fieldnotes, 2014). Retired Principal Walter Goodwin (2014) proclaimed:

Non-certified teachers now are the rule, rather than the exception. Teach For America comprises the vast majority of teachers in our classrooms today. The teachers are young, White male and female, and they are from out of town, and there are more out-of-towners than locals that are in the classroom. And the city officials and others wonder 'why the crime problem is out of hand—in New Orleans?' The reason is: The educational problem is out of hand. The so-called highly educated, highly qualified educators are not from the village—they are foreigners who the vast majority have come for monetary reasons. And as well attended as they are, they have caused great harm and irreversible damage to our kids. (2014)

Aligned with Black communities throughout the city, the John McDonogh Steering Committee mobilized for the return of John McDonogh to its local board, the OPSB. Mr. Smith's son, Kwame, who is a veteran educator from McDonogh 35 High School, declared:

It is time: 9 years has passed! [Audience: Yes!] After 5, our schools were supposed to be returned. That has not happened. Today is the day that we begin to look forward to the return of public schools to the tax payers of New Orleans and "John Mc" is that lynch pin. This is where we make our stand. This is ... our Alamo because right here, either we are going to die fighting for this school or we are going [to lie] over and let them have it for real. That's not in my blood, and everyone who's out here, that's not in your blood. (2014)

That summer, the John McDonogh community came together. OPSB approved Resolution 18-14, which asked the state BESE board to support the return of John McDonogh High School to the governorship and the OPSB (Dreilinger, 2014a). Subsequently, BESE representative, Carolyn Hill, offered a motion for the return of John McDonogh from the RSD to the OPSB (Fieldnotes, 2014). However, the BESE representative from Orleans Parish, Kira

Orange-Jones, who is also the Executive Director of TFA in Louisiana, offered an alternate motion. BESE approved Jones' alternate motion for the RSD Superintendent to "pursue a process led by Orleans Parish School Board officials to engage with Orleans Parish community members and the John McDonogh High School Steering Committee regarding the future use and control of the John McDonogh High School facility" (Louisiana State BESE, 2014). In the midst of the process, BESE voted to have RSD issue a Request for Proposals for charter operators to run the school (Dreilinger, 2014b, 2014c). Alleging violations of Louisiana's Open Meetings Law, for not providing timely notice of the agenda item, Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans awarded a plaintiff a Temporary Restraining Order to prevent the RSD from soliciting an operator, but the courts denied the Preliminary Injunction (*Jackson v. Dobard*, 2015).

School Return Legislation

John McDonogh's community did not mobilize in vain. Community members had already begun meeting with State Representative Joe Bouie regarding legislation for the return of schools. Bouie's House Bill 166 (2015) would have required all schools in the RSD that were no longer considered failing under the state's accountability system to return to the administration and management of the local school board within one year. It would have also required all land, facilities, buildings and property that were a part of the school to return. Lobbyists for the RSD were irate and argued: "They are not ready!" (Fieldnotes, 2016). With a large contingent of community leaders, educators and pastors testifying at the state capitol, the House Education Committee approved House Bill 166, but the bill died in the full House (Fieldnotes, 2015). Just like Mr. Smith's analysis about desegregation policies being a response to teacher strikes, policies followed this resistance.

The following year, Senator Karen Carter Peterson proposed alternate legislation, Senate Bill 432 (2016), which Governor John Bel Edwards signed into law as Act 91 (2016). This law inhibits the democratically elected school board's power over CMOs. Under Act 91, CMOs that return to the local school board have complete autonomy over the following:

- finances and contracts;
- yearly school calendars;
- daily schedules;
- school programming;
- decisions around teacher/administrator certifications;
- salaries and benefits;
- collective bargaining rights for bus drivers, cafeteria workers, teachers, etc.; and
- retirement funds.

This statute formed an appointed advisory board for the local Superintendent to consult with in planning for the return. It gave the local Superintendent the power to approve, renew, extend or revoke a charter school's contract, and the school board can only veto his recommendation with a two-thirds vote. Bouie explained to the OPSB that this bill would dilute the Board's power.

[Y]ou need to be careful because as a constitutionally elected body, you have vested powers and authorities. ... This is a slick way, if you will, of actually shifting the power and authority of the School Board and the powers of the Superintendent in a way where you actually put and give to what are now contractors, basically, for this experiment. You are giving them a voice beyond what they already have. They already have an autonomous board, so what is the purpose of this advisory board? (April 6, 2016)

OPSB passed a motion that day in support of Bouie's legislation, House Bill 1033 (2016) and House Bill 1108 (2016), which mirrored his legislation from the previous year. However, only one elected OPSB representative, Cynthia Cade, who represented the Ninth Ward of New Orleans, went to Baton Rouge to present the board's resolution (Fieldnotes, 2016). When she ran

for re-election the following year, Cade was disqualified because of failure to pay her state taxes (Williams, 2016).

Concessions to community demands such as Kira Orange-Jones' BESE motion regarding the return of John McDonogh and Senate Bill 432 (2016) have created rifts within Black communities in New Orleans. Justice and Beyond Coalition's Education Committee requested that the governor veto it, stating that the appointed advisory board is unconstitutional, and it "gives charter schools more power and less accountability to Louisiana tax payers" (2016). While others like the state branch of the American Federation of Teachers, the Louisiana Federation of Teachers, supported Peterson's bill (Fieldnotes, 2016). With the exception of Dr. Bouie, all of the state's Black legislators supported Senate Bill 432 (2016).

Conclusion

The "slick way" that Bouie mentioned above brings us into a new era of racialized institutions and legislation that can only be understood when we look within a historical context. While post-Katrina reforms have been an important aspect of closures, without considering what had taken place before the disaster, we limit our understandings. As Woods (2017) showed: "the political and economic dynamics that preceded Hurricane Katrina were directly responsible for the disaster before the disaster" (p. 217).

Claim III:

Policymakers and administrators have used warlike tactics to usurp historically Black public high schools in New Orleans.

Well, and then they realized that we were not going to stand idly by... and my military experience told me a couple of things. Number one: in order to *defeat* the enemy, you got to *know* the enemy. And so, I did my homework. ... I knew exactly what the deal was. And the other thing was that timing was most important.... And that was our technique: We just got them in different spots. *That's* how we were able to do it because they never

knew exactly where we were coming from, but they knew when we came, we were going to come *ready*. We were going to do it professionally.

—James Raby (personal communication, September 19, 2016)

Secondary public schools have not always existed within Black communities in the South. Post-secondary opportunities have not always been available or even an option for young people who had to go to work after high school. As explained in claim I, community-based administrators and community teachers fostered cultural centers and built community within and around schools. Therefore, Black high schools in New Orleans are central to community and individual identity.

For the purposes of this study, "guerrilla warfare" refers to covert approaches to seizing control of Black high schools in New Orleans. Guerrilla warfare refers to the creation of divisions amongst alumni, students, parents and faculty members; control of the media; promotion of token spokes-people to represent community groups; and retaliation against voices of opposition.

In the quotation above, Raby provided a perspective on how the Walter L. Cohen Alumni Association successfully fought to prevent the RSD and the OPSB from moving Cohen to Washington's site, which was built on the Clio Street/Silver City Dump (Walter L. Cohen Alumni Association, 2015). The New Orleans Master Plan Oversight Committee (MPOC) is a public body that oversaw the School Facilities Master Plan, a blueprint for the rebuilding of facilities post-Katrina (Educate Now, n.d.). Walter L. Cohen Alumni Association's attorneys, from the Advocates for Environmental Human Rights, filed an injunction in Orleans Parish Civil District Court to prevent the MPOC and its co-chairs from holding a meeting to provide status reports (Partington, 2014; RSD, 2014). The suit was against BESE representative and co-chair, Kira Orange-Jones, as well as OPSB member and co-chair, Nolan Marshall, Jr. (Partington,

2014). Under the State of Louisiana's Notice of Meetings law: all public bodies "shall give written public notice of any regular, special, or rescheduled meeting no later than twenty-four hours, exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays, before the meeting... [and] shall include the agenda, date, time, and place of the meeting." James Raby narrated:

What [the MPOC] was trying to do was circumvent [the community], and we [the Walter L. Cohen Alumni Association] had planned a town hall meeting, and we knew that they knew that we *invited* [Lieutenant General Russel L. Honoré]. XXI One of the issues that we were going to be discussing was the fact that [the MPOC] had not in some 19 months had a community meeting that they were required to have. Well, *they planned one*, but *by law*, they did not *notify the public* that they were going to have it, okay, and the Open Meetings Law. So, we went to court. We walked in and said: "This is a court order." [laughter]

Nolan [Marshall, Jr.] and I had had a conversation the day before, and, quite frankly, he said: "Well, you didn't tell me last night." I said: "Well, last night, I didn't know you were going to violate the law. So, it wasn't until this morning that I found out that you were violating the law, so we went and got the injunction to shut it down!" ... And the strangest thing about it: They have not called another meeting since then! (personal communication, September 19, 2017)

Having more than one meeting at a time is a tactic of "guerrilla warfare" that surfaced within the data. Barbara Cook went to the meeting at the School Board office rather than her alumni association's town hall. While the agenda included an item titled: "public comment," Mrs. Cook explained: "But nobody was going to be there to fight it.... Because they only had them there. They had that little one—the Roemer [Caroline Roemer]," and that whole little group was there. It was me and one other person, Coach Frank. We were the only two Black ones in there" (B. Cook, personal communication, September 17, 2016).

In this claim, I consider several dimensions of guerrilla warfare: 1.) "poking holes"; 2.) control of narrative; and 3.) splitting into factions. Overlap exists in several instances, but I have placed each section accordingly to provide emphasis and illustrate dimensions that surfaced multiple times throughout this study.

Poking Holes

"Poking holes" is a multi-dimensional, in-vivo code, that Teacher 4 used in referring to how historically Black high schools slated for closure have been set up for failure (personal communication, December 29, 2016). Teacher 4 taught at the Academy for Health Sciences at Cohen during its last full year as a RSD direct-run school, when the RSD "surplussed" this nearly all of the school's faculty. Subsequently, she taught at two other historically Black high schools that endured reconstitution (restart, closure, or school merger). In her narrative below, she offered her perspective on how the school district was setting her school up for failure. *xxiiii*

And they removed those kids from the *Algebra I classes* and put them into that computer program, and I'm like: "Ya'll should have put the *Geometry kids* on that computer program, who had no teacher *at all*." To me, the better choice was to put those kids in there because they *don't have* a teacher. But when *I* looked at that list of kids, I'm like: "That's never going to work!" They pulled them from the class to put them [in the computer room] with just the facilitator. ... When XXX showed me the list, I just looked at it and said: "That's never going to work." ... Supposedly, the guy from the district... looked at the scores, and so they took the kids with the lower scores to put them in this program. But you never looked at the *kid* themselves. ... Being a teacher that was familiar with those kids.... [when I looked at he list] the majority had 504 [accomodations], special education [accomodations], or they were low performers.

And I looked at one particular kid who had a deformed hand. And his IEP was because of his deformity. Well, the hand was never coming out of his pocket. Never! And so, I'm like: "So, you take a kid who has a deformed hand, who's only going to use his right hand anyway. He's not letting that left hand come out because he doesn't want the kids to see it because he's afraid of being bullied, and you put him on a computer program?" ... From the perspective of a student, if I have a deformed hand, and this one is not coming out. And now, his mom said he could use it. But he would use it at home, but he wasn't using it at school. So, if I'm on a program where every time I get a problem wrong, it gives me another problem *like that* type, and I'm using one hand, I'm going to get *frustrated*. So, I'm going to *shut down*, and I'm not going to keep working because it's *aggravating* to me, and I'm trying to use one hand. So, I'm going to do something else... And at the end of *that* school year, when they got the EOC [End of the Course assessment] results... the kids that were in *that* math class, which was the majority of the students, they had a 10 percent [with Basic or above].

This is setting up the school to fail. And I remember this one person had told me one time: "If I poke *holes* in your program, you *need* me." And I just started looking at things from that perspective. That if I *sabotage* you, it seems, like you need me to help you, you

know. So, and I just kind of look at things from that perspective because I just really feel that to be the case. (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 29, 2016)

Teacher 1 from Cohen used the term "tied our hands" to explain aspects of this phenomenon.

And I had this conversation with several teachers in the school. It didn't matter. The better we did, the more it felt like the RSD kind of tied our hands behind our backs. Like, we felt like they didn't want for us to succeed. We felt like they had their agenda, and that it didn't matter. I mean, 93, 94%. It was the same story. (personal communication, August 11, 2016).

In this part of claim III, I consider what Teacher 4 meant by "poking holes," and what Teacher 1 meant by "tying our hands." The three aspects of "poking holes," or sabotage, that I describe below are 1.) administrator and teacher inconsistencies, 2.) programmatic instability, and 3.) strategic neglect.

Administrator and teacher inconsistencies.

They took our teacher away. She really gave us—like she was really teaching us to be better people and better students outside of school and inside of school.

- Andre Martin, a Joseph S. Clark student (Swanson, 2013)

When a district plans a school closure, there are several approaches to liquidating teachers and administrators. In my analysis of data, one subcategory was forced abandonment and another was voluntary/expected abandonment. Whether intentional or forced, the liquidation of administrators and teachers "pokes holes" in children's academic development, as well as their social and emotional health. This forces students and communities into a dependent state.

In its annual audits, the Louisiana Legislative Auditor documented a pattern of substantial employee turnover in the RSD's direct-run schools. For three years, the State of Louisiana's Legislative Auditor issued identical summaries of the RSD's controls over their payroll process:

This is the fifth [sixth] [seventh] consecutive year that we have cited RSD for inadequate controls over its payroll process.... Documentation relating to payroll transactions including separation dates was not provided to RSD's Human Resources section in a timely manner.... In addition, since RSD's personnel are decentralized, the large volume of documentation that is required to be transferred from the various RSD sites to the central office increases the risk of lost documentation.... Good internal controls require that employee terminations should be entered accurately in the payroll system before the close of the employee's last pay period. (State of Louisiana, Legislative Auditor, 2012, p. 4, 2013a, p. 3, 2013b, p. 3)

While RSD was decentralized among its charter schools, their central office operated 23 different direct-run schools during the 2010-2011 school year (Vanacore, 2011a). Inaccurate dates of employee termination muddied the specifics of the separations, and it opened up an opportunity to blame the victim.

Table 3

Number of Employee Separations in the RSD

Year	No. Employee Separation Dates
2013-2014	639
2012-2013	796
2011-2012	762
2010-2011	666

Source. State of Louisiana, Legislative Auditor (2012, p. 4; 2013a, p. 3; 2013b, p. 3; 2014, p. 3).

Forced abandonment.

Forced abandonment may result when a district surpluses or fires faculty members. It may also occur when a district creates an environment that pushes teachers and administrators out of a school.

In some situations, the RSD tried to intimidate educators into resigning. Elise Adams, a

Black female principal who oversaw an alternative school located within Washington High

School, sued the RSD for violating her equal protection rights under the 14th Amendment of the

Constitution (*Adams v. Recovery School District*, 2014). Eventually taking the case to the Fifth Circuit of Appeals, where the judge denied the case, Adams petitioned the RSD for not awarding her a contract as it had done for other principals and for denying her due process rights by terminating her without taking required steps under state's law (Adams v. Recovery School District, 2014). Her Petition for Damages stated that the Deputy Superintendent, Michael Haggen, approached her and said, "that if she quit, he could assure that she would still receive unemployment benefits through the Louisiana Workforce Commission" (Adams v. Orleans Parish Recovery School District, 2010). Furthermore, the Deputy Superintendent approached her again and according to court documents:

It was at this time that Mr. Haggen created the pretext that would ultimately be used as the basis of Ms. Adams' termination from the RSD. In particular, Mr. Haggen submitted an F5 Conference Form, used by the RSD in disciplinary situations, recommending Ms. Adams be terminated. (*Adams v. Orleans Parish Recovery School District, 2010*)

The RSD terminated Mrs. Adams despite Louisiana Revised Statute 17:3901(D)(2)(a) that states "any teacher or administrator who fails to meet the local board's standards of performance shall be placed in an intensive assistance program and shall be formally reevaluated." Under Louisiana Administrative Code title 28: "intensive assistance plans must be developed collaboratively by the evaluator and the evaluatee" and specific information including "what the evaluatee needs to do to strengthen his/her performance including statement of the objective(s) to be accomplished and the expected level(s) of performance; and explanation of the assistance and support/resource to be provided by the district." Mrs. Adams did not go through an intensive assistance program.

Meanwhile, Local 527, UTNO filed an injunction in the Civil District Court of Orleans Parish to prevent the RSD from "removing permanent/tenure teachers from their employment" (UTNO v. State Department of Education through RSD, 2011, p. 3). **XXIV* Court records show that

RSD Superintendent John White had sent an email to all probationary and tenured teachers who worked in direct-run RSD schools that said:

With eight schools closing at the end of this school year, 159 teaching positions at those schools will be eliminated. In order to make further budget reduction while maintaining the most effective workforce possible, teachers in other schools that have a final evaluation rating of unsatisfactory or developing also will be put into surplus. (*UTNO v. State Department of Education, through the RSD, 2011*, p. 2)

During the 2010-2011 fiscal year, as illustrated in Table 3, RSD had 666 employee separations. Principals in the RSD were required to recommend teachers for termination, but the RSD's central office could override it and oftentimes did (*Ripoll v. Dobard*, 2013/2015). Several principals, however, did stand up for their schools, teachers, and students. For example, on behalf of three principals, Attorney Willie Zanders, Sr., took the matter to Orleans Parish Civil District Court and contended that an injunctive relief was "in the best interest of students, parents and the public schools, in general, to compel the RSD and its leadership to honor the due process and property rights of teachers and school administrators" (*Hagan v. White*, 2011).

Nevertheless, the RSD's routine of dismissing teachers and administrators continued. When the State of Louisiana's Legislative Auditor conducted a test of 14 of the 762 employees with final separation dates during the 2011-2012 fiscal year, it found that the district entered separation dates as late 107 days after the close of employees' last pay periods, and for eight of those 14 they "did not have supporting documentation available to confirm the employees' separation dates" (2013a, p. 3). In John White's response to the management letter, he shifted blame to site administrators: "To tighten controls, principals will be required to submit a bi-weekly update roster of all school staff which will be used to compare to current staff reports to be run by [Human Resources] bi-weekly" (2013a, p. A-4).

White's response provided a paper trail for him to shield himself from potential litigation contending denial of equal employment opportunities on the basis of age and race. In *Williams v*.

Recovery School District (2011), a teacher at Clark High School sued the RSD for age and race discrimination. In Ripoll v. Dobard (2013/2015) an administrator brought her petition for violations of Age Discrimination in Employment Act (1967) to the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Therefore, by entering separation dates late, the number and time of separations, whether arbitrary or not, is murky.

School Improvement Grants. Through the state's High-Performance Schools Initiative, the LDOE allocated a one-million-dollar SIG grant to the RSD for Cohen to implement the Restart Model for the 2012-2013 school year (LDOE, n.d.). While the RSD was phasing out Walter L. Cohen High School, it was phasing in New Orleans College Prep's (NOCPs) high school, which became Cohen College Prep (NSNO & RSD, 2012).

According to federal SIG requirements, established under the U.S. Secretary of Education, Arnie Duncan's leadership, if the LEA is using the "turnaround model," the LEA must implement, among others, the following strategies:

Replace the principal and grant the principal sufficient operational flexibility (including in staffing, calendars/time, and budgeting) to implement fully a comprehensive approach in order to substantially improve student achievement outcomes and increase high school graduation rates... using locally adopted competencies to measure the effectiveness of staff who can work within the turnaround environment to meet the needs of students, (A) Screen all existing staff and rehire no more than 50 percent; and (B) Select new staff; [and] implement such strategies as financial incentives, increased opportunities for promotion and career growth, and more flexible work conditions that are designed to recruit, place, and retain staff with the skills necessary to meet the needs of the students in the turnaround school. [emphasis added] (Final Requirements for School Improvement Grants, 2010)

Whereas, under a "transformation model," the LEAs must implement strategies, including:

Replace the principal who led the school prior to commencement of the transformation model.... Identify and reward school leaders, teachers, and other staff who, in implementing this model, have increased student achievement and high school graduation rates and identify and remove those who, after ample opportunities have been provided for them to improve their professional practice, have not done so.... An LEA may also implement other strategies... such as— (A) Providing additional compensation to attract and retain staff with the skills necessary to meet the needs of the students in a

transformation school. [emphasis added] (Final Requirements for School Improvement Grants, 2010)

While in a "restart model," a LEA "converts a school or closes and reopens a school under a charter school operator, a CMO, or an education management organization (EMO) that has been selected through a rigorous review process," and under this model, the LEA is required to "enroll, within the grades it serves, any former student who wishes to attend the school" (Final Requirements for School Improvement Grants, 2010). These requirements for the SIG grants explain what happened to the students at Walter L. Cohen in 2012.

Personal experiences with surplussing. "So, they were bouncing these teachers around like balls," explained Brother Rob (personal communication, October 4, 2016). With the phasing out of Walter L. Cohen, Teacher 1 was one of the first at the school for the RSD to "surplus." During the 2011-2012 school year, NOCP, which had been operating two elementary schools, moved into Cohen's third floor, while Walter L. Cohen stayed on the first and second floors. She narrated:

[Principal 2] actually cried when he had to make the phone call to like surplus me. That was not what he wanted to do. But he was told the day before we had to go back to school that he had to cut so many teachers because Cohen College Prep was taking over the ninth grade, and then they were going to phase it out year by year.... I was there four years, and I would have been there longer. So, I'd probably still be there now, quite honestly. I mean, it's the day before you are about to go back to school for the teacher inservices. Just to get that phone call, like: "Oh, I'm sorry. I have to cut four teachers." ... At that point, teaching somewhere else wasn't really an option because it's already—I mean what do you do in August? (Teacher 1, personal communication, August 11, 2016)

"Surplussed," an invented term explained in the OPSB/UTNO agreement, refers to displacing teachers, and the New Orleans Public Schools used the term long before the RSD. Before Act 35 (2005), NOPS sent letters to employees declaring:

[Your school] has been reconstituted for the 2005-2006 school year... As a result of the reconstitution, all staff will be surplussed to their areas of certification. All positions are declared vacant and have been placed on the vacancy list. ... Effective August 1, 2005, your position will be terminated. (J. Gahr, personal communication, June 20, 2005)

Just like Teacher 1's experience in the RSD at Cohen, the NOPS letter was a last-minute communication written six working days in advance of the surplussing conference. Under the RSD, when charter schools assumed the management of direct-run schools like Walter L. Cohen, the surplussing process was different. There was no union contract and no local school board representatives to hold accountable.

Unfortunately, due to shifting student enrollment and changes in school configurations for 2010-2011, your position is no longer available within your school. While it is our priority to assist staff in securing a 2010-2011 placement, the RSD cannot guarantee displaced employees a position for the 2010-2011 school year. Displaced employees are responsible for securing a placement... through site selection and should make every effort to interview with principals for vacancies that are available. If you are unable to secure a position, you will be released from the RSD on July 23, 2010. (S. Brown, personal communication, May 3, 2010)

The RSD would also provide informational meetings for displaced personnel, a resource guide to securing a new position with "general tips for creating a great resume," interview tips, and suggestions on "communicating with principals" directing teachers and administrators to "use proper capitalization and punctuation," "don't write in all capitals," "use complete sentences." and "never use slang" (S. Brown, personal communication, May 3, 2010; RSD, n.d.). Rick St. Amant is another teacher whom the RSD forced to abandon his teaching post at Cohen. His testimony highlights the uncertainty that pushed teachers out.

By that time Clark [High School] had been chartered. And everyone knew.... It was kind of a demoralizing year for us. We were like: "uh, all the things that we've done. We had all these great things, and now we might get surplussed?" "Shh shh!" A ton of teachers were surplussed.... It was in early May when we all got letters, and I think, some were given the option of applying to work for New Orleans College Prep. I don't know how that was determined. I didn't have the opportunity. And, I wasn't going to—I wouldn't have. I don't know exactly how that process worked. I don't remember. But, I cannot recall anybody getting hired by College Prep. I think there were a couple of people that may have applied. No one was hired, not to my knowledge anyway. (R. St. Amant, personal communication, December 30, 2016)

As St. Amant explained, the RSD surplussed almost all of the faculty and administration from Cohen in May of 2012. There was no guarantee that teachers would be placed in their areas

of certification. Because he "had a strong record with respect to student discipline," the RSD placed Principal Al Jones in a "newly created position" in Baton Rouge where he served as a disciplinarian (*Ripoll v. Dobard*, 2013). Several of the teachers transferred to other RSD schools like L.B. Landry, where their positions would not last long because the RSD would merge Landry with O. Perry Walker High School (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 29, 2016).

That summer, the RSD hired new faculty for Cohen's students, including Principal Gavin Lewis and Brother Rob, both Black male educators who grew up in the city of New Orleans like the former Principal. Many of these teachers came from other schools that the RSD had closed or chartered out. That year, the RSD housed Walter L. Cohen on the first floor and NOCP on the second and third floors of the building (Fieldnotes, 2012). Terrell, a senior at Walter L. Cohen during the time, narrated:

My senior year, our school just had a junior and a senior class. So, they figured, I guess, we didn't need all those extra-curricular activities. So, we were limited on the classes that we had. A lot of students had to change schools. But for the most part, out of the 40 something people that graduated, well, most of them didn't even graduate, probably like 30 graduated. There weren't that many in our graduating class, 2013. We had a lot of people from that [class] that just dropped out. Yeah, they just *didn't* go back to school.... But it was kind of aggravating going through that process because the previous staff changes that we had had, you know, we figured it was done over the summer. But this particular change was different because they were going to fire the teachers during the year, and these people have families that they needed to take care of.... It's not beneficial to them, and it's not beneficial to us as learners because we won't have the consistency of that teacher... If it becomes somebody else, it would be a different learning style or a different teaching style that some of us might not be accustomed to. Those teachers were like our "away from home parent figures." (T. Major, personal communication, November 21, 2016)

Continuation. In 2016, two charter management organizations submitted applications to operate the OPSB's last two direct-run high schools. After the deadline for organizations to submit charter applications, the OPSB announced:

During Spring 2018, OPSB will manage a RFP [Request for Proposals] process that plans for the transition of McDonogh 35 out of direct-run status for the 2018-19 SY, while securing and enhancing the school's legacy of excellence for the next century. This process will involve two separate solicitations, with a finalized plan for the transition of McDonogh 35 to be presented to the School Board and community in the spring of 2018, pending successful negotiations with the selected organizations in response to each solicitation:

- 1. Transitional entity, to manage wind-down of direct-run school, and ensure all current students are appropriately served during the transition period
- 2. Long-term entity, to operate the school, starting with a 9th grade academy in 2019, and growing to serve all HS grades via non-charter "contract." (OPSB, 2018a)

Data collected during this study illustrated that teachers and administrators have been overworked and often work day to day in exploitative conditions, which have become normalized. Notifying employees of surplussing at the last second contributes to exploitative conditions, but so has the everyday environment.

Expected abandonment: Unqualified and inexperienced teachers.

The New Teacher Project (TNTP) and Teach For America (TFA) have been at the core of these efforts to provide teachers via private providers. During the 2009-2010 school year, these organizations provided more than 600 teachers to low-income and high-minority communities throughout the state. One in three New Orleans public school students is taught by a TFA corps member or alumni, and Louisiana has the highest per-capita number of corps members in the country. TNTP's Teach NOLA program has teachers placed in 91 percent of New Orleans schools; and more than 400 TNTP math, science (STEM), special education, early childhood and foreign language teachers have served the children of New Orleans over the past five years.... This unprecedented infusion of talent has been a driving force in the marked growth in student achievement seen throughout New Orleans.** The reconstructive nature of New Orleans' school system has facilitated an ideal testing ground, and successes from these teacher certification programs have been expanded to Baton Rouge and Shreveport.

—Louisiana Department of Education (2010, p. A-46)

We do not require teachers to be certified to join CA [Collegiate Academies]. Under Act 1, charter schools in the state of Louisiana are not required to hire certified teachers. All three of our schools fall under this legislation.

—Collegiate Academies (n.d.b)

In addition to the HEAP grants that provided incentive payments to teachers that came from other states, federal i3 funds have supported what student, Inez Shelby, referred to as "in and out teachers" (Perry, 2017). In their i3 application, NSNO boasted that they have driven student achievement gains in New Orleans by "recruiting and placing quality teachers and principals by partnering with proven providers like Teach For America, The New Teacher Project, and New Schools for New Orleans" (NSNO, 2010, p. 16). Just like the quotation from the state of Louisiana that opened this section, they believed imported teachers came with an "unprecedented infusion of talent." In addition to recruiting and training teachers, TNTP worked to develop the RSD's performance management system, which in turn, justified the RSD in its surplussing of hundreds of certified and highly qualified educators. The LDOE through the RSD contracted with TNTP to design a "New Competency Model and Teacher Evaluation System" and assist in the "ongoing training and implementation" of the Pathways Evaluation system (2010).

Similar to the NSNO's i3 application, the State of Louisiana's Race to the Top application explained that the farther they could expand their "geographical reach," the more talent they could recruit. In a section titled "Great Teachers and Leaders" the LDOE wrote that the RSD "successfully created talent pipelines for high poverty, high-minority schools," and they did this "Through an aggressive recruitment campaign, partnerships with national recruiting partners, and rigorous screening" [emphasis added] (2010, p. D-34).

Not only did the LDOE "expand their geographical reach of nationally recognized teacher recruitment and preparation programs" (2010, D-39), but it also expanded recruitment and training of administrators. One of the approaches the LDOE took in their Race to the Top application was to expand what they referred to as "effective leader preparation programs" by:

Designing the Louisiana Leadership Academy based on existing best practices in school leadership training (e.g., the NYC Department of Education, New Leaders for New Schools, and the UK model) and creating a robust and effective network of academies using universities and independent providers. (2010, pp. D-51-52)

Nevertheless, the following year, three elementary school principals contended in a request for injunctive relief that through the RSD, the LDOE had denied them their due process and property rights under the state constitution.

In a recent website posting for New Leaders for New Schools, a post-Katrina organization that promotes "new leadership" in public and charter schools in New Orleans, the organization boasted of '16 New Leaders...' In some instances, these 'New Leaders' are given assignments before the RSD meets its legal and contractual obligations to honor existing agreements." (*Hagan v. White*, 2011, pp. 4-5)

These principals also argued that any 'New Leader' or teacher promoted as principal in an RSD-operated school should hold a Louisiana teaching certificate as well as an administrative endorsement, as required by state law (*Hagan v. White*, 2011, pp. 4-5).

For the most part, TFA and TeachNOLA teachers had different experiences with leaving the schools, and they were altogether less likely to experience forced abandonment. A decade after their arrival at Cohen, they are now successfully employed. Teacher 2 and 3 also had different separation experiences because the RSD did not "surplus" them. Thus, they were able to plan a move and had time to find other employment.

I just got really not that happy, and there were a lot of people that had left that I felt like were really big parts of the school who had been similarly kind of jaded over the years. Like, "I'm trying to implement this program. It's not working. They won't listen. They don't want to do it." But so, I had decided that that was probably it for me, and I had just said it, I think, to one person, that I was thinking about leaving Cohen, and I had Edna Karr calling me. I had Strive Prep calling me. I had schools actively like recruiting me. ... I hadn't even really—like, I certainly wasn't even applying anywhere.... I am not even sure who it was from. I mean, I must have told more than just a couple people. It was just too easy not to because I didn't even have to apply anywhere. (Teacher 2, personal communication, August 29, 2016)

Teacher 3 also came to Cohen through TeachNOLA, but she only stayed for two years.

Teacher 3 completed her two years and began working for a non-profit. When she returned to teaching, though, she returned to one of the highest performing charter schools in Orleans Parish.

A friend of a friend that I had started TeachNOLA with somehow had gotten word that I was considering going back to teaching, and he texted me and was like: "Hey, I am leaving. He was teaching ... at a private school," and said: "I'm leaving at the end of this year, like, send me your resume, and I'll pass it along." I guess, he also had some friends at [charter] who had previously taught with him, and they were also looking for a ## teacher, and they were like: "Hey, do you know anyone?" And he sent them my resume as well. So [charter] called me, and I went in—The one, the one who had sent my resume initially was TeachNOLA. So, I sent him my resume. He forwarded it to [charter]. They called me for an interview and offered me a job. (Teacher 3, personal communication, September 6, 2016)

Both Teacher 2 and Teacher 3 obtained their next teaching jobs through word of mouth. This is an entirely different experience than Brother Rob, Rick St. Amant, Teacher 1, Teacher 4, Teacher 5 and Gavin Lewis had. All except for Teacher 1 are local, veteran Black educators. xxvi

Students' and parents' perspectives on the effect of "in and out teachers." Nearly five years later, InspireNOLA applied to transform a high school under the district's transformational model (2016). But after Inez and Aisjah Hicks from McDonogh 35 spoke up at the NAACP Education Task Force Hearing, the OPSB contracted with the company to manage their only other direct run high school.

I really hope Teach For America and TeachNOLA are put to a stop because.... we have many, many teachers that really don't care about our education. They are here only, solely for the money, and we need the teachers, as Black youth, we are trying to get educated. People frown upon us for being ignorant and not having an education, but when we sit here in school, and we try to get our education, these teachers don't teach us because they don't *want* to. They want the money and only that. (Perry, 2017)

The audience applauded in response to Aisjah's testimony. According to Eddie, Arian, Melvin and Aisjah and other students, they desired community teachers who could establish a connection, and who were dedicated.

That day in October when the RSD announced their contract with FINS, the teachers, students, families, teachers, administrators and community supporters met less than a mile away from the school in a Lutheran church. Cohen students stood in the front of the pews and voiced to parents and community members what was going on at their school. Many students, like Melvin Butler, mentioned love and family and how Cohen had traditionally been a family, which they desired and longed for, but which had been absent from their four-year high school experience.

And I want all my teachers back.... And, you know, I talked to a lot of my friends, and we were like: "Man, we had *a family*! When we went to Cohen, we were *a family*!" We just had a family too like a year ago. We had to get rid of the teachers.... At the beginning of the school year, we didn't like those teachers, but we got to bond. We got along, and now like: "Y'all got to start all over." (Butler, October 7, 2012)

Melvin's description of Cohen being like a family and of the love and dedication their teachers stems from a heritage that can be traced back over sixty years to the opening of Cohen. As I elaborated on in my first claim, Mrs. Hayes, a member of the first graduating class from Cohen, explained Ngozi's concept of "understand[ing] the culture of the people."

We were taught by other Black people. So, you were taught to be who you really are. You were taught by these people. They taught you what they are not only with head knowledge but with the heart: "I love you. I care." And that came over. *You knew* they cared. (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, October 16, 2016)

In noticing what the students said at the Lutheran Church, each expressed a desire to develop a relationship or kinship with teachers as part of the learning process. The children at Cohen explained that their teachers and administrators provided emotional support and encouragement and didn't give up on them. Several students said that they loved their teachers. These testimonies align with this section's epigraph from Andre Martin, who was a student at Joseph S. Clark when FirstLine Schools terminated one of the schools few local, Black educators, and students, subsequently, took part in a walkout. Clark students demanded: "We

want to see a consistency in the teachers that are hired and [teachers] that support our education" (Swanson, 2013). Children have a need and right to connect learning to their lives, and they have a right to learn things that they will apply to their lives. RSD fired committed individuals, which students saw metaphorically as a family breaking up.

As Arian Martin spoke, her eyes teared up, and she turned her face away from the audience. Audience members called out encouraging words to her: "It's all right! Stop crying!" "Say what you want to say!" "Breathe deep!" "This is one of our seniors, y'all! This is one of my seniors!" A student next to her patted her on the back and hugged her. "I feel like we bonded with these people. This is our family." Principal Lewis patted Arian on the back trying to comfort her. Students and audience members began to put their heads down, and one student in line to speak looked away from the audience (Fieldnotes, 2012). "They took you away from us," she continued. Five students standing in the front of their church placed their hands on their face as if they were wiping tears from their eyes. Audience members applauded Arian, and one member called out: "Right, that's what they do!" (Fieldnotes, 2012).

This man, I know he's like a principal of a school, but he's like a leader to us. Like, this is the most I ever learned at Cohen too, I must say. And for them to take it away and bring us two-year people who like know the same amount of stuff as we know. I need somebody who can help *me*. I'm trying to *graduate*. I'm so scared of going to college right now. I just can't believe what we're going through. I can't lose my teachers. (Martin, October 7, 2012)

Arian expressed fear and uncertainty about her future. Her words illustrate that she was familiar with TFA. Students, like Melvin and Arian clearly articulated how they had experienced two types of teachers: one being the one with book knowledge who could not relate, and the other being akin to a family member.

Many students mentioned "love" and "family" and how friends and family who had gone to Cohen said that they had family that they desired and longed for. These children had

experienced TFA teachers. They distinctly articulated the difference between that type of teacher and others who could relate both academic knowledge and skills that they would need in their everyday lives as African American young men and ladies. While they might teach you every little step in the book, they could not replace those who lived within the tradition of community teachers at historically Black public high schools.

Belden Batiste told of Johnny Jones [pseudonym], a community teacher who now works with children at Joe Brown Park through NORD.

And they have a coach, right. His name is Johnny Jones. Now, he taught at Landry [High School]. They eliminated this man from the system when they came. But check this out: With his special ed. children, he took them to Winn Dixie. They worked. He showed them how to bag and all that. All that was a part of their curriculum. This man was so great, but they fired him! *They fired him!* He's working at Joe Brown Park right now! ... He had special ed. children whom they had written the book on, and he had them doing their work and being smart, and he was a real [snaps with the last word] teacher! And I would be working at Tremé [Community Center], and he'd bring the kids their work, play basketball [with them]. He would get their lunch, and all that before the system [changed]. And what I'm saying is: They fired all those people—all the good people—they fired them! They eliminated them! So, they didn't *want* the children to survive. (personal communication, June 29, 2016)

When a school's future is up in the air, children's bonds with their teachers are broken. The "Johnny Jones" who dedicated their lives inside and outside of school are often pushed out.

Last-second decisions, economic stress, and uncertainty have a threshold, and many times force dedicated educators, even those who are alumni and have been there decades, to leave. This results in emotional stress for both teachers and students. If children do not know what's going on and even when they do, it creates a sense of abandonment resulting in distrust and negative educational experiences. Inez Shelby testified:

Last week and this week, two of my teachers were out almost the whole [week]. Today, I had no teacher for my last period class, and that teacher was sick.... No teacher came in there! The principal passed by plenty of times. He did not come in. You know what we did? We sat there and watched a movie. My Civics teacher left in the middle of the year because she got a better job in another parish....What happens to us next year when our school becomes a charter school because nobody is going to stop it? ... What's going to

happen when all these Teach For America teachers come in there, and they switch *in and out*, switch *in and out*, switch *in and out*, and I won't be learning anything? ... Because my French teacher said that she's leaving. My English I teacher said she's leaving. Because you know why? Because they don't want to work under a charter organization because they don't want to get fired at any point at any given time. (Perry, 2017)

At first, Inez blamed her teachers and said they are doing something wrong: quitting, absenteeism, etc. But after a back and forth with the President of the NAACP, she asserted: "Because you know why? Because they don't want to get fired at any point at any given time!" So, Inez empathized with her teachers in this predicament. She understood that they had to take sick days to look for jobs because they don't know what will happen, and if they will be surplussed at the last second or not. She was crying out for help as her school, the first Black public high school in New Orleans, is being set up for failure and undergoing phase out (OPSB, 2018a, 2018b). This can be a process that takes years to reach its ultimate, goal: *transformation*, and up to two million dollars in SIG grants for the district.

Educators perspectives on the effect of "in and out teachers." Teachers from different backgrounds offered their perspectives on the impact this phenomenon had on students and the school. Below, I provide seven different perspectives.

Table 4
Perspectives of Teachers

			Year began teaching in	
			Orleans	Relationship to New
Name	Race	Gender	Parish	Orleans
Teacher 2	W	F	2007	TNTP
Teacher 3	W	F	2007	Tulane University
Rick St.				
Amant	В	M	2007	long-time resident
Teacher 1	W	F	2007	TNTP
Teacher 4	В	F	2000	native
Brother Rob	В	M	1996	native
Teacher 5	В	M	1987	native

Teacher 2 did not see the need for veteran, local educators, nor did she see the importance of cultural congruence between students and their teachers:

There were almost all brand-new teachers: Teach For America and TeachNOLA. There were some veterans, of course, but, um, it was a very, young, White staff—for sure. This was really nice because there was definitely a kinship. I think, the best thing about it was like the teacher's lounge. It was such a hard experience that on any given day, somebody was having a really terrible time. We had a lot of people quit. ... The girl I was talking about who had the classroom next to mine, she didn't even make it to like Thanksgiving. She was teaching eleventh-grade Algebra. She was teaching Algebra II.... But she just couldn't handle it, and I totally understand because there were a lot of days where I couldn't handle it either. Since all of us were going through the same experience: We were all brand new.

... I don't think that there was a lot of interaction with the veteran teachers that we had initially because I think there was still a lot of anger about what happened after Katrina. From their perspective, there were people applying for jobs and being turned down after being in the New Orleans school district for years and years, being turned down in favor of Teach For America, you know, young, White teachers, and I think that created a lot of animosities. But it was really quiet because we were all still trying just to deal, and we had a support system, at least, in our school. We had these other first-year teachers. We were kind of all banded together. There was no need for us, necessarily, to interact with the veteran teachers. (Teacher 2, personal communication, August 29, 2016).

Teacher 3 spoke on her experience with race and being from out of state.

There was definitely like a distrust of me, as like, a White teacher who wasn't from New Orleans. I think a lot of the kids had a *general* distrust of White people. And like, I would have kids who would *hesitate to call me* White because they felt like it was insulting. I was like: "No, you can call me--." They wouldn't want to call me White because like: "Oh, because I like you. I trust you. I respect you, so you must not be White," which was a really interesting experience for me. And I think that was also part of what made the first year, and, especially, the first semester so hard, is all these kids were like: "Who are you? And why should I care what you have to say." (Teacher 3, personal communication, September 6, 2016)

While Teacher 3 did acknowledge that there was a distrust "of White people," unlike other some of the teachers, she did not suggest that culture or race made a difference in the teaching and learning that was going on in her classroom and throughout the school. She did observe, however, that the shuffling around of teachers caused issues in the school.

When I first started teaching, there was a lot of: "Okay, we hired you to teach World History, *but* you are going to teach Algebra 1 because we don't have an Algebra teacher, and we have two other World History teachers." I remember a lot of teachers being surplussed, and then brought back, of course. They would be sent to another school, or it turns out: "Well, we don't have enough science teachers, but we have too many English teachers." There [was] a lot of like shuffling, so I think that was also part of the issue. Especially, that first year [2007-2008], all the classrooms, kids, teachers, content was very unstable for several weeks. (Teacher 3, personal communication, September 4, 2016)

On the other hand, Mr. St. Amant's use of "we" and "they" demonstrates that while he often identified with the younger, White teachers, that was not always the case.

Despite the chaos and confusion of that first year, and there were a lot of first-year teachers in that group, the staff really kind of pulled together, and it was a wonder. We tried very hard. We had a genuine concern for our students and trying to improve their lives. But, very often, well into the evening, we were in the building making plans and trying to figure out what we were going to do the next day to try and contain the confusion and make things better. How could we reach students? What we could do to, you know, make Cohen a safe haven and build a sense of community and a sense of trust.

... There was a handful of us at Cohen that were from the New Orleans area. Most were coming in from all over the country and had no idea what New Orleans was like, and so they were kind of figuring out the city and figuring out the school, and the school system all at the same time, and figuring out *how* to teach. (personal communication, December 30, 2016)

Mr. St. Amant observed that there was a lack of community and trust within the school, and then he talked about how the new teachers were unfamiliar with the city and "how to teach." While Teacher 1 explained:

We were trying to figure out ways to decrease the violence. So, it was a lot of meeting and exchanging ideas. I met every week for part of the early warning systems... and we would look at the early warning indicators. So like attendance, behavior, course performance.

I am also a Caucasian female, and the boys didn't give me much push back. They would be like: "Yes, Mrs. Smith, Yes, ma'am." [pseudonym] But the girls, and I am sure you had this a lot too. There was a lot of eye-rolling—until you build rapport with them—with the hair flipping, eye rolling. One girl, I just really had a hard time like getting through to. But then there was another teacher, and in one of these meetings, I was just like: "What are you doing? Like, she doesn't even want to like say 'Hi' to me. Like, what is going on?" And she was like: "Just take her for ice cream one day, or just pull her aside

and just sit down and have a conversation with her" I was like: "Yeah," so I just did that one day. I was like: "Hey, look, like, I know you have a really good relationship with this other teacher, like, um--" I just told her: "She told me that I should talk to you. So, what's up? Like, what's [going on]?" She ended up actually like, within a couple months, we ended up like bonding, just from, you know, we started having little check-in conversations. (personal communication, December 29, 2016)

What stood out about Teacher 1 was that she clearly understood how our race and gender as "Caucasian female[s]" played into our relationships with our students. Teacher 1, moreover, acknowledged her own weakness and credited a veteran teacher for helping her when she asked: "What are you doing?" She also discussed the tension between faculty and staff and how she intentionally worked to build community with teachers from New Orleans, whom Principal Al Jones began to bring into the school the second year. Noticing the importance, she added:

[Principal 2] started hiring back a lot of local teachers, and so those pretty much to my knowledge of people from [New Orleans] who are still here, for the most part.... Mrs. Pichon came in that second year too. So that second year, when Mr. Jones took over, there were quite a few from New Orleans who came in, and Mrs. Bunch came in and took her place. She taught at Cohen for—I mean, she had already come out of retirement and came back. So, I probably learned more from her than anybody ever!

... [Principal 2] had been in the school system a very long time. Like, he could pull a kid aside and be like: "What's your name?" "Oh, I know your people! Tell your uncle." ... He was that type of person, so I mean as a principal, that's effective. All the love for that man. (Teacher 1, personal communication, August 11, 2016)

Brother Rob offered his perspective on how TFA teachers negatively impact students' social and emotional development.

They let it be known to the students that "this is not what I want to do, I'm just here to get my loans paid out." So, when you *tell* a child that, when you insult a child like that, that affects the relationship. "So, me, with my immature, childish mind, I'm going to do what I can to let you know how I feel about you, even though it's harming me. So, I'm going to clown in class. I'm not going to study. I'm not going to learn." So, the attitude of Teach For America, the high and mighty, superior like attitude, causes *another* form of rebellion. So, these things cause us not to learn, cause us to get suspended because we are going to respond a certain way, because we're human, and you're disrespecting us. But they actually let the children know that "This is not what I want to do" in a *nasty*, negative tone. "I'm just here to get my *loans* paid off." (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016)

Another dimension of "poking holes" is what Brother Rob expanded upon above: puncturing children's educational development and growth, as well as their emotional and social development. Teacher 4, like Brother Rob, considered the effect "in and out teachers" had on student's social development and on Cohen five years later. Teacher 4 explained the impact this had on the school as a whole and the students' abilities to trust and develop relationships with future teachers:

As far as morale around Cohen, it was kind of low as far as the teachers were concerned. They really wanted to see the school stay open. Even with the kids, they were saying how every time, you have a teacher, it's like, they get used to that person, and then they're gone. Because they had a lot of TFA's, I guess, rolling through there. But I think they felt like they weren't vested. (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 29, 2016)

I will further discuss this concept of puncturing holes in children's social and emotional development in my next claim.

Programmatic instability.

Student, teacher and administrators' testimonios, as well as federal and state documents illustrate inconsistent programming. This inconsistency misleads students, parents, educators, and communities. Students could spend time participating in programs, but these programs were often pulled before students had the opportunity fulfill requirements needed for certificates or employment. Oftentimes, it entails starting up a federally or privately funded program and then when the funding dries up, bringing them to an abrupt halt.

Inconsistent programming usually includes top-down curriculum reforms, often ignoring the specific context, culture, and environment of the state, district and local level, as well at a particular school (Payne, 2008). Using a one size fits all approach, teachers, students, and parents have little input, and oftentimes, the program usually does not address structural racism, racial inequity, and culture, heritage, and traditions. Like inconsistent teachers and administrators, top down reforms were a phenomenon long before Act 35 (2005). These reforms bring a sense of

apathy and lack of responsibility because directives come from the top. Teachers and the people in the school know the problems and strengths of the school, but no one asks them.

Dr. Kilbert started his principalship at Carver Senior High a few years before Hurricane Katrina. In a professional development, teachers explained to him that they needed to improve instruction, but academic teachers needed the necessary tools and instructional resources to do that and they also needed a consistent program (D. Kilbert, August 8, 2016).

So, it became *their* idea, and it didn't look like I was forcing something on them. ... And when people felt they were involved; they were connected; their opinion mattered, that they could have some input, and they could see it being used, then a much bigger difference was made. (D. Kilbert, personal communication, August 8, 2016)

Programs that the RSD instituted in its direct-run schools were: Walton Family

Foundation funded career academies, an Early Head Start program, a dual enrollment program

with Nunez Community Colleges, an Advanced Placement program that ExxonMobil funded
through the Tulane Scott Cowen Institute for Public Education (Strecker, 2008).

Walton Family Foundation. When Paul Vallas became the Superintendent of the RSD, the Walton Family Foundation granted 6.37 million dollars to the RSD to support the launching of new high school academies, which included Cohen and Carver. Enticing to parents and students, the RSD's press release advertised that these high schools "would offer students a college preparatory curriculum, electives in career fields, and over time, opportunities to do paid work-study and earn college credit," as well as a longer school day that guaranteed "more instructional time on task," and opportunities for students to "earn recovery credit if they need to make up courses in math, English, science or social studies" and opportunities for "advanced students to graduate by their junior year" (RSD, 2008). Incoming freshmen had the opportunity to choose among academies from around the city. According to the RSD's press release, the

Academy of Creative Arts & Communication at George Washington offered: "a focus on the arts, film, communication, digital design, and culinary arts."

Carver will be the premiere school for supporting New Orleans' rich cultural economy. ... Students with an interest in communications will study directing, cinematography, film history, journalism, radio and television production, and more. The academy will also ... offer courses in preparation, catering and restaurant related interests. (RSD, 2008)

Or students and parents could select the Academy for Health Sciences at Walter L. Cohen.

[S] tudents will have opportunities to visit medical facilities and shadow medical staff and will have opportunities, through the partnerships with the medical community, to be mentored by health professionals and to do paid internships in their fields of interest. These experiences will prepare students for future careers in medicine, nursing, dentistry, medical laboratory technology, medical office administration, veterinary science, pharmaceutics and other job opportunities. (RSD, 2008)

The Walton Foundation offered this grant to support planning and implementation phases. With grants such as there, once the money dries up, the program suddenly disappears.

Early Head Start. According to the *Times-Picayune*, a \$3.5 million Early Head Start grant was awarded to the RSD "for daycare, social workers parenting classes," and the program had 120 slots for new mothers "who might otherwise drop out of high school" during the 2010-2011 school year (Chang, 2011). Cohen and Sarah T. Reed high schools offered parenting classes and provided social workers to support the teenage mothers; and the program was beginning to operate at Carver (Chang). The following year, the RSD had planned to open an Early Head Start childcare center at Carver (RSD, 2012; Teacher 6, personal communication, August 5, 2017). There were plans to open up a child care center at Cohen as well. "[T]he last year that we were there, we turned the area on the bottom floor, we were going to set up a daycare center. So, 2011-2012, we had set up one kind of program through Delgado [Community College] to try to get students Early Childhood certified" (R. St. Amant, personal communication, December 31, 2016). The RSD's budget summary submitted to the BESE board (Bell, 2012) reported: "Preparation of site at Carver/Mays campus is near completion with [an]

expected start date of August 8, 2012. ... Teaching positions will be posted in June, with teachers to begin working in mid-July" (RSD, 2012, p. 2). As noted in the budget summary (Appendix E), the start-up funding had almost expired. "When the program enters permanent status, start-up funds will no longer be available" (RSD, 2012, p. 3). The RSD did not build the playground; they did not obtain daycare licenses; and the Early Head Start daycare centers did not open on either Carver or Cohen's campus (Teacher 6, personal communication, August 5, 2017).

In typical RSD fashion, we were able to renovate the classrooms... at the space designated, [get] cleaned up, and [get] the space inspected, so that it could be used as a daycare area, and they were like: 'Oh, we're not going to fund [Cohen] to have the teachers.' So, it was like: "Uh?" (R. St. Amant, personal communication, December 31, 2016).

New Orleans Career Academy. The RSD had placed New Orleans Career Academy, a pre-GED/GED program inside of Cohen, but the LDOE announced that it would close at the end of the year (2011c). DOE granted a \$690,000 SIG grant to ReNew Schools to reopen it under the Restart Model as ReNew Accelerated High School City Park (DOE, 2016; Fieldnotes, 2011; Vanacore, 2011b).

Advanced Placement (AP). ExxonMobil Foundation awarded funding for AP courses to the RSD and Tulane University's Institute of Public Education managed the funding and facilitated the program (Coleman, 2009; Strecker, 2008). The piloted program began at three high schools, one being John McDonogh (Coleman, 2009). After two years, the program was removed from John McDonogh and placed into Cohen (Fieldnotes, 2010). Unfortunately, the coordinator of the program had already promised scholarships to John McDonogh students who scored at least a three on a College Board exam (Fieldnotes, 2009). Teachers from John

McDonogh, myself being one of them, had been bringing our AP students to Tulane University on Saturday mornings for workshops.

After completing the College Board's AP trainings and teaching AP for one year, Teacher 2 explained she resigned from her job at Cohen.

I got trained, and it's an extensive, it's an expensive, for sure, a week-long program in San Antonio, and the [Tulane Scott] Cowen Institute [for Public Education], obviously, was funding so much of that. I felt really, well supported because of the Cowen Institute, and all of that. I mean, they are like throwing money. ... They weren't teaching that the next because the guy who took it over from me, he had never gone through an AP training, so he was still technically teaching it. I left, and so I'm really not sure how he got away with that.... I didn't really understand what that was about.... There was that, and then, there was a lot of initial funding to train teachers and for supplies. And so, I think that they didn't have the money to train another teacher. (personal communication, August 29, 2016)

This provides a clear example of misleading children, families, and communities.

Start on Success. In line with Cohen's theme as the Academy for Health Sciences, Touro Hospital's Infirmary Volunteer Services and Cohen High School piloted the Start on Success (SOS) program. This program provided paid introductory job experiences for high schools disabled students with physical, mental or sensory challenges ("SOS," 2009, p. 6; Strecker, 2008). The coordinator for this program, explained:

So, I taught soft skills: being on time, how to write a resume, all of the things that kids need, and three days a week. We went, you know, as a class to—because we could just walk to Touro [Hospital]. We would go, and they would volunteer like two hours a day.... And they had to know how to fill out a time sheet. I made sure that they did that properly. ... We kept a job log so that they wrote down what they did. And... we developed kind of a dream book for them. "So, what do you want to do once you graduate from high school? How do think you will pursue that career?" ... One of our interns through the program did so well... he was invited by Touro, after he graduated, to apply for a position. (R. St. Amant, personal communication, December 30, 2016)

After the RSD surplussed the coordinator, it was unclear what happened to the Start on Success program.

Strategic neglect.

Strategic neglect is another indicator of "poking holes." Strategic neglect has existed throughout the history of Black public high schools. Just before the Louisiana Supreme Court ruled against White neighbors who tried to block the conversion of the Kruttschnitt Elementary School into a Black high school, Louis H. Pilié, described the conditions at McDonogh 35 and Washington.

It is no secret that McDonogh No. 35 is a blot on our record under its present enrollment and low score as an unfit utility. Even if the negro population should suddenly meet a reduction in present progress – and I doubt that birth control measures are being considered in those circles – something should be done to take those children out of that rat hole located either in the middle or right close to the negro prostitute district, and place them in some habitat more suitable to the ends of decency and efficiency, to say nothing of the 593 enrollment as against its capacity of 260 pupils. Let us not forget the Booker T. Washington with its enrollment of 1996 as against the maximum that should be there for accreditation purposes. (Pilié, 1949)



Figure 6. Kruttschnitt School, documentation of needed repairs, September 46, 1948.

Note. Orleans Parish School Board Collection, Unknown Provenance, Louisiana and Special Collections Department, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans. Permission granted to use this photograph.



Figure 7. Girls' restroom sink at Walter L. Cohen Senior High, 2013. Copyright 2013 Teacher 7. Permission granted to duplicate this photograph.

In 2013, as illustrated in Figure 6 and Figure 7 above, conditions at Cohen had hardly changed. In 2011, two chilled water pumps and the chiller electrical control panels needed to be replaced, and the designing of the repairs went on for over a year, which was twice as long as the projected time (OPSB/LDOE, 2012).

Whereas, the construction of Carver's new site was scheduled to be complete in January of 2013 (OPSB/LDOE, 2012), but the ribbon-cutting ceremony for the rebuilt school did not happen until August 31, 2016 (Alumnus 2, personal communication, July 29, 2016).

Throughout this study, students, alumni, and teachers repeatedly told of intentional neglect and lack of funding for resources at both Cohen and Carver. Documents and recordings

confirmed a pattern of neglecting schools and withholding funding for repairs until charters are approved and move into the school. For example, the State of Louisiana's Superintendent John White held a press release at another high school where he stated that he would not release the FEMA funds to refurbish the school without a plan including a state-approved charter management organization (New Orleans Tribune, 2011). White proclaimed:

We are committed—let me say this again—we are committed to rehabilitating, in full, an entire gut, outside, inside, every side renovation of John McDonogh High School in this next Master Plan. However, we must have the confidence, if we are going to invest not one million, not five million, not ten million, but twenty or thirty million dollars of taxpayer money, that we are going to serve children's interests well when we do that. We do not send kids to school so that they can wind up on the street two years later. We do not spend millions of dollars of them on their education so that their education doesn't get put to good use, and so before a procurement is done, before a bid goes out, before a check is signed to renovate the John McDonogh building, I, Recovery School District, our district is saying.... There must be a state-approved organization to run high schools in the state of Louisiana that has been allowed to run high schools and is attached to the plan to run John McDonogh. (2011)

Subsequently, an audience member asked White if the state approved organization meant a charter organization, New Orleans Tribune recorded his response: "Yes, a charter management organization." When asked by another audience member to repeat what he had said about "a charter," White re-iterated: "The state approved organizations to run under a charter governance structure with the RSD as the governor of that school, and that is the type of organization that we are looking for." This provides contextual evidence for what was going on at Cohen in 2011. While NOCP took over their building, year-by-year, and floor-by-floor, students at Cohen were boxed out of resources, almost like a reservation. This was a strategy to manage student resistance and to squeeze children out of the school.

It was just like most of the time; we were trying to get some of the other students to join us. [They] would just be like: "We are just focusing on graduating and getting our credits." A lot of the times, having two or three or four teachers and being limited to the space that we were limited to, it didn't seem, you know, real "schoolish." It just seemed like: "You are here to get your stuff and go about your business."... And that's why a lot of young people left, I believe. They just stopped coming. I'm not even sure, but some of

them went to other schools, but a lot of them just stopped [pause] caring. (T. Major, personal communication, November 21, 2016)

During school takeovers, strategic neglect is an aspect of division and a means of stratification.

The boundary indicates where the difference occurs, and it suggests a sentiment of inferiority.

We couldn't go on the second or third floor for any reason during the school day. For the extracurricular activities like the band, we would have to wait for after school or wait for them to get out of school because we got out at [like] 3:00. So, they didn't get out until 4:00. So, we weren't even allowed to go, you know, *in their school* basically. (T. Major, personal communication, November 21, 2016)

Teacher 4 reported: "So they could come down, but we couldn't go up" (personal communication, December 29, 2016). Moreover, an attitude came with the boundary between the first and second floors. Principal Gavin Lewis narrated how the environment was derogatory toward the children at Cohen:

You are uprooting kids from an environment.... The [NOCP] people absolutely treated the Walter L. Cohen kids *like trash*. Absolutely! ... And it was *my job* to mediate that. *I* had to be the one to tell them: "You just have to be the bigger person." (personal communication, November 29, 2016)

As Walter L. Cohen phased out, its section of the building deteriorated. An investigative reporter wrote that the state health inspector found critical violations at Cohen.

Rats, food contact surfaces are not clean to sight and touch, floors aren't clean, openings not protected against entry of rats/insects, walls/ceilings or attached equipment not in good repair. REINSPECTION: Openings not protected against rats/insects, floors are not clean

Can opener is dirty, rat droppings are in the kitchen, there is missing ceiling tile, and the exit doors are not secure from insects and animals, the dry storage room isn't clean. REINSPECTION NOTES: Rat droppings found in the dry storage room. Aramark has not contacted a pest control company to service the school's cafeteria. (Williams, 2012)

Williams quoted former CEO Ben Kleban's response: "Who knows how old those droppings were – they could have been behind that equipment for years."

A parent also reported the lack of textbooks at a meeting with RSD Superintendent Patrick Dobard, and the interim principal, Chad Broussard (Fieldnotes, 2012). Terrell came to the school during the summer for band practice, and he noticed the siphoning of resources:

Because I don't know if they were taking the resources from Cohen and giving them to College Prep. I don't know if that was the case, but it definitely seemed like so, from like coming in the school in the summer for summer rehearsals and seeing desks being taken out of our classrooms and brought upstairs to them. [They were] painting and getting new things for the restrooms and stuff like that for their portion of the building, and we were keeping the same old, moldy, rotten paint. Even though we shared the cafeteria, they refurbished it enough, I guess, so their students can be comfortable in it, but our floor was like the same, moldy, old corners. (T. Major, personal communication, November 21, 2016)

A teacher described increasing infrastructure problems, which changed when the charter moved into the building.

There were things that were, you know, kind of writing on the wall kind of things.... The entire time I was [at Cohen] until College Prep came, the elevator was broken. We scheduled [handicapped children's] classes on the first floor, and it really wasn't ADA compliant. We had one student that even though he used a wheelchair, he was able to do some walking, and so he walked with help up to the second floor.

The air condition system broke. One of the chiller towers up on the roof went out. So. the AC for about half of the school year wasn't working, April, May, during testing.... Actually, one of the compressors was on the bottom floor, and it would leak, and there would be water in the hallways, and they constantly had to vacuum up water. It ruined a section of flooring. It was like: "Really? They can't fix this?" And it was like: "Oh, well, you know, New Orleans College Prep gets the charter. Suddenly—they have money to fix the elevator. Suddenly, the air condition unit is fixed. It was fixed for the whole building because, you know, there was lots of FEMA money. There was lots of money. (R. St. Amant, personal communication, December 30, 2016)

Documents confirm that the OPSB and RSD went through a year-long planning phase for repair of Cohen's air condition chillers (2012), and project was not complete until May of 2014 (OPSB & RSD, 2014a). In addition, contractors began designing a refurbished kitchen for Cohen in 2014 (OPSB & RSD, 2014b). Walter L. Cohen's last graduation class was in 2014. During the transition from Walter L. Cohen to Cohen College Prep, NOCP had control over the maintenance

and building operation, RSD had control over the capital repairs and improvement (RSD/FINNOLA Management Agreement, 2012).

This was not just the case in high schools. Another teacher spoke of infrastructure problems at a neighboring elementary school prior to the school's conversion into a charter school. A veteran educator narrated what happened to a handicapped fourth grader.

But in December of 2009, the elevator broke, and there was a little boy who was in fourth grade upstairs. And so, he couldn't go upstairs to his third-floor classroom. So, he had to stay downstairs in preschool, and he couldn't go to his classroom because the elevator was broken, and he was in a wheelchair. So, he stayed in preschool from December of 2009 until May of 2010. The elevator was *never* fixed. I called Jimmy Farenholtz [former local school board representative]. I complained. No one ever came to fix it. He had a cognitive disability. He was functioning at a preschool level. But he should not have been in a preschool classroom. He should have been with his peers.

So, when this little boy would get off the bus, [a preschool teacher] would roll him into the cafeteria.... Well, if [the preschool teacher] was absent, then the bus driver would wheel him into the hall, and he'd stay in the hall.... [The preschool teacher] would ask him if he'd eaten. She'd check with the cafeteria people, and if he didn't eat, *she* would give him his breakfast and sit him at the preschool table, and he would sit there and eat with the preschool classes, and then roll him into the preschool classroom after breakfast, and the same thing again for lunch. And he was a fourth grader. He wasn't nine. He was *ten* years old! Ten years old following a preschool schedule.... It bordered criminal! What they did to this child.

And the elevator got fixed the day after we exited the building. But they couldn't fix the elevator for this child. But in May, on our last day of work; it was a Thursday. I was packing up the room. I went home. The next day, Friday, I came back to *finish* packing, and I saw all these new young teachers using—unloading their vehicles, bring in their materials.... White, young teachers unloading their vehicles into the building at XXX. So, the elevator was fixed somewhere between the time of Thursday afternoon when I left and Friday morning. (Teacher 6, personal communication, August 5, 2017)

While eleven years after Hurricane Katrina, as evident in Figure 8, the OPSB and RSD had yet to rebuild Carver. The School Facilities Master Plan had scheduled the construction of the new Carver High School facility to be complete January 2013 (OPSB/LDOE, 2012, p. 71).



Figure 8. Carver Collegiate Academy, 2016. Copyright 2016 by Elizabeth K. Jeffers

Inhumane conditions are the product of strategic neglect, and this phenomenon was used for multiple reasons, including dividing children and staff members, as well as enticing communities to support a charter.

Control of Narrative

See people don't realize there's big money in Louisiana: salvaging historical buildings. You take the [St. Joe] bricks. They were made out of 100 percent clay. ... They can take those bricks and clean them and put a little varnish on them and sell them for two dollars apiece in the Midwest and the East Coast. Plus, they had cypress floors in the building. They had hardwood floors. They had copper. They had historical windows. So, what they were able to do is lie to the general public and say that only the auditorium was on the National Register of Historic Places. When I first heard that I knew it was a lie because they are not in the business of making part of a school historical and leave another part off of the list. So, what they did: They tore the school down just to salvage the material in the school to make a profit off of it.... And it was the only Black high school in Louisiana on the National Register-listed with the U.S. Department of the Interior.

The contract that Jacobs [Engineering Group, Inc.] signed, first of all, was with RSD. It was signed December 7, 2007. [Project Management/Construction Management Services contract signed by Jacobs Engineering Group, Inc.]. They are the ones that were responsible for tearing it down. ... But the funny thing about Jacobs: Their license was not issued until April 4, 2010.... The state law requires any project manager to be licensed.

The media is not going to expose them. Let me just tell you: I met with a reporter from *The* [*Times*] *Picayune* for over two hours, named John Doe [pseudonym], we met over at

IHop. That was in 2015. We met for two hours regarding Jacobs [Engineering] not being licensed and a lot of other things going on, and when he got back to *The* [*Times*] *Picayune*, he was told [Jane Doe] was not going to let him write a story about that. (C. Galmon, personal communication, May 4, 2016)

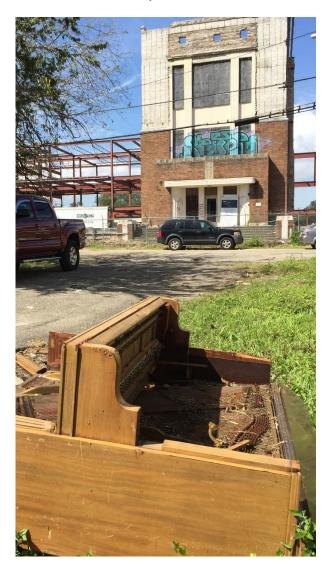


Figure 9. Piano from Washington High School. Copyright 2017 Elizabeth K. Jeffers

Those with political and capital investments in the closure of historically Black public high schools have successfully controlled narratives surrounding school reform in New Orleans.

As Mr. Galmon articulated in the epigraph about Washington High School: "The media is not going to expose them." While this is an important point, appendices G, H, I and J provide images of my unsuccessful communication with federal, state and private entities regarding public

records requests. Building upon Mr. Galmon's statement, dimensions of this phenomenon that I discuss below are: 1.) retaliation and isolation; and 2.) dividing communities.

The narrative is controlled, so no one know what is going on. One reason the teachers are not vocal is because the teacher's union is not vocal like it was in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. There is no contract to protect teachers. Many teachers want to speak out about the inhumane conditions, but they are silenced. State and federal legal documents noted that the RSD has retaliated against teachers and administrators. As one can see in the image below, the families picketing at Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) Central City Academy are standing behind a car, and the young girl is looking directly at the photographer. In Figure 11, one picketer is holding up a sign that says: "Covering Up Bullying Just Makes Matters Worse."



Figure 10. Sign states: "Teachers who use death threats to correct are unfit to teach." Copyright 2017 by Teacher 7. Reprinted with permission.



Figure 11. Current site of KIPP Booker T.: "Covering up bullying just makes matters worse" [sic]. Families protest at KIPP Central City Academy, the former Carter G. Woodson Junior High School. Copyright 2017 by Teacher 7. Reprinted with permission.

Retaliation and isolation.

Carver Prep and Carver Collegiate deprive students of their right to an education when they suspend students in-school by "sidelining" them or "benching" them and keeping them in a room by themselves for the entire day or in another teacher's classroom without giving them any work from their classes to do for the day, so that they miss out on their class work because of minor rule violations such as being out of uniform by wearing the wrong type of belt or having jewelry on.

—Willie Calhoun, Anna Lellelid and William P. Quigley (2013, p. 5)

On behalf of students and parents from Collegiate Academies' three schools, Reverend Calhoun, along with attorneys from Loyola Law School, Lellelid and Quigley, filed the above administrative complaint with the DOE, the U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, Louisiana BESE, the LDOE and the RSD. They requested investigations into the three New Orleans charter schools operated by Collegiate Academies in 2013. In the complaint, they noted

that "sidelining" and "benching": "seem[ed] to be different for each child, and it doesn't seem to happen the same way for each student, but in all cases the students feel that they are missing out on their classes due to simple rule violations like having the wrong type of belt" (Calhoun et. al., p. 5).

Retaliation at Carver has an extensive history. In the 1960s, when teachers went on strike to obtain a collective bargaining agreement, OPSB administrators retaliated against teachers, students and parents at Carver. As mentioned in Claim II, the local newspaper referred to the teacher walkout as a "Fruitless 'Strike" (Darby, 1966a, p. 1). The *Times-Picayune* included a picture of one teacher carrying a picket sign in front of Carver, and its caption said: "as parents of students protest the strike as counterpicket[ers] in the background" (Darby, 1966a, p. 6). Nevertheless, Carver Junior had the highest number and the highest percentage of teachers absent, 68. Following the strike, teachers reported to the American Federation of Teachers' Grievance Committee the following:

It is our understanding that the Superintendent of Education and the school board have stated there will be no reprisals against those teachers who were on strike or who were sympathizers in the strike action. Mr. [Walter E.] Morial, principal of Carver Junior High... has 1.) tried unsuccessfully to transfer two staff members (without a hearing) whom he alleged were causing trouble for a non-striker; 2.) refused to recommend members of the American Federation of Teachers for extra job assignments in the federal tutorial positions and publically stated that he would not consider them; 3.) Denied members of the American Federation of Teachers opportunities to accompany students to cultural activities even though it has been on a voluntary basis and in many instances, these persons have continually over the years been a part of these activities; 4.) Probationary teachers going for ratings have been upbraided and insulted because of strike participation and given substantially lower ratings than they had previously received. (Faculty of Carver Junior High, April 15, 1966)

Three years later, when students and community members came out to support the teachers' strike, three students from Carver were arrested (*Times-Picayune*, 1969).

More than 50 years later, suppression of information has effectively controlled the narrative about children's experiences in charter schools has been done by suppression of

information. My research participants explained that in order to suppress information, charter school faculty members oftentimes perpetrated emotional abuse. Children and parents from Collegiate Academies reported situations where children were afraid to communicate with their own parents about what was going on. In 2013-2014, when students staged a walkout, children reported experiencing retaliation. For example, Russell Robinson protested with his mother outside of his school, Sci Academy, xxvii and when returned to school the next day, he was punished (R. Robinson, September 18, 2016). His mother, Rowena Robinson, who is also a veteran educator, described the situation:

This is when I realized, okay, there's only so much I can take. But we were continuing to let him go to the school because we were collecting information, because I was like: "I want to see just how much they're going to do." Russell was one of *the only* students, besides my nephew, on one of the days, and I think this was December 3rd because it was Russell's birthday, and I said, "well, look..." He said: "Ma, I don't want to be in prison on my birthday. Can I just have this day off?" So, I said: "What? We're going to be on the outside of your school with the signs. You can join us."

So, Russell was with us on that day, and we noticed cars with a couple of teachers where the *teachers* put some of the students in their cars.... They drove past the gate, and they had—I remember seeing two of the students' faces. They *were so scared* to turn around and look at us. But it was a female driver, and you could tell that she was, you know, telling them, you know, "look at—identify that student." And I remember the little boy, he looked at me, and he put his head back down, and he kind of shook his head like, "yes, that's Russell." And so, she went around the corner, and then she came back into the gate, you know, with the two students. I think that was unfair for her to even put those kids in that position. So, but they wanted to see, you know, was this Russell? (R. Robinson, personal communication, September 18, 2016)

Mrs. Robinson's story above is connected to my next claim, where I discuss "breaking up the pack" (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016). However, this story provides context for the retaliation that her son experienced when he returned to school the next day.

Russell said: "Ma, I had 11 demerits," and he said: "Once you get to 11 demerits, they punish the student where you can't eat unless you serve a detention." So, you can't eat. I didn't even find this out until, let me see, that was December 5th, 6th, 7th. until December 7th, when I was bringing Russell to school that morning, I think, and I remember him saying, "Ma," he was like: "I-I really just don't feel like not eating again."

And I said: "What do you mean, not eating?" He said: "Well, I can't eat." And I said: "Why not?" He said: "Well, when I went to lunch, a red flag came up by my name. My name was marked, so the cafeteria lady said: "Well, we're authorized to not feed you." Russell was like: "I didn't do anything," but they were punishing him for being one of the students that were out there with us, so in order for him to eat, he had to serve a detention, and when you do the detention, you have to sit isolated from everybody else. And you sit with one of the teachers, and what they do is, if you're punished...if you go to lunch detention, they take half of your portion of your lunch away. They already don't get enough. xxviii On this particular day, Russell's lunch, a full lunch, was two tortillas and four apple slices.... So, Russell had one tortilla and two apple slices, and they didn't give him the sauce with it, and then he wasn't allowed to get any water or any juice or any milk with that. So, he went the whole day without drinking anything, and that was his portion of the lunch, so once he served that detention, then it allowed him to eat the rest of that crap that they give them for the following week. So, he had gone Wednesday, Thursday with no lunch at all, and then, on Friday, half of a portion of a lunch, and I mean, a lot of these kids are like him, he's six feet tall.... And the thing is, for him to get punished like that, this boy doesn't say anything. Like, a lot of time, they don't know that he's in class. He's a real quiet student. He doesn't say anything. He doesn't cause any trouble. He is just a mild-mannered child.... There really was no excuse for them treating him the way that they did. (R. Robinson, personal communication, September 18, 2016)

Russell's narrative illustrates how children have experienced humiliation and divisiveness. While protesting with his mother, the teachers had other students identify Russell, and then when he returned to school, he was punished. What also stands out is that his mother did not know what was going on until several days later. During this time, Russell's cousin, a student at Carver, went to school in trailers behind Sci Academy. He explained:

I remember, one time, my cousin, they had said: "no phones." ... We were getting ready to get on the buses; he had his phone out; he got his phone taken, and school was over.... I don't know, that was my first-time hearing about that like after the school's over, his phone getting taken. He was fixing to call his mama, and his phone got taken. (J. Johnson, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

Mrs. Robinson and her husband ended up removing their son from Collegiate Academies in the middle of the semester, and a few families formed a homeschool called Liberation Academy. Russell graduated from Walker-Landry High School, which is located across the Mississippi River in Algiers. Jerrell returned to Carver after spending two years in Baton Rouge.

A grandparent and guardian who participated in the walk-out reported that because she spoke out, the teachers retaliated against her two grandchildren. "If you are a parent that speaks up for your child, they don't like that. They retaliate against the child" (K. Jones, personal communication, May 27, 2016). Mrs. Jones noted that she did not learn that they had retaliated against her ninth-grade granddaughter until a child from her church told her. "I found out through one of the little girls who was out there with us that day, when they were protesting, that they were picking on her. And I didn't know that. And [she] said the teacher was always making her cry" (K. Jones, personal communication, November 27, 2016). While teachers humiliated her ninth-grade granddaughter in the classroom, her grandson with cerebral palsy became physically ill from anxiety.

[H]e had developed high blood pressure, and he'd have to go on Prozac because they had taken and retaliated against him when we were out there, and the children walked off campus... and some other parents were over there with kids, and because they saw us out there with the kids, they took it out on my two grandchildren. So, Carver Student 2 [pseudonym] used to come home throwing up—fiercely throwing up. And he told me, he said: He didn't—and, I mean, it looked like he was just out of it. He didn't want to go back to that school. (K. Jones, personal communication, November 27, 2016)

While these were students' and parents' experiences in 2013, retaliation and fear are not a thing of the past at Collegiate Academies. In 2016, students who led a group called "The Carver Five," presented a power point to alumni, community members and school leaders that stated: "We feel that the rules are too strict, and they stop us from expressing ourselves as individuals. We want to be in an environment where we are comfortable and willing to learn instead of an environment where we fear to disagree or speak aloud" (Fieldnotes, 2016).

Collegiate Academies has been able to establish this culture because children and their families who have attended Carver for generations; those who built the school; those who fought for air condition, those who fought for teachers to have a right to collective bargaining; and those who fought for the re-building of the school after Hurricane Katrina have been internally

displaced. Data confirmed that children and parents' every day experiences at Collegiate

Academies' schools have been isolation from each other as well as their community's history,
traditions and culture. Evidence suggests a highly punitive culture where children fear retaliation.

Total control has been established when "teachers take advantage of authority," (Fieldnotes,
2016) and there is no recourse or due process. Having mostly teachers and administrators from
out of town creates a sense of internal displacement within their own community. The group of
students from Carver Preparatory Academy who called themselves "The Carver Five" created a
power point presentation called "Comparative Realities" where their possible solutions for the
problems with teachers at their school were: "1. Limit the number of times that a teacher is able
to send students to the RC [Restorative Center]; 2. Hire teachers from Louisiana; 3. Hire more
Black teachers; 4. Create courses centered around understanding kids."

**The Carver Preparatory Academy who called the number of times that a teacher is able
to send students to the RC [Restorative Center]; 2. Hire teachers from Louisiana; 3. Hire more

Following Act 35 (2005), McDonogh 35 was one of only two direct-run high schools under the OPSB. However, a week after the NAACP hearing where students from McDonogh 35 testified, the School Board held a public hearing allowing for public comment on the submission of charter applications. Students from McDonogh 35 were present, but none students spoke; and only two teachers from McDonogh 35 spoke (Fieldnotes, April 11, 2017). No one from the local teachers' union or the local chapter of the NAACP spoke (Fieldnotes, April 11, 2017).

Court cases. Teachers and administrators have also experienced retaliation. A retired educator explained: "if the teacher is coming around, they get rid of them. They don't want that kind of relationship" (B. Cook, personal communication, May 27, 2016). For example, Teacher 4 taught at Landry the year before it merged with O. Perry Walker, and she explained that two vocal teachers were fired.

So, those two people were very vocal about the merger between Landry and O. Perry Walker, and needless to say, they were the two that [the RSD] fired. So, they claimed that

because RSD was downsizing, they didn't need those positions.... But then, they were on a 4 x 4 [schedule] too. So, for them, I guess, that would have been in the middle of that first semester.... The kids walked out. They protested. They were out there a couple of days, and so, the person they actually fired, XXXX, was the one that had to encourage the kids to go back to the school.... They went back in because of him. (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 30, 2016)

The terminated teachers were member of a community group, Friends of Landry. This group filed a petition seeking judicial review of the RSD's proposed plan to merge Landry with Walker, which the Algiers Charter Schools Association operated (*Friends of Landry v. RSD through the LDOE*, 2012). The RSD's "Position Elimination" letter stated:

Thank you for the service you have provided to the students of the RSD. While we appreciate your dedication to our mission of raising the achievement levels of our student [sic], due to district reorganization stemming from budget constraints, low student enrollment and changes in school configuration your position is being eliminated.... Your termination is effective October 12, 2012, at the close of business. You will receive your last paycheck October 19, 2012. (RSD, First Amending and Supplemental Petitition, 2012)

Attorney Willie Zanders, Sr., on behalf of the Friends of Landry, petitioned:

- the RSD's decision to eliminate Landry's ninth grade class;
- the RSD's prevention of students from transferring to Landry School for the 2012-2013 school year; and
- the RSD's decision to appoint new administrators at Landry "without engaging parents and community leaders in the successful operation and academic improvement" of the school; etc. (*Friends of Landry v. RSD through the LDOE*, 2012)

In another example, the RSD retaliated against an administrator. Court documents show that one of their reasons for terminating an administrator was because she "recommended that the vast majority of the teachers... be retained," and that year the RSD overrode 13 of her recommendations to rehire teachers, which was 42 % of the faculty. (*Ripoll v. Dobard*, 2013/2015). The RSD said that she "repeatedly recommended that teachers who were ultimately

discharged for poor performance should nonetheless be retained—while simultaneously recommending that newer, developing teachers should be discharged" (*Ripoll v. Dobard* 2013/2015). In other words, she probably did not rehire TFA or TeachNOLA teachers. The district offered her a teaching position, but the other administrators that the RSD removed were placed in other administrative capacities. (*Ripoll v. Dobard* 2013/2015).

Retaliation has played a significant role in controlling the narrative. Teachers and students have no recourse, as deemed by the courts. In *Tankerson v. Vallas* (2010), the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals of Louisiana ruled:

RSD is not a juridical person capable of being sued or suing directly, and the proper party in any claim by or against the RSD is the LDOE... a delegation of authority by the State Superintendent of Education to the RSD grants only limited authority over personnel matters, and [the] statute authorizing the RSD did not name it a body corporate with the power to sue or be sued.

Elise Adams, a Black, female principal, who oversaw an alternative school located at Washington High School sued the RSD for violating her equal protection rights under the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (*Adams v. Orleans Parish Recovery School District, 2011*). However, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana ruled that the LDOE was not subject to liability under 42 USC § 1983 (*Adams v. RSD, through the State of LDOE, 2012*). The court ruled that Section 1983 provides a cause of action against "any" person who deprives another person of "any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws" of the United States while acting "under color" of state law. Adams appealed the court's decision to the Fifth Circuit of Appeals, but they retained the district court's ruling.

There have been other cases of retaliation where educators petitioned the RSD for damages under violations of Louisiana's whistleblower laws (*Buckley v. Jones*, 2012; *Cook v. Vallas*, 2011). In one specific incident, Deputy Superintendent Michael Haggen informed an administrator that Superintendent Paul Vallas had asked him to "pull the trigger" on her after she

had reported academic irregularities regarding Vallas' son who was a student in her school (*Cook v. Vallas*, 2011).

Like Mrs. Ripoll, Principal Al Jones strayed from hiring TFA and TeachNOLA (Teacher 1, personal communication, August 11, 2016), and, apparently, this did not please those in control. As noted earlier in this chapter, in claim II, Principal Al Jones brought in veteran, local educators to Cohen, and at times, he surplussed TFA and TeachNOLA teachers. At the end of the 2011-2012 school year, he was demoted to an Assistant Principal job as a disciplinarian in Baton Rouge. Whereas, the RSD only offered Ripoll a teaching position, which she declined (*Ripoll v. Dobard*, 2013/2015).

Dividing communities and selecting leadership.

And one of the things that really pissed me off. ... [He] said that he "buys all of his opponents." That's a hell of a thing for a man to tell you. He buys all his opponents. He buys them. So, what the hell that means? That means that the people that are supposed to be opposing some of this shit, he bought them out. Maybe that's why they are not doing anything. Maybe that's why we don't have anyone fighting for these children. (E. Charles, personal communication, July 15, 2016)

Similar to the three counter picketers in the 1966 article about teacher strikes at Carver, data demonstrates that one way that CMOs, along with state and local policymakers have controlled the narrative is through hand-selected spokespeople. Divisions are another way to "poke holes" within a community.

In Marcovitz's "Open Letter to the Collegiate Academies Community," which was a response to the student walkouts in 2013, there were no comments from students or mention of their demands. Instead, Marcovitz quoted an unidentified parent: "The discipline system works because it hold [sic] them accountable to their actions and they take a second thought about their actions when they do something," (2013, p. 4). He asserted: "We work closely with the families we serve to ensure student success. Our parent-led council, the Parent Action Committee, is

instrumental in shaping *our practices and traditions*, as well as providing feedback about *our schools*" [emphasis added] (Marcovitz, 2013, p. 2).

Former PTA President who had two grandchildren attending Collegiate Academies' schools at the time, Mrs. McCormick, had a different experience with trying to bring together the parents.

We only had minimum ways of being able to come together, to try to reach each other, to call. I mean, we should not have to beg the staff or President of the school's administration to let us come together. We had to *ask* them: "Could we meet?" There were so few of us. You really couldn't make anything move if you wanted to have real great input. Some of the parents didn't know when the meetings were going on. It really wasn't functioning well, certainly not as a Parent Teacher Association. Collegiate Academies didn't want it because they wanted to run *everything themselves*, and let the parents have no input. And no school should be run like that without giving parents firsthand knowledge *of everything* that's going on. And unless you were a parent who just pried and poked, and just took the time out of concern to go find out what's happening. That was the only way that they were able to meet one on one with the teachers. (personal communication, May 27, 2016)

Collegiate Academies held a meeting during a protest and dismissed within twenty minutes, and an online news service reported that only two students filled out comment cards and spoke in support of the charter school (Foster, 2013).

While RSD shuffled out teachers that the children trusted, they oftentimes shuffled in teachers who had been "surplussed" from elsewhere, which created a sense of confusion and distrust. Former RSD Superintendent and current Louisiana Superintendent John White's last visit to Walter L. Cohen for a "community meeting" was in 2011 (Morriss, 2011a, 2011b). At this meeting, he was asked if he was trying to "de-niggerfy us?" (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 30, 2016). This was around the time that Superintendent John White gave the presentation at John McDonogh, and LDOE were planning to apply for the Race to the Top grants. From then on, the RSD sent messengers that looked like the students, which created

a lot of confusion (Fieldnotes, 2012). According to the independent evaluator that NSNO contracted with, xxx

The hostile reaction to RSD's efforts was in part because the individuals involved were recent transplants to New Orleans. Much of the personnel for the second approach -- NSNO staff, CMO leaders, etc. -- were not from New Orleans and in the collective view of the community were not authentic representatives of the public interest. Even a team member at NSNO who was a native had a similar viewpoint.

Instead, a third variant was designed. Drawing on the existing networks of community non-profits, RSD and NSNO sought to have some of their staff serve as facilitators for discussions with the community. The idea was to have well respected community leaders mediate between the community and RSD. That design assumed that the sponsoring non-profit, the Urban League of New Orleans, had a mission and strategies that aligned with the Charter Restart Model. It also assumed an adequate supply of experts. Like the second approach, this one was ultimately put aside because the time line could not be aligned with the timetable for closures, restart operator selection and matching of operators to closing schools.

Things changed in 2012 when a respected community figure joined the RSD staff in the role of Deputy Superintendent of External Affairs. Dana Peterson had direct experience as a member of the Board of Directors of a CMO that sought to constructively engage with the parents and community of a failing school in the RSD portfolio. After voluntarily withdrawing from one unsuccessful attempt the CMO was able to find more success with a second school that became one of the first i3 cohort schools. The experience galvanized Peterson that community involvement was an important element of a successful school improvement policy. He joined the RSD in order to pursue a more constructive community engagement and visioning with the communities of failing schools. (Center for Research on Education Outcomes, 2016, pp. 37-38)

The messenger has almost always been a Black administrator, which has made it appear that people from the children's communities the ones making the decisions. The RSD tried to send Gavin Lewis to tell his students and faculty that his staff and he were terminated, but he would not do it. This is a pattern that has created divisions and distrust within Black communities across New Orleans.

Without informing parents, faculty, students or community, just a few weeks before the seniors took the state's high stakes assessment, the Graduate Exit Exam, the RSD signed a new management plan with Future Is Now Schools (FINS) and distributed "surplus" letters to all

faculty members at Cohen. Only after all the Cohen students staged a three-day walk-out, did FINS decide to keep some of the teachers (Fieldnotes, 2012). Principal Lewis narrated:

We really could not have an assembly. So, the only assembly that I had was once I realized everything was happening.... I had my guidance counselor and the instructional coaches print out transcripts and give them the graduation requirements. So, I met with the entire school as a whole, and I said: "Here are your transcripts. Do not let anyone tell you—." And I'm not saying Cohen was perfect, but we spent so much time evaluating transcripts and making sure all these students had what they needed to graduate prior to.... We had kids coming back saying they didn't have enough credits. Before this transpired, we actually had individual meetings with every child. We started with the seniors, and we were working our way down to meet with every single child to discuss their transcripts, colleges applications, and the things that they needed to do like the courses they needed, so forth and so on.

So, we went in the auditorium, I had the meeting, and I gave them their transcripts. As I'm doing that, "The Team" showed up with a letter that they wanted me to hand out to all the kids, basically saying, you know, that the school is going in a different direction. So, that's how I really found out what was going on. They brought a letter. So, they brought me in my office first, during the assembly. So, I left the assembly after I was giving out transcripts. Everybody else stayed in there. They brought me to my office. They were like: "Look, here's what's going on. This letter—" Nobody took ownership of the letter. Everybody said: "We don't know."

They came, sat me down in my office, [and] they were like: "Here are the letters. We need you to give out the letters. We didn't write it. We apologize. We didn't know this was coming. Nobody talked to us about it. It has nothing to do with you." Basically, "here's what's going on. It's not you, but this is really the nature of the beast," in so many words, is what they were saying. So, I was like: "I'm not passing out the letters. So ya'll can go up at the end of the assembly and pass them out. I'll stand up there while ya'll pass them out. But I'm not about to tell them, what ya'll are about to do to me. Somebody else needs to talk." (G. Lewis, personal communication, November 29, 2016)

When the DOE's Office of School Turnaround conducted a site visit of Cohen and reviewed the RSD's administration of the SIG grant, the Monitoring Report noted the following. (see Appendix F)

To address the quality of the instructional staff, the RSD indicated that it would work with NOCP and FIN[S] to implement a rigorous hiring and review process for teachers and leaders. NOCP also indicated it would offer some monetary incentives to [Cohen College Prep] staff to ensure that qualified staff are recruited and retained. This hiring process applied not only to [Cohen College Prep], but also to [Walter L.] Cohen Senior High School. *Teachers in the closing school were screened and had to reapply for their jobs as well. During interviews, Cohen teachers indicated that FIN[S] retained the most*

successful staff from the previous year so that students could have some normalcy among the plethora of changes taking place at their school. Teachers also indicated that FIN[S] worked to refine the teaching practices of some of the less successful teachers before deciding upon any high stakes decisions. [emphasis added] (DOE, Office of School Turnaround, 2013)

Nowhere in this report did it mention that the RSD had terminated all administrators and nearly all faculty members at the end of the previous school year, hired a new faculty, and then hired FINS mid-October. Clearly, FINS and NOCP did not have the opportunity to "refine the teaching practices of some of the less successful teachers before deciding upon any high stakes decisions." FINS hired an educator from Houston, Chad Broussard, to serve as principal.

Broussard did not stay long at Cohen as the students were in the middle of a walk-out protesting the RSD's firing of Cohen's entire staff (Fieldnotes, 2012). In the RSD's amendment to the SIG grant application, which was fully agreed upon on October 1, 2012, Mr. Lewis was still listed as the principal, even though it noted it had "changed positions to reflect updated school roster" and it "removed prior position and included Future Is Now (EMO) contracted services" (RSD-LDOE, 2012).**

LDOE, 2012).**

Key Company of the RSD had terminated all administrators and nearly and terminated and nearly ane

Alumni. Splitting up the alumni falls into two categories: 1.) creating divisions between alumni of one school, and 2.) creating divisions between different alumni organizations. Two ways to divide have been through the creation of advisory boards (as illustrated in claim II) and Memorandums of Understanding (MOU).

An alumnus of Carver, Mr. Ernest Charles, provided an example of how the RSD utilized a divisive approach to hand over Carver to Collegiate Academies. A mid-semester transfer of a local, Black Principal, Mr. Lee Green, precipitated the change (Chang, 2010). The following year, the RSD hired a young, underqualified White administrator, Isaac Pollack, who had served as a TFA corps member and had an Out of State teaching certificate. xxxiii

We were moving, that's what I'm saying. We had the community involved. We used to get up every morning and would be at Carver at 7:00 a.m. to hold signs up. If we didn't go to Carver, we went to intersections on the interstate or wherever to put signs up, "Hands off Carver." [We] passed out flyers, passed out pamphlets, and it was starting to make a difference. This was really good because, at one time, we were over where RSD used to be on Almonaster [Avenue] and Claiborne, going up and down by the bridge. White people from St. Bernard Parish used to tell us: "We are fighting for you! We'll help! We hope ya'll win! Hey, keep your school"

The police came out, [and] we stopped them from coming in... The guy that was the principal over there, after [the RSD] got rid of their first principal, the Black principal. They put this little White, young guy. This was a new guy, he had been a teacher a year or two, and they wanted to make him the Principal of Carver.... He and I had a man to man talk, and he said: "Look, we are going to stop this. He said: "Look, I am not going to try to force my way in here." He backed off; we got back in the car, police left. They left! [claps hands] Ya'll didn't hear about that! (E. Charles, personal communication, July 15, 2016)

In an attempt to provide support and bring alumni together, CCS began as a sort of partnership between AFT Local 527, UTNO, and alumni from schools along Esplanade Avenue: John McDonogh, Clark, and McDonogh 35. Alumni from other high schools, Landry and Carver, joined in and provided support for one another at various community forums and meetings. Ernest Charles, an alumnus of Carver, along with others like Willie Calhoun, Betty Washington and Rome Parker who started to attend CCS meetings (Fieldnotes, 2010). Mr. Charles offered his first-hand account on how alumni and CMOs signed Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs), and how CMOs assembled advisory boards (Fieldnotes, 2012; Haselle, 2013; Vanacore, 2011a).

We were fighting this, and then, all of a sudden, they said: "Well, look, we are going to call it off for a week."

We had people come to us and told us, asked us, to call it off.

We said: "Hell, no! We got them against the ropes, now, come on!"

Some people were getting tired of coming out there, but we still had a core of people that were coming out....

And they said: "No, we are going to stop it for--."

And when they stopped it, that was it.

They came back and said: "Look, we are going to have a deal. We are talking to them."

Next thing I know, they said: "Well, they asked us to go do something. Go talk to a lawyer."

I went to get a lawyer, me and some other committee members. The lawyer was going to come on board.... He said, you know: "We don't have to come up with no money up front. But this is what we need to do."

I went back to tell the committee what we had agreed to, and the committee along with—Well, I'm just going to say the committee, they said I didn't have the authority to make that agreement.... I was supposed to be the person: "Okay, we are going to go the law. We are going to do it different kinds of ways. Okay, Ernest, you are supposed to be the guy to see what we are going to do with the law thing. We are going to have to file a complaint, file a lawsuit, whatever."

He was going to come to our meeting and tell us what we needed to do. And they told me that I didn't have that authority to get that—after they had made me chairperson of that committee.... Not everybody, but some of the people, the majority of them, concurred that I did not have that [authority]. But by the same token, they started *another* committee that was supposed to go into, talk to RSD or whatever.

And they came back to an agreement, and I didn't concur and said: "Well, how did they come up with it, and how did ya'll let this go and then on this side—?"

... and I said: "Well, if that's the case, we need to bring this to the whole Carver group. We got 500-600 people. We didn't call together. We had a picnic. We had all this. [We] got names of all these people. Now, we are committees. We are not the whole group. So, with the latest stuff, you got to bring that back to the [whole] group."

They didn't bring this to the [whole Carver] group. How the hell are we are going to say: "This is what we are doing" without bringing this out to the group? And nobody brought it out to the group, and that's what I was pissed off about. So, the group had a vote on it, where they are going to go along with this deal with RSD. I was in Houston, Texas.

The compromise with them: "We are going to have an Advisory Board."

They were going to have some type of craziness that wasn't going to work because we weren't going to have any authority on it. [chuckle]... And all the trickery! ... We were "Hands off of Carver," and then, they came up with the Memorandum of Understanding....

"No, man, I'm not part of that. I don't understand this!" xxxiv (personal communication, July 15, 2016)

There have been times when different alumni groups experienced friction. The RSD divided Cohen alumni and Washington's alumni when it tried to divide the two schools (D. Brown, personal communication, September 17, 2016). xxxv

Since I've become the President, [our fight] has been to prevent Cohen from being closed and moved over to Booker Washington.... And so that was the grand design. We are talking now about gentrification, and the intent was to relocate Cohen students, to demolish Cohen, and to build condos and townhouses, and so, yeah, that's definitely, definitely still [the case].

"Booker Washington, you said you want your school on a dump; I ain't fighting that. I don't want my child to go to school on a dump. Alright? I would hope that you wouldn't want yours on there. But you got a dumb argument by saying: 'Well, I went there for four years, and ain't nothing happened to me.' "

... And so, the Alumni Association was going to completely divorce itself from any school that was built on that dump. (J. Raby, personal communication, September 19, 2016)

President of Alfred Lawless Alumni Association, Danise Pruitt explained on a local radio station that in 2011, released a press release that Lawless would reopen, but in 2013, it announced King High School (an extension of the elementary and middle school) would be rebuilt on the site of Lawless (Buckley, 2016; RSD, 2013). Mr. Galmon explained how Dr. Alfred Lawless was central in the struggle for Black public education.

They tried to avoid reopening schools that were named after African Americans... Alfred C. Lawless was the man who fought to get an equal education for Blacks. Pierre Capdau and William Rogers had reduced the education for Blacks in Louisiana to the fifth grade. They said Blacks only need enough education to serve Whites.... People like Alfred C. Lawless fought to get it to twelfth grade. Then, also, they fought for textbooks... [F]our or five years after Whites had used textbooks, they passed them down to Blacks But they want to take Alfred C. Lawless High School away and put Martin Luther King's name on it. (C. Galmon, personal communication, May 4, 2016)

The School Board approved changing Lawless to Martin Luther King High (Fieldnotes, 2016). Shortly after, the Board passed a resolution against changing the names of schools (Dreilinger,

2015, 2016a). Another Lawless alumnus stated: "It feels as if another Hurricane Katrina has hit us. I swear that's what Friends of King is doing and reminds me of right now" (Buckley, 2016).

Conclusion

These narratives and documents assist us in understanding the importance of hearing directly from those who have taken part of struggles on the ground to re-open and save their own schools. This claim has built upon the first and second claims and illustrated various community members perspectives' on historically Black high schools in New Orleans. Ultimately, the closure of historically Black public high schools has led to the destruction of neighborhoods and communities, which has led to implications that will be discussed in my final claim.

Claim IV:

Closing historically Black high schools in New Orleans has led to experiences of dehumanization.

The school system, really... it's all *competitive*. And I don't really promote *competition*. I promote unity, and what I promote, it's called "ubuntu" I am because we are, and because we are, therefore I am. "And since we are or because we are, therefore, I am." So, without that group, there would be no me. Without the group, I wouldn't be strong. I wouldn't be who I am, right. So that wolf pack is strong because of that individual wolf. That individual wolf is strong because of the group and the support of the group, right. Vice-versa. It's the same thing as the chain is only as strong as the link. So, we promote the group. We promote everybody not competition. But all our lives, we've been taught to compete and to be the best and to outdo.

Then, you have parents who have children in the community, and their other children go to school across town. What is that? That's another [division]. You are breaking down families again. You are *separating* the children, sending them to different schools. You are breaking up the pack. So now we don't have the power, and that's the whole intention—to make me weak. And then, when you break up this wolf pack, now I'm a part of this, so now I'm really confused with where I belong. I'm losing touch with the wolf pack. I'm losing touch with the family and the community. (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016)

In my final claim, I close this chapter by focusing on relationships between the closure of historically Black high schools in New Orleans and sociohistorical and sociocultural issues

throughout the city. Children, educators, parents and alumni who have experienced school closures have narrated experiences of dehumanization. Dehumanization has come up in several forms, including: 1.) Bantu education; 2.) complete domination and control; 3.) subjection to experimentation; and 4.) erasure.

First, I provide background on how local communities submitted their own charter application. My explanation is brief because of the previous research on this topic (Henry & Dixson, 2016;). In 2010, several local organizations submitted applications to BESE to operate charter schools, including Walter L. Cohen's Alumni Association and George Washington Carver's Alumni Association. Carver's alumni proposed to partner with John's Hopkins University to implement their Talent Development model (Teacher 1, personal communication, August 11, 2016). However, the LDOE had contracted with the National Association of Charter School Authorizers (NACSA), and based on NACSA's recommendation, BESE rejected these applications.

The Evaluation Team recommends that the application be denied. The Board, the many alumni and community members are to be commended for their continued support and interest in Carver High School, and their intention to "bring back" the school. However, the written proposal and the interview failed to show sufficient capacity, through experience and expertise, to operate Carver High at this time. (NACSA & LDOE, 2010, p. 51)

According to LDOE's *Louisiana's Blueprint for Education Reform*, or Race to the Top Phase 3 federal grant application, one of the state's key activities was "Charter Incubation." The application requested \$1.7 million for charter incubation.

Development of Charter Management Organizations—The state will invest in scaling and incubating high-performing charter operators to serve more schools. Through the State Charter School Grants Program, approved charter schools are granted immediate autonomy in exchange for increased accountability.... *Partnering with one or two prominent and nationally-recognized investors in education*, the state will ensure Charter Management Organizations... are supported to develop and scale viable plans to open and operate a high-performing charter school. [emphasis added] (LDOE, 2011b, p. 56)

The previous year, their application requested two-million dollars for its "Creation of Charter Management Organizations Project":

The Louisiana Reform Plan includes investment in the incubation and scale up of new high performing charter schools across the state. Investments will include clustering complementary ventures in the same market to produce strong results. Louisiana will work with nationally respected human capital partners to recruit high-potential entrepreneurs in the region and nation to provide effective charter school operators to Participating LEAs that enter their schools into the High Performance Schools Initiative (HPSI). These funds will primarily support charters before they receive formal approval by the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE), while The Charter School Program (\$19.7 Million available immediately) will support charter schools in their beginning years. (LDOE, 2010, pp. 6-7)

Alumni and community groups that were rooted in New Orleans were not aware that the state would be investing in "scaling and incubating high-performing charter operators" that were already in existence. These organizations proposed models that were starting from scratch, and, therefore, did not meet the requirements for funding. The LDOE proposed funding matches through the Charter School Grants Program for the CMO's that obtained SIG grants to restart the "persistently lowest-performing schools" (LDOE, 2010, p. 15).

Bantu Education: Erasure of Traditions, History and Culture

"We do not want to be assimilated by changing our culture at Joseph S. Clark: Black history," wrote Joseph S. Clark students in their demands to FirstLine Schools (Swanson, 2013). Data illustrates patterns of acculturation, erasure of history and attempts to annihilate local, Black institutions. The closing of historically Black public high schools has disconnected and alienated children from their families, neighborhoods, histories, cultural traditions and knowledge of self.

Alumni and students had to fight to keep school name, colors and mascots at all of the historically Black public high schools that the RSD took over. Mr. Galmon's press release from the Louisiana Committee Against Apartheid stated that the RSD for the State of Louisiana is

"practicing apartheid on the African American community of New Orleans. Today the majority of children in New Orleans are receiving Bantu education" (Fieldnotes, 2016). Mr. Galmon explained:

How can you take pride in a school named after a slave owner, okay? We were able to get eight schools named after Civil Rights leaders... and we had nine schools named after Civil Rights leaders, and we have eight schools that were named after them that have yet to be reopened: Thurgood Marshall, US Supreme Court judge; A. P. Tureaud, Civil Rights attorney that integrated the schools. [A. P. Tureaud] was the attorney for Ruby Bridges who integrated the schools in Orleans Parish. Avery C. Alexander, civil rights leader; Oretha Castle Haley, she was a leader in CORE, Congress on Racial Economy. Israel Augustine was the first Black criminal court judge [in Orleans Parish], but he was the attorney for SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference], Dr. King's organization when he was an organizer. Myrtle L. Banks, who fought for equal education for African Americans, a Civil Rights leader in the field of education. Mary Church Terrell, she fought for woman's suffrage in the Office for Civil Rights. Bobby Jordan was a U.S. Congresswoman. Plus, she was involved in Civil Rights when she went to Texas Southern. But we had eight schools named after Civil Rights leaders, and for Robin Jarvis [initial RSD Superintendent] who didn't see the importance of that kind of history.... So, the national office of Dr. King's organization came in here, and they did a march and put pressure on [Robin Jarvis] to open Dr. King's school.

Also, they have a school named after Dr. Ronald McNair... Well, he died in Challenger. He was the second Black astronaut. I think he was the first African American in this country to get a PhD in Laser Physics ... The school was formerly Robert E. Lee, a slave owner, and we got the name changed to Dr. Ronald McNair. And what they've done is they have put KIPP on the school.... You can be [a student] with race pride going to a school named after somebody who was the first, second astronaut. ... The say he was brilliant. He was classified as a genius. Anyway, and they put "KIPP" [Knowledge is Power Program] on the school, and they don't even recognize Ronald McNair.

We had pride. You ain't got no school pride now. You had to know the Alma Mater; you had to know the history of the person the school was named after, Booker T. Washington. Look at the list I gave to you [from the Louisiana Committee Against Apartheid Press Release]. XXXVI So what I'm saying to you: The deal is that they destroyed history. (C. Galmon, personal communication, May 4, 2016)

Mr. Galmon referred to this as Bantu education where "nothing in education pertains to *your history, your culture or your heritage*" (C. Galmon, personal communication, May 4, 2016). Many schools have systemically erased Black history. Mrs. Jones, told a story about her children's elementary school experience:

They came home one time for Black History Month.... I brought that paper up there, I said: "Who made this list for Black History?" Because you know I'm used to seeing Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, people who paved the way, you know, racism and all this. On that paper, they had Tupac Shakur. They had Ray Charles. They had Beyoncé. What's this Little Wayne? Little Joseph? Whatever his name is? ... And I looked at that, and I told the teacher, I said: "Miss, who gave the children this list for Black History Month?" I said: "Ray Charles was a drug addict. Beyoncé is shaking her ass on the stage. These are not role models for children! And all these people are shooting up drugs, killing one another, pulling guns out at concerts." She said: "Well, I don't know, I didn't make the list!" I told her: "okay." I didn't get mad at her, but I wanted them to know I was aware of what they were giving those children. I said: "I've never seen anything like that in my life." [sigh] (K. Jones, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

Mrs. McCormick explained that Collegiate Academies did nothing for Black History

Month at Carver during the 2016-2017 school year. After persistent pressure, Collegiate

Academies finally afforded her the opportunity to facilitate a Black history event in May. So, she coordinated an assembly with performers and a theatrical production that her daughter produced titled *Black People's Problems* (Fieldnotes, 2017). Yet, the assembly only included freshman, and it was held in the gymnasium rather than its auditorium. Throughout the ceremony, White teachers gave threatening looks to children every time they verbally responded to the production. The principal did not attend, and consistent announcements interrupted the assembly (Fieldnotes, 2017).

Teacher 5, who taught at Cohen prior to Act 35 (2005), noted that the RSD tried to erase any remnants of Cohen's history and traditions (personal communication, January 13, 2017). A White teacher who taught the first year that the RSD operated the school, illustrated a similar point.

Well, the first year—I feel like it's kind of hard to speak about the culture the first year, it was kind of, it was a madhouse in a lot of ways. It was a huge portion the staff was in the same boat as me, like a first-year teacher coming out of TeachNOLA^{xxxvii} or TFA, um, [and] a lot of teachers who weren't really familiar with New Orleans. [Principal 1] was from South Carolina, so she was not familiar with New Orleans schools. So, the teachers didn't know each other. The administration didn't know the teachers. It was suddenly an open-enrollment school, so you had kids from all over the place. None of the kids knew any of the teachers, and vice-versa, so there wasn't really a starting kind of community

there.... It was rough. It was hard. I think it was hard to create any sort of culture, there was just so much disruption, um, lots of fights, lots of very big fights.... I think a lot of first-year teachers just like trying to figure it out as we went, and not really knowing--, and *most* of the teachers, pretty much everyone went back for a second year.... But, it did feel a lot calmer the second year. [Principal 2] was a lot more familiar with the community. (Teacher 3, personal communication, September 6, 2016)

In her response, there did not seem to be recognition that "Walter L. Cohen's" name meant something, or that Walter L. Cohen, himself, was an important figure in the neighborhood and city. Contrary to what Teacher 3 said, many of the students did know each other because many of the upperclassmen had attended Cohen prior to Hurricane Katrina. The majority of Cohen's district did not flood, and some families evacuated only because of the absence of schools (Fieldnotes, 2005).

Barricading children, families and communities.

My grandfather would get us donuts every morning. He would walk us to school sometimes.... And sometimes, I would just walk with my brothers and my cousins. So yeah, it was fun.... This is how it went. So, I'm 30. I have a brother that's 28 and then another brother that went to Carver. He's like 33, or something like that. So, like, we basically were in school around the same time.... And my *parents* would bring me to school sometimes too.... So, like after school, we would walk by my grandparents.... We walked to the house, from school, and we'll be there until I guess my mom get off from work. (Alumnus 1, personal communication, December 30, 2016)

The OPSB and RSD's OneAPP Common Enrollment System has scattered children to unfamiliar neighborhoods and communities. Breaking up neighborhoods and busing children out of neighborhoods severs multi-generational ties. Ernest Charles lives in New Orleans East, and his grandson attended school uptown at KIPP Believe, and now he lives across Lake Pontchartrain in Slidell and attends school there. Therefore, he does not have the opportunity to walk his grandson to school and share the history of their neighborhood, its identity and struggles to the next generation. What does it mean not to have the time together to share stories and prepare the next generation for their life's future challenges. School choice not only severs

intergenerational ties, it buries collective identity, stories of intergenerational struggles, heritage, traditions and culture.

As I noted one early morning in my fieldnotes when Mrs. Cook, Mr. Charles, Mrs. McCormick and I spent early mornings in the former Desire Community documenting "transportation racism." Children from the former Desire Housing Development area were loading buses that went different directions to various parts of the city. These children do not have the option of growing up with others in their neighborhood. We also saw mothers putting children that looked four-year-old on buses at least twice and learned that NOCP has a preschool located uptown in trailers. Since it was before school zones went into effect, and it was still dark, a car could have hit one of these children. Mrs. Cook asked the children waiting for the KIPP bus where they stand when it rains, and they said they stand on people's porches. One mother put three to four kids in her car to drive them to school. Earlier, we saw a van picking up children, which is a form of independent transportation. (Fieldnotes, 2016)

Table 5 lists the names of the schools, their neighborhoods, distance in miles, and the time it would take to travel by public transportation if one left from the site of the former Henderson H. Dunn Elementary in the Desire community at 7:00 a.m. Based on students' uniforms and Mrs. Cook and Mr. Charles' conversations, we noted 16 different schools.

Busing children all over the city, makes it difficult for parents to be involved in the school. Dr. Daryl Kilbert explained:

If I had neighborhood schools, [a family member] could come pick you up and when it's time for PTA meetings: "I live in the neighborhood, I can come, walk back and forth or catch a ride." "If you need me to volunteer, but if I'm coming from *work*—. I live in the East, but the school my child goes to is in Central City, and I catch the bus, you bet your life, I can't get there." You know, or "if I stay in the general neighborhood, I can catch a ride with somebody who may have a car, because I have relationships with people in the community." (personal communication, August 8, 2016)

Table 5

Buses Leaving Desire Parkway

		Travel Distance		Public Transportation
School	Neighborhood	(miles)	Direction	(minutes)
Fannie C. Williams Elementary	New Orleans East	8.3	East	58
Carver Collegiate Academy	New Orleans East	6.3	Northeast	38
McDonogh 35 High	Seventh Ward/St.			
McDollogii 33 Higii	Bernard Area	4.4	West	48
Arthur Ashe Elementary	Gentilly	4.1	Northwest	54
KIPP Renaissance High	Upper Ninth Ward	2.8	South	23
Crescent Leadership Academy	Algiers	10.7	South	68
Arise Academy	Upper Ninth Ward	2.7	South	23
Harney Elementary	Uptown Central City	6.6	Southwest	58
Hoffman Early Learning Center	Uptown Central City	6.9	Southwest	56
McDonogh 42 Elementary	Seventh Ward	3.2	Southwest	36
Algiers Technology Academy	Algiers	13.1	Southeast	96
KIPP Believe College Prep	Uptown Carrollton	8.6	Southwest	73
Coghill Elementary	Gentilly Woods	1.8	North	23
Milestone Academy	Gentilly Woods	1.8	Northwest	24
Walker-Landry High	Algiers Point	10.3	South	82
King High	Lower Ninth Ward	3.7	Southeast	42

Note. May 2016

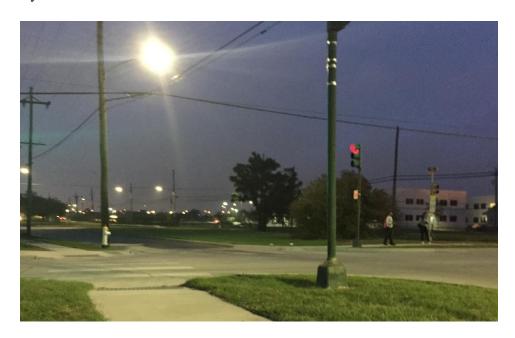


Figure 12. Waiting for the Bus Across from Carver High School at 6:23 a.m. Copyright 2017 Elizabeth K. Jeffers

Even when parents and community members want to be involved, oftentimes, they are barricaded. Brother Rob, who served as Walter L. Cohen's disciplinarian for part of the following year, explained that what he referred to as the "buzzing in" system illustrates that charter schools are fearful of children, parents and communities.

So, now parents who don't have transportation can't really be involved in a school like they would *like to be*, and then, if you try to go to these charter schools, you're not really given access, you know.... But there was a *buzzing* divide. You would press the button, and they would buzz you in. You would state your business, and they would let you in if they *deemed* it was necessary, or if they so desired.... And part of this buzz-in system is that they are scared of the children that they call themselves serving. There's fear. So, they feel they need to be protected from the children and from the community.... So, that was another division and separation from the community and the school and the charter schools.... They are setting up all these *barriers* to keep out, instead of it being an inviting environment. So, everything they are doing is creating a *hostile* climate. (personal communication, October 4, 2016)

Barricades and barriers keep parents and communities out of schools, and thus, prevent information, which may hinder the school's reputation, from leaking out. This is another way to control the narrative. Teacher 4 explained the how the buzz in system impacted the flow of information about what was going on within the school.xxxviii

But that was the one thing that I took note of when I went up there.... We didn't have the code. We had to *announce ourselves* to come in.... Because, you know, *they had* a walkout one day where all of their kids walked off the campus. Of course, we only knew because we were there.... But they always had to call security. *Our security* always had to go upstairs to take care of stuff. Because on record, you know, they didn't have any, but they made it seem like that school functioned, and they did so well without security. (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 29, 2016)

Breaking up the pack.

"Breaking up the pack" (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016) is an in-vivo code that pertains to dividing children within families, communities and neighborhoods. It refers to breaking up neighborhoods and busing children to unfamiliar neighborhoods where teachers and classmates are strangers. Oftentimes, charter schools divide children by ability and create

tiers. Overall, this phenomenon creates a lack of cohesiveness in the community, which in turn leads to a lack of accountability, crime, violence, etc. It breaks intergenerational family ties, traditions and relationships: "now I'm a part of this, so now I'm really confused with where I belong. I'm losing touch with the wolf pack. I'm losing touch with the family and the community" (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016). But, "breaking up the pack" dilutes political power, and as Brother Rob explained: "So now we don't have the power." There are multiple facets to "breaking up the pack."

One Carver alumnus who was working in the Desire Housing Development told me in an interview about a child who had returned to the city after evacuating for Katrina eleven years before. All summer long he had practiced football with Carver. His parents registered him through One App, and they thought that since they lived down the street from Carver, the OneApp would send him there. However, it did not. The OneApp sent him to King High School (Alumnus 2, personal communication, July 29, 2016).

When more than one school occupies a building, each school often has different daily schedules and calendars. Each school may have different entrances, and there is little to no communication between students from different schools. I observed Carver Collegiate students wait on hot buses while the buses at Sci Academy, the CMO's flagship school, unload one at a time. Once the Sci Academy students had all gone into the building, the Carver buses pulled up into the parking lot behind Sci Academy and unloaded children who went into their school, which was located in trailers.

As noted in Claim II, NOCP had additional resources and their part of the building was renovated with fresh paint, while students from Walter L. Cohen remained in the neglected part

of the same building. Students, teachers and administrators noted animosity and tension between the students.

But there was definitely tension, student tension—because like I said, you had juniors and seniors in there with sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth, and I think they only had tenth graders. And so, you're looking at a group of juniors and seniors who have been there since their freshman year, who've known the whole building is theirs.... And so, you are looking at the kids who were just getting there, and saying: "*This is ours*." So, there was absolutely some tension. (G. Lewis, personal communication, November 29, 2016)

Several participants in this study noted that tension came from NOCP teachers and administrators, and it felt like they were telling the students that they were superior to the Walter L. Cohen students.

Another type of division that came up in this study was dividing and separating students according to academic test results. Part of the mis-education, which I will discuss in the following section, is a culture of individualism and competition. For example, Collegiate Academies has a "flagship school," Sci Academy (Marcovitz, 2013, p. 2), and from 2012 to 2016, Carver Collegiate Academies was situated in trailers behind Sci Academy. At the House Education Committee Hearing for *HB 1108: Return of Schools from the RSD to the Transferring Local School System* (2016), former students of Miller McCoy Academy testified.

They separated us within our schools. We had classes that were considered smarter classes because they did well on standardized tests. We also had classes that had the athletes in it. And then you had the students that didn't perform too good on standardized tests, which was people like me, who were pushed out for minor infractions because we weren't needed. We couldn't represent the school, so you didn't need us. (Antonio Travis)

I was on the other side of the fence. I was the tremendous student-athlete, and I was a poster board without me even knowing it for the funds for Miller McCoy Academy. I can remember times when I'd be at a "Saving Our Sons" gala, dressed up to the tee making money for this school that showed no type of security for us as students because I spent four years in an expired FEMA trailer. And to the administration, we were nothing more than dollar signs. We were used as dollar signs. I can remember vivid instances where my brothers and I would be in the same vicinity, but we were not in school, and we're outside making funds for the school. We were in school segregated, but as soon as we got in front of cameras, as soon as we got in front of funders, as soon as we got in

front of fiscal contributors telling Miller McCoy Academy we were "A-class students," all of a sudden. (Jeremiah James)

NSNO (2010) incubated Miller McCoy Academy. Divisions, separations, tiers and individualism contradict the cultures and traditions of historically Black public high schools like Cohen, Washington and Carver. These divisions cause conflict and oftentimes lead to violence.

Annihilation of Black, local, community teachers and administrators.

Annihilation of Black, local educators is a means of annihilating culture, traditions and history. When children have almost all White teachers this creates a disconnect from role models. Mrs. McCormick, and her son, Ngozi, explained why it was important for Black teachers to have the opportunity to teach Black children.

We should be allowed to teach our children ourselves! It re-substantiates us as a people when we can teach our own children.... I don't mean just the parents who are not educated, but there are educated people among us. Like they shouldn't have to go way to New York to send for somebody to run this place here. I don't know why they do that. They do that every year. [They are] always sending for other people to run our system. Really, really, it's just like: "Tell the Indians. Call the White man to show them how to live." You know, let them do their own culture! ... Well, let them allow slavery to return again. That's what it is when you have no voice. That's what it is when you have no way of controlling your own and giving them your input at least on the majority of the ways that we are brought to keep among ourselves. You know, and there are educated people among us. That's why I say: I wonder why the educated ones aren't there? (L. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

At that time, I think it was a bunch of Teach For America students. And a lot of them, from my understanding, were not even education majors. A lot of them were just coming to knock out student loans within *two years* after being a teacher. So, there is really no real attachment, growth between the students and the teachers. The teachers before Katrina, we mainly had community teachers. Teachers who understand not just the children, but you understand the culture of the people. And, you know, *last time I checked*, Christopher Columbus didn't discover America. We were already here. (N. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

Both Mrs. McCormick and Ngozi spoke on importation of White teachers to be a form of colonization: "[T]hey shouldn't have to go way to New York to send from somebody to run this place here... [They are] always sending for other people to run our system. Really, really, it's

just like: 'Tell the Indians. Call the White man to show them how to live.'" Ngozi: "And, you know, *last time I checked*, Christopher Columbus didn't discover America. We were already here."

Of the current educators who participated in this study, all three of the Black men work outside of Orleans Parish. When I interviewed Mr. Lewis, who grew up in Gentilly and graduated from McDonogh 35 High School, he commuted 87 miles to a school in East Baton Rouge Parish. Brother Rob worked in Jefferson Parish across the Mississippi River 17 miles away from his home. Rick St. Amant works in another state through John's Hopkins Diplomas Now program. The RSD surplussed all three of these men from Cohen. Furthermore, Mrs. Robinson, a local, Black female educator, is no longer a teacher.

Table 6 below illustrates the percentage of non-White teachers in historically Black public high schools prior to the creation of the RSD. While Table 8 illustrates teacher demographics ten years later.

Table 6

Teachers at Historically Black Schools, 2002-2003

School	LEA	Percent Minority
Carver Middle School*	OPSB	90.9%
Clark High School	OPSB	90.9%
Cohen High School	OPSB	93.0%
Landry High School	OPSB	91.3%
Lawless High School	OPSB	93.3%
Washington High School	OPSB	85.7%

Source. Data on Carver High and McDonogh 35 were not available. Available: LDOE (2004, pp. 39, 41)

Table 7

Teachers at Historically Black Public High Schools, 2012-2013

School	LEA	Percent Minority
Carver Collegiate Academy	Collegiate Academies	66.7%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Collegiate Academies	22.2%
Carver High School	RSD	60.0%
Cohen High School	RSD	71.4%
Cohen College Preparatory	NOCP	23.7%
Joseph S. Clark Preparatory	FirstLine Schools	44.4%
L.B. Landry High School	RSD	79.2%
McDonogh 35 College Preparatory	OPSB	88.0%

Source. LDOE (2014, pp. 49, 89, 91)

For example, Cohen had 93 % non-White teachers in 2002-2003, ten years later, only 23.7 % were non-White under New Orleans College Prep, and 71.4 % under the RSD direct-run school. Data from Carver High School was not available in 2002-2003, but 90.9 % of the teachers at the school's middle school were non-White. Ten years later, Collegiate Academies had split the school in two, and at Carver Collegiate, where the principal is Black, 66.7 % of the teachers were non-White. However, at Carver Preparatory, where there was a White principal, only 22.2 % of the teachers were non-White. However, at Collegiate Academies' flagship school, Sci Academy, only 16 % of the teachers were non-White (LDOE, 2014b, p. 89). The RSD closed all direct-run schools, which had the highest percentages of minority teachers in the 2012-2013 school year. OPSB recently announced that the only direct-run OPSB high school, McDonogh 35, the school with the highest percentage of minority teachers, will be operated by private operators (OPSB, 2018a, 2018b). All teachers are required to re-apply for their positions (Fieldnotes, 2018).

An example that I wrote about in my fieldnotes about watching the school buses with Mrs. Cook and Mr. Charles explained this phenomenon.

In speaking to three young men from Carver Collegiate Academy, one student said that he had all White teachers in his hallway, except one teacher who was half Puerto Rican and half White. "But we don't have any like Black teachers in my hallway. But I know we have them... We have like about three of them in other hallways," he explained. The young man said that there were no teachers from New Orleans. All the disciplinarians were Black. One of the young men explained: "It's like all the less educational jobs... The teachers are all mostly White. But say, it's for behavior or sports, it's mostly Black." When Mr. Charles asked the young men if they had ever had a seasoned Black teacher, two replied they had one in eighth grade. "I used to have a teacher that would sit down and understand where you are coming from." "We have a janitor that can relate to us. She relates to everybody. Everybody calls her 'Ma' or 'Auntie,' and she relates to everybody." I told them that research said it's important for teachers to relate to their students, and when they do, the students will learn more. They said they had one White teacher who studied their culture, so she could relate to her students. "Some of the teachers tell her she can't talk to us." (Fieldnotes, 2016)

After hearing this, Mrs. Cook and I drove around Carver's parking lot and took note of license plates with Texas, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kansas, Utah, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York, Missouri, and Massachusetts (Fieldnotes, 2016).

With temporary teachers, there is no relationship, or "real attachment," between the teachers and students (N. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016). A former student from Carver explained that a classmate and friend had died when playing a game of Russian roulette: "and none of the teachers came to the funeral. Like the coaches went and stuff, but none of the teachers went to the funeral... No, none of the teachers" (J. Johnson, personal communication, May 27, 2016; Cunningham, 2014). Similar to what Jerrell had explained about how his academic teachers at Carver Collegiate did not care, another young man from Carver told Mr. Charles, Mrs. Cook and me that at one point in the year, he had had a lot of deaths in his family, and his mother had been ill, but the school provided no sympathy or support and "just brushed off what my problem was" when he asked for makeup work. "My mama had an incident where she had passed out, and she had been fainting and stuff like that... I'm thinking about my

mama, and they are telling me my work was due the next day. That night, my work was due, but I'm in the hospital, and you can't bring all that to the hospital with you" (Fieldnotes, 2016).

Mis-education.

At the end of the school year the RSD gave us letters. So, because we didn't know what was going to happen, and that's when John White was over RSD at the time. And so, of course, he came in, and, you know, I guess, to tell us what was going to happen or how it was going to happen. John White was not met with [laughs] kindness at all. It was bad. We had a couple of those, I guess, parent meetings or community meetings in the evening after school. And so, the parents, the teachers and everybody just pretty much roasted him.... And I'll never forget, [laughs] one of the teachers made a statement: "So, basically," he was like "ya'll are trying to de-niggerfy us." (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 29, 2016)

Mis-education (Woodson, 1933) is interdependent with Bantu education. Several aspects of mis-education that surfaced in this study are mind-control; social control; dependence; and absence of education. All aspects of mis-education stem from deficit ideologies.

For example, Carver Collegiate Academy's 2015-2016 Family Handbook provides illustrative examples of mis-education.

Saying thank you. Always say "Thank you" when you are given something or take something. Whether you get a surprising gift or the same worksheet you get every day, there is no excuse for not showing appreciation.

Return The Question. If you are asked a question in conversation, you should ask a question in return. If someone asks, "Did you have a nice weekend?" you should answer the question and then ask a question in return.

Extend the Conversation. When in conversation, scholars should look to extend the conversation. Asking, "Why?" or connecting a personal experience to a response are two easy ways to extend the conversation. Phrases like, "I've never done that before" or "I would really like to do that" are ways for our scholars to cultivate their ability to engage in meaningful conversation. (2015, p. 17)

The handbook then provides sentence stems for students to use in the classroom.

Scholar Talk. First, scholars speak in complete sentences. If a scholar makes a mistake in this, the teacher may acknowledge the comment, then warmly remind with "sentence." Sentences provide clarity, push thinking, and also develop an inner-voice that is useful for all forms of writing.

Second, Scholars should be encouraged to use correct grammar and standard usage/vocabulary all the time. Speaking skills are often the first and most obvious indicators of education. This isn't necessarily fair, but it is true. A teacher will correct non-standard phrases simply by repeating them corrected and expect to hear the scholar repeat them corrected.

Following the "Thank you," a scholar begins his or her sentence with one of the following stems:

a. "I believe that	_ because"			
b. "I agree with	and would like to add		"	
d. "I disagree with	because	**		
e. "I'm struggling with pp. 17-18)	Could you help n	ne by		?" (2015

The rigid rules of self-expression repress creative development of language. Mrs. Jones explained that she had to take her child out of Carver Collegiate because of the anxiety it was creating for him.

And one time, he wouldn't shake their hands or something to get up in the classroom. And that's when they called and told me that they were going to give him a token and let him get a bus, and I told them: "He knows nothing about getting a bus from out of East New Orleans." He was a special-ed child, and he knew nothing about getting no bus." When they got off the bus, and plus, whenever they would change classes, before they could let you go into the classroom, if you didn't shake that teacher's hand outside the door, they would make you stay outside until you were ready to *shake their hands*. (K. Jones, personal communication, November 27, 2016)

Many of these techniques came directly from Lemov's *Teach Like a Champion*: 49 *Techniques That Put Students on the Path to College* (2010). Lemov took field notes during his observations of "highly effective teachers;" however, his sample was skewed because many of the teachers or "champions" come from Uncommon Schools, where he serves as the managing director (p. 5).

Collegiate Academies' application with BESE for a second charter school explained that they will use "Internally designed Professional Development opportunities," and their guiding tools include:

Teach Like a Champion, by Doug Lemov of Uncommon Schools – A text that outlines techniques that have proven to work in the most effective classrooms around the country. Along with the study of this book, teachers will participate in video analysis of each technique. Film clips from high performing schools and teachers are compiled to create a visual reference to the techniques that are studied. Following this, teachers will have extensive practice time to make the techniques part of their long-term memory. (Collegiate Academies, 2011, p. 78)

One of the core components of instruction to be used at the second Collegiate Academies' school: "Proven Instructional Techniques: CA2 will use several strategies from the Taxonomy of Teaching Techniques included in the book *Teach Like a Champion*, by Doug Lemov" (2010, p. 17). Lemov has even visited Sci Academy (Lemov, 2014).

Furthermore, NOCP's charter application for Cohen's building, under their Mission, Vision and Educational Philosophy stated:

While the framework for development will be structured according to the clearly defined objectives as outlined in state standards, teachers will be free to reach those objectives by integrating lessons from several sources and will be strongly encouraged to incorporate lesson plans and curricula from the top-performing urban charter schools in the country, including KIPP, Achievement First, and Uncommon Schools. (2011, p. 9)

The application explains that their curriculum development model is "based on the Curriculum Alignment Templates of Roxbury Preparatory Charter School," located in Boston. Serving "a 100% minority population," in 2006, students at Roxbury Prep outperformed the state's White students on the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment Tests, "thereby closing the racial achievement gap." The co-founder and former CEO of NOCP, Ben Kleban, served as the Interim Director of Development for Roxbury Prep, and therefore, according to the application, he brought knowledge of the "school's successful internal practices," and secured an agreement with the school's administration to "share samples of their materials to serve as a model for New

Orleans College Prep teachers" (2011, p. 17). NOCP's application explained: "Feedback and action planning to address individual teacher weaknesses are based on... best practices by likeminded successful urban schools such as KIPP, Achievement First, and Uncommon Schools" (2011, p. 18). Moreover, their Director of Human Resources taught at KIPP and Uncommon schools, and according to the application, she was "a key asset in the identification, recruitment and selection of high performing teachers across the New Orleans College Prep network for the 2012-2013 school year" (NOCP, 2011, p. 4).

Teacher 2 completed the TNTP program and then trained new teachers, providing insight into the current training of these teachers.

Typically, an alumnus of TNTP's certification program trains the program's teachers. [TNTP] had moved towards, what's the guy's name with all of his different techniques? [Lemov] It got very specific like "Cold Calling." ... You are going to practice "Cold Calling." Like rather than asking for hands like [randomly] calling on people in the class. So, we are going to talk about it. We are going to see videos about it. We are going to talk about those videos. We are going to write about it. We are going to practice it. We are going to practice it, and practice it, and practice it. And when we come into your classrooms, we are looking specifically for "Cold Calling." So, all of his techniques or the ones that were selected for the program are very, very specific. I don't think that it gave the whole view of education. (Teacher 2, personal communication, August 29, 2016)

Cold Call refers to the technique where teachers "call on students regardless of whether they have raised their hands... It's deceptively simple: you ask a question and then call the name of the student you want to answer it" (Lemov, 2010, p. 112). According to a teacher from FirstLine Schools, which is the CMO for Clark High School, FirstLine uses Lemov's books in their professional developments. "[T]here are a lot of books that [FirstLine Schools] teaches from, like, have you ever heard of *Teach Like a Champion*? Then, *Teach Like a Champion 2.0*. I mean it's good. *The Uncommon Teacher*" (Alumnus 1, personal communication, December 30, 2016).

Complete Domination and Control

Complete domination and control is maintained because children, parents and educators have no legal recourse. In *Tankerson v. Vallas* (2010), the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals of Louisiana ruled: "RSD is not a juridical person capable of being sued or suing directly, and the proper party in any claim by or against the RSD is the LDOE."

When I asked Mrs. Jones if her grandson with cerebral palsy had an aid or anyone to assist him during the day while he attended Carver, she replied: "Well, they say it's their school, and they run it the way they want to run it" (personal communication, May 27, 2016).

In his "Open Letter to the Collegiate Academies Community" Ben Marcovitz, CEO of Collegiate Academies, used language of total control.

It is of utmost importance to *us* that *we* are transparent about the events of the last month, *our response plan*, and *our approach* to providing scholars with an exceptional education. While Collegiate Academies respects the right of any citizen to state *their opinions*, *we feel* it is important to articulate *our philosophy* and describe the reality within *our school community*.... Since *our founding*, *our students* have achieved impressive results. [emphasis added] (2013, pp. 1-2)

Marcovitz's use "our school" and "our success" runs counter to what Dr. Kilbert said about building relationships with communities. "We continuously use *plural*, personal pronouns of "our," "we" and "us," as opposed to *singular*, first-personal pronouns: "I," "me" and "my" (D. Kilbert, personal communication, August 8, 2016). While Marcovitz used plural pronouns, the larger community and parents seemed to be outside of "us" and "our founding." The children are passive recipients and objects of possession. Without considering empirical studies on school pushout and suspensions, Marcovitz trivialized suspensions and explained that "our approach" to discipline had been key to the organization's academic success:

Our approach to discipline is a key component in the success of our academic program. It is through a culture of high expectations and profound care and love for our scholars that we implement a system where rewards and praise occur far more frequently than penalties.... Many students get a one-day suspension once a year—a practice that is clarified with parents and supported by the vast majority of our

families.... [Collegiate Academies'] suspension rate as an isolated number does not provide a complete picture of the reality of disciplinary practices at *our schools*...Suspensions are not given lightly or at random. *Our schools* take suspension seriously and communicate extensively with children and their families when it occurs. [emphasis added] (2013, p. 2)

The passive role of students and their families counters the "central role of families" in historically Black high schools. Traditionally, parents, teachers, and administrators often held overlapping roles. Russell Robinson's nine aunts and uncles and his grandfather attended Carver (R. Robinson, personal communication, September 18, 2016). Teacher 4's nephew attended Cohen while she was a teacher (personal communication, December 29, 2016). Unique histories, traditions, and relationships contribute to the enrollment numbers of each historically Black high school. Marcovitz even wrote "our academic program" rather than Carver.

Participants shared experiences that confirmed a similar pattern within other schools in New Orleans. This was particularly the case during the transition from a direct-run RSD school to NOCP. Brother Rob provided a story illustrating how the CMO had total control at Cohen.

Well, I'm going to give you an example of what happened before the school even started. I was in the gym in the weight room, and the P. E. coach for the charter school was in there also. So, I was lifting weights, and he was about to leave. So, he asked me if I would leave the room because he had a meeting. I said: "You can leave the room. I'm going to continue working out." So, he didn't know who I was. We had never had a conversation. We were just in a room sharing the room equipment. So, when he said: "Well, I have to lock the door." I said: "Look, I work at the school. I am employed here. If you want to leave, you can leave." But he felt compelled. He felt that even though I was an employee, I didn't work for the charter school. So, whatever information that they were given, they just were the ones who would run the school and control everything. But granted, I didn't leave the room. But he was under the understanding that we really had no authority.... But, that's what opened my eyes and let me know that these people are, I guess, in charge of this building. So, all he had to do was go to his meeting and come back because I'm an adult, and I'm employed here, right? (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2017)

When, I asked what race the coach was, Brother Rob added that this was White. As Brother Rob stated: "So, whatever information that *they* were given, they just were the ones who would run the school and control everything." This was verified in the RSD/FINNOLA Management

Agreement (2012).^{xl} According to the Management Agreement, NOCP was deemed responsible for "cleaning, routine maintenance, and building operations for the Cohen campus, however, the RSD shall pay a portion of the actual expenses incurred... determined by a mutually agreed upon square footage allocation" (RSD/FINNOLA, 2012, p. 2), which included the right to contract with third-party vendors.

Cohen's auditorium is located on its second floor, which was housing NOCP. So, in order to access the auditorium, RSD would have to request access one week ahead of time, which explains why Cohen was unable to have assemblies. This is a perfect example of splitting into factions, dehumanization and siphoning off resources. It explains what a student from Cohen this year meant when he said: "Because I don't know if they were taking the resources from Cohen and giving them to College Prep. I don't know if that was the case, but it definitely seemed like so, from like coming in the school in the summer for summer [band] rehearsals and seeing desks being taken out of our classrooms and brought upstairs to them" (T. Major, personal communication, November 21, 2016).

However, the most troubling part of the Management Agreement was that the RSD Principal was asked to, seek guidance and support from the NOCP Principal on decisions regarding the school, particularly, but not limited to, the following: Staffing, Student Scheduling, Academic programs and assessments, Student Discipline Policy and Student Handbook, Configuration of extracurricular activities and other services to support student needs.

(RSD/FINNOLA, 2012, p. 7) Seek guidance? What expertise did the NOCP principal have to offer their guidance? This is a double standard in terms of the autonomy Ben Kleban advocated for at the state capitol in support of Senate Bill 432: the "Return of Schools Bill" (Fieldnotes, 2016). This is tying the hands of local, Black leadership. There is total subjugation. The RSD had

already hired a new staff, so they could not blame the past performances on the current staff. It appears like this is something that they will submit for the SIG grant. According to the state certification website, Rahel Wondwossen has never been certified by the state of Louisiana (LDOE, 2011d). Wondwossen's resume was included in the New Orleans College Prep application for Cohen, and she had a New York address. Wondwossen is a TFA alumnus who went through a KIPP Leadership Fellowship program in New York and Columbia's Teacher's College, and she brought no local knowledge or experience working with children or families in New Orleans. While Mr. Lewis, on the other hand, was a highly qualified and certified educator with a Master's Degree in Educational Leadership from University of Holy Cross (LDOE, 2011d).

Clearly, this was an unbalanced power relation, and all power was taken from the local Black administrators and handed to a TFA alumnus who completed a KIPP Leadership Fellowship program in New York. In the agreement, the Principal of Cohen College Prep-High School's obligations to Walter L. Cohen was not equivalent.

Subjection to Experimentation

Another aspect of dehumanization is experimentation. The Carver 5's demands in 2016 presentation stated that they did not want to be treated as laboratory rats (Fieldnotes, 2016). In a heading labelled: "Using RSD as a Research and Development Engine to Drive Innovation," the State of Louisiana's Race to the Top application stated:

Because of RSD's success, Louisiana will document its policies and practices, share those widely with LEAs implementing turnarounds, and use RSD's lessons in negotiating commitments with LEAs under HPSI. In addition, Louisiana will continue to use RSD to test and refine new turnaround strategies, such as the "transformation" and "conversion" models described above, as well as developing and rolling out new approaches to attracting and retaining the best people and expanding the most outstanding school operators. (LDOE, 2010, p. E-9)

In relating this form of dehumanization to the closure of historically Black public high schools, it is important to again consider the Charter Schools Demonstration Program Law. State Representative Joe Bouie, and alumnus of Washington, explained the legislative history behind Senate Bill 432.

In scientific research, there's something called "Protection of Human Subjects." And, obviously, in this research, we are talking about our children. Well, the state has already been sued because it was actually harming our kids with the special needs children. Families fought, protested for three years.... Not until the state was sued. The state... basically admitted: "We were wrong." So, there was no protection for our kids, and you know the horror stories about bussing. ...Right now, we spend 949 million on bussing. Suppose you all decided as a board: "Well, we can do better than that! We can give transportation to our kids, based on what you all decide to do with these charters once they return, based on the ones that are working versus the one's that aren't. You can do this with 10 million dollars or 13 million, as it was prior to. Then, you can put all this other money back into instruction.

And so, basically, what we have is a state sanctioned experiment that is still going on as we speak today. It is still on the books. It is still what is going on in charter schools. ... Governor Jindal actually had Louisiana thinking that charter schools were based on evidence based approaches. Meaning that they work like in other places; they have the evidence to show that certain things that they do actually work. So, this is not anti- or pro-charter. This is: What we were doing in Louisiana was actually experimenting to see if charters would work for us? And so now, the experiment is still really going on. So, if you are saying now that you are going to take all the elements of the experiment, put them into law without any empirical data to say that any of these things work, then obviously that's a major problem. (Bouie, 2016)

Moreover, corps teachers from TFA and teachNOLA have obtained teaching experience *on* Black children, and then they moved on. Overall, there seemed to be very little recognition of the collective damage that this experiment has brought upon Black children and their communities.

Teacher 2 narrated:

And I think that everyone that I taught with that year... there's a really great kinship, I feel like of the teachers—We're all still in touch... and so I just found that that was the most important thing to get us through that first year was to have that kind of camaraderie and that's the kind of thing you can't—How do you teach that? I mean, how do you do that? At this point, you've got a lot more teachers that are staying in their schools, so you are not going to have an entire school made up of first-year teachers. It's not going to happen anymore. So, I feel lucky that we were really thrown into the fire that year because I feel like I'm a much better teacher. I feel like, just like you said: "There's no

situation where I could walk into and say: 'I can't handle this!' " ... and now that we all kind of figured out the classroom management part of it and got through that first year, then we became better teachers because then we could actually focus on teaching... And I think that's reasonable to assume that there probably were very little academics actually going on that first year. I mean, it was, you know—I mean, we all tried. We all taught every day, but as far as comparing that to years later, I mean, you're just not going to be able to manage a school well enough to have kids interested in education when everyone's new; they're pulling the fire alarm every day; kids are flooding out; kids aren't coming; kids are getting shot; kids are getting killed. I mean, it was very, very hectic. (Teacher 2, personal communication, August 29, 2016)

Different than Teacher 1's perspective, which I discussed in claim III, Teacher 2 had an absent appreciation or acknowledgement of the local leadership in the building, and how Principal Al Jones brought in veteran educators who collectively brought a sense of stability: "and now that we all kind of figured out the classroom management part of it and got through that first year, then we became better teachers because then *we could actually focus on teaching*." It was just something the new teachers figured out. Similarly, when Teacher 3 later taught at a school that is predominantly White, she learned from veteran teachers and was sent to intensive workshops.

So, I went, and it just like totally changed the way I thought about science, and I was very excited to totally change the way I taught.... I really wish I'd done that earlier because when I first started, it was just like: "Okay, I'm going to teach science. Like here's the textbook I'm going to use. Like here are the things I'm going to teach the children." I think that's kind of a weakness of any like alternative certification program is, you are learning about teaching, but you are not learning as much as you need about teaching your content.

... [At Cohen], I remember, we were talking about velocity and acceleration, and so we went out onto the field one day, and we marked off 20 - 30 yards, and in five-yard increments, and I had them take turns sprinting and timing each other. So, we went back in the classroom, and we put all the times on the board, and we made like a position versus time graph. And then, we talked about slope, and like, what they were learning in their math class. And so, we took the slope of these points, and said: "Okay, so the slope is the change in position in time," which we now know, we talked about as being the velocity. So then, we graphed velocity over time, and we took that slope, and we made a new graph that was acceleration over time. And so, I told these kids that they had basically just done Calculus, like essentially, they were like integrating into the more complicated measurements, um, and it just like blew their minds that they could like do real math, and these things that on paper seem very unapproachable and unobtainable to them, and I was like: "No, you just did it, and it wasn't that hard!" And they, I mean, they loved it. They were so excited that they could like take data that they had generated, and

like find some meaning in it, [and] find that graphs aren't totally worthless like torture devices they give in math.... So that was a really fun and powerful experience, I think, for them and for me. That was pretty late in the school year. That would have been spring. It was probably one of the few times that first year that I felt like I was like teaching them something. [laughter] And like: "Oh, these kids are learning, and these kids are enjoying science." And like: "This is working!" And it was definitely like, you know, like in the spring when you're considering like "Am I going to do this next year?" It was nice to have that moment then. Like: "Okay, yeah, like I can do this again." So, yeah, that was a really good experience at Cohen the first year. (Teacher 3, personal communication, September 6, 2016)

It is important also to consider what community members have said about this "ideal testing ground," and the "unprecedented infusion of talent has been a driving force in the marked growth in student achievement seen throughout New Orleans" (LDOE, 2010, p. A-46). Brother Rob and Mrs. Hayes, who both lived within the communities where they taught for decades, provided different perspectives. First, Brother Rob questioned why the top schools in the city did not have TFA teachers.

Because you may have your honest, decent Teach For America person. But the majority of your staff cannot be rookie. You have seasoned teachers who *help* them, who show them the way. Who wants that? And like I said, I was reading something somewhere. I'm trying to think where they said Christian Brothers, Jesuit, Mount Carmel, the named the so-called "top schools" in New Orleans. So, if *these* are the top schools, why don't they have Teach For America? So, whatever they had, it's what's working. *So why* is it that we have it, and we're failing and not successful?... We could keep it at Ben Franklin or Lusher. So why are they not going *all over the White America* trying to get these young 19, 20, 22-year-olds to come teach their children? Because they know it's a joke. They wouldn't want them to teach their children.... So, Teach For America is not a formula for success. And they don't have a clue. That's the insane part about it. They have no idea. They think they really know what they're doing. They think they have the answers. (B. Rob, personal communication, October 4, 2016)

"Going all over White America" to recruit young teachers runs counter to the concept of community teachers and community-based administrators as illustrated in claim I.

Cohen's alumni, overall, seemed disconnected from the school when it reopened under the RSD after Hurricane Katrina. Residents of New Orleans were still rebuilding their lives during this time, and from interviews it was apparent that the RSD was not working to rebuild the legacies of historically Black high schools. To many the new teachers, Cohen was a clean slate, and nothing seemed to be here before *we* got here. Regardless, Mrs. Hayes, while in her late 70s, volunteered her time with Cohen students during this time.

We were [at Cohen], and we walked in the room, and I don't know why there was a sofa in that room! One young man has his head on that end of the sofa. One young man had his head on that end of the sofa, and two young men had their head down like this, [imitates with her head down] sleeping, and the young lady was teaching. She was teaching the few that were listening in front of her. And, so what I did was I touched the young man, and I said: "Excuse me, bra!" [laughter] And he stretched, [imitates by stretching her arms out and yawning], and he said: "How are you doing?" And I said, "um," and I introduced myself. "Oh, yeah." Well, also, as I walked around the classroom, there was a young man writing in the very center of the page. "I know that you are so beautiful." Everything went into that square hole... And this child was in a regular education classroom with the rest of the kids. ... The child was over there working through those squares, but the teacher was teaching the group of kids here. One girl was on the phone over here. The guy was texting over here, and so I asked her what they were working with. But it's kind of hard for you to go in that classroom where kids were not focused. This girl was on the phone, and one was doing her nails. That's what was going on. It was her class. I don't know what subject she taught. All I know is it was her class. ... It was sad in that classroom, and I think it was more than just the teachers because I remember security guards came in, the boys were cutting up, and he said: "Hey, you sit down!" Well, he shouldn't have come in and talked to the students. "Oh, yeah, you talk to him." I said [to the teacher]: "If you cannot handle the class, what happened, you let this man come in and do it. Well, the kids are going to do what they are going to do. They know you are going to do anything about it." (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, October 16, 2016)

Erasure: Creating Criminals and Disappearing Children

Economic subjugation, dehumanization and disconnection from one's family, traditions, heritage and culture have drastic consequences, which Fanon discussed in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Larry Smith noted a scene he witnessed in the 1970's.

And we were coming out of a concert at the Municipal Auditorium, right there on Rampart Street. And everybody's coming out, and the guy stepped on another guy's shoe. Ten thousand people were coming out of the concert, right, and he got upset. He pulled out a straight razor and told the guy that stepped on his foot that he was going to cut him from his head to his toe. And the guy told, I don't know if it was his wife, his date or whatever, she had him by the arm, he told her, he said: "Get on the side, baby." And the guy came at him with that knife like that had a razor like that, and he pulled out a 22, and hit him: "pow!" He fell on the ground, and he emptied it on him, killed him dead right there. The guy had apologized for stepping on his shoe, but he didn't want to hear that. It

didn't make sense. Get your shoe and stop somewhere and get it polished for a few nickels, or shine it tomorrow, you understand, but you don't kill nobody for that. You don't kill nobody for that. I mean that's just insane. I understand, it's the condition that they're living under. You understand, like what Frantz Fanon talked about. That's why that book is so important! (L. M. Smith, personal communication, November 27, 2016)

Increasingly so, according to shared experiences and quantitative data, the closure of historically Black public high schools and two decades of experimentation has worked to "create criminals." As Mr. Smith stated: "it's the condition that they're living under." According to my findings, this is a result of Bantu education, "breaking up the pack," not meeting students' academic and social needs, etc. "Creating criminals" is an in-vivo code that I used throughout this study.

Parents and students provided additional insight about Collegiate Academies' approach to discipline. Mrs. Jones explained that at Carver under Collegiate Academies: "They used to suspend a lot of children, and have the children—and then, they didn't even call the parents. The children would go sit in library or Joe Brown Park... To me, it was just like they were aggravating the children" (K. Jones, personal communication, November 27, 2016). Jerrell Johnson explained:

You couldn't put your hand on your head while you were doing your work to play with your hair. You had to walk on lines. You couldn't talk at all or get with [other students]. We barely did group work; everything was individual. And we'd get suspended for every little thing. ... You get lunch detention for homework, and if you miss that, you'd get suspended. ... You had to walk on lines, and if you step on a line multiple times, like you had to be directly in the lines, you'll get in trouble if you step on a line. Like you couldn't step on it at all. Then, the way you had to make a [turn]: They had something called "sharp turns" where you had to make a turn perfect too, like through the lines.... Oh, and if you talk in after-school detention or do anything like just break one rule in after school detention, you get suspended. Oh, and like if you weren't reading or anything, you'll get suspended for that too. Like, because in after-school detention, you had to take out a book or do some homework or something, and if you wouldn't, you'd get suspended...

The teachers—they pretty much had to follow the principal's rules, or they would say it's not their rules. They taught, they were just strict with everything. You couldn't have your hand on the desk. Like your hand has to be off the desk... unless you are writing. You have to like sit up perfectly straight. You would have to raise [your hand] for everything.

If you had to use the bathroom, you had to do this [crosses fingers]. They never really let you go to the bathroom. Like, they say "you go during lunch or something during your free time, unless [it was] like a real, real emergency." But most of the time, they weren't letting you go. (J. Johnson, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

Jerrell participated in the student walkout during the 2013-2014 school year, which was his freshman year in high school; subsequently his parents withdrew him from Carver and enrolled him in a home school called "Liberation Academy." Mrs. Jones' two grandchildren attended Carver Collegiate Academy during that year as well, and she was one of the parents who participated in picketing the school when students walked out in response to harsh discipline practices (K. Jones, personal communication, November 27, 2016). An alumnus of Carver, who has been involved in the school over the year, recalled how teachers at Carver criminalized children several years later. A student took a picture of her mathematics' classroom when the teacher had typed a derogatory and stereotypical comment and projected it onto the classroom white board with the daily "Do Now":

What happened was the kids came back from a holiday, from Mardi Gras, and a teacher put on the board, when they came back, they looked on the board, and it said: "Welcome back, Hooligans!" The children were like dumbfounded. "Damn, this is what this guy thinks about us?" So, we brought it to the school and said, you know: "The kids sent it out to us. Look at this. This is what they think of us." We brought it to the Principal... and we brought it to [the RSD Superintendent], and nobody has done a thing about it... We told A Hundred Black Men... Everybody said they are going to look into it, and nobody said a damn thing. I showed it to what's her name too, from the Urban League [of Greater New Orleans] ... Our children are out there by themselves, and that's what I'm saying: We are going to have to pay for all that. (E. Charles, personal communication, July 15, 2016)

Data from the DOE's Office for Civil Rights supported what participants in this study said. Table A.4 shows that Collegiate Academies suspended 56% of their female students without disabilities at Carver Collegiate more than once, and 35% at Carver Preparatory. They suspended 47% of their male students without disabilities at Carver Collegiate more than once, and 40 % at

Carver Preparatory. Even though there were Asian, Hispanic and White students at the school, Collegiate Academies only suspended Black students.

Collegiate Academies' record with discipling students with disabilities has been in violation of federal law. After a settlement between the LDOE and the Southern Poverty Law Center (*P.B. v. White*, 2015), Collegiate Academies was found out of compliance with free and appropriate public education requirements under the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act (IDEA, 2004). In 2015, the LDOE cited Collegiate Academies for suspending a child with special needs for nearly five weeks, which was far more than the maximum ten days allowed by the Individuals with Disabilities Act (Jewson, 2016).

Yet, since suspensions were so high at Collegiate Academies' school, the highest rate in the city, Collegiate Academies took another approach in 2014-2015 school year. This was after the Southern Poverty Law Center's lawsuit, a Civil Rights complaint, a student walk-out and multiple media releases. CARE, which on the company refers to: "a network-wide pilot program focusing on non-traditional discipline structures that encourage all scholars to attend school, and that directly increase academic results, attendance, and student stability rates" (Collegiate Academies, n.d.a). Students, parents and community members refer to the CARE program as "The RC Room" and noted that there was nothing restorative about the "RC Room." "That's the room they made instead of suspensions. Instead of sending them home, they have this room where they go and sit for hours in front of the, in front of the blank wall, in the cubicle," explained Labertha McCormick, whose grandson recently graduated from Carver Collegiate Academy. In the epigraph below, Mrs. McCormick repeatedly stated that there was no teaching going on in this room.

Well I asked them, could you study in there? They said: "Yeah, you can study." They could study, but there was no teaching and no questioning. They don't have any

instructions. There is no teaching, no teaching going on. I don't know the reason why if they bring something that they are interested in, or if they bring something in there to study, you know what I mean? Can they bring something to study? ... It [is] overcrowded. There should be some teaching. All those hours, there should be *some teaching* taking place. Because I know that those children—those children are tested enough. They do more testing than teaching. (L. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016)

When the students from Carver led a tour around the school, Mrs. McCormick asked Carver's Director of Restorative Practices, a local African American man, who was monitoring the "RC Room." We could not see inside because a blue piece of bulletin board paper covered the window (Fieldnotes, 2016). However, one student sent alumni a picture where every student faced the wall in separate cubicles.

One of the young people explained that they have kids in there, but there is no teaching going on. She said you have a thick packet that you have to complete; you have to be at "Level Zero" and sit in a cubicle. In the picture, there is a notice on the wall that says: "If you walk-out of the RC Room, you get suspended and you have to come back with a parent conference, and you still have to serve you your 'RC Days." According to the students who provided the tour: "In the packet, you are required to admit your wrongs in the packet, and you have to apologize to the teacher face-to-face and write an extensive apology letter." Mrs. McCormick asked if you can study, and they said you can, but to get out you have to be in there like four periods. Sometimes, you have to be in there for days. The disciplinarian ... was a Black man from New Orleans. He said that there were 5 cubicles now. However, when the employee asked how many there were before the kids raised the issue, and he said 14. She responded that there were 30. [The disciplinarian] stated that they were "used for scholars who need a reset, but it is not as a consequence..."

You could go in there early in the morning, and if you don't fill out the packet, you would stay in there all day, unless the teacher came in to talk to you and lets you out. The person in the RC Room would try to help them, but sometimes they couldn't. The principal, everyone would come talk to them when they were in there for sometimes hours. In the RC Room "You have to agree with them before you can go back to class." So, you basically incriminate yourself. Students had told us that even if you don't agree, you have to agree with them. The tenth grader said the teacher is always right. "You are going to stay in there until they believe that what you wrote in there is what they believe." "It's we're wrong, and they're always right." "They tell you what you are doing is disrespectful, but how am I being disrespectful if I'm trying to give you... what I'm doing and why I'm acting the way I'm acting?" (Fieldnotes, 2016)

Collegiate Academies' Dean of Discipline directs their restorative practices program, and in an advertisement for this position, under qualifications, the organization includes no certification or educational requirements. The job announcement simply states:

Desire to work at a college-prep high school rebuilding urban education in the city of New Orleans. Desire to grow as a professional and person. Deep belief that all scholars, regardless of their backgrounds and educational pasts, have the potential to succeed in college and beyond, and that it is the responsibility of schools to help scholars realize that potential. (Collegiate Academies, n.d.b)

Then it no mention of certification or educational background (Collegiate Academies, n.d.a). Carver's Director of the Restorative Practices holds no educator credentials, xli and just as McCormick observed: "there was no teaching and no questioning if there is anything they are trying to learn" (L. McCormick, personal communication, May 27, 2016).

In the meantime, school dropout rates and incarceration rates are increasing for Black males in the city of New Orleans. Louisiana is the world's prison capital. According to the Department of Justice's Bureau of Statistics, in 2013, the state of Louisiana had 847 prisoners for every 100,000 residents (Carson, 2014). Coming in second, Mississippi had a rate of 692 prisoners per 100,000 residents (Carson, 2014). The United States has an average of 478 prisoners for every 100,000 residents (Carson, 2014). In 2011, 73 % of incarcerated youth were Black, while only 24% were White (Sickmund, Sladky, Kang & Puzzanchera, 2015).

Preliminary data illustrated that during the decade prior to the takeover of New Orleans Public Schools, the percentage of homicides that were committed by offenders under the age of 24 in Louisiana were below the national average (Puzzanchera, Chamberlin & Kang, 2017). Beginning in 2006, this trend began to change (Puzzanchera, Chamberlin & Kang, 2017). The year that the RSD took over 102 public schools in New Orleans, youth ages twelve through seventeen made up 17.2 % of the identified homicide offenders in the state of Louisiana, while

across the country, they only made up 10.4%. This percentage has dropped to 10.9 in the state of Louisiana and seven nationwide.

In addition, there have been multiple racketeering state and federal convictions against young, Black men in New Orleans (Daley, 2015a, 2015b, 2017; Maggi, 2010; Martin, 2013; McKnight 2017; Vargas, 2013). Multiple agencies, the U.S. Attorney's Office, the FBI, the ATF, the DEA, state and local police and the local district attorney, worked together to indict seven alleged gangs in one year alone (Martin, 2013). According to a 20-count indictment, the alleged "Ride or Die" gang began operation in about 2007 (*USA v. Jones*, 2013, 5:7). Another alleged gang of 20 through 22 years-old men were indicted on guns, drugs and murder that began in 2007 (Simerman, 2014, 2015).

Mrs. Hayes, who taught in the elementary school in her neighborhood for 27 years, provided a narrative on what happens to children who are not in supportive educational environments.

I feel the guys that stood on the corner of my house, my neighborhood, were very smart young men! If these young men can come to some decision as to how to make signals. I told them all this, [and] they laughed.

I said, "I know they're not that noticeable." I said: "But if you can do that, because you all have to measure that stuff that you all sell, uh, if you know how to allude to police, or whatever you do, *you're not dumb!*" *Somewhere* along the way, *somebody* got to you and told you what your worth was, *and it wasn't positive*.

I was a tutor at Crocker Elementary. ... And I would see some of them—The ones I told you I passed on the corner. Some of them were from that school. I loved them. I did. And you *cannot talk to people* and put on airs—Those guys were like, you would say babies. If you don't love a baby and say: "Oh, dear, you're so cute!" That baby can feel that you're not true. So, these guys are like that. I talked to Terrance [pseudonym]. Terrance was not a dumb child. But there were entities that I thought were negative--that gave him—They weren't very fair and honest, you know, sometimes people are not fair with kids. Hhh, I don't know. You see, [laughs] and some people knew I would talk to these kids. Oh, God—*People don't understand when you say that!* ... *And many of them were* [worth much more]! But it was maybe the people that worked there. See, I guess, I was like my mother... Mother saw good in people. And you got to look because everybody

has some good in them. But *these kids* had a lot of *good—In them*. (E. D. Hayes, personal communication, December 8, 2016)

Mrs. Hayes was able to see the beauty in the children, and they knew that she respected them as human beings. She spoke about the relationship between what was lacking in the schools and what was happening on the corner of her block. xliii

The Juvenile Justice System in the State of Louisiana houses many children from Orleans Parish. The Office of Juvenile Justice's operates educational facilities: Riverside Alternative High School, which is located within Bridge City Center for Youth's Riverside Alternative High School in Jefferson Parish, a suburb of Orleans Parish; and Southside Alternative High School, which is located in Swanson Center for Youth in Monroe. While it may appear that there are less children incarcerated, Table 8 shows that there were also 62 students in the Youth Study Center, a juvenile detention center that the OPSB operates, in the Spring of 2017. Since the facility houses 40 individual beds, the facility was overcrowded (McDonnel Construction Services, n.d.).

Office of Juvenile Justice Average Daily Membership

CCC	Orleans Parish	State of Louisiana
2008-2009	49.4	384.2
2009-2010	50.8	361.5
2010-2011	35	330.3
2011-2012	33.2	310.7
2012-2013	35.6	337.7
2013-2014	33.8	285.7
2014-2015*		
2015-2016	18.9	288.6

Source. LDOE. (n.d).

^{*} In accordance with La. Revised Statute 17:3914 (Act 837 of 2014), personally identifiable information or information that makes a student's identity easily traceable is not shared publicly.

As illustrated in Table 9, across the state of Louisiana, there are 17 minors housed in adult correctional facilities. It is unclear how many of these children are from Orleans Parish.

Table 9

Children Housed in Adult Correctional Facilities in the State of Louisiana, February 2017

LEA Name	Site Name	No.	Female	Male	Black	White
Special School	David Wade	4	0	4	2	2
District	Correctional Center	2	0	2	2	0
Special School	Louisiana	1	1	0	1	0
District	Penitentiary	4	0	4	4	0
District	Institute	2	0	2	2	0
District	Correctional	1	0	1	1	0
District	Correctional Center	2	0	2	2	0
District	Center	1	0	1	1	0

Note. Louisiana Believes. (n.d.). Enrollment Counts. Feb. 2017 Multi stats (Total by Site and LEA.) Retrieved from http://www.louisianabelieves.com/resources/library/enrollment-counts

Related to the creation of criminals, when looking at Minimum Foundation Program's (MFP) enrollment changes from October to February, numbers do not seem disparate at face value, but in examining the enrollment by specific subgroups, loss of students becomes apparent. From MFP reports of high schools in Orleans Parish, I have calculated changes in total enrollment: change in enrollment by language proficiency (Table 10); change in enrollment by gender (Table 11); and change in enrollment by race (Table 12). As noted in Table 10, several schools with students were fully proficient in English gained students with Limited English Proficiency (LEP) from October 1 to February 1. For example, Clark Preparatory lost 42 students who were fully proficient, but they gained 27 LEP students. Whereas, Table 12 illustrates that some schools lost Black students but gained Hispanic and/or White students. For example, Cohen College Prep lost 24 Black students but gained 21 Hispanic students. During the 2016-

2017 school year, the year before the School Board transferred McMain to a charter school, they lost 33 students.

Table 10

Change in Enrollment Numbers by Language Proficiency, October 2016 to February 2017

School	Oct-16	Feb-17	Total Change	Change in Fully Proficient	Change in Limited English Proficient
Algiers Technology Academy	200	185	-15	-12	-3
Benjamin Franklin High	945	932	-13	-13	0
Crescent Leadership Academy	79	86	7	7	0
Sci/Tech	986	938	-48	-48	0
Edna Karr High	1095	1094	-1	0	-1
Einstein Charter High School at Reed	78	83	5	1	4
Eleanor McMain Secondary**	849	816	-33	-32	-1
G. W. Carver Collegiate Academy	769	754	-15	-14	-1
International High School	567	569	2	4	-2
Joseph S. Clark Preparatory High	213	201	-12	-12	13
KIPP Booker T. Washington High	106	113	7	4	3
KIPP Renaissance High	490	497	7	3	4
L. B. Landry-O. P. Walker High	1197	1166	-31	-32	1
Lake Area New Tech Early College	775	758	-17	-18	1
Lusher Charter***	1738	1732	-6	-5	-1
McDonogh #35 College Preparatory	838	840	2	3	-1
N.O. Charter Science and Mathematics	453	448	-5	-7	2
N.O. Military & Maritime Academy	744	741	-3	-8	5
ReNEW Accelerated High School	337	251	-86	-85	-1
S. B. Wright Institute of Academic Excellence*	464	494	30	9	21
Sci Academy	560	558	-2	-1	-1
NET Charter High	167	164	-3	-4	1
Walter L. Cohen College Prep	415	418	3	-22	25
Warren Easton Senior High	1005	1001	-4	-3	-1
Youth Study Center**	67	62	-5	-5	0
Note . * 8th - 12th, ** 7th-12th, *** K-12th					

Source. LDOE (2016b, 2017a)

Table 11

Change in Enrollment by Gender, October 2016 to February 2017

	0 . 16	E 1 15	Total	Female	Male
School		Feb-17	Change		
McDonogh #35 College Preparatory	838	840	2	-6	
Eleanor McMain Secondary**	849	816	-33	-19	-14
N.O. Charter Science and Mathematics	453	448	-5	-4	-1
Einstein Charter High School at Reed	78	83	5	4	1
Warren Easton Senior High	1005	1001	-4	-4	0
Benjamin Franklin High	945	932	-13	-4	-9
Edna Karr High	1095	1094	-1	-1	0
Lusher Charter***	1738	1732	-6	-7	1
Youth Study Center**	67	62	-5	-1	-4
Joseph S. Clark Preparatory High	213	201	-12	-5	-7
L.B. Landry-O.P. Walker	1197	1166	-31	-1	-30
Algiers Technology Academy	200	185	-15	-4	-11
Dr. MLK Charter School for Sci/Tech***	986	938	-48	-17	-31
Excellence*	464	494	30	18	12
KIPP Renaissance High	490	497	7	1	6
Sci Academy	560	558	-2	-2	0
G. W. Carver Collegiate Academy	769	754	-15	-7	-8
Walter L. Cohen College Prep	415	418	3	3	0
ReNEW Accelerated High School	337	251	-86	-45	-41
NET Charter High School	167	164	-3	2	-5
Crescent Leadership Academy*	79	86	7	3	4
KIPP Booker T. Washington High	106	113	7	0	7
International High School	567	569	2	3	-1
N.O. Military & Maritime Academy	744	741	-3	-8	5
Lake Area New Tech Early College High	775	758	-17	-12	-5
Note . * 8th - 12th, ** 7th-12th, *** K-12th					

Source. LDOE (2016b, 2017a)

Table 12

Change in Enrollment Numbers by Race, October 2016 to February 2017

School	Am. Indian	Asian	Rlack	Hispanic	Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	White	Multiple Races	Total Change	Real Loss
Algiers Technology Academy	0	0	-8	0	-4	-1	-2	-15	-15
Benjamin Franklin High	-1	0	-4	-2	0	-5	-1	-13	-13
Crescent Leadership Academy*	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	7	N/A
Dr. MLK Charter School***	0	0	-46	-2	0	0	0	-48	-48
Edna Karr High	0	0	-2	1	0	0	0	-1	-2
Einstein Charter High School at Reed	0	-1	2	4	0	0	0	5	N/A
Eleanor McMain Secondary**	0	-2	-31	0	0	0	0	-33	-33
G. W. Carver Collegiate Academy	0	0	-14	4	0	-5	0	-15	-19
International High School	0	0	4	-3	0	1	0	2	-3
Joseph S. Clark Preparatory	0	0	-12	0	0	0	0	-12	-12
KIPP Booker T. Washington High	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	7	N/A
KIPP Renaissance High	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	7	7
L.B. Landry-O.P. Walker High	0	0	-31	0	0	0	0	-31	-31
Lake Area New Tech Early College	-1	0	-20	3	0	1	0	-17	-17
Lusher Charter School***	0	-1	-1	1	0	-2	-3	-6	-7
McDonogh #35 College Preparatory	0	-1	1	2	0	0	0	2	-1
N.O. Charter Science and Mathematics	0	0	-4	1	0	-1	-1	-5	-6
N.O. Military & Maritime Academy	0	0	-4	1	0	0	-1	-3	-8
ReNEW Accelerated High School	0	0	-82	-2	0	-2	0	-86	N/A
S.B. Wright Institute of Academic									
Excellence*	0	1	15	14	0	0	0	30	N/A
Sci Academy	0	0	-2	1	-1	0	0	-2	-5
The NET Charter High School	0	0	-3	1	0	-1	0	-3	-4
Walter L. Cohen College Prep	0	0	-21	24	0	0	0	3	-21
Warren Easton Senior High	0	1	-3	-2	0	0	0	-4	-5
Youth Study Center**	0	0	-6	0	1	0	0	-5	-6
Note . * 8th - 12th, ** 7th-12th, *** K-1	2th								

Source. LDOE (2016b, 2017a)

Conclusion

My introductory claim on historically Black public high schools being integral to the communities in which they were located, and the participants' testimonies on community-based administrators, community teachers, and the central role of families provide background for understanding the larger sociohistorical and sociocultural implications discussed in this claim.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this inquiry was to explore various perspectives on what happened to historically Black public high schools in New Orleans and to learn about the experiences of those who lived through these changes. As a witness to the settler's usurpation of public education and attempted erasure of Black, local history in New Orleans, I provided testimonies that honor this heritage. Furthermore, I offered transparency about my positionality, theoretical framework and methodological approach. My anti-colonial framework helped me to develop my methodology, and this in turn influenced my findings and interpretations. However, a researcher with a different positionality, theoretical framework and/or methodological approach may create an altogether different study.

This study presented historical context and participants' *testimonios* on the closure of historically Black public high schools in New Orleans. This work is the first written document to present *testimonies* on the closure of historical Black high schools in New Orleans. In this chapter, I provide a discussion and analysis of the results of this study in light of existing knowledge. Based on the results of this study, I provide recommendations for action and additional studies.

Policy Issues and School Closures

Framing school closures historically allows us to understand how the past repeats itself in the closure of historically Black public schools in New Orleans. While post-Katrina reforms have been an important aspect of recent closures of historically Black public schools, without considering what had taken place before the disaster, we limit our understandings. As Woods (2017) showed: "the political and economic dynamics that preceded Hurricane Katrina were directly responsible for the disaster before the disaster" (p. 217). The closure of historically

Black public high schools needs to be considered in light of teacher strikes, desegregation, accountability and legislation prior to Louisiana's Act 35 (2005). As discussed in claim II, we should consider how the seizure of public schools in New Orleans and the closure of historically Black public schools has been a response to Black community organizing. With this understanding, we may shape capacity for a truly transformative future.

While historically Black public schools were strategically neglected and deprived of resources, they served as strongholds in Black communities. While the destruction of these institutions began in New Orleans with the desegregation of teachers, these community-based schools retained an all-Black student enrollment and a predominantly Black teaching and administrative staff. Prior to the expansion of the RSD, administrators, teachers, parents and students were members of communities not much different than what was found prior to desegregation (Morris, 1999) For example, Alumnus 1 spoke on how her elementary school principal currently lives across the street from her family's home (personal communication, March 3, 2017). Her mother graduated from Carver, as did her cousins, aunts and brothers, and some of her mother's teachers taught her in elementary school (personal communication, December 30, 2016). One difference, however, was the divisions that magnet schools or citywide access schools had begun to create.

Regarding his teachers in the 1950s, Mr. Smith explained: "The care, and the respect that the teachers displayed, and they really—I mean, there was just love all around, you know, and you couldn't help but respect the teachers because they cared for you like you were their sons and daughters" (personal communication, November 27, 2016).

These teachers were so important before the storm. You know why? They didn't just teach the children; they showed up at their games. The Principal showed up at the NORD games. And they talked to us, but that meant the world to the kids that they are

teaching. They couldn't stop looking! They couldn't stop looking! "Noonie, look! My teacher is here!" (B. Batiste, personal communication, June 29, 2016)

Studies have shown how Black teachers prepare Black students to resist racism (Foster, 1991, 1993). Irvine (1989) showed students who identified teachers as mentors who helped them to navigate the school culture.

Some of the second-generation discrimination problems that surfaced across the country during desegregation, have surfaced in New Orleans as a result dismantling of historically Black schools. Education researchers have provided sufficient documentation to illustrate how race and culture play important roles in influencing teachers' pedagogy (Delpit, 2013; Foster, 1993, 1997; Irvine, 1991; King, 2012; Lee, 2006; McCollum, 1989; Murrell, 1997, 2001; Walker, 1996). Ultimately a consequence of disconnecting children from role models, community and knowledge of self and the importation of White teachers has resulted in an increase in discipline referrals and crime and violence. Criminalization is the result of a fragmented community and a "No Excuses" approach to discipline. Black male educators and mentors motivate children to see what they can become. On the other hand, as I illustrated in my first claim, all this is in stark comparison to the intergenerational teachers and administrators in historically Black public high schools like Darryl Kilbert, who served in various capacities at a feeder junior high and a feeder elementary prior to becoming principal at Washington High School, as well as his predecessor, Lawrence D. Crocker.

This study's findings support a need for a completely different system of education: one that is based on community teachers, community-based administrators and schools that are embedded within their neighborhoods. Research from this study expands the concept of community teachers and knowledge about Black education. Oral history interviews and archival data illustrated that community-based administrators and community teachers incorporated the

culture and history of New Orleans and Black people into the school, classrooms and curriculums. This history can be traced back to the "Couvant School" where "All teachers were of the Black race; thus, they were able to develop sympathetic relationships with the children in their care. The pupils received a well-rounded education, intellectually, morally, physically, and spiritually" (Desdunes, 1973/2001, p. 104). Murrell explained more than fifteen years ago:

The community teacher is aware of and when necessary, actively researches the knowledge traditions of the cultures of the children, families, and communities he or she serves. The community teacher enacts those knowledge traditions as a means of making meaningful connections for and with children and their families. (2001, p. 54).

Similar to the concept of community teachers, King and Swartz (2016) found that even though White philanthropists employed the Jeanes teachers, these teachers were committed to educational freedom, collective consciousness and collective responsibility. As Brother Rob explained in his interview, he continues to employ this African worldview in his classroom (personal communication, October 4, 2016). Jeanes teachers employed concepts like ubuntu, which were reclamations of Black cultural heritage (King & Swartz, 2016). As illustrated through claim I, participants in this study and archival data confirmed that teachers in historically Black public high schools in New Orleans have been community based Black educators that incorporated heritage knowledge and collective struggle.

To build a transformative system, policy makers and educational leaders should consult historical documents and oral histories from those who are a part of a powerful and transformative history of Black education. Yet, instead of building community schools and supporting community teachers that are rooted in communities and collective struggle, reforms in New Orleans have focused solely on quantitative data and looked to national recruitment of CMOs, teachers and administrators as solutions. As CREDO explained: "NSNO leveraged its

prior contracts with a range of talent providers... each of which agreed to offer talent recruitment support to bring new actors to New Orleans to help open schools" (CREDO, 2016, p. 34).

Educational reform policies based on deficit ideologies are not a new phenomenon in New Orleans. The Report of the Visiting Committee on the Evaluation of Walter L. Cohen (1955) stated:

It is the feeling of the Committee that the course offerings in mathematics adequately meet the needs of the pupils. However, there is a need for more extensive provision for the less gifted pupil. This needs to be recognized by the faculty. While there is evidence that pupils are being taught to think critically, it is felt that a more functional approach could be used in the classroom. (p. 4)

However, youth who publicly testified at forums and others who participated in this study illustrate that they are prepared to fight for their education and the education of their peers. From the Fyre Youth Squad members who held press conferences on the front steps of John McDonogh High School and testified at a BESE meeting in 2007, to the Walter L. Cohen students who walked out in mass after the firing of their teachers and administrators in 2012, to the George Washington Carver and Joseph S. Clark students who walked out in mass in 2013, to the "Carver 5" in 2016, all of these students from historically Black public high schools demanded their rights to a public education that would service their needs as Black children growing up in New Orleans. The voices of Black children, like Aisjah Hicks demanded that their academic needs as well as social needs to be met within schools: "People frown upon us for being ignorant and not having an education, but when we sit here in school, and we try to get our education, these teachers don't teach us because they don't *want* to. They want the money and only that" (Perry, 2017).

CMO applications for the operation of historically Black public high schools consistently referenced deficit-orientated literature. Thernstrom and Thernstrom's *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning* (2004) asserted: "Black culture, we argue, has much to do with the racial

gap in academic achievement... [but] Black children can be 'pushed, cajoled, praised, and punished into high achievement'" (pp. 120-121). While Carter's (2000) *No Excuses: Lessons from 21 High-Performing, High-Poverty Schools* stated that effective principals "scour the country for the best teachers they can find and design their curriculum around the unique strengths and expertise of their staff" (p. 9). Reports such as these have influenced current school cultures in New Orleans.

Studies on school closure have failed to consider relationships between school closures and school pushout, surveillance, incarceration and death (Bross et al., 2016; de la Torre & Gwynn, 2009; Engberg et al., 2012). Research has demonstrated that student mobility is counterproductive to learning and academic achievement (Engec, 2006; Kerbow et al., 2003; Smith et al., 2008). Researchers and educators need to investigate where these students are going and what their reasons are for withdrawing. Which schools are losing students and where are students going? Why did they leave? We should also consider how these manifestations are related to surveillance and incarceration of Black children. For example, NOPD contracted with Palentir Technologies, a data mining firm, for their predictive policing services, which led to racial profiling and incarceration of Black youth, many of whom were students in these schools under the state-run RSD (Fieldnotes, 2013; Stroud, 2016; Winston, 2018).

Almost all of this study's research participants discussed aspects of criminalization and school pushout. Three participants shared a story about one of the students who participated in the 2012 walkout at Cohen, Jasilas Wright.

I remember the little girl whose body that they found interstate in Metairie. ... That was my baby. And, I still actually have her old cell phone number in my phone... because I used to bring her home. I really think she jumped out that car. ... I—I got to find my old phone. 'Cause I still had her name and her picture still in my phone. I had her number; her mom's number.

... And she used to date my nephew. My nephew graduated from Cohen.... Jasilas went to John McDonogh after the year the Cohen students walked-out. Because I remember I was still in contact with her then, and she just had some issues... and then [the teachers that have given you the support] leave, and then those people leave, and then back to square one. Because Jasilas was one that I started bringing her home in the evenings because she wanted to stay on the dance team, but she didn't have a ride home. And so I told [her mother]: "I'll bring her home... [because] that's on my way." ... So, that's how I got to become closer with her and the family. Because whenever like something happened, and her mom couldn't get to the school. I remember [that] she got put out of her English class, and she was like: "Just tell her you're my auntie." She used to call me "auntie" because she used to date my nephew. So, I called [her mom], and I was like "XX, you want me to?" And she was like: "yeah." So, I had to get permission from her mom to go to talk [to the teacher], so she could get back into class. I was like: "Look, they really are having some serious issues right now."... And so, that's why having someone you can confide in means so much to those kids. And when you take that away from them, they're not left with much. They don't have what you have in your house. They *don't*. (Teacher 4, personal communication, December 29, 2016)

After being kidnapped, Jasilas jumped from a vehicle on the interstate, and the coroner stated that she died of "blunt force trauma" (Vargas, 2015). Jefferson Parish courts sentenced Adam Littleton of second-degree murder (Sanchez, 2015). Tragedies that have occurred after children and young adults have experienced one or more school closure, should be considered as sociohistorical and sociocultural manifestations of school closures. School closures are a manifestation of enclosure (Woods, 1992).

Assumptions & Limitations

The results are situated in time and place, and they are inherently subjective in nature. This means that this study may not be generalizable to another setting. While school closures have occurred throughout the nation, in cities like Chicago and Newark (Redeaux-Smith, 2018), this study may not reflect national and international trends or tendencies.

This study was limited in how much it could delve into additional socio-economic implications of school closures; however, according to *testimonios* from this study, there are relationships to school punishment, school pushout, incarceration and crime. Future studies should consider how Black and Latino children carry a disproportionate burden of the new

school choice policies and Diversity by Design school. As these new schools develop, and quantitative data emerges for overall schools, it will be worthwhile to disaggregate numbers for suspensions, expulsions, withdrawals, attrition and standardized test scores by race, gender and socio-economic class.

While New Orleans is similar to many cities across the country, it also has aspects that make it unique. Disaster capitalism (Klein, 2007) has created a ripe opportunity for experimentation and exploitation, as seen in Governor Kathleen Blanco's 2005 Executive Order that removed the requirement for community and parental approval when transitioning a school into a charter school.

Black communities, organizations, unions and neighborhoods are historically divided throughout New Orleans. As illustrated in chapter 1, New Orleans has a unique history of class division within Black communities, and the "plantation bloc" (Woods, 1992) has historically exploited these divisions. In my finding on dehumanization, I discussed how one way that charter schools and administrators have controlled the narrative on school closures, has been to divide communities and select leadership spokespeople.

While the national NAACP has placed a moratorium on the expansion of charter schools, the children from McDonogh 35 Senior High School testified at a hearing that they felt abandoned by local leadership (Perry, 2017). While at the hearing on charter the last five OPSB direct-run schools, no one from the local NAACP or the teachers' union, UTNO, spoke up for students or teachers (Fieldnotes, 2017).

Moreover, in the 2016 OPSB election, one of UTNO's few remaining second-generation members and a teacher from McDonogh 35 High School, Kwame Smith, challenged Nolan Marshall, Jr. for his school board seat. However, UTNO endorsed Marshall; the same defendant

that Walter L. Cohen High School Alumni Association took to court in 2014. According to campaign finance reports, the AFT bankrolled a newly formed locally-based super Political Action Committee, Orleans Future PAC, with more than \$500,000 to support Marshall and two other school board candidates' campaigns via political consultants, direct mailings, paid canvassers, digital advertising, polling, etc. (Louisiana Ethics Administration, 2016). The AFT financed the same candidates that Betsy Devos' local affiliate of the American Federation for Children, Louisiana Federation for Children financed; as well as Black Alliance for Educational Options; Democrats for Education Reform; Education Reform Now Advocacy Committee, Inc., Stand for Children Louisiana IEC; etc. Michael Bloomberg, former mayor of New York financed his campaign in 2012 (Louisiana Ethics Administration, 2016). Similarly, when the Justice and Beyond Coalition and community members from New Orleans travelled to Baton Rouge to speak against Karen Carter-Peterson's SB 432 for school return, the Louisiana Federation of Teachers, the state chapter of the AFT, supported it (Fieldnotes, 2016).

These examples illustrate how divided the city is still and how the climate in New Orleans differs from other cities across the country. In other cities, like Chicago and Atlanta, communities have come together to mobilize against privatization (Lakes et al., 2018) and school closure (Redeaux-Smith, 2018).

Recommendations for Additional Research

It is important that policy makers and educational leaders do not repeat the mistakes of the past. OPSB is currently phasing out McDonogh 35 Senior High School and the phasing in of a new chapter for the first Black public high school in New Orleans. McDonogh 35's Alumni Association held with a private meeting with school board members and the Superintendent in the school's auditorium, and parents, students and faculty members were not admitted

(Fieldnotes, 2018). State Representative Joseph Bouie was turned away from the meeting (Fieldnotes, 2018). This study illustrated how it is vital for school boards, legislators, alumni associations and non-profits that channel public funding to schools to engage parents, students, faculty and community members. Specifically, these entities should inform all stakeholders of federal and private grant application processes and include the in the planning and implementation.

Research should consider the ways that policies emerging from neoliberal racial states use Black organizations to disguise real actors. Kelley (2017) referred to the rise of the Black political class serving as "junior partners in these authoritarian governance" as the "Black face" of authoritarianism. CREDO's evaluation on the *Scaling the New Orleans Restart Model* stated:

Drawing on the existing networks of community non-profits, RSD and NSNO sought to have some of their staff serve as facilitators for discussions with the community. The idea was to have well respected community leaders mediate between the community and RSD. (2016, p. 38)

With the many divisions that school reform has brought upon Black (see Claim III), researchers should work in ways that support and build collective responsibility.

Future studies on restarts, takeovers, and transformations of historically Black public high schools should consider racial dynamics between students and teachers, as this is a common theme within existing literature, and a category that repeatedly surfaced throughout this study. Empirical research should consider teacher and administrator turnover, and particularly the implications of surplussing community-based administrators and community teachers.

Most importantly, qualitative and quantitative researchers should work directly with community and student groups in ways that will support their needs. Research is a powerful tool that has the potential to support community work and transform educational systems.

ⁱ According to Medley (n.d.): "Guillaume College provided classes in shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, English, and preparing students for civil service exams" and it was "The Best Afternoon and Night School." ii His son, Israel M. Augustine, Jr., was the first African American elected as judge in Criminal District Court in Louisiana. Augustine Middle School was named after him (Israel Meyer Augustine Middle School, 2014). iii The Committee to Study the Status of the Black Male in the New Orleans Public Schools of Orleans Parish School Board found an overrepresentation of Black males were in suspensions and expulsions (1988). The testimonio is told in the first person by a narrator who is a witness to an event. The forms it may comprise include: autobiography, autobiographical novela, monologue, a performance, oral history, memoir, confession, diary, interview, eyewitness report, life history, novels-testimonios, non-fiction novel, "factographic literature" (Beverley, 1989, p. 13).

v At the time, the OPSB operated NOCCA, and it was a half-day school. After NOCCA moved into a renovated building neighboring the French Quarter, the state assumed control of the school in 2002. It began to admit students who resided outside of Orleans Parish, and it eventually became a full day school.

vi I must add that during the 1990s a TFA teacher who taught my sister continued teaching in New Orleans for decades, and he became an active building representative for UTNO.

vii Community Book Center is a Black, locally owned bookstore that at the time was located on Broad Street. The Fred Hampton Youth Action Committee, which later became the Fred Hampton Youth Education Committee, at the time, was coordinated by Shana Griffin, Gabrilla Ballard and Khalil Tian Shahyd. The group was named after Fred Hampton, who was a leader in the Black Panther Party and killed by the Chicago Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Shakur, 1988/2016).

viii Via news announcements, the OPSB instructed public school teachers in Orleans Parish to report their "Intent to Return" status to Alverez and Marsal, a consulting firm that the Board contracted with to manage finances. According to reduction in force policies, teachers should have been recalled based on their years of service and certification. Teachers were required to teach three years and complete the state's mentoring program before they were eligible for tenure. I had only been in the system for two years, so I lacked tenure. However, Walker re-opened under the management of the Algiers Charter School Association, and I was eligible for employment. ix A public high school that was located in the Lower Ninth Ward and is now occupied by Martin Luther King, Jr. High School.

x In 2012, Joshua Short lost his life to gunfire on a Night Out Against Crime event. See Vargas (2010). xi Johnson v. OPSB, Case No. 93-14333 in the Civil District Court for the Parish of New Orleans; Hearings held February 10-12, 2015.

xii The first Wa-Lo-Co was published in 1953, 20 years prior.

xiii Harvey contended that under the neoliberal state "competition—between individuals, between firms, between territorial entities (cities, regions, nations, regional groupings)—is held to be a primary virtue" (2005, p. 65).

xiv Henderson H. Dunn Elementary School was named after him (Farewell Banquet, 1989).

xv Where Principal Robert Perry's wife, Lillian Dunn Perry, served as the President.

xvi See Arend (2010) and Woods (2017).

xvii Father of Ernest N. "Dutch" Morial, the first Black mayor of New Orleans.

xviii P.L. 92-318, Title VII, Sec. 701-720, June 23, 1972

xix Everett Williams began teaching at Cohen.

xx A constitutional amendment approved the creation of the RSD in 2003. Prior to Act 35 (2005), the RSD controlled only five schools. See claim 2 in chapter 4.

xxi General Honoré, commanded the Joint Task Force-Katrina which led the Department of Defense's response to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. In addition, he served "in a variety of command and staff positions which focused on Defense Support to Civil Authorities and Homeland Defense.... Among his assignments are Commanding General, First Army; Commanding General, SJFHQ-HLS, U.S. Northern Command; Commanding General, Second Infantry Division, Korea; Deputy Commanding General/Assistant Commandant, United States Army Infantry Center and School, Fort Benning, Georgia; and the Assistant Division Commander, Maneuver/Support, First Calvary Division, Fort Hood, Texas. He has also served as the Brigade Commander, First Brigade, Third Infantry Division, Fort Stewart, Georgia; Senior Mechanized Observer/Controller, 'Scorpion 07,' National Training Center (25 rotations); and Commander, Fourth Battalion, 16th Infantry Brigade, First Infantry Division, Germany" (General Honoré, Inc., 2018).

xxii Caroline Shirley-Roemer is the daughter of former republican Louisiana Governor, Buddy Roemer. At the time, her brother, Chas, was a member of the state BESE board.

xxiii Some of the same administrators from the RSD who transformed schools five years ago in the RSD, currently work in similar capacities in the OPSB. RSD's Deputy Superintendent of Portfolio in 2012, Adam Hawf, who became the Assistant Superintendent of Portfolio at the LDOE (National Charter School Resource Center, n.d., LDOE, 2012b) was Chief of Staff and now serves as an Assistant Superintendent of the OPSB (OPSB, 2017). In addition, the former CEO of New Orleans College Prep, Ben Kleban, now sits on the OPSB. When Kleban ran for election, he was unopposed (Dreilinger, 2016b).

xxiv In 2016, the Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans dismissed this case with prejudice based on abandonment (Ex Parte Motion and Incorporated Memorandum to Dismiss for Abandonment, UTNO v. State Department of Education, through the RSD, 2016).

xxvi Rick St. Amant's family had migrated from New Orleans to California, which is where he was raised. He identifies as creole, but he was living in New Orleans prior to Hurricane Katrina. He moved out of state to work for John's Hopkins' Diplomas Now program.

xxvii Collegiate Academies, the CMO that operates Carver, also operates Sci Academy.

xxviii Students at Carver Preparatory and Carver Collegiate reported that they were not allowed to bring their lunches to school (Fieldnotes, March 23, 2016).

xxixSee claim IV for an explanation on the Restorative Center at Carver Collegiate.

xxx NSNO contracted with CREDO for a fee of \$535,863 in 2012, \$605,959 in 2013 and a fee of \$702,225 in 2014 (Internal Revenue Service, 2012, 2013, 2014) to serve as an external program evaluator.

xxxi I have had difficulties obtaining documents from the LDOE. So, a colleague in another city completed a public records request for this contract. See Appendices G, H, I and J.

xxxii See TeachLouisiana.net

xxxiii The RSD facilitated similar agreements between alumni and FirstLine Schools (fieldnotes, 2011); FINS (Fieldnotes, 2013); and NOCP (NOCP, 2011).

xxxiv BESE's resolution to create a John McDonogh Ad Hoc Committee created a similar division in the John McDonogh Sr. High Steering Committee (Fieldnotes, 2015).

xxxv My study has limitations because I had the opportunity to interview the President of Walter L. Cohen's Alumni Association, but due to time constraints, resources and the study's design, which allowed for thirty participants max, I was not able to interview Booker T. Washington's Alumni Association.

xxxvi Ernest M. Morial, Morris Jeff, Thomy Lafon, Albert Wicker, Israel Augustine, Avery C. Alexander, Oretha Castle Haley, Louis D. Armstrong, Dr. Ronald McNair, Myrtle R. Banks, Mary C. Terrell, Dr. Charles Drew, George W. Carver, Joseph Hardin, James W. Johnson, Mary D. Coghill, Vorice Waters, James Derham, Barbara Jordan, George O. Mondy, Thurgood Marshall, Frederick Douglas, Valena C. Jones, Alfred Lawless, Johnson C. Lockett, Booker T. Washington, Robert R. Moton, Florence J. Chester and Edward J. Phillips.

xxxviii From my nine years of experience teaching in New Orleans public schools, this was never the case. There was no need for a buzz in system when you had community centered schools where everyone knew each other and school leaders where respected members of the larger community.

xxxix In July 2006, FEMA asked the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR) "to evaluate formaldehyde air sampling data collected by the [EPA] in 96 unoccupied trailers" similar to those distributed by FEMA to house persons displaced by Hurricane Katrina. They issued a health consultation, but "there was insufficient discussion of the health implications of formaldehyde exposure and some language may have been unclear, potentially leading readers to draw incorrect or inappropriate conclusions. Additionally, analyses of formaldehyde levels by trailer type and by daily temperature were not conducted" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007, p. 4). ATSDR prepared another health consultation that advised: "formaldehyde levels in closed trailers averaged 1.04 parts per million (ppm), with some measurements exceeding 3.5 ppm. Exposure in this range is sufficient to cause acute symptoms in some people. Allergic sensitization to formaldehyde may also occur. Risk of cancer will increase with increased formaldehyde concentration and duration of exposure. Second, both interventions—air conditioning and windows open—lowered formaldehyde levels, with windows open achieving greater reductions (to an average of 0.09 ppm) than air conditioning (to an average 0.39 ppm). The levels during air

conditioning remained in a range that may be associated with acute symptoms in some people. During both interventions, levels remained higher than some health based federal exposure guidelines. Additional research is needed to clarify whether formaldehyde affects reproductive ability or damages the developing fetus. Data analysis revealed two additional findings. First, there was an association between temperature and formaldehyde levels; higher temperatures were associated with higher formaldehyde levels in trailers with the windows closed. Second, different commercial brands of trailers yielded different formaldehyde levels" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007, pp. 4-5).

xl I requested a copy of a signed version of this document from NOCP, but I have been unable to obtain it. xli www.teachlouisiana.net

xliixlii As a teacher of many of the students who returned to Cohen during 2007-2008 as seniors, I observed that many of the gangs formed from the result of the chaos in the RSD, which this resulted in multiple tragedies of young Black men and women.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table A.1

Glossary of Organizations and Institutions

Entity	Explanation
State and Local Actors	
Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education	state body of both elected and appointed members that makes policy for public schools in Louisiana
Louisiana Department of Education	state department of education
New Orleans Public Schools (NOPS)	Locally governed school district operated by the elected school board
Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB)	Locally elected school board that currently operatates four direct-run schools.
Recovery School District (RSD)	An arm of the LDOE that was created in 2003. La. Act 35 expanded the RSD in 2005 to include 107 schools in New Orleans, including the five schools that it had already taken over.
Charter Management Organizations, Edu profits	cation Management Organizations & Teacher Recruitment Non-
Algiers Charter (Algiers Charter Schools Association)	In 2005, it was founded by a nonprofit board comprised of OPSB members and neighborhood representatives. It now operates five schools on the West Bank of New Orleans.
Collegiate Academies	In 2008, it opened its first school. It now operates four charter schools in New Orleans: Abramson Sci Academy, G.W. Carver High School (originally Carver Prep and Carver Collegiate), Livingston Collegiate and Rosenwald Collegiate, and one in Baton Rouge: Collegiate Baton Rouge.
FirstLine Schools	Formerly known as Middle School Advocates, it operated one of the first RSD charter schools prior to Act 35. FirstLine Schools now operates three schools including Clark Prepatory High School.
Future Is Now Schools (FINS)	A CMO based in California that operated John McDonogh High School. The RSD contracted with FINS to manage the phasing out Walter L. Cohen.
Greater New Orleans Education Foundation	

Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP)	CMO that operated one of the first RSD charter schools prior to Act 35. It now operates five high schools, including Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass high schools.					
New Orleans College Prep (NOCP)	Founded in 2006 by Ben Kleban and Hal Brown, this CMO operates four schools: Crocker Col-lege Prep; Cohen College Prep; Hoffman Early Learning Center; Sylvanie Williams College Prep, which is slated for closure at the end of the 2017-2018 school year.					
New Schools for New Orleans (NSNO)	Founded by Sarah Usdin, in 2006, with grant money from the Bush-Clinton Katrina Fund. Through federal and private funding, NSNO facilitates the launch, expansion, and replication of charter schools, and it provides funding and support to organizations that recruit new and experienced teachers, train school leaders and provide outstanding coaching and guidance to schools; etc. Former RSD Superintendent Patrick Dobard is now CEO.					
ReNEW Schools	A CMO that operated its first schools in 2010. It currently operates six schools.					
The New Teacher Project (TNTP)	A non-profit that partners with school districts, states and charter networks across the country. It provides teaching fellows and advances policies and practice through policy research. Current clients include: Baltimore City, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Nevada and New Orleans (TNTP, 2018). Past La. Superintendent Paul Pastorek sits on TNTPs board of directors.					
teachNOLA	A project of TNTP that launched in New Orleans in 2007 for people without prior teaching experi-ence or licensure. Between 2007 and 2016, it trained 1025 teaching fellows (TNTP Teaching Fellows, 2018).					

Local Civic, Community and Educational Organizations

Advocates for Environmental Human Rights	nonprofit, public interest law firm that sent a Letter of Intent to File Suit to RSD, OPSB and contractors in support of WLCAA.
Better Education Support Team (BEST)	A group of retired educators and active community members who work to document transportation racism.
Citizens Committee on Equal Education	On behalf of Black children, the Citizens Committee on Equal Education of the NAACP submitted petitions to the School Board during the 1940's-1960s.

Coalition for Community Schools (CCS)	Originally created in attempt to provide support and bring alumni together, CCS began as a sort of partnership between UTNO and alumni from schools along Esplanade Avenue: John McDonogh, Clark, and McDonogh 35, but alumni from Landry and Carver joined and provided support for one another at various community forums and meetings.
Colored Educational Alliance	Founded in 1913 by a group of Black leaders and Rev. Henderson Dunn. "Its purpose was to make more schools and facilities available for Black youngsters. This organization was credited with spearheading, either converting or building several schools for Black youngsters in New Orleans" (Amistad Research Center, ca. 2004b).
Community Labor United	A coalition of labor and community groups that held a monthly community breakfast at Dillard University where different groups provided forums. (ca. 1998-2005)
Concerned Citizens Controlling Community Changes (C6)	A group of teachers, parents and active community members worked with the National Journey for Justice Alliance to document school closures in several different cities in-cluding New Orleans.
Crescent City Democrat Club	Mostly members of the White gentlemens' clubs during Reconstruction.
Federation of Civic Leagues	Black neighborhood based civic leagues, like the Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League as well as the Seventh Ward Civic League, that came together to improve quality of life for Black residents.
Freret Street Businessmen's	White neighborhood organization that fought to prevent the
Association	conversion of Edwin T. Merrick Elementary to a Black school.
Friends of Landry	An unincorporated organization of alumni and supporters of Landry High School that sued in Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans in 2012 to prevent the merging of Landry and O. Perry Walker high schools.
Justice and Beyond	Facilitated by Rev. Dwight Webster and Pat Bryant, this is a coalition of labor, religious and community groups that provides community forums on a weekly basis at Christian Unity Baptist Church.
Kruttschnitt School Delegation	A group of organizations and parents that organized in the late 1940s to prevent the conversion of Kruttschnitt Elementary School to a Black high school, Cohen. It included the 12th Ward Civic, a group of homeowners surrounding Kruttschnitt.

Sixth Ward Civic and Improvement Association	A White neighborhood organization that in the late 1940s organized a petition and brought the School Board to court to prevent the conversion of E.D. White school to the Clark High School annex.
Students at the Center United Teachers of New Orleans	A community-based writing program that has worked in NOPS for more than two decades. Local Chapter of the American Federation of Teachers.
Walter L. Cohen Alumni Association	a non-profit, membership is open to all Cohen and Cohen College Prep alumni
Social Organizations	
Comus Krewe	The first Mardi Gras krewe that began in 1857. It stopped parading in 1991, when City Council passed a desegregation ordinance that required krewes to make membership lists public (Gill, p. 7).
Rex Krewe	An elite, White Mardi Gras krewe that began in 1872. In 1991, it was forced to desegregate and include Black and Jewish members.
Momus Krewe	An elite, White Mardi Gras krewe that began in 1872. It has not paraded since 1991 when City Council required Mardi Gras krewes to desegregate.
Proteus Krewe	An elite, White Mardi Gras krewe Began in 1882
Black Institutions	
Avery C. Alexander Elementary*	A school that was named after a New Orleans minister and Civil Rights activist. Named after the Civil Rights attorney that fought for the
A.P. Tureaud Elementary*	equalization of Black and White teacher salaries across Louisiana. The school is now Homer Plessy Community School.
Bauduit Elementary*	Named after Leonnie A. Bauduit, principal of McDonogh 6 Elementary.
Booker T. Washington High*	The third Black public high school to be established in Orleans Parish, in 1942, but the second on the East Bank of New Orleans. The Works Progress Administration allocated funds for a trade school, which became Booker T. Washington (National Park Service, 2002).
Carter G. Woodson Junior High*	
Dr. Charles Richard Drew Elementary*	Formerly known as George Washington Elementary, after years of community organizing, the School Board changed in 1998 to Drew. It is now Akili Academy.

Fannie C. Williams Elementary	Named after the Principal of Valena C. Jones Elementary School. Fannie C. Williams also served as the President of the National Teachers' Association (<i>Louisiana Weekly</i> , 1937).
Flint-Goodridge Hospital	Opening in 1896 when the Phyllis Wheatley Club, a group of women, opened the Phyllis Wheatley Sanitarium and Training School For Negro Nurses. With the help of Bishop Mallileau of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New Orleans University assumed the school's debt and incorporated it into their medical school (Journal of the National Medical Association, 1969). Dillard University operated this hospital from 1932 to 1983, and private donations as well as volunteers helped it to serve indigent patients (Dillard University, n.d.; Journal of National Medical Association, p. 534). The Women's Auxilary, which had 1500 members, raised funds for the school to install an Intensive Care Unit and an outpatient clinic (Journal of the National Medical Association, p. 536). See New Orleans University.
George Washington Carver Junior High & Senior High	After eight years of community requests, the school board built Carver Junior and Carver Senior in 1958. It is located in the Upper Ninth Ward a block away from Press Park.
Gaudet Normal and Industrial School*	In the early 19th century, Mrs. Frances Joseph-Gaudet, who had assumed responsibility for young blacks arrested for misdemeanor or vagrancy, purchased a farm on Gentilly Road and founded the Colored Industrial Home and School, which later became the Gaudet. The school was also a boarding school where working mothers could leave their children. In 1921, the Episcopal Diocese eventually purchased it (Murrell, 2013).
Gilbert Academy*	A secondary school under New Orleans University.
Henderson H. Dunn Elementary*	A Black elementary school that opened in 1958 and closed in 1989. It was named after Rev. Hederson Dunn, the founder of the Colored Educational Alliance, and the father of Lillian Dunn-Perry (Farewell Banquet, 1989). It was located in the Ninth Ward in the Desire neighborhood.
Israel Augustine Junior High*	Israel M. Augustine, Jr., was the first African American elected as judge in Criminal District Court in Louisiana. Augustine Middle School was named after him. (Israel Meyer Augustine Middle School, 2014).
Joseph S. Clark High	Established in 1947 when the OPSB converted Franklin Elementary to a Black school. The School Board expanded it in 1949 and converted E.D. White to the Clark annex.
Lawless High School*	Named after Alfred Lawless, a leader who fought for Black public schools in New Orleans.

Lawrence D. Crocker Elementary	Named after Lawrence D. Crocker, first Principal of Washington High School. Located Uptown.
Lord Decempfield Londwy*	Opened as a public elementary on New Orleans' West Bank in Algiers with Israel M. Augustine Sr., the father of the first Black judge in New Orleans, Israel M. Augustine, Jr., as its first principal. Landry became a full-fledged high school in 1939.
Lord Beaconsfield Landry* Macarty Elementary*	principal. Landry became a run neaged ingli school in 1757.
McDonogh 6 Elementary*	One of the first Black public elementary schools in New Orleans, which is currently a private school.
McDonogh 35 Senior High	First public high school for Blacks in New Orleans that opened in 1917. It is the only remaining public school directly run by the OPSB.
Moton Elementary	Originally located in the toxic area in Press Park.
Myrtle Banks Elementary*	Originally McDonogh 38 Elementary, the School Board renamed it after a long-time educator in New Orleans. It has been closed since 2002, and currently houses several non-profits and the Dryades Market.
New Orleans University*	In 1911, New Orleans University had a medical department named Flint Medical College. Its affiliated facility was named Sarah Goodridge Hopital and Training School. The medical school closed in 1911, but the hospital and college were continued and became the Flint Goodridge Hospital. In 1935, the university merged with Straight College to form Dillard University (Dillard University, n.d.).
Oretha Castle Haley Elementary*	Named after the a Civil Rights activist who was arrested for sitting at the counter at a five-and-dime store, and she was a leader in Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
Ronald McNair Elementary*	Formerly know as Robert E. Lee Elementary, after years of community organizing, the School Board changed the name to McNair after the Black astronaut who died in Challenger.
School for Colored Indigent Children*	Madame Bernard Couvent, a Black African woman, left a legacy in her will that designated several small houses and money to the Catholic Church to establish a school for Black orphans, which opened in 1848 (Desdunes, 1973).
St. Augustine High	Built by the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1951, "St. Aug," was intended for the education of young men from black Catholic families of New Orleans.
Straight University and Normal School*	Opening in 1869, the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church purchased the land and the Freedom Bureau aided in constructing the buildings. In 1935, Straight College and New Orleans University merged and became Dillard University (Dillard University, n.d.)

Thurgood Marshall Middle School*	Originally named after the Confederate General Beauregard, after years of community pressure, the School Board changed its name in 1998. The school building is currently unoccupied.
Valena C. Jones Elementary*	Also the Valena C. Jones Normal School, which was led by Principal Fannie C. Williams.
Valena C. Jones Normal and Practice School*	Originally part of the McDonogh 35 High and Normal School, the OPSB mandated limited admissions to the Normal School to the top 30 ranked McDonogh 35 graduates. In 1930, the School Board included the top three students from each of the three private high schools (Xavier, Straight & New Orleans universities). In 1931, it moved to Valena C. Jones Elementary. Subsequently, the School Board opened admissions to topranked college graduates from the three private, Black universities (Jackson, 1983).
Xavier University Prepatory*	Private Catholic school established in 1915 and closed in 2013. Alumni purchased the school building and named it after its founder, St. Katharine Drexel Preparatory School
Walter L. Cohen High	Originally was Kruttschnitt Elementary, but it became Cohen in 1949. The original building was demolished and the building was rebuilt in 1972.

^{*} Currently closed

Table A.2

Overview of Claims

		Method of Data	
Question	Claim	Collection	Sources
		• interviews	alumni, former administrator, former and current parents, former teacher
What are perspectives of various community members on historically Black public	integral to the	• archival data	letters, newspapers, petitions, school handbook, yearbooks, school board minutes, bulletin
high schools in New Orleans?	communities in which they were located.	 documents 	fieldnotes, interview transcripts
		• multimedia	photographs, online newspaper, interview recordings
How is the closing of historical Black high schools	пр	• interviews	alumni, former administrator, former and current parents
in New Orleans related to larger sociohistorical and sociocultural issues? What	II: Previous policies and Black resistance set the stage for the closure of historically Black public	• archival data	newspapers, press release, transcript of public address, yearbooks, petitions, letters
are the perspectives of various community members on historically Black public	high schools in New	• documents	government reports, interview / public address transcripts, statutes, grant applications, court documents
high schools in New Orleans?		• multimedia	online news articles, audio recordings of interviews and public address
What are the perspectives of various community members on historically Black public high schools in New Orleans?		• interviews	alumni, students, former and current parent, former administrators, former teachers
	III: Policymakers and administrators have	• archival data	press releases, photographs, letters, public address transcripts, newspaper articles
	used warlike tactics to usurp historically Black high schools in New Orleans.	• documents	fieldnotes, legal statutes, interview / public meeting transcripts, letters, newspapers, government documents and reports, court documents, press releases, email communication
		• multimedia	online news articles, audio and video recordings of public testimony, websites, news reports, photographs
	W Cl. 1 1 1 1 1	• interviews	alumni, former and current parents, former parents, students
How is the closing of historical Black high schools in New Orleans related to	experiences of	• documents	fieldnotes, government reports, grant applications, family handbooks, interview / public address transcripts
larger sociohistorical and sociocultural issues?	dehumanization.	• multimedia	news reports, online news articles, photographs, audio recordings of interview / public testimony, websites

Table A.3

Racial Breakdown of Orleans Parish's Highest Performing Magnet Schools

	Black	White	H/A/NA*
McDonogh 35 High School	99.5%	0.1%	0.4%
Eleanor McMain Secondary			
School**	69.1%	12.5%	18.4%
Edna Karr Secondary School**	59.2%	28.8%	11.9%
Ben Franklin High School	24.3%	61.1%	14.6%
New Orleans Public Schools	91.0%	5.0%	4.0%
Orleans Parish	62.0%	35.0%	3.0%

Note. *Includes Asian, Hispanic and Native American ** grades 7-12

Table A.4

FEMA Immediate Aid to Restart School

		First	Second			
High School	District	Allocation	Allocation	Total		
Marion Abramson	RSD	\$3,229,874	\$863,715	\$4,093,589		
George W. Carver	RSD	\$1,563,586	\$418,126	\$1,981,712		
Joseph S. Clark	RSD	\$1,129,722	\$302,104	\$1,431,826		
Walter L. Cohen	RSD	\$1,571,970	\$420,368	\$1,992,338		
Frederick A. Douglass	RSD	\$1,517,475	\$405,795	\$1,923,270		
Warren Easton	OPSB	\$2,787,627	\$745,452	\$3,533,079		
Alceé Fortier	RSD	\$1,938,763	\$518,453	\$2,457,216		
Edna Karr	OPSB	\$0	\$605,890	\$605,890		
John F. Kennedy	RSD	\$2,077,096	\$555,456	\$2,632,552		
John McDonogh	RSD	\$2,389,394	\$638,959	\$3,028,353		
Eleanor McMain Secondary*	OPSB	\$0	\$696,129	\$696,129		
McDonogh 35	OPSB	\$0	\$586,273	\$586,273		
L. B. Landry	RSD	\$1,865,404	\$499,397	\$2,364,801		
Alfred Lawless	RSD	\$1,136,010	\$303,786	\$1,439,796		
Sarah T. Reed	RSD	\$2,487,905	\$665,302	\$3,153,207		
O. Perry Walker**	OPSB	\$0	\$772,916	\$772,916		
Booker T. Washington	RSD	\$0	\$0	\$0		
Total	RSD/OPSB	\$23,694,826	\$9,861,836	\$32,692,947		
Total	RSD	\$20,907,199	\$6,455,176	\$27,362,375		
Total	OPSB	\$2,787,627	\$3,406,660	\$6,194,287		

Note. Eddy Oliver v. OPSB (2014), Plaintiffs Exhibit P-410
* Grades 7-12
** RSD school, but listed in FEMA documents as OPSB

Table A.5

Collegiate Academies' Discipline Data, 2013-2014

			Am.		,							
			Indian or		Hawaiian/ Pacific				2.			D
School	Category	Sex	Alaska Native	Asian		Hispanic	Black	White	2+ Races	Total	LEP	Percent Total
Carver Collegiate Academy	Students receiving ≥ 1 ISS	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Students receiving ≥ 1 ISS	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Students receiving 1 OSS	M	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	11.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Students receiving 1 OSS	F	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	15.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Students receiving >1 OSS	M	0	0	0	0	59	0	0	59	0	47.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Students receiving >1 OSS	F	0	0	0	0	53	0	0	53	0	56.0%
	Expulsions w/ educational											
Carver Collegiate Academy	services	M	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2.0%
-	Expulsions w/ educational											
Carver Collegiate Academy	services	F	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2.0%
,	Expulsions under zero-tolerance											
Carver Collegiate Academy	policies	M	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2.0%
	Expulsions under zero-tolerance											
Carver Collegiate Academy	policies	F	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Referral to law enforcement	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Referral to law enforcement	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Total enrollment	M	0	2	0	2	119	2	0	125	2	100.0%
Carver Collegiate Academy	Total enrollment	F	0	2	0	2	89	2	0	95	2	100.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Students receiving ≥ 1 ISS	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Students receiving ≥ 1 ISS	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Students receiving 1 OSS	M	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	17	0	15.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Students receiving 1 OSS	F	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	15.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Students receiving >1 OSS	M	0	0	0	0	44	0	0	44	0	40.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Students receiving >1 OSS	F	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	35	0	38.0%
	Expulsions w/ educational											
Carver Preparatory Academy	services	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	Expulsions w/ educational											
Carver Preparatory Academy	services	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	Expulsions under zero-tolerance											
Carver Preparatory Academy	policies	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	Expulsions under zero-tolerance											
Carver Preparatory Academy	policies	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Referral to law enforcement	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Referral to law enforcement	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Total enrollment	M	0	0	0	11	98	2	0	111	8	100.0%
Carver Preparatory Academy	Total enrollment	F	0	0	0	5	86	0	0	91	5	100.0%
Sci Academy	Students receiving ≥ 1 ISS	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Sci Academy	Students receiving ≥ 1 ISS	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Sci Academy	Students receiving 1 OSS	M	0	0	0	2	35	0	0	37	2	17.0%
Sci Academy	Students receiving 1 OSS	F	0	2	0	2	32	2	2	40	2	18.0%
Sci Academy	Students receiving >1 OSS	M	0	2	0	0	83	2	0	87	2	40.0%
Sci Academy	Students receiving >1 OSS	F	2	2	0	2	68	0	2	76	2	33.0%
G : A 1	Expulsions w/ educational		0	0	0	0	_	0	0	_	0	2.00/
Sci Academy	services	M	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	2.0%
	Expulsions w/ educational											
Sci Academy	services	F	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1.0%
	Expulsions under zero-tolerance											
Sci Academy	policies	M	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	2.0%
	Expulsions under zero-tolerance											
Sci Academy	policies	F	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1.0%
Sci Academy	Referral to law enforcement	M	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	2.0%
Sci Academy	Referral to law enforcement	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Sci Academy	Total enrollment	M	0	11	0	8	197	2	2	220	17	100.0%
Sci Academy	Total enrollment	F	2	20	2	5	194	2	2	227	23	100.0%

Note. In School Suspension (ISS); Out of School Suspension (OSS)

 $Source \ . \ U.S. \ Department \ of Education, Office \ for \ Civil \ Rights. \ Retrieved \ from \ https://ocrdata.ed.gov/Proposition \ Author \$

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

Note: The point of these unstructured interviews will be to probe into the perspectives of participants. I will ask them to give me examples and to tell me stories regarding the topics of interest to the project. These questions are open ended, in-depth questions.

First interview

- 1. Can you tell me about yourself? and/or your background? What part of New Orleans are you and your family from and which neighborhood did you grow up in?
- 2. What is/was your relationship to public high schools in New Orleans? (student, parent, teacher, administrator, staff, community member, etc.) What is/was the time frame? If you were a staff member, how long were you employed at the school and in what role? If you are an alumni member what grades did you attend the school? If you are a parent, did your child or did your children all attend the school throughout their whole high school experience?
- 3. Can you tell me a story of an experience you had at this high school, which could, perhaps, represent your overall experience at the school?
- 4. Do you have any vivid memories about your experiences at this school or any stories that you would like to tell about your time there?
- 5. What are your opinions or experiences with school closures? How and why do you believe public schools were detroyed after the storm?

Second interview

- 1. After the participant reads the transciption of their interview, I will ask them: Do you have any clarifications or corrections that you would like to make about anything you said?
- 2. Do you have any additional clarification questions?

APPENDIX C

A. It is the intention of the legislature in enacting this Chapter to authorize experimentation by city and parish school boards by authorizing the creation of innovative kinds of independent public schools for pupils. Further, it is the intention of the legislature to provide a framework for such experimentation by the creation of such schools, a means for all persons with valid ideas and motivation to participate in the experiment, and a mechanism by which experiment results can be analyzed, the positive results repeated or replicated, if appropriate, and the negative results identified and eliminated. Finally, it is the intention of the legislature that the best interests of atrisk pupils shall be the overriding consideration in implementing the provisions of this Chapter.

- B.(1) The purposes of this Chapter shall be to provide opportunities for educators and others interested in educating pupils to form, operate, or be employed within a charter school with each such school designed to accomplish one or more of the following objectives:
 - (a) Improve pupil learning and, in general, the public school system.
 - (b) Increase learning opportunities and access to quality education for pupils.
 - (c) Encourage the use of different and innovative teaching methods and a variety of governance, management, and administrative structures.
 - (d) Require appropriate assessment and measurement of academic learning results.
 - (e) Account better and more thoroughly for educational results.
 - (f) Create new professional opportunities for teachers and other school employees, including the opportunity to be responsible for the learning program at the school site.
 - (2) It is not a purpose of this Chapter to permit establishment of a charter school to be used as the means of keeping open an existing public school that otherwise would be closed. Such a circumstance, however, shall not preclude approval of a proposed charter that otherwise fulfills a purpose of this Chapter and for which the proposal clearly demonstrates that the educational program proposed to be offered will improve the achievement levels of the students enrolled in that school.
 - (3) It is not a purpose of this Chapter to provide a means of funding for nonpublic schools or any home study program.

Acts 1995, No. 192, §1, eff. June 14, 1995; Acts 1997, No. 477, §1, eff. June 30, 1997; Acts 1999, No. 14, §1; Acts 1999, No. 757, §1, eff. July 2, 1999.

APPENDIX D

EXECUTIVE ORDER KBB 05-58: Emergency Suspensions to Assist in Meeting Educational Needs of Louisiana Students

WHEREAS, the Louisiana Homeland Security and Emergency Assistance and Disaster Act, R.S. 29:721, et seq., confers upon the governor of the state of Louisiana emergency powers to deal with emergencies and disasters, including those caused by fire, flood, earthquake or other natural or man-made causes, to ensure that preparations of this state will be adequate to deal with such emergencies or disasters, and to preserve the lives and property of the citizens of the state of Louisiana;

WHEREAS, Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Rita struck the state of Louisiana causing severe flooding and damage to the southern part of the state, which has threatened the safety, health, and security of the citizens of the state of Louisiana, along with private property and public facilities;

WHEREAS, pursuant to Proclamation No. 48 KBB 2005, as amended by Proclamation No. 54 KBB 2005, and Proclamation No. 53 KBB 2005, a state of emergency was declared for the entire state and is currently in effect;

WHEREAS, as a direct consequence of the disaster and evacuation, many Louisiana schools were damaged or destroyed and are currently inoperable. Thousands of public school students are unable to attend the schools in the school district in which they resided prior to the hurricanes and such students have temporarily enrolled in other school districts throughout the state. However, many of these students will return to the school district in which they resided prior to the hurricanes in need of an operational school to attend;

WHEREAS, La. Constitution Art. VIII §1 states that the Louisiana Legislature shall provide for the education of the people of the state and shall establish and maintain a public educational system. In addition to local public school boards, charter schools, created pursuant to La. R.S. 17:3971, et seq., may fulfill this obligation;

WHEREAS, Charter schools are required to comply with various statutory and regulatory provisions governing the operation of their schools. The State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education and the Louisiana Department of Education also incur responsibilities under certain regulatory statutes governing charter schools and the chartering process;

WHEREAS, R.S. 29:724(D(1) authorizes the governor to suspend the provisions of any regulatory statute prescribing the procedures for conduct of state business, or the orders, rules, or regulations of any state agency, if strict compliance with the provisions of any statute, order, rule, or regulation would in any way prevent, hinder, or delay necessary action in coping with the emergency; and

WHEREAS, the State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (hereafter "BESE") has requested the suspension of certain charter school provisions within Title 17 of the Louisiana Revised Statues in order to facilitate the use of charter schools to assist in meeting the educational needs of Louisiana students. Certain provisions of law prevent the rapid expansion of

charter schools by either requiring a process that extends over a period of time or by establishing a requirement of law to which the charter cannot comply due to the disaster;

NOW THEREFORE I, KATHLEEN BABINEAUX BLANCO, Governor of the state of Louisiana, by virtue of the authority vested by the Constitution and laws of the state of Louisiana, do hereby order and direct as follows:

SECTION 1: The following provisions in Title 17 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes are hereby suspended:

- A. R.S. 17:1990(F) to the extent that it specifies students eligible to enroll in and attend a charter school;
- B. R.S. 17:3973(2)(b)(iv) to the extent that it provides that prior to the creation of a Type 4 charter to convert a preexisting school, it shall be approved by the professional faculty and staff of the preexisting school and approved by the parents or guardians of children enrolled in the school as provided in R.S. 17:3983(C);
- C. R.S. 17:3973(2)(b)(v) to the extent that it specifies students eligible to enroll in and attend a charter school;
- D. R.S. 17:3983 (A)(3)(a) to the extent that it establishes timelines for the application for and approval of a charter school;
- E. R.S. 17:3983 (A)(4)(c) to the extent that it establishes a timeline for the approval of a charter school application;
- F. R.S. 17:3983(A)(4)(f) to the extent that it establishes a timeline for the charter school to begin operation;
- G. R.S. 17:3991(C)(1)(b) to the extent that it establishes a timeline for an application process; and
- H. R.S. 17:3996(B)(4) to the extent that it requires compliance with a minimum number of instructional minutes and instructional days in a school year.

SECTION 2: This Order is effective upon signature and shall continue in effect, until amended, modified, terminated, or rescinded by the governor, or terminated by operation of law.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have set my hand officially and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of Louisiana, at the Capitol, in the city of Baton Rouge, on this 7th day of October, 2005.



Applicant: 396 Recovery School District-LDE

Application Sections
HPSI-1003g Consolidated

Application: 2012-2013 High-Performance Schools-1003g - 04-004 Walter

L. Cohen High School 6/30/2013

Cycle: Amendment 1

Printer-Friendly

Allocations

Click for Instructions

The application has been approved. No more updates will be saved for the application.

	HPSI-1003g	HPSI-1003gARRA
Current Year Funds		
Allocation	\$826,883	\$71,470
ReAllocated (+)	\$0	\$0
Released (-)	\$0	\$0
Total Current Year Funds	\$826,883	\$71,470
Prior Year(s) Funds		
ReAllocated (+)	\$101,647	\$0
Total Prior Year(s) Funds	\$101,647	\$0
Sub Total	\$928,530	\$71,470
Adjusted Sub Total	\$928,530	\$71,470
Total Available for Budgeting	\$928,530	\$71,470
	HPSI-1003g	HPSI-1003gARRA

Grant Summary Page 1 of 1



Applicant: 396 Recovery School District-LDE

Application Sections | HPSI-1003g Consolidated |

Printer-Friendly

Application: 2012-2013 High-Performance Schools-1003g - 04-004 Walter L. Cohen High

School Amendment 1 Project Period: 7/1/2012 - Click to Return to Sponsor Select
Click to Return to GMS Access/Select

Page

Click to Return to Menu List / Sign Out

Overview	Contact Information	Allocations	Grant Summary	Assurances, Common and Program	Submit	Amendment Description	Application History	Page_Lock Control	Application Print

Grant Summary (Read Only)

Cycle:

Click for Instructions

Object Code	HPSI-1003g	HPSI-1003g ARRA
100 - Salaries	\$40,969	
200 - Benefits	\$14,153	
300 - Purchased		4
Professional /	\$848,408	\$71,470
Technical Svcs		6.4 1.1
400 - Purchased		
Property Svcs		
500 - Other Purchased	\$25,000	
Sevs	\$25,000	
600 - Supplies		
700 - Property		
800 - Other objects		
Indirect Cost	\$0	\$0
Totals	\$928,530	\$71,470

user ID: rlittlet

For additional information please contact the Louisiana Department of Education Contact Us or call 1-877-453-2721 (toll free) Budget Detail Page 1 of 2



Applicant: 396 Recovery School District-LDE

Amendment 1

Cycle:

Application Sections
HPSI-1003g

Application: 2012-2013 High-Performance Schools-1003g - 04-004 Walter

L. Cohen High School

Project Period: 7/1/2012 -

6/30/2013

Printer-Friendly

Budget Detail BUDGET BREAKDOWN (Use whole dollars only. Omit Decimal Places, e.g., \$2536)

Click for Instructions

The application has been approved. No more updates will be saved for the application.

Itemize and explain each expenditure amount that appears on the Budget Summary. Click on the "Create Additional Entries" button to enter additional information.

Description of Educational Improvement Categories (EIC) and Object Codes

Note: This Budget Summary displays to aid in creating and editing the Request and will not display once the Request is submitted to the SEA.

Paid to Date Amounts	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	Indirect Cost
	\$33,745	\$7,533	\$824,839	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Current Budgeted Amounts by Object Code	\$40,969	\$14,153	\$848,408	\$0	\$25,000	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0

Object Code	EIC#	Expenditure Description and Itemization	HPSI-1003g Funds	Delete Row
100 🗸	11 🗸	Salary for Director of Academic Instruction (92%)	20222	
100 🗸	11 🗸	Salary for Instructional Coach	20747	
200 🗸	22 🗸	Benefits for Instructional Coach	7620	
200 🗸	22 🗸	Benefits for Director of Academic Instruction (92%)	6533	
300 🗸	11 🗸	Contracted services with New Orleans College Prep (CMO) for phase in process of school restart	709000	
300 🗸	11 🗸	Future Is Now (EMO) management services for grades 11 and 12, starting October 14, 2012	85408	
300 🗸	21 🗸	Contracted services: Princeton Review to supplement core curriculum and support RTI implementation. Through this contract Princeton review will provide teachers for ACT courses as well as professional development for school teachers (\$54000 for Year 1)	54000	
500 🗸	21 🗸	Online services: Grade Results to supplement core curriculum and support RTI implementation through online benchmarking and credit recovery services. (\$25000 for Year 1)	25000	

Budget Detail Page 2 of 2

Total Direct Costs	928,530
- Capital Outlay Costs	0
Allowable Direct Costs	928,530
Indirect Cost Rate %	7.3349
Maximum Indirect Cost *	68,107
Indirect Cost	0
Total Allocation 928,530 Grand Total	928,530
Allocation Remaining	0

Please upload supporting information files. Allowable file types are Microsoft Word (.doc / .docx) and Adobe PDF. Files must be less than 10MB~(10,000~KB) in size and the file name should not include special characters (i.e., #, \$, %, etc). Attempting to upload a file that does not comply with these restrictions will result in errors and loss of unsaved data.

	Browse
ll l	D101100

Uploaded Files:

The upload folder is empty. Please upload a file if required by the system to submit or if you have been notified by LDE that this is required.

APPENDIX F



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

John White State Superintendent Louisiana Department of Education 1201 North Third Street Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804

JUL 3 1 2013

Dear Superintendent White:

During the week of March 11th, 2013, a team from the U.S. Department of Education's (ED) Office of School Turnaround (OST) reviewed the Louisiana Department of Education's (LDOE) administration of Title I, section 1003(g) (School Improvement Grants (SIG)) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), as amended. As part of its review, the ED team interviewed staff at the State educational agency (SEA) and two local educational agencies (LEAs). The ED team also conducted site visits to three schools implementing the SIG intervention models, where they visited classes and interviewed school leadership, teachers, parents, and students. Enclosed you will find ED's final monitoring report based upon this review.

The primary purpose of monitoring is to ensure that the SEA carries out the SIG program consistent with the final requirements. Additionally, ED is using its monitoring review to observe how LEAs and schools are implementing the selected intervention models and identify areas where technical assistance may be needed to support effective program implementation.

In line with these aims, the enclosed monitoring report is organized in two sections: (1) Technical Assistance Recommendations, and (2) Monitoring Findings. The Department will later issue a Summary and Observations addendum that describes the SIG implementation occurring in the schools and districts visited, initial indicators of success, and any outstanding challenges relating to implementation. The Technical Assistance Recommendations section contains strategies and resources for addressing technical assistance needs identified during ED's visit. Finally, the Monitoring Findings section identifies any compliance issues within the six indicator areas reviewed and corrective actions that the SEA is required to take.

The LDOE has 30 business days from receipt of this report to respond to all of the compliance issues contained herein. ED staff will review your response for sufficiency and will determine which areas are acceptable and which require further documentation of implementation. ED will allow 30 business days for receipt of this further documentation, if required. ED recognizes that some corrective actions may require longer than the prescribed 30 days, and in these instances, will work with the LDOE to determine a reasonable timeline. In those instances where additional time is required to implement specific corrective actions, you must submit a request for such an extension in writing to ED, including a timeline for completion for all related actions. Each State that participates in an onsite monitoring review and that has significant compliance findings in one or more of the programs monitored will have a condition placed on that

Sincerely, Carlas McCars

Carlas McCauley

Group Leader Office of School Turnaround

Enclosure

Steven Osbourn, Assistant Superintendent, Office of Student Programs John Hanley, School Improvement Grants Coordinator

Monitoring Visits and Award Amounts				
SEA Visited	Louisiana Department of Education (LDOE)			
Total FY 2009 SIG Allocation	\$24,602,635.15			
Total FY 2010 SIG Allocation	\$11,063,331			
Total FY 2011 SIG Allocation	\$9,674,074			
Total FY 2012 SIG Allocation	\$9,674,074			
LEA Visited	Caddo Parish			
	Cohort 1: 0 schools awarded			
LEA Information	Cohort 2: 4 schools awarded \$5,187,285			
	Cohort 3: 1 school awarded \$1,200,000			
School Visited	Fair Park High School			
School Information	Model: Turnaround Cohort: 2			
	School-Level Award: \$1,371,821			
LEA Visited	Recovery School District (RSD)			
	Cohort 1: 2 schools awarded \$1,770,811			
LEA Information	Cohort 2: 0 schools awarded			
	Cohort 3: 6 schools awarded \$5,900,000			
School Visited	Walter L. Cohen Senior High School			
School Information	Model: Restart Cohort: 3			
	School-Level Award: \$1,000,000			
	Staff Interviewed			
 SEA Staff: John Hanley & Caddo Parish Staff: District 				

Walter L. Cohen S 10 Students, and 3 C	enior High School Staff: Principal, School Leadership Team, 4 Teachers, 3 Parents Classroom Visits
	U.S. Department of Education Staff
Team Leader	Carlas McCauley
Staff Onsite	David Yi & Molly Scotch Budman

OVERVIEW OF MONITORING PROCESS

The following report is based on U.S. Department of Education's (Department) on-site monitoring visit to Louisiana from March 11-15, 2013 and review of documentation provided by the State educational agency (SEA), local educational agencies (LEAs), and schools.

The School Improvement Grant (SIG) Monitoring Report provides feedback to the Louisiana Department of Education (LDOE) on its progress in implementing the program effectively, and in a manner that is consistent with the School Improvement Grant (SIG) final requirements, authorized by Section 1003(g) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), as amended, and as explained further in Guidance on Fiscal Year 2010 School Improvement Grants Under Section 1003(g) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (March 2012). The observations and descriptions illustrate the implementation of the SIG program by the SEA, LEAs, and schools visited; initial indicators of success; and any outstanding challenges being faced in implementation. The report consists of the following sections:

- Background Information: This section highlights significant achievements in the LDOE's
 implementation of the SIG grant. This section also includes a brief overview of the LDOE's structure
 and vision for SIG implementation.
- Summary of LDOE's Implementation of SIG Critical Elements: This section provides a summary
 of the SEA's progress in implementing SIG and is based on evidence gathered during the monitoring
 visit on March 11-15, 2013 or through written documentation provided to the Department.
- Technical Assistance Recommendations: This section addresses areas where additional technical
 assistance may be needed to improve the quality of SIG program implementation.
- Monitoring Findings: This section identifies areas where the SEA is not in compliance with the final
 requirements of the SIG program and indicates required actions that the SEA must take to resolve the
 findings.

APPENDIX G



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT

Office of the Chief Privacy Officer

August 10, 2017

Elizabeth Jeffers 3917 Iberville Street New Orleans, LA 70119

RE: FOIA Request No. 17-02397-F

Dear: Elizabeth Jeffers

This is in response to your letter dated August 7, 2017, requesting information pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. § 552. Your request was received in this office on August 10, 2017, and forwarded to the primary responsible office(s) for action.

You requested: I am requesting any and all information available regarding the US Department of Education's (ED's) Office of School Turnaround (OST) 2012-2013 grant to the Louisiana Department of Education under Title 1, section 1003(g) School Improvement Grant of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended. Documents requested include: • data collected from site visits to schools, including visits during the week of March 11, 2013 • monitoring reports or reviews of the grant • communication with Louisiana Department of Education and Recovery School District employees

Please refer to the FOIA tracking number to check the status of your FOIA request at the link provided below:

http://www2.ed.gov/policy/gen/leg/foia/foiatoc.html

Any future correspondence or questions regarding your request, please contact the FOIA Public Liaison at 202-401-8365 or EDFOIAManager@ed.gov

Sincerely,

ED FOIA Manager

400 MARYLAND AVE., S.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20202-4500 www.ed.gov

Our mission is to ensure equal access to education and to promote educational excellence throughout the Nation.

APPENDIX H

I am requesting an opportunity to inspect or obtain copies of public records

K Jeffers Elizabeth <ekjeffer@gmail.com>

Mon, Sep 18, 2017 at 10:58 AM

To: Natalie Kaharick <nkaharick@nolacollegeprep.org>

Dear Ms. Kaharick:

Thank you for your response.

But to clarify, I am requesting the contract for the Year 2 award that the attached CREDO report referred to.

- 1. The Sub-Recipient Contract between New Schools for New Orleans and New Orleans College Prep (Sub-recipient Grantee) for a Year 2 grant under the ARRA Invest in Innovation (i3) Grant Program through the U.S. Department of Education (see CREDO report); and
- 2. a signed copy of the Shared Service Agreement (the "Agreement") entered into as of July 15, 2012 by and between New Orleans College Preparatory Academies, an RSD Type 5 Charter Management Organization ("NOCP"), and the Louisiana Department of Education, Recovery School District ("RSD")

Under the Louisiana Public Records Act § 44:1 et seq., I am requesting an opportunity to inspect or obtain copies of these two public records.

Thank you for your time,

Elizabeth K. Jeffers 3917 Iberville Street New Orleans, LA 70119

[Quoted text hidden]

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Elizabeth K. Jeffers



APPENDIX I

I am requesting an opportunity to inspect or obtain copies of public records

Natalie Kaharick <nkaharick@nolacollegeprep.org> To: K Jeffers Elizabeth <ekjeffer@gmail.com> Mon, Sep 18, 2017 at 6:02 PM

Ms. Jeffers,

Unfortunately, I was not able to locate anything in our files other than want I sent earlier. You may want to request the records from the Recovery School District or NSNO directly.

Best, Natalie



Natalie Kaharick

Acting CEO, New Orleans College Prep 504-655-8242 | nkaharick@nolacollegeprep.org 2301 Marengo St., New Orleans, LA 70115 nolacollegeprep.org



APPENDIX J

Louisiana Public Records request

Nash Crews <NASH@nsno.org>
To: "ekjeffer@gmail.com" <ekjeffer@gmail.com>
Cc: Maggie Runyan-Shefa <maggie@nsno.org>

Mon, Nov 27, 2017 at 11:27 AM

Dear Ms. Jeffers:

We are in receipt of your request for U.S. Department of Education documentation under the Louisiana Public Records Act. Please be advised that the documents you seek are contracts pursuant to a federal grant. The Louisiana Public Records Act's definition of "public records" regarding funding received focuses on documents from funds transferred under Louisiana law or the Louisiana Constitution. Therefore, the documents you seek regarding federal funds are not subject to disclosure under the Louisiana Public Records Act.

Please feel free to contact me should you have any additional questions.

Best,

Nash

Nash Crews

Chief of Staff
New Schools for New Orleans
1555 Poydras Street, Suite 781 | New Orleans, LA 70112

Office: 504.274.3668

Cell: 504.905.2669

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