5-2021

Education Inequity by Design: A Case Study of the Duval County Public School System, 1954–1964

Carolyn B. Edwards

EDUCATION INEQUITY BY DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF THE DUVAL COUNTY

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1954–1964

A Dissertation Presented

by

CAROLYN B. EDWARDS

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2021

Urban Education, Leadership and Policy Studies Program

EDUCATION INEQUITY BY DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF THE DUVAL COUNTY

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1954–1964

A Dissertation Presented

by

CAROLYN B. EDWARDS

Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Patricia Krueger-Henney, Associate Professor
Chairperson of Committee

_____
Francine Menashy, Associate Professor
Member

_____
Abel Bartley, Professor
Clemson University
Member

_____
Francine Menashy, Program Director
Urban Education, Leadership and Policy Studies Program

_____
Tara L. Parker, Chairperson
Department of Leadership in Education

ABSTRACT

EDUCATION INEQUITY BY DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF THE DUVAL COUNTY

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1954–1964

May 2021

Carolyn B. Edwards, B.S., Boston University
M.S., Northeastern University
Ph.D., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Professor Patricia Krueger-Henney

This historical case study examined inequity by design of the Duval County Public

Schools in Jacksonville, Florida, between 1954 and 1964. Duval County's response to the

Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 highlighted the historical

influence of White supremacy within this school system, suppressing Black education

through a dual school system. Political, economic, and judicial decisions supported the

system's resistance to desegregation and perpetuated education inequity. The author sought

to understand the overt and covert political, economic, and judicial influences behind the

Duval County Public Schools' inequity by design to determine if these influences are

generally applicable to urban public school systems across the United States. The author

conducted a qualitative study with self-identifying Black residents of Duval County who

were either students, teachers, or principals during the study time period. Following the

qualitative study, the author conducted a case study evaluating historical documentation, publications, oral interviews, and unpublished information documenting the education inequity by design. The findings of this study indicate that the Duval County Public Schools suppressed Black education through systemic methods, including underfunding, under-resourcing, and under-management of historically Black schools. All public schools are subject to political, economic, and judicial influences because they are locally managed and primarily funded through local property taxes. The "achievement gap" is a manipulated outcome by intentional design to justify suppressing Black education. This study focused on the systemic issues of White supremacy's influences to bring the true problem of failing schools out into the light so the system can be dismantled and the blame for failing schools placed on the system, not the students.

Keywords: Black education, education inequity, Duval County Public Schools, White supremacy, critical race theory, neo-Marxism, urban public schools, dual school system, achievement gap, systemic racism

DEDICATION

Thank you to my sons, Michael and Christopher, for believing in me and to my mother, Helene Edwards, for teaching me that age is just a state of mind and giving me the confidence and work ethic to pursue my dreams. To my husband, Dan Malis: You thought this would never end, and you are right. Thank you for your unconditional love, encouragement, and support that have allowed me to start on the newest chapter of my life and for standing by me no matter what that means (including debates on the Founding Fathers and editing). And to my father, Marvin R. Edwards: I'm so happy you knew I was on this path and only wish you could have seen the final project inspired by your years of work, your passion for quality public education, and your meticulous documentation. Your memory is truly a blessing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My journey to this dissertation has not been linear. It has been a series of twists and turns on a professional, personal, and academic level. My background includes over 25 years in corporate America, being a small-business entrepreneur, and founding and running a nonprofit, teaching civic engagement through student-centered learning to marginalized youth. Throughout this journey, people have influenced my thinking. The most important lesson ever taught to me in business was to view every problem and solution from a 360-degree perspective. I learned this lesson from Allan Greenberg. That lesson 30 years ago permanently changed how I view problem solving.

My nonprofit network works with people from across Boston on the frontline with marginalized youth, in the public school system, in other nonprofits, and in City Hall. Our students identify civic issues impacting their life and then develop a plan to impact that issue. Our most impactful project came from a Boston Public School alternative program called the Re-Engagement Center. After 6 weeks of silence, one student spoke up, saying that youth problems such as gangs, addiction, and school dropout begin with being a homeless youth. This revelation led to a city-wide project that involved over 40 organizations, Boston's mayor, and the city health commissioner. The project's impacts include a pledge from the City of Boston to end youth homelessness, the establishment of a homeless youth advisory board, a donation of over $2 million from a corporate sponsor to fund related initiatives, and the establishment of a city position focused specifically on ending youth homelessness. The young man who had the courage to speak truth to power is Eugene Johnson—the man who taught me that anyone can change the status quo if only their voice can be heard.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

xiv

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

If you would understand anything, observe its beginning and its development.

—Aristotle

Racism is not only endemic in American society, but racism is what controls and governs our everyday life if you're Black…. Fighting racism is the struggle. That's a fight you are engaged in every day.

—Rodney Hurst, Sr. (qualitative study interviewee)

Overview

Carter Woodson's (1933/2015) *The Miseducation of the Negro* asserts that white power structures intentionally suppress Black education to maintain a caste status that keeps Blacks under white domination. This dissertation contends that Woodson's position is as valid today as it was in the early 20th century. A dual education system in the United States has been perpetuated for generations since the Civil War. Woodson posited that the U.S. education system intentionally fails to educate Black students through race-based school inequity. Black students are offered limited curriculum and provided fewer and inferior resources. This inequitable education serves to propagate the myths of white superiority and

Black inferiority by systemically manipulating "achievement gaps" (defined in the "Terminology" section).

My research built on Woodson's (1933/2015) assertion that inequitable Black education constitutes a continuum of suppression through intentional systemic design that perpetuates U.S. White supremacy. This study utilizes a neo-Marxist and critical race theory (CRT) framework to analyze a critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study and a contextualized sociocultural historical case study. This research documents education inequity resulting from the intersectionality of politics, economics, the judicial system, and racism. Themes of White supremacy can be found in U.S. economics, politics, legislation, and the actions of powerful white hegemonic politicians and businessmen. The intersectionality of these forces perpetuates education inequity at all levels of government and in their institutions.

In this chapter, I provide an overview of my research framework, case study background, theoretical framework, and the study's contribution to the field.

Terminology

In this dissertation, I have chosen to capitalize "Black" but not "white," with the exception of references to "White supremacy" and the "White Citizens Council," in which "White" is a specific adjective for subjects pertaining only to white people. The American Psychological Association (n.d.) has recently updated it publication guidelines to state, "Racial and ethnic groups are designated by proper nouns and are capitalized. Therefore, use 'Black' and 'White' instead of 'black' and 'white'" (para 4). The *Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press Editorial Staff, 2020) allows the author's choice in capitalization, as do various dictionaries. When talking about a specific group of people

2

oppressed based on their race, I believe "Black" should always be used as the adjective or proper noun for any related subject matter. One may argue that "white" should be treated the same way, but since this dissertation is about inequity, not equality, I see this distinction as reflective of my position. Black colleagues, activists, and friends have personally advised me not to use the term "African American" when referring to Black oppression because the phrase is too limited and does not include other or multiple ethnicities that Black people view themselves as belonging to but that society, basing ethnicity on skin color alone, does not perceive (e.g., Afro-Latino, Cape Verdean, Caribbean).

I also note that though I occasionally use the words "Negro," "colored," and other racial terms when quoting sources in this study, I do so in the context of their use in reference sources, not by my own choosing. My reference to "Black education" refers to education specifically for Black students or predominately Black schools. In addition, a reference to the "achievement gap" is defined by Ladson-Billings (2006) as "the disparities in standardized test scores between Black and white, Latino(a) and white, and recent immigrants and whites" (p. 3).

"White supremacist ideology," as used in this work, reflects the intersectionality of economic, political, judicial, and racial tenets designed to suppress Black lives and opportunities. I consider "intersectionality" as a provisional concept linking multiple factors that impact outcomes. Crenshaw (1991) described intersectionality as a methodology that views specific research categories (i.e., class, race, and gender) as being intertwined rather than mutually exclusive in order to link "contemporary politics with postmodern theory" (p. 1244). My research focused on the intersectionality of class and race with White supremacist ideology and its influence on politics, economics, and the judiciary, impacting education

inequity. A key example of intersectionality in racism is "redlining," which refers to the legal policy of systematic residential segregation of every major U.S. urban area through zoning, inaccessibility, and the refusal of banks to provide mortgage loans for the Black community (Rothstein, 2017).

Finally, in my research, "neoliberalism" refers to an economic ideology focused on so-called "free market" capitalism—a complete deregulation of industry and commerce, privatization of public entities, minimal or no corporate taxes, market-driven economies and politics, and a view that social welfare is wasteful and incentivizes people not to work (Hohle, 2012). Neoliberal ideas in education include privatization, choice, vouchers, and charter schools.

Problem Statement

The structure of public education perpetuates class and race divisions. Weis and Fine (2012) submitted that U.S. public education is a prime example of structural oppression based on a historical foundation of race and class oppression. Siloed studies of educational outcomes by race and class have masked inequity from multiple systemic factors rooted in White supremacy which create an achievement gap between the marginalized and privileged. These studies have ignored the social reality that Black people are oppressed through racial and economic stigmas, stereotyping, and bias. Loury (2015) posited that Black progress in America is blocked by "vicious circles" of racial stigmatization from a cumulative causation that regenerates social and political attitudes of Black people and their predicament. Scholars must step back from reinforcing stigmatization of the victims of oppression to understand the economic, political, and judicial actions that contribute to this cumulative causation, and instead, refocus on the tools of oppression, including public education.

Du Bois (1935/1998) wrote about the "Negro problems" in America dating back to the late 17th and early 18th centuries, citing the country's capitalistic need for cheap, underpaid or stolen labor in order to build white wealth. U.S. capitalism provides a continuum model for exploitation and suppression of Black education benefiting a White supremacist ideology by educating Blacks for labor as opposed to individual economic or political advancement. Anyon (2011) argued that traditional scholars, politicians, and reformers cannot claim education is free of political and economic influences or deny that schools are tools of capitalism. It is widely acknowledged and accepted that modern capitalism depends on education inequity to support a free-market system, including a false expectation that these inequities will soon become obsolete (Bowles, 1972). My research comprised a critical historical examination of White supremacy and the economic, political, and judicial factors perpetuating the suppression of Black education for the benefit of capitalism.

My contextualized sociocultural case study focuses on the Duval County Public Schools (DCPS) in Jacksonville, Florida, during the time period between 1954 (when the Supreme Court declared, in *Brown vs. Board of Education,* that school segregation is unconstitutional) and 1964 (when Jacksonville's intentional underfunding caused its high schools to lose academic accreditation). The case study maps the trickle-down effect of the phenomenon of Black education suppression in a "dual school system" from the federal to the local level. Examining the phenomenon of intentional education inequity can provide new generalizations on how schools are set up for failure (Stake, 2005).

This study incorporates critical ethnographic phenomenological interviews, historical research, and narratives representing Black experiences with school inequity. The focal time

5

period of the research—following the Supreme Court's Constitutional mandate to desegregate education—illustrates starkly Jacksonville's well-documented history of political corruption, racism, and a failing school system in the face of court-ordered desegregation.

Jacksonville's staunch and massive resistance to desegregation for the cause of White supremacy resulted in the deterioration of the entire school system, leading directly to the city's loss of high school accreditation. Duval County's White supremacist approach to the "separate but equal" mandate was to sacrifice public education quality for all students in their dual school system to ensure that Black schools would suffer more and to perpetuate Black suppression. The children of the white hegemony were attending private or parochial schools, so there was little interest in the wellbeing of any public school students.

This research sought to show how the microcosm of the Duval County Public School district's systemic inequity is emblematic of the phenomenon of public education inequity in urban areas across the United States today.

Research Purpose and Rationale

My research focused on structural systemic drivers of inequitable education, namely the contrary forces of white privilege and Black dispossession which focus on neoliberal and White supremacist ideology, placing capitalism and racism over students. My critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study and contextualized sociocultural historical case study conceptualize a deeper perspective on inherent systemic racism in public education. The Duval County Public Schools' record of inequity by design to suppress Black education between 1954 and 1964 due to White supremacy influences is overt and overwhelming.

Chief Justice Warren's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* asked and answered the question, "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race…. deprive children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does" (Patterson, 2010, p. 66). The 1954 Supreme Court decision was intended to end school desegregation. As a result, it gave rise to the "Massive Resistance" movement of segregationists and White supremacists in opposition to desegregation. Duval County is a prime example of this resistance. Historical documentation, combined with experiential insight, provide a multi-level perspective on the Duval County Public Schools' systemic attempt to suppress Black education by withholding academic, financial, physical, and enrichment resources to Black schools and students.

Neoliberal education approaches (e.g., privatization) are touted as solutions to systemic inequity by design. However, these strategies actually serve as weapons for protecting the status quo. Hohle (2012) described neoliberal political and economic ideology as seeking minimal government intervention and public services while simultaneously supporting capitalism through privatization and low taxation. In response to the *Brown v. Board* ruling, Hohle asserted, Georgia Governor and Dixiecrat George Wallace adopted neoliberal ideology in the cause of segregation "now and forever," interlacing segregation with neoliberal political and economic policies supporting White supremacy.

Hohle (2012) posited that neoliberalism and White supremacist ideology view privatization and white takeover of public schools as improvements over inferior public education. In 1964, George Wallace's neoliberal policies focused on the liberal pro-business class, with racial language incorporated into tax cuts combined with a push toward privatization. He preached a political message that was simultaneously anti-tax and anti-

7

Black, playing on white resentment by promoting the belief that Blacks benefited more from government benefits and intervention than whites did. Hohle (2012) wrote, "Privatizing is different from dismantling and produces a different outcome: rather than social programs for the poor, the neoliberal approach maintains them as exclusive rights of the most privileged (i.e., white, wealthy) segments of U.S. society" (p. 160). This neoliberal belief allowed Alabama, for instance, to politically and legally maintain racially segregated schools (including segregation academies) even after *Brown v. Board*, thus perpetuating education inequity by design.

Saltman (2018) explained how neoliberalism attacks the very foundation of public education by perpetuating failing school systems while supporting a private—but publicly funded—alternative structure utilizing charter schools and private school vouchers. He noted that charter schools are profit-driven and therefore anti-union because of the higher pay scale unions require. The need to control overhead results in these schools often hiring fewer and less qualified teachers who are paid less without the support of public teachers' union-negotiated contracts. Driven by profit over education, few charter schools produce better academic outcomes than public schools based on standardized testing. Yet, few charter schools are held accountable for their performance or financial management. Additionally, "neo-vouchers" allow private school choice, incentivizing parents to withdraw their students from public schools and taking away state tax credits to be applied to private school education. These neoliberal strategies siphon student enrollment and needed revenue from public schools. This often results in school closures, perpetuating neoliberal privatization efforts. The neoliberal message is that competition weeds out the financially drained "bad" (public) schools and leaves the alleged "good" (privatized) schools to survive.

Sunderman et al. (2017) documented that the annual number of public school closures has nearly doubled since the 1995 passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), a neoliberal policy institutionalizing academic measurements. Such standardized, measurement-based policies have been used to shift the blame for educational underachievement on students and teachers, rather than the underlying institutional problems leading to underachievement. National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) data show the number of school closures between 2003 and 2015 averaged 1,500–2,000 annually in mostly Black and Brown, economically underserved communities (U.S. Department of Education, 2019). Neoliberalism uses the language of privatization to work around federal school desegregation rulings while simultaneously continuing to widen economic inequality.

Statistics have shown that privatization does not promote racial equity. A 2012 study of data from more than 70% of U.S. charter school students during the 2007–2008 academic year revealed that, overall, 37% of Black charter school students performed significantly worse than their matched traditional public school counterparts, and almost 50% were equal in academic performance to their public school peers. Although 17% of the charter school students outperformed their public school peers, charter schools overall suppressed Black education achievement compared to traditional public school students (Almond, 2012).

As part of this synergistic negative movement, the increasing failure in public school systems has reinforced additional neoliberal calls for policies in support of testing, choice, vouchers, and charter schools—all of which, as argued earlier, paradoxically increase segregation and the equity gap (Ravitch, 2014). This commodification of public education has caused the number of charter schools to grow at a record pace. For example, the Florida Department of Education reported that Florida's charter schools grew to over 655 in 2017–

2018, with student enrollment topping 295,000 students, representing more than 10% of the state's public school population (Florida Department of Education, n.d.). While the achievement gap is used to blame students and to privatize education, the gap only widens under this neoliberal action.

Neoliberals claim that privatization is a better option for public education, arguing that public schools yield fewer positive outcomes, are hindered by rising teacher salaries due to union negotiations, and are subject to inefficient use of resources and poor management. In Chicago during the late 1990s, neoliberals, with bipartisan government and corporate support, introduced a "corporate-style recentralization" to deconstruct public education. Proponents advocated for drastic school restructuring based on deregulation, privatization, and extreme resource reductions to exploit negative outcomes resulting from systemic inequities in funding, achievement, and pedagogy. These neoliberals cast the blame for the disparities on public school teachers and their unions while promoting privatization (Todd-Breland, 2018). Contradicting these advocacy claims, the Center for Popular Democracy stated that public funding for charter schools (including local, state, and federal expenditures) grew to more than $30 billion annually and documented $216 million in gross financial mismanagement, waste, fraud, and abuse in charter schools in 2016 (Center for Popular Democracy, 2016).

Public education is increasingly viewed by high-end investors as an annual $600 billion gold mine for profit-driven corporations from a variety of market entry points. Saltman (2018) observed that 14 for-profit national education management organizations (EMOs) for school management operate 70% of the for-profit charter schools in the United States. In turn, EMOs contract with charter management companies 94% of the time rather

than directly with public school districts. This includes corporations that are also textbook publishing businesses (e.g., NCS Pearson, McGraw Hill, and ETS) which benefit from standardized textbooks and curriculum through school textbook sales. These EMOs also invest in privately produced for-profit educational toys for special education students; special education certification programs; real-estate sold for schools; adaptive learning technologies; and other private innovations ostensibly created to provide creative and innovative learning but also driven by a profit motive.

In other words, neoliberalism in education promotes private profit and in so doing reveals the connection between politics and economics at the expense of the student. No Child Left Behind exemplified this connection by using standardized testing to support systematic privatization of education through vouchers, educational services, and charter schools (Weiner, 2007). Instead of promoting equal educational opportunity, NCLB allowed private business to capitalize on manipulated negative outcomes by exploiting the achievement gap and blaming failure on teachers and students, rather than on systemic inequity. The stated political imperative to correct racial imbalance in poorly performing schools has instead been distorted by neoliberal philosophy to create profit opportunities benefiting for-profit organizations at the expense of public education and the already systemically injured. The claims by neoliberals justifying pro-privatization public policy benefit neoliberal corporate sponsors while paradoxically widening the equity imbalance and creating a self-perpetuating justification for more privatization (Saltman, 2018).

Unsurprisingly, as Saltman (2018) noted, neoliberalism is gaining traction with more corporate investment in politicians (e.g., Citizens United corporate campaign funding). Profit-agenda policy and legislation for public education continues to be supported and

passed by both major political parties, which are indebted to corporate and hegemonic donors who in turn are supported by media espousing false privatization narratives. These "solutions" reinforce race and class segregation, perpetuate inequities, and make high-quality education available to only a very few (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Neoliberalism's current dominance in public education reinforces my contention that race- and class-based school inequity is intentional, not circumstantial.

The purpose of this research was to document that education inequity for Black students is intentionally designed to perpetuate White supremacy through neoliberal and racist policies. There is an epistemological need for a qualitative case study on the intersectionality of politics, economics, the judicial system, and racism in public education inequity. The suppression of Black education in the United States has been fostered through the U. S. Constitution (Marshall, 2001), slavery (Beckert & Rockman, 2016) and Reconstruction (Du Bois, 1935/1998), Jim Crow (Fairclough, 2002), residential segregation through the "redlining" of federal housing (Rothstein, 2017), and even desegregation itself (Bell, 2005). Closer examination of the political, economic, and judicial impact can provide a greater understanding of White supremacy influences on the suppression of Black education in the United States. Recognizing intentional systemic education inequity throughout the history of U.S. public education in this country, rather than focusing on its byproduct of the manipulated achievement gap, may lead to recognition of the actual sources of the problem and, eventually, to significant and targeted education and societal reform. Such reform would require an organized effort of concerned citizens, parents, students, policy makers, elected officials, and the courts at the federal, state, and local levels; otherwise, the status quo will be

maintained, even if through different means. This research is intended to provide a solid foundation for these constituents to build a case demanding equity at all levels.

The target audience for this research includes education researchers, economic and policy researchers, government officials and agencies, and the general population. The goal is to expose the full extent of systemic White supremacy across institutions at the national, state, and local levels which perpetuate education inequity and maintain economic and political inequity, thus preserving the status quo. Until the complexity of government and a capitalist influence is understood to be a tool for economic and political division, public education cannot improve outcomes and could actually create more harm by reinforcing class and race division.

Research Questions and Design

My critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study, along with a contextualized sociocultural case study, sought to understand how a White supremacist ideology influences U.S. economic, judicial, and political factors, perpetuates education inequity, and suppresses Black education. To achieve this goal, I conducted a case study of a single school district—Duval County in Jacksonville, Florida—which has a well-documented history of political and economic interference motivated by a White supremacist ideology. Duval County is a Deep South community with a racist history dating back to slavery. My case study was guided by the following research questions: In what ways was education inequity in the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 the result of intentional design? Are the findings of this case study applicable to other urban school districts—that is, is Duval County emblematic of a national phenomenon of education inequity by design? My critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study enriches this case study by

examining the resulting impact of intentional school inequity on Black students, teachers, and administrators. This case study reveals how White supremacist ideology perpetuates a continuum of systemic public education inequity by design and illustrates why Duval County is emblematic of a national phenomenon.

Taylor and Piche (1990) cited a national study presented to the U.S. Congress in 1990 documenting that "inequitable systems of school finance inflict disproportionate harm on minority and economically disadvantaged students" (p. ix) due to lack of resources and services. These students are primarily concentrated in the South, which has the lowest public education finance capacity, but there are also wide disparities in other states, including large industrials states. This is due to the high concentration of Blacks in poor urban communities. Public education financing relies primarily on local property taxes, leading to widespread disparities in expenditures among public school districts within states. Litigation in the 1970s and early 1980s attempted to compel states to provide more intervention with local school systems. However, local control ideology still persists, especially in the area of public school financing.

Although my study focused on one school district, this research reflects how White supremacist ideologies are entrenched in U.S. politics, economics, and the judiciary, and has suppressed Black education since slavery across the country. This research forefronts Black voices reflecting on their experiences during the time period of this study, providing a needed critical ethnographic phenomenological perspective. The study results provide a historical backdrop of political, economic, and judicial actions to reveal the intentional suppression of Black education through inequity by design which is emblematic of urban school districts nationally.

14

Researcher's Positionality

Pulido (2008) maintained that a scholar–activist is the intersection of one's value system, position in life, and external political factors that are beyond one's control. I am a middle-aged white woman of privilege—born, raised, and educated in Jacksonville, Florida, during an openly troubled racial period, including Jim Crow and its aftermath. I witnessed White supremacist influences throughout my own education in the Duval County Public Schools. Growing up in the South was a moral conundrum for me because I could neither accept nor change the racism that was normalized in the culture. Desegregation in schools began when I was in the fourth grade, when Black students were bused to my neighborhood white school. Over the course of my K–12 education, I attended seven schools: five public (four predominately white schools and one predominately Black school), a secular school (1 year), and an affluent preparatory school (2 years). I left for Boston after my public high school graduation in pursuit of a more progressive and liberal political economy. Attending multiple public and private schools in Jacksonville with white privilege provides a unique perspective through the education looking-glass and laid the foundation for my belief that school inequity is intentionally designed.

Being a white scholar of Black history presents many challenges as a researcher trying to understand and present a history that I have not lived and is not mine to claim. United States history is mostly told by white male scholars with a limited view of history based on their biases and experiences, and I am aware that this phenomenon can extend to my role as a researcher. My research attempted to broaden white historical documentation by seeking out Black historians and participants willing to share their experiential stories. My research was subject to my biases, expressed in the choices I make about what information to

15

include or exclude, and by the context of how the information is provided. I recognize my own limited worldview as one who is simultaneously a contributor to oppression through the use of my white privilege. The balancing of my position and research made me hypersensitive to the possibility of misrepresenting a history or voice that is not mine.

Fine (2006) discussed the challenges of controlling one's biases as a change agent in an ethno-political approach and cited Lillian Comas-Diaz's (2000) claim that taking sides is an ethical choice in the search for truth based on reason and compassion. By acknowledging and controlling biases, we as researchers gain greater clarity about our objectives and responsibilities. Torre et al. (2012), citing Martín-Baró (1994), held that acquiring new knowledge is not about exposing oneself to new perspectives, but about involving oneself and transforming reality to reflect what is and what is not, and how it ought to be.

Case Study Background

In early 1963, a group of Jacksonville citizens—including my father, Marvin R. Edwards—representing the community at large, formed the "School Bootstrap Committee" to gather findings and recommendations on the underperforming Duval County school district (M. Edwards, personal files). The most obvious problem with the school system was underfunding, but to illustrate the complexity of the problem, the committee focused on three areas: instruction, administration, and finance. The committee began its report by referencing a previous 1962 study on education in Jacksonville conducted by the Priorities Committee of the Community Development Program (a collaboration of more than 500 local residents). That study's report stated,

> The inferior financial support of our local school system, in comparison with those of
> other Florida counties and those of comparable size throughout the United States, is

not debatable. It is a fact to which the community must give the immediate attention of the highest level of its leadership. (School Bootstrap Committee, 1963).

The subsequent School Bootstrap Committee (1963) report included the following key findings:

- 12th grade students scored considerably lower on standardized tests than the state-wide average;

- there was clear and present danger of the high schools losing accreditation;

- the people of Jacksonville and Duval County were not concerned with the poor level of education being provided;

- textbooks, instructional materials, and equipment were inadequate for a quality education;

- the quality of instruction was "unduly burdened by politics";

- the curriculum did not provide real-world skills for economic opportunities;

- teacher pay was low, turnover was high, and teacher skills were inadequate;

- there was a high percentage of overcrowded classrooms, and teachers were assigned more students than acceptable;

- the Duval County Budget Commission exercised excessive control;

- Duval County had the only non-elected school board of the largest 20 school systems in the United States; and,

- a multiplicity of agencies had conflicting and overlapping authority over the Duval County Public Schools. (p. 2)

The committee summarized its recommendations with a focus on the unsustainable financial funding for the school district. There was no quick-and-easy fix due to the city's heavy reliance on the deliberate underfunding of certain schools through property tax revenue. At the time, Duval County was one of the richest counties per capita in Florida. Yet, despite that wealth, the county contributed less to public education per student through property taxes than any other county in the state. In fact, the county was $6 million behind the state average for funding. The committee therefore recommended an equitable reassessment of property values and implementing additional local taxes to support the public schools (School Bootstrap Committee, 1963).

The cause of this underfunding was both economic and political. Florida provided property owners with a "homestead exemption." Combined with deliberate under-assessment of property values in Jacksonville, the great majority of homeowners in Duval County paid no property taxes. Ultimately, the county would need to develop a long-term financial plan, including the identification of additional sources of revenue for schools to progress from their failing status to a quality system. The committee recommended that the school system be disaccredited to force community leaders to develop adequate funding (M. Edwards, personal communication, November 13, 1964).

This case study examines the various reports issued prior to and following the eventual lost accreditation of the 15 DCPS high schools due to intentional underfunding. Duval County had always operated a dual school system—that is, one for white schools and one for "Negro" schools—that continued long after the *Brown* ruling. The entire school system was a failing disaster, and the beginning of this case study is reflective of the poor condition of all the county's public schools.

One could argue that underfunding applied equally to all schools. However, the case-study analysis demonstrates that not only was the school system drastically underfunded, but the motivation for such poor funding was to ensure that Black students received disproportionately fewer resources while white students abandoned the public system for private education. The appropriation of county revenue and resources between the dual school systems was unequal by intentional design and severely impacted Black education more than white education.

Duval County

A review of Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 highlights systemic educational inequity by design under the influence of White supremacy. During a period of racial unrest in the 1960s, DCPS had an aggregated 30% dropout rate (Duval County Taxpayers Association, 1964). Simultaneously, the tax assessor's office assessed taxes at an average of 30% of the true property value which were then nullified by a Homestead Exemption Act (News Front, 1965). Duval County's dual school system and intentionally undervalued property tax assessment by a corrupt tax assessor restricting education revenue had been well documented (Martin, 1968). The underfunding and inequity of the public schools resulted in DCPS's loss of high school accreditation in 1964 (Crooks, 1998).

As shown in my analysis, this systemic underfunding impacted all DCPS students. The Supreme Court's 1896 "separate but equal" ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* served the needs of Duval County segregationists by legally allowing a dual education system that provided a lower funding appropriation to Black schools than white schools (Hurst, 2008). Since wealthy white residents could send their children to private or parochial schools, the

19

public schools were not a priority for wealthy white taxpayers. Therefore, Duval County sought to avoid providing too much education to Black students by lowering the bar for all students and calling the system separate but equal. However, equal and equitable are not the same. As low as the bar was set for the school system as a whole, it was barely off the ground for Black students.

My father became a Jacksonville public education advocate in 1958, recognizing that underfunded schools could not produce a quality education. As an economist, he coined the phrase "politinomics," referring to the interrelationship of economic and political interests he believed impacts everything from business interests to social policy ("'Politinomist' Sees U.S. Crisis," 1979). In a high school paper, Edwards used politinomics to predict the inevitability of World War II, two years prior to the war (Edwards & Brandenburg, 2017). His politinomic forecasting theory was so accurate that he earned praise from *Business Week* ("The Economists Predict," 1974) as one of the "very few exceptions" among economists predicting the recession of the 1970s. Edwards, who cared deeply about the importance of education, applied his politinomic approach to understanding and documenting Jacksonville's prolific history of racism, political corruption, and economics on the education system, inspiring my research.

Jacksonville's record of politinomic influences and racism provides insight into other failing school districts with inequity perpetuated through institutionalized White supremacy. Predominantly Black urban school districts share similar negative student outcomes (i.e., high dropout rates, achievement gaps, school-to-prison pipeline) with the majority of blame placed on teachers and students, often resulting in the firing of staff or school closures. What

is society's responsibility in addressing systemic inequity by design within school systems that set up Black students for failure?

Theoretical Framework

Neither politics nor public education can be studied intelligently without also studying the elements that support and shape both—the people and the economy.

(National Education Association, 1966)

Education inequity in the United States persists because education is a reflection of political and economic ideology based on, and meant to reinforce, a White supremacist ideology. Fine (2006), citing Bronfenbrenner (1979), claimed that social researchers must look across societal levels and challenge generally accepted explanations that blame individuals. Expanding the levels of analysis to question hegemonic power's impact on history, structure, social relations, and lives makes the connections between each of these elements visible.

"Critical bifocality" (Weis & Fine, 2012) reveals the relationship between groups and power structures, policies, history, and sociopolitical organizations. A critical bifocal view of the historical relationships between race and power structures focuses on the epistemology of "circuits of dispossession" (Fine & Ruglis, 2009) created through a political economy separating privileged from non-privileged students. Critical bifocality is particularly useful in understanding the history of how U.S. education inequity unfairly impacts students of lower socioeconomic status and people of color (Gorski, 2014). Paradoxically, although one would expect that inequities demonstrated through neoliberal standardized testing would trigger increased funding to schools to address these inequities,

failing outcomes have often resulted in reduced funding and even school closures (Ravitch, 2014).

Neoliberal ideology represents the intersection between capitalism and racism. Therefore, this study relies on two theoretical concepts: neo-Marxism and critical race theory (CRT). Neo-Marxism, like Marxism, views societal struggles as being between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, neither theory acknowledges the history of one racial group's subjugation to another. To understand the evolution of racism in education inequity, both class and race struggles must be examined. Neo-Marxism and CRT offer separate but overlapping tenets that help explain how historical factors and a White supremacist ideology culminate in education inequity suppressing Black education.

Marxism focuses on the class struggle between the worker and the bourgeoisie, and the latter's intent to maintain a working class to serve the production needs of a society (Marx & Engels, 2018). Neo-Marxism expands Marxism's narrow focus on economic class to include the influence of politics, economics, and racism within systemic oppression (Anyon, 2011; Bowles & Gintis, 2011). Critical race theory focuses less on economic motives for oppression and views White supremacy as a permanent systemic effort to control people of color through social reproduction (Crotty, 2015; Dumas, 2013; Morrison, 2015). These systems are often viewed as running along parallel tracks, but a closer examination of the intersectionality between capitalism and race provides a greater understanding of the roots and impact of White supremacy (Crenshaw, 1991). Historical factors viewed through a neo-Marxist and CRT framework provide a deeper explanation of the societal intent of education inequity and the resulting social reproduction perpetuating White supremacy.

At root, White supremacy is a caste system. Myrdal's (1944/2017) "white man's theory of color caste" comprised three key components: (1) the concern for "race purity" at any cost; (2) rejection of "social equality"; and (3) the presence of segregation and discrimination in all aspects of life, including education, housing, justice, politics, houses of worship, businesses, employment, and recreation (p. 58). Nelson (1986) examined the effects of the U.S. caste system and race relations on multiple levels. He started with the dominant group's prejudices and how they impact education, income, and employment gaps between the dominant group and the oppressed group. Nelson maintained that whites developed a racial dividing line promoting conflict between Blacks and whites which became an accepted societal norm. He concluded that, since colonial times, society has defined groups of Blacks and whites by distinct, lasting "corporate entities" in order to perpetuate White supremacy. Crenshaw (1991) posited that the intersectionality between capitalism and race creates a deeper dimension of disempowerment through White supremacy.

Student marginalization in schools may result from cultural differences, knowledge gaps, and socioeconomic status (Akin & Neumann, 2013). Often, students are told anyone can achieve the "American dream," but as Stratton (2016) documented, public education promises advancement opportunities while simultaneously marginalizing students to support a capitalist industrial workforce development system. The American dream is systemically out of reach for most marginalized students due to education inequity, which prevents socioeconomic mobility and deters civic engagement. Education inequity perpetuates dispossession through a class system in which economics, reinforced by ruling-class politics, rewards the privileged and punishes the poor. Coles (2018) argued that corporations use

23

schools as a method of occupational development. Corporations want schools to focus on society's economic needs rather than education centered on student advancement.

Du Bois (1935/1998) contended convincingly that the country's foundation of capitalism is race-based Black American slavery: "Their slavery was a matter of both race and social condition, but the condition was limited and determined by race" (p. 5). The commodification of slaves included their captivity, sale, production and productivity, and even their reproduction. Individual slave financial value was assessed based on productivity expectations and measurements. Slaves were insured, used as collateral, and depreciated based upon their individual economic worth (Beckert & Rockman, 2016).

By opening Marxist theory to political and ideological influences, neo-Marxists can expand on key Marxist principles in education. Anyon (2011) postulated that mainstream scholars and politicians cannot credibly dispute the influence of politics and economics within schools and neighborhoods. She viewed schools as profit centers for capitalism and as a pathway for dictated social reproduction. Similarly, Bowles and Gintis (2011) argued that schooling for the poor is actually a process "done to the poor," with politics and economics manufacturing inequities that keep the marginalized oppressed.

Neo-Marxism in Education

Industrial society needed masses of literate but not necessarily intellectual men: hence the school system that developed in the beginning of the century met the needs of American society quite adequately. (Silberman, 1964, p. 252)

Marx related views of class struggle to a political struggle tied to productivity economics. As the bourgeoisie (slave owners) increased their wealth through (illegitimate) property attainment, the proletariat (slaves) struggled to survive, with no ability to obtain

property (Marx & Engels, 1848/2018). Capitalists require their own social class with social, economic, and political power. Furthermore, Marx held that capitalism's influence on education is a way to maintain this social structure (Marx & Engels, 1848/2018).

Marxists such as Przeworski view class as a reciprocal, even equal, combination of objective structures and human agency in a reactive state of struggle. Przeworski (1977) stated that class is the result of economic, political, and ideological struggles from objective conditions and claimed that historical outcomes are indeterminate. Marx's (1848/2018) conception of class struggle as a political struggle tied to the economics of productivity aligns with the bourgeoisie increasing their wealth through property attainment, while the proletarians struggle to survive, with no ability to obtain property.

Marxism views the proletariat as constituting a "universal class," with generally identical societal interests. Marxism's defenders argue that race differences do not need to be acknowledged because a universal class that is emancipated from capitalism "will produce a 'universal emancipation' from oppression, domination and exploitation" (Llorente, 2013, p. 536). Critics of Marxism, however, dismiss this concept of a universal class. Kulikoff (2018), for instance, contended that Marx understood industrialization as making the worker and human labor a commodity under capitalism, oppressed by the wealthy hegemony.

Weber (2015) criticized Marxist theory as overly focused on economics to the neglect of its social implications. Weber saw political structure as an equally important domination mechanism as economic production. Weber viewed the state as the "human community that [successfully] claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (p. 48). Gramsci (as cited in Gorman, 1985) considered the "interpreted human behavior, ideas, and symbols in relation to their historical environment and the transhistorical

patterns they manifest" (p. 179). Marxism focuses on the connection between the practice of capitalism and the bourgeois philosophy of wealth and power, but it is limited by the exclusion of the social impact from various perspectives. In order to make Marxism applicable to education inequity, other influences of oppression, including race, must be considered.

Eric Hanushek (1994) of the Brookings Institute stated that financial expenditures on education produce a societal and economic return on investment for students and society. This expenditure favors a capitalist society and the development of a permanent underclass workforce over the social advancement of students. Capitalism, combined with political pressure, reinforces societal classism. "Classism," here, is defined as a systemic oppression resulting in inequitable treatment and opportunity based on social class to perpetuate the separation of the privileged from the marginalized (Manza & Sauder, 2009). Classism creates dispossession through a subliminal, embedded education agenda or "hidden curriculum" that promotes social-class reproduction through a variety of mechanisms, including funding, curriculum, and measurements that protect the wealthy and place boundaries around the oppressed (Giroux, 2001).

Apple (1990) laid the groundwork for a neo-Marxist application to education inequity, stating that educational issues are fundamentally based on ethics, economics, and politics. Anyon (2011) further built on Harvey's theory of "accumulation by dispossession," or the concept of taking away public resources by the hegemony and privatizing them for profit. This occurs when the wealthy have an excess of capital and increase their accumulation of profits by creating opportunity in the public sector. Anyon applied

dispossession to the increasing neoliberal stance of privatizing public resources, including education through such mechanisms as vouchers and charter schools.

Apple (2012) argued that, rather than providing a means of social mobility, education is the key to maintaining oppression and domination by intentional design through social reproduction for an unequal society based on a formal or hidden curriculum supporting capitalism. Anyon (2011) pointed out the relevance of neo-Marxism in education research by defining its major tenets: capitalism causing systemic inequity; reinforcement of classism in education; and capitalistic norms manifested in classroom pedagogy. Anyon's (1980) research focusing on teaching objectives and methodology at schools of different socioeconomic levels found wide variations among working-class, middle-class, and affluent schools. Students at lower social class schools received more training for mechanical and routine employment jobs, while more affluent school students developed skills around empowerment and acquiring capital, preparing them for their protected status at the top of the socioeconomic ladder. These variations reflect the impact of politinomics in education.

Bowles (1972) and Anyon (2011) provided a neo-Marxist lens onto the politinomic impact on schools benefiting industry and the hegemony. Bowles viewed school systems as being focused on capitalist needs for skilled labor and political suppression over social equity. Both Bowles and Anyon saw schools as an increasingly systemic process of class structure reproduction, expanding the gap between the well-educated and the labor market. Bowles attributed this problem to capitalism's political ability to maintain the status quo of educational inequality, thus legitimizing and perpetuating the system. Yet, what about the intersectionality with race in education inequity beyond capitalism and political economy?

Watkins (2001) suggested that a state's ideology and political economy incorporate power, race, and class in public education to control labor expropriation, wages, and wealth distribution. In *Who Shall Be Educated,* Warner et al. (1944) asserted that education inequities by intentional design are intended to oppress many who seek to progress in an unequal society. A 2015 article in *The Economist* ("America's New Aristocracy") stated that America is one of only three advanced countries where education spending favors those who are privileged, with higher government spending in wealthier areas than economically depressed communities. The Education Trust's report, *The Funding Gap 2005*, reflected that the poorest school districts in 27 of 49 states received fewer resources than more affluent districts. When looking at district funding by race, 30 states reflected less funding of high-minority student districts than predominately white school districts (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

There is a research gap in relation to the impact of White supremacist ideology on public education inequity. About *Brown v. Board of Education*, Judge Robert L. Carter wrote,

> Few in the country, Black or white, understood in 1954 that racial segregation was merely a symptom, not the disease; that the real sickness is that our society in all its manifestations is geared to the maintenance of white superiority. (as cited in Kohli et al., 2017, p.184).

Most research on racism in education has ignored the role of government and the law, focusing instead on resource deficits, racial bias, achievement gaps, colorblindness, and individual productivity issues (Ravitch, 2014). This study examines the role of the government and the law in perpetuating education inequity.

Critical Race Theory in Education

Is there a quandary in weighting factors such as class and race in education research? Crenshaw (1991) explored this question by focusing on the intersectionality of multiple factors affecting women of color who have been abused. Crenshaw examined where systems of race, gender, and class domination intersected in abuse-intervention strategies and found that, based on singular factors, strategies provided limited help due to distinct obstacles posed by each factor. Abused women of color fall into varying economic, social, and political environments. For example, one woman could be in a higher social and economic class than another woman but suffer the same level of abuse because abusive male domination is not specific to class or status. As Crenshaw noted, the higher the level women fell within these categories, the more help they received compared to those at the lower end of the spectrum. Crenshaw observed, "Intersectional subordination need not be intentionally produced; in fact, it is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden that interacts with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment" (p. 1249). My research was based on the belief that there is no hierarchy between class and race for Black people in the United State, and, as Crenshaw conceded, the intersectionality between the two create a deeper dimension of disempowerment through White supremacy. Although Crenshaw stipulated this intersectionality need not be intentional, I believe it is intentional within education inequity.

Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* (1935/1998) laid the groundwork for the intersectionality of Marxist theory and CRT within capitalism. Du Bois framed a critical history of the role of Black slaves serving as capitalist tools based on a codependency of labor and race. Although white workers were exploited, slavery was specific to Black

workers and meant to oppress an entire race of people. Du Bois noted, "The resulting color caste founded and retained by capitalism was adopted, forwarded and approved by white labor and resulted in subordination of colored labor to white profits the world over" (p. 30). Du Bois added that the difference between slavery and white exploitation of workers is the psychological impact of slavery, forcing Black people to feel hopeless, defenseless, and helpless while under the power of another human being. Enslavers owned the bodies of slaves, who were therefore considered private property—a defining characteristic of capitalism. Critical race theorists argue that these same feelings are projected in a dual education system designed for Blacks to fail by conveying the message that Black students are neither capable of nor expected to achieve success due to perceived racial deficits (Kohli et al., 2017).

Ladson-Billings (2006) argued that scholarly work has perpetuated the history of blaming the students, not the system, for their lack of educational advancement either due to inherent lack of ability or poor attitude. In the 1960s, scholars "identified cultural deficit theories" suggesting that lifestyles interfered with learning and contending that Black students would benefit the most from being placed in integrated classrooms. Many scholars believed academic outcomes result from schools' student composition, students' ability to control their environment and destiny, teachers' "verbal skills," and students' family background. Family background became the focus for future scholars and school policies, presenting a "stereotype threat." More recently, scholars have focused on mismatched culture, the school itself, and pedagogical teacher practices, instead of stepping back and viewing inequality throughout the entire education system.

Ladson-Billings (2006) disagreed, claiming that it is time to reverse stereotypes of student ability, built over time based upon history, economics, sociopolitical factors, and social norms, and to look closely at "education debt" caused by the system. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) viewed critical race as a major influencer of school inequity because U.S. society is built on property rights and racial inequity and, education funding is driven by property taxes. Affluent white communities are not generally interested in subsidizing poor and non-white school systems. My research focused on the intersectionality of the property theory and how neighborhoods, taxes, and systemic lack of wealth perpetuate systemic oppression of Black students.

Morrison (2015) referred to race as a metaphorical threat and as "a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division" (p. 63). Critical race theory views social reproduction as emphasizing the interactions of racialized societal relationships serving hegemonic interests (Crotty, 2015). According to Crenshaw (1995), the purpose of CRT is to understand how White supremacy has become systemic in America so that it can be challenged and changed. Dumas (2013) noted that CRT researchers contend "that racism is permanent, and that race informs education policy in ways that maintain white supremacy at the expense of people of color" (p. 25). Vaught (2011) presented a compelling case for CRT in educational research since (1) racism is systemic in society and politics, (2) race and equity lack historical and societal perspectives, (3) CRT provides a counter-narrative for people of color, and (4) CRT looks to disrupt the status quo.

Delgado and Stefancic (2016) contended that racial hierarchies separate Black students from white students. White students benefit from privilege and status in jobs,

schools, social actions, and everyday activities. Suppression of Black students began in the days of slavery when Black children were denied educational opportunity for fear they would rise up against White supremacy and because Black students were not believed to be intellectually capable of learning. Critical "revisionist history" allows researchers to dissect historical factors using CRT to evaluate the impact of history on particular groups of people based upon their race (Delgado & Stefanic, 2016).

Freed slaves threatened the economic needs of the Southern oligarchs which was ultimately a threat to White supremacy leading to the tight state control of education (Rury, 2016). Southern officials laid the foundation for the perpetuation of educational inequities by opposing Black education. For example, J. Thomas Heflin stated at the 1902 Alabama Constitutional Convention, "The negroes are being educated very rapidly … and I do not believe it is incumbent upon us to lift him up and educate him on an equal footing" (Litwack, 1998, p. 104). Overt and covert racist methodologies continue to suppress Black education. Jacksonville's glacial rate of school integration and its history of vast school inequities exemplify these methodologies.

Bakan and Dua (2014) addressed the complexity of combining neo-Marxism with CRT for researchers due to each theory's stated divide that stresses either class or race as the primary basis for oppression. The neo-Marxist view is perceived as focusing on materialization and its relationship to race and class, but CRT scholars maintain that neo-Marxism fails to look *within* class formations as opposed to just between them. Bakan and Dua comingled Marxist and CRT theories by looking at the system of capitalism, the state, and ideology, merging these components with the racial impact of colonization, nationalism,

and whiteness. By reviewing the Southern history of White supremacy in politics and economics, this study maps the continuum of how these factors suppress Black education and support Black oppression.

Contributions to the Field

School segregation in the South had, for generations, been supported by law; in the North, segregation has been supported by community custom and indifference. It is assumed that children should go to school where they live, and if they live in segregated neighborhoods, they are, as a matter of course, segregated…. Segregation and inferior education reinforce each other. (Glaude, 2017, p. 111)

Most current education scholars center their research on issues within the system such as resource deficits, racist bias, achievement gaps, colorblindness, and individual productivity (Kohli et al., 2017). Aronowitz (1990) observed that American Marxist theorists focus primarily on the economic roots of hegemonic ideas and policies, but not the evidence of racism in education. Apple (2012) contended that the hegemony is not an independent group but part of the state influencing education through curriculum, funding, and policy that supports class domination. There is a research gap regarding intentional inequity caused by political, economic, and judicial influences entwined with a White supremacist ideology which systemically suppress Black education through inequity.

Kum-Kum Bhavnani (1994, as cited in Fine, 2006) observed that a historical research approach questions the political economy that produces knowledge to allow objectivity and truth as it is historically situated within a phenomenon. By understanding the intent behind specific factors in history, rather than just accepting the narrative, the pattern of intentional systemic education inequity can be revealed. By looking at the history of education and the

influences of politics, economics, and the judicial system on education inequity, researchers can begin to systemically deconstruct a system designed for inequity.

I chose to conduct a case study of Duval County and the influence of White supremacy on education inequity by design because the South is often thought of as the most racist region of the United States. Monroe and Morris (2009) noted that little scholarship has focused on systemic racism in education in Southern states, contending that to really understand the foundation of education inequity, one must begin with Black educational history in this region. The history of slavery and legalized segregation in the South, combined with the perpetuation of institutional Black disenfranchisement through education is the key to understanding the broader phenomenon of education inequity nationally. Monroe and Morris submitted that "most contemporary educational and social science studies ignore the South as a critical racial, cultural, political, and economic backdrop in Black education" (p. 21). They concluded that the lack of scholarship on historical Black education in the South provides "an uneven understanding of Black academic performance throughout the United States" (p. 21) given that the majority of the nation's Black population has always resided in the region impacted most by institutional White supremacy.

This contextualized sociocultural case study addresses the phenomenon of education inequity suppressing Black education in the United States by documenting the systemic methods setting up students and schools to fall behind or fail outright. Neoliberal policies fault students and teachers for inequities brought on by an inequitable system. Research has often focused on student outcomes, and decision makers have penalized inadequately resourced schools by providing less funding, laying off staff, closing schools, or providing

34

commodified opportunities to students through vouchers and charter schools. These options

perpetuate inequity and serve as false education improvements through privatization.

My contextualized sociocultural case study traces the historical trickle-down impact

of a White supremacist ideology in the Duval County Public Schools between the time of the

Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954 until the district's loss of high school

accreditation in 1964. Analyzing the influence of a White supremacist ideology entwined

with economics, judicial decisions, and politics enhances the understanding of how education

inequity by design has shaped urban school districts across the United States. By revealing

the influence of White supremacy's perpetuation of education inequity in DCPS, future

research on other districts may strengthen the case for documenting inequity by design on a

national basis and lead to a demand for federal action to ensure school equity as a

fundamental right. Instead of using history to merely justify the present, history must be

researched to progress to the future.

<div align="center">**Summary**</div>

O'Connell (2012) argued the legacy of slavery is still applicable to education inequity

due to economic disparities and the impact on educational and political institutions. Because

of the high concentration of descendants of slaves in certain Southern communities, "the

distribution of resources across and within schools in local areas … may be such that Blacks

receive a lower quality education than whites resulting in lower qualifications for the labor

market and less political power" (O'Connell, 2012, p. 279).

The U.S. Constitution's 14th Amendment guarantees equal protection but not equal

education. Local financing is both the backbone of education and, at the same time, the driver

of inequity. White hegemony is concerned with preserving privilege, the ability to reside

within one's class environment, and the belief that the poor are unable to evaluate their

education options (Wise, 1968). Until the drivers of education inequity (overt and covert) are

made visible and more widely understood, systems of inequity cannot be dismantled.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW I: DUVAL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, INEQUITY, AND

THE SOUTH

The predominant consideration in the architecture of Southern political institutions

has been to assure locally a subordination of the Negro population and, externally, to

block threatened interference from the outside with these local arrangements. (Key,

(2011, p. 665)

History reveals key moments when America had the opportunity to provide equality

and equity to Black people but failed. Dumas (2013) observed, "Desegregation and

subsequent racial equity policies have become sites of a specific form of school malaise, in

which the possibility of educational access and opportunity seems increasingly (and even

intentionally) elusive" (p. 3). As Black students continue to suffer due to various forms of

education inequity, they are blamed for their failure "either as a result of laziness or lack of

innate ability" (p. 8). This belief is the bedrock of a systemic White supremacist ideology

infiltrating every aspect of American society, especially in education.

My research goal was to revise the narrative concerning public education to reveal

systemic racism in education from the influence of a White supremacist ideology through

politics, economics, and the judicial system. This critical revision demonstrates that the

problem with public education is not its students but the system itself. By understanding the

intent behind specific historical factors, rather than merely accepting the narrative, the pattern

of intentional systemic education inequity can be revealed.

This chapter examines how systemic White supremacist ideology entwined with key

political, economic, judicial decisions, and social influences in Southern history drove overt

and covert action that ultimately resulted education inequity by design in the Duval Country

Public Schools. As Fine (2006) explained, dissecting history, rather than accepting it at face

value without question, leads to an understanding of why certain things happen and how they

impact society. She argued that historical context matters because history is social in origin;

by understanding the past, one can see who has been privileged and who has been

suppressed. Reviewing history production offers knowledge about more than just the

outcomes. Awareness of contributing factors and influences can provide an understanding of

intent. Revealing the intent behind factors leading to Black education suppression in the

United States disrupts the status quo. My research findings show how transverse government

influences ultimately impacted DCPS between 1954 and 1964. The following literature

review provides my mental roadmap for this exploration.

Why the Duval County Public Schools Between 1954 and 1964?

Why study the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1965, with its dual

school system, and specifically its response to the *Brown* decision for this case study? The

meanings of "separate but equal" and truly equal or "equitable" are worlds apart. "Equal"

may mean having the same number of things but does not guarantee those things are of the

same quality. Reader, if we each have an ear of corn on our dinner plates, but yours is full,

sweet, mature, and robust, and mine is withered, stunted, dry, and infected with insects, have

we been served an "equal" dinner? For over a decade, particularly between 1954 and 1964, officials at the Duval County Public Schools (named hereafter "Duval") would have said our plates were "separate and equal." Duval had a dual public school system, with one serving Black students and the other serving white students. Yet, the schools and the quality of the resources and education provided were demonstrably, dramatically, and intentionally different.

This case study focuses on the intentional and systemic unequal distribution of resources for Black and white schools to illustrate White supremacy's systemic inequity by intentional design. Duval's history is not an aberrance from national education systems; rather, it is emblematic of it. A school's location in the United States does not matter, and White supremacy is a nationally accepted ideology that has been perpetuated as "normal" for generations.

Residential Segregation

Neighborhood racial segregation by design resulted in school segregation, with a dual school system for Black and white students. Figure 1 shows how Duval segregated its neighborhoods, with Blacks restricted primarily to the inner city or to concentrated areas outside of downtown.

Figure 1

Duval County, Black and White Neighborhoods, 1945
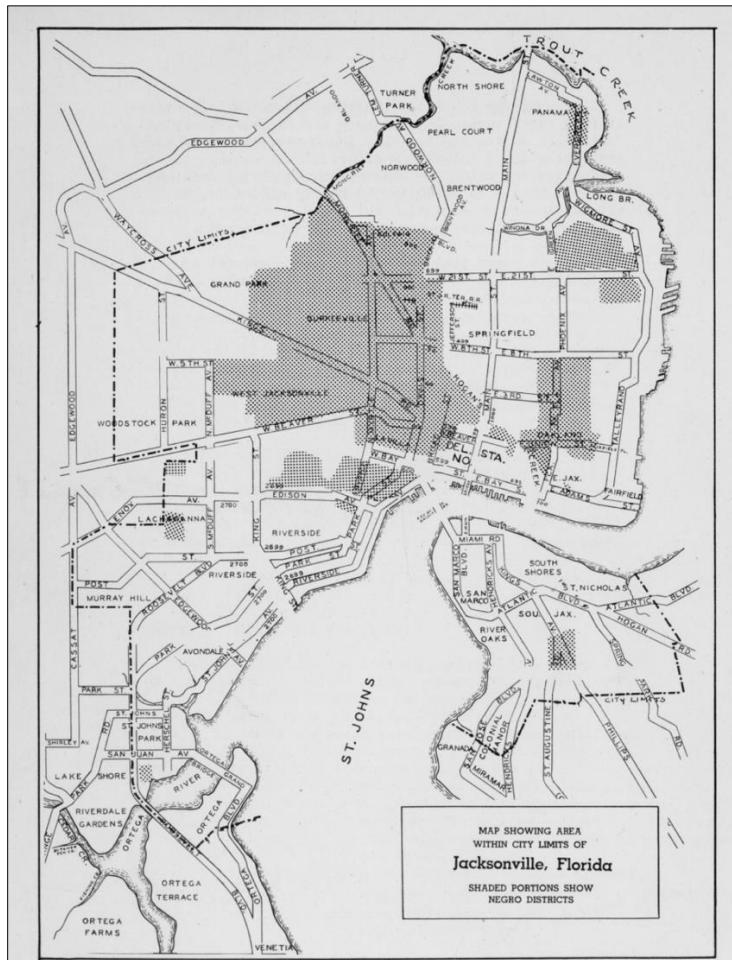
Note. Source: Council of Social Agencies, 1946, p. iv.

This case study represents education inequity by design with a focus on politics, economics, the judiciary, and White supremacist ideology. Duval County Public Schools is representative of the phenomenon of national public education inequity and was truly a product of the imperatives of the governing white elite, as well as the economics and the politics of the region. As noted earlier, the difference in education provided to Black students was as different as those two ears of corn. This research shows how segregation in

Jacksonville was such an imperative that Duval's leaders and politicians were willing to allow its educational house to rot and collapse in order to preserve the status quo of inequity.

Politics

The National Education Association's (NEA) 1966 report on Florida's educational system stated that the term "political atmosphere" is subject to different interpretations based on influences, controls, power, and decision makers in education. To clarify the meaning of this term as it is used in this research, I accept the NEA's premise that public schools are both part of and run by government. For county school districts connected to both the state and the local government by the state constitution, adopting this premise means one must study state and local governments and their organizational framework.

The political atmosphere of the South is entwined at the regional, state, and county levels, and is largely driven by racial and economic inequality. Openly and later tacitly, segregationist elected officials have included senators, governors, mayors, county officials, and education superintendents from Reconstruction through at least the 20th century. Florida's constitution enshrined the spirit of the Black Codes and Jim Crow by specifically mandating public school segregation (Colburn, 2007). Florida's resistance to *Brown v. Board of Education* was a transverse political issue in all levels of government, from the Duval tax assessor to Florida's governor, with the segregationist candidates finding their way to political power.

Economics

Bartley (2000) traced the impact of capitalism and white supremacy on public education in Duval County from slavery to the 20th century. Jacksonville was a predominately Black community, having the largest Black population in Florida from the

state's inception in 1821. The Jacksonville slave population was integral to the expanding tourism business in the area and to other semi-skilled and unskilled jobs necessary for urban development. Blacks in Jacksonville were restricted to living in eight designated neighborhoods, while whites lived in the peripheral areas. As the Black population was growing in economic and political power, it was viewed as a threat to white power (Bartley, 2000).

Education inequity was needed to maintain an unskilled workforce, prevent Blacks from competing for white jobs, and keep Blacks from advancing economically. Residential restrictions resulted in high neighborhood concentrations of low-income Black families, producing minimal property taxes for education (Bartley, 2000). The lack of Black property taxes became a mobilizing message for whites who saw themselves as subsidizing Black education, with little benefit for themselves. White taxpayers either believed Blacks could not be educated or, conversely, saw educated Blacks as a threat to White supremacy. Culturally, politically, and economically, the post-Reconstruction South, and particularly Jacksonville, was determined to maintain this stratified economic status quo.

Brown v. Board of Education

Plessy v. Ferguson's validation of the largely Southern myth of "separate but equal" education, and *Brown v. Board of Education's* (named hereafter "*Brown*") invalidation of that myth, reverberated through the political, economic, judicial, and educational worlds for Blacks across the United States, particularly in the South. After *Brown* mandated that states integrate schools "with all deliberate speed," white supremacists across Florida rose up to defend their perceived rights, under Florida's constitution, to "separate but equal" and their dual school system (Bartley, 2000). The South is generally viewed as an openly racist region

of the country, and signs of white supremacy are not difficult to discern. However, even though overt white supremacy may be easier to trace in the South, history reflects that many of these same methods of Black suppression have been applied across the entire country.

Jacksonville, in particular, has a long history of racism playing a major role in the political, economic, judicial, and educational development of the city (Bartley, 2000). In keeping with that history, Duval was home to one of the strongest resistance movements to integration and was one of the last school districts in the country to fully integrate (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* 1971). Duval's school district was marked by persistent, intransigent, and illegal disobedience of court orders more than a decade and a half after segregated education was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In 1971, U.S. District Judge Gerald B. Tjoflat ordered the Duval County School Board to implement full desegregation after decades of resistance, rendering what seemed a final decision on over 10 years of litigation claiming that integration was a violation of states' rights under the Florida Constitution (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* 1971). Still, litigation to enforce that decision lingered for nearly another decade.

In the United States, Duval County is a microcosm of education inequity by design supporting White supremacy, but the phenomenon of intentional education inequity is more common than previous research has suggested. My qualitative study interviews with Black students, teachers, and administrators who were engaged with the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 inspired my case study research. The study offers an overview of life for Black residents in Duval County and in the public schools during a period of open racism and segregation and comprises actual quotes from the interviewees. The reflections from the qualitative study are strongly supported by historical facts and

43

documentation. Although this study focuses on a single Southern school system, additional historical research on other school districts may indicate that it is emblematic of the systemic racism that has suppressed Black education since slavery across the country.

Jacksonville and the Duval County Public Schools Prior to 1954

The entire problem of Black education seems to lie in the socio-economic status of the Black race. Funding and public support were the two greatest needs in the development of Black education, yet they were in the shortest supply. (White, 1976, p. 216)

Early History

Bartley (2000) described Jacksonville as a "historical and cultural city" from its inception in 1821. Blacks have been the largest minority population in the city since slavery. Prior to the Civil War, Jacksonville was one of only three Florida communities with a population over 2,000 people. Jacksonville's slave population comprised over 42% of the entire population, with 908 slaves and an additional 87 free Blacks who were restricted to one segregated residential area. Both slaves and free Blacks were subject to harsh regulations by the state and the city. Industry was limited, with the predominant commerce being small-scale farming. There were also lumber, brick, and tannery industries, and tourism was expanding. The needed unskilled labor workforce consisted predominately of slave labor (Bartley, 2000).

Bartley (2000) documented that, following the end of Reconstruction, white Southerners rebuilt a political, economic, and social system around White supremacy, including the school system. Segregation in all public and private schools was protected and mandated by the 1865 Florida Constitution. As the racial divide between students widened in

Jacksonville between 1900 and 1945, Blacks were left fighting for better education, more funding, and adequate schools. Prior to 1926, parents had to purchase school supplies for their children, a particular hardship for poor Black families. When the state began providing textbooks in 1926, state and local officials provided new books to white schools and sent the outdated textbooks to Black schools (Bartley, 2000).

Throughout Jacksonville's history from the late 1800s into the early 1900s, White supremacy was well entrenched and politically imposed "through legislation, constitutional conventions, judicial decisions, and private associations" (Cassanello, 2016, p. 152). When Blacks challenged the status quo, they were quickly dealt with in an effort to curtail their influence and remove them from white sight. Poor whites were just as committed to the cause of White supremacy as wealthy white families (Cassanello, 2016).

The 20th Century

The Council of Social Agencies (1946) prepared a comprehensive report entitled *Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community*, which examined the status of Blacks in the areas of health, job opportunities, education, and housing. The report presented a dismal state of affairs for Blacks living in Jacksonville. The Black death rate was 50% higher than whites; the infant mortality rate was at 76 deaths per 1,000 births and was twice the rate of whites; and tuberculosis was the leading cause of death among Blacks. The Black community's segregated healthcare system had only one understaffed and an under-resourced hospital with just 10 Black doctors serving a community of 68,000 Black residents. Black residents dealt with a high murder rate and poor infrastructure, including unpaved streets and a lack of sewer service for thousands. Housing was old and unsafe, and economic opportunity was restricted to mostly unskilled job opportunities. The education system was even more lacking.

White (1981) noted that Duval County had no interest in providing an equal and equitable public school program, regardless of the influx of Northern money for Black education. As White enumerated, in 1926,

- the average daily attendance was 6,886 Black students;

- 2,400 Black students attended schools on double sessions;

- 1,400 Black students attended classes of 50 or more pupils;

- 1,500 Black students attended classes in basement rooms, corridors, or on converted stages;

- the ratio of white teachers to students was 1:24 while the Black teacher student ratio was 1:45;

- Black teachers in Jacksonville averaged almost 10 years of teaching experience and taught more children, with a median salary of $720, while the median salary for white teachers was $1,290; and,

- Blacks students had a higher dropout rate than white students.

White also cited a report on Duval County Black schools describing "the poor ventilation, filthy classrooms, narrow dark stuffy corridors, rickety stairways and the non-existent or filthy vermin ridden restrooms," and concluding that "the colored schools can hardly be considered part of the system" (White, 1981, p. 174).

The history of a dual and inequitable school system in Jacksonville has been well documented. Poppell (1998) cited a 1927 report on the Duval County Schools (conducted by Teachers College at Columbia University and directed by George D. Strayer) stating that Black schools were essentially excluded from the system. The report described Duval's Black school system as follows: "They have a few reasonably satisfactory buildings and a

good many earnest teachers, but there is practically no supervision and conditions are, on the whole, extremely poor. In their present state, the colored schools are a neglected appendage" (Poppell, 1998, p. 3).

Teachers and Administration

In the 1930s, Black school teachers in Florida were paid less than half of white teachers were paid. Not surprisingly, Jacksonville's racial funding inequity at that time was not limited to education. Even when federal funds began to arrive in Florida as part of Roosevelt's New Deal, relief programs were not administered equally. Jacksonville appropriated 45% of federal funds to Blacks and 55% to whites, while there was a 3:1 ratio of relief-eligible Black families compared to such white families. This paralleled racial bias statewide. Federal work-relief programs in Florida often denied Blacks entry, claiming they were unqualified for the program while admitting similarly experienced or unqualified whites (Shofner, 1976).

Bartley (2000) documented that Black teachers went to court to seek pay improvements. The first statewide court challenge attempting to equalize teacher pay occurred in the late 1930s. However, the Florida Supreme Court dismissed the case, forcing Black teachers to challenge these inequities county by county. Mary White Blocker, a 69-year-old Duval school teacher, sued Duval County on behalf of 285 teachers in November 1941, seeking pay equal to that of her white counterparts. She was soon joined by the local National Association of Advancement for Colored People (NAACP) chapter and its special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, and teachers in eight other Florida counties joined the litigation. Blocker's lawsuit was chosen to be representative since the NAACP was looking for a case that would help set a national strategy for salary equalization. The Baltimore *Afro American*

newspaper cited a 1941 report noting that Black teachers in the entire state of Florida were paid 48% of a white teacher's salary, or $493 versus $1030 a year (Bartley, 2000).

In response to the case, the Duval County School Board reluctantly came up with a plan in June of 1942 to address teacher salary inequity. This plan called for teachers to be compensated based upon an examination score and level of training. Teachers were also given an opt-out option that would freeze their salaries at their current level. Thurgood Marshall contended that the plan was biased toward the already higher paid white teachers who did not need an increase in salary to be satisfied. Black teachers were faced with a potentially unfair exam or having their salary frozen at their lower pay. However, the NAACP ultimately accepted the terms. Over the next 5 years, the NAACP secured over $25 million from private foundations and donors to help bridge the teacher pay inequity on a national scale (Bartley, 2000).

It has been argued generally that Blacks have to work harder to obtain what whites can get for less effort, and proof can be found when comparing the education of Black principals with white principals in Duval in 1945. A 1946 report from the Council of Social Agencies compared the education level of Black and white principals and found the following:

- 40% of Black principals held master's degrees compared with 31% of white principals;
- 55% of Black principals held bachelor's degrees compared with 56% of white principals; and,
- 5% of Black principals held less than a bachelor's degree, compared with 13% of white principals.

Even though their advanced degrees were comparable or even greater by percentage, Black principals, like their teacher counterparts, were paid less across the board. In 1945, schools with 20–24 teachers, white principals were paid between $291 and $378 a month while Black principals were paid between $264 and $325 per month (Council of Social Agencies, 1946).

The Council of Social Agencies (1946) also reported a separate and unequal salary range between Black and white teachers, with Black teachers with degrees and superior experience at the lowest end of the range. Ninety-one out of 95 Black teachers with maximum experience received salaries at the lowest end of the pay scale, while 73 out of 81 comparable white teachers received pay at the midpoint of the range. For those teachers holding less than a bachelor's degree with maximum experience, 79 out of 81 Black teachers received the range minimum, while 53 out of 54 white teachers received the maximum. Black substitute teachers were paid $4 a day, while white substitute teachers were paid $5 a day. As bleak as this looks, it was a vast improvement for Black teachers, who had received a 33% increase in the 1942–1943 and 1943–1944 school years, bringing them up to "acceptable" minimum pay standards. No pay increase was provided in the 1945–1946 school year. Figure 2 illustrates this pay inequity.

Figure 2

Pay Scale for Black and White Teachers

	Lowest Monthly Salary			Highest Monthly Salary		
	White	Negro	Difference	White	Negro	Difference
Master's Degree	$ 251	$ 225	$ 26	$ 321	$ 235	$ 86
Bachelor's Degree	209	189	20	262	210	52
Less than Bachelor's	189	160	29	210	189	21

Note. Source: Council of Social Agencies, 1946, p. 43.

In "Survey of Colored Schools in Duval County," Vinson (as cited in Scott, 1974), documented the impact of a dual school system on Blacks who composed 40% of Jacksonville's population in 1941. He noted that the overcrowding conditions of most of the Black schools only allowed for half-day sessions, leaving students without the benefits of school for most of the day. Vinson also observed that when compared with other Florida counties and the higher cost of living in Jacksonville, Black teachers' pay was too low. The county shortchanged its Black faculty: Though the state allocated Duval County $800 per year per teacher, only $675 was paid on average to Black teachers. Vinson's survey concluded that Black schools needed major improvements (Scott, 1974).

The Council of Social Agencies (1946) stated there were 10 designated special tax school districts in Duval County, each of which had three elected trustees who had been inactive until 1945. In 1945, the Duval County Public Schools structure had a superintendent of public instruction, a general supervisor, a supervisor of Negro education, and a Negro supervisor of elementary schools. There were also supervising personnel in specialty areas, including vocational education, cafeteria programs, and student attendance. The only two Black supervisors were the elementary school supervisor and the assistant attendance officer

(truancy). The Negro supervisor of elementary schools was not placed in the administrative offices but rather was seated at the front of a utilized classroom with a 3.5-foot railing separating him from students attending classes (Council of Social Agencies, 1946).

Facilities and Transportation

Bartley (2000) noted that general spending on Black schools compared with white schools also showed inequity by design. The physical plants of Black schools were in disrepair and lacked physical education space and facilities, playgrounds, meeting space, communication systems, music or art rooms, or adequate administrative space. Libraries had .46 books on average per Black student versus 1.9 books for white students. Stanton, the only Black high school in Jacksonville, served 1,100 students in 23 classrooms, with an average of almost 50 students per classroom. There was no space provided for college counseling. The cafeteria could accommodate 150 students at a time and only half of the student body over the 2-hour lunch period; thus, half of the students went hungry (Bartley, 2000). The Council of Social Agencies (1946) reported that only three Duval County Black schools had cafeterias, and in the city, only Stanton High School had a cafeteria. Moreover, the food provided to Black students was not balanced but essentially junk food and snacks. The white Duval County director of cafeterias boasted, "I find the colored child very easy to influence in his pattern of eating" (Bartley, 2000, p. 46).

In 1945, Jacksonville had 22 Black schools (10 elementary schools, 11 junior high schools, and one high school). There was overcrowding in nine of these schools, resulting in split-school sessions between the morning and afternoon (Bartley, 2000). The Council of Social Agencies (1946) reported there were a total of 194 classrooms in the Black schools serving 10,753 students—an average of 54 students per classroom. This overcrowding,

51

combined with the poor conditions of the schools, resulted in about 3,000 students dropping out after elementary school.

Due to the poor physical condition of Black schools, the average daily enrollment of Black students in the county remained flat between 1938 and 1946 (Council of Social Agencies, 1946). Black schools had 10 more students per high school class than white schools and seven more students than the acceptable standard ratio. Figure 3 shows a comparison of the per capita cost for white schools and Black schools as exhibited, while Figure 4 reflects the lack of facilities and programs due to lack of physical space at Black schools.

Figure 3

Per Capita Cost—Black and White Schools

Per Capita Costs

According to information obtained from the office of the Business Manager of the Board of Public Instruction, the per capita costs of public education are as shown in the accompanying table.

TABLE 2
PER CAPITA COSTS, DISTRICT NO. 1
(Jacksonville and Environs)

	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
White High	$ 91.99	$ 96.16	$104.55
White Elementary	72.89	79.46	85.15
Negro High	55.94	63.21	70.24
Negro Elementary	41.54	46.05	53.08

Note. Source: Council of Social Agencies, 1946, p. 44.

Figure 4

Facilities and Programs at Black Schools

Curriculum and Program

Tables 3 and 4 show the existence or non-existence of several features of a good school plant and program, many of which are impossible in local Negro schools because of lack of space.

TABLE 3
DESIRABLE PHYSICAL FEATURES BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS*

Feature	Present	
	Yes	No
Auditorium built with school	3	15
Gymnasium	0	18
Showers	0	18
Cafeteria built for purpose	2	16
Cafeteria space adequate	1	17
Lockers	0	18

TABLE 4
DESIRABLE PHASES OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAM BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS*

Feature	Present	
	Yes	No
Vocational guidance activities	1	17
Manual training or other vocational courses for boys	6	12
Domestic science or home making for girls	6	12
Citizenship training courses	5	15
Apprenticeship training program	0	18
Program in conservation of natural resources	1	17
Lunch room program	1	17
Parent-Teacher Association	14	4
Part-time school program	0	18
Program in adult education	0	18

The best curriculum work in elementary schools is now being done in basic subject fields. Home economics and shop work are receiving

* Schools not included in these tables: Mandarin, Baldwin, Marietta, Pickett.

Note. Source: Council of Social Agencies, 1946, p. 47.

The Council of Social Agencies (1946) cited a previous facility report on Black schools which stated, "The general condition of the academic classrooms is considered poor. Special classrooms, general service rooms, administrative rooms and service systems are either lacking or in very poor condition" (p. 45). The report documented no indoor plumbing at some schools, poor or no fire protection, and, in some schools, a lack of electrical systems for lights, phones, and clocks, among other electrical needs. Playgrounds and recreational facilities were completely lacking inside Black schools, and only a few schools had small outside playgrounds, which were largely full of sand. There was minimal playground

53

equipment, and what was there was in poor condition and unsafe for use. The report concluded, "The lack of all of these facilities … is a definite indication that replacement of practically the entire Negro school plant is required" (p. 45).

Black students in Duval faced obstacles simply getting to their schools. The Council of Social Agencies (1946) reported that school transportation served a minimum number of Black students, with 76% of the students walking to school, less than 7% provided bus transportation, and the rest taking public or private transportation. One hundred seventy children had to travel three or more miles to school or be transported at the expense of their parents. The school buses provided were all Black-owned. Figure 5 shows the transportation breakdown for Black students.

Figure 5

Distance Black Children Traveled to School

TABLE 1

DISTANCE OF NEGRO CHILDREN FROM SCHOOL AND HOW THEY GET THERE

SCHOOL NUMBER	NUMBER OF PUPILS LIVING AT EACH DISTANCE							HOW THEY COME TO SCHOOL				
	Within 10 blocks	15 blocks	20 or more blocks	1 mile	2 miles	3 miles	4 miles or more	School bus	Other bus	Automobile	Walking	Other
101	298	160	390	35	68	67	88	43	379	209	455*	
102	561	61	4	..	..	..	..	3	42	20	561	
103	768	133	48	..	..	..	..	..	13	20	916	
104	420	219	89	10	2	1	1	5	21	14	702	
105	421	287	183	16	7	8	2	16	139	27	724	
106	89	57	60	5	19	3	5	..	5	..	233	
107	63	12	11	40	26	87	154	271	7	2	113	
108	585	173	62	4	1	..	..	..	16	17	792	
109	..	..	..	27	2	19	..	21	..	..	27	
110	..	..	..	14	12	7	3	..	..	..	36	
114	5	20	..	36	12	7	8	..	..	12	76	
115	..	..	..	18	..	2	3	..	..	3	18	2
116	..	..	..	45	..	..	107	107	..	..	45	
125	..	..	..	31	..	..	61	55	..	6	31	
129	..	..	..	6	..	10	..	..	..	..	16	
132	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	
133	..	..	..	28	15	4	12	..	..	12	47	
135	459	368	203	15	27	11	30	19	180	44	870	
143	204	..	..	3	5	..	..	..	..	5	207	
144	74	2	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	10	76	
145	801	285	165	..	..	..	87	87	281	26	944	
146	269	116	109	..	..	..	..	..	108	6	380	
Totals	5017	1893	1324	357	196	226	571	627	1191	433	7293	2

The above table was compiled from questionnaires by each classroom teacher in Negro schools by a showing of hands, February 18, 1946.

*One teacher did not report.

Note. Source: Council of Social Agencies, 1946, p. 42.

History of Education Inequity

Funding

Walker (1984) documented that U.S. education funding began with the first recorded education act by the original New England Puritan colonies in 1647. New England Puritan colonists were community-oriented and used local property taxes to financially support education as a pathway for social and economic advancement within the Puritan religious and social framework. Public school funding sourced primarily from local property taxes is considered an Anglo-Saxon tradition from the Reformation, intended to provide universal,

compulsory, and free education. According to Walker (1984), the Massachusetts act concerning public education espoused four key principles: (1) the state could require education of children, (2) towns could be required to establish schools, (3) public officials could oversee the schools, and (4) public funds, including property taxes and levies, could be utilized to fund schools. Poll taxes for the orphaned and the poor were collected but proved inadequate as an additional funding source.

Walker (1984) noted that the funding of schools through direct taxation on property and income, as well as poll taxes continued until 1862, with variations of these funding mechanisms lasting into the 20th century. School districts were initially developed during the 18th century in New England to provide oversight, funding, and resource duties to the local government. The model's success inspired a national approach to school oversight by other communities. Expansion of school districts could be funded directly by parental wealth as tuition for private education or through local funding mechanisms in the form of special fees, general revenue, and taxes for public education. Population growth and increased demand for public education led to property tax resistance by some, either due to philosophic opposition to taxes in general or because some did not see a personal benefit in educating other people's children, especially if they had no children or their children were in private schools (Walker, 1984).

Nationwide, emancipated slaves faced a lack of support for education funding based on a reliance on taxes paid only by property owners, who were overwhelmingly white. Du Bois (1935/1998) explained that whites saw little need for taking steps to educate Black children. After all, Black laborers had no need to be educated; educated Black people were more difficult to exploit; and education would elevate Black political and economic status at

56

the expense of whites. Woodson (1933/2015) maintained that school inequity is an intentional race-based control of the oppressed, and acceptance of systemic racism in education is so engrained that Blacks willingly accept the educational advancement of whites over them.

Du Bois (1935/1998) blamed the federal government for failing, during Reconstruction, to support the Freedmen's Bureau. In fact, the government perpetuated a new form of slavery through its failure to provide a careful and equitable post-Civil War "distribution of land and capital and a system of education for the children" (Lewis, 2000, p. 251). The myth that Black intellectual inferiority rendered any investment in Black education wasteful was passed down from slavery to Reconstruction (Du Bois, 1935/1998). Research over the previous two decades "has recognized slavery as the foundational institution, organizing the nation's politics, legal structures, and cultural practices with remarkable power to determine the life chances of those moving through society as Black or white" (Beckert, 2015, p.1). White supremacist ideology ensured Black and white education inequity due to a fear of producing a Black economic and political base that could challenge the white dominant status quo. Political and economic suppression since Emancipation has allowed the continual commodification of Black people in the U.S. capitalistic economy.

Walters (2001) stated that the majority of Southern states did not establish tax-supported public schools until after 1865. By then, funding for public education was hard to obtain as property values after the Civil War were severely depressed from battle damage, thus minimizing tax revenue. This reduced property value was combined with a resistance to taxation generally. School funding took on a variety of forms over the years due to the growth of cities, an industrial economy, a changing electorate, and resulting increased

demand for public schools across states in the early to mid-19th century. Property taxes were most commonly part of the equation but were met with mixed support and opposition (Walker, 1984). Racial inequality in education funding began with the establishment of common schools in the early 19th century and continues today due to federal, state, and local policies that rely primarily on school funding from local taxes (Walters, 2001).

Judicial

The disparate wealth between Black and white families perpetuated by both local and national policies, such as "redlining," ensured the perpetuation of locally funded education inequity. Almost 50 years ago, school inequity caused by the wealth and property tax "gap" between classes and races was challenged in the Supreme Court as a violation of the U.S. Constitution's guarantee of equal protection. The case of *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriquez* case in 1973 raised the issue of education inequity in Texas's affluent schools in wealthy neighborhoods and poor schools in economically depressed neighborhoods. As Marshall (2001) summarized, the case questioned whether this economic inequity violated the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause and if education is a "fundamental interest" intended to be protected under the U.S. Constitution. Education funding in San Antonio was raised through a combination of property taxes and state grants. The plaintiffs in the case sought to equalize school funding throughout the state with a combination of property taxes and state grants, claiming that richer districts unfairly benefited from the Texas model.

The Supreme Court justices, with a majority tilted by a single Southern vote, narrowly found against the plaintiffs (Marshall, 2001). They claimed the case did not violate the Equal Protection Clause because the inequity in education was not expressly race-based

58

but was simply the result of local property values. The opinion noted that Texas provided free education to everyone regardless of race. The majority of the justices held that the Constitution does not guarantee any education, much less an equitable one, and they viewed education generally as a local, not a federal issue. The majority accepted a "state's right" doctrine on public education and found no basis for the plaintiffs' claims of discrimination based on class or race, since race was not deliberately used as a dividing line (Marshall, 2001).

Justice Thurgood Marshall's dissenting opinion conceded that, though education was not expressly guaranteed in the Constitution, it had been recognized as a right in previous Supreme Court decisions, most notably in *Brown* (Marshall, 2001). Justice Marshall contended that education is a fundamental right for the development of citizenship, and no other responsibility of the state is more important. Marshall noted that while the Constitution may not have expressly acknowledged education as a right, 48 of 50 state constitutions guarantee a right to education. Marshall (2001) observed, "Of particular importance is the relationship between education and the political process" (p. 339), and he elaborated on the necessity of understanding the function of government, the processing of information, and being an informed and active electorate through education. Justice Marshall (2001) also argued that funding based upon local taxation has a discriminatory impact upon students and a racially inequitable effect that the Court was bound to overturn.

The Supreme Court's decision in *Rodriguez* sounded a death knell for the constitutional guarantee of educational equity at the federal level (Marshall, 2001). The decision left the door open for continued inequitable funding and resources in education for the foreseeable future, perpetuating Black education suppression. Neither the Supreme Court

nor any other federal or state court has the authority to specify the manner in which public school funding is raised. Courts may only enforce legislated mandates and the law—which can be subject to political persuasion. Notably, education funding management enforcement is often partisan because all judges are politically appointed or elected (Hanushek & Lindseth, 2009).

Summary

Systemic inequity, reinforced by inequitable education, creates a perceived achievement gap between Black and white students, based not on ability but on social class and race. Ravitch (2014) stated that while education reform concentrates primarily on the achievement gap, few corporate education reformers focus on the systemic forces creating this gap and the effects of societal segregation and increasing economic inequity. A 1967 report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Project—*Racial Isolation in Public Schools* (Hannah, 1967)—provided evidence that "schools of concentrated poverty and segregated minority schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes" (as cited in Ravitch, 2014, p. 294). Blaming the victim is not the basis of good policy, especially in a setting where the victims have been intentionally victimized by those blaming them.

As noted previously, neoliberals do not consider this victim context; instead, after utilizing standardized testing to document "achievement gaps," they simplistically place blame on students of color, their teachers, and their schools for poor academic outcomes. The systemically generated achievement gap between Black and white students provides additional fodder for privatization proponents hungry to cash in on the opportunity. Venture-capital investments in public education hit $1.87 billion in 2014, with the ostensible goal of

transforming public education by privatizing services and schools (Bryant & Sarakatsannis, 2015). Even testing for inequity has become a privatized profit center. Major publishers like Pearson, McGraw-Hill, and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt have generated hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue from the measurement of student achievement through the sale of standardized tests and textbooks which "teach to" those tests (Simon, 2012). With so much profit to be made on the failure of Black students, is there an incentive to provide school equity?

The Land of Dixie

In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states.

—Chief Justice Warren, *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954)

Slavery established a way of life for white Southerners who wanted to maintain that lifestyle of White supremacy through Reconstruction and into the 20th century. Reporter Carl Schurz offered his observations to Congress from his time in the South in 1865. Southern whites, said Schurz, believed that Black people were their property by virtue of natural right, and "that [even though] the individual relations of masters and slaves have been destroyed … [Southerners] still have an ingrained feeling that the Blacks at large belong to the whites at large" (as cited in Kluger, 2004, p. 44). White supremacy was the culmination of Southern racism through legalized segregation, repression of economic and educational opportunity, dehumanization of Blacks, and the perpetuation of the perception of white superiority and

61

Black inferiority (Black & Black, 1987). The following sections exam this Southern strategy in more detail.

White Supremacy

Goldfield (1990) noted that Southern politics and economics were so entwined that a political change would also drastically alter the region's economy, disrupting the balance of class and race, and toppling white hegemony. White supremacy was the glue in a political and economic balancing act between Blacks and whites to fend off outside forces while broadening the hegemony's power base to secure a state of "white solidarity and black subservience" (Goldfield, 1990, p. 63).

White supremacists intensified Black voting suppression through both legal and illegal means, ranging from administering absurd literacy tests, requiring Black would-be voters to guess the number of beans in a jar or bubbles from a bar of soap, as well as poll taxes, lynchings, public whippings, and other forms of intimidation (Goldfield, 1990). Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo said ominously, "The best way to keep a n***** from a white primary is to see him the night before" (p. 73). In 1955, the number of Blacks registered to vote in one Mississippi county decreased from 114 to zero. Blacks in the South were restricted to their neighborhoods and prevented from visiting parks, restaurants, and clubs, and from holding most occupations thereby, keeping them out of sight of white residents. Blacks were disenfranchised economically, socially, and politically (Goldfield, 1990).

Bartley and Graham (1976) postulated that the *Brown* decision made race a regional political issue in the late 1950s. The White Citizens' Councils (WCC), labeled as the "Massive Resistance" to school desegregation, was conceived in 1954 as a means of

countering the efforts of the NAACP. The WCC comprised powerful political and social leaders who subscribed to White supremacist ideology and was led by self-selected "commissioners" who promoted public school abandonment to frustrate desegregation. The WCC is credited with enacting over 450 laws and resolutions suppressing racial equality in schools.

As Goldfield (1990) noted, Southern white supremacists who organized under the name of the WCC did not utilize Ku Klux Klan cloaking and presumably did not commit violence against Blacks in the nighttime. These groups "legitimately" represented the white community—business, legal, and religious leaders who presented themselves as openly concerned citizens using what they argued was lawful economic pressure to support segregation. The WCC was founded by a Mississippi farmer who organized the resistance to school integration using legal objections. WCC methods combined economic and political manipulation of small towns and cities throughout the Deep South which, on its face, appeared innocent (Goldfield, 1990).

As a consequence of the WCC's efforts, Blacks were denied credit, supplies, jobs, and services, and their voting rights were suppressed (Goldfield, 1990). The WCC would identify registered Black voters and remove them from voter registration books through trickery and manipulative regulation, causing them to lose their voting privileges. As the WCC spread, the pressure on whites to join increased, and those who did not join were still expected to be complicit in the actions of the councils. WCC endorsements became essential for politicians to be elected. Rallies resembled religious revivals, preaching the dangers and sins of Blacks, Northerners, and Communists. As many as 15,000 people would attend a single rally, creating increased support. The WCC encouraged racial division through

lawlessness and violence by whites and then claimed that integration would lead to more violence (Goldfield, 1990).

The 1920s cartoon in Figure 6 reflects the Klan's membership and political reach at the time. It depicts how White supremacists see society, with white Christian men in positions of influence and everyone else as enemies, threating their position.

Figure 6

Klan Membership and Reach, 1920s

Note. Source: Forester & Epstein, 1965, p. 3.

Bartley and Graham (1976) noted that members of the WCC viewed themselves as "respectful" of the law. While they denied affiliation with the Klan, their beliefs were strongly aligned. This alignment spawned economic retaliation against Black communities and desegregationist-leaning whites, using tactics focused on racial stereotypes, public "shaming," and fear mongering (Bartley & Graham, 1976). Bartley (1996) documented that many White supremacist groups were formed by 1955, but the WCC became the heart of the segregationist movement, with 250,000 active members at its peak, along with many more "fluid" members. Because these groups represented leaders in the business community, political sphere, and clergy, their clout was far stronger than their numbers. The White supremacist movement attracted poor whites who felt threatened economically by Black lives and wealthy whites who saw their power and culture under attack (Bartley, 1996).

Economics

White supremacists acted upon their fears of Black advancement by bringing in tighter controls to continue subjugation of the Black population (Fairclough, 2002). The Southern Black population in the early to mid-20th century faced harsh rules and strict laws regarding daily living which carried penalties ranging from fines to beatings to death. For instance, "[Black] sharecroppers could be evicted, employees fired at will, and businessmen refused credit without ever being told why" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 161).

In response, Black communities began forming their own societies around churches, businesses, social organizations, and news sources. As Fairclough (2002) noted, many Southern Black residents embraced Booker T. Washington's philosophy of making small advances against this tide of persecution while accepting their present status as second-class citizens. As part of this philosophy, Washington preferred Black vocational education to

academic education: "It has been necessary to teach the masses of the people that the way to build up a race is to begin at the bottom and not at the top, to lift the man furthest down, and thus raise the whole structure of society above him" (Washington, 1969, p. 237).

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) was formed in Atlanta in 1919 to help sooth issues between whites and Blacks (Fairclough , 2002). However, the CIC did not address White supremacy, advance political power for Black people, or push for desegregation. Rather, it maintained the status quo by placating Black lives through hollow collaboration. Meanwhile, at the federal level, the government agreed that Black progression should occur in measured steps and endorsed the White supremacist belief that Blacks were intellectually inferior to whites. This lack of support for Blacks continued through the Second World War. Even after the Great Depression, the national response to economic devastation did not include federal support to help recover Black bank and business losses, which were just as serious as others.

Ravitch (1983) analyzed the political and economic landscape in the 1940s from the perspectives of Howard Odum (1943/1997) and Gunnar Myrdal (1944/2017), both of whom saw increasing storm clouds developing over the Southern states in terms of their segregationist attitudes and actions. This was particularly true after World War II. Odum anticipated a white fear of rising Black power after the war, including: Black economic and political aspirations, a knowledge and desire for weaponry, social desires to mix races, and an attitude of entitlement for better treatment and wages. Myrdal opined that the increased economic opportunity for Blacks created by labor shortages from the war economy could break down social and economic barriers established by Southern society. At the same time, segregationist philosophy was losing ground due to a lack of scientific credibility supporting

the concept of Black genetic inferiority, the illegal application of the laws, and a need to industrialize the South (Ravitch, 1983, pp. 116–117).

As Ravitch (1983) summarized, with the tide beginning to turn against segregationist assumptions and anti-Black discrimination, Southern White supremacists viewed their "way of life" under renewed attack, leading to intensified agitation in opposition to civil rights. To maintain the status quo, Southern White supremacists had to preserve their political power by rigging the election process; convincing Black communities that their social and economic positions were fixed in place; and perpetuating political and economic suppression through segregation.

Politics

Key (2011) observed that Southern politics during this time involved more than just political campaigns; it comprised the organization of an economic system. All Southern politics "revolves around the position of the Negro" (Key, 2011, p. 5), including the politics of cotton, free trade, land distribution, and plutocracy. Whites were concerned about Blacks constituting a large percentage of the population and believed it was critical to maintain white minority control. Bartley and Graham (1976) explained that, in the 1890s, a populist uprising in the South designed to unite a "multi-racial and multi-ethnic alliance of the rural and urban dispossessed" failed but spawned a fourth party system known as the "Industrial System of 1894–1932" (p. 4). This populist uprising, Key posited, reenergized and united white segregationists in the South against Northern influence to maintain White supremacy through the new Southern Democratic Party. The Southern Democrats (also called the "Bourbon Party") identified themselves as the party of the lost cause (i.e., the Civil War), evoking the South's historic legacy of White supremacy.

Corrigan (2007) observed that Southern Blacks lacked political leadership by the

mid-20th century, leaving a political system dominated by the white elite focused on racial

segregation. For the reigning white oligarchy, White supremacy was more of a priority than

dealing with the continuing economic fallout still plaguing the South after the Civil War. In

1948, as Southern Democrats saw their party leadership moving toward civil rights on a

national level, some Southern conservatives broke away from the party and formed their own

splinter, states'-rights party known as the "Dixiecrats." Their goals were to gain national

support for a platform of states' rights, White supremacy, and concentrated political power

(Billington, 1975).

Judicial

Following the *Brown* decision, White supremacists devoted themselves to challenging

and resisting the Supreme Court's decision at all levels of government (Goldfield, 1990). At

the national level, in 1956, Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina drafted what became known

as the "Southern Manifesto," which claimed that the *Brown* decision violated the

Constitution because it usurped states' rights. Out of 128 Southern congressmen and

senators, 101 signed onto the manifesto, pledging to use all legal means to reverse *Brown* and

to prevent the federal government from forcing desegregation on the states (Goldfield, 1990).

Ravitch (1983) stated that this opposition to the Supreme Court decision energized

White supremacists' efforts to maintain educational segregation and discrimination as a

principal battlefront in their efforts to retain power and control over Blacks. Southern states

began a pitched battle against the *Brown* decision and its mandate of educational integration.

The South continued its resistance to educational desegregation by: passing segregation laws,

refusing to fund schools with more than one race of students, threatening to close integrated

schools, putting schools under jurisdiction of the states' governors, eliminating compulsory

schooling, providing tuition grants for white students to attend private schools (referred to as

"segregation academies"), and making it criminal act to teach in or attend an integrated

school (Ravitch, 1983). Southern leadership believed universally that a coalition of

segregationist leaders, churches, school boards, legislators, and the press would keep the

South unchanged (Goldfield, 1990).

Education

At the turn of the 20th century, of all of the areas needing vast improvement in the

South, none needed it more than the region's dismal and woefully underfunded school

systems, which had minimum support, funding, staff, or supplies (Billington, 1975). While

the national average expenditure per child in the 1900–1901 school year was $21.14, not a

single Southern state paid even half of that for its students. Less than one fifth of Southern

elementary school teachers had a high school education. Southern teachers earned an average

of $159 a year, half of the national average. The national average number of school days was

145; in Southern states, it was 96 days. Less than half of all eligible Southern children

attended school. For every 70 first graders, only seven made it to the fifth grade, and only

one progressed to the eighth grade (Billington, 1975, p. 4).

According to Harlan (1957), Southern education initiatives began in 1901. The

Southern Education Board (SEB) was initially established as a collaboration between 11

Northern philanthropists and 13 Southern "progressives" who were interested in elevating

Black education in the South. The Northern philanthropists traveled to the South to make

their own observations and recommendations. Harlan (1957) stated that, although the SEB

may have been founded with good intentions, a combination of two factors derailed their

objectives: the entrenchment of White supremacy in the South and the horrid conditions of Southern schools across the region. Facing this educational wasteland, the group was coopted from advocating Black education to simply improving the entire school system in the South.

This change in goals was viewed as a concession to White supremacists and their objections to providing Black education beyond the minimum needed for menial work. Harlan (1957) noted that the SEB justified this shift by claiming that improvements to white education would also benefit Southern Blacks. Better educated whites who were taught racial tolerance would create an enlightened white educated base who could then provide education to Blacks. Robert Ogden, a New York member of the SEB stated, "'While we were originally interested in the South for Negro education, our impulses have risen from Negro education to the question of the entire burden of educational responsibility that you have throughout this entire section of the country'" (Harlan, 1957, p. 190).

This shift in beliefs was either cynical or entirely naïve. According to Harlan (1957), by the time the Northern SEB members returned from their trip south, the immovable force of White supremacy had effectively eliminated the SEB members' eagerness to achieve anything positive in the South. At best, they were complicit, and at worst, they were co-conspirators in the continuing marginalization of Black education. SEB committee member Edwin Alderman told a northern magazine that the education of one Southern white man was "'worth more to the Black man himself than the education of ten Negros'" (Harlan, 1957, p. 194). If the SEB expected that the education of whites would somehow "trickle down" to Black students, the means and method for this osmosis were never identified. The SEB's advocacy resulting in Northern philanthropy money being given to Southern white colleges.

By contrast, their funds for Black education went to industrial education institutions thereby protecting the stratification between Black labor and white management (Harlan, 1957).

Harlan (1957) noted that SEB board member Ogden defended this funding inequity, contending that an SEB emphasis on Black education would cause Southern states to take revenge by splitting public funding for education with (higher) white taxes supporting white schools and only (lower) Black tax revenues left for Black students. Setting aside whether such a lopsided and admittedly unequal funding scheme would comply even with *Plessy'*s minimal requirements, in reality it was far more likely that white schools would take funds raised from Black taxpayers (Harlan, 1957).

In the end, SEB support improved Southern white schools but left Black schools untouched and unassisted (Harlan, 1957). SEB board member Edgar Murphy noted that Black schools were "'steadily growing worse, and their schools upon every sort of pretext, are being hampered and impoverished where they are not actually abandoned'" (Harlan, 1957, p. 201). The SEB's abandonment of its initial goals: its desire to improve the poor general conditions in Southern schools, its concession or relenting to apparently inexhaustible and resolved White supremacy, and the South's continued poor funding of its own schools served to reinforce an inequitable dual school system based on race. The SEB offered no backbone to support Black education (Harlan, 1957).

Black and Black (1987) states that Black children in 1934 were heavily discriminated against in school funding, with most available funds being diverted to white schools in Southern areas with the largest Black populations. "In per capita educational expenditures, teacher salaries, value of buildings and equipment, length of the school term, and overall quality of the curriculum, Black students compared poorly with their white peers" (Black &

Black, 1987, p. 89). An investment in Black education was not considered necessary by white society based upon perceived Black ability and economic needs.

Segregation and unequal treatment of Black students persisted post-World War II in Southern states. Kluger (2004) cited federal government statistics on the inequity between Black and white schools in the South at the time of the 1954 *Brown* decision. According to federal statistics, it would have required a $2 billion investment (in 1954 dollars) in Southern Black schools to bring education equity and operation, and an annual increase beyond that of $200 million "to equalize teaching, transportation, and supplies at the nation's colored schools" (p. 727).

Summary

Race has always been at the forefront of Southern politics. This includes the dominance of White supremacy in politics, Black voting suppression through a variety of methods, and political agendas reflecting support of White supremacy (Key, 2011). Following the *Brown* decision, the desire to preserve a unique "southern way of life" and the perceived threat of Black advancement created a perceived need for whites to try to maintain the status quo. However, this desire had to be balanced with the need for economic growth, which in part included maintaining a successful public school system (Bartley & Graham, 1976). How Southern school systems serve their Black students is a controversy that still lingers today in the South.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW II: FLORIDA HISTORY

It should be stated quite candidly at the outset that there has been no

desegregation in the public schools of Florida. One might say that we are still

in the talking and 'planning' stage. Further, there is reason to believe that

there will be no spectacular or unusual rush into the waiting arms of

integration. (Porter, 1956, p. 246)

Florida: The Segregation State

Kluger (2004) cited a 1956 Gallop poll revealing that 80% of Southern whites

opposed school desegregation, including whites from Florida, which at the time had a 25%

Black population. In fact, of all states, Florida put up the most determined resistance to

integration. The state spent $10,000 on a political poll of white leaders, including law

enforcement, which showed that 30% of white leaders disagreed violently with the *Brown*

decision, and only 13% of peace officers would enforce the desegregation law (Kluger,

2004). There were an estimated 46 organizations in Florida fighting school integration

through systemic economic repression and violence targeted at both Blacks and whites

mobilizing support for desegregation (Jacobstein, 1972).

73

Jacobstein (1972) stated that as part of the white leaders' integration defense, they could not accept a sudden change and fought for an implementation delay as a pragmatic "adjustment period." Florida's state government also allowed local school districts to propose their own desegregation plans as opposed to mandating a statewide plan. They recognized that dividing the state into smaller, more localized hostile districts—in a Balkanized approach—would make change deliberately inefficient and slow. Silberman (1964) wrote, "No city, to repeat, is doing more than a fraction of what is necessary to give Negro youngsters the kind of education they need, the kind of education to which, in a democracy, they are entitled" (p. 255). Although Florida county school boards spent hundreds of thousands of tax dollars fighting school integration, time was not on their side. Federal government funds became tied to integration under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (White, 1981). The following sections outline how Florida combined economics, politics, judicial actions, and White supremacy to suppress Black education in the state for generations.

White Supremacy

After the Civil War, the press was full of racist rhetoric espoused by public officials (Shofner, 1976). The "lost cause" ideology that the Civil War was a just and heroic cause and morally justified to support Southern values was taught as propaganda in schools. Whites were told that if they were not unified, they would face "Negro rule"; thus, they were frightened into wanting to perpetuate further inequity between the races. Southern white violence and lynchings against Blacks increased. Florida eagerly embraced regional white superiority and Black inferiority views in a total denial of Reconstruction and Black

advancement. The white dominance caste system was strongly entrenched throughout Florida (Shofner, 1976).

During the 1920s, White supremacy continued to reign in Florida with unchecked violence against Blacks (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999). Blacks who attempted to vote at the polls were physically assaulted, their homes burned, and their communities destroyed. Fake charges of assaults against white women were held as justification for the killing of Black men and property destruction. Attacks by white mobs, the burning of Black businesses and churches, and the murder of Blacks were common (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999). Until 1949, turpentine producers in Florida were allowed to keep non-convict labor in horrendous and violent conditions deep in the woods by providing site transportation to Black workers and then informing them they had to work off their debt (i.e., transportation, room, and board). This debt was self-perpetuating, essentially enslaving Black labor for endless hours with a cruel backwoods overseer (Huckshorn, 1991).

When World War I began, Florida whites were conflicted about Black conscription into the war effort. They did not want to serve alongside Black soldiers, but if left at home, Blacks could rise during their absence. On the flipside, there was a need for Black labor in the groves, the lumber industry, and in turpentine production, but white men feared leaving white women behind with Black men. These fears provided a stimulus to the Ku Klux Klan, which assured whites they would not allow Blacks to rise or take advantage of their women while they were serving in the War. The resulting increase in violence against Blacks fed the Black migration to the North (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

As Newton (2001) noted, heated racial tensions in Florida in 1949, received national attention. Bill Hendrix, a Tallahassee plumbing contractor, began merging Klan Klaverns

75

(i.e., local Klan chapters) to increase their ability to address what he viewed as progressive education or "'nothing more than a communist movement'" (Newton, 2001, p. 127). The Klan enjoyed a resurgence and literally got away with the murder of Harry T. Moore, a Black educator and founder of the Florida NAACP and his wife (also a teacher) in their home on Christmas Eve in 1950. Although the FBI investigation suggested a conspiracy among local officials, police, and White supremacists, there was never a trial, much less a conviction (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

Newton (2001) noted an uptick in Klan violence across Florida in 1951. In response, the State Judiciary Committee passed legislation banning the wearing of Klan hoods and restricting cross burnings to private property with the owner's permission. However, the Klan would not be deterred and skirted the law, sometimes by substituting a giant wooden "K" for its signature cross or by leaving a scene after initiating a burning (Newton, 2001).

Economics

According to Thomas (1997), the first slaves to the new British colony were imported from Africa and then exported to England from St. Augustine, just south of Jacksonville, Florida, in 1766. Many slaves were maintained in Florida upon their arrival from Africa and placed on plantations. Ship Captain Richard Drake observed, "'Florida was sort of a nursery for slave breeders and many American citizens grew rich by trafficking in Guinea Negroes and smuggling them continually, in small parties, through the southern United States…. The business was a lively one'" (Thomas, 1997, p. 615). This history of slavery would influence Florida for centuries.

Benefiting from a decrease in tobacco production and increasing stolen Seminole tribal land, the South became a centralized source of slave labor with hundreds of thousands

of slaves. By 1830, over one million people, or one third of the total population, were working in the cotton business, with the vast majority being slaves. By 1850, the United States grew 67% of its cotton from newly acquired territories in the South, launching American capitalism (Beckert, 2015).

Du Bois (1935/1998) provided a picture of slavery in Florida in 1860, with six Black slaves for every seven free whites in the population. Florida was primarily occupied by wealthy white farmers with large property holdings under white rule, with fewer than 1,000 free Black residents in the entire state prior to Emancipation.

Slavery was an integral part of Florida's history when it ended with the General Order 63 in 1865 and Reconstruction gave angry whites an incentive to organize around their communities and government to protect their property and power (Karl, 2010). At the start of Reconstruction, Florida Governor John Milton committed suicide, leaving the state's leadership in even more disarray (Williamson, 1976). At the end of the Civil War, Florida had no money left in its coffers but owed the federal government $77,250 in war debt. There was great anger and resentment among white Floridians about their loss of economic standing and slavery, and they sought to secure their White supremacy and state's rights (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999). Shofner (1976) posited that White Floridians who supported the Confederate war effort were demoralized during Reconstruction as they were required to "repudiate slavery, secession, and debts incurred in support of the Confederacy, and recognize all laws enacted by Congress while the state was out of the Union" (p. 278). White Floridians were in financial and physical shambles from the Civil War and had no interest in seeing the advancement of free Blacks at their expense.

Politics

The 1865 Florida Constitution abolished slavery, but as Colburn and DeHaven-Smith (1999) cited, the White supremacists were not willing to concede the battle to keep Blacks suppressed. The 1865 Florida constitutional convention delegates and the members of the 1865–1866 legislature who were part of the White supremacy caste system that made its fortunes on the backs of Black slaves accepted the historical myth that White supremacy was based upon genetic white intellectual superiority and Black inferiority (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

Du Bois (1935/1998) stated that after Lincoln's assassination, President Andrew Johnson promised Southern plantation owners that their property would be restored to them without the slaves. Johnson appointed William Marvin as a provisional governor of Florida to oversee the state's reunification. Marvin held a state convention concerning plans for the freed slaves and agreed to maintain White supremacy. The provisional governor assured Florida's white population that if they provided civil rights to the freed slaves, they would not have to provide the freed slaves suffrage (Du Bois, 1935/1998). The governor's opinion was that neither white nor Black people were ready for anything different and that the newly freed slaves were not perceived as having any desire for a higher status. Marvin declared, "'It is the unalterable sentiment of this convention that the laws of the State shall be made and executed by the white race" (Du Bois, 1935/1998, p. 512). The convention closed 12 days later with a new governor and the eviction of Black Union soldiers from Florida.

Williamson (1976) noted that when elections were finally held, most of the Democratic candidates represented Confederate sympathizers and were considered part of the Southern oligarchy. As noted earlier, this political group became known as the Bourbon

Party. Although they formally renounced secession, paid their war debts to the federal government, and accorded some civil rights for freed Blacks as required, white Floridians had not changed their mindset toward Blacks.

In 1866, Florida reneged on its commitments to the Union in reaction to the Radical Republicans' federal Reconstruction statutes by becoming part of the Third Military District instead of rejoining the Union (Williamson, 1976). Florida rejected any racial progress and recommitted itself to White supremacy (Williamson, 1976). The yoke of readmission requirements and the enfranchisement of Black voters in 1867 resulted in the Southern Unionist candidates' loss in the ensuing election. This not only further stoked white resentment, but also drove the Unionists back toward traditional Southern Democrats, reuniting Florida's Democratic Party and further empowering White supremacists (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

With the passing of Black suffrage, White Floridians grew angrier and more determined to suppress and control the Black vote. Florida's white hegemony resorted to any means necessary to maintain White supremacy and placed economic pressure on Black voters. When the Union military withdrew from Florida in July of 1868, white violence against Blacks, including murder, escalated. White Southerners believed the withdrawal of the Union troops restored their land, rights, and caste system. At the same time, Southern whites feared being controlled by the military of a hostile federal government and saw violence as necessary to prevent the rise of the Black electorate in state government (Shofner, 1976).

Colburn and DeHaven-Smith (1999) posited that white Floridians were anxious to ensure that government would not threaten their White supremacy when the Military

Reconstruction Act was discontinued in 1876. To protect against this threat, white Floridians began retaking their state government by rescinding the 1868 Constitution with its democratic protections around voting and seeking elected office. They began systematically stripping control from the state government and governor. The governor's power was transferred to a cabinet, which gave northern Florida (including Jacksonville) more say in cultural and political decisions (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

The 1883 Supreme Court decision striking down federal civil rights legislation reinvigorated the South's commitment to White supremacy (Shofner, 1976). The case prevented the state from committing racial discrimination, but private industries and commerce were exempt from the ruling. This exemption allowed Florida's White supremacists to restructure state laws to reflect the "Black Codes" of 1865–1866. A Florida constitutional convention was held in 1885 to write a constitution focused on Black disenfranchisement. Poll taxes were implemented in 1889, and bonds for assuming office were established. Voting eligibility was based on proof of 2 years of prior paid taxes. At voting locations on election day, voters had to correctly choose their ballot box, based upon race, in order for their cast vote to be counted. This ballot box selection requirement is estimated to have reduced votes by 20% from the previous election held prior to the enactment of these rules (Shofner, 1976). Figure 7 shows the combined impact of poll taxes and ballot box laws, significantly reducing voting turnout for opposition to the Southern Democrats, securing the political power of the White supremacists.

Figure 7

Poll Tax Impact on Voters Against the White Supremacist Democrats

Effect of Poll Tax and Multiple-Ballot-Box Law of 1889 on Florida Politics						
Year	Vote for Governor				Number of Non-Democrats Elected to Legislature	
	Democratic Vote	Opposition Total	Total Vote	Democratic Percentage	House*	Senate*
1884	32,087	27,851	59,938	53.5	28	15
					(reapportionment)	
1888	40,255	26,485	66,740	60.3	18	5
(New suffrage requirements)						
1892	32,068	8,681	40,749	78.7	2	1
1896	27,172	13,560	40,732	66.7	5	1
1900	29,251	6,869	36,120	81.0	0	0

Source: *World Almanac*, 1888–1901, and *Tribune Almanac*, 1880–1889.
* The Senate had 32 members over this entire period; the House varied from 68 to 76 members.

Note. Source: Price, 1957, p. 15.

Colburn and DeHaven-Smith (1999) described how the poll tax disenfranchised Black voters and poor white voters, particularly farmers. A poll tax assessment of $2 was more than most people earned in a week or, in some cases, a month. Between 1882 and 1892, Black voter turnout dropped from 62% to 11%, and voting dropped from 86% to 59% for whites. Florida oligarchs gained more political clout from this voting reduction among the poor, in addition to buying votes from other constituents (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

As Shofner (1976) noted, at the turn of the 20th century, segregationists were the standard political flag bearers for Southern ideology. This philosophy was preached by politicians, from Florida congressmen to the governor, who advocated sending Blacks back to Africa. The Black social, economic, and political position of "less than whites" was set in

stone and violently maintained by White supremacists. Threats to the status quo were often

met with death. Whites who did not support the violence against Blacks were more than

willing, nevertheless, to be complaisant in accepting two worlds: one for Blacks and one for

whites (Shofner, 1976). Florida Democrats reinstituted and maintained their racial caste

system through Jim Crow laws across the state that lasted late into the 20th century (Colburn

& DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

Colburn and DeHaven-Smith (1999) wrote that, with the coming of World War I,

white Floridians committed themselves to strengthening democracy while simultaneously

suppressing Black rights. The progressive movement at the beginning of the 20th century was

viewed as an opportunity for white advancement by suppressing Black advancement. Florida

legislator Napoleon Broward suggested in 1907 that Congress purchase either domestic or

foreign land to resettle Black citizens so that Blacks and whites could live in segregated

harmony. Given the choice between physical or legal segregation, Blacks became accepting

of the legal segregation firmly in place by 1910 (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

The North drew many Southern Blacks as result of local Black suppression and poor

treatment of returning Black soldiers (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999). Between 1910 and

1920, of the 283,000 Southern Blacks who migrated to the North, 40,000 were from Florida.

For the remaining Black residents in Florida, deadly violence against them increased, with no

prosecutions of the executioners. Southern whites continued to look down on Blacks under

the leadership of Florida Governor Park Trammel, who openly referred to Blacks as "an

inferior race" (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

As Colburn (2007) stated, an amendment to Article VII of the Florida Constitution

was proposed in 1959 relating to apportionment of state districts and representatives in the

Florida Senate and House of Representatives. Apportionment would be based on the 1960

U.S. Census and, decennially thereafter, the legislature would reapportion the representation

in any regular session as required if the governor or the legislature needed to call an extra

session. Between 1955 and 1961, Florida had the worst apportioned legislature in the

country, with 13.6% of the population electing more than half of the state senators and 18%

choosing more than half of the representatives (Colburn, 2007).

Colburn (2007) posited that, although then-Governor Leroy Collins was more of a

moderate and unwilling to close public schools, he supported efforts to prevent the

integration of the University of Florida and suspended bus service to Tallahassee during an

NAACP sit-in demonstration. Collins justified his accommodation of segregation as an

attempt to coopt segregationists and prevent the Pork Chop Gang—a delegation of 20

Democratic legislators who aggressively sought to maintain segregation—from increasing

their power. Many political analysts agree that if Collins had not taken this contradictory

stance, the state would have conceded to the Pork Choppers. The segregationist and White

supremacist movement remained strong in the legislature, driving Collins to veto no less than

33 segregationist bills passed by the Florida legislature in 1959 (Colburn, 2007).

According to Shofner (1997), as Florida's segregationists lost political influence and

court battles, and integration advanced, urban white flight avoided urban integration and saw

the growth of private "Christian" schools (also known as "segregation academies") for white

students. Still, segregationists did not fade into the background and even had a gubernatorial

candidate in Florida in the 1950s and 1960s endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan (Shofner, 1997).

Judicial

To protect White supremacy, the white hegemony established strict Black Codes in
the new state constitution to further disenfranchise Blacks in Florida (Williamson, 1976).
This included the restriction of Black political, social, economic, and justice opportunities,
with Black Code violators facing severe punishments (Bartley, 2015). According to these
codes, Blacks were defined as anyone having "one-eighth Negro blood" or more (Shofner,
1976). The codes were numerous and wide reaching. A white person only needed to make an
allegation for swift punishment to be issued. Black Code punishments included fines, public
whippings, pillorying[1], and/or death.

Shofner (1975) stated that Black Code offenses included inciting insurrection,
possessing unlicensed firearms, being unemployed, vagrancy, and not paying taxes. Blacks
were required to pay taxes they were often unaware of (including school taxes) or did not
have the funds to pay, so they were arrested or sold as labor to pay off their debts. Southern
oligarchs were quite sophisticated regarding Black suppression and oppression. The Black
Codes were based on some of the harshest treatment of slaves and infiltrated every aspect of
daily living. These comprehensive laws kept Blacks in an inferior class, maintaining the legal
caste system (Shofner, 1976).

Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board (1971) held that education was a legal
Black suppression tool for maintaining White supremacy. Article 12, Section 12, of the 1885
Florida Constitution specified, "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same
school, but impartial provision shall be made for both"—a "separate but equal" approach

---

[1] A pillory is an adjustable wooden structure with holes for securing a person's feet and hands used for public
humiliation and punishment (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pillory).

upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. Additionally, the 1885 Florida Constitution prohibited "the teaching of white persons and 'Negroes' in the same building or classes in any public, private or parochial school" (p. 2). The legislation also required separate Black and white school zones for students living in the same neighborhood to attend segregated schools. Schools were required by state statue to keep separate textbooks used in white and Black schools (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* 1971).

A state senator proposed a legislative resolution highlighting the Florida Constitution's provision requiring segregated public schools and further declared that integration was "unnatural, . . . abhorrent, execrable, and revolting practice of miscegenation" (Schofner, 1976, as cited in Colburn, 2007, p. 295). The Pork Chop delegation proposed a constitutional amendment to close public schools if the state was forced to desegregate. The amendment made attending and integrating schools a felony, provided for the use of state funds for private schools, and established a student assignment law giving local officials control of student school assignments. *Brown* was perceived as a violation of Florida's constitutional states' rights, as well as Florida's Jim Crow laws (Colburn, 2007).

Education

Bush (1889), a white academic historian, wrote about the state of Florida's history of education in 1888 for the Bureau of Education in Washington. He noted that Florida was different from other, older states because it had been a large territory with no wealth centers or aggregated populations in large cities. At the time, one third of the state's population was Black and "bearing still, intellectually, the marks of their bondage" (p. 54).

85

Bush (1889) referenced the *American Annals of Education* published in Boston in 1831, documenting the Florida Education Society (FES), an education movement and organization that started in Florida. The FES's purpose was to collect and disseminate information on education and establish a general education system within the then-territory of Florida. FES required a membership fee, had appointed directors, and held monthly and tri-monthly meetings in an effort to organize local branches.

As Bush (1889) detailed, the territory of Florida's governor in 1831 was empowered to appoint three commissioners to explore the school conditions and the educational wants of the people, including "the number of schools, qualifications of teachers, branches taught, mode of instruction, and the number of children favored with and destitute of the means of education" (Bush, 1889, p. 12). The role of the commissioners was to establish and implement a quality education system.

In 1832, as Bush (1889) documented, early primary education legislation established a one-teacher school in Tallahassee for a limited number of students, with boarding accommodations for teacher and students. Agricultural and mechanical low-skill job training would make up the curriculum. Admission required consent of the teacher and the proprietors. Post-graduation, additional education would include botany, chemistry, and other "traditional" classes as established in the model of the Fellenberg agricultural schools (Bush, 1889).

Prior to the Civil War, Bush (1889) stated, school lands were donated to the state with funding primarily by men of wealth for the benefit of educating the poor. In 1849, an act was passed establishing that these "common schools" were only for white children. The legislature provided that school funds should consist of the proceeds from the school lands

86

and "five percent of the net receipts from other lands granted by Congress; also, the proceeds from all estates, real or personal, escheating to the State, and from all property found on the coast or shores of the State" (p. 14). In 1850, counties were authorized to provide taxation support for schools, limited to "four dollars annually for each child of school age" (p. 15). School funding also benefited from "all moneys received by the State from the sale of slaves under the act of 1829" (p. 15). The first public school was established in Tallahassee in 1852.

Sixteen Florida districts could rent state land for their schools, though only one township actually took advantage of the offering prior to the abolition of slavery (Bush, 1889). Rented parcels were mostly owned by men who had no need for educational assistance for their own children or were too proud to receive assistance. The land parcels were perceived to have little value for education where the population was sparse. Bush (1889) concluded that the benefits of state-provided education "accrued to the rich and not to the poor" (p. 15). The legislature willingly sold the land and consolidated the funds as a "concession by them for the benefit of the poor" (p. 15). The state offered minimal education financial assistance to the townships through a distribution per capita of school-age children following the land sale.

In 1852, D. S. Walker, a former Florida governor and then-circuit court judge, conceived of a public school system for white children financed through local property taxes (Bush, 1889). The common school law was revised in 1853 to empower county commissioners to apportion education funding with no direction or oversight on fund distribution. Without guidance, appropriated money was distributed primarily to private school teachers since no common school system had been established (Bush, 1889).

Bush (1889) noted that early Black public education was provided only to freed slaves. Two of the first agencies designated to educate freedmen were Black organizations from the North: the African Civilization Society and the Home Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church. These organizations opened schools throughout the South, including Florida, and laid the foundation for Black education. Most of the teachers were recently freed persons with minimal education, but they were determined to "elevate the condition of their race" (Bush, 1889, p. 24).

Bush (1889) stated there were 30 freedmen schools by 1865, and a school funding bill was introduced in January of 1866 levying a one dollar tax on "all male persons of color between the ages of 21 and 45" years and a student monthly tuition fee of 50 cents. A governor-appointed commissioner worked with the freedmen schools and the local citizens. The Freedmen's Bureau would buy school lots and construct schools. The peak number of schools was 71 in 1869, with 64 teachers, half of whom were white. About 2,000 students were estimated to be enrolled (Bush, 1889).

According to Bush (1889), the end of the Civil War prompted initial interest in state-sponsored education, but White supremacists' reaction to Reconstruction quickly ended that interest. No effective education legislation was passed prior to the 1868 Florida Constitution and the passage of the 1869 school law. The 1869 common school law did not mention race as a factor; therefore, state administrators assumed equal school privileges would be provided to both Black and white students. The law required the education of all children "without distinction or preference" and called for a uniform system of common schools and for a superintendent of public education who would serve a 4-year term. State education funding was established as follows (Bush, 1889):

Appropriations by the State; the proceeds of lands or other property which may

accrue to the State by escheat or forfeiture; the proceeds of all property granted to the

State when the purpose of such grant shall not be specified; all moneys which may be

paid as an exemption from military duties; all fines collected under the penal laws of

the State; such portion of the per capita tax' as may be prescribed by law for

educational purposes; and 25 per centum of the sales of public lands which are now

or may hereafter be owned by the State. (p. 16)

This was the only state funding provided, and it was to be applied both to the maintenance of

common school buildings and the purchase of books and suitable supplies (Bush, 1889).

Bush (1889) wrote that the law included an annual school tax of no less than one mill

on the dollar (or one dollar per $1,000) of all taxable property in the state. Each county was

required to add a sum of no less than one half the amount apportioned to each county from

the common school fund for that year. The fund appropriation was to be distributed among

the counties in proportion to the number of children between the ages of 4 and 21 years

residing therein. Failure of any school district to maintain a school (or schools) for at least 3

months in the year would trigger a forfeiture of its portion of the common school fund during

that time. The legislation also established a Board of Education with state-assigned oversight

duties. State and county superintendents were to be appointed by the Governor and approved

by the state senate (Bush, 1889).

Bush (1889) claimed that the common school legislative act faced challenges related

to finding qualified teachers, buildings, and funds. The state relied on Northern societies and

the Peabody Fund to improve education of the freedmen after the Civil War. Educational

improvement came mostly from the teachers and non-common schools that received support

from the state superintendent of public instruction. However, the poor physical condition of the schools and resources for Florida high schools still compared unfavorably to other states (Bush, 1889).

As White (1979) stated, Florida was sparsely populated in 1869, with an average of three people per square mile; therefore, school systems were set up on a countywide basis. A five-member school board and county supervisor were assigned the responsibility of designating school locations within their counties (White, 1979, p. 3). These people were exclusively paid with local funds and had full control of the county's entire school system and individual schools. The county superintendent handled both state and county responsibilities for maintaining the school conditions. Many schools were in inaccessible rural areas, so specific schools had their own school boards made up of trustees chosen by influential taxpayers who made decisions on school locations, teachers, and curriculum. The majority of state school funding came from real-estate taxes apportioned by the number of school-age children within a district (White, 1979).

In 1870, the Black population in Florida stood at 48.8% of the total population and more than 50% of the total population in Jacksonville (Williamson, 1976). Reconstruction left deep wounds for white Floridians who longed for the old days and focused on the economic, social, and political suppression of the Black community (Williamson, 1976).

Bush (1889) posited that even with legislative progress during the post-Civil War period, public education was still confronted with popular resistance. Less than one fifth of youth between the age of 4 and 21 years were enrolled in the public schools. There was a total lack of schoolhouses in some counties, a lack of qualified teachers, and inadequate school funds everywhere. An 1872 Florida law provided that all elementary schools should

be graded and divided into primary, intermediate, and grammar sections. Teaching subjects would be confined to spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history. At the county level, the superintendent was to be popularly chosen to serve as an agent between the state superintendent and the county schools. The superintendent was empowered to determine the needs of all of the county schools, collaborate with the teachers, and work with the patrons and trustees of the schools (Bush, 1889).

The Bush (1889) report reflected that localities paid little attention to the 1872 law prior to 1877, except for the Peabody Fund-sponsored schools. The following 3 years saw a rapid increase in schools, students, and qualified teachers, but gaps still persisted. A. J. Russell, the acting superintendent of public instruction, wrote in 1886, "'while the people of Florida may congratulate themselves upon their school system, there are localities where great room exists for improvements and progress'" (Bush, 1889, p. 21). Russell advocated "'having good schools in operation for both white and colored children, the latter receiving the self-same provisions for their tuition as the former'" (p. 21).

Bush (1889) stated that when Union troops departed the state in 1876 as part of the end of Reconstruction, resentful White supremacist Floridians dug in to reclaim their perceived rights and status. They boycotted the public schools, refused to pay taxes, and harassed Freedmen Bureau teachers. Their goal was to elect segregationist Democrats who would eliminate taxes supporting the public schools. This meant unseating Republican Superintendent of Schools William Watson Hicks, who was appointed by the prior Reconstruction government. Hicks supported Black education and taxes for the school and worried that a Democratic replacement would end the public school system in Florida (Bush, 1889).

White (1979) wrote that State Superintendent William Haisley from Indiana, with degrees from Yale and Harvard, was brought in to oversee the Florida school system in 1876. Upon touring the state, Haisley was horrified by what he had found. Politics dominated the administration of the public school system at every level. Teachers were hired based on personal whims, not qualifications; schoolboards allocated funding to more populated schools and neglected the rural schools; and schools were located where it was convenient for the children of the schoolboard to attend and not the general population. Some schools were so close to each other that they competed for students and funds, while other areas had no schools at all. Three fourths of school-age children lived too far from a schoolhouse to even attend. School buildings were in shambles and lacked water, toilets, and heat. School lasted 3 hours a week for an average of 83 days a year. Teachers were poorly trained, and many were illiterate. Textbooks were scarce. Schools' financial management was riddled with incompetence and theft. Nevertheless, Superintendent Haisley reported in 1878 that Blacks had expressed satisfaction with the school system (White, 1979).

Williamson (1976) noted that Democrats strategically backed moderate carpetbaggers (i.e., people with roots outside the state) for elective office to avoid federal suspicion of a Confederate resurgence and ensuing federal intervention. In 1877, George Drew of Massachusetts was elected as the Florida governor. Although Drew followed traditional Southern Democratic policies, he believed in a public school system for all, stating, "'It is cheaper to build schoolhouses and maintain schools than to build poorhouses and jails and support the paupers and the criminals'" (Williamson, 1976, p. 23). In other words, investing in education would save the state money.

Drew appointed similar thinking men to the state superintendent's office for public education (White, 1981). These men were opposed by segregationists who did not want to pay for equal Black education or wanted Black schools abolished altogether. As a result, a compromise was struck for a dual school system for white and Black students. White (1981) noted that there was to be a "separate but equal" education system, but Black leaders never received an accounting demonstrating the promised equality, despite their requests. Most of the few original Black schools were wood-frame schoolhouses located in Black settlements and communities. Due to a lack of schoolhouses, classes were often held in churches, meeting halls, lodges, or other available buildings until a more permanent structure could be provided.

White (1979) wrote that public schools and their financing were an issue in the 1878 Florida congressional election, with each party advocating the reduction of government involvement and spending. State school Superintendent Haisley and Governor William Bloxham (a plantation owner and former owner of 52 slaves [Carson,1949]) promoted limited government public school support. White (1979) stated that they cut the millage tax in half, from five mills to 2.5 mills.[2] The Florida school system was devastated by this funding cut. Expenditures dropped from an estimated $135,000 in 1879 to an estimated $115,000 in 1880. Simultaneously, student enrollment increased by 8,000 students. These opposing trends created more crowded classrooms and a reduction of school days from an average of 83 days in 1879 to 72 days in 1880. County superintendents noted that the state

---

[2] *Millage* is an antiquated term that represents the property tax rate levied on real estate or other property, with a mill equal to one thousandth of a dollar, or one tenth of one cent, and it is based on each $1,000 of property value (Langland, 2015).

legislature's action encouraged further millage cuts at the county level, with some dropping

to as low as 1.24 mills. When some local superintendents' efforts to charge tuition failed,

some schools were closed (White, 1979). However, as White (1981) wrote, all was not lost

for Black schools during this period as Blacks were appointed as trustees and teachers, and

even occasionally served on school boards. In 1879, when the Peabody Fund excluded

training scholarships for Black teachers, the state provided its own funding for them.

When the Bourbon Democrats (i.e., Confederate sympathizers) regained state control

in 1884, segregationist Albert Russell of Virginia (a former Confederate officer) became the

state superintendent of public instruction (White, 1979). Russell had been the Duval County

superintendent of schools that year and a supporter of secondary education and a formal

course of study. He believed strongly in county-controlled dual school systems, stating that

under "'no conditions should children of the two races of this state be admitted to the same

school'" (White, 1979, p. 13). Black leaders continued requests for documentation that would

demonstrate equal funding for their side of the "dual" system, but it was never produced

(White, 1979).

Russell's commitment to education in Florida was purportedly based on his belief that

education brings industry (White, 1979). An editorial in Jacksonville's *Times-Union*

newspaper proclaimed, "'Capital always follows the schoolhouse'" (White, 1979, p. 13),

arguing that better schools would attract Northern investors and businesses. In response to

the editorial, Russell produced reports reflecting that the state spent $103,676 on white

schools and $103,028 on Black schools (White, 1979). Although this appears "equal" on the

surface, this figure did not indicate the average amount spent per student, the total number of

94

Black and white students, or the expenditures included. Therefore, these numbers were not reliable evidence of equality.

White (1979) noted that school Superintendent William Sheats of Alachua County also promoted a dual school system. Sheats secured additional property taxes within his county in 1884. As an 1885 state constitutional convention delegate, Sheats developed provisions for an elected state superintendent of schools, segregated schools, and dual schools for training Black and white teachers. Under Sheats, Alachua public enrollment increased from 17% of eligible youth in 1880 to 63% in 1884, causing some private schools to close. Florida Bourbon Democrats promptly accused Sheats of planning to seize state property and promoting increases in public expenditures for Black education. The *Jacksonville Herald* published an article describing Sheats as "'the school crank trying to confiscate state property to educate negros'" (White, 1979, p. 15).

Bourbon Democrats responded to Sheats's actions by amending the Florida Constitution to impose a "separate but equal" requirement in public education (Williamson, 1976). The consequences of this amendment demanded a state college system with a separate white and Black college. Yet, the state legislators opted to fund neither, arguing that "no college was the rule rather than a separate college" (Williamson, 1976, p. 139), in an effort to avoid higher Black education. The concept of punishing all students to suppress Black students was applied across the entire state of Florida.

White (1981) explained that when former Confederate "Colonel" Albert J. Russell ascended to the superintendent's position in 1884, hopes of Black education progress ended. Russell eliminated Blacks from schoolboards and berated Blacks for having insufficient tax revenues to cover their education. Black schools were left to physically and structurally

deteriorate, and were labeled as "sham schools" with "mock teachers." Teachers were subjected to paying bribes to secure teaching positions. The neglect resulted in children not obtaining even the most basic education, leading to a call for a supervisor of Black education (White, 1981).

Bush (1889) noted that in 1888, students were taught in dual (i.e., segregated) school systems and had equal funding access, supervision, teacher institutions, and regulations. However, Bush also warned,

> It is yet too soon to expect that in general the qualifications of the colored man will
> compare favorably with those of the white man. As the [colored man] is still the
> teacher of the colored children, these must, to a certain extent suffer loss. (p. 25)

In time, Bush "hope[d]" that with state support, Black teachers would soon "equal white teachers" (p. 25). In 1890, the Florida State Teachers Association (FSTA) was formed to support Black teachers, but it had minimal political power. By 1890, Blacks were mostly excluded from the legislature through gerrymandering (White, 1981).

White (1981) noted that such inequities in Florida and other Southern states influenced Northern politicians to intervene on behalf of Southern Black schools, and in 1890, they proposed the national Blair Act, which would have provided national funds and supervision for education. White Floridians and Southerners saw this proposal as another form of Northern interference with local rights and an attempt to impose Black education. After some backlash, the state senate rejected the act in 1890. Congress successfully appropriated land grants to non-discriminating colleges, but even that was construed as fitting the segregationist needs of the South by providing assets for "separate" but not necessarily "equal" schools (White, 1981).

Alachua Superintendent William N. Sheats became the state superintendent of public education in 1892 (White, 1981). As mentioned previously, Sheats was a strong advocate of "separate but equal" education, which made him controversial on both sides of the education debate. Sheats sponsored a law prohibiting children from being taught by opposite races, as well as blocking interracial attendance at the same school. He then applied the law to close an existing integrated school that was 75% Black and 27% white which had segregated facilities but integrated classes to save money. Sheats had the school's ministers and teachers arrested. Although this created outrage in the North, *Plessy v. Ferguson* legitimized Sheats's law and actions, and the school was closed (White, 1981). Shofner (1976) also noted that Jim Crow laws began in 1889 and provided for legal segregation in Florida. In 1895, a statute was added prohibiting whites and Blacks from being in the same school building or having the same teachers. Segregation was fundamental to perpetuating a caste system based on White supremacy and Jim Crow was the instrument for maintaining the status quo in Florida (Shofner, 1976).

Sheats's commitment to racial separation was unquestioned (White, 1981). In 1900, he was recognized for his "bravery" for producing school tax receipts by race, reflecting that whites had not paid a penny for Black education. However, his commitment to equality was less than commendable. Under his leadership from 1892 to 1904, while he increased recruitment of Black teachers and staff for Black schools, the differential between annual Black school days and white school days increased from 11 to 16 days (White, 1981).

Billington (1975) stated that, in 1902, while Southern legislators saw no need to support education, Northern foundation money—primarily from the Rockefeller Foundation—began coming in to help improve Southern education. While improvements

were made, schools remained poor overall. By the 1920s, illiteracy was still a problem in Florida. High schools in the state were sparse, widely located geographically, and had one room with one teacher. Schools were inaccessible and in disrepair, and had few teaching supplies. Even by 1930, 65 years after the end of the Civil War and 50 years after Reconstruction, every Southern state lagged behind Northern states' per child expenditures (Billington, 1975).

White (1981) noted that Florida State Superintendent Sheats remained devoted to a dual school approach but still had concerns about providing some form of education to Black students. In the face of continued opposition, Sheats became a follower of Booker T. Washington's advocacy of Black advancement through trade training, and saw industrial education for Blacks as a palatable solution. Washington addressed a crowd of 2,000 Southerners and was warmly received by both Black and white attendees (segregated by race, of course). Still, Washington and Sheats's solution did not appeal to most Southern voters, and Sheats was voted out of office in the 1904 Democratic primary. His successor, Superintendent William Holloway, oversaw a further decline for Blacks in Florida on both an educational and political level. At the same time, Governor Napoleon Broward encouraged funding legislation to export Blacks and colonize them elsewhere (White, 1981).

By 1911, Florida legislators saw no need to teach academic college courses to Black students because of their perceived limited intellectual ability (White, 1981). The perceived indignity of Blacks tainting white purity even led the state to ban flying flags over educational institutions to prevent the Florida flag from being flown over a Black school. Holloway accused Blacks of cheating on their teacher licensing exams and offered rewards

98

for imagined offenders' arrest and conviction. He made no such accusations of white teachers (White, 1981).

As White (1981) wrote, Booker T. Washington's message supporting segregated education with an emphasis on vocational training played well to Florida audiences. In 1912, Washington spoke around the state to crowds upwards of 30,000 people. White (1981) cited a witness report in which Washington claimed that, in spite of the violence against Blacks in Florida (including continued Klan burnings and lynchings), Florida was ahead of the rest of the world in allowing Blacks and whites to live peacefully together. As he often did, Washington put the responsibility of gained respect for Blacks on Blacks themselves, saying that the only way Blacks could be assured of fair treatment was incrementally, through a working man's industrial education (White, 1981).

White (1981) stated that when Sheats returned to the position of superintendent of public instruction for the state in 1913, he immediately reenacted his segregation law, which had previously been struck down on a technicality. Sheats sought the arrest of a nun for teaching Black students in a parish school in 1916. The nun was acquitted but with a racist rationale: The judge found that the nun could not have been "teaching" Blacks, as even the notion of a white person "educating" Blacks implied Blacks were somehow capable of education—an insult to White supremacy. Legislators also refused to adopt a free textbook program because Black parents did not pay sufficient taxes to cover the cost, and white parents did not wish to subsidize books for Black students (White, 1981). This was another example of destroying the education system for all to allow greater suppression of Black education.

Nevertheless, Sheats continued to argue that Blacks should be publicly educated (White, 1981), though some Southerners feared that providing education beyond minimal skills to Blacks would ultimately result in Black political and economic domination and superiority over whites. This guiding fear ensured that Black schools would meet Sheats's recommendation of a minimal education, to "inspire in blacks personal pride, a desire to work, while reducing their failure rate on mental ability tests for military combat duty" (White, 1981, p. 173). One Florida county superintendent rejected this premise, commenting that the Black brain reached capacity at age 14 (White, 1981, p. 173).

White (1981) noted that, by 1918, Blacks represented 40% of school-age children in Florida but only 30% of enrolled students, with only 20% of the system's teachers being Black. Student expenditures were $4.59 per Black student, the equivalent of 25% less than white student expenditures (White, 1981). In 1920, the property value of Black school buildings in Florida was 8% lower than white schools (Skaggs, 1924). Given these built-in inequities, any general underfunding of Florida's education system would logically fall harder on Black students than on their white counterparts.

Superintendent Sheats asked the General Education Board (an educational philanthropic organization) to fund a state inspector to evaluate the status of the Black schools (White, 1981). In 1925, the inspector found that Black schools needed $3 million in capital expenses. Florida declined to fund this expenditure. Instead, most of these funds came from outside the state, including from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which built 40 Black schools in Florida by 1926 and provided needed textbooks (White, 1981). However, these schools were not equivalent to those of their white counterparts. More than half of Florida's Rosenwald schools were built for two teachers, 25% for three teachers, and almost 20% for

one teacher. In 1928, the Rosenwald Fund began offering financial bonuses as an incentive for the construction of larger consolidated schools (Johnston et al., 2003).

Dewitt Everett Williams, a white man, was Florida's first state agent for Negro schools in the state Department of Education, serving from 1927 until 1962. His self-proclaimed objectives included improving Black education with more funding, better buildings, higher salaries for Black teachers, better teaching conditions, and better living conditions in the Black communities around schools (Williams, 1963). According to Williams's (1963) own documentation, prior to taking the position, no one in the state administration had ever visited the "Negro" schools. Williams spent the first 2 years of his tenure visiting every one of the Black schools in the state to make an assessment, and he kept a photo diary of all Black schools in Florida between 1927 and 1947 which he maintained in his office.

Williams (1963) found that county superintendents had little knowledge of their "Negro" schools and less interest in their condition; they were even surprised that someone from the state would inquire about them. Williams set up annual visits with every school in the county and took every county superintendent with him, with the exception of one unnamed county superintendent who declined to attend the visits. Williams claimed that, as a result of these visits, conditions at many Black schools across Florida improved. However, Duval County did not share Williams's commitment, and Black schools there continued to lag (Williams, 1963).

Williams (1963) noted that, in 1927, Florida was still predominately an agricultural state with large rural areas. Florida's makeup and economy, therefore, had little need for well-educated workers, which made education generally a low state priority. Most of the

agriculture was for local consumption by owners, tenants, and sharecroppers, although there was commerce around such commodities as citrus, dairy, poultry, and cattle. Little industry existed, and income was generally at subsistence level, with little left for personal needs or public services from a small tax base. Work was primarily low-skill labor that did not require a formal education. Given the lack of economic impetus and general distaste for funding someone else's schooling, education was not perceived as a need, much less a necessity. Given that education was largely locally funded, in wealthier areas or in jurisdictions with some demand for more education, local schools with higher tax bases obtained better facilities and teachers (Williams, 1963).

In 1927, Williams (1963) reported, Florida's Department of Education was minimally staffed, occupying three rooms at the state capital, with one telephone. Williams claimed there were no protocols, clear goals, definitions of positions or responsibilities, duties, functions, or organized work plan. County school systems were predominately self-supporting with little funding from the state, so there was little need for communication between them other than for certification. This gave county school systems a great deal of autonomy, with a near complete lack of supervision (Williams, 1963).

According to Williams (1963), Black property ownership in Florida was limited at this time and not producing tax revenue. Whites did not perceive Blacks as requiring education due to menial work restrictions. Only a basic education of reading, writing, and math for performing the expected level of work or for daily living was considered necessary. Therefore, Blacks were not provided an education beyond primary school and provided with only one- or two-teacher schools (Williams, 1963).

Williams (1963) documented that, in 1927, approximately 67% of all Black student attendees in Florida were at least one academic year behind, with 44% a year behind beginning in the first grade. This phenomenon was attributed to teachers habitually keeping students in the first grade for 2 years due to a lack of time to focus on them. Black children were kept home from school on Mondays and Fridays for chores, babysitting, and other responsibilities, receiving less school time than their white counterparts. Only 2% of all enrolled Black students were in high school (Williams, 1963).

As Williams (1963) maintained, education quality is based primarily on the quality of the instructional material and the teacher, and Black schools faced a huge deficit in both. The chronic lack of textbooks and teaching material in Black schools made the job particularly challenging for even the most qualified teacher. Prior to 1925, textbooks had to be provided by the parents, and books had to be shared with siblings. Impoverished parents, however, struggled to provide the required educational material (Williams, 1963). In 1925, state legislation was passed providing textbooks for students in Grades 1 through 6, then, in 1933, through Grade 12 (Williams, 1963). Unfortunately, the state's manager of textbooks and publications only sent new books to white schools and then forwarded the used, outdated books to the Black schools. The "Negro" schools did not begin receiving new books until legislation passed in 1947 providing books on a per capita basis (Williams, 1963).

Black school conditions in the late 1920s were no less than appalling. Williams (1963) stated that, in 1927, the majority of Florida's 866 "Negro" schools had only one instructor. Classes were held in churches, turpentine shacks, and saw-mill camp residences. Few Black schoolhouses were owned by the counties. "Drinking water, sanitary toilets, desks, blackboards, sufficient textbooks, library books, a good heater and fuel were lacking

103

in many of these schools" (p.11). Pews doubled as desks, and chalk boards were improvised

from black painted planed boards. Children would bring in bottles or jugs of water, or haul

buckets of water in from nearby springs. Williams noted that these conditions reflected a

belief that education was not meant to improve standards of living for Black youth and that

personal health was considered an unnecessary gift beyond merely providing of an education.

Neither teachers nor students were able to practice good hygiene or sanitation. As a result,

Black schools suffered from high absenteeism due to illness, high morbidity rates, premature

deaths, and high insurance rates. These health conditions in Black schools were not

addressed until 1947 (Williams, 1963).

In the 1932–1933 school year, Alachua County (considered a typical Florida county

for Black schools) had 48 Black schools meeting in 44 schoolhouses and four Black churches

(Williams, 1963). Almost half of the schools had no water, and two schools had no bathroom

facilities. Sixty percent of the 48 Black schools had only one teacher, 19% had two teachers,

10% had three, and 11% had six or more.

Teachers were paid an annual salary of $237 at Black schools in Alachua County, and

according to Williams (1963), their salaries equated to $6.38 per capita cost. Williams

observed that teachers were isolated and not engaged with their peers or others for training,

feedback, or support due to distance, which limited their ability to travel. Of the 109 teachers

employed by Black schools, only 13 were college graduates, matched in number by teachers

who had less than a high school education. Only 19 teachers had high grades on training

certificates, 38 had low grades, and 45 had either temporary certificates or were uncertified.

There were 4,051 students enrolled, with 35% in the first grade. Attendance was reported at

86%, but a state superintendent's onsite visit could only verify 69% attendance. Capital investments were $181,540, or $44.81 per child on average (Williams, 1963).

White (1981) wrote that, in 1938, Black teachers and the FSTA decided to fight for equal salaries in the courts. However, according to White, the Florida Supreme Court dismissed their case, holding that "equal" did not mean "equitable." Colburn (2007) stated that, for the 1939–1940 school year, white teachers statewide were paid $1,145, while Black teachers were paid $583, barely half of what their white counterparts made for the same work. The teachers withdrew their efforts following retaliatory removal of the FSTA officers from their education positions (Colburn, 2007).

In 1943, an FSTA branch in Escambia County successfully challenged unequal teacher pay in a court case argued by Thurgood Marshall (White, 1981). The court's decision included a rebuke of the school departments' arguments that white teachers worked harder, invested more in their own education, had higher degrees, were more competent, or required higher salaries to maintain their standard of living. To thwart the order, school administrators created an artificial rating system to "justify" paying Black teachers 20% less than their white counterparts (White, 1981). During the 1949–1950 school year in Escambia, Florida, white teachers were paid an average of $3,030, while Black teachers were paid an average of $2,616, or 14% less than their white counterparts (Colburn, 2007).

Williams (1963) explained that following the collapse of Florida property values and the Great Depression from the late 1920s into the 1930s, local schools were unable to sustain themselves on local tax revenue. More pressure was placed on the counties for subsidies— which looked in turn to the state for assistance. After several years, the state finally accepted responsibility for public education oversight and established a state public education system

by the end of World War II. The days of total autonomy for county schools transitioned to a state dependency for support and accountability (Williams, 1963).

Colburn and DeHaven-Smith (1999) noted that Florida saw a post-World War II boom, but little changed for its Black residents facing segregation oppression and directed violence. There was a growing call to upgrade the dismal school system in Florida to prevent mandated desegregation. The state welcomed money from the North to help upgrade Black schools and to avoid federal intervention. Black education improvement was perceived as a threat to White supremacy, so more militant enforced segregation barriers were enacted. Blacks who complained about their treatment or demanded improvements were placed in county jails and faced beatings until they submitted to their lot in life (Colburn & DeHaven-Smith, 1999).

According to Colburn (2007), between 1945 and 1949, Governor Millard Caldwell worked hard to bring out-of-state businesses to Florida and offered financial and infrastructure incentives to attract Northern businesses in particular. Florida passed legislation in 1947 creating the Minimum Foundation Program (MFP), which sought to provide a base level of financial support to the public schools. This action was taken to address Northern business concerns regarding any potential future employee education (Colburn, 2007). The NEA's (1966) report on Florida education observed that the Florida Constitution hamstrung education funding, prohibiting most tax sources of state revenue, including income taxes, real-estate taxes (reserved for county and city government), and estate taxes that are only applied to the amount provided by the federal government to the state. Constitutionally allowed state sources of revenue for all services include "sales taxes, use and privilege taxes, licenses, transaction taxes, inspection fees, taxes on intangibles, and

the restricted property tax on motor vehicles" (NEA, 1966, p. 19). This leaves only legislatively approved state appropriations and the MFP for state educational funding.

The NEA (1966) report noted that teacher groups across the state historically raised concerns about the general underfunding and lack of attention to the public schools on both a state and local level. Although many elected officials freely admitted that schools needed more funding, the admission did not prompt support of additional state education funding as a political issue. A sales tax increase for education funding was reviewed and rejected by a legislative committee. Teacher groups reported that, since the establishment of the MFP in 1947, it was never fully implemented "due to legislative curtailment of funds for special instruction units established under the MFP formula" (NEA, 1966, p. 14).

As Poppell (1998) stated, the MFP assumed that all students in Florida were entitled to a minimum threshold of adequate education regardless of their county's wealth, and it established a collaboration between each county and the State of Florida. However, the MFP did not require equity between Black and white schools, and while conditions did improve, Black schools did not rise to an adequate level. Colburn (2007) stated that the MFP passage was never intended to address potential concerns of racial inequity by Northern prospects. Florida's overall education system was underfunded—the county-level funding was the lowest in the nation at the time. Caldwell, a devoted segregationist and states'-righter, saw minimum funding as addressing the general Northern concerns about Florida's overall school system, not as a means to improve the deplorable conditions of Florida's Black schools. Recruited Northern corporations to Florida were nevertheless satisfied by this funding plan because their executives and managers had no intention of sending their own family members to desegregated schools (Colburn, 2007).

White (1981) posited that the underfunded MFP had little impact on conditions at Black schools. Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Bailey was horrified in 1947 after seeing photographs (presumably from Williams) of deplorable Black school conditions, and he declared that their inferiority had reached a crisis point. He threatened to withhold what MFP funds were appropriated if there was not an improvement in the state's Black education system. Within 3 years, this leverage resulted in the number of college-degreed Blacks tripling to 86% of total Black teachers. Black schools consolidated from 777 schools to 561, moving students from turpentine company-owned shacks into larger county-owned schools (White, 1981).

When *Brown* mandated that public schools integrate in 1954, Florida neither favored nor complied with the decision. Florida's government viewed the mandate to integrate with "all deliberate speed" as an arbitrary definition and chose to set up "speed bumps" as part of their "massive resistance." Florida requested a stay from the decision, arguing that the anticipated white violent response warranted injunctive relief. A political movement of White supremacists was formed to resist the decision in Florida by maintaining control over the state legislature. As discussed earlier, in Duval County, the infamous Pork Chop Gang took a blood oath of brotherhood and formed a coalition to secure legislative opposition to segregation, believing that political power was more critical than ever to maintain segregation and White supremacy (Colburn, 2007).

Gilbert Porter (1956), the FSTA's executive secretary spoke openly about Florida's resistance to school integration in 1956. Florida considered legislation that would work around *Brown's* mandate by instructing county school boards to assign each child to the school "to which he is best suited" (Porter, 1956, p. 246). The bill sponsored by Senator

108

Charley E. Johns, the former acting governor, empowered local school boards to have the definitive word on the preservation of segregation through methods such as study groups, special legal counsel, and surveys to sway local school decisions. Despite the bill's neutral tone, Porter (1956) acknowledged that it was "designed as an out-and-out anti-integration piece of legislation" (p. 246).

As state agent for Negro schools, Williams (1963) observed the lack of attention given on any level to "Negro" schools in Florida. Williams noted that, in a 1963 survey, schools were historically isolated both geographically and professionally. There was a general lack of concern about "Negro" schools, the extreme poverty in the Black community, the delayed academic advancement of students, and a lack of supervision from the state. Williams posited, "Had it not been for the financial and stimulative help from another foundation, it is highly probable that supervision in Negro schools would have been completely neglected until supervision in white schools had been provided" (p. 23).

Summary

In the 1950s, a movement toward desegregation and civil rights was picking up steam at the federal level (White, 1981). *Brown v. Board of Education'*s expedited education desegregation order was being enforced nationwide. The entrenched political, economic, and social structures of Jim Crow that had kept Blacks repressed since the end of Reconstruction were now preventing integration's forward movement in the South. White (1981) explained that due to gerrymandering and an apportionment formula for representation, conservatives in rural northern Florida, including Duval County, had greater state representation than more populated liberal areas of the state, and they used their political influence to block desegregation of Florida schools statewide (White, 1981). In particular, as Figure 8

illustrates, Blacks in Jacksonville and Duval were under constant threat of White supremacy

and violence.

Figure 8

Florida Centers of White Supremacy in 1952

MAP 3. CENTERS OF WHITE SUPREMACY FEELING IN FLORIDA ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE STATE
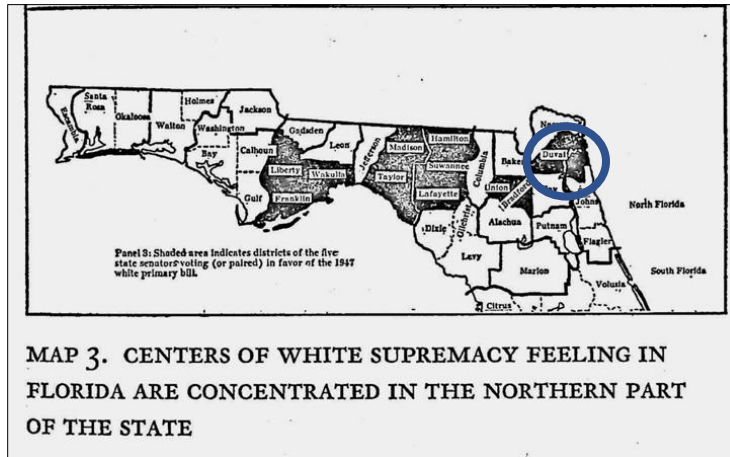
Note. Source: Price, 1957, p. 49.

White (1981) explained that, following the *Brown* decision, Florida segregationist

representatives proposed various legislative strategies to evade school integration, but the

governor vetoed the legislation. Meanwhile, integration was still not progressing at the local

level. One legislative bill entitled "The Pupil Assignment Law" prevented children from

attending schools where they did not meet the "psychological and socioeconomic

characteristics" of the already attending children. This kept Florida schools totally segregated

for 5 years after the *Brown* decision (White 1981). As Black and Black (1987) wrote,

> Southern racism involved an intricate code of interracial etiquette that symbolized
>
> White supremacy and Black inferiority, the legalization of racial segregation in every
>
> important institution, the attempted (and largely successful) repression of educational

110

and economic achievement among Blacks, the routine denial of full human dignity to

Blacks, and the rationalization of legal and extralegal force to maintain the norms of

the system. (pp. 75–75)

In 1959, as Colburn (2007) described, Governor Collins launched Florida's first

school integration initiative at Miami's Orchard Villa Elementary, located in a low-income

neighborhood. Four Black students were chosen to attend the all-white school. On the first

day of school, only eight white students arrived for class. By the end of the week, all of the

white children had withdrawn, so the school was converted into an all-Black elementary

school with 379 students and an all-Black staff. Collins left office without successfully

integrating the schools. Florida did not even begin systematic desegregation until 1967, 13

years after it was constitutionally mandated. Collins spent his post-gubernatorial days

preaching to Floridians about how school desegregation was morally wrong, unfair, and a

violation of the law (Colburn, 2007).

White (1981) cited that when integration was finally implemented across the state,

Black students endured harassment, excessive busing, and segregated extracurricular

activities, and they were forced to engage in Dixie traditions, from songs to flags. As white

and Black schools were consolidated, Black schools were shuttered on the assumption that

white students would be afraid for their safety to attend school in a Black neighborhood.

Black administrators and teachers were demoted or dismissed during desegregation (White,

1981).

White (1981) noted that Florida's state and local government remained dominated by

White supremacists. All levels of government perpetuated aspects of Jim Crow in their

education system to deter desegregation and prevent the advancement of Black students. The

state instituted a culturally biased functional literacy test for graduation that produced a 70%
failure rate among Black students. As schools became more diversified, white Floridian
attitudes did not moderate, with the fight against busing and integration continuing into the
1970s (White, 1981).

Dumas (2013) recognized the possibility that the equity gap in educational
opportunity may be intentional, exacerbating subjugation of Black lives under a white
hegemony. In Duval County—the site of this study—thriving anti-Black racism came to a
head with race riots in the 1960s. The 1964 Southern Leagues Project blamed passive
religious, political, and business leaders in Jacksonville for their racist complacency. The
project observed, "Too many of the South's political leaders were racial demagogues"
(Lassiter, 1999, p. 151). How did these racial demagogues influence Jacksonville's education
inequity utilizing federal and state legislation and judicial rulings? The conceptualized case
study addresses this question by examining closely Duval County's history of politics,
economics, and racism, and their impact on public school inequity between 1954 and 1964.

Many history and education researchers have been silent on the issue of systemic
racism in studying public education inequity in Florida. My research breaks this silence by
informing the unknowing of, and waking the complicit to, the past normalization and
acceptance of White supremacy that has deliberately perpetuated an inequitable public
education system in Florida.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORICAL CASE STUDY METHODS

The obligation of anyone who thinks of himself as responsible is to examine society

and try to change it and to fight it – at no matter what risk. This is the only hope

society has. This is the only way societies change. (Baldwin, 1963b)

My research, utilizing Weis and Fine's (2012) critical bifocality perspective, sought

to expose the linkage between White supremacist ideology in the United States and public

education inequity in Duval County, Florida. This research centered on the critical

ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study I conducted between October 2019 and

February 2020. The purpose of the qualitative study was to hear first-hand experiential

knowledge of race-based, systemic inequity in Duval County to humanize my research, as I

come from a position of white privilege. By listening to the voices of those who have been

directly impacted by education inequity by design, I am able to understand the experience

through their voice as opposed to my general observations and assumptions from outside the

phenomenon. Incorporating information gathered from the qualitative study, this dissertation

utilized a multi-method approach to a contextualized sociocultural case study of how White

supremacy impacts local school districts.

Bartlett and Varvas (2015) maintained that a vertical case methodology can link historical, political, judicial, and relationship perspectives through multiple levels of government and influences on a macro-, meso-, and micro-level within complex global power structures. My contextualized sociocultural case study does not examine global factors, but it does focus on the impact of U.S. federal and regional politics on local school districts. This research demonstrates how a White supremacist transverse ideology crosses U.S. historical and political time-spaces and factors, including capitalism, judicial decisions, and politics at all levels of government, and directly impacts public education inequity.

This chapter details my research methodology, design, rationale, and implementation. It presents a history and context which substantiates my methodology. My research comprised two studies: a critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study conducted in Jacksonville and a historical contextualized sociocultural case study. This chapter describes the research setting and participant information, as well as my sampling plan and data collection strategy, instruments, and timeline. The data analysis strategy section discusses my data dissection, analysis, and mapping. This is followed by a discussion of data validity and generalizability, including research limitations as well possible deductions that my research produced. The chapter concludes with a summary of the methods utilized.

My Connection to the Case Study

My late father, Marvin R. Edwards (who passed in 2018), founded and served as the president of the Better Schools Citizen Committee (BSCC) in Duval Country in 1958. He was concerned about the quality of education and the conditions of the schools for the community and for his own children. He formed an investigative committee to highlight the fire hazards within the Duval County school system's poorly maintained school facilities.

114

The committee invited the NAACP and the National Urban League to collaborate in its efforts. This action led to personal threats against my father from the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Councils, both of which opposed any improvement in the schools that would benefit Black students.

In 1959, the BSCC warned that without significant and substantial improvements to all schools, the district risked losing accreditation. The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) met with Edwards (upon his request) in the interim to review his documented concerns from over three years of personal research. Jacksonville's segregationist mayor Haydon Burns and the local chamber of commerce disputed Edwards' findings, arguing that the schools were "not that bad." However, SACS would not be influenced by political pressure, and after its own investigation in collaboration Edwards' research, the association disaccredited all 15 of the district's high schools in 1964.

In addition, Edwards focused on the political corruption involved with the intentional under-assessment of property that perpetuated the underfunding of schools. He was one of five Duval County citizens who called for a grand jury investigation into the tax assessor for intentional under-evaluation of property values resulting in over 70% of Duval County homeowners paying no property taxes.

As an officer of the Duval County Taxpayers Association, Edwards chaired a committee with the goal of replacing an elected superintendent of schools with an appointed one. At that time, Jacksonville teachers were enrolled in four different segregated teacher associations, rendering them less effective in advocating for improvements. Edwards led mediations between the associations and helped orchestrate the consolidation of the teachers into one integrated union, maximizing their negotiating power. Ultimately, Edwards

encouraged the teachers to engage in a threat of labor stoppage, conditionally threatening to resign their positions until the schools received more funding. Over 2,000 teachers heeded Edwards' recommendation, and in response to their new leverage, the school system provided additional funding.

Edwards' efforts to improve the schools were recognized by numerous individuals and organizations, including the Teachers Association, the Duval County School Board, and *Parents Magazine*. The *Miami Herald* published a 1964 article regarding the lost accreditation of the Duval County high schools, stating, "The man who has been working longest to do something about the downhill trend of the county schools is Marvin Edwards" (MacFeely, 1964).

My contextualized sociocultural case study is based upon my late father's work as a concerned citizen regarding the quality of the schools and education in Duval County (where my hometown is located) beginning in 1958. My father laid the groundwork for documenting an intentionally neglected school district, the contributing factors, and the overall consequential poor results. In the days before home computers, my father kept meticulous files, including all correspondences (letters, speeches, and detailed notes of phone conversations), newspaper clippings, reports, and other relevant materials that were kept in chronological order in three-ring binders. Upon finding his binders—representing years of his work on education in Duval County after his passing—I brought his files home with me. His work did not incorporate critical race theory to evaluate the sociocultural influences and impact of school inequity; all of Duval County's schools were substandard in condition and quality of education, so his focus was on raising the standard of all schools for all students. My work takes the necessary next step of delving deeper into his documentation to explore

the impact of the economic and political drivers of school inequity by design on Black education within the Duval County Public Schools.

Research Design Rationale

The micro-case study of the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 focuses on the phenomenon of education inequity between the time of *Brown v. Board of Education* and the loss of district-wide high school accreditation due to intentional inequities. I chose this case study because of the well-documented, intentional underfunding of these public schools. Resources included recorded historical events, archived documentation, books (primary and secondary sources) related to these components, interviews, and an audit completed by the George Peabody College for Teachers (1965) documenting the overt and covert inequities within the Duval County school district through 1964. I believe the Duval County Public Schools case study is representative of the systemic and deliberate school inequity across the United States that has been well documented in the scholarship (Anyon, 1997; Apple, 2012; Bowles, 1972; Coles, 2018; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Gorski, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Ravitch, 1983).

My Duval County Public Schools contextualized case study is informed and directed by experiential data from my critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study. The interviews prompted questions, insights, direction, and validation of my research related to systemic racism in the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 as experienced by students, teachers, and administrators. My interview protocols are included in the IRB form in Appendix D. The contextualized sociocultural case study begins with a qualitative study composite experiential vignette of being Black and having attended or worked in the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964. These experiences are validated and

supported by documented data from the corresponding time period. In addition, a multi-method approach was applied to this historical contextualized sociocultural case study to examine macro- to micro-levels of racism in economics, politics, and judicial decisions. My research illustrates the ways the influence of White supremacist ideology infiltrated and was embedded in the Duval County Public Schools.

French social psychologist Erika Apfelbaum (2001) examined willful public blindness to racial injustice and advocated an awakening of the public to the pain of material and cultural injustice they choose to tune out. This awakening is possible when the privileged are receptive to learning about acts of oppression, and it can occur when researchers do a better job of listening to the voices of the oppressed. It is unlikely that dedicated White supremacists will suddenly be awakened and reformed. However, those who are on the sidelines of oppression may choose to engage in the deconstruction of systemic racism once their eyes have been opened to how they are implicated in the systemic racialized subordination of people, whether through their active participation or their passive silence.

Peräkylä (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) viewed listening through interviewing as an important tool for bridging the written history caused by lapsed time: Interviewing and listening allows researchers to examine topics closer, organically discover new information, and bring a more current and humanized perspective to the research. This is important to help bridge the gap between recorded history and those who have experienced the phenomenon because history is often only recorded by the passive observer or those who benefit from the phenomenon, and leaves out the human experience. It is important to me that this research reflects voices of the oppressed to document the impact of the phenomenon of education inequity. My critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study, combined with

118

historical data, provides a deeper interpretation of my overall research data, and as such, this study may support a societal awakening to the social, cultural, and political influences on education inequity by design.

The George Peabody College (1965) historical review of the Duval County Public Schools demonstrates why this school district and the time period of the study are emblematic of urban schools across the United States. School districts are a reflection of the communities and institutions they serve. The area of Duval County is steeped in recorded history dating back to 1562 when the French Huguenots first arrived. The city of Jacksonville is considered the "Gateway to Florida" and is the largest land-mass city in the continental United States. Further, Jacksonville has a long history of class and race divisions dating to before the early days of slavery, starting with Native Americans. In 1963, school inequity became a major local issue, with the problems identified as political interference, an elected superintendent, a lack of funding, poor curriculum, and inequity due to intentional under-assessment of property taxes. The George Peabody College (1965) report concluded, "Many contend that Jacksonville is 'owned' by economic interests which determine the political fate of the community. Charges are made of a coalition existing among the economic, political, and news media leadership" (p. 13). Many of these charges could also be made in urban school districts presently suffering from inequity, not only in the South, but also nationally.

Research Methods

History and Context

From a critical ethnographic perspective, my qualitative study looked at the impact of the phenomenon of education inequity on Black stakeholders (i.e., students, teachers, and principals) connected to the Duval County Public Schools between the years 1954 (when the

Supreme Court's *Brown* decision declared school segregation unconstitutional) and 1964 (when Jacksonville's program of intentional education inequity caused its high schools to lose academic accreditation). The study demonstrates that the maintenance of White supremacy and segregation was such a great priority in education that the white hegemony, consisting of wealthy and politically powerful segregationists, was willing to devastate Duval County's school system to preserve its racial caste system.

For my dissertation research, I drew data from my qualitative study's 17 unstructured interviews with Black experiential voices of Duval County and provide overlapping historical documentation reflecting the untold history and impact. These experiential voices of the phenomenological experience of inequity by design revealed to me how easy it is for whites to accept the status quo without question. As a privileged white student during this study time period, the inequities that Black students faced in their schools, compared to the advantages presented in my school, were hidden from me until these voices were shared in my interviews. This "awakening" of the acceptance of whites to inequity caused by White supremacy because of the way we have been raised to view society has influenced my research and my research objectives. These voices served as a conscious guide for reviewing the data and how they were incorporated into this study.

Bartlett and Varvas (2015) stated that vertical case studies focus on government's role and the influence of historical events and political actors from a global perspective. My contextualized case study examined history from transverse domestic levels over space and time to demonstrate cultural production of policy within localities. Further, Stake (1995) posited that case studies must include political, social, historical, and human context when attempting to understand issues. Incorporating a contextualized sociocultural approach to a

case study provides a focus on policy as an integral political process that is produced from a culmination of culture and social actors in various locations with differing levels of influence (Bartlett & Varvas, 2015). As such, my research analyzed the impact of key historical political, economic, and judicial factors in Duval County under the influence of a White supremacist ideology and the ways it impacted the school district. By examining these transverse levels and factors over time, rather than just laterally or horizontally, the data reveal how a White supremacist ideology is intertwined with policy to suppress Black education.

Research Questions

Van Manen (2016) explained that phenomenological questions do not provide answers or solve problems, but seek meaning and significance of a specific phenomenon to provide greater understanding. Together, my qualitative study and contextualized sociocultural case study sought an understanding of the experiences of Black residents in the Duval County Public Schools before and after *Brown v. Board of Education*, including: the impact of school inequity on the self-perception; the view of desegregation and integration of the schools; and the personal impact of education inequity upon students, teachers, and administrators.

My case study research question was: In what ways was education inequity in the Duval County Public School between 1954 and 1964 by intentional design? My critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study further addressed the outcome of this case study by looking at the resulting impact of intentional school inequity on Black students, teachers, and administrators. My findings shed additional light on significant events that have shaped current inequities in Duval County Public Schools, with experiential Black voices

correcting, illuminating, or disputing what has been recorded. My second research question was: Are the findings of this case study applicable to other urban school districts?

Research Objectives

The qualitative study, combined with a contextualized sociocultural case study, mapped intentional education inequity by overlapping recorded events and back stories with experiential voices through written and collected narratives. The research goals included:

    a. expanding traditional written research capacity by capturing previously and under-documented information, voices, and experiences;

    b. facilitating a more nuanced understanding of daily school life from segregation through integration;

    c. creating space for participants to provide personal perspectives and identify areas for focus on public education inequity, segregation, and White supremacy; and,

    d. awakening society to research that shifts blame from underperforming students to systemic institutional inequity suppressing Black education to support mandating equitable funding of public education.

Research Setting

In addition to my qualitative interviews conducted in Jacksonville, Florida, additional interviews were conducted in Jacksonville and over Zoom with local historians and authors. All written and electronic material was obtained through local bookstores in Jacksonville and Massachusetts, from the Internet, and the interlibrary loan system at the University of Massachusetts. Reports and files belonging to Marvin Edwards were retrieved from his home in Jacksonville and brought back to Massachusetts for analysis.

Researcher's Positionality

It is important that I remember my race, racialized privilege, and power brought into my research and reflect on my interactions in order to minimize the appearance of coercion of these witnesses. As a white woman researching Black history, it is imperative that I do not accept what I have been taught (and, in the past, likely unconsciously accepted) as gospel for so many years. Narratives told by those who have experienced this phenomenon provided a valuable voice that brought this research to life. I was obligated to ensure that material sampling included a variety of sources offering multiple perspectives, including the Black voice. Further, my analysis needed to include proponents and dissenting voices to understand the intent and impact of events on Black lives. My sampling mapped a theme of White supremacy intention of public education inequity across time and geography.

I was cognizant that my role as a white academic researcher may have been viewed by my interview participants as a person of authority or power (Lewin, 1946). As the re-teller of their stories, I have the power to manipulate their voices to serve my needs or to be true to their stories and present them as they were provided to me. My recruitment of witnesses and ensuing relationship with well-known and respected Black members in the local community, and their recommended participants, may also have influenced the interviewees' perspective on my authority during the interviews. Not reflecting the identities (age or ethnicity) or the lived experiences of these critical ethnographic phenomenological study participants, it may have been perceived by the participants that their stories could be exploited or misrepresented by omitting or taking out of context what had been communicated to me. By working with and centering this study on the expertise of Black community-based

organizations, churches, and activists, and relying on the Jacksonville Ritz History Museum for outreach, this perception was hopefully somewhat minimized.

Researchers bring their own biases, prejudices, and beliefs into their research (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). My biases, such as attending a Black school as a white student, are based on what I observed from a position of privilege. An important element to my research was local collaborations with recruiters who had direct knowledge and relationships within the local Black community. This approach likely increased positive responses to an interview request based upon existing relationships as opposed to being approached by an outsider on multiple levels. Providing clear and direct communication to all involved helped avoid potential ethical potholes (Glass et al., 2018).

Interviewing several people on the phenomenon of education inequity as a human experience provided multiple perspectives, as well as, a clearer perspective on the phenomenon. In interviewing these witnesses, I tried to avoid prompting the witness's observations by using idiomatic phrases that may have been derived from the phenomenon, such as "failing schools" or "achievement gap," which do not reflect individual experiences (van Manen, 2016). Further, in order to avoid prompting or suggesting responses that might have reflected my bias or influences, once the interviews commenced, I refrained from questioning or interrupting and allowed the witnesses to provide an open running narrative of their recollections.

Phenomenological studies provide a description of the quality and the meaning of the lived experience. I was cognizant of the importance of balanced questioning; avoiding leading questions; and not manipulating participant responses to serve my needs as the researcher. Sharing research topical questions with the interviewee can help provide an

appropriate framework for clearer phenomenological recall (Maxwell, 2013). Within a limited timed interview, it was important to focus on life history, experiential details, and reflections. Interviewing ethical issues involves not making the story about the interviewer or exploiting the interviewee and their story. The ethical balance lies between the researcher, the research participant, and the research purpose (Seidman, 2013).

My critical ethnographic phenomenological study exposed the impact of written history on those oppressed by the phenomenon of education inequity by design. This qualitative study was incorporated with my written historical research to humanize and substantiate the impact of education inequity. The participants' voices provide significant meaning, illumination, and relevance to historical events that can impact future generations (Huang, 2010).

Research Design

Bhavnani (1994) stated that historical research asks researchers to examine knowledge production, including how it is produced, who produces it, and how privilege plays into its production. Historical approaches in research can question the influence of political economy or the influence of privilege on the production of knowledge. By understanding such influences, recorded history can be dissected and considered more objectively based upon who was involved in the history, who recorded it, and how the truth was objectively situated. Historical critical revisionist research allows the researcher to look at the interrelationship between facts and historical interpretation.

Howard Zinn (2002), a well-known revisionist historian, posited that history provides knowledge of the past but should not be accepted as absolute truth because of bias by the recorder. By looking deeper into history and listening to the voices of the marginalized,

recorded history can be shown to not necessarily reflect reality. A deeper exploration of recorded history may lead to skepticism, questioning, and possibly the truth. McDowell (2002) explained that historical research allows reflection to separate truth from fiction while illuminating how the past influences the future. Recorded history is a temporal snapshot told from a limited perspective. Reflection increases understanding of society, human motives, and the impact of those motives on individuals and societal norms to change the context of history and provide a tool for future change.

Van Manen and Bartley (as cited in Thomas, 1993) defined culture "as a set of solutions devised by a group of people to meet specific problems posed by situations they face in common" (p. 12). My case study focused on the clash between the culture of White supremacy and the problems it perceives related to Black culture. Specifically, my research utilized a contextualized case study based on the sociocultural studies of this culture clash in education inequity. Contextualized case studies look at how the political process is influenced by social actors (White supremacists) who define the problem (Black advancement), solve the problem (separate and unequal), and define what the future of education (inequitable) should be at different levels of authority (federal to local). Policy is based on a discourse reflecting ideology, location, historical times, specific interests, symbolism, resources, and other influences. It is defined as reality, compliance, and resource allocation. Because policymakers influence across time and location, a transversal methodology must be utilized (Bartlett & Varvas, 2015).

In addition to sociocultural influences, further enhancements to policy analysis can be made by applying actor-network theory (ANT). In the context of this research, networks are linkages between influencers and resources propelling educational policies across time and

126

space through people, texts, and objects (e.g., standardized testing). The sociocultural study of policy is grounded in practice theory and ANT, producing a "network ethnography" that is conceptual and methodological of educational policy while historically specific and inclusive of social relations. My case study was similar to a vertical case study, which sees "global" policies as "local" with an acquired hegemonic status through systems of authority, power, and funding. However, my case study was not global; rather, it examined transverse federal, state, and local government influences (Bartlett & Varvas, 2015).

White supremacy has been a systemic part of U.S. education for more than two centuries on an overt and covert level. Keisch and Scott (2015) argued that U.S. educational systems have been historically developed to reproduce "dominant social and economic orders, customs and beliefs systems" (p. 2) as a function of capitalism and White supremacy. The neoliberalist canon has become the language of covert White supremacist ideology preached by those who send their own children to elite private schools. In a system steeped in White supremacy, children of color are treated as worthless in an effort to perpetuate the myth of inferior intellect and ability.

The current form of covert racism in education research points to students as the problem rather than focusing on the systemic discriminatory policies and practices creating an education equity gap. Neoliberalist policy manipulates public education funding focused on the "achievement gap" between white and Black students by blaming the gap on the latter and/or on Black culture. This supports their calls for privatization of education (because private institutions are deemed more "efficient" than wasteful public ones) and school choice, to the detriment of students they claim to be helping (Blakely, 2017). Blaming students, rather than the system, has become the accepted analytical approach, and education

127

inequity has been accepted as the status quo maintained by white privilege (Kohli et al.,

2017).

Torre et al. (2012) cited Du Bois's lifetime work as an early example of changing the

purpose of social research into a method for social change. They observed that Du Bois's

views on the "Negro Problem" focused on the systemic social and economic conditions

reflecting structural racism rather than thinking these conditions are characteristic of

"African Americans." Adapting Du Bois's perspective, the purpose of my contextualized

case study was to focus on the systemic social and economic conditions suppressing U.S.

Black education rather than documenting student failure as the reason for the achievement

gap.

Sampling Plan and Data Collection Strategy

This research included a comprehensive review of the influencers and motivations

impacting public education inequity. This was not a simple task. The historical information

available on U.S. economic, political, and judicial history is, at least on the surface,

cavernous and overwhelming. How does one even begin to know where to focus or when

they have an adequate representation of the material to dissect, map, correlate, and analyze

with minimum bias and a comprehensive viewpoint? Moreover, given the questions about

bias posed previously, with the majority of historical documentation recorded by whites

(predominately male), what can be taken as close to "truth," and what needs to be

challenged? How does one challenge what has generally been accepted?

Instruments

My Duval County Public Schools case study data included published and unpublished

documents (available through my father's personal files, reports, or information on the

Internet, including dissertations) reflecting the political, economic, and racial activity in

Jacksonville during the study period (i.e., 1954–1964). I collected written material, both

electronically and in hardcopy, and reviewed, dissected, analyzed, and mapped out the data

for this study. Written materials include historical artifacts, reviews, analysis, and published

and unpublished works from dissertations and my father's personal files, as well as books,

journals, newspapers, and non-qualitative study interviews. All written research material was

inventoried on an electronic spreadsheet sortable by author, title, and subject matter.

Documentation found in my father's (Marvin R. Edwards) personal files regarding his work,

correspondence, and notes, beginning in 1958, was also utilized as data sources in this study

(see Table 1).

Table 1

Summary of Socio-Cultural Case Study Data Sources

Data Source Type	Amount/Number	Format
Newspaper Articles	7	Digital and Hardcopy
Magazines	7	Digital
Journals	57	Digital
Court Documents	5	Digital
Books	147	Hardcopy
Reports	14	Digital and Hardcopy
Interviews	23	In-person and Zoom
Letters & Notes	14	Digital and Hardcopy
Historical Archives	2	Digital
Online Organizations	4	Digital
Dissertations	2	Digital

Data Analysis Strategy

My critical ethnographic phenomenological methodology provided experiential observations for my historical case study of the Duval County Public Schools (1954–1964). The Black voices from my critical ethnographic phenomenological interviews influenced my perspectives on key patterns of education inequity that I focused on in my historical research. My research data were mapped by subject matter and presented on a multi-perspective level. I placed the information collected into a timeline reflecting the establishment and impact on education inequity. My data grouping mapped the derivation of a White supremacist

ideology, including where it originated, who was responsible, what the impact was, and how it became systemic. My mapping reflects the multi-levels of influence and how they can be multi-directional.

Maggs-Rapport (2000) recommended organizing data into manageable units for patterns and common themes. Using a combined research methodology can complicate matters, so it is important to maintain a balanced focus among the phenomenon, the cultural perspective, and the multiple sources of information. Reason (as cited in Maggs-Rapport, 2000) described three potential issues with ethnographic data validation, including description, intentional interaction, and meaning. He urged researchers to consider what may be overlooked in their mapping strategy, to check to ensure that bias is not projected into meaning, and to determine whether their interpretation of data is valid and applicable.

Experiential knowledge conveys stakeholder experiences and enhances reader study engagement through narratives and shared perspectives. Interview data clarify what may have been previously generalized, embellished, or minimized. Through a greater awareness and understanding of the phenomenon from interviews, a deeper, socially informed reconstruction of history can be presented. The challenge is to complete data triangulation with limited bias and present the data in a way that allows the reader to conceptualize and distinguish the results from other studies. *Triangulation* is defined as the use of multiple viewpoints for clarification and verification of a perspective. Case studies increase credibility through a continuous triangulation of descriptions and interpretations (Stake, 2005). Triangulation allows the researcher to focus on participants' interpretation of a specific phenomenon while taking into consideration their cultural background and day-to-day experiences (Maggs-Rapport, 2000).

131

The primary intent of critical ethnographic research is to focus not on the similarities but on the connections between statements and events to produce a coherent, complete perspective (Maxwell, 2013). Connections involve a focused experience, a simplified formulation, intransitive data, and capturing an understanding of the phenomenon. Connections make sense of feedback, provide insight, shape theory, and provide context for a potential story (van Manen, 2016). Interpreting the data in a context that seeks relationships among interview transcripts and events is critical. Categorizing begins after developing relationship connectivity and narrative summaries (Maxwell, 2013).

Making generalizations in a case study is common, but in-depth case studies may actually dispute generalizations. The outcome difference relates to how the researcher asks the questions and interprets the study data (Stake, 1995). Krueger-Henney (2016) suggested that researchers recognize structural racism that is free of "damage-centered" pathologies. Likewise, Tuck (2009) explained that damaged-centered research documents pain or loss to define a community but does not explain underachievement or failure due to perpetual systemic exploitation and domination. Social listening can allow nuances to be detected around the manifestation of anti-Black racism. By looking at the various ways White supremacist ideology perpetuates education inequity, the focus can be on systemic factors— where it belongs—rather than on students.

Data Validity and Generalizability

By incorporating "social listening," researchers can strengthen their position by absorbing how racism has directly impacted Black lives (Krueger-Henney, 2016). Krueger-Henney (2016) warned that the researcher must not present these voices in compact, predictable, or detached narratives of the oppressed, or solidify negative misperceptions such

as "the achievement gap." Research centering on Black youth as the problem, rather than systemic racism in education, has been used to support neoliberal strategies to privatize public education. The research focus should be on anti-Blackness as a driving force perpetuating systemic gaps in education knowledge production. My research sought to divert attention from blaming students for the achievement gap to the intentional systemic inequity suppressing Black education and outcomes. Focusing research on students to justify starving the system and privatization distracts from the negative outcomes brought on by systemically inadequate and inequitable funding.

According to van Manen (2016), one of the most significant problems for the researcher is possessing too much knowledge that provides a familiarity of the phenomenon and forms presumptions interfering with data gathering and analysis. Presumptions made before beginning my case study and experiences shared during the qualitative study may have compromised my objectivity. However, my investigation of the evidence revealed that intentional racism in education is so well documented and overwhelming that the impact of any pre-investigation presumptions would be negligible in the analysis.

My research comprised a historical review and case study of the Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964. This study was limited by: the validation of the history provided, with biases either by the original source or the researcher's interpretation of the history; the inclusion or exclusion of facts or relevant perspectives; and human reflective perspectives from a population currently over the age of 70 years due to their availability and memory capacities. While written history related to this subject matter is available, it has been "whitewashed" by inherent biases, generalizations, and missing facts and outcomes. My research focused on historically collected information from multiple sources and perspectives

to minimize the "bleaching" of facts found in prior recorded history. My "critical revisionist" history documents how White supremacist ideology suppresses Black education through inequity by design to hopefully lead to a greater understanding of systemic racism on public education inequity.

Conclusion

A case study of Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 is relevant to illustrating the impact of politics, economics, and judicial decisions on the systemic inequity of public school systems across the United States. This particular school system and time period were chosen for numerous reasons, including:

- research relevance to education inequity on a national basis;

- a clear color line in the economic, political, and social institutions influencing the school system;

- a large Black population with roots dating to local slavery and a history of racial suppression;

- a documented history of White supremacy in local government, commerce, and other institutions; and,

- multiple sources of credible reports on education inequity by design.

One cannot say Duval County is definitively representative of the entire South, much less all urban areas across the country. Every locality has commonality within its region or even nationally, but each also has its unique features. Nevertheless, the objective of a case study is to show where there are commonalities that are applicable on a broader basis and where there are unique factors that make parts of the case study more limited.

134

Wilkerson (2020) maintained that the U.S. caste system creates the color line of legal and de facto disparity between Blacks and whites which is the cornerstone of the American social, political, and economic systems. Education is an institution within this caste system, making this case study relevant to school districts across the country. Ravitch (1983) stated that after *Brown v. Board of Education* legally abolished school segregation, an abundance of issues remained from years of education inequality. Systemic racism influenced school funding, hiring, promotions, student school assignment, and academic measurements. These components were the products of the combination of political, economic, and judicial decisions made at the local and state level. Ravitch noted that in the South, this was done overtly and covertly through legal and unwritten rules based upon the belief in white superiority and Black inferiority. She stated that this one-sided governance over the schools was the consequence of "whites controlling all of the instruments of public power and almost of the instruments of private power as well" (p. 115).

This case study exposes the overt and covert influence of this power on racial education inequity. One example of the influence of this power in Duval County is found in a 1964 evaluation performed by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools prior to the disaccreditation of all of Duval's high schools. There was great concern by those supporting better schools regarding potential political influence preventing a fair and appropriate evaluation. When the evaluation was completed and accreditation was revoked, Edwards wrote a personal thank-you letter (M. Edward, personal communication, December 11, 1964) to the executive secretary of the commission on secondary schools in Atlanta. His letter noted that the commission may have thought these concerned citizens seemed overly anxious about the fairness of their prospective report on the failures of the school system. Edwards

135

cited a 15-year history of confronting the local power structure and the understanding that the hegemony's influence and ability to persuade reached beyond county lines. This political influence was combined with complaisance toward the public schools from Duval County residents and local governmental units.

When SACS presented its report to the Duval County superintendent of schools on December 7, 1964 (prior to the George Peabody College report), it included the following recommendations:

- the essential establishment of an adequate and equitable tax base to support the schools; and,

- a reorganization of the school system to provide fiscal independence from other governmental units.

The total loss of the high schools' accreditation was openly attributed to the county's economic and political influences according to the 1965 report by the George Peabody College Division of Surveys and Field Services. What drove those in power to underfund public education in particular? The answer proved to be a simple one: race. Racial inequity made the results of underfunding and educational failure particularly harsh for students in the segregated, separate, and profoundly unequal Black schools. While the entire system received failing grades, Black schools had significantly lower resources than white schools as this case study documented.

Systemic racism exists in all aspects of American daily living, including the judicial system (arrests, sentencing, incarceration), economic opportunity (jobs, business loans, housing loans), and political representation (voting eligibility, accessibility, and electability). Since the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 25, 2020, systemic racism has

moved to the front lines of social media and the front pages of local, national, and international newspapers across the world. His death has caused a global awakening to the oppression of Black lives in America. Within days of Floyd's murder on televisions across the country (and the world), privileged whites, corporate America, and even some of the hegemony have awakened to the fact that life for Black people in America is systemically inequitable on an economic, political, judicial, and social level.

CHAPTER 5

DUVAL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS QUALITATIVE STUDY

They treated us very poorly. We were treated like second class citizens, like a

nothing, like a nobody. It was just sad, but we had no choice.

—Qualitative Study Interviewee

Critical Ethnographic Phenomenological Qualitative Study Research Design

A critical ethnographic phenomenological methodology study applies a critical

bifocality to unveil group relationships to systems of power, social policies, history, and

sociopolitical structures (Weis & Fine, 2012). Ethnography and interpretive phenomenology

interviews focus on the participants' perspectives and minimize researchers' biases.

Interviews allow issues, their causes, or possible solutions to be organically obtained,

providing better outcomes and applications for the research (Maggs-Rapport, 2000).

Unstructured or open-ended interviews can capture experiential narratives centered on a

phenomenon that enriches understanding from a humanized perspective (Pulido, 2008). The

following sections describe why combining critical ethnographic studies with

phenomenological studies was an applicable approach to my research.

Critical Ethnographic Studies

Hammersley (as cited in Crotty, 2015) defined *ethnography* as a method that allows the researcher to view a social setting through the eyes, culture, and lives of those within the setting. Ethnographic research seeks to understand how marginalized groups are impacted by the social beliefs and actions of others (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). Traditional ethnography tends to accept the status quo, while critical ethnographic research looks more deeply at how knowledge, society, and political action are interrelated through culture. Critical ethnography is political and empowers the researcher to raise consciousness around issues of social injustice (Thomas, 1993). Additionally, critical ethnographic research is grounded epistemologically in social interaction and produces knowledge through open discourse on common issues or phenomenological experiences. Shared understandings and patterns in data gathered from research participants can provide a greater understanding of the human impact on a cultural group (Kratz, 2010).

History recorded without actual human experiential voices should not be accepted at face value because it is most likely presented from an observational or retrospective position that is biased. Thomas (1993) explained that ethnographic research reveals, from a Marxist perspective, how humans have been domesticated and complicit in accepting the status quo. Thomas explained that Marx believed a hegemonic power structure produces society's false self-perceptions and aspirations. Critical ethnography empowers scrutiny of repressive and oppressive agendas, assumptions, and power structures. Correlating the relationships among knowledge, society, and political action allows critical ethnography to disrupt the conventional historical view with insight into culture's role and impact (Thomas, 1993). My research aimed to show how education inequity by design has made Blacks and society

139

complicit in and accepting of the status quo, which comprises two Americas: one that promotes white privilege and one that perpetuates Black suppression.

Phenomenological Research

The framework of my research was based on critical race theory and neo-Marxist theory. As Edmund Husserl (as cited in Crotty, 2015) described, *phenomenology* incorporates the human lived experience of a scientific factor. Crotty (2015) noted that by setting aside the phenomenon itself and looking at the human experience of the phenomenon, new insights and meaning can be gained. Nemeth (1976) viewed phenomenology as parallel to Marxist philosophy because both take into account external and internal factors with direct and hidden meanings related to daily life. While phenomenology and Marxism reflect an interaction between humans and the external world, Marxism focuses on humans' economic relationship to the material world. Focusing on a specific phenomenon and the influence of power relationships by patterns of action and interaction can provide an understanding of the larger problems that perpetuate inequities (Rossman & Rallis, 2017).

Phenomenological interviewing combines experiential history and assumptions with multiple methods of interviewing. Phenomenological studies are about the temporal and transitory human experience, based on a subjective understanding of a lived experience, and they stress that contextual meaning matters (Seidman, 2013). Van Manen (2016) held that "the principle of intentionality" attaches a human perspective to the world that becomes inseparable. By listening to lived experiences, one can widen their worldview and change their perspective on reality.

According to Desjarlais and Throop (2011), phenomenological studies provide a treasure trove of informed and compelling lived experiences, and contribute significantly to

researchers' understanding of human life, concerns, and societal interaction. Citing John Dewey's (1958) philosophical value test, the authors asked whether a recollection of an ordinary life experience enhances such an understanding. They argued that phenomenological research passes this test by incorporating the influence of politics, culture, political economy, the discursive, and the individual perspective. By disrupting current thinking and unchecked presumptions of reality influenced by one's own past experiences, we gain a better understanding of lived experiences, suffering, and societal perceptions.

Weiss et al. (2020) stated that phenomenological research challenges taking experiences at face value by bringing individual experiences to the forefront and pushing external factors (i.e., political, historical, cultural, institutional, and social) into the background. Citing Merleau-Ponty, Weiss et al. posited that perceptions harden over time and make individuals too comfortable with the narrative and less likely to notice how personal biases and habits can blind them to structural, political, and societal institutional inequities. Merleau-Ponty and Bannan (1956) explained that phenomenology philosophy questions one's existence as fact through a process of experiential reflection without interpretation. Phenomenological interviews capture what stands out in the interviewee's life experiences after it has been internalized in an open stream of consciousness that is both reflective and meaningful (Seidman, 2013). In order to be critical, one must recognize positionality and the limitations and liabilities of self-perception with a knowledge of how they internalize power (Weiss et al., 2020).

Summary

The qualitative methodology used in this study was consistent with a neo-Marxist framework of oppression by those in power (Nemeth, 1976). Deutsch (as cited in Fine, 2006)

argued that oppression results from repeated widespread systemic issues. Critical ethnographic phenomenological research allows oral histories to provide facts and reflections on a common lived experience through interviewing. This methodology provides an opportunity to hear previously silenced voices in relation to historical events and offers a deeper perspective than current recorded history reflects.

Madison (2012) asserted that narratives can legitimatize or critique experiences to expose injustice within a system. She defined *memory* as a subjective self-reformulation with collective social and familial influences. According to author Toni Morrison (1984), memory narratives do not focus on how things were but on how they were perceived and why they are viewed in that way. Memory is important to orienting the researcher with narrative inquiry that matches individual reflection to historical events. Narratives shape and provide meaning to past events by expressing emotion, thoughts, and interpretations from the individual's perspective. Personal experiences can confirm or challenge the status quo, and the researcher can elevate individual voices to document the impact of historical events (Chase, 2005).

Both critical ethnographic and phenomenological study ethics provided insights in this study around the rationale and objectives of the decisions made in education. Combined, these methods position a researcher's work in its historical context and illustrate the historical events' impact on peoples' lives. Capturing cultural experiential voices and stories allows historical facts to be brought to life so society may benefit from their revealed truths (Fine, 2006). A critical phenomenological study represents a versatile and informative research option for exploring local knowledge and perceptions through experiential narratives that can empower systemic change (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). Weaving this

methodology with a contextualized socio-cultural case study provides experiential voices from the past that either validate or challenge accepted historical narratives.

Qualitative Study Process (October 2019–February 2020)

My unstructured qualitative study interviews were conducted in Jacksonville, Florida, between October 2019 and February 2020 after receiving institutional review board (IRB) approval from UMass Boston (see IRB protocol in Appendix D). Collaborating with local community leaders in Duval County to identify potential study candidates provided me with invaluable connections to participants with phenomenological insights relevant to this case study. Because I live outside the community and did not have personal relationships with my target study candidates, I searched for interview participant recruiters through local networking by reaching out to community leaders and activists identified through snowball sampling (White, 1999). I reached out to two local Black activists whom I had identified through an Internet search and through local journalist feedback. These two activists provided names and contact information of individuals affiliated with Black churches, community centers, and the Ritz African American Museum. These contacts in turn produced a list of qualified and interested study participants and provided me with their contact information.

To find potential recruiters who would trust me as a white researcher, I first contacted a Black activist with mutual friends, who respected my father's work on behalf of the community. We connected by phone and discussed the qualitative study as well as people who could potentially help with the recruiting process and provide possible interview sites. Five key people representing leadership in Black businesses, churches, and activism were identified through networking within the Black community. These individuals helped recruit

143

interviewees and coordinate the interviews. The recruiters included the president of the local

Black business association; the executive director of a local YMCA; a local civil rights

activist; the wife of the head pastor at the local Bethel church; and the pastor at the local

A.M.E. church.

Because my goal was to reach older participants, we decided the best place to recruit

was from two of the older Black churches in the community. The pastor's wife at one church

was a former educator in the Duval County Public Schools during the time period of my

qualitative study research and was connected to other local teachers and educators.

Interviews were held at her church, in addition to the other church that helped recruit

members for the study. One of the church interviewees, a former teacher, also invited her

friends to interview with me at a local YMCA in her Black neighborhood. Two participants

were sisters and personal family friends who were interviewed in one of their homes.

I spoke with Black historian Rodney Hurst, Sr. (author of *Unless WE Tell It … It

Never Gets Told!* and *It Was Never About a Hotdog and a Coke!*), whom I had previously

met in person to discuss our common research. At his suggestion, I contacted the Ritz

(African American) Theater and Museum in Jacksonville. Hurst is a major historian

contributor to the museum and referred me to the executive director. Because of Hurst's

recommendation, the Ritz Museum was receptive to and accommodating in hosting

interviews within the museum.

Each of the five recruiters spoke with me by phone and via email before recruiting

participants for this study. All of the recruiters were informed about the qualitative study

objectives and how they could assist in identifying potential participants based upon those

objectives and who had experiential knowledge to share. I provided the recruiters with copies

of the IRB consent form, which specified the protocols for interview participation. After we established a mutual understanding of the objectives and qualifications for the study, the recruiters provided me with a list of interested potential participants and their individual contact information for follow-up discussion and scheduling. I met with each recruiter just prior to starting the interviews at each location so that the recruiters could personally introduced me to the participants. I informed each recruiter about the study protocol, the need for voluntary participation consent, and the benefits of the study. Recruiters were given full discretion regarding who would be recruited, how participants would be recruited, and the interview logistics. This was a benefit to me since the recruiters were better informed to decide whose story should be told and which participants would be most comfortable with the interview. A full description of the qualitative study proposal is included in Appendix D.

After connecting with the recruiters, my role was to specify the interview requirements to the recruiters and interview participants and to schedule meeting times and locations for the interviews. Research participants had an existing relationship with the recruiters, either directly or experientially, through community centers, churches, or personal relationships. There was no participation eligibility criteria aside from being a person who identified themselves as Black and who had experienced school inequity in Jacksonville as a teacher, student, parent, and/or school administrator during the study time period.

The process of engaging trusted recruiters through snowballing, based on my initial recruiter connection, went very smoothly. All of the recruiters were excited that an oral history of this period was being collected through these interviews—before stories were permanently lost. Recruiters made phone calls, sent email invitations, and made church announcements to attract potential study participants. Seventeen self-identifying Black

residents in Jacksonville were recruited, through snowball sampling, as interview participants

for the qualitative study. The participants with experiential knowledge of the Duval County

Public Schools between 1954 and 1964 were between the ages of 61 and 91 years and

excluded two of the participants who were not yet enrolled in school during the study time

period (the median age of the participants was 82). Table 2 lists the demographics for the

study participants.

Table 2

Qualitative Study Participant Demographics

Participant	Gender	Birth Year	Relationship to the School District	Interview Date	Interview Location
1	F	1947	Student	12/16/19	A.M.E. Church
2	M	1950	Student	2/7/20	Ritz Museum
3	F	1932	Teacher	12/17/19	Bethel Church
4	F	1935	Student	12/16/19	A.M.E. Church
5	M	1944	Student	2/7/20	Ritz Museum
6	M	1940	Student	12/16/19	A.M.E. Church
7	M	1957	Student	12/19/19	A.M.E. Church
8	F	1928	Teacher/Principal	12/17/19	Bethel Church
9	F	1944	Student	12/16/19	A.M.E. Church
10	M	1945	Student (twice due to recording issues)	12/16/19 2/7/20	A.M.E. Church Ritz Museum
11	F	1937	Teacher	10/23/19	Private Home
12	F	1938	Student	12/18/19	YMCA
13	F	1934	Teacher/Principal	12/18/19	YMCA
14	F	1932	Teacher	10/23/19	Private Home
15	F	1936	Teacher	12/18/19	YMCA

My dataset from the IRB-approved critical ethnographic phenomenological qualitative study consisted of 16 video-taped and one audio-taped interview. Fifteen participants in unstructured interviews provided narratives of their experiential memories as students and/or educators at Duval County Public Schools between 1954 and 1964. Two of these interviews were conducted before the arrangement with the Ritz Museum, so they were only used for the qualitative study, not for historical documentation. All interview participants whose interviews were recorded after the arrangement with the museum gave permission to be included in a historical video documentary. These video recordings were made on a digital camera, stored on SanDisk storage media, and backed up on private external and cloud drives, with the original disks locked in a fireproof box with the participant consent forms. Audio recordings were made on my iPhone and were backed up to a cloud file and an external drive. Interviews were transcribed digitally as well as manually by me.

When I met with the Ritz Museum's executive director, we discussed working cooperatively on the qualitative study and sharing the interview results and the study. We agreed to produce a composite edited video for the museum and all of the raw interview videos for other possible museum projects. The museum suggested hosting a viewing of the edited video for the local community and making it part of its permanent collection. The opportunity to record previously uncollected history significantly increased the participants' interest in the study. The collaboration with the Ritz Museum required additional notification and approval by the UMass Boston IRB, including a separate consent form for videotaping (see Appendix A). Research participants were given an option to be video recorded for an edited composite video to be given to the Ritz Museum as recorded history that would be

publicly available. Any participant not wanting to be video recorded was provided the option of an audio-only recording for the core qualitative study. While no participants were paid, many said they viewed a recorded history for the Ritz African American History Museum as a worthy benefit for their time participating in the study.

Qualitative study participants were informed by recruiters and by me that the purpose of the study was to gather first-hand knowledge of Black education in Jacksonville between 1954 and 1964. Each participant agreed to a mutually convenient interview time and location at one of two Black churches, the YMCA, or the Ritz Museum. Participants chose their own venue and interview time, with most choosing to be interviewed where their recruiter was located. Participants were given an opportunity to ask any questions concerning the research, the Ritz Museum recordings, and what their participation entailed. After all initial questions were answered, participants were provided independent time to read the required consent forms to decide if they wished to participate in a recorded audio or video interview session. Most participants agreed to publicly share their recordings through the museum, with only a handful asking to only participate in the qualitative study. All signed and collected consent forms were kept in an envelope and stored in a locked file box.

The interviews were unstructured, and potential topic questions were given to participants before each interview to help stimulate memories and talking points. After the recording began, I remained quiet as the interviewees shared their experiences. If they needed a break for any reason, the participants would say "Break," and video recording was paused until they were ready to speak again on the record. (Participant details are described in the next section.)

148

I posed questions for consideration and reflection, but the participants were not bound to answer or limit themselves to these questions. Sample questions included the following:

1. What do you remember about attending/working in the public schools in Jacksonville between 1954 and 1964?

2. What was it like being a Black student/teacher/administrator in Jacksonville between 1954 and 1964?

3. How do you view the education and resources you received compared to white students during this time?

4. What do you remember about the schools after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision?

5. Do you think racism played a role in your education, and if so, how?

6. How do you think education inequity impacted your life in the short term and long term on an academic, professional, personal, economic, and political level?

Interviews were scheduled for 30–60 minutes for each individual but ended when the participant determined they wanted to conclude interview. Participants spoke without interruption unless they had a question or chose to pause the interview. Participants could withdraw at any time before or during the interview session. Transcriptions were made available by request within 90 days of the interview, but no such requests were received. Interviewees were given until May 1, 2020, to opt out of the qualitative study or the Ritz Museum video, whereupon their collected feedback would be excluded or not analyzed. No participants requested to withdraw their permission.

I discovered that many of the participants in my interviews, now senior citizens, had not previously reflected on their experiences because they had accepted these experiences as

something to be expected and not questioned. The individual interviews were conducted in private and reflected some commonality in the collected data, as well as stories unique to each participant personally. Several participants became emotional when discussing life as a Black student/teacher/administrator during the Jim Crow era in the South. These participants had not previously been asked to reflect on these times, nor had they made the personal choice to do so on their own. This dataset allowed me to weigh the validity and completeness of the written history in my research (McDowell, 2002).

This qualitative study of experiential social history was critical to informing my research focus. Oral testimony from persons experiencing events provides new perspectives on everyday experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and reactions based on how history has been internalized, processed, reflected upon, and recorded. The interview data in my study supplemented and enhanced my interpretation of written history and revealed aspects of the direct human impact of systemic oppression in a social context not previously documented. Exploring personal Black history through these interviews as a white researcher provided an experiential picture of life during the study period that could only be expressed through the voices of those who experienced the phenomenon.

My critical ethnographic phenomenological methodology qualitative study informed the conclusions of my research by combining experiential knowledge with previously recorded history. This study reveals truths about the impact of public education inequity through previously unheard Black voices.

Research Setting

As mentioned previously, I conducted the interviews within Jacksonville's Black community at locations established by community-based participant recruiters and in the

home of one of the interviewees, and the recordings were stored on SanDisks in my home office and in the cloud. Interview questions are included in Appendix F. All additional research of personal files, digital files, and hardcopies were completed in my home office between January 2018 and December 2020. My father's personal files on the Duval County Public Schools were gathered in Jacksonville upon his passing and brought back to my home office.

Informational interviews with former Duval County school administrator Dr. Judy Poppell, authors and historians Dr. Abel Bartley and James Crooks, Jacksonville historian Ennis Davis, and civil rights attorney Earl Johnson, Jr., were conducted via Zoom. Interviews with Jacksonville investigative journalists Tim Gilmore and Nate Monroe were conducted in coffee shops in Jacksonville. All of these interviews were held between August 1999 and January 2021. The interviews with Ennis Davis, James Crooks, and Earl Johnson, Jr., were digitally recorded, and the others were recorded by my manual documentation. Additional emails were exchanged with each of the interviewees for purposes of introduction and logistics, and to share follow-up questions. In addition, non-qualitative study interviews were held with author and historian Rodney Hurst, Sr., in Jacksonville in 2019, with several email communications for additional questions, clarifications, and confirmation through 2020. Jacksonville activist and qualitative study participant Ben Frazier was also interviewed by phone in October 2019 prior to the qualitative study interview in Jacksonville.[3]

---

[3] These informational interviews were not conducted as part of the qualitative study but as historical research in general. All interview participants (informational and qualitative study) named in this dissertation provided consent for me to use their name in the research.

Qualitative Study Data Analysis Strategy

Maggs-Rapport (2000) maintained that phenomenological data must be presented as fully and accurately as possible, with limited bias, so that the truth can be evident based upon the data collected. The researcher's perception of the data should provide a cohesive understanding leading to new ideas and interpretations. Participants' experiences make historical text more vivid and usable. Phenomenology is not an empirical science but is based on lived experience (Maggs-Rapport, 2000). There is ambiguity around data collection within the human sciences as the term *data* is implicative of empirical science. This type of research is complicated because recollections, which are in part the basis for the human sciences, are based on mentally transformed lived experience, internalized and filtered by other factors (van Manen, 2016). Researcher bias through the interpretation of the narrative's meaning, and regarding what can or should be aggregated, must be watched for and avoided. Narrative fluctuation can occur based upon the setting, the interviewer, the ability to recall, and the trust between the interviewee and the researcher (Chase, 2005).

No qualitative study data were excluded as extraneous or as outliers for any reason, with the exception of two participants who were not old enough to provide phenomenological experience (i.e. they were not enrolled in school during the study period). Identifiable information linked to study participants' specific experiences was masked using pseudonyms or generalized observations. Any specific quotations from informational interviews that were shared and attributed in the research were provided in writing to the participant with the intended context to ensure accuracy and to secure permission for usage and identifying information.

My interview data were mapped and organized by category and each participant's position (i.e., student, teacher, administrator) and sorted by subject matter based on key transcript components. Data were then analyzed thematically to identify commonality and connectivity among individual recollections. Van Manen (2016) referred to phenomenological themes as the "structures of experience" (p. 79). Patterns and connections were analyzed based on frequency of reporting, subject, and recollection details to determine relationships to other data or to identify astute, stand-alone observations. Unique recollections were examined to see if they provided additional insight into a phenomenon or subject matter to be included or deemed as not significant for inclusion or unsubstantial. Data were then triangulated with previous historical written research to allow these experiential voices to show historical relationship and its impact. By integrating the categorizing and contextual relationships, the complexity of education inequity can be better analyzed from the human experience.

Qualitative Study Excerpts

In my interview with author and noted Jacksonville historian Dr. James Crooks (October 9, 2020), he stated that Jacksonville was similar to the rest of Florida and the South. White residents did not look at underfunding public schools as a race issue, but as a taxation issue, to which they were radically adverse. Dr. Crooks explained that this perspective dated back to pre-statehood, when the eastern part of Florida opposed statehood because of residents' tax opposition.

Dr. Crooks (1998) researched Duval County Public Schools' lost accreditation and the political and social issues of the day for his book on Jacksonville's history. In his interview for this study, he noted that desegregation was clearly a race issue. However, he

did not believe racism was an overt part of the funding decision but was driven by engrained

Southern attitudes about Black education which had become unconscious and accepted.

Underfunding was reflective of white attitudes that did not question the Southern caste

mythology. Crooks stated that from his perspective, the schoolboard took no corrective

action due to general low interest from the white community in public education or a

willingness to pay for it as many white families obtained education outside of the public

system.

Crooks noted that even before the Civil War in the South, the Southern viewpoint

was, "Wealthier whites had tutors or private schools; everyone else was illiterate, for the

most part. The fact that public schools required inclusion of black children did not endear

them to the white majority. Why educate 'inferior' people?" In reflecting on the lack of

interest in improving the Duval County Public Schools during the time period of this case

study, Dr. Crooks said, "It doesn't take strong leadership to maintain a bad system, it just

takes the follow through…. Their interest was in maintaining the status quo."

What was this Southern caste system? In the largely rural South, wealthy people

could be land-rich and cash-poor, while others were just poor. Wilkerson (2020) described

this caste system as "an artificial construction, a fixed and embedded ranking of human value

that sets the presumed supremacy of one group against the presumed inferiority of other

groups on the basis of ancestry and often immutable traits" (p. 17). These traits influence life

outcomes in a hierarchy established by the dominant class using arbitrary and rigid lines to

distinguish and maintain separate socially ranked groupings. In Florida's case—and

applicable across the United States—the dominant class is white, and the imposed caste

system places Blacks at the bottom.

154

Wilkerson (2020) offered an analogy of what happens when we accept the status quo of a caste system. She compared the United States to an old house on a beautiful piece of land owned over generations. While the land may be beautiful, the house is structurally unsound and in need of repair. Although the current occupants did not build the house, they are responsible for maintaining it for the long term. Home repairs do not happen on their own, and if ignored by subsequent owners, the problems will continue to deteriorate the structure. Rather than addressing the structural issues, house inheritors merely adjust to the weaknesses of the structure and utilize Band-Aid solutions to continue living in it. These weaknesses in the house are viewed as acceptable or, at worst, a mere inconvenience. Over time, these inconveniences are viewed as normal and, over generations, as just an accepted part of the structure. Wilkerson wrote, "We are the heirs to whatever is right or wrong with it. We did not erect the uneven pillars or joists, but they are ours to deal with now. And any further deterioration is, in fact, on our hands" (p. 16). This analogy reflects the white complaisant attitude about the American caste system serving as the country's framework for its "architecture of human hierarchy."

Wilkerson's (2020) analogy is applicable to this case study. White America is complaisant about the status quo that perpetuates White supremacy. Systemic racism is invisible to eyes that are shut or view racism as just a "mere inconvenience." Duval County's history exemplifies school districts across the country, not just in the South. Systemic racism is structurally embedded in education inequity, but white America lives in denial and sees a school system serving its needs. Whites accept blaming Black students for their own education shortfalls rather than looking at economic and political influences from white society. Generational systemic racism is hard for white people to perceive and accept because

155

they have only benefited from the status quo of a perpetuated caste system. Whites neither perceive their privilege nor wish to sacrifice it. Blaming students and not the system for underachievement forgives the "current occupants" of the house and perpetuates the status quo of White supremacy.

Opposition to taxation does not automatically confirm that a community is racist. However, when tax revenue is disproportionately appropriated between white schools and Black schools within the same school district, my interview data suggest that the only basis for this is race.

Pastor Kissling of the Riverside Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville pointed out in a Jacksonville *Times-Union* (1964) newspaper article regarding the DCPS,

> "Let us remind ourselves that all of us are responsible for this school mess. All of us are guilty of indifference. Some of us may be guilty of greed. Some of us may be guilty of influencing elections for personal advantage. But all of us are guilty of letting this happen."

The following excerpts are taken from some of my qualitative study interviews of self-identifying Black residents of Duval County with experiential knowledge of the school system between 1954 and 1964. The words are exact quotations of the participants reflecting the experiences of Black students and teachers during this time period. Over 20 hours of audio-recorded interview data feedback was dissected and regrouped by theme (i.e., teachers, books, facilities), and a composite video was produced. The following testimonial highlights are taken from this video. Consent to use the interview data in my research and the video was provided by all of the participants represented in the following interview excerpts. To protect

their identities, I replaced their names with numbers preceded by "Qualitative Study Interviewee."

The excerpts were taken from the qualitative study transcripts and present voices addressing the following themes:

- Education Is a Major Battlefield

- They Didn't Want Us to Progress

- Life as a Black Teacher and Administrator

- Life with Jim Crow

- Everything Was Segregated

- Second-Class Citizens

- Black Schools

- Racism as a Child

- Separate and Unequal

- Racism as an Adult

- Learning While Black

Education Is a Major Battlefield

Qualitative Study Interviewee 1

"You cannot teach young folk too soon about racism. That's what we still deal with…. Education is a major battlefield when it comes to the minds of students and especially the minds of young Black students. When we got used books from predominantly white schools, from white schools, they always had the student's name in the book, so not putting the name in the book did not mean anything. In my eighth-grade American history

class taught by Rutledge Pearson, who is my mentor, he was also the adviser to the Youth

Council NAACP, the American history textbook approved for Negro students in this Negro

junior high school that, in the Negro division of the Duval County public school system, only

had the names of George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington in an American

history textbook. And Mr. Pearson wanted us to understand and internalize that even though

these two Black persons were important, they were not the only Blacks that made

contributions, salient contributions, to American history and the development of this country,

and we started studying different books. We did book reports. We wrote letters to John Hope

Franklin and Althea Gibson and Thurgood Marshall and Jackie Robinson. And when we got

a reply back from those letters, then we had to do a book report in addition to the letters. So,

it got to a point where we were studying and learning about the impact of Blacks to

American society that white racist historians and textbook authors did not include in those

books. Mr. Pearson added to his teaching by saying, 'Freedom is not free. If you are not a

part of the solution, then you are a part of the problem,' and he encouraged us to join the

Youth Council NAACP—this is 1955. I'm 11 years old.

"Many of my Black teachers wanted to make sure that we were armed, Black students

were armed with, not only the information but the psychological and mental wherewithal to

compete in a world that did not want us there to compete. Young Black students, if you don't

put anything in the history books, if you don't tell them what contributions folks who look

like them made, then they don't know because the books that they study only include the

historical contributions of whites and Europeans. So, until we incorporate the contributions

of Blacks in education, then the playing field is uneven and will continue to be un-level. And

what it does, that incomplete designers and racism in American history permeates the

158

teaching process and the learning process. And I think that, teachers were handicapped and hampered, not only about lack of funds, but by the system and what they could and could not teach.

"The schools in Jacksonville were classified in the Negro division of public schools. There was an elected superintendent in Duval County at that time who had a bachelor's degree. The Black superintendent of Negro education had a PhD, but yet, Jacksonville and the difference in education between the elected superintendent and the superintendent of Negro education was no different than any other racist school system or the educational system [of] both college, university, and public schools in this country at that time.

"Jacksonville had four high schools. All of these schools were strategically located in the four geographical point[s] of Jacksonville proper to forestall integration. Jacksonville was unique but not different than other school systems. I went to Isaiah Blocker in 1955. Isaiah Blocker had no air-conditioning. They had transom windows in the front of the classroom up near the ceiling. They had cathedral windows in the rear of classrooms. And the teachers would try to open the transom windows, which opened into a hall, and the cathedral windows opened to the outside to try to get some cross-current in there. And that did not work.

"We had very little new desks. Some of the desks that we did get had the name of the school where the desks came from engraved on the top of the desk. You had no lockers at Isaiah Blocker Junior High School. We had no showers. Our physical education classes were conducted on an asphalt landing in the middle of a sandy field about 50 feet from an active railway system. Yet, invariably, the conditions being Florida in the rain and in other, even the cold, in Jacksonville, made us move inside into a unique building called a cafetorium, which tripled and quadrupled as an auditorium, as a cafeteria, as a classroom, and as a study hall.

159

So, in the midst of all of this, you got young people trying to study, teachers trying to teach other activities going on, and young people having lunch. So it was, it was a bad situation, and what Black students and Black teachers were required to do was make the best of it in spite of, and that's what many of them did.

"There were principals, Black principals, who would not spend all the money in their school budget for the school year, and they would turn in money at the end of the school year as, in effect, surplus dollars. And when I first learned about this from Mr. Pearson, who learned from his peers, his colleagues, his fellow teachers, persons who worked in the office of different schools, it was obvious that not spending all of the money was a way that some of the principals figured that this was the best way to ingratiate themselves with white folk, by showing the white superintendent and the white supervisors how will they handle the money to the extent where they didn't even spend it all, they had a surplus. And it was not as if they took the surplus that you did not spend and put it in an escrow account so you can go and get that money whenever you want it for your school. The fact that you did not spend the money, the elected white superintendent took that money you did not spend and gave it to a white school. So, the next year when you wrote your budget, you did not get the same money you had the previous year. You got the money based on the amount of money that you spent because you were handling master's money so well.

"So, on top of teachers having inadequate supplies and the lack of supplies and books that were incomplete and dishonest and racist, they had to deal with the fact that they could not petition the school's office to get some material and supplies that they needed for the students. And many Black teachers—and of course it carries until today—but then, many Black teachers went in[to] their pockets to buy certain things, and given the difference in

160

monies and quality of life then and now, it was a major sacrifice for some of those teachers to do that … but they did because they wanted us to be able to compete.

"The *Brown* decision was 1954, and as it was amplified, and all deliberate speed began to come up with plans to implement integration, then that's when racism re-entrenched itself throughout the South and especially in Jacksonville. When the *Brown* decision was passed in '54, and Jacksonville, about that same time, they started building new schools and then they strategically located the schools. They built several white schools and Black schools on the same architectural and engineering plan. This was the reason. The Supreme Court had already said in 1896, in *Plessy versus Ferguson*, that there was such a thing as separate but equal. So, the school system, to try to corroborate and validate that, they would build a white school and a Black school on the same plan. There are six different schools where that happened. And the reasoning for that is, if I build a white school and I built a Black school the same way, then those were "separate but equal" facilities, irrespective of the money that's being spent inside those schools. But the plant, the physical plant, what you could see from the outside, they were the same. So "separate but equal," but of course it did not work that way, but that had been the mantra. So, throughout Duval County, they did that to forestall integration.

"In 1959, in Duval County, the all-white school board, in a response to the *Brown* decision, named a new white high school after Nathan Bedford Forrest. Nathan Bedford Forrest was a slave trader. He was a Confederacy general. He was one of the founders of the Ku Klux Klan, and he was the first Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. There was no redeeming value in the Duval County school system naming a new quite white school after the founder of the Klan except as a response to the *Brown* decision, as a belligerent and racist

161

response to the *Brown* decision, and we only changed that in 2013. So, for 54 years, there was a high school in Jacksonville named Nathan Bedford Forrest High School. Jacksonville is no different. And instead of wearing robes and hoods today, Klan members are wearing suits and skirts and dresses today, but they're still Klan members, nonetheless."

They Didn't Want Us to Progress

Qualitative Study Interviewee 2

"Black people talk using their Ebonics per se. That was how they just picked up on words because they weren't taught. The slaves weren't given the opportunity to learn. They had to sneak and read, and learn how to read. So, we always, the Black race has always been at a disadvantage, and whatever we learned, it was because we were hungry for education, and we were hungry for getting the right to vote. We were hungry for having our own home. And until the Civil Rights Act, we couldn't even think about anything like that. And then, even after the Civil Rights Act, we … we still were disadvantaged because people were trying to keep … keep us down. They didn't want us to progress. They didn't want us to be doctors and lawyers and a pharmacist. They just wanted to keep us down. We had to work harder, and that's what the kids do now, that's how Black people do on their jobs. Most of your time you have to work harder than your counterpart and your white counterpart.

"I walked to school every day and had to walk home, and I didn't really think about that because it was just something that was ordinary for me. We had to walk because we weren't provided bus transportation. We were undermined.… I remember the books being raggedy, I remember them being torn, some pages were missing … but I accepted that because that was, again, a part of the norm during that time. That's what we were given and that's what we were used to, to educate ourselves. We were given opportunities to go to the

library and check out books, but they were all old books. We could not get the quality of education that we needed because of the materials that we were given, and the teachers also would complain about the materials that they had for teaching. So, they did the best they could in trying to teach us.

"We learned about civics and history, but of course, during that time there was no Black history taught. We didn't learn anything about who invented certain things. It was just the white inventors that we were taught about and that was a disadvantage. I know that after becoming older and an adult, and I found out all of the different things that Black people invented, I was just totally shocked because I had no idea that a Black person invented that, and that's the way that the system wanted it to be. They didn't want us to know that we actually had inventors and educators because from slavery they never wanted us to learn. We were not really human in, in their sight. So, we started out with a disadvantage.

"We had no idea about being able to apply for financial aid, and this information wasn't just given freely. I don't recall it being given freely because, again, our white counterparts didn't want us to succeed and didn't want us to become educated. So, I think that more Black students could have achieved higher goals if they were given the opportunity. The only time that maybe a scholarship would be given is when they were good football players or good basketball players, good athletes. That's when they were privy to a scholarship. So, the rest of us had to just try to make our own way and do the best that we could do in learning and getting a decent education.

"[After *Brown*] I don't remember anything changing in the school system. Everything remained status quo. When we went to school, we walked to school. We didn't have school

163

bus transportation. And even our electives were not what the white kids were being offered. We really didn't get the quality of education that the white students got."

Life as a Black Teacher and Administrator

Qualitative Study Interviewee 3

"My dad became the first visiting teacher for Duval County Public School system. That was the name that was given them and then after, the name truant officer. They got the name of visiting teachers and later, social worker became the term, but my dad was the first one, and the school board was found on Ocean Street at that time. And all of the white visiting teachers, or truant officers, whatever you want to call them … they had a big room where all of them had their desk and all that, but my dad had a little cubby hole down in the basement.

"Racism was present, very much so. My dad was president of the State Teachers Association during the time that we had the equalization of teachers fight. I can remember at that time, Thurgood Marshall … I met him personally because he came to our house to sit on the porch and talk to my dad about some of the problems. He was a lawyer for the teachers fight here, and he later became part of the Supreme Court, but at that time, he was a lawyer who fought for the equalization of teachers' salaries here in Duval County. So, I knew about these things. I heard them. They were table talk in my house. I was always around it. I had an awareness of the inequities in the school system from my young days because of my father's involvement in what was going on in the school system and then because of what happened to my brother and what happened to me in a couple of instances. But it did not discolor my feelings or my concern about the educational welfare of students. I spent 41 years in the Duval County public system as a teacher and an administrator.

164

"We had a Black supervisor of Negro education who didn't come in contact with the superintendent or the other people who were down at the school board building. That Black supervisor would come out to the schools and visit, have conferences with you, and that type of thing.

"I worked at Darnell Cookman—it wasn't Darnell Cookman then, it was just Cookman school. Very interesting school, very well-prepared teachers but very overcrowded. At one time during the 2 years that I was at Darnell, we had students attending two churches. Our third graders were going across the street to the little church that was across the street from the school, and then our fifth and sixth graders had to go down behind the school across the creek, to another church because we were so crowded. Our schools were allowed to get in disrepair. I think the attention was not given to some of the needs. When I said needs, I'm talking about the physical plans in the Black schools that should have been taking place … that was taking place in the white schools. So, all of this changed when schools were integrated because the white students were coming into the Black schools, if only for just a year. But it made a difference.

"I think one of the main things [i.e., differences] was the allocation of funds, money, because you couldn't do what you'd like to do for children and in a school. You didn't have the funds. And after integration, that's when we began to get a budget with a per-student allocation. And we found out that the white principals were getting that all the time, but we had not been getting that, those of us who are Black principals. We had what our teachers were able to purchase. Of course, their salaries were so different, so they didn't have a lot of money to invest in students' education because we didn't have equalization of salaries then. It was just a little later on that we had the fight for equalization of salaries.

165

"When I began teaching back in the '50s, we didn't have that luxury and didn't know that white teachers were getting that because, see, we just had no idea of how the system operated. Even, I think, it went into athletics because I think they were having to buy whatever was necessary for athletics because we didn't have the money, the money wasn't being allocated, and strangely enough, after all of the desegregation and getting into administration, you found out a lot of things that the state was allocating money to in the district. But the district was not allocating it to the administrators of the Black schools. And so, in turn, the Black students did not have a lot of what the white students had because we couldn't afford it. I had personal accounts that I paid because I purchased supplies and things for my students."

Life with Jim Crow

Qualitative Study Interviewee 4

"When you got downtown, of course, the most prominent display would be Hemmings Park, and you had the white and, I should say, colored water fountains. In fact, the park itself was divided. On one side, you had yellow cabs and white folks, and on the westside, you had … New Deal cabs and the Black folks. They had their side of the park. We had our side of the park. And we never thought about using their bathrooms or using their water fountains. We knew we weren't supposed to, and we didn't. We also knew that we weren't supposed to go to the other side. We stayed on our side and I distinctly remember they stayed on their side as well. You can spend your money and go in the store and buy whatever you want it, but you distinctly did not, you knew not to, sit down at the snack bar unless you were sitting at the color[ed] portion of the snack bar. So, the downtown experience was, was pretty weird as a child.

"During the period of civil rights, which of course came later on in the '60s, I was standing with my mother in front of Morrison Cafeteria, where she had once worked, but you could not eat there …demonstrating along with the other activists from the NAACP and watching the Ku Klux Klan come by in an open bed truck in full regalia, all of their hoods and robes … and being frightened standing there, holding my mother's hand and listening to her words saying, 'Don't be scared, [---], they ain't going to do nothing. Don't be scared.' So, Mom was a civil rights activist and came out to these marches despite the fact that she been instructed by my father not to do, she did so anyway and took me along with her, which instilled for me a kind of passion that I have right now as a civil rights activist here in Jacksonville.

"When I think about the interracial experiences that I did not have in the public school system, that is probably what stands out more than anything else. I never went to school with anybody white. We didn't have anybody or white teachers, no, it was nobody white, and I say not that we think that something magic happens when you go to school with white folks, but that clearly research shows that there is something to be gained by diversity in terms of socioeconomic outcomes, and if there was something to be gained, we certainly did not have it.

"When I was coming up, it's unfortunate that we didn't have those kinds of experiences in terms of just getting to know other people and recognizing that there are other people who have different viewpoints other than our own.

"All of my teachers were Black and some of them, I think, were very good teachers, and they were mostly strictly disciplinarians. I never knew what it was like to have a new book. The books are always old, torn, and messed up. So, clearly, we were getting the short

end of the stick in terms of resources at the schools that we were attending. I distinctly remember the books in such poor condition, the books when I was going to elementary school in particular … it was that way from first through sixth grade; they were always ragged, torn, and ragtag books that clearly had been to many other places, and it made many more trips before they made it to my desk.

"My experiences as a student … nobody gave us anything or talked to us about scholarships. Scholarships where? To do what? We had great teachers … I think, who cared about us, but I think that because of the discrimination that they had faced themselves, … they recognized that there were certain limitations or boundaries that were out there. And because they existed, the teachers did not explore the possibilities of us breaking new ground in terms of academic exploration and what we might accomplish with regards to going to school for college and getting some means or scholarships to get there. It was most unfortunate in terms of inspiration and encouragement that I think we did not get because of the conflict and the discrimination that our teachers themselves faced when they were going to school. I think it impacted them."

Everything Was Segregated

Qualitative Study Interviewee 5

"I went to Stanton High School, which is now referred to as Old Stanton. And of course, naturally during that time, all of the teachers were Black, and all the teachers cared about us and let us know that we had to do the right thing. When I was in high school my first year, the football coach was also the band director. We didn't have a second band director because I guess the school couldn't afford to devote one, and so he would coach the team and then run back at halftime, get the band ready to go on the field and they'd go on the

field and play and then he'd go back to coaching. And of course, they had a few instruments, but all the instruments were old and dilapidated. The school had a few instruments, but then some of the instruments we had to get on our own.

"Also, at my high school, everything was segregated, and you, so we didn't know what life was like on the other side, and things that I found out later in life that I didn't know in high school … it really shocked me. Because I didn't realize when we went to high school that white students at the other schools had the brand-new books and we had old books, and they had all the facilities, the band rooms. We didn't have a band room at Stanton. We practiced on the stage, and when it got too hot in the auditorium, because we had no air-conditioned buildings during that time in the state of Florida, we would go out on the porch, right out the side of the stage, in order to have a rehearsal. And when I found out that other schools had band rooms and they had everything they needed … it was surprising. But of course, as a high school student, we didn't know any of that.

"One of the main things that happened when I started teaching in 1955, I decided that I would get my master's, started working on my master's the next year. And I know that my mother had gone to New York, every summer, because she couldn't go to a white school in Florida and the South, and so the district paid for teachers who wanted to get their master's to go out of the state. They would pay the tuition for them to go out of the state to get their masters. And this was what my mother got for her for years. And then I started teaching in 1955, and I got my master's in 1959 … and all 4 years that I went to Columbia, the tuition was paid for by the school district. They just could not allow us to go to the University of Florida, Florida State, or any other school. Wherever we wanted to go, where it was integrated, but all of that money was spent to send teachers away from the state, and all of

them to get their advanced degrees, because they didn't want them to go to any of the white schools.

"I guess one of the things that shocked me when I went to Columbia … there was a man in my class from Jacksonville, and he was a band director also, and we were all the best of friends in graduate school during the summer … and we came back to Jacksonville and went to a meeting and I saw him. I started to speak to him, and he moved in the other direction, acting like he didn't know me. And that's when my eyes opened wide and I said, 'I can't believe this.' Well, when I was appointed as a music coordinator and I would have to go to their schools, it was everything's fine. They were always nice as they could be because they knew that I was in charge of them. So, they respected the fact that I was in charge, but if you see them away from the city, it was a different feeling. And then, I have, I've heard so many principals say that white teachers resented them as their principal and did not want to do what they said or respect them because they felt that well, 'You, you're a Black person.' So, you know, even if you were in charge of some of them, they still resented the fact that they didn't want a Black to be over them.

"I worked at Isaiah Blocker, and that's when we started with the band competitions and all the Black schools had that competition at a certain time, and the white schools had theirs. We didn't compete against each other during the early days. During that time, in 1955, when I started teaching, the schools were all segregated. So, I had all Black students, and you know, the band. All the teacher had to say to students then is, this is what you would this or that, or don't do that, and it was done. The students were very obedient, they paid attention because they knew that it was nothing for a teacher to pick up the phone and call home and say to the parents what the student did and did not do, and nobody wanted that to happen.

170

"When I was in high school, we never heard of special education. Well, after the schools were integrated, that's when we started with special education, EMH [educable mentally retarded], EH [emotionally handicapped], and all of these different divisions so that the student—and the majority of the students in the class were Black. And the school where I worked, when I became an assistant principal, there was a special education class, and I don't remember over four or five white students being in the class, and all the rest of them were Black.

"My ex-husband was the first Black principal at [---] High School, and when he died there was a petition to name the school for him. But then the schoolboard said they have a policy now that they have not named any schools after people, but we still have Andrew Jackson, and you know, there's still a lot of schools that were already here, because Andrew Jackson is one of the oldest schools here and Robert E. Lee. But you know, there is something when you look at it and you see that a city and all these school names, then you know that that's a highly segregated city. And I guess in the olden days, there was nobody to complain about it, so they just did what they wanted to do. Who listened to us?"

Second-Class Citizens

Qualitative Study Interviewee 6

"Oh, yeah, we walked to school. I walked from 31st Street to 15th Street. I attended first grade, it was Davis Street School and later changed to Isaiah Blocker, from first to through ninth grade, and there was a new school built on the north side, James Weldon Johnson. So, I was in the first class to attend James Weldon Johnson in 1953. I attended New Stanton High School in '53, and I received my high school diploma 1956.

171

"They treated us very poorly. We were treated like second-class citizens, like a nothing, like a nobody. It was just sad, but we had no choice We were aware of the fact that we were treated differently. Our books were very poor hand-me-downs. Sometimes, not even enough books for the students in school. And most of our books were secondhand hand-me-downs, vulgar writing in the books, pages torn out. We really had nothing.

"One time in the elementary school, our school was overcrowded, so we had school for a half a day. And that meant our education was very limited because we didn't get everything that was due to us, because the school was overcrowded. I took typing in high school. We had one electric typewriter. We had several manual typewriters, which was really no good; they should have been tossed away, but we had to do the best we could with what we had. Our teachers tried, they did the best they could with what they had…And I'd like to go back to my experience in elementary school. We had no cafeterias, no cafeterias at our school. We had a lunch counter at, like, the end of the hall where this lady would come over and serve hotdogs. And, and I think we had sodas, I know we had hotdogs, and if you didn't have any money, you couldn't afford to buy a hotdog. So, you ate, but most of the time you had nothing."

Black Schools

Qualitative Study Interviewee 7

"We had so many things that I feel were very positive because of who was at the school. We did not have, during that time, no other teachers but Black teachers, nothing. No [white] administrative [staff], everything was Black, and it made me feel comfortable because when I got to school, I didn't have to worry about anyone saying anything negative to me. The teachers, they cared about you. The teachers cared about you. And if you did not

172

have a bow in your hair, the teachers would come in and they would put something in your hair, and your shoes had to be shine, I forgot about that … and if your shoes were not shined, they had shoeshine kits, and they would do that. So, no one was picking at each other. They just supplied those things that some of the other kids did not have, and, and to me that was very personable … very, very personable. Like I said, most of the teachers, they knew, knew you, and they knew your parents, and there was no time for you to begin trying to say what you couldn't do, that was fine. And I didn't know anything different but to attend a Black school.

"We used to have in gym, we had uniforms, and those uniforms were white and you had to wash them and you had to have them on, and that's what you took your gym in, right? To me, I'm glad I had, you know, attended a Black school. I was just trying to get through school to make my momma proud, and I enjoyed being a student at a Black school.

"We received textbooks from the predominantly white schools, and every year we would get these boxes, and these books will be packed in the boxes. And we would take them out and they were dirty and they were germy, but that's all that we had to use during that time because, I don't know, for whatever reason they didn't see fit to give us brand-new books. We always got the old torn raggedy, written things in the book. And the teachers would pass them out, and we actually had to study, and we had to take those books home because during that time.... Some of the pages were missing out of the book, so I don't know if they did that on purpose or not, but the books were bad. We had to study, but it did not keep us from learning. But we would have truckloads of dirty books. And that's the thing that bothers me to this day, that they were dirty books. So yeah, awful books, awful books. Oh my God, full of germs.

173

"We have what we called a cafetorium, didn't realize what that meant until later on. So, we would come to school and we would eat our lunch in the cafeteria, and then when the activities was going on, we changed it to the auditorium. So, we had to go to the prom in the cafetorium. And that was, we didn't know any difference. We had a great time!

"During the Stanton days, when I was a senior high student, we walked the railroad tracks. And I guess it never dawned on us when we were walking, no trains ever came during that time. You know, we were just walking the tracks, and there was no way for us to get on either side, but maybe we just had it timed out, you know—we walked the tracks and that's how we got to school, and we didn't think nothing of it. I just thought about that, we just walked the tracks.

"And when they passed that law, *Brown*, it didn't change nothing for the Browns! To me, I didn't see anything significant happen. I did not see significant things that happened, nothing. It was supposed to do a lot of things, and as far as I'm concerned, if it happened, it was transparent to me. I don't know what they did or how they did it, but it was just that they passed it. I just don't believe that, maybe it did. I don't know. The only thing I know is that it happened. I didn't feel any results.

"Integration, from my point of view, it made things worse. Special ed. It just amazes me that when we were in school, there were no special eds. Everyone went to class, and no one got titled for being special ed. I said in our day, 'What happened to the special ed group?' It didn't exist. But when they integrated, if you ran out the room, or you say something bad, or something happened, they marked it to put them in a special ed group. And I found out that once they marked you "special ed," you were "special ed" throughout

your school, and the kids all became special ed because they didn't do anything that the Caucasians could not control.

"They continually close the schools that were predominantly Black, and they're taking them out the neighborhood. And unfortunately, during that time, some of us, we moved to, to predominantly white areas, and they moved out of the predominately white areas. So, it's like we segregate but then we come back, and we integrate, and then we segregate again. So, it's a rolling ball. You know, my thoughts is this, like I said, we got what we wanted, but we lost what we had. We had teachers that cared. We had parents that cared. We had people within your neighborhood that would look out for you. We don't have that anymore. It's gone. We lost all the good things and, and got some bad things. And somehow, somewhere along the line, someone has convinced them, 'It's okay. We can keep on doing it, they are not going to say anything.' We as Blacks, in this environment, when we were growing up in school … we sometimes forget who we are. I don't ever forget that, ever forget it."

Racism as a Child

Qualitative Study Interviewee 8

"I remember my grandfather saying, if you were walking down the sidewalk and someone white was coming, you were supposed to step off in the street. The racist tone was still very heavy here, and I recall, you know, people would pass by you while you was walking down the street, you know, or whatever, and call you racial names, you know, and we would look at them and say, like, 'Why are you doing that?'

"When I was really young, probably around 8 or 9, I was selling *Florida Stars*—it was a newspaper at that time, a Black newspaper—and I was downtown, and one of my

175

customers was a white lady, and I was going through her place, right? And she asked would I

go to the store next door and get something for her, and I said sure, I don't care … you know.

I was 9 years old and I didn't think about anything. So, I walked down the sidewalk and went

into this restaurant and everybody in this restaurant just stopped, totally. Okay? And they

looked at me and they probably thinking, 'What's this boy doing?,' and somebody said,

'Well, you gotta go around to the back.' I'm saying, okay, again now, this is beforehand, so

I'm thinking, 'Why do I need to round the back of the restaurant to come into the store?'

Right? So only because she asked me to do it, that's the only reason I went around the corner

to the alleyway and came in the back … and stood there in order to get what she wanted. You

know, I said to myself, I would never do that again, you know. That was prior to leaving

Florida at the age of 11. So, you know, so in that time, I think I was at the age of 10 when I

found out, I think, that Emmitt Till got killed, so that report was in *Jet Magazine*, and so I

was thinking, that was a rude awakening to me at that point.

"When I was in the school system here, I really didn't know myself that there existed

white schools because we weren't exposed to it, we didn't think about it. I was saying that

the books had really become the standard books, and they were falling apart, and it was more

like, okay. It was really a grade lower, everything was not really structured to education-

wise.

"I remember I was downtown one time and they had a parade of the Klan riding

down, probably Laurel Street, probably going down toward the center of the park. This one

guy kind of stared me down, and he didn't have a hood over his face, but he had a hood, so I

just looked at him, and I'm thinking, 'What's your problem?' It didn't matter to me. I can't

remember that anybody told us to dislike somebody that's white, that was nothing ever really

thought about, so if we weren't told to dislike you, why would you be told to dislike us for no reason at all? Kids are kids, and that should be it, and everybody should have love."

Separate and Unequal

Qualitative Study Interviewee 9

"In the public schools I attended, I don't recall ever receiving a new book. All books that we received from elementary school until graduation from high school were stamped with the names of schools that were the white schools. We had books from Lee, Jackson, and other schools around the city, and the books oftentimes were not in good condition. Pages were missing, and we were expected to do assignments with pages or parts of the books either ripped or drawn through sections of the lines where they've been highlighted or someone just deleted them … whether on purpose or for their individual purposes of getting assignments completed.

"When I was in high school and attending Stanton, there were certain opportunities we were given, and there were only certain jobs that we could really plan to pursue … at that time. Nursing and teaching were two of the areas that I found that most females are in the area of, music and voice or in the area of maybe dance. The young men would go to the military because there were very few opportunities for them. There were the brick masons, mechanics, plumbers, and so forth that there were schools in our neighborhoods that the young people could get trades.

"So, one of the concerns of mine was that the children who went into the schools that … were bused, they stated that they were not treated equally because when they were trying to participate in class or trying to do things, they were ignored. Or I found that they would mention to me that oftentimes, when knowing a response that was correct, they would not be

called upon even if they raised their hand waiting their turn. When the children returned to our neighborhoods, it was as though something had happened with them, as though they didn't feel like they were competent. They often seemed to have behavioral problems. And I feel that many times, because they were taught by many young Caucasian young females who came into the classrooms, not being aware of the background of these children or even having any idea about what was going on in a Black culture, the children were beginning to be labeled as a, discipline problems. And because of the discipline problems, they began to have testing done and ended up with a lot of special ed classes.

"These classes labeled these children, but I felt that they weren't challenged because oftentimes I would visit some of the areas' schools or we had workshops. The information that was discussed was as though these children were given work that they should have had in third or fourth grade. It was considered to me as busy work, just to keep them where they could be disciplined. They were not challenged, and many of them, because they were strong-willed, they were identified as special ed children. I found in working with the children in some of the classrooms that I was involved with, that many of these children were even gifted students who, because of their challenging the teachers in some way or trying to make sure that they had some independence in the classroom. They were not special ed students but students first, with specific gifts, and this was a concern of mine … not only … were they not challenged as the young people should have been, they were not introduced to new things and new ideas. And to me, they were not given an opportunity to show that they could do better and that they would have done better, if handled in a different way."

Racism as an Adult

Qualitative Study Interviewee 10

"After graduating out of high school, I went into the Navy and came back to Jacksonville, and one of the problems that I encountered when I first came back to Jacksonville was the fact that I tried to get a job as a fireman and I was turned down for various reasons, for instance, like, 'Well, you're not tall enough, you don't weigh enough.' I tried for the post office, that was another problem. If you didn't know anybody there, it was difficult to get a job at the post office. I tried selling magazines as a job, and I couldn't do that because they said if you go into a white neighborhood trying to solicit them to buy magazines, then they wouldn't accept you. Now I realize that the education that I got affected a lot of the job opportunities that I could have gotten, and, and discrimination was something that was effective, you know—it was just everywhere because of my color, I guess.

"The used books that we got in school, they told us that well, these were books from white schools. In my education, none of my instructors were white; they were all Black. The administration was Black, everything was Black, from the school board on down. We had a Black person that was in charge of Black schools. And so that it was just Black. It wasn't … the only time we got to see the person who was in charge of the school board was when we graduated. And other than that, you never saw any white people coming out to the schools."

Learning While Black

Qualitative Study Interviewee 11

"This is what I have to say about racism: It makes you at a point where you doubt yourself, and that should not happen. In 1953, I tried to sub[stitute] in Duval County— we were not allowed to sub anywhere but in Black schools. For some reason, I think they

179

thought we were incompetent, but I'll have you know, my years at Bethune Cookman [University] were real training. I learned how to be the kind of professional that I want to be. I've been very proud of what I've accomplished as a teacher and as an assistant principal.

"Many of the principals I had … years ago, they seemed to be afraid to ask for things that we needed in our schools. There seemed to be a hesitation in, and, well, you know, we'd have to wait until they do such and such. There's always an excuse why they did not have it. Rather than white high schools, it was a matter of ordering and it was there. So, for some reason, things were limited to the Black schools. It was not limited to the white schools, and you noticed those kind of things when you have to go in your pocket.

"Being a Black student in Jacksonville. Well, you had to learn to be motivated to live in the Black world. You have to learn to be motivated. You learn that you got to be able to provide yourself with motivation. I learned early, though, as a teacher that many of the things that were done in the white school were not done in the Black schools. One thing I can remember is that I noted very early in my career, children who were what we call 'smart' or 'gifted.' But African American students were never asked to take the gifted test. And that bothered me as a teacher because I knew that there were students who could pass the gifted test. So, I took it on my own, and I went down to the school board and asked to submit a couple of names of students that I knew would be possibly able to take the test. I was told that you have to be recommended by the guidance counselor. And at that time, we didn't have too many Black guidance counselors. And in my years of teaching, I noticed that many of my white professionals didn't always find it appropriate to recommend African American students. That bothered me for years as I taught school, that we were never at a point that we felt that an African American student was smart enough or bright enough. If they were, I

180

found that many of the teachers decided that 'I don't want to let this student go. This is my best student and I don't have problems out of this student so I don't want that child going to attend a gifted class.'

"That's one of the most difficult things for me as a teacher to hear, and I know that existed. And I would recommend them every year for testing in the gifted program, and I had several of them who made the maximum score and they [i.e., the white administration] were shocked. Literally shocked but because the NAACP went to the schoolboard and told them, 'You need to set up a program with African American students who can be exposed to the gifted program.' I remind you, gifted students leave the classroom for an entire day and many of them left to go to another school. But with my program, they stayed within the school, but they were with me for one whole day. What a joy that was in my teaching. I think earlier in my career, I realized when I was teaching that many of the African American students did not feel comfortable being in the other world. They just did not. They'd rather stay with their own. But my love for children to learn, to go over, and I guess I was that way because I'm African America and I realized how much education does for you, for your life. Because I have often told my girls, and all three of them have a master's degree, that, that's about you. This is why you do it because this is to improve you. And no one can improve you any better than you can improve yourself."

Conclusion

These qualitative study interviews impacted me personally and emotionally, and as a researcher. As a child, I grew up in Duval County and was blind to how Blacks were treated one way and whites another. As a resident and public school student, my white privilege was hidden from me, and this was carried into adulthood. The Black experiences shared by the

participants reveal how White supremacy is able to maintain the status quo by keeping Black oppression away from white eyes and through systemic means that emphasize white privilege. It appears to me that few whites question the status quo because they benefit from systemic inequity and are blinded to the oppression (by design or choice), and thereby assume everyone has the same opportunity to progress academically, economically, politically, and socially. This is the myth that White supremacy advances—the myth that it is not a systemic lack of opportunity that hinders Blacks progress, but rather a lack of ability and motivation.

These interviews confirm the urgent need to reveal how Black oppression through education inequity by design has become the status quo right in front of our eyes. Recorded history has stifled the voices of the oppressed. By giving these voices the space to be heard, the myths of White supremacy—and the ways the education system has kept its knee on the necks of Blacks—can be revealed. By taking an approach to researching inequity by design which utilizes critical race and neo-Marxist theories, how this knee has been applied to the education system can be exposed for all to see, so that the dismantling of the system can begin.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY OF DUVAL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1954–1964

To hold a people in oppression you have to convince them first that they are supposed to be oppressed. (Clarke, n.d.)

In the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

—Chief Justice Earl Warren, *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954)

Education is a major battlefield for the minds of students, especially the minds of young Black students.

—Rodney Hurst, Sr. (personal interview, 2019)

The purpose of this research was to document how education inequity for Black students is intentionally designed to benefit White supremacy. There is an epistemological need for qualitative case studies documenting the intersectionality of politics, economics, legislation, and racism in public education inequity. My data sources for this research included published and unpublished documents reflecting the political, economic, and racial activity in Jacksonville during the study time period, namely books, newspaper articles,

reports, journals, letters, papers, notes, dissertations, interviews, and my father's personal

files regarding his school system research beginning in 1958.

Duval County Public School System, 1954–1964

"Let us remind ourselves that all of us are responsible for this school mess. All of us are guilty of indifference. Some of us may be guilty of greed. Some of us may be guilty of influencing elections for personal advantage. But all of us are guilty of letting this happen." (Pastor Kisling, Riverside Presbyterian Church, as cited in Ward, 1964, p. 24)

The Duval County Public Schools were facing struggles from intentional underfunding for years and pending a loss of accreditation. My father, Marvin R. Edwards, worked for four decades to improve the Duval County public schools, beginning in 1958 with only a handful of white supporters from the community. In January 1965, Edwards presented to a concerned Duval County Taxpayers Association a post analysis on the school system losing high school accreditation due to the poor conditions resulting from intentional underfunding. Edwards, a New York Jew, had been threatened by the Klan and called a communist for his work to improve the public schools. He focused his efforts on improving the entire failing school system while working with the Urban League and NAACP to draw attention to specific problems with Black school conditions and fire hazards at their dilapidated schools (see Appendices G–P for sample work documentation). Edwards assumed that if he was unable to motivate the white community to be interested in improving conditions for its own students, they certainly were not going to extend themselves for Black children. At the DCTA meeting, Edwards shared a summary of excuses he heard from the

white community and its political leaders over the years regarding their apathy and disinterest in improving the school system:

- "I don't want to be bothered."

- "I do not want to upset the status quo."

- "You only see the Black side."

- "There are other communities worse off than we are."

- "Right or wrong, I'll stick with the powers that be."

- "I cannot afford to get involved in politics. It's too controversial and it might cost me business/clients/patients."

- "I cannot be critical of that elected official (or political boss) because he has done favors for me."

- "Be patient: Rome was not built in a day."

- "I only wish I had time to give to civic work—but I haven't any."

- "Why should education concern me? I have no children in the schools."

- "The children are getting a better education in Duval County than I had 20, 30, or 50 years ago."

- "How can I get elected if I don't play ball with the machine?"

- "I only want to get reelected."

- "It is the policy of our news media not to get too involved in controversial subjects on a local level."

- "My official responsibilities are not directly concerned with schools."

- "We are opposed to the use of grand juries for governmental investigations."

185

- "I am only interested in fighting the communists."

As Edwards pointed out in his presentation, these rebuttals for lack of community engagement to improve education for all students reflects a society that perpetuates a substandard status quo through ignorance, apathy, or intention. Du Bois (1935/1998) posited, "Just as long as Negroes are taught in Negro schools and whites in white schools; the poor in the slums, and the rich in private schools," U.S. public education will be unable to "create the intelligent basis of a real democracy" (p. 328). It appears that result is what intentional inequity is designed to achieve.

Desegregation History Overview

When they passed ... Brown, it didn't change nothing for the Browns. To me, I didn't see anything significant happen…. If it happened, it was transparent to me…. The only thing I know is that it happened. I didn't feel any results.

—Qualitative Study Interviewee

In *Who Shall Be Educated*," Warner et al. (1944) addressed the cause of intentional inequities in education: "Our schools, functioning in a society with basic inequalities … continue to serve the social system by keeping down many people who try for higher places" (p. xi). The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision required a drastic disruption of Duval County's systematically inequitable status quo. Although the Supreme Court mandated integration "with all deliberate speed," Duval County not only refused to move in that direction, but also offered staunch and oftentimes audacious resistance. Duval County ignored the *Brown* mandate for decades, leaving the racial divide firmly in place in Duval County Public Schools.

186

Between 1950 and 1955, the population of Duval County reached 374,000, with 71,744 school-age children, of whom 18,607, or 26%, were Black. There were 63 white schools and 23 Black schools in the district. Duval County invested $14.5 million on education development across the county, but there were no plans for integration on the table.

In 1960, the NAACP was forced to rely on the courts to push for Duval County school integration (Bartley, 2000). Nevertheless, more than 10 years after the 1954 *Brown* decision, the Duval County Public Schools continued to operate as a dual school system (Poppell, 1998). George Peabody College's (1965) report on the Duval County Public Schools found that all of the county schools had problems across the board; however, the problems were overwhelmingly worse at Black schools. The local community did not prioritize public education. The schools were substantially underfunded, teacher turnover was high, textbooks were inadequate, and teaching materials were in short supply. Classes were overcrowded, curriculum included minimal electives, and students were deprived of remedial classes. Teachers were underpaid and underqualified, with less than half holding a master's degree and few holding teaching certificates in their subject matter. Educational opportunities were unequal for students, with some attending double-session classes (George Peabody College, 1965).

Between 1900 and 1940, Jacksonville's population grew from 25,000 to 173,000. By 1960, Duval County's population of 455,400 residents represented 9% of Florida's total population, driven primarily by the tremendous development of the suburbs. One fourth of the 1960 population, or 105,700 residents, were Black, and 80% of the Black population resided in the urban part of the city, comprising 41% of the total urban population. Jacksonville's suburbs consisted of 15% of the total residents, reflecting a 10% migration of

white residents. As the suburban white population increased, the urban Black population had risen 14% since the 1950 census (George Peabody College, 1965).

The George Peabody College (1965) report stated that, despite all of this growth, Jacksonville's schools remained at poverty levels and emphasized educating for low-skilled labor to serve the needs of the local economy. The 1960 census reflected a high number of Black families in Jacksonville with a low income. Specifically, the median income for the 17,670 Black families living within the city was $3,048, meaning that one half of Black families lived below the poverty line. The numbers were only slightly better for the 4,757 Black families living on the city's outskirts, with a median income of $3,289 (George Peabody College, 1965).

The George Peabody College (1965) report stated that a group of 500 citizens were concerned with the "inferior financial support" of the Duval County Public Schools in late 1962. By early 1963, they formed the School Bootstrap Action, Inc. committee to study the school's insufficiencies. The committee outlined three major findings related to problematic school operation: political interference in the schools; having an elected superintendent; and an under-valuation of property assessments, resulting in lower property tax revenue and, therefore, diminished funds necessary to support the school system. By late 1963, teachers in the system had also identified problems due to a lack of funds, materials, textbooks, a low-quality curriculum, and personal hardship (George Peabody College, 1965). The Bootstrap committee raised alarms, and as a result of their activism, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (1964) placed all 15 of Duval County's high schools on probation. Even still, the community and system did not respond.

188

The George Peabody College (1965) report provided the following demographics of the school system. As of November 1964,

- the Duval County school system was the 14th largest in the United States;

- 116,674 children were enrolled in the Duval County schools;

- there were 66,771 elementary school students;

- there were 28,061 junior high school students;

- there were 21,843 senior high school students;

- there were 126 schools; and,

- there were 4,817 instructional personnel.

Ishmael W. Brant served as the Duval County schools superintendent from 1957 until 1969. Brant was open about his segregationist support and surrounded himself with likeminded people. He justified his beliefs by claiming that he was a Southerner who only knew segregation and that segregation had worked "well" for both races (Bartley, 2015). To the contrary, Bartley (2000) described the condition of Black schools during the midpoint of Brant's service in 1960, when there were 100,351 students in the Duval County Public Schools, with a ratio of approximately 75% white students and 25% Black students. Black schools were "smaller, badly supplied, understaffed, poorly constructed, inadequately ventilated, under financed, and often located in neighborhoods outside the black community" (p. 80).

The *Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board* (1971) decision noted that, in 1960, the NAACP filed a lawsuit against Duval County public school system administration's continued failure to observe the *Brown* court's general desegregation order on behalf of Sadie Braxton, who wanted her two children to attend the school of their choice. The class-

189

action suit included six other children as representative plaintiffs. The complaint alleged that Duval County maintained 113 totally segregated schools (i.e., 89 white schools and 24 Black schools) that were respectively staffed by all white or all Black principals and teachers, all in violation of *Brown*'s ruling that governmental maintenance of segregated schools was a violation of the 14th Amendment.

However, Duval County somehow found money in its coffers to combat the constitutionally mandated integration of its schools despite its chronic underfunding of school system problems and the community's historic refusal to spend more on education. During my interview with Rodney Hurst, Sr., he noted, "The school desegregation plan to integrate Jacksonville's public schools was filed in December of 1960.… The school system spent about eight hundred thousand dollars fighting the integration." [3]

Duval County's defense was that Dade County was acting in violation of the Florida constitution by initiating limited integration, while Duval County's own dual school system was perfectly legal under Florida law (Bartley, 2000). In 1962, U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson found that "the defendant School Board and Superintendent admitted the operation of a dual school system," and that the school board and superintendent had intentionally perpetuated a racially segregated school system (a finding that the county had little choice but to concede, based upon their argument). Duval had formed no plan to desegregate the schools in the 8 years post-*Brown* to even begin compliance, in continued violation of the 14th Amendment's "guarantee" of equality (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* 1971). The court ordered the dual school system to be converted to a single integrated

---

[3] $100 in 1960 dollars was equivalent to approximately $879 today; thus, in 2020 dollars, this expenditure was equivalent to over $7 million in legal fees. Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, n.d.

system-wide district, which Duval County appealed. The county believed that if it could stall integration long enough, its students would age out of eligibility, rendering the order moot. This would force the NAACP to start the process anew, and that filing would force the litigants to start from scratch (Bartley, 2000).

As Bartley (2000) wrote, this decision proved to be only a first step in the desegregation court battle. The court delayed its order in 1962, allowing Duval County to continue to operate under its claim that the dual school system was acceptable during a time of "transition" toward integrating the schools. While the order remained pending, the school board was required to submit an integration plan to the court. Duval's plan was incremental and only partially complied with *Brown* while its lawyers continued to appeal the court's desegregation order (which was denied in 1964). Continuing with its enforcement in 1963, the court ordered Duval County to begin a staged implementation plan commencing with the desegregation of Grades 1 and 2 in 1964, and then adding a grade on an annual basis until completed in 1974 to allow students "to adjust to the change." During implementation, however, it became clear that Duval County was stalling while it created racially segregated neighborhood schools to perpetuate desegregation (Bartley, 2000).

As Bartley (2000) described, another part of Duval County's plan called for "freedom of choice" which permitted students of one race to choose to attend another school that was predominately the other race. Yet, offering this choice did not open the flood gates for school migration. Fewer than 60 Black students attended white schools in 1964, and no white children chose to attend Black schools. Even this minimal interest from the Black students was enough to rouse White supremacists in Jacksonville (Bartley, 2000).

191

Hurst (2015) explained that while Duval County hedged and delayed, Black students who had initiated school integration were facing racism in their new schools. In 1963, a 6-year-old boy named Donal was one of 13 Black students to first attend an all-white elementary school in Duval County following *Brown*. As an adult, Donal reflected that he did not understand what was going on at the time when he was placed in the last row of his classroom of all-white students and the teacher would read stories like "Little Black Sambo" to the class. His mother, Iona Goddfrey King, did not know what her son had endured at school. Six months after school started, the family became a target, enduring harassing phone calls, racial slurs, and threats. In February 1964, the Ku Klux Klan bombed the family's house. Fortunately, the bomb was placed on the wrong side of the house and all survived. Following the bombing, Donal left the school but later returned for the fifth and sixth grades. Attempts to intimidate this family and other Black families had failed to prevent Black attendance at integrated schools (Hurst, 2015). Figure 9 shows the 1965 Klan membership by area, according to the FBI, with Duval County circled in blue.

Figure 9

FBI 1965 Klan Membership Area Increase

F.B.I. Chief J. Edgar Hoover said in 1965: "During the past year there has been a marked increase in Klan membership." Shaded areas show where Klan activity is most active today.

(N. Y. Times) © 1965 by the New York Times Company, reprinted by permission.

Note. Source: Forster & Epstein, 1965, p. 23.

Bartley (2000) stated that in 1964, the Duval County school district gave 62 Black students permission to attend white, predominately suburban schools. Although there were Black communities closer than the white suburbs, the district did not allow Black children to integrate into closer white schools. While other schools across the country were moving toward compliance, Duval County continued to wage a rearguard battle against desegregation, 10 years after *Brown*. Less than 1.06% of all Black students in southeastern Duval County attended integrated schools by 1964 (Bartley, 2000). Meanwhile, the local White Citizens' Councils (WCC) used propaganda to rouse opposition to desegregation, even if constitutionally mandated, with pictures such as the one displayed in Figure 10, which appeared in the WCC's monthly newsletter (Oct, 1965, p. 13).

Figure 10

Picture from the White Citizens' Councils' Monthly Newsletter
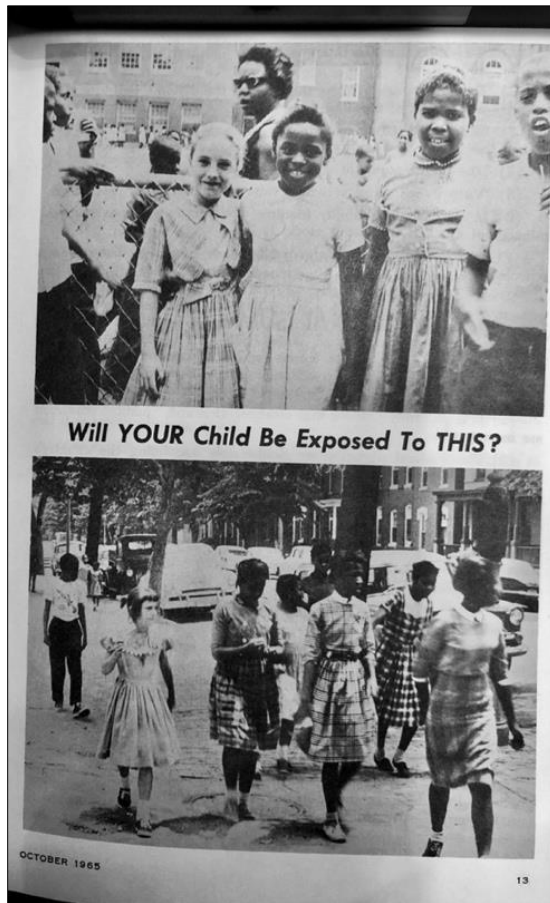
As Bartley (2000) noted, the Duval County school system in 1964 desperately needed improvement while it was bleeding funds in its futile fight against integration. Community members were raising concerns about the condition of the schools to no avail and warned that the schools were in danger of losing accreditation. After an in-depth investigation of the Duval County school system, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools recommended revoking the accreditation of all 15 high schools. The Black community viewed this recommendation as vindication, and it was a wakeup call for the white

community. Two Black leaders in Jacksonville organized a student boycott and convinced 17,000 students to stay home in protest of school inequity. This protest cost the schools an estimated $25,000–$30,000 in revenue based upon school attendance. There was a mixed response from the Black community on whether this improved or hurt their situation, due to the loss funds (Bartley, 2000).

The NEA's (1966) comprehensive report evaluated if the State of Florida had done what it could to provide equal opportunity to Black students, teachers, and schools. This research included interviews, school visits, and financial analysis. Because the state was still primarily operating a dual school system in most counties for Black and white students, the disparities between the two school systems were stark and evident. Members of the reviewing committee found that, "measured by the white schools, the 'Negro' schools are in an unfavorable position with reference to buildings, equipment, supplies, and the workload carried by the teachers and supervisors" (p. 65).

Du Bois (1903/1994) accurately predicted that the color line would continue to be a problem into the 20th century. Price (1957) wrote, " If the color line can only be maintained at the cost of adverse national publicity, a weakened school system, decreased business confidence, higher school bond rates and other likely results of extremist action, then that is the price that many in North Florida are willing to pay" (p. 95). Duval's continual educational decline proved Du Bois's prediction.

The *Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board* (1971) decision documented that, in 1967, the U.S. District Court found that Duval County was deliberately dragging its heels on integration. The court noted that Duval County's regional plan for integration was specifically designed to prevent systemic integration. The court ruled that the board and its

members were "either incapable or unwilling to undertake full and meaningful compliance with either the strict tenor or the broad objectives of the provisions of the … Order" (para. 20). New orders were issued and again evaded or ignored by the board, and the fight dragged on.

The NAACP was forced to return to court to enforce integration in 1971, 11 years after the legal battle in Duval County had begun in *Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* which was a continuation of the *Braxton* case after it worked its way through numerous federal appeals. The court's subsequent decision in *Mims* documented that Duval County' racist school history, 17 years after *Brown*. As noted earlier, in 1960 the *Braxton* court had ordered Duval County to convert its dual school system to a single integrated system-wide district. However, by 1965, 3 years after the order, only 60 Black children out of 30,000 were attending white schools—while no white children were attending Black schools (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* 1971).

The judge in the *Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board* (1971) case noted the following examples of racial inequity still in existence 9 years after the initial order:

- Black students were assigned to a Black high school 20 miles away from where they lived , even though a white high school was within their community;
- assignment of instructional personnel was race-based, with no white staff in Black schools or Black staff in white schools;
- a "freedom of choice" approach to integration allowed white students to attend white schools over closer Black schools—but Black students chose not to be one of a few to attend white schools, therefore perpetuating segregation; and,

196

- the public school system established geographical school districts or attendance

  areas for the desegregated grades of the schools of Duval County that were

  defined to "absolutely prevent any school desegregation whatever, or permit only

  the most 'token' integration." (para. 10)

Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board (1971) referenced the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision, which disputed the legitimacy of a dual school system. The court stated, "In a system with a history of segregation, as in Duval County, there is a presumption against the legitimacy of substantially one race schools" (p. 6). Judge Simpson's order observed that: "the defendant Board, the individual members thereof … are either incapable or unwilling to undertake full and meaningful compliance with either the strict tenor or the broad objectives of the provisions of the January 24, 1967 Order [for integration]" (p. 6).

While the Duval County School Board eventually complied with the court's initial orders in *Braxton*, the case history is replete with appellate review and motions as Duval County continued to resist integration. As late as 1992, according to *Jacksonville Branch, NAACP v. Duval County School Board*—32 years after the initial filing of the NAACP's desegregation complaint—the Duval County School Board continued to be hauled into federal court for violations of the *Braxton* orders and to complete desegregation, now regarding its staffing. Even at that point, the court noted, "the Board's failure to achieve a racial balance in its staff assignments even once in the more than twenty years it has been under court orders to achieve such a balance is of special concern to this Court" (*Jacksonville Branch, NAACP v. Duval County School Board*, 1992*)*. For 28 years after the 1971 ruling, the court supervised the school's desegregation until May 27, 1999, when a judge ruled that Duval County schools had finally attained "unitary" status. This decision was upheld by the

11th Circuit Court of Appeals in November 2001, ending school desegregation litigation in

Duval County, 40 years after *Braxton* was filed (U.S. District Court, n.d.).

Inequity of the Duval County Public Schools, 1954– 1964

> *The administration was Black … from the school board on down. We had a Black*
>
> *person that was in charge of Black schools…. The only time we got to see the person*
>
> *who was in charge of the school board was when we graduated…. You never saw any*
>
> *white people coming out to the schools.*

—Qualitative Study Interviewee

Duval County openly operated a dual school system, with Black schools labeled as

part of the "Negro Division" prior to and after the *Brown* decision (Bartley, 2015). The

school administration had a Black director of Negro education, Dr. John Irving Elias Scott,

who had a PhD in education from the University of Pittsburgh and reported to the elected

white superintendent of schools, who had a bachelor's degree (no one on the school board

had a PhD). Scott assumed the director's position in 1953 after almost 10 years of serving in

college administration positions and having served as a principal in Duval County. He wrote

eight books throughout his career and was the editor of the *Negro Education Review*, which

had been in publication since 1950. Superintendent Brant referred to Scott, who was a

principal at the time, as the "best prepared African American in the county" (Bartley, 2015,

p. 94). Brant said he could not, however, confirm that Scott was the best principal in the

county because that would elevate his status over white principals which would not have

been "acceptable." Scott continued in his role as director of Negro education until 1960.

Figure 11 illustrates the organizational structural of the Duval County school district's

administration in 1963.

Figure 11

DCPS System Structure Compared to Other Large School Districts

Agencies and Offices Exercising Official Influence or Control over Duval County Public Schools:

Agency or Office	Method of Selection
1. School Board	Elected
2. Superintendent of Schools	Elected
3. School Trustees	Elected
4. County Commission	Elected
5. Budget Commission	Elected
6. Tax Assessor	Elected
7. State Superintendent of Schools	Elected
8. Legislative Delegation	Elected

POLICY MAKERS CONTROLLING DUVAL COUNTY SCHOOLS

School Board | Supt. of Schools | School Trustees | County Commission | Budget Commission | Tax Assessor | State Supt of Schools | Legislative Delegation

SCHOOLS

Other school systems basically work as follows:

Elected Supervisory Board ------------- Standards set by State to some degree

Appointed Superintendent

School System

Note. Source: School Bootstrap Committee, 1963, p. 27.

During Scott's time, DCPS policy making resided with a governing, salaried trustee board of public instruction as opposed to belonging to the superintendent or school board. This board was composed of five countywide lay members from five districts who were elected in nonpartisan special elections. Duval County had the only elected superintendent among the nation's largest school districts, requiring the superintendent to spend time away from his work to politic and campaign. This position placed the district's school policy clearly in the political arena. The superintendent worked with both the school board and the

199

trustees of public instruction, but did not report to either one (George Peabody College, 1965). This elected position also increased the likelihood of the superintendent running the system in deference to a largely white voting population rather than adopting policies that benefited students or the schools.

The George Peabody College (1965) report stated that Duval County was the only school system of its size in the United States without an assistant superintendent. The district was administratively understaffed with underpaid personnel who had undefined responsibilities. There was a budget commission in charge of the school budget which had no accountability for its work but over-control of the budget and school operations. The SACS (1964) survey found that the district's business management was hampered by the county's legal structure, a shortage of administrative staff, severe underfunding, a lack of long-term budget planning, and inadequate purchasing and accounting procedures. The funding issue ultimately led to the lost accreditation.

> Educational inequality facilitated by a system of local financing exists because of a combination of at least three factors: the self-interest of the privileged, their tendency to reside apart from the lower class, and the inability of the average person to assess the quality of education available to their child, much less know what is available elsewhere. (Wise, 1968, p. 197)

According to the Council of Social Agencies (1964) survey, Duval County's problems were in no small measure due to its deliberate and prolonged failure to adequately fund its school system. At the time, Duval County was one of the wealthiest counties in Florida; according to the survey results, Duval County ranked third in per capita personal income, third in median family income, and 13th in per capita effective buying income.

Paradoxically, despite this wealth, Duval provided the least amount of funding for education. Only 1.44% of the effective population's buying income was annually allocated to support schools. Not coincidentally, during this period, Duval schools had a 30% dropout rate (Council of Social Agencies, 1964).

The National Association of Teachers (1966) reported that the county was the administrative unit for the public school system in Florida and relied on almost all of its funding for operations, construction, and maintenance from local property taxes. Florida had a homestead tax exemption on the first $5,000 of the assessed property value and prohibited levying a tax in excess of 10 mills (up to 4 mills can be used as a pay-as-you go capital expense) without voter approval which can be determined by property owning electorates every 2 years. For a number of years, teachers and some state officials were concerned about the reliability and appropriateness of Duval County's property tax assessments. Although the Florida Constitution required a "just valuation of all property, both real and personal" and there was a 1941 law requiring that property assessments be assessed at 100% of the true value, no state authority existed to provide checks and balances among the 67 counties within the state (National Association of Teachers, 1966).

According to the George Peabody College (1965) report, the Duval County government had at least 22 elected officials with administrative responsibility, but they had little legislative authority. Budgets and expenditures were managed by an independent budget commission that was restricted from allowing deficit financing. The only local revenue source used specifically for school funding was property taxes, which were managed by the tax assessor, who had assessment flexibility

201

In Duval County, inequitable property assessments were predominately set at only a fraction of actual property values by a corrupt (and eventually convicted) county tax assessor. The assessor's role in maintaining low taxes at the expense of the county's public school became a political position in the 1964 Jacksonville election. The incumbent assessor promised to maintain the current under-assessment level, averaging out at about 30% of market value, while simultaneously knowing that this resulted in severely underfunded the public schools. Property assessments had not changed in almost 30 years, even after tremendous population growth and demand for homes. Florida's Homestead Exemption Act zeroed out most assessments at this assessed lower level, so a great portion of Duval homeowners paid no property tax. Demonstrating the significance of underassessment, while the population in Duval County was rapidly increasing, concerned citizens stressed that every new 1,000 residents had increased the school deficit by $55,000 (George Peabody College, 1965).

In the election primary, the incumbent assessor was challenged by a reformer promising to raise tax assessments to at least 50% of the property value to improve Duval's public schools. A week before the election, eight schools were stripped of their accreditation, and 37 were put on warning. Not surprisingly, the corrupt incumbent tax assessor beat his primary challenger by 24,000 vote and ultimately won the general election with 54% of the vote. All 15 high schools were almost immediately stripped of their accreditation as a result of the perpetual underfunding of the schools (George Peabody College, 1965).

Figure 12 shows the historical percentage of local funding from Duval County between 1954 and 1964. Each year after *Brown*, local funding as a percentage of school revenue declined, culminating in a decrease of roughly 24% over the 10-year period.

202

Although actual dollars went from $5.9 million to $12.6 million during the same time period,

state funding tripled in dollars, and federal funding doubled, with the state providing twice

the funding of the county in 1964. The figure shows the trends in total revenue for the Duval

County Publics Schools from 1954–1964.

Figure 12

DCPS Trends in Total Revenue

TABLE 25
TRENDS IN TOTAL REVENUE RECEIPTS, ALL FUNDS, FOR
DUVAL COUNTY SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1954-1964

Year	Local Funds	State Funds	Federal Funds*	Total
1954-55	$ 5,929,604	$ 8,232,750	$ 960,754	$15,123,108
1955-56	6,467,232	9,453,599	828,369	16,749,200
1956-57	7,374,845	10,033,945	1,232,292	18,641,082
1957-58	7,543,402	15,892,540	1,048,372	24,484,314
1958-59	8,138,438	15,512,537	1,464,117	25,115,092
1959-60	8,699,929	16,218,576	1,067,790	25,986,296
1960-61	9,407,264	17,172,565	1,109,801	27,689,630
1961-62	11,817,268	18,775,313	1,314,994	31,907,574
1962-63	12,245,146	20,616,166	1,839,587	34,700,899
1963-64	12,657,798	24,731,725	2,582,753	39,972,276

* Includes federal funds received through state.
Source: *Biennial Reports*, Superintendent of Public Instruction, state of Florida for respective years.

Note. Source: George Peabody College, 1965, p. 297.

How did such a small amount of revenue get allocated to supporting the schools?

Again, this was due to the deliberate reduction of property taxes—the primary source of

public school funding—which had a direct impact on expenditures for students. The Council

of Social Agencies (1964) report reflected that Duval County spent $299 per student

compared with the Florida statewide average of $372 per student. When looking at Florida's

largest counties, the average per-student expenditure was $392. Statewide, this placed Duval

County 67th in per-student spending. Figure 13 reflects the Duval County tax assessment valuations between 1954 and 1964.

Figure 13

Tax Assessment Valuations in Duval County Between 1954 and 1964

TABLE 27

TREND IN ASSESSED PROPERTY VALUATIONS IN DUVAL COUNTY, 1954-1964

School Year	Taxable Property	Per Cent Increase over Preceding Year	Nontaxable Property	Per Cent Increase over Preceding Year	Average Daily Attendance	Taxable Property	Non-taxable Property
		Assessed Valuation				Assessed Valuation Per Pupil	
1954-55	$295,123,045		$272,269,520		62,511	$4,721	$4,356
1955-56	311,401,126	5.52	293,164,780	7.67	66,617	4,674	4,401
1956-57	331,083,352	6.32	315,540,800	7.63	72,401	4,573	4,358
1957-58	347,447,735	4.94	335,372,860	6.29	76,469	4,544	4,386
1958-59	372,158,962	7.11	359,223,500	7.11	83,165	4,475	4,319
1959-60	393,339,331	5.69	383,626,860	6.79	87,721	4,484	4,373
1960-61	428,328,302	8.90	405,769,840	5.77	94,071	4,553	4,313
1961-62	457,936,277	6.91	436,907,280	7.67	98,870	4,632	4,419
1962-63	483,725,004	5.63	457,560,420	4.73	102,856	4,703	4,449
1963-64	499,000,264	3.16	474,775,800	3.76	106,370	4,691	4,463

Source: Research and Information Division, Duval County Board of Public Instruction.

Note. Source: George Peabody College, 1965, p. 301.

The school system placed a school tax (or student fee) on all grades for student supplies to compensate for the lack of tax revenue, raising approximately $750,000 in annual fees for courses. This tax resulted in students being denied courses or materials, obsolete texts, unfair burdens on students with lesser financial means, and teacher time wasted on collections while burdening them with a lack of teaching material. Fundraising drives were held for the additional purchase of textbooks, supplies, and equipment. Between 1964 and 1965, Duval schools faced an estimated budget shortfall of $17,170,000 (George Peabody College, 1965).

George Peabody College's (1965) independent audit of DCPS agreed that the deflated

tax base may have served multiple purposes, including the willful neglect of the public

schools. The report posited that city politics dominated the county and its economic interests.

The clear connection between economics, politics, and media placed the public schools in the

political arena, keeping them under continuous influence and controversy (George Peabody

College, 1965).

There was never a question whether white schools received more funding than Black

schools due to DCPS's dual school system. The question was how this inequity manifested

across schools. Hurst (2008) stated that Black schools never had enough funding for

resources, supplies, or textbooks. Neither white government leaders nor anyone in authority

cared about Black school performance because of overt racism and segregation. "They were

simply going through the motions. There were no political consequences for the lack of

quality in Black education" (R. Hurst, personal communication, December 17, 2020).

Complicating this was the lack of protest or advocacy by some Black administrators. Hurst

asserted that some "Black principals tried to show what good stewards they were of 'White

folk's money' by actually returning allocated funds to the white administration at the end of

the year." [4] As a result, Black school budgets would be reduced the following year, since the

returned funds indicated that they were ostensibly over-allocated and had not used all of their

funds the previous year. White schools again directly benefited: While the Black schools had

more restricted budgets in the following year, white schools received a padded budget from

---

[4] Hurst cited as the source of this information oral history from a Black faculty member who worked in the Duval County school system.

the reallocation of the money (Hurst, 2008). Budgets were also restricted for capital

investments in Black schools. As one qualitative study interviewee commented,

> You had no lockers …no showers. Our physical education classes were conducted on
>
> an asphalt landing in the middle of a sandy field about 50 feet from an active railway
>
> system. We had a unique building called a cafetorium, which tripled and quadrupled
>
> as an auditorium, as a cafeteria, as a classroom, and as a study hall.

Duval County contended that its school district complied with *Plessy*'s "separate but

equal" mandate by building three white and Black schools having the same physical outlines

and outward dimensions (Hurst, 2008). Although the outside physical plants of these schools

were the same, the schools' funding and resources were far from equal. Furthermore, while

the outside dimensions of the schools may have been identical, the white schools, unlike the

Black schools, included playgrounds, gymnasiums, and auditoriums. These schools were

Stanton High School, Paxon Senior High School, Northwestern Junior Senior High School,

Paxon Junior High School, William M. Raines High School, and Duncan Fletcher High

School (R. Hurst, personal communication, October 11, 2020). As an example, the Pickett

School pictured in Figure 14 was completed in 1947 and enrolled 212 students in 1955.

Figure 14

Pickett Elementary School, 1955
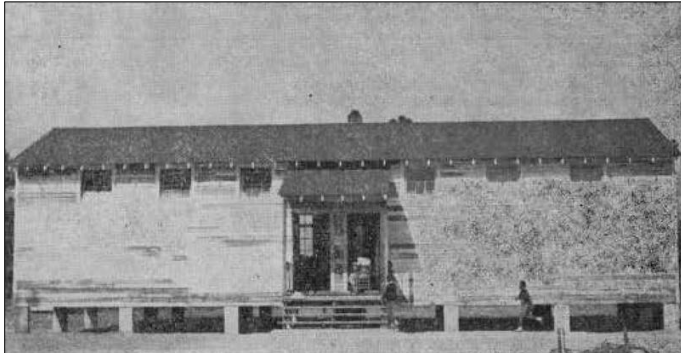
Note. Source: Duval Country School Board, 1956, p.33.

The Duval County Public Schools built 12 new schools 3 years after *Brown*. In response to the *Brown* decision, Hurst (2008) said, the all-white schools were named after Confederate Civil War generals who were hailed as "Southern heroes fighting for their heritage and their way of life" (p. 11). As mentioned previously, in 1968, Duval County named a white high school after Nathan Bedford Forrest, the founder of the Ku Klux Klan (the school name was not changed until 2014 following a community outcry). Other schools were named after Robert E. Lee, Kirby Smith, Jefferson Davis, Joseph Stilwell, and Jeb Stuart.

Not only school assets but, school plans were also problematic. A 1962 state survey recommended the construction of new school centers; however, by 1964, less than 50% had been started and almost 50% of the new sites had not yet been acquired. This resulted in 7,000 students attending double sessions due to lack of classroom space. The Council of Social Agencies (1964) survey found that Duval County needed a 124-teacher elementary

school and two, 1,650-student-capacity high schools beyond what the 1962 report had indicated (George Peabody College, 1965).

Maintenance and housekeeping appeared to be an even lower priority for the existing schools. There was an extensive backlog of maintenance issues for numerous schools, including litter in storerooms, furnace rooms, and grounds. Windows, window shades, and chalkboards were broken. Furniture and floors were severely damaged. There was a lack of an organized maintenance and repair department and minimal maintenance and custodial staff. Additionally, custodians were not provided training, and the pay scale was inadequate (George Peabody College, 1965).

As an example of poor Black school conditions, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools' (1964) report to the Duval County superintendent of schools on December 7, 1964, cited the following problems with Ribault High School, a Black school: safety hazards, including conduits loose and hanging over walkways; jagged, broken concrete stairways on the second floor; and missing light switches. Overall, the facilities were deemed inadequate and received poor custodial care. The review of another (newer) Black school, Stanton High School, found that the school site and plant were too small and that there was poor drainage.

In the *Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board* (1971) decision, Judge Tjoflat detailed the historical Black school conditions and perceived physical condition problems. The decision indicated that Duval County school administrators had engaged in a deliberate campaign to make Black schools not only unattractive, but also repulsive to students seeking higher learning. One Black school was bordered by fencing on a major interstate highway in the "core city ghetto." Two other schools were in the middle of the city's highest crime area, where 80% of Jacksonville's narcotics traffic occurred. These schools were subject to

frequent looting and interruptions from neighborhood "troublemakers," such as truants and dropouts who were undeterred by fences, locked doors, and guards. The following Black elementary schools were labeled as "located in the black ghetto": Fairfield Elementary, Isaiah Blocker, A. L. Lewis , East Jacksonville Elementary, Forest Park, Mt. Herman, and John E. Ford. In 1971, it was determined by court order that Fairfield Elementary, Isaiah Blocker, and A. L. Lewis school should be shuttered. Litigants pushed the court to close all of these Black elementary schools, but the court required more substantiating evidence as justification. The court case quoted the Florida School Desegregation Consulting Center (1968) position that East Jacksonville Elementary "should be abandoned as soon as possible" because the building was "clearly unsuitable for educational purposes and should be phased out" (*Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board,* 1971, p.10).

However, the crown jewel of the travesties outlined in the *Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board* (1971) decision was the Forest Park Elementary School (for Black youths from first through eighth grade), a relatively new building that appeared to have been custom-designed to expose young Black children to toxic waste. The court quoted a Duval County assessment of the school's condition as follows:

> The school is surrounded by a City incinerator on the East, a polluted creek on the North, and a meat and poultry (abattoir) company on the West. This has caused a serious problem with regard to stench and sewage backing up in the school. (para. 41)

In defense, the school board took the offensive position that the school should not be closed, arguing that the hazards had abated after the city incinerator was closed. However, Judge Tjoflat did not buy in, noting that "the slaughterhouse and McCoy's Creek were still producing highly noxious odors which even permeate the school cafeteria" (para. 41).

Duval County had essentially built its defense of its education facilities around the pretext that Black facilities were equal to those of white students. These horror stories not only demonstrated that the facilities were definitively not equal, but that the county had intended to make Black students learn in intolerable environments. This inequity extended to teachers and teaching supplies:

> We had what the teachers were able to purchase…. Their salaries were so different, they didn't have a lot of money to invest in students' education…. We didn't have equalization of salaries then, we had to fight for equalization of salaries. (Qualitative study interviewee).

Hurst (2008) questioned how Black teachers were able to actually teach at this time while subject to the administration's racism and discrimination: "It was a controlled segregated education in a controlled segregated school system" (p.12). The schools were so segregated that white teachers and schools did not have any communication with Black teachers or schools, including sports, music, academics, or other extracurricular activities (Bartley, 2000).

The George Peabody College (1965) report found in 1964 that 99% of full-time employed teachers in Duval County were college graduates but that only 19% had a master's degree. Few teachers held any membership or participated in local or national organizations, and only 51% had 11 or more years of teaching experience. The report commented that the quality of instruction reflected the quality of the teachers. This lack of appropriately qualified teachers most likely reflected how the district compensated teachers, with the survey noting that, at the time,

- Duval County ranked 67th among Florida counties in improving teacher salaries during the previous 10 years;.

- Duval County was 37th among Florida counties in the average salary paid to all instructional personnel;

- Duval County ranked 24th among Florida counties in starting salary paid to teachers with a bachelor's degree; and,

- Duval County's efforts to maximum salaries for teachers compared unfavorably with comparably sized school systems.

In 1963, the National Education Association (1966) noted that Florida imposed a certification test requirement tool for teacher hiring, placement, and salary assignment. From its initial passage, there was a battle around repealing the test since it was considered an unfair evaluation of a teacher's ability or competence. The NEA found that the exam was being used to provide a salary differential that served two primary purposes: to fill or replace positions with lower paid teachers, and to justify a dual pay system with lower pay for Black teachers. A spokesperson for Florida State Teachers Association commented,

> The political climate, as well as the Southern tradition, has allowed the dual system to exist whereby a vicious cycle has been created. From grade one through college, students in the Negro schools have been denied the same opportunity as others to receive an adequate education—and the legislature attempts to excuse itself from the responsibility for what it has created by its denial of equal occasional opportunity to Negros. (p. 32)

Retention of teachers was also a problem, with the system losing approximately 25% of its faculty annually. More than half of the teachers were in their position for 5 years or

less. One in five teachers were assigned to a grade for which they had not been trained. Overcrowded classes translated to a shortage of at least 400 additional teachers needed to obtain ideal class size. The combination of low salaries, politics, teaching load, and poor working conditions made effective teaching virtually impossible according to the report (George Peabody College, 1965). If all of this was not challenging enough, textbooks were another problem:

> We were aware of the fact that we were treated differently. Our books were … not even enough for the students in school … our books were secondhand hand-me-downs, with vulgar writing in the books and pages torn out. We really had nothing. (Qualitative study interviewee)

When white schools received new equipment or textbooks, their hand-me-downs were sent to Black schools. These discrepancies were apparent to Black students and teachers when they were able to see what white schools had for resources (Bartley, 2000). Textbooks in over 70 classes across the county were obsolete, and the district was short 33,000 textbooks for its student base (George Peabody College, 1965).

The Bootstrap Committee (1963) report found that "the textbooks, instructional materials, and equipment are not adequate in Duval County even to provide an acceptable quality of instruction" (p. 2). In addition, textbooks were distributed according to an unspecified priority system. In general, there was an inadequate supply of books for all teachers and few books were up-to-date editions. Some history books used in 1963 did not include history beyond World War I. Thus, the use of outdated or no longer valid material resulted in the teaching of incomplete or misinformation. Textbook funding was provided by the state; Duval County did not supply the district with any money for textbooks. This left

the few textbooks that were acquired to be distributed at the discretion of the county. More than two thirds of all teachers felt they did not have adequate textbooks. Parents and teachers were forced to resort to raising money on their own to buy textbooks for the students. The Bootstrap Committee argued that the responsibility for paying for textbooks should not be on the teachers and parents, stating, "It makes the public forget that education is a general obligation of the whole community which cannot be satisfied by a token contribution of the few parents who happen to be interested enough to participate personally in their children's education" (p. 19). Textbooks were not the only essentials in short supply; all resources at Black schools were minimal:

> Many of the principals … seemed to be afraid to ask for things that we needed in our schools…. There's always an excuse why they did not have it. Rather than white high schools, it was a matter of ordering and it was there. (Qualitative study interviewee)

The Bootstrap Committee (1963) report documented that the most significant complaint about the education system centered on its outmoded textbooks and the almost nonexistent equipment needed for teaching. The committee found that Duval County fell far below the state average in expenditure per pupil in areas including library expenses, teaching materials, housekeeping expenses, and overall operating expenditures. Duval schools lacked equipment and teaching aids including television sets, sewing machines, typewriters, and laboratory and audio-visual equipment.

According to the results of the George Peabody College (1965) survey, high school libraries were, by acceptable standards, short over 209,000 books and 1,200 periodicals. In addition, libraries were severely understaffed by more than 70 librarians. Funding would often be diverted, and audio-visual aids were in short supply. There were an inadequate

number of instructional leaders, areas covered, and schools serviced. Assistant principals were in short supply, along with supervisors, subject matter specialists, and comprehensive curriculum guides. Again, as sparse as resources were across the system, Black schools had even fewer staff, books, audio-visual aids, and other resources. The problems, however, were not limited to inside the school; they began with Black students getting to school. As one qualitative study interviewee reflected,

> We walked the railroad tracks.… And I guess it never dawned on us when we were walking, no trains ever came during that time … and there was no way for us to get on either side … and we didn't think nothing of it.

The Duval school system lacked adequate transportation to help Black children get to their schools. As previously noted, only a small number (7%) of Black students had access to buses, with the majority (76%) walking to school. Black students had limited transportation because they were only allowed to ride Black-owned and -driven school buses to class (Council of Social Agencies, 1946). Some Black students resorted to take Greyhound buses to attend school (Bartley, 2000).

The George Peabody College (1965) report indicated that Duval County contracted with 98 separate private bus companies that provided 175 buses to the entire school system. A total of 32,000 students were bused daily, with the average daily mileage at 10,500 miles (or approximately 60 miles per bus). The 1963–1964 school year cost for busing in Duval County was $717,719. Bus contracts were awarded based on a point system that considered the salary of the bus driver, the bus size, the number of miles traveled, and the age of the bus. The average student had to walk 1.5 miles to a bus stop (although this number is skewed because Black students who had access to a school bus had to walk significantly farther than

white students). A 1957 survey showed that, because Duval County contracted with independent drivers, their cost overrun was $78,000 compared with a county-run transportation system; most likely, this number increased with time. The only conceivable reason for the DCPS to contract out busing service was to maintain segregation, ensuring that Black children did not ride with white students or drivers, or even benefit from the same buses. If the system was centralized under the school system, these types of Jim Crow practices would have been more difficult to achieve. School transportation reflected the general design of suppressing Black education through restriction of services. As one qualitative study interviewee said, "They didn't want us to progress. They didn't want us to be doctors and lawyers and a pharmacist. They just wanted to keep us down."

Services for gifted students and for those with special education needs were grossly inadequate for all students and nonexistent for Black students. Only 16% of gifted (white) students were provided services, while the students with special needs were substantially neglected. There was no department of special education or school locations for multiple disabled children, and funding was inadequate to support such a system. Little focus was placed on physical education, which was not a requirement at the high school level. Most schools lacked playgrounds and equipment. Health services were practically nonexistent, and poor health policies were practiced in the schools (George Peabody College, 1965).

The district had only one psychological practitioner, with 10 visiting teachers for 116,000 students in 126 schools. There were only 64 guidance counselors for 50,000 high school students and none at the elementary school level. Figure 15 shows the age distribution for Black students by grade in the 1964–1965 school year. An average retention rate (i.e., students held back a grade) at the time was considered to be 5%; however, this number was

higher at Black schools, with student retention in the 10th grade at 25%, as shown in Figure

16.

Figure 15

Black Student Age Distribution by Grade

			Actual Grade Level, Fall of 1964						
Year of Birth	Age in 1964	Expected Grade Level, 1964-65	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Total Number
1959	5	Kindergarten	3						3
1958	6	First	2,997	22					3,019
1957	7	Second	509	2,569	81	3			3,162
1956	8	Third	52	655	2,218	73	1		2,992
1955	9	Fourth	17	157	619	2,091	63	2	2,949
1954	10	Fifth	8	29	166	649	1,857	83	2,792
1953	11	Sixth	6	10	33	182	536	1,665	2,432
1952	12	Seventh	4	7	11	48	205	593	868
1951	13	Eighth	3		4	8	89	207	311
1950	14	Ninth	1			1	13	107	122
1949	15	Tenth					4	16	20
1948	16	Eleventh		OVERAGE			1	5	6
1947	17	Twelfth						1	1
		Total Number in Grade	3,600	3,449	3,132	3,055	2,769	2,679	18,684
		Number Overage	600	858	833	888	848	929	4,956
		Per Cent Overage	17	25	27	29	31	35	27

TABLE 6

AGE-GRADE DISTRIBUTION, ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SERVING PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUPIL GROUPS DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA, 1964-65

Source: Data supplied by the Division of Research and Information of the Duval County Board of Public Instruction, December, 1964.

Note. Source: George Peabody College, 1965, p. 101.

Figure 16

Black Student Retention

TABLE 3						
PER CENT OF PUPILS RETAINED IN DUVAL COUNTY SECONDARY SCHOOLS						
	Per Cent Retained					
School	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Predominantly White Schools	6.77	5.42	6.13	7.67	4.94	2.93
Predominantly Negro Schools	17.77	15.61	16.51	25.24	14.82	6.12
All Secondary Schools	9.83	8.13	8.62	11.64	6.67	3.57

Note. Source: George Peabody College, 1965, p. 54.

Conclusion

By listening to the voices of those oppressed by the phenomenon of education inequity and paralleling their narratives with historical documentation from multiple sources, the historical truth can become more evident. History tells of the events that happened, but it does not reveal the motivations or the human impact of these events. Therefore, it is easy for one to accept presented "facts" at face value and as indisputable. Decisions appear to be made to address the action required without regard to how information and events can be manipulated to serve an ulterior motive. White supremacists are often community leaders, presenting themselves as acting on behalf of the community when, in fact, they are acting on behalf of protecting their own position of power. This became clearly evident during the Trump Administration, with those who came into power already possessing power through wealth and social status.

The neoliberal policy and practice of privatizing the public good under the Trump Administration, with Betsy DeVos serving as the Secretary of Education, focused on the

217

dismantling of the public school system rather than its reconstruction. Driven by the desire to profit from school failure (testing, charter schools, virtual schools, school vouchers) under a White supremacist influence, the Trump Administration perpetuated school inequity to serve its own economic and political interests. As the new wave of racial revolution continues to move through the United States, it is critical that education inequity be a frontline focus. Through my research, I sought to document the lengthy history of systemic suppression of Black education under a White supremacist ideology in America, in hopes of amplifying the call for more education financial reform from government at all levels. A secondary, but equally desirable goal of this research is to encourage the teaching of history (which is often not taught) that educates all youth on the contributions of Black lives to U.S. history and how this country has disregarded Black lives in the nation's history and society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and

political equality of the white and black races … and I as much as any other man, am

in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

—Abraham Lincoln, 1858

The money motive for assailing the negro which slavery represented is indeed absent,

but love of power and dominion, strengthened by two centuries of irresponsible

power, still remains. (Douglass, 1881/2015, p.19)

Exclude the air and a man will die, keep away the moisture and the flower will

wither. Stop the appropriations for Negro education, by amendment to the

Constitution if necessary, and the school-house in which it is taught will decay. Not

only that, but the Negro will take the place the Creator intended he should take in the

*economy of the world—a dutiful, faithful, and law-abiding servant. (*Alexander Troy,

Alabama attorney, 1908, as cited in Baker, 1964, p. 248)

I don't remember anything changing in the school system. Everything remained status

quo. When we went to school, we walked to school. We didn't have, we didn't have

school bus transportation. And even our electives were not what the white kids were

being offered. We, we really didn't get the quality of education that the white students

got.

—Qualitative Study Interviewee

Despite stark differences in funding, teacher quality, curriculum, support services,

and class sizes, the prevailing view is that if students do not achieve, it is their own

fault. Until these inequalities are confronted and addressed, we will never get beyond

the problem of the color line. (Darling-Hammond, 2004, p. 214)

Summary of Findings

This standpoint of ignoring race, of ignoring struggles related to poverty and equity

in public education—of ignoring any policy that might lead to greater social and

economic equity for students and communities of color—must be explored within a

wider historical context of white supremacy and neoliberal capitalism. (Keisch &

Scott, 2015, p. 5)

My research question for this case study was: In what ways was education inequity in

the Duval County Public School between 1954 and 1964 by intentional design? The

following two sections summarize the themes that emerged from the study in addressing this

question. The first theme relates to Duval County's historical, political, economic, and

judicial influence on education inequity. The second theme centers on Duval County Public

Schools after *Brown v. Board of Education*. I believe the answer to the primary research question is a convincing affirmative, as evidenced by data in the case study. The second research question was: Are the findings of this case study applicable to other urban school districts? I address this question in the section on the implications of the study, and again, I believe the answer is a convincing affirmative.

<div align="center">

Emergent Themes in the Study

</div>

Politics, Economics, and Judicial Influences

There are clearly race-based disparities in the public school system, vestiges of

forces that have never ceased to exist in Jacksonville. (Monroe, 2019, para. 30)

Keisch and Scott (2015) maintained that "in the U.S., the prevailing and deeply rooted social order of white supremacy and structural racism have long served the political, economic and cultural interests of capitalism" (p. 7). How does this social order impact the U.S. education system? Neoliberal ideology is a front for resisting education equity which reflects White supremacist values. Neoliberal "reforms," such as choice, vouchers, and privatization, are growing exponentially, not coincidentally placing profits before education while perpetuating segregation. Neoliberal philosophy applied to education has created a perfect storm for "punitive and dehumanizing conditions" for Black students (Keisch & Scott, 2015, para. 1).

As Formisano (2017) posited, political and economic oligarchs can be found in elected positions all levels of government, as well as a broad spectrum of institutions outside of government. These oligarchs represent a "self-perpetuating and self-aggrandizing political class" connected through a commonality of "ambition, interest, and mutual benefit" (p. 1).

Formisano argued that a "permanent political class drives economic and political inequality" (p. 2) through policies and self-dealing behavior.

Anderson (2017) held that "white rage" works its way through the courts, legislature, and throughout government. While most people look for conspicuous signs of racism, like white hoods, White supremacy can permeate government with an invisible influence. Increasing inequality in the United States can be directly attributed to members of a white hegemony who focus on securing their positions by maintaining the status quo (Anderson, 2017). My research highlights that the politicians in Florida and Duval County were part of this hegemony and were no different in their personal desires or actions.

The George Peabody College (1965) report noted that Jacksonville was a particularly political city and its politics appeared to dominate the entire county, with a willing and complicit populace deferring to the political elite around political decisions. This was true even if the electorate and the community were negatively impacted by those decisions. Another political complication noted in the report was the number of local elected officials and governing bodies at the city and county level which, at the time, included 18 elected officials serving on a mayor-commission-council form of government, "the only type of government like this in the country" (p. 12). The report posited that the "politic-economic structure of the community is monolithic, and 'politics' are 'boss-ruled,'" with economic interests driving political decisions with an overlapping relationship between the "economic, political, and news media leadership" (p. 13).

The dominance of White elites in Jacksonville is of particular concern in light of the financial foundation of Duval County's education system which is based on local taxation and bond issuance. As this case study notes, Jacksonville's schools were historically and

chronically underfunded. During this case study time period, Florida's constitution limited the percentage basis of education taxation via property tax, and it required that local tax assessors be elected. To raise the school funding level, a local tax assessor would have to assess property at its true value, an action that Jacksonville's voting white elites found unpalatable. Elected assessors therefore refused to appropriately assess property taxes. Capital investment required the issuance of municipal bonds, which under Florida's constitution, would have required the state to pass enabling legislation followed by local voter approval. The state constitution also required the local election of the school superintendent. Local governments were restricted by the state constitution and the legislature due to Florida's "no home rule." The powerful state legislators from Duval County held the fate of funding and local political impact in their hands. This policy allowed a single state senator to hold veto power over all local legislation decided in the state legislature if they disagreed with it for any reason (George Peabody College, 1965).

The George Peabody College (1965) report found that the public perception of the school situation at the time was that a specific prominent member of Jacksonville society, possessing supreme authority as "a recognized political leader" (p. 13), controlled all of the school relationships. This specific political leader destroyed those who challenged his authority or perspectives through fear, intimidation, or retribution. The report described Jacksonville as having a White supremacist power structure that managed politics based on economic objectives, or "a cohesive oligarchical order … developed for the mutual aims of maintaining political power and protecting business interests" (p. 14). Businesses were considered to be the controlling influencers of political decisions regarding the public school system, with a common view of Jacksonville's local government as corrupt and unresponsive

223

to the public needs. The report claimed, "Schools, accordingly, have been just another sphere

of influence which has kept them in the political controversy for years" (George Peabody

College, 1965, p. 14).

Duval County's elected school officials were chosen as figureheads at best and

obstacles at worst, not based upon qualifications or having a platform for education

improvement. Politicians illegally solicited campaign contributions from school personnel

who were rewarded with "rebates in teacher appointments, personnel reassignments for

political reasons, and duplicity in school construction" (George Peabody College, 1965, p.

14).

Jacksonville's electoral politics and ultimately Jacksonville's education system were

dominated by White supremacist governing authority and its entrenched fight against

segregation. Seven years after *Brown*, and 3 years after the federal courts ordered the

desegregation of Jacksonville's schools, the George Peabody College (1965) report

recognized that segregation remained a political fait accompli to be flanked, not confronted.

The report recommended that "any election campaign to improve the Duval school system

should seek to enlist the support of the Negroes without arousing the white segregationist

sentiment in the community" (p. 16).

Segregation Versus Integration

> *The allocation of funds… you couldn't do what you'd like to do for the children in*
>
> *school. You didn't have the funds. And after integration, … we found out that the*
>
> *white principals were getting that all the time.*

—Qualitative Study Interviewee

One of the strongest themes to emerge from the qualitative study was the role of Black schools in Black students' education. Feedback from participants focused on the best and worst experiences of attending Black schools. The best experiences were associated with Black students feeling valued by Black teachers and professionals, and feeling empowered with a sense of community among the teachers, students, and parents. The negative observations focused on the lack of equity, support, and interaction with the white schools and school administration. Integration came with a sense of personal loss conveyed through warm reminiscences of a Black education that white teachers or administrators could not and would not replicate.

Bell (2005) questioned whether *Brown* and desegregation actually benefitted Black students. On the surface, the decision appears to have been a legislative remedy to a problem. However, the question is whether this remedy was equally applied or one that unequally benefited whites and burdened Blacks. Thus, the *Brown* decision's actual impact on improving Black education has been subject to challenge. Ogletree (2004) stated that Black educational failure is due to multiple factors beyond just segregation of Black and white students, including the attitude and biases of white teachers toward Black students. Desegregated schools practice internal segregation by placing Black children in remedial learning classes, applying uneven and excessive discipline to Black children, and placing the burden of busing on Black students because white parents refused to share the responsibility for desegregation (Ogletree, 2004).

Robert L. Carter, former general counsel for the NAACP, viewed the *Brown* decision as a legal victory for Black rights while being viewed as palatable to Southern whites (Bell, 2005). Instead of providing more individual rights to Blacks, the Supreme Court's

desegregation order offered no regard for its administration and no foresight as to who would carry the burden. Federal desegregation through an unwieldy court system also gave Southern states the opportunity to challenge desegregation. Southerners cited their historical complaint of overstepping states' rights, allowing for years of implementation delay through the appellate process. Bell (2005) quoted Carter:

> "*Brown's* indirect consequences have been awesome. It has completely altered the style, the spirit, and the stance of race relations. Yet, the preexisting pattern of white superiority and Black subordination remains unchanged.... Few in the country, Black or white, understood in 1954 that racial segregation was merely a symptom, not the disease; that the real sickness is that our society in all of its manifestations is geared to the maintenance of white superiority." (p. 96)

Bell (2005) posited that the presumption in the *Brown* decision by white civil rights advocates reflected that, by merely placing white and Black children in a classroom together with white teachers, Black students would benefit through osmosis. Conversely, white parents viewed close proximity to Black children as detrimental to white children. White parents, teachers, and administrators accepted the White supremacist myth of Black inferiority and white superiority well after *Brown* (Bell, 2005).

Berry and Blassingame (1982) argued that Black children were the real losers in *Brown* due to the tangible and intangible costs, and inefficiencies that accompanied the decision. When dual school systems were abolished, Black teachers and principals were the first to be demoted, transferred, or terminated. In some school districts, Black teachers would not be hired to teach white students. Black students were subject to suspension and

226

expulsion, and were placed in special education or lower academic tracks. Black parents were excluded from having a voice in the schools their children attended.

According to Smith (2015), racism is a systemic form of oppression through public policy that creates a dual citizenship for whites and non-whites by denying the rights of the latter while privileging the former. Racism is anything that maintains and perpetuates this system. One of the qualitative study interviewees, whom I will call Mary, was a retired Black teacher. Mary explained that when the schools were integrated, Black students were bused to white schools for all but the fifth and sixth grades (which were now called "centers" and located in the Black communities). Black elementary schools were closed, and the teachers and principals were either transferred or fired. Those who were transferred were sent to schools on the other side of town.

Mary was transferred to a white school across town in an affluent white neighborhood, about an hour's commute by car (Jacksonville is the largest land-mass city in the continental United States). Mary enrolled her daughter in the same school. When the school held its first Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meeting, white teachers advised Mary (at the time, both a teacher and a parent of a child in the Duval system) not to attend the meeting because they were concerned for her physical safety. As a result, Mary never attended a PTA meeting at the school.

Additionally, when Mary had an after-school staff meeting, she told her daughter to stay in the school library for fear of possible threats to her daughter's safety. However, the (white) school principal told the daughter she was not allowed to be in the library. Mary had to threaten to resign and transfer her daughter to another school before the daughter was

given permission to stay. Mary said these two incidents at this white school were the most personal, humiliating, and upsetting experiences of her teaching career.

The qualitative study interviewees conveyed universally that whatever the Black schools were lacking in supplies, books, resources, and facilities, they were more than enriched by the loving and nurturing teaching of relevant material. The schools provided a sense of community because parents and teachers knew each other as friends, neighbors, family, and fellow churchgoers. Everyone contributed what they could toward the education of Black children and were engaged in the system. Student expectations were high, and discipline problems were low.

This respect, love, and culture experienced in the Black schools was discarded with integration. Accordingly, interviewees described the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision as another posturing attempt to show that white law was helping the Black community, while in actuality it added to their burdens and under-delivered on the case's implicit promise of equal education.

Discussion

It goes without saying that some progress has been made in the development of the Negro race since the Civil War, but to suppose that it has reached the point where an infusion of color in government amounting to policy control, or to a balance of power, is an acceptable or healthy thing for a previously white society, will be absurd on its face to anyone. (Putnam, 1961/2019, p. 99)

Frederick Douglass (1881/2013) posited that U.S. White supremacy's origins are rooted in slaveholders' view of their slaves as investment property. Every invested dollar was another reason to consider the Black man a white man's subordinate. The wealthiest slave

owners had "the means of influencing press, pulpit, and politician, and through these instrumentalities they belittled our virtues and magnified our vices, and have made us odious in the eyes of the world" (Douglass, 1881/2013, p. 18). This white power had the ability to choose presidents, create laws and policies, set social customs, and influence the church and its teachings. White supremacy was secured by the suppression of Blacks through the "color line" separating caste and race. Douglass summarized that even after the end of slavery, there was still a toxic atmosphere over racial division in the country. With the profits of slavery gone, there still lingered the "love of power and dominion, strengthened by two centuries of irresponsible power" (p. 19).

O'Connell (2012) argued that the legacy of slavery is applicable to education inequity as it may "still indirectly affect economic disparities through its influence on educational and political institutions" (p. 279). Because of the high concentration of slave descendants in some Southern communities, "the distribution of resources across and within schools in local areas … may be such that Blacks receive a lower quality education than whites resulting in lower qualifications for the labor market and less political power" (O'Connell, 2012, p. 279).

From slavery and after, the South developed "an intricate code of interracial etiquette that symbolized White supremacy and Black inferiority" through systemic segregation in every major institution (Black & Black, 1987, p. 75). The repression of Black educational and economic advancement was perpetuated by dehumanizing Blacks through both legal and non-legal forced compliance. Yet, the South did not act alone; indeed, Southern white elites had accomplices across the nation, including the North. Franklin (1994) noted that the color line has been a consistent and persistent factor for Blacks throughout U.S. society, specifically in education. "For most of our history, the schools have been segregated and,

since the power to allocate resources has invariably been in the hands of whites, that has inevitably meant placing African Americans at an almost hopeless disadvantage" (p. 61).

Whites, as a whole, have embraced the status quo of their privilege and have been, at best, complicit in and, at worst, promoters of White supremacy. Blumer (2000) wrote, "The color line came to be felt by whites as natural, proper, and sacred, and as such to be zealously guarded against trespass by Negros and preserved from disrespect by whites" (p. 209). Whites, either by choice or ignorance, project a perception of a common sense of superiority and inferiority based on the color of one's skin. Blumer described the color line as a clear visual image of what separates Blacks from whites in this country on a social and systemic level by providing unequal rights, privileges, and the ability to progress. The line defines how Blacks and whites interact and have social access: "The color line expresses and sustains the social positions of the two groups along two fundamental dimensions—an axis of dominance and subordination, and an axis of inclusion and exclusion" (Blumer, 2000, p. 208). These axes serve as the structure of White supremacy.

Frederick Douglass acknowledged the color line in 1881, but it was Du Bois (1903/1994) who predicted years later its persistence into the 20th century. Flynn et al. (2017) asserted that race and class in the United States are "inextricably linked" and that to understand systemic racism, one must look at the rules and institutions that perpetuate inequality between Blacks and whites. Although most Americans perceive and understand the color line, many still believe success is solely based on an individual's ability and determination. As recently as 2007, two thirds of the general population subscribed to this idea that success is individually determined, including 71% of whites and 53% of Blacks. However, as Flynn et al. highlighted, research has disputed this myth because "our rules and

institutions are rarely colorblind," and even when policies are meant to be race-neutral, they fail because they reflect our "historical institutions, current rules, and societal norms, resulting in disparate impacts on Black Americans" (p. 2). In a statistical comparative analysis of Blacks and whites, Blacks fell into a lower level in every case, including education, pay scale, income, asset and wealth accumulation, employment, and home ownership (Flynn et al., 2017).

Flynn et al. (2017) countered that the actual key to economic attainment is through quality education, health, and safety, which all fall along the color line. All of these keys to attainment have restrictive regulatory and legal frameworks surrounding them that deliberately bar access to Blacks and which have "deep historical roots." White supremacy is a perpetuation of U.S. history in which economics, politics, and racial beliefs are inextricably linked, embedded in and maintaining the status quo through the nation's legal and political institutions (Flynn et al., 2017). Until a national awakening occurs, the color line will continue.

Black and Black (1987) posited that historical and systemic racial discrimination has been a part of U.S. political and economic society on the black–white color line or axis, since slavery. Fear of Black advancement fueled the White supremacy movement in the South and empowered politicians to focus on an agenda supporting and preserving the status quo. This color-line agenda included segregation by employment, housing, and education. The White supremacist objective was to keep Blacks dependent upon whites without providing them an opportunity to compete with whites. Through limited educational opportunity and the continual dehumanization and minimization of Blacks, White supremacy continued to dominate into the 20th century (Black & Black, 1987).

231

Franklin (1994) predicted the continuation of the color line into the 21st century. The advancement of the color line, according to Franklin, was a matter of 18th-century economics to maintain white economic and political advantages over Blacks as they fought for political independence. Whites benefited from White supremacy in the 19th century during slavery and were unwilling to sacrifice their social and political hierarchal status once slaves were emancipated, making the color line more pronounced. When Reconstruction revealed that Blacks were eager to vote and advance economically, whites immediately attempted to revoke the gains that Blacks had acheived (Franklin, 1994). Du Bois (1903/1994) observed continuing White economic discrimination against Blacks and the continuing inequity in education between Black children and white children. Therefore, he did not foresee a reversal of White supremacy in the near future. After all, as Franklin (1994) posited, the color line "was as firmly entrenched as any other institution in the land" (p. 36).

Theoretical Framework Relationship

> *Throughout our history, whites of widely varying socioeconomic status have employed deeply set beliefs and white supremacy as a catalyst to negotiate and resolve policy differences, often through compromises that sacrificed the rights of Blacks.* (Bell, 2005, p. 29)

Brown and Jackson (2013) shared Bell's (2005) view that Blacks only progress when they are in alignment with white hegemonic ideals. This has made racism, as the expression of White hegemony, "an integral, permanent, and indestructible part of American society" (p. 14). Freire (1968/2000) viewed education as an extension of the White supremacist political system enacted through agents of that system. In order to preserve the status quo, society must remain divided between the oppressor and the oppressed. The mindset of oppression is

232

carried and reinforced in the home and the school, where the oppressed are told not to think critically or to challenge, but to accept their lot in life. Fanon (1961/2011) maintained that dehumanization makes the oppressed feel they are deserving of, and therefore must accept, their situation. Fanon believed that the political, intellectual, and industrial hegemony build their possessions and fortunes on the backs of their minions. They seek control of colonized minds through words with meaning and context in ideology, to maintain the status quo. Fanon's belief is consistent with the Marxist view of education as a systemic tool used by capitalists and the hegemony to control the marginalized class. Although Fanon focused on racism as the reason for oppression of the colonized, I contend that racial capitalism (i.e., capitalism based on racial oppression) is the basis of White supremacy.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1968/2000) spoke of manipulation as the historical "fundamental instrument for the preservation of domination" preceded by "total suppression" (p. 148). By dividing society, the dominant elites can maintain control by using manipulation to remove threats to their position. The less knowledgeable the people, the easier it is to divide and manipulate through a series of myths that must be accepted as truth from the bourgeoisie. Dialogue is a mirage since the elites are only concerned with their self-preservation, not the oppressed, in defense of "so called national capitalism" (p. 147). Manipulation is not needed when the oppressed are submerged in a false reality. Domination may be overt or covert, or "camouflaged," and dominators may present themselves as helpers rather than as manipulators of "economic and cultural domination" over another class (p. 153). For domination to succeed, the dominated must be made to feel "intrinsic inferiority" (p. 153), with the manipulator posing as or seen as superior. This manipulation strategy represents "the theory of anti-dialogical action" whereby one is able conquer others by trying

to "conform the masses to their objectives" (p. 147), which is more easily accomplished when the oppressed are politically unaware. The interests of the community as a whole are not the focus of the elite; rather, the selfish interests of the elite serve to keep a class system in place.

This practice is incorporated within the schools. Delgado and Stefancic (2016) addressed the growing controversy of whether class or race is the dominant factor in social oppression. Are the problems in U.S. society and schools based on a culture of poverty or on a culture of racism? James Baldwin's prolific writing focuses on Blacks living in a white world and on white attempts to convince Blacks of their inferiority. Although material oppression is consistent with Marx's (1848/2018) and Fanon's (1961/2011) view that class suppression is driven by economics alone, Baldwin saw an overlap of class oppression with racism. In his essay "My Dungeon Shook," Baldwin (1963a) told his nephew that there were limits in his world and that his country had placed him in a ghetto where he was expected to remain until he died. Baldwin spoke of a brutal society designed to make his nephew feel useless and socially unfit, with no expectation for him to excel while setting rules on how he was expected to live. Baldwin implored his nephew not to accept that he was inferior but to realize that his oppressors were inhumane and actually afraid.

In his 1963 "Talk to Teachers," Baldwin explored this theme in American education. Baldwin addressed the false goals of American education for Black students, describing education for a Black student as "schizophrenic." A Black student is taught that, as an American, they are guaranteed "liberty and justice for all" in a country where anyone can be whatever they want, even president (Baldwin, 1963b, p. 1). Simultaneously, this same Black student is taught that their culture has made no contributions to civilization and that their

people should readily accept humiliation by racist stereotypes that reinforce Blacks' loyalties to whites. Baldwin incorporated references to capitalism and classism, referring to Blacks as having been brought to this country to provide free labor critical to its economy. To keep Blacks in their place, whites convinced themselves Blacks were subhuman animals and should be treated as such because if they ever viewed themselves otherwise, it would threaten the white power structure. White supremacy was intentionally created and maintained to keep Blacks subordinate, in order to make money for whites. Baldwin wrote that, during Reconstruction, Blacks were liberated from being owned and from being tied to land, but they were not liberated from the bottom of the labor market. White supremacy's continued strategy of convincing Blacks that they are less than human prevented a threat to the continued hegemonic power structure after slavery. Baldwin drew a clear historical line connecting racism and classism from Reconstruction to modern times. From this connection—and the results of this research— emerges a convergence of neo-Marxism and critical race theory.

The color line is the theme that resonates throughout my research. When Du Bois referenced the color line in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903/1998), he was not addressing just the social construct of race and racism, but the imperative to define humans by the color of their skin to satisfy the need of the "White supremacist, capitalist, colonial, social hierarchy" (Rabaka, 2008, p. 60). Rabaka argued that the color line is a hegemonic tool to dehumanize Blacks and to support global greed—again combining critical race theory and Marxism. According to Franklin (1994), Du Bois's concern that the color line would continue into future centuries derived from when white Americans had previously fought for their own political independence in the 18th century and failed to stand up for all human freedoms.

Whites chose consciously not to extend equal rights to Blacks "because economic and political circumstances would not permit it" (p. 6). When slavery ended in the 19th century, it was replaced with social and economic barriers that continued to suppress Black progress. These barriers still exist, either in their original form or in generational echoes of their original impact. Du Bois (1903/1998) confirmed these "generational echoes" when he observed that Black oppression did not end when the nation abandoned slavery and shifted from an agrarian to an industrial economy. "The question of race and color in America assumed a new and peculiar importance when it thus lay at the basis of some of the world's greatest industries" (p. 6).

The portrayal of Blacks as less than human, genetically intellectually inferior, and a threat to the health and well-being of society has served to perpetuate the color line in present-day society. The White supremacist need to "contain" Blacks, for any or all of these reasons, has permeated the U.S. public education system for over 200 years. Understanding the complexities of the color line and its systemic and societal impacts requires an extensive dissection of tightly fused historical economic, political, and judicial systems. This is not accomplished by simply focusing on differing outcomes—an approach that has dominated past research. Bruch et al. (2019) asserted that the majority of research has focused on ethnic groups and outcomes rather than the systemic components perpetuating a White supremacist agenda. This previous research has largely ignored the transverse conspiracy at the local, state, and federal levels. The interconnection among diverse regionalized governments down to the local level has enabled various approaches within the systemic structure that support the needs of White supremacy and perpetuate severe racial inequalities to. Future research must examine the racial relationships imposed by the color line across political and economic

236

institutions to expose how Blacks are "positioned inside or outside the boundaries that delineate and organize societal institutions and relations" (Bruch et al., 2019, p. 160) and to show that Blacks are subordinated to the superior position of whites within these institutions and relations.

Although the Declaration of Independence made equality the founding principal of America, the U.S. Constitution failed to deliver on that principle. In fact, the history of American Federalism in the Constitution has served, through its constitutional limitations of federal power over states' rights, to perpetuate the color line. The Constitution is treated as the legal equivalent of the Bible regarding individual rights and government powers and limitations, but historically it has been interpreted in ways that serve the interests of white hegemony. Slavery was legal because it was not outlawed in the original Constitution. While the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th Amendment emancipated slaves as part of a "new birth of freedom," that freedom continued to be limited, and the amended Constitution still did not confer equal rights to Blacks. The 14th Amendment frustrated Southern attempts to oppress newly emancipated Blacks who had also achieved suffrage. The amendment guaranteed "equality," but it did not specifically guarantee "equity," and this limitation has served White supremacist interpretations at all levels, most notoriously in *Plessy*. Not coincidentally, neither the Constitution nor legislation has clearly banned the color line. It remains by intentional design:

> Now as in the past, racial inequality remains a national feature of the United States
> that is reproduced, transformed, and sustained through a variety of subnational
> dynamics. More than a mere distribution of possessions, racial inequality remains a

237

fundamental structure of social transaction that positions racially defined groups in

relation to institutional boundaries and one another. (Bruch et al., 2019, p. 180)

Interpretation of Findings

We have built a school funding system that is reliant on geography, and therefore the

school funding system has inherited all of the historical ills of where we have forced

and incentivized people to live. (Rebecca Sibilia, founder/CEO of EdBuild, as cited in

Lombardo, 2019)

As stated in Chapters 1 and 2, property tax funding for public education dates back to

the Puritan settlers in New England and was not envisioned to address inequity or even

education outside of the immediate, homogeneous community. In more recent years, affluent

white communities have used their economic and political power to exclusively fund their

own public schools while shutting out less affluent and economically depressed communities

(EdBuild, 2019). This leaves less affluent communities reliant on less tax revenue and

unfulfilled hopes of equity compensation from the states. Not only does this create a class

divide, but it also perpetuates the racial divide due to the insulation of white communities.

Reallocating funds from community policing budgets is one possibility for additional

funding, as well as pooling revenue at the state level and reallocating tax revenue on a more

equitable basis, and federal subsidies (EdBuild, 2019).

The education system is rooted in localism, with local schoolhouses, teachers, the

community, and locally elected governing officials comprising a collaborative system. This

localism extends to funding by local property taxes. However, communities segregated by

race and wealth, separated by overt laws and covert political and economic practices, have

persisted over time. As a result, wealthy white communities have more discretion on where and how their education dollars will be invested (EdBuild, 2019).

Beginning with an inequitable tax base, education inequity by design flourishes. The United States has over 13,000 traditional public school systems with an average of 3,500 students per district. When breaking this number out by race and class, high-poverty non-white districts enroll almost 10,500 students—three times more than the national average school district. The national enrollment average is lowered due to the fact that primarily white districts enroll 1,500 students on average, with fewer in poor white districts (EdBuild, 2019).

EdBuild (2019) has noted that national education inequity caused by intertwined race and class segregation, has not been resolved through the courts or with the passage of time. Racial segregation by neighborhood leads to high concentrations of Blacks in low-income areas which prevents narrowing of the education inequity divide. The political power of non-white districts is curtailed because white district interests are, on average, represented in state government six times more than Black interests, effectively neutralizing the Black underclass. This has resulted in a current expenditure gap of $23 billion between white and non-white school districts, even though white districts serve a similar number of children. Schools in white-dominated school districts receive almost $14,000 per student, while schools in non-white districts receive only $11,682, or a net average difference of over $2,200 per student, or more than 15% less.

This phenomenon is not limited to the South. The same inequity and causes of inequity by design are evident in New York, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Detroit, and Los Angeles. Consider the following key economic measurements of racial

239

inequity which are consistent across the 150 largest U.S. metropolitan areas (Brownstein, 2020):

- In all 150 metro areas, white workers earn higher median wages than workers of color, with the gap exceeding $5 an hour or more in over 100 metro areas and $10 an hour in 12 metropolitan areas.

- In 149 of the metro areas, there is a greater share of white adults with at least a 4-year college degree than among people of color.

- In each of nearly 140 metropolitan areas with available data, students of color are more likely than white students to attend K–12 schools where at least three fourths of the kids are poor or low-income. In more than 50 metropolitan areas, the share of minority students attending high-poverty schools is at least 30 percentage points higher than the share of white kids. Studies have consistently found that students in high-poverty schools are less likely to succeed academically. (para. 7–9).

As Flynn et al. (2017) highlighted, schools are increasingly racially and economically segregated across the country. A 2014 report stated that 48% of Black students attend high-poverty schools (more than 20% student poverty rate) compared with 8% of white students. These numbers reflect a racial isolation that has continued to increase since the 1980s (Flynn et al., 2017). In addition, Brownstein (2020) noted that on average, Black students attend a school that is 49% Black; Latinos attend schools that are 57% Latino; and whites attend schools that are 75% white.

Kozol (2005) referred to this racial isolation as "education apartheid." Kozol referenced Orfield's 1999 study identifying schools that were already on a 12-year

continuous resegregation and a dual school system pathway, and highlighting the lowest level of integration seen in three decades. Almost three quarters of Black and Latino students attended schools primarily "minority," with a quarter of all Black students in the Northeast and Midwest attending "apartheid schools." Kozol cited Orfield and Yun's (1999) finding that the most segregated states for Black students are not located in the South, but are New York, Michigan, Illinois, and California. "Only one in seven Black students goes to a predominately white school" (p. 19).

EdBuild (2019) documented that predominantly white school districts receive more funding than non-white school districts in 21 states, including California, New Jersey, and New York—states whose politics are generally associated with liberalism, not neoliberalism. More than half of U.S. students go to segregated or "racially concentrated" schools where more than three quarters of students are white or non-white. The national phenomenon of education inequity, and its systemic linkage between class and race inequities, has resulted in three lawsuits: *Serrano v. Priest, Abbott v. Burke*, and *Campaign for Fiscal Equity v. the State of New York*.

"Education apartheid" illustrates the correlation between economics and racism. Orfield and Yun's (1999) research demonstrated that when Black students are segregated by school, they are most likely enrolled in a school in a high-poverty area. On the other hand, white students in segregated schools are almost always enrolled in a school in a middle-class area. Because high poverty correlates to lower educational achievement, this segregation gives a huge advantage to white students and poses a major disadvantage to Black students. High poverty impacts student retention, curriculum choices and levels, and the health and economic future of the students.

241

EdBuild (2019) described how local educational funding makes disparities easy to establish due to historic residential segregation. Existing laws allow gerrymandering of legislative districts which isolates wealthy communities from poorer ones on an economic and power level. This allows the wealthy to keep their money within their own school districts because they can "use existing laws and political power to draw borders around themselves, keeping deep pockets of money in while leaving less-privileged children out" (p. 1). Consequently, school districts in high-poverty areas have fewer resources to pay for education and are forced to rely on the state to make up the difference. Twenty percent of all U.S. students are enrolled in high-poverty non-white districts, but only 5% live in white districts with similar financial challenges. Poor school districts are forced to look to state government for additional funding to make up for shortfalls, but states have not traditionally filled the gaps. This shortfall fuels growth in disparities between wealthy and poor communities and intensifies neighborhood segregation. Society must look at the drivers of a perpetuated systemic inequality that places whites over Blacks if the problem is to be addressed.

Implications of the Study

My secondary research question was: Are the findings of this case study applicable to other urban school districts? Because Duval County's inequity is rooted in economics, politics, judicial decisions, and White supremacy and because inequity exists in 100 of the top urban areas across the United States, I believe the answer to this question is yes, for the following reasons:

242

1. In almost every U.S. city, Black and Brown students attend majority-poor or low-income public schools, creating de facto segregation, and racial segregation remains a major source of educational inequality;

2. the economic segregation of Black and Brown students is a national phenomenon in the country's largest metropolitan cities;

3. the combination of race and economics is the result of systemic White supremacy at all levels of government; and,

4. de facto residential segregation resulted from a combination of local, state, and federal government segregation-based initiatives during the development of public housing across the country.

The following sections document these assertions in detail.

Value of Education History Research

We talk about the achievement gap in education or the wealth gap between white Americans and other groups, but the value gap reflects something more basic: that no matter our stated principles or how much progress we think we've made, white people are valued more than others in this country, and that fact continues to shape the life chances of millions of Americans. The value gap is our national DNA.

(Glaude, 2017, p. 31)

Du Bois's (1903/1994) color line prediction has been reflected in the ever-widening gap between Black and white education expenditures in the South. In 1900, for every $2 spent for a Black student's education, $3 was invested in a white student, and by 1930, for every $2 spent for the education of Southern Blacks, $7 was spent on white students. In 1937, Southern states' average spending per white pupil was $37.87 but only $13.09 for

Black students. Inequality was even more pronounced in relation to investments in transportation, visual aids, laboratory equipment, and school buildings. Franklin and Moss (1947/1980) stated,

> Separate schools were doubtless one of the strongest supports of the concept of White supremacy in the South. Separate schools moreover contributed to the perpetuation of a leadership that was devoted not only to the idea of separate education but also to the maintenance of economic and political inequalities between the white and Black populations. (pp. 404–405)

Boschma and Brownstein (2016) correlated poverty with education outcomes and found that in almost every U.S. city, Black and Brown students attended majority-poor or low-income public schools, creating de facto segregation where de jure segregation has been outlawed. Spector (2019) described a study by a team of Stanford researchers who found that "racial segregation remains a major source of educational inequality, but this is because racial segregation almost always concentrates black and Hispanic students in high-poverty schools" (para 2). The combination of systemic economic and racial isolation presents major obstacles to educational achievement.

Boschma and Brownstein (2016) highlighted that the economic segregation of Black and Brown students is a national phenomenon in the country's largest metropolitan cities. The Stanford study they cited found that in approximately half of the nation's largest 100 cities, Blacks and Latinos attended schools in which at least 75% of all students were poor or low-income under federal guidelines (i.e., eligible for free or reduced school lunches). These problems not only widen the education gap, but also create downstream inequity, which lowers prospects for a future workforce, with a majority of public school students falling

within this economic status. This creates a self-perpetuating cycle that maintains the status quo around inequitable school systems (Boschma & Brownstein, 2016).

Boschma and Brownstein (2016) also argued that the correlation between race and economics is the result of systemic White supremacy at all levels of government in all major U.S. cities. Historically, by intentional design, Blacks were residentially segregated in densely populated areas with limited educational and economic opportunities. This created high poverty and low property taxes for paying for public school systems traditionally run by whites and additional financing from states controlled by white voters, legislators, and governors. Abigail Langston of PolicyLink (as cited in Boschma & Brownstein, 2016) stated that children living in poverty more than 50% of their lives have a high school graduation rate of 68% and noted that this situation is perpetuated because it is compounded over time. There is a "vicious feedback loop" (para. 8) between housing policy, economic, and racial segregation, and its impact on the schools and residents of these neighborhoods.

Trounstine (2018) defined *political geography* as the nesting of housing units on a local to regional level. Residential segregation overlaps with political geography and injects it with race and class segmentation. This segmentation allows those with political power to deny or control the public goods provided to those who have been politically weakened. Perpetuating the color line, segmentation creates inequity across institutions through intentional design, denying the weakened Black economic caste and advantaging wealthier whites. This "legal segregation" has resulted in unequal funding for Black and white education, and, in turn, has imposed unequal and inequitable school quality. Trounstine pointed out that residential segregation was a national phenomenon and not limited to the

245

South: "By the middle of the 20th century, public goods inequalities had largely come to be determined by residential segregation instead of racial segregation" (p. 39).

The 20th century saw a spike in Black U.S. residential segregation. Fischer et al. (1996) reported data from 18 large Northern cities showing a high number of Blacks living in segregated neighborhoods. The data revealed a spike in Black neighborhood concentration, which may have been attributable to the combination of Southern Black migration to the North and "white flight" from the city to the suburbs, where doors were closed to Blacks wanting to escape the city. This left poor neighborhoods in urban areas to become increasingly "all-minority," leading to an increase in desegregated and poorer urban schools (Fischer et al., 1996).

As Clark (1965) maintained, dense segregated areas of poverty were constructed by a white society with "power … both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness" (p. 11). He posited that these "dark ghettos are social, political, educational, and—above all—economic colonies" (p. 11) that are cruelly controlled by White supremacy. Massey and Denton (1993) defined *ghettos* not by race or income, but as areas densely populated "by members of one group within which virtually all members of that group live" (p. 18). All other social and political forces follow that same control. White institutions create and maintain Black ghettos with the full support of a white society interested in keeping all of their institutions segregated. These Black ghettos did not just happen by circumstance but through by carefully manipulated decisions, with governmental backing, to restrict the residential movement of Blacks into segregated white neighborhoods (Massey & Denton, 1993).

246

Rothstein (2017) stated that de facto segregation resulted from a combination of government segregation-based initiatives during the development of public housing by state, local, and the federal government. New Deal construction programs not only required residential segregation, but also required integrated communities to segregate or relocated Black communities to allow for segregated white communities to remain. As Blacks later moved into white neighborhoods, whites began leaving urban areas for the suburbs (i.e., white flight) and left urban areas predominately self-segregated. Clark (1965) described the phenomenon of white flight and segregated schools as Black populations increased in urban schools: "In the mind of middle-class whites, inferior schools and Negroes went together" (p. 150). Increased white flight, private schools, and parochial schools produced a self-fulfilled prophecy of declining school quality "not because Negroes are inferior, but because the school behaves as though they are" (p. 150).

As Rothstein (2017) described, banks and realtors instituted redlining to steer Blacks away from white neighborhoods by not showing property, refusing housing loans, or offering subprime loans with severe consequences. However, the most significant reason for residential segregation has been the implementation of intentional public policy in every U.S. metropolitan area into the present day. Rothstein (2017) posited that intentional residential segregation by the government is actually not simply de facto; "rather it is what the courts call *de jure*: segregation by law and public policy" (p. viii).

A report by Grusky and Parker (2016) found that the United States ranks high on many different types of inequality due to "feedback loops." Residential segregation protects affluent children from educational competition resulting in the probability of increased

247

earnings, creating a further income inequity divide and perpetuating residential segregation. After all, as the authors noted, better education reduces the likelihood of poverty.

Reardon and Fahle's (2017) research found that the student is not the determinative factor in education; rather, it is their zip code and residential segregation. Reardon and Fahle stated that large, persistent racial and ethnic achievement gaps are due to two main contributors: (a) disparities in family socioeconomic background and (b) residential segregation, which results in poor neighborhoods being served by low-quality schools, fewer resources, fewer quality teachers, and less parental involvement. Statistics have shown that socioeconomically disadvantaged students rarely have access to well-performing schools anywhere in the county. Reardon and Fahle (2017) stated, "Unless we change the fundamental sources of unequal educational opportunity—socioeconomic disparity and seg-regation between racial and ethnic groups—we are unlikely to eliminate racial and ethnic educational inequality" (p. 22). Boschma and Brownstein (2016) offered the following key findings linking race and economic suppression:

- 83 of the 100 largest cities have a majority of students of color, with all but three having at least 50% poor or low-income economic status students. Within 58 of the 83 cities, at least three fourths of non-white students attend schools with a majority of low-income students.

- In 83 of the largest 97 cities (85.6%), the majority of Black students attend majority-poor or low-income schools. Black students make up at least 80% of the student population in 54 of those economically disadvantaged cities.

Boschma and Brownstein (2016) noted that the cities representing the top shares of Black students attending mostly low-income schools illustrate how extensive education

inequity is across the United States. The cities with the highest number of Black students attending majority low-income schools are, in order, Detroit, San Bernardino, Newark, Milwaukee, Birmingham, Hialeah, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Memphis, Baton Rouge, Dallas, North Las Vegas, Stockton, Wichita, New Orleans, Tulsa, Houston, and Miami (para. 15). Reardon and Fahle's (2017) research showed that, regardless of U.S. geographic region, the entwinement of race and economics and its impacts on Black students makes education inequity a national problem.

Nationally, white students are a minority in public schools (Boschma & Brownstein, 2016). White students attend majority low-income schools in only 35 of the 95 largest cities, and less than 30% of white students attend majority low-income schools in 49 major cities. White students attend schools with at least 75% of students in the poor or low-income status in only four cities, while Black students attend comparable schools in 51 cities. Although cities have experienced tremendous economic growth, inequity by design is perpetuated by high levels of concentrated poverty in schools. As Boschma and Brownstein (2016) discussed, there is not an easy solution for disrupting the high concentration of racial poverty resulting from generations of White supremacy on an economic, political, and judicial level perpetuating the cycle. Focusing on schools alone will not remedy the problem caused by the control and influence of systemic racism in the school system.

Data Validity and Challenges

Darling-Hammond (2004) wrote that the United States has one of the most unequal education delivery systems in the industrialized world. It is a dual system based on social status, with the wealthiest districts spending 10 times more than the poorest districts and the average state spending three times more on wealthy districts than poor districts. These

disparities perpetuate economic inequalities that primarily overlap with race. Darling-Hammond analyzed national school finance data and found, on every tangible measurement (i.e., qualified teachers, class sizes, textbooks, computers, facilities, and curriculum offerings), that dual systems exist, with white schools having overwhelmingly more resources than non-white schools (p. 215).

Writing this dissertation has been difficult due to the need to dissect, process, and triangulate the significant amount of available data. My research began with a focus on the transverse influence of White supremacy on economic, political, and judicial factors across government levels, and the perpetuation of education inequity by design. Conducting the case study was like completing a corner of a jigsaw puzzle while seeing the big picture of a national phenomenon.

Mohraz (1979) looked beyond the South, asking why there has been a problem with Black education in the North. Researchers most often choose the least uncomfortable answer by blaming the student and not the system. The question not being asked, according to Mohraz, is, "What was the *school's* problem?" (p. xii). She suggested asking better questions, including: what kind of teaching institution was established; who designed it and for what purpose; what practices were utilized; and how were the students viewed? Mohraz (1979) found that Northern discriminatory methods include "intelligence testing, ability grouping, and differentiated curricula" (p. xii). She reviewed inequitable school systems in Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and Chicago, and concluded that White supremacy historically influenced school policy in all three cities, perpetuating a dual school system for Blacks and whites:

250

While American education could not purge the nation of the three hundred years of racism, it could have tried to effect more change in the Negro's position in American society than it did. Instead, this study shows, the schools reinforced the status quo and failed to be instruments of reform. (p. xiv)

The puzzle pieces can be connected through closer analysis of the economic, political, and judicial influences and decisions that have shaped this country since the 1787 Constitutional Convention. History reveals key moments when America had the opportunity to provide equality and equity to Black people, including education, but failed. Black students continue to suffer due to race-based education inequity and continue to be blamed for failure "either as a result of laziness or lack of innate ability" (Dumas, 2013, p. 8). This principal belief perpetuates systemic White supremacist ideology in education. Blaming the student leaves the system unaccountable. My future research goal is to focus the narrative on national systemic racism from White supremacist influences on the U.S. education system through politics, economics, and the judicial system, and to shift the blame away from the students. The research challenge will be disrupting the status quo, which white America either accepts, ignores, or promotes, and which perpetuates a dual education system.

Conclusions

The Color Line

Most whites in America … proceed from a premise that equality is a loose expression for improvement. White America is not even psychologically organized to close the gap—essentially it seeks only to make it less painful and less obvious but, in most respects to retain it. (King, 1967, p. 8)

The greatest myth in U.S. history is that the Founding Fathers truly desired one nation

251

with equal rights for all. The *New York Times Magazine*'s 1619 Project (Hannah-Jones, 2019) asserts that the United States is "founded on both an ideal and a lie." The 1776 U.S. Declaration of Independence proclaims that "all men are created equal…. endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," but this excluded the Black lives representing one fifth of the country at that time (para. 11). This group of oligarchs could only envision a world where the hegemony served as overseers of those of lesser means or viewed as less than human. American history, built by White supremacist leaders, would suppress Black political power through economic and judicial suppression for generations into the future. As long as there was a caste system that accepted these terms on a societal level, America would present the outward illusion of equality (which is very different than equity). The paradox, as Richardson (2020) stated, was that "that freedom depended on racial, gender, and class inequality" (pp. xv–xvi) which shaped U.S. history and its cultural, religious, and social patterns.

Wallace (2015) held that no individual or group can possess the power of influence without economic power. Those with financial means buy and influence political candidates and maintain power by dividing segments of the remainder of the public against each other to maintain the White supremacist status quo. White supremacists, adhered to by a privileged class, pull the strings that encourage people to point fingers and blame each other for their problems. Education inequity is a White supremacist tool utilized to weaken the Black community and to maintain its power structure and class segmentation (Wallace, 2015). As Bock (1994) explained, people accept the status quo without question, believing that their situation evolves naturally:

We have been quick to seek explanation of our problems and failures in what we *are* instead of what we *do*.… There is a cowardice in this inclination to shirk responsibility for our conduct and to blame it on our natural dispositions or circumstances beyond our control. (p. 9)

Bock (1994) posited that people generally believe their situation evolves out of nature and happenstance, rather than as a result of people who have manipulated the state of affairs to achieve certain self-serving outcomes through well-calculated strategies and actions. They accept the status quo by ignoring the actual history and events leading to their present way of life, relieving them of personal responsibility while blaming others for their situation. Under the influence of White supremacy, people accept the belief that they are powerless or voiceless in their own world. This marginalizes a segment of society and strengthens the hold of the oppressor (Bock, 1994).

A widely accepted (convenient) myth is the idea that a person can control their own destiny and ignore societal obstacles. However, this myth overlooks the functioning of a caste and racial system that cements people into strata without questioning how and why they got there, and who benefits from such a stratified society. White oligarchs perpetuate an additional myth that only they have the knowledge, power, and influence to speak and decide for those not in a position to know better or be heard. However, knowing history can change this acceptance.

Orfield (1969) wrote that the American system of government provides broad opportunities for a minority of the elected to delay, derail, or veto government action. The South, for example, reframed the *Brown* decision to perpetuate White supremacy in the name of infringement on states' rights. The *Brown* decision became federal law after, but

253

enforcement would prove to be daunting and slow by design. U.S. politics reflects local preferences, with regionalism serving as a major obstacle in Congress for federal programs. Orfield added, "[In] no field of activity has this popularly supported tradition of localism been more highly valued than in public education" (p. 309). Orfield argued that this is because restricting federal education support limits "the ability of the nation to threaten the caste system by making economic, cultural, and political mobility possible for the Negro" (pp. 310–311). Opponents of segregation faced an unwieldly and slow process of court enforcement of integration for the remaining half of the 20th century—with incomplete results. Meanwhile, economic and political influences continued to suppress equivalent education for Black students (Orfield, 1969).

During the Reagan Administration, school segregation began to revert to the days before *Brown*, but there has been no significant political or legal action to address this trend in the 21st century (Orfield & Yun, 1999). Instead, there has been a greater move toward neoliberalism's push for charter schools, vouchers, and choice—all of which foster education segregation and the suppression of Black education (Ravitch, 2014).

Wise (1968) offered a perspective on white America, maintaining that there is no justification, "constitutional or otherwise," for allowing wealth and geography to dictate the quality of a public school. Wealthy parents, in their sequestered suburban public schools, argue they have the right to purchase the best education possible for their children. Wise responded that this is no different than the argument used by segregationists and those opposed to funding reapportionment. Other parents argue for the right to choose their children's classmates or against rural or suburban taxpayers subsidizing urban schools. Wise (1968) said that the necessary disruption of an inherently toxic "status quo" requires some to

experience loss so others will experience gain. The difficulty with this principle, however, is that those who would suffer the "loss" are the ones whose political and economic power and self-interest benefit from the toxic system (Wise, 1968). In other words, White supremacy would have to willingly surrender its chokehold on education. Yet, little has changed since my father presented his list of stated oppositions from the white community to the Duval County Taxpayers Association in 1964.

EdBuild (2019) documented that 35 states are racially diversified enough to propose and institute more equitable education; yet, over half of these states still favor white school districts. Figure 17 illustrates this the national level of inequity.

Figure 17

Funding Differences Between Black and White Districts

Appendix A: Difference in Funding Between White and Nonwhite Districts		
Nonwhite districts receive less than white districts in 21 states		
State	**Difference in funding**	**Students in poor nonwhite districts**
Arizona	-$7,613	291,158
Nebraska	-$3,961	9,116
Oklahoma	-$3,618	57,863
New Jersey	-$3,446	432,377
Connecticut	-$2,931	107,790
Montana	-$2,711	6,273
Washington	-$2,590	93,872
Rhode Island	-$2,450	26,524
California	-$2,390	3,860,192
National	**-$2,226**	–
New York	-$2,222	1,249,988
Colorado	-$2,218	154,058
Massachusetts	-$1,644	140,698
South Dakota	-$1,580	2,950
Wisconsin	-$1,473	75,749
Kansas	-$1,462	42,140
Texas	-$830	2,441,928
Florida	-$423	702,388
Missouri	-$238	103,411
Michigan	-$181	126,309
Indiana	-$43	75,432
Tennessee	-$39	125,934
Total		**10,126,150**
Nonwhite districts receive more than white districts in 14 states		
Alabama	$146	97,853
Virginia	$255	119,782
Ohio	$394	179,101
Illinois	$490	612,436
Maryland	$501	212,602
North Carolina	$634	82,393
Georgia	$695	360,605
Mississippi	$1,074	127,119
Minnesota	$1,077	45,837
Arkansas	$1,498	54,550
Louisiana	$1,774	78,043
Pennsylvania	$1,923	215,251
South Carolina	$2,128	56,868
Alaska	$3,077	17,929
Total		**2,260,369**

*Nonwhite districts are those that educate more than 75% nonwhite students. White districts are those that educate more than 75% white students.

Note. Source: EdBuild, 2019.

As EdBuild (2019) showed, 83% of the 12 million students in non-white U.S. school districts live in states with an equity funding gap. Few states have pursued education funding options beyond local property taxes. More creative funding mechanisms that could be considered for closing the gap include raising local sales taxes, using funds from state lotteries, or funding on a student-based formula. State government, however, has been

unresponsive to addressing the equity gap because the communities most in need are politically underrepresented (EdBuild, 2019).

Courts cannot legislate and have no ability to impact school tax revenue sourcing. This leaves 7 million students enrolled nationally in lower funded, high-poverty, non-white school districts, or 78% of all students (EdBuild, 2019). Because non-white schools have little ability to be heard or listened to in their call for equity within an inequitable economic and power base, local control of education funding must be diluted or ended.

Final Thoughts

> *The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile depresses, and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples.* (Woodson, 1933/2015)

Anyon (1995) posited that school failure is due to a systemic failure that "is political, economic and cultural" (p. 88) and must be addressed before schools can improve. Black education and outcomes will not improve significantly until there is an acknowledgement of the systemic racism and color line across government and societal institutions. White supremacy infiltrates U.S. legal, justice, economic, health, and education institutions, creating a self-sustaining world where Blacks are second to whites. A dual school system perpetuates the color line because White supremacy thrives on lower Black educational outcomes. Public education does not guarantee equalization between Black and whites schools. Studies have shown that even with an "equalization" of education for Black students (based only on average years of schooling, not equity of education), Black workers are paid

less in the workforce, perpetuating the cycle of race and poverty and supporting White supremacy.

The United States finally awoke to systemic racism in its policing system in 2020, but this is only one component of a complex system suppressing Black advancement and protecting White supremacy. In response to recent police and social injustices, whites marched, took to social media, and posted support for Black Lives Matter. Yet, none of these white acts has materially changed the system; they have only provided comfort to whites who wish to believe they care and are not part of the status quo perpetuating systemic White supremacy. Protesting and marching without a further commitment is the equivalent of believing one is not racist because they have Black friends or that they are not individually responsible for the history of slavery. Protest alone has little meaning and preserves an unjust society, without a recognition that allied whites are still beneficiaries of a racist status quo and are complicit in a stratified society. There must be a dedicated willingness to give up one's advantage in order to create a more equitable system.

Awareness is not enough. There must be action to address educational inequity. If whites truly believe the color line is based on social myths and perceptions, they must confront systemic racism directly in their interactions and demand real change from their elected officials and institutions. Black voices must be elevated to be heard and to help lead change across the spectrum. This includes taking a hard look at the system of education funding driven primarily by property taxes, which ensures that inequity will continue unabated while the financial system continues to suppress Black homeownership and the development of family wealth. This in itself is the color line's principal weapon. The U.S. economic system suppresses Black lives by limiting and condensing their residential areas,

258

refusing to provide mortgages, providing inequitable education, and offering limited economic advancement opportunities. Systemic racism is like a COVID virus, invisible but highly contagious, spreading through a community, and it can only be stopped through prevention and herd immunity. Society must recognize the virus of systemic racism and how it spreads through institutions so that it can prevent the spread of oppression by working together.

What are the solutions at the school level? I cannot answer this question because it requires looking at the education system within a silo. As this dissertation has shown, public education is controlled through the intersectionality of economic, political, judicial decisions, and racism. Making a single recommendation is not a viable option. Do schools need more money? Does there need to be further integration? Do students need choice, vouchers, or charters? Should schools be fully provided with mental, physical, and social support systems? Should schools have more autonomy or be more conforming to regional or national norms? Plenty of research has advocated or refuted each of these options.

Ginsburg (as cited in Torres, 1998) stated that "politics is concerned with the means of producing, reproducing, consuming, and accumulating material and symbolic resources" (p. 6). Politics and the political extend beyond government into institutions and daily lives. Political and economic power is difficult to harness, much less redirect. Wartenberg (as cited in Torres, 1998) posited, "Power manifests itself as a complex social presence that exists in an intricate network of overlapping and contradictory relations" (p. 6). Torres (1998) argued that educational institutions are part of this political and economic power.

As Apple and Weiss (1986) described, educational institutions represent the nexus of economic, political, and cultural power. The roles of school and power structures must be

259

unpacked, and contradictory functions must be resolved, or the education system fails. The daily interactions within schools are impacted by "political and ideological pressures and tensions" as "complex bureaucratic institutions" (p. 7). Research focusing on the psychological aspects of learning has neglected the larger political context of the school environment that impacts success or failure. Apple and Weiss argued that this dominant research model on achievement does not address the complex political, economic, and ideological influences on education. They called instead for researchers to connect "'interpretive studies' of schools with 'structural analysis'" (p. 8) examining the role of schools in society and how these external influences impact the psychological. Apple and Weiss argued that these external influences are based on the functions of: accumulation (instituting a hierarchical structure that stratifies students for labor force reproduction); legitimation (propagating myths that capitalism, equality, and social norms are actively advancing the common good); and production (creation and stimulation of consumer needs while under the influence of technocrats trying to automate the process of education). However, these functions should not be viewed as exclusive or inclusive of the roles of education, though they do reflect the complexity of external power influences and contradictions.

Further, Anyon (1997) asserted that structural reform, referred to as "systemic change," is really a rehashing of past initiatives under the guise of education reform. This represents decades worth of education initiatives that at times have been contradictory and applied at different levels of the education system. Because schools have not improved or have fared worse, she concluded that these methods are ineffective. She urged education

reformers to take a step back and question assumptions that underlie reform recommendations and ask how are schools being defined, and what the vision for change is.

The current system burdens schools with its unilateral control of funding, regulations, bureaucracy, competing options, and threats (through systemic racism) to the system and ultimately the students. Education system "suppliers" include elected and appointed officials at the district, state, and federal levels, as well as business and philanthropy investors. Why not consider an education-collaborative effort through a well-organized backwards integration? Instead of having several separate controlling entities, including federal regulators, state government, local government, local tax collection, and public or private administrators—all of whom could disrupt the supply of quality education—why not consider integrating it? A unified public education system that guarantees quality education, regardless of local wealth or interests, which is not simply "top down" but involves buy-in from all levels of the system would serve all equally. This system would likely be far more efficient and cost effective, and would possibly minimize local biases and prejudices.

Only a few years ago, many in this country did not envision affordable health care or a system that regulated the options and costs of healthcare. Healthcare is viewed by some (not the hegemony) as a universal right that should not only be available to everyone, but also offer local, quality, and equitable care that individuals can choose based upon their specific needs and local accessibility. If the United States can view quality, equitable healthcare as a universal right, should quality education for all students also be considered a universal right? As this case study suggests, left up to the states and local school districts, this most likely will not happen. Maybe, then, it is time to dismantle the current system and replace it with one that provides quality and equity for all.

Anyon (1997) stated that school systems are complex and composed of "loosely coupled" organizations that impact each other in some way. Control is maintained at the top but cannot be effectively dictated from the top. Education's oxygen comes from the political and economic worlds orbiting above the schools. This supply source is outside and detached –unless looking to exploit the system to serve its own agendas (i.e., schooling for industry or neoliberal platforms). In order for school reform to work, it must come from within the education system in a bottom-up scenario, working with politicians, regulators, and the community. Schools must be viewed as the heart of the system, not the lungs, so that real and appropriate reform can take place. This system of inequity cannot be sustained, and the solution should not be based on neoliberal concepts of privatization. Like clean air and water, education is a public good, and a functioning economy and political system depends upon an informed public. Public schools have a crucial purpose in society, including civic engagement, education preparedness, and economic advancement.

Everyone should be invested in those who are the future of this country. This is where the reckoning comes and where the true role of education in public life becomes clear. If White supremacy is not what controls the country, then every individual should want all students to succeed educationally, personally, and professionally. However, if White supremacy controls the education supply chain in order to maintain the status quo and is not disrupted, there is little the public school system can do to improve outcomes, much less survive.

As Anyon (1997) wrote, it is imperative to look at and reform the political influences in education that fail the schools and the students as opposed to the reverse. She stipulated,

Until the economic and political systems in which the cities are enmeshed are themselves transformed so they can be more democratic and productive for urban residents, educational reformers have little chance of effecting long lasting educational changes in city schools. (p. 13)

The time has come to remind public officials that they work for the public good, not for wealthy individuals interested in preventing social growth and change. It is time to remind businesses overly focused on the bottom line that a well-educated workforce will benefit them and the society they serve more than a policy to maintain low wages. The time has come for all of us to recognize that democracy cannot survive without civic engagement, and that engagement will not occur without education. The topic of White supremacy in education has to be pushed out of the dark into the light, confronted as a poison that has perpetuated education inequity, and finally be dismantled for the good of all. The Trump presidency and the 2020 election reflect that this country is literally divided in half. However, the United State is rapidly becoming a "minority majority" country—which all of the political obstacles combined cannot prevent. The power is with the people, and it must be harnessed.

Education should not be a top-down manufacturing system. It must be a collaborative effort that assures quality and equity for all students, and input must come from and be considered at all levels. In over 200 years of history, the nation has not yet found the answers to providing public education. However, as this study indicates, we have found one of the major problems: a public system that is inequitable by its very design. There are solutions; they are not a panacea, but they at least begin equalizing the playing field. Inequity by design

is not an isolated issue but a national phenomenon representative of the country's complicit and complaisant attitude toward White supremacy:

> If Americans do not recognize that students experience very different educational realities, policies will continue to be based on the presumption that it is the students, not their schools or classroom circumstances, that are the source of unequal educational attainment. (Darling-Hammond, 2004, p. 217).

Change will not happen until the people demand it through their actions as well as their words. In closing, I offer the wise words of my father, Marvin R. Edwards, delivered in a speech to the Duval County Taxpayers Association on January 21, 1965: "Only when we recognize the causes of past failures will we have taken a first step to see that they are not repeated again."

REVISED INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

University of Massachusetts Boston
Department of Urban Education
100 Morrissey Boulevard
Boston, MA 02125-3393

Consent Form for "Inequity by design: capitalism & white supremacy in public education"

Introduction and Contact Information
You are asked to take part in a research study on the impact of racism on public education. The researcher is Carolyn Edwards, a PhD student in the Urban Education Doctoral program. Please read this form and feel free to ask questions. If you have further questions later, Carolyn Edwards will discuss them with you. Her telephone number is 781-789-7380 and her email is Carolyn.Edwards002@umb.edu. This study will help inform the analysis of her dissertation research. If you have any concerns about the study, her academic advisor for this project is Dr. Patricia Krueger-Henney at Patricia.Krueger@umb.edu.

Description of the Project:
The purpose of this research is to understand the intersectionality of racism with politics and economics in public school inequity by looking at Jacksonville, Florida's schools between 1954 - 1964. Any Jacksonville native or field expert is invited to participate in this research. Your participation in this study will take approximately 60-90 minutes based on your level of participation interest. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to discuss how your life was impacted by Jim Crow between 1954 and 1964 in Jacksonville and your experience with school desegregation.

All interview information used will be non-identifying in the research by masking the identification through a pseudonym or a generalized observation. Participation is voluntary and the participant's written consent can be withdrawn at any time prior, during, or after the interview. Participants are provided an opportunity to participate in a video or an audio only research interview and no recordings or identifiable information will be shared.

The following questions will guide all interview conversations: How has growing up in the segregated South impacted your life and education? Based on your experiences, what recommendations do you have for researchers whose inquiries focus on this specific time-space related to: school inequity, segregation, and White supremacy? This research will be used to help formulate focus areas and provide personal perspectives of life under Jim Crow and Duval County Public Schools following *Brown vs. Board of Education* for my dissertation.

Risks or Discomforts:

The risks to participants in this study are minimal. Participants may experience some discomfort when reflecting on their life experiences or thinking about controversial cultural, social or political issues, but this would be no more than what would be experienced in everyday life. The greatest risk to participants would be breach of confidentiality. Because the research will be conducted in a private setting but other participants may be
Page **1** of 4

included, there is no guarantee that what participants say or do will not be shared by other participants in settings outside the location. In addition to your signed research consent form, you have a separate option to agree that the video recording can be shared with the Jacksonville Black History Museum at the Ritz and may be made publicly available onsite or through electronic means. Whether you choose this option for a historical video recording or not, it will have no impact on your ability to participate in a confidential research interview.

Electronic data for research, including video and audio recordings, will be stored on an encrypted external hard drive kept in a locked cabinet in Carolyn Edward's office. Participants will not be identified by name and their images will not be shared in presentations or publications. You may speak with Carolyn Edwards to discuss any concerns related to study participation. If you wish to discuss concerns with anyone else, you are encouraged to do so and advise Carolyn Edwards if you need any assistance for this contact.

Benefits:

There are no direct benefits from participating in this research outside of providing insight into an historical systemic problem. As a result of your participation for the research, you may experience greater awareness of yourself and others, develop greater understanding of White supremacy and its application to education inequity, and enhance your national and intercultural awareness.

Confidentiality:
Your part in this research is **confidential**. That is, the information gathered for this project will not be published or presented in a way that would allow anyone to identify you. Information gathered for this project will be password protected or stored in a locked file cabinet and only the research team will have access to the data.

The procedures used for confidentiality in the dissertation research portion of this project includes not disclosing identifying information and protecting the identity of participants by assigning a pseudonym or ID number such that the participant's specific identity (e.g., name) can only be linked to their data via a coding system known to only the researcher. If identifiers are removed from your identifiable private information that are collected during this research, that information could be stored indefinitely and used for future research studies without your additional informed consent.

Voluntary Participation:
The decision whether or not to take part in this research study recording is voluntary. If you do decide to take part in this research study, you may end your participation at any time without consequence. If you wish to end your participation, you should tell, phone, or email Carolyn Edwards at Carolyn.Edwards002@umb.edu or 781-789-7380. Whatever you decide will in no way penalize you for your decision to withdraw.

Questions:
You have the right to ask questions about this research before you agree to be in this study and at any time during the study. If you have further questions about this research or if you have research-related problem, you can reach Carolyn Edwards by email at Carolyn.Edwards002@umb.edu or by phone at 781-789-7380 or Dr. Patricia Krueger-Henney at by email at Patricia.Krueger@umb.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact a representative of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, which oversees research involving human participants. The Institutional Review Board may be reached by telephone or e-mail at (617) 287-5374 or at human.subjects@umb.edu.

Page **2** of **4**

Options:
- ☐ **Permission for audio recording for research study**
- ☐ **Permission for video recording for research study**
- ☐ **I do not want to participate in the research study**

Signatures:

I HAVE READ THE CONSENT FORM. MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. MY SIGNATURE ON THIS FORM MEANS THAT I CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

_____   _____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date   Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

                                                                              Carolyn Edwards
_____   _____
Printed Name of Participant   Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent

Please keep a copy of this form for your records or if you need to contact me.

\

Ritz Museum Historical Interview Consent Form

In addition to the research for Carolyn Edward's dissertation, you have the voluntary option to also provide copies of the interviews (audio or video) to the Jacksonville Black History Museum at the Ritz for their historical records. The Ritz Museum connects and celebrates Jacksonville's rich African American heritage through the stories of some of the greatest Floridians including the recordings of Jacksonville's native sons, James Weldon and John Rosamond Johnson explaining how their song Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing became the African American National Anthem. Photographs by Ellie L. Weems of local citizens are also available for viewing or visitors can experience a sit in at the Woolworth's counter as the Civil Rights Protestors did in the 1960's. The museum reflects on the triumphs and tribulations of African Americans from the past through personal stories and provides a road map for the future.

Your participation in the historical audio or video-taped recording is **not confidential**. With your optional written consent, it may be shared with the general public through electronic means or with visitors to the Black History Museum located at the Ritz at:

Ritz Theatre and Museum
829 North Davis Street
Jacksonville, FL 32202

Voluntary Participation:
The decision whether or not to take part in this historical recording is totally voluntary. If you decide not to take part in this historical recording, you can still participate in the research interview. You may end your participation at any time without consequence for either or both options. If you wish to end your participation, you should tell, phone, or email Carolyn Edwards at Carolyn.Edwards002@umb.edu or 781-789-7380. Whatever you decide in terms of participation will in no way penalize you for your decision to withdraw.

Options:
☐ **Audio recording that can be publicly shared at the Ritz Museum location or electronically**
☐ **Video recording that can be publicly shared at the Ritz Museum location or electronically**
☐ **I only want to participate in the research project and not publicly share my interview with the Ritz Museum location or electronically**

Signatures:

I HAVE READ THE CONSENT FORM. MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. MY SIGNATURE ON THIS FORM MEANS THAT I CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

_____   _____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date   Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

                                                                                 Carolyn Edwards
_____   _____
Printed Name of Participant   Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent

Please keep a copy of this form for your records or if you need to contact me.
Page **4** of **4**

APPENDIX B

IRB REVISED APPROVAL

UMASS BOSTON

November 26, 2019

Carolyn Edwards
Leadership in Education

RE: Your application dated 11/22/2019 regarding study number **2019189**: Inequity by design: capitalism & white supremacy in public education

Dear Carolyn Edwards:

The **modification request** to the above protocol (including audio and video recording; participants in study will also be asked if their individual video interview from the study can be used by Jacksonville Black History Museum for public non-research use) was reviewed and accepted by the IRB on 11/26/2019. The modification does not impact the exempt status of this study. The study remains human research that is **exempt** under the following guideline(s): 45 CFR 46.104(d)(2) Educational tests/survey/interview procedures, or observation of public behavior. Ongoing IRB review and approval by this organization is not required. In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission. If you decide to modify the project in such a way that it may no longer qualify for exemption, submit a modification request to the IRB for review prior to implementation of the modified research project.

Thank you for keeping the IRB informed of your activities.

Sincerely,

Sharon Wang, CIP, CIM
Senior IRB Administrator

APPENDIX C

INITIAL IRB APPROVAL

October 9, 2019

Carolyn Edwards
Leadership in Education

RE: Your application dated 9/27/2019 regarding study number **2019189**: Inequity by design: capitalism & white supremacy in public education

Dear Carolyn Edwards:

I have reviewed your request for exempt status for your study listed above. I agree that this study qualifies as **exempt** from review under the following guideline: 45 CFR 46.104(d)(2) Educational tests/survey/interview procedures, or observation of public behavior. You are free to conduct your study without further reporting to University of Massachusetts Boston IRB. In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If you decide to modify the project in such a way that it may no longer qualify for exemption, submit a modification request to the IRB for review prior to implementation of the modified research project.

Thank you for keeping the IRB informed of your activities.

Sincerely,

Sharon Wang, CIP, CIM
Senior IRB Administrator

APPENDIX D

IRB APPLICATION

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

UMASS BOSTON

**Use for new proposals and if modifying basic study information.
Submit via e-mail to the UMass Boston IRB (irb@umb.edu).
Do not drop off hard copies.**

IRB Number (IRB assigned):	
Study Title:	Inequity by design: capitalism & white supremacy in public education
Short Title (if any):	
Principal Investigator (PI): Name and degree(s)	Carolyn Edwards
PI Contact Information:	Department: Leadership in Education Email: Carolyn.Edwards002@umb.edu
PI Affiliation:	☐ Faculty ☒ Graduate Student ☐ Professional Staff Note: Undergraduate students should not be listed as PI. A faculty member should serve as PI and the undergraduate listed as co-investigator.
PI CITI training date:	9/11/19
Faculty Research Advisor: (Required for student PIs)	Patricia Kruger-Henney
Primary Contact:	Carolyn Edwards
Is this a request for exemption? Leave blank if not sure	☒ Yes: Check category ☐ 1; ☐ 2; ☒ 3; ☐ 4; ☐ 5; ☐ 6 See "Exemption WORKSHEET (HRP-312)" for categories

Financial Interest Declaration

- See "SOP: Definitions (HRP-001)" for definitions of Immediate Family and a financial interest Related to the Research.

Does the PI (or an immediate family member of the PI) involved in the design, conduct, or reporting of the research have a financial interest Related to the Research? **If yes, attach the institution's evaluation of the financial interest.**	☐ Yes ☒ No

Funding Sources

☒ Unfunded

Name of Funding Source	Grant ID Number / Grant Title	External/Internal
		☐ External ☐ Internal

Brief Protocol Summary (Describe the purpose in 3-4 succinct sentence or less)

The purpose of this request is to begin pre-dissertation interviewing of experts in the topic area and people who live in the case study area during the time period being studied. The human subjects are mostly between 75 – 95 years of age and are being asked to share memories of growing up in a Southern city, school experiences (as a student, teacher, parent), and segregation observations. Due to their age and logistics, interviewing is scheduled to begin on 9/19/19. The end-product will be a paper and a presentation at the University of Massachusetts Boston campus through the GSA (Graduate Student Alliance).

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

Protocol Documentation (Provide the following documents):

- Provide an investigator Protocol (See TEMPLATE PROTOCOL (HRP-503) for instructions). The protocol should be attached as a separate document -- do NOT embed within this application form.
- Provide the following documents when they exist or are applicable:
- Appendix A: Personnel (see next section of this form)
- Appendix B: External Sites (see last section of this form)
- Written materials to be provided to or meant to be seen or heard by subjects
  - Consent, assent, and parental permission documents
  - Evaluation instruments and surveys
  - Recruitment advertisements *(printed, audio, and video)*
  - Other recruitment/subject materials and screening scripts
  - Foreign language versions of the above
- Sponsor protocol (if applicable)
- DHHS protocol and DHHS-approved sample consent document (if applicable)
- Attach CITI training certificate(s) if training not completed under a UMass Boston CITI affiliation
- Evaluation of any Related Financial Interest.

Investigator Acknowledgement
(Electronic, scanned, or written signature will be accepted.)

- I have reviewed the UMass Boston Investigator Manual (HRP-103).
- I will conduct this protocol in accordance with requirements of the UMass Boston IRB.

Investigator signature	Date
Carolyn Edwards	**9/11/19**

Faculty Advisor Acknowledgement (if the PI is a student)
(Electronic, scanned, or written signature will be accepted.)

- I have reviewed the UMass Boston Investigator Manual (HRP-103).
- I have reviewed this application and made any necessary comments and revisions.
- I will train and oversee the student investigator in matters of appropriate research compliance, protection of human subjects and proper conduct of research.
- I will provide adequate supervision and support to the student in conducting the protocol so that the student has sufficient knowledge and skills so that the protocol is conducted in accordance with requirements of the UMass Boston IRB.

Faculty advisor signature	Date
Patricia Krueger-Henney	9/18/19

Department Chair/Head Approval
(Electronic, scanned, or written signature will be accepted. Signee may not be the PI. Submissions will not be reviewed by the IRB without the department chair/head approval.)

I have reviewed this application and made any necessary comments and revisions. It is compatible with the objectives of the Department/Center or Institute and with regulations regarding IRB review.

Department chair/head signature	Date
	9-26-2019

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

SECTION 2: RESEARCH STUDY/PROJECT

Study/Project Title:	Inequity by design: capitalism & white supremacy in public education

Purpose of Study (in 3-4 succinct sentences or less):

The purpose of this IRB application is to begin pre-dissertation interviewing of experts in the topic area and people who live in the case study area during the time period being studied. The human subjects are mostly between 75 – 95 years of age and are being asked to share memories of growing up in a Southern city, school experiences (as a student, teacher, parent), and segregation observations. Due to their age and logistics, interviewing is scheduled to begin on 9/19/19. The end-product will be a paper and a presentation at the University of Massachusetts Boston campus through the GSA (Graduate Student Alliance).

Human Participants Interactions Start Date: September 19, 2019

Project End Date: December, 31st 2020

Intended Sample Size: 15-25

Is this a request for an exemption? (See the application instructions on the UMB IRB web site for exempt category descriptions):

X Yes: Exempt category # ____3_____

Check below if the proposed project includes:

☐ Data that will be gathered from a hospital, medical facility, or health care provider(s). Section 5 HIPAA below may apply.

☐ Prisoners

☐ Data collected from Children

☐ Pregnant Women (as the primary participant population)

☐ UMB Students

☐ UMB Faculty/Staff

☐ Mentally/Psychological Impaired

☐ Disability

SECTION 3: FUNDING

Source of Funding:
☐ External   Agency: University of Massachusetts Boston
☐ Internal   Source:

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

X Unfunded

Grant (proposal) ID Number (if applicable):

Grant Title:

For Human Subjects Research, the Guidelines for the Oversight of Individual and Institutional Financial Interests in Human Subjects Research also applies.

All financial interests must be reported to the campus Institutional Review Board (IRB). Transparency of reporting of real or perceived financial conflicts of interest, whether they are individual or institutional shall be disclosed (a) within the written informed consent documents, (b) within all publications (print or electronic), and (c) within all presentations of the Clinical Research outside the University.

SECTION 4: DISCLOSURES AND CERTIFICATIONS

Does any member of the research personnel or his/her immediate family have any Financial Interest related to the research?

☒ No
☐ Yes: Submit a Financial Conflict of Interest Disclosure Form (may submit in a closed envelope)

- "Immediate Family" means spouse, domestic partner, children, and dependents.
- "Financial Interest Related to the Research" means any of the following interests in the sponsor, product or service being tested, or competitor of the sponsor held by the individual or the individual's immediate family:
  o Ownership interest of any value including, but not limited to stocks and options, exclusive of interests in publicly-traded, diversified mutual funds.
  o Compensation of any amount including, but not limited to honoraria, consultant fees, royalties, or other income.
  o Proprietary interest of any value including, but not limited to patents, trademarks, copyrights, and licensing agreements.
  o Board or executive relationship, regardless of compensation.

Do you certify that the human subject research as described in the protocol listed above is consistent with the aims of the research grant?

☐ No
Yes
☒ Not applicable (there is no research grant)

SECTION 5: HIPAA (The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act) and PHI (Protected Health Information)

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

UMASS BOSTON

HIPAA Regulations: Use of Protected Health Information (PHI):

(PHI is defined under HIPAA as health information transmitted or maintained in any form or medium that:
- *Identifies or could be used to identify an individual;*
- *Is created or received by a healthcare provider, health plan, employer or healthcare clearinghouse; and*
- *Relates to the past, present or future physical or mental health or condition of an individual; the provision of health care to an individual; or the past, present or future payment for the provision of healthcare to an individual.*

Health-related information is considered PHI if any of the following are true:
- *The researcher obtains it directly from a provider, health plan, health clearinghouse or employer (other than records relating solely to employment status);*
- *The records were created by any of the entities listed above and the researcher obtains the records from an intermediate source which is NOT a school record or an employer record related solely to employment status; OR*
- *The researcher obtains it directly from the study subject in the course of providing treatment to the subject.*

Health-related information is not considered PHI if the researcher obtains it from:
- *Student records maintained by a school;*
- *Employee records maintained by an employer related to employment status; OR*
- *The research subject directly, if the research does NOT involve treatment.}*

As part of this study, do you:
Collect PHI from subjects in the course of providing treatment/experimental care?
_x_ No __ Yes

Have access to PHI in the subjects' medical records?
_x_ No __ Yes

If yes to either above, complete and attach the HIPAA FORM.

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

UMASS BOSTON

SECTION 6: SIGNATURES

A rubber stamp will not be accepted. An email, scan or fax of the signature will be accepted.

Principal Investigator Certification:

I certify that this form provides (1) a complete disclosure of all Investigators responsible for the design, conduct, or reporting of activities associated with this project, and (2) an accurate report of whether or not there are any financial interests related to the research. Principal Investigator agrees to update this form periodically as needed during the project award period.

I acknowledge and accept my responsibility for protecting the rights and welfare of human research participants as discussed in the Belmont Report, the DHHS regulations (45 CFR 46), and the University of Massachusetts Boston Multiple Project Assurance. I certify that I will comply with all applicable regulations and the directives of the Institutional Review Board. (Only the PI may sign.)

Carolyn Edwards   9/18/19

Signature of Principal Investigator   Date

Co-Investigator Certification:

I acknowledge and accept my responsibility for protecting the rights and welfare of human research participants as discussed in the Belmont Report, the DHHS regulations (45 CFR 46), and the University of Massachusetts Boston Multiple Project Assurance. I certify that I will comply with all applicable regulations and the directives of the Institutional Review Board. (Only the co-investigator may sign. Insert signature lines for additional co-investigators.)

Signature of Co-Investigator   Date

Student Advisor Certification (If PI is a student):

I have reviewed this protocol with the student and it meets the standards for human research participants protections as stipulated in the Belmont Report, the DHHS regulations (45 CFR 46), and the University of Massachusetts Boston Multiple Project Assurance. This protocol also meets relevant ethical standards within the student's discipline. The student has sufficient knowledge and skills to carry out the project proposed in this application. I will provide adequate supervision and support to the student in conducting the proposed project.

Signature of Faculty Advisor   September 18, 2019
                                                        Date

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

Department Head/Director Certification:

I certify that I have reviewed this application and made any necessary comments and revisions. It is compatible with the objectives of the Department/Center or Institute and with regulations regarding IRB review. (**Signee may _not_ be the PI.**)

_____   9-26-2019
Signature Department Head or Center/Institute Director   Date

Tara L. Parker, PhD.
_____
Printed Name of Dept. Head or Center/Institute Director

SECTION 7: DOCUMENTATION
Provide the following documents:

1. Signed IRB Application Form
2. IRB Protocol (see UMB Protocol Guidelines to ensure completeness)
3. Consent, assent, parental permission documents.
   a. If consent will not be documented in writing, provide the script or form to be read to or provided to subjects. (See UMB consent, assent, and waiver of written consent formats to ensure completeness)
4. Evaluation instruments and surveys
5. Recruitment advertisements - printed, audio, and video
6. Other recruitment/subject materials and screening scripts
7. Foreign language versions of consent and other subject materials (English versions can be finalized with IRB prior to submitting translations)
8. External site approvals, if applicable
9. Grant application, if applicable

CHECK OFF LIST

✓ Before submitting to the IRB, please ensure that the following are included.

✓	**One copy** of the entire submission is included. The IRB will request additional copies if needed.
✓	CITI Training has been completed by the entire staff involved in this study
✓	Individual documents are paginated (if possible)
✓	Necessary signatures have been obtained
✓	Type of consent has been clearly stated in protocol
✓	Attachments have been included (recruitment materials, consent forms, surveys and measures)
n/a	One copy of the grant application is included for federally funded projects (and UMB is primary award recipient or other institutions will rely on UMB IRB review)

Submit via e-mail or hard copy:
E-mail to the UMass Boston IRB (irb@umb.edu)
OR
Drop off one hard copy in the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP), Quinn Administration Building, level 2, room 80 (front desk "IRB Submissions" bin).

If submitting via e-mail, the signed IRB application form may be scanned. When possible, attach each individual document (e.g., application form, protocol, consent, advertisement) in its original file type format (e.g., Word).

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

UMASS BOSTON

Appendix A: Personnel

- Name all personnel involved in this protocol's design, conduct, or reporting. Add rows as needed.
- Include the Principal Investigator named on the application in the list. **However, this section does not need to be completed if the PI on page 1 is the only research personnel.**
- To update the list of personnel, submit a Modification form (HRP-213) and this updated **Appendix A: Personnel** with the new personnel highlighted. All active personnel need to remain listed.

Financial Interest Declaration

- See "SOP: Definitions (HRP-001)" for definitions of Immediate Family and a financial interest Related to the Research.

Do any personnel (or an immediate family member of personnel) involved in the design, conduct, or reporting of the research have a financial interest Related to the Research? **If yes, attach the institution's evaluation of the financial interest.**	☐ Yes: List names: ☐ No

Name and Degree(s)	Role (e.g., PI, co-investigator, study coordinator, research assistant, etc.)	Department and Email	CITI Training Date (Required for personnel engaged in human research activities)
			To add row, place cursor to the right (outside) of this cell and hit ENTER. To "delete entire row," place cursor in cell and right-click. Select "delete cells."

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

Appendix B: External Sites

- If this is a <u>Collaborative Study</u> or <u>Multi-Site Study</u> (i.e., with external investigators at other institutions), and the UMass Boston PI is the lead investigator, complete this section for each external (non-UMass Boston) site engaged in the human research.

Site name	Contact person's name at site	Contact person's email (or phone)	Will site's IRB review the protocol? (Leave blank if not sure)		Will site rely on this institution's IRB[1]? (Leave blank if not sure)	
			Yes	No	Yes	No
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐
			☐	☐	☐	☐

---

[1] Not allowed for Veterans Administration (VA) research

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

IRB Protocol

TITLE: Inequity by design: capitalism & White supremacy in public education

DATE SUBMITTED: September 18th, 2019

PI Information:
Carolyn Edwards
PhD 3rd year student, Urban Education, Leadership, and Policy Studies Doctoral Program
University of Massachusetts Boston
College of Education and Human Development
Leadership in Education Department
100 Morrissey Boulevard
Boston, MA 02125
Cell: (781) 789-7380

Research Site: Zoom or mutual locations in Jacksonville, FL

Background/Rationale/Literature Review
The history of American education inequity is well documented beginning with colonization through Reconstruction to our current state of affairs in the 21st century. It is often said that to understand how we got here, you must go back and look at history. Research over two decades "…has recognized slavery as the foundational institution, organizing the nation's politics, legal structures, and cultural practices with remarkable power to determine the life chances of those moving through society as Black or white" (Beckert, 2016, p.1). Education inequity in America has a clear history of white supremacy influence, assuring that Black education would never be equal to white education for fear of providing an economic and political base that could challenge the status quo. The hegemonic white power structure in America's capitalistic society was established with the commodification of Blacks through their enslavement. The inferior economic and political position of Blacks after Emancipation as a "free" people has been sustained and perpetuated over generations through the suppression of Black education, the cornerstone of political and economic power also known as "politinomics" (Bertke, 1977).
Research suggests politinomic influences impact education inequity (Anyon, 2011) but there is a research gap on politnomic's intersectionality with racism. For example, school inequity disproportionately blames poor outcomes on students and teachers with no accountability from the system. Jacksonville public schools' intersectional influences of politinomics and racism provide an opportunity to look at the system's effect on student failure through educational inequity by design. Educational research predominately blames students and teachers for poor outcomes resulting in starving the system where resources are needed most. Neoliberalism relies on standardized testing to evaluate student outcomes with a focus on the "Achievement Gap" highlighting that failing students are primarily students of color (Ravitch, 2014). After labeling these students, the expectation of failure is set, creating a racial bias for teachers and a lack of confidence by the students. Neoliberals use the created "achievement gap" as an opportunity to commodify public education as a replacement

alternative. Politinomics consisting of policy and profiting, infused with racism, are a setup to increase failing students and schools.

Although racism has been an integral part of education research, current work by researchers has primarily focused on outcomes, curriculum, racial bias, discipline, and other specific areas within the schools (Kohli, Marcos, & Nevárez, 2017) There has been extensive research on education inequity results that blames teachers and students but rarely puts the system itself under the microscope to see: what is driving these negative outcomes within the system, why these elements exist, and how do we remove the cancer that is consuming our public education system (Ravitch, 2014). It is well established that racism exists in the system but not from the macro-level and how it continues to infiltrate our schools at the micro-level. By removing the hood from the system and looking closely at the driving engine, we can provide significant value and interest to educational practitioners, researchers and/or policy makers to begin destroying the cancer of racism and White supremacy and work towards an equitable education for all.

This research provides a retrospective descriptive approach to analyze historical documents and research studies that have been conducted on politinomics and white supremacy to examine its impact on Jacksonville's public education system (a.k.a. Duval County Public Schools) for this case study from 1954 until 1964. The time period chosen is due to Jacksonville's well-documented history of political corruption, racism, and a failing school system from court ordered desegregation in 1954 through Jacksonville's total loss of school accreditation in 1964. The research establishes the intersectionality of politinomics and racism on education inequity in Jacksonville (FL) public schools and its suppression of Black education by intentional design.

Researching Jacksonville's established record of politinomic influences and racism may provide insight into other failing school districts where a hidden curriculum of racism is implied, but not systemically proven. Many urban schools share similar negative student outcomes (dropout rates, achievement gap, school to prison pipeline) with the prevailing blame placed on teachers and students, often resulting in the firing of staff or school closings. There is a literature gap on the responsibility of school systems systemically setting Black students up for failure through education inequity by intentional design.

In response to these limitations, this research project is designed to engage experts in the subject matter and elderly survivors of said time period within the research scope in reflecting on their life experiences of growing up in a segregated city and school system. The goals of this project are to:

a) facilitate a more nuanced understanding of life in a segregated time period and its impact on public education.
b) create space for participants to provide personal perspectives and identify other areas for additional research on public education inequity, segregation, white supremacy, and Jacksonville, FL.
c) expand my research capacity by capturing information and experiences not documented in print.

Research Questions and Purpose

This is a pilot study that will inform the design of my dissertation study. Here I seek to understand the intersectionality of racism with politics and economics in public school inequity by looking at Jacksonville, Florida's schools between 1954 - 1964. Using national, regional, and local historical events, data, and narratives, I seek to answer the question: In what ways did school inequity by systemic

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

design suppress Black education while supporting a capitalistic society and white supremacy in Jacksonville, FL, during the time period of 1954 and 1964?

Research Methods
This is an exploratory research study. Over the span of the next 18 months beginning on September 19th, 2019 in Jacksonville, FL, the PI will interview 15 – 25 participants in their various Jacksonville locations or via Zoom at times convenient for them.

In-Person Interviewing
Participants will be given a time and place for the interview to take place at a mutually agreed upon location. Before beginning the interview, consent forms for the study and the video recording will be provided and explained. No interviewing will begin until consent forms have been signed and collected. A verbal briefing of the subject matter will be provided at the start of the interview but no physical materials will be provided. A video camera with a built-in microphone on a tripod will be utilized to record the interview. The interviews will be scheduled for one hour but will end when the participant determines they want to conclude the study. Participants may withdraw participation at any time before or during the interviewing session. A link to the recording online will be emailed to the participants within 30 days of the interview for their review and approval and to download if they wish. Transcriptions will be provided on request within 90 days of the interview.

Online Interviewing
Videoconference recordings: The PI will use the videoconference service Zoom to conduct interviews in case an in-person interview is impossible. Participants will be connected through a Zoom link provided by the PI for a recorded video chat over the Internet using their own computer or cellphone cameras and microphones. Participants may withdraw participation at any time before or during the interviewing session.

The following questions will guide all interview conversations: How has growing up in the segregated South impacted your life and education? Based on your experiences, what recommendations do you have for researchers whose inquiries focus on this specific time-space related to: school inequity, segregation, and white supremacy?

The interviews will be held at private locations that are accessible and mutually agreed upon with both parties and will be expected to last one hour although the interviewee will have total control over the length of the interview.

See the complete interview protocol in the Appendix.

Artifacts (digital and tactile):
No artifacts will be needed to be provided for this study

Subject Selection
I will recruit 15-25 African American men and women who resided in Jacksonville between 1954 – 1964, as well as, white men and women who were involved in the school system, community, or were

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

political leaders during this time with expertise or lived experience with segregation and schools in Jacksonville at any time prior to 1965. There is no other eligibility criteria aside from being a person with this expertise or lived experience. These people may have experienced this phenomenon as teachers, students, parents, community members, school administrators, or political leaders. People who have volunteered or been recruited (by PI through personal contact via phone or email, or through other participants) will be invited to participate by phone or email that will identify the purpose of the research is to gain first-hand knowledge from lived experiences on segregation and Black education in Jacksonville, Florida to help identify patterns of experiences for further research, focus, and clarification. Interviewees' identifiable information will be removed by masking their identification through a pseudonym or a generalized observation. The participants will be chosen through a snowballing effect where current participants will be asked to identify other potential participants for the research. The participants will be informed that written consent is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any time prior, during, or after the interview. The total number of participants will be those who have consented to participating in the research (see consent forms in Appendix).

Participants will be recruited through the PI's personal contacts having grown up in Jacksonville, Florida and with friends and family still residing there or through historical research from publications (including books and newspapers) and confirmation that the person is still alive and capable of participation. The PI will explain the research project to them via telephone (see narrative in Appendix). The PI will inform interview participants that participation in the research is not required. In order to ensure that volunteers feel free to choose whether or not to participate, at the beginning of the interview, the PI will explain the research to them and provide them with consent forms (see Appendix). The PI will explain that all interviews/conversations will be audio or video recorded (see separate audio consent form in Appendix); however, if there are interviewees who have opted not to participate in their research, any of their feedback that may have been collected will be excluded and not analyzed. Throughout their interviews, participants will have opportunities to ask the PI any questions they may have about the research and what their participation would entail. After all initial questions have been answered, the PI will provide participants time to read the consent form on their own and decide if they wish to participate in an interview and a recorded session. The PI will collect all signed consent forms in an envelope and store them in a locked file cabinet in the PI's office.

Data Analysis

This is exploratory ethnographic research that uses only qualitative data. There will be no statistical analysis. Qualitative data will initially be organized by type, date, and participant. Data will be coded for overarching themes that connect to the research questions (e.g., segregation, white supremacy, Jacksonville, FL, education inequity). Data will be reorganized thematically and then re-coded for emergent subthemes. Insights gleaned from the coding will be compared with the original categories (type, data, participant) to see what can be learned about how the culture of white supremacy developed over time and how it impacted the lives across participants. Data will only be excluded when: a) participants have withdrawn from the study; b) the data is damaged, corrupt or otherwise not able to be analyzed (e.g., inaudible recording, illegible documents). If there are deviations from the original plan, the IRB will be notified. If necessary, the protocol will be modified and participants will be engaged in the consent process again.

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

Risks and Benefits

The risks to participants in this study are minimal. Participants may experience some discomfort when reflecting on their life experiences or thinking about controversial cultural, social or political issues relate to race and forms of racism, but this would be no more than what would be experienced in everyday life. The greatest risk to participants would be breach of confidentiality. The research will be conducted in a private setting but there may be multiple participants included in one setting where each participant will share their personal reflections in a focus group setting. Hence there is no guarantee that what participants say or do will not be shared by other participants in settings outside the location. However, the PI will store all data gathered during the research in secure locations. Electronic data including video and audio recordings from the interviews will be stored on an encrypted external hard drive kept in a locked cabinet in the PI's office. Participants will not be identified by name and their images will not be shared in presentations or publications. In the event that the PI would like to use an image, or video or attribute a quote, from the participant in a research presentation or work, the PI will ask for explicit written consent to do so, separately from the initial IRB consenting process and after the duration of the participant's participation in the research.

Anticipated Results and Potential Pitfalls

It is anticipated that participating in the interview will lead to a greater understanding of white supremacy in the South and its impact on public education inequity. It is also anticipated that it will lead to greater national and intercultural awareness, particular pertaining to the impact of white supremacy on public education inequity. Potential pitfalls include: a) internet connectivity problems during scheduled videoconference times participants, b) cultural (generational and age-related) barriers between PI and participants.

Discussion of Next Steps

After the data is analyzed, findings will inform the PI's dissertation design and be published in peer reviewed journals, books, and conference presentations. All data will be gathered and analyzed between September of 2019 and December of 2020 as it is collected for inclusion in the PI's dissertation to be submitted in the spring of 2021.

FORM: IRB Application (Basic Study Information)		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-211	11/30/18	of 15

References

Anyon, J. (2011). *Marx and education*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2012). *Education and power*. New York: Routledge.

Beckert, S. (2016). *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*. Philadelphia: Univ of Pennsylvania Press.

Bertke, R. (1977, June 12). Charting Economy Seen Not As Easy As Old Theories. *The Tampa Tribune*, p. 63.

Kohli, Rita, Marcos Pizarro, and Arturo Nevárez. "The "New Racism" of K–12 Schools: Centering Critical Research on Racism." *Review of Research in Education* 41.1 (2017): 182-202.

Ravitch, D. (2014). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to Americas public schools*. New York: Vintage Books.

APPENDIX E

EXEMPTION REQUEST

WORKSHEET: Exemption		
NUMBER	DATE	PAGE
HRP-312	11/30/18	1 of 4

The purpose of this worksheet is to provide support for Designated Reviewers granting exemption determinations. This worksheet is to be used. It does not need to be completed or retained.

1 GENERAL EXCLUSIONS FROM EXEMPTIONS (Check if **"Yes"**. If any are checked, the research is not exempt.)

☐ The research is FDA-regulated.[i]

☐ The research involves Prisoners, conducted or funded by DHHS, Dept. of Defense (DOD), or Veterans Administration (VA), and is NOT aimed at involving a broader subject population that only incidentally includes prisoners.

☐ The research involves interactions with Prisoners.[ii]

☐ The research is classified and conducted or funded by the Department of Energy (DOE) (may be reviewed by convened IRB only).[iii]

2 Criteria for approval of exempt research (Check if "Yes")

☒ The research involves no more than Minimal Risk to subjects. **(Must be checked.)**

☒ Selection of subjects is equitable. (That is, the research is appropriate for the population being studied.) **(Must be checked.)**

☒ There are interactions with subjects: **(If checked, all of the following must also be checked.)**

	☒	There will be a consent process
	☒	The consent process will disclose that the activities involve research.
	☒	The consent process will disclose the procedures to be performed.
	☒	The consent process will disclose that participation is voluntary.
	☒	The consent process will disclose the name and contact information for the investigator.
	☒	There are adequate provisions to maintain the privacy interests of subjects.

2018 Requirements

NOTE: For Exempt determinations on or after January 21, 2019, complete section 3. If this study is subject to Pre-2018 Common Rule requirements or is DOJ-regulated, move to sections 4 and 5 below.

3 The research falls into one or more of the following categories (One or more categories must be checked)

☐ 1. Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, that specifically involves normal educational practices that are not likely to adversely impact students' opportunity to learn required educational content or the assessment of educators who provide instruction. This includes most research on regular and special education instructional strategies, and research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.

☐ 2. Research that only includes interactions involving educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior (including visual or auditory recording) if at least one of the following criteria is met:

☐ (i) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the Human Subjects cannot be readily ascertained, directly or indirectly through identifiers linked to the subjects; OR

☐ (ii) Any disclosure of Human Subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; OR

☐ (iii) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the Human Subjects can be readily ascertained, directly or indirectly through identifiers linked to the subjects, AND an IRB conducts limited IRB review. **(See "WORKSHEET: Limited IRB Review and Broad Consent (HRP-319).")**

☐ If the research involves children and is conducted, funded, or subject to regulation by DHHS, Dept. of Defense (DOD), Dept. of Education (ED), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), or Veterans Administration (VA), the procedures are limited to (1) the observation of public behavior when the investigator(s) do not participate in the activities being observed or (2) the use of educational tests and at least one of the following criteria is met:

☐ (i) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the Human Subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or indirectly through identifiers linked to the subjects; OR

☐ (ii) Any disclosure of Human Subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational achievement, or reputation.

☒	3(i). Research involving benign behavioral interventions[iv] in conjunction with the collection of information from an adult subject through verbal or written responses (including data entry) or audiovisual recording if the subject prospectively agrees to the intervention and information collection and at least one of the following criteria is met: ☒ (A) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the Human Subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or indirectly, through identifiers linked to the subjects; OR ☒ (B) Any disclosure of the Human Subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; OR ☒ (C) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the Human Subjects can be readily ascertained, directly or indirectly through identifiers linked to the subjects, AND an IRB conducts limited IRB review. **(See "WORKSHEET: Limited IRB Review and Broad Consent (HRP-319).")** 3(iii). If the research involves deceiving the subjects regarding the nature or purposes of the research, this exemption is not applicable unless the subject authorizes the deception through a prospective agreement to participate in research in circumstances in which the subject is informed that he or she will be unaware of or misled regarding the nature or purposes of the research.
☐	4. Secondary research for which consent is not required: Secondary research uses of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens, if <u>at least one</u> of the following criteria is met: ☐ (i) The identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens are publicly available; OR ☐ (ii) Information, which may include information about biospecimens, is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, the investigator does not contact the subjects, and the investigator will not re-identify subjects; OR ☐ The research involves only information collection and analysis involving the investigator's use of identifiable health information when that use is regulated under 45 CFR parts 160 and 164 (HIPAA), subparts A and E, for the purposes of "health care operations" or "research" as those terms are defined at 45 CFR 164.501 or for "public health activities and purposes" as described under 45 CFR 164.512(b); OR ☐ The research is conducted by, or on behalf of, a Federal department or agency using government-generated or government-collected information obtained for nonresearch activities, if the research generates identifiable private information that is or will be maintained on information technology that is subject to and in compliance with section 208(b) of the E-Government Act of 2002, 44 U.S.C. 3501 note, if all of the identifiable private information collected, used, or generated as part of the activity will be maintained in systems of records subject to the Privacy Act of 1974, 5 U.S.C. 552a, and, if applicable, the information used in the research was collected subject to the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995, 44 U.S.C. 3501 et seq.
☐	5. Research and demonstration projects which are conducted or supported by a Federal department or agency, or otherwise subject to the approval of department or agency heads (or the approval of heads of bureaus or other subordinate agencies that have been delegated authority to conduct the research and demonstration projects), and that are designed to study, evaluate, improve, or otherwise examine: public benefit or service programs, including procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs, possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures, or possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs[v] ☐ (i) Each Federal department or agency conducting or supporting the research and demonstration projects must establish, on a publicly accessible Federal website or in such other manner as the department or agency head may determine, a list of the research and demonstration projects that the Federal department or agency conducts or supports under this provision. The research or demonstration project must be published on this list prior to commencing the research involving human subjects.
☐	6.[vi] Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the Dept. of Agriculture.
☐	7. Storage or maintenance for secondary research for which broad consent is required: Storage or maintenance of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens for potential secondary research use if an IRB conducts limited IRB review. **(See "WORKSHEET: Limited IRB Review and Broad Consent (HRP-319).")**
☐	8. Secondary research for which broad consent is required: Research involving the use of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens for secondary research use. **(See "WORKSHEET: Limited IRB Review and Broad Consent (HRP-319).")**

287

Pre-2018 Requirements:
NOTE: If this study is subject to 2018 Common Rule requirements, complete section 3 above.

4	One of the following is true:	
☐		☐ The research is DOJ-regulated.
		☒ The review is related to research determined to be exempt prior to January 21, 2019, and the organization continues to apply Pre-2018 requirements to some or all research initiated prior to January 21, 2019.

5	The research falls into one or more of the following categories (one or more categories must be checked)		
☐	☐		1. Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as: (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods. (Both the procedures involve normal education practices and the objectives of the research involve normal educational practices.)
	☐		2. Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that Human Subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the Human Subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation. In addition:
		☐	If the research involves children and is conducted, funded, or subject to regulation by DHHS, Dept. of Defense (DOD), Dept. of Education (ED), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), or Veterans Administration (VA), the procedures are limited to (1) the observation of public behavior when the investigator(s) do not participate in the activities being observed and (2) the use of educational tests. ("N/A" if the research does not involve children or is not conducted, funded, or otherwise subject to by these agencies.)
	☐		3. Research involving the use of educational tests[vii], survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under paragraph (b)(2) of this section, if: (i) the Human Subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.
	☐		4.[viii] Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. (For research conducted, funded, or otherwise subject to regulation by any federal agency "existing" means "existing at the time the research is proposed." Otherwise, it means "existing at the time the research is proposed or will exist in the future for non-research purposes.")
	☒		5. Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of Dept. or Agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) Public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs. In addition: (Check if "Yes". All must be checked)
		☒	The program under study delivers a public benefit[ix] or service[x].
		☒	The research or demonstration project is conducted pursuant to specific federal statutory authority.
		☒	There is no statutory requirement that the project be reviewed by an IRB.
		☒	The project does not involve significant physical invasions or intrusions upon the privacy of subjects.
		☒	The funding agency concurs with the exemption.
	☐		6.[xi] Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the Dept. of Agriculture.

---

[i] The organization's policy is to not grant exemptions to FDA-regulated research in category (6).

[ii] AAHRPP Tip Sheet 18: Review of Research involving Prisoners and the Role of the Prisoner Representative.

[iii] DOE N 443.1

[iv] For the purpose of this provision, benign behavioral interventions are brief in duration, harmless, painless, not physically invasive, not likely to have a significant adverse lasting impact on the subjects, and the investigator has no reason to think the subjects will find the interventions offensive or embarrassing. Provided all such criteria are met, examples of such benign behavioral interventions would include having the subjects

play an online game, having them solve puzzles under various noise conditions, or having them decide how to allocate a nominal amount of received cash between themselves and someone else.

[v] Such projects include, but are not limited to, internal studies by Federal employees, and studies under contracts or consulting arrangements, cooperative agreements, or grants. Exempt projects also include waivers of otherwise mandatory requirements using authorities such as sections 1115 and 1115A of the Social Security Act, as amended.

[vi] Note that for FDA-regulated research exemption (6) is an exemption from IRB review in 21 CFR §56, but unlike DHHS regulations is not an exemption from FDA requirements for consent in 21 CFR §50. If an organization's policy is to grant exemptions to FDA-regulated research in category (6), then additional criteria for such exemptions would be that consent will be obtained in accordance with 21 CFR §50.20 and §50.25, and the consent will be either be documented in writing in accordance with 21 CFR§50.27 or waived in accordance with 21 CFR §56.109(c)(1).

[vii] Includes cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, and achievement tests

[viii] "If these sources are publicly available" was removed because public data cannot be private, and if there is no collection of private identifiable data, there can be no Human Subjects.

[ix] For example, financial or medical benefits as provided under the Social Security Act

[x] For example, social, supportive, or nutrition services as provided under the Older Americans Act

[xi] Note that for FDA-regulated research exemption (6) is an exemption from IRB review in 21 CFR §56, but unlike DHHS regulations is not an exemption from FDA requirements for consent in 21 CFR §50. If an organization's policy is to grant exemptions to FDA-regulated research in category (6), then additional criteria for such exemptions would be that consent will be obtained in accordance with 21 CFR §50.20 and §50.25, and the consent will be either be documented in writing in accordance with 21 CFR§50.27 or waived in accordance with 21 CFR §56.109(c)(1).

APPENDIX F

QUALITATIVE STUDY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Pilot Study Interview Questions

Please state:

- your name

- the year you were born and birthplace

- the public schools you attended in Jax and/or your other relationships with the schools

Students, please tell me:

1. What do you remember about attending the public schools in Jacksonville between 1954 - 1964?

2. What was it like being a Black student in Jacksonville between 1954 – 1964?

3. How do you view the education and resources you received compared to white students during this time?

4. What do you remember about the schools after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision?

5. Do you think racism impacted your education and if so, how?

6. How do you think education inequity impacted your life in the short term and long term, on an academic, professional, personal, economic and political level?

Teachers and Administrators, please tell me:

1. What do you remember about working in the public schools in Jacksonville between 1954 - 1964?

2. What was it like being a Black teacher or administrator in Jacksonville between 1954 – 1964?

3. How do you view the education and resources you provided compared to what white students were provided during this time?

4. What do you remember about the schools after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision?

5. Do you think racism impacted your position and if so, how?

6. How do you think education inequity impacted your life in the short term and long term, on an academic, professional, personal, economic and political level?

DUVAL COUNTY SCHOOL CONDITIONS, 3-15-1959

'Not Very Pleasing' To 'Horrifying'

Duval School Havoc Under Panel Attack

Jacksonville Journal WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

Advisory Unit Gets Report On Neglect

Bad Discipline And Materials Also Stressed

By CHARLES MEISTER
Journal Staff Writer

Poor materials, poor housekeeping, bad discipline and general neglect are wreaking havoc with Duval County schools, the Citizens Advisory Committee was told today.

At its monthly meeting in the school board room the group heard from members of a sub-committee which visited six school unannouced and plans surprise visits to others.

"Not very pleasing" "horrifying" was the range of comments on what was seen.

A composite summary of what the committee heard follows:

Apparently little is being done about items that require maintenance and schools, ranging in age from almost new to 25 years

old, are very much run down.

Paint is peeling and walls and roofs leaking in almost-new buildigs, in which cracks have appeared.

Washrooms were found "in miserable shape,' lacking soap, towels and toilet paper, and sometimes faucets.

It is too early to say where the fault lies, but probably it must be shared at every level, from individual teachers through the administration to the citizenry., and "it's time that something were done about it."

"Most buildings' have settling cracks, as well as severe cracks due to leakage.

At one school a live wire was hanging loose, in full view, and had not been reported.

Bad discipline was shown by lack of respect for principals, littered grounds, paper-clogged toilets, a cigaret-littered boys room, and other factors.

In some cases "apparently the contractors hardly are out of the schools before maintenance is necessary," and the one-year responsibility of the contractor is not enforced .

A metal fence with a single exit presents a hazard in case of fire at one school. No school observed had sprinkler systems; one with fire extinguishers had no dates showing required checking of the extinguishers.

A committeeman lunching at a

school chose a bun for dessert, found it "as hard as rock."

A child, asked why he didn't eat his lunch, answered: "It isn't good and I don't like it."

There were indications that trying to save money on cheap construction in the long run causes costs 10 times as great.

"Contractors are not being required to come back and do the job as it should be done. In some cases, it's hard to see why schools were accepted."

One school, less than a year old, "is in as bad shape as any we saw." The one found in generally good condition was eight years old.

If construction had been properly done and properly supervised, many of today's problems would not exist.

A study hall visited was afflicted with "almost unbearable racket," and the teachers, "lolling around," were doing nothing about this.

In one school table legs were buckling, and "someone had spent the good taxpayers' money for a piece of junk." .

At most of the schools "we didn't see any waste cans."

Bulletin boards have been neglected, some have innitials carved on them.

"Money won't solve our problem."

The advisory committee which heard the report is headed by Mrs. Joseph B. Moore, who named the sub-committee, and was formed about four years ago with a membership selected partly by the then superintendent and partly by school board members.

Since then there have been resignations and additions to the membership, and several re-organizations.

The sub-committee started out to check on maintenance, but members said other observations were unavoidable.

CONDEMNATION OF DARNELL-COOKMAN SCHOOL, 6-2-1959

Board Is Advised To Condemn School

1959
6 - 2(7 - a

A Negro school building has been recommended for condemnation by the School Safety Advisory Committee, which turned in its report on school fire hazards to the Duval County Board of Public Instruction yesterday.

A two-story structure on the Darnell-Cookman school grounds was recommended for condemnation because of an anticipated "prohibitive cost" that would be involved in making the building fire safe. Darnell-Cookman will be on double sessions next year.

On School Supt. Ish Brant's recommendation, the board voted to form a committee to visit the school to determine what final action will be taken, whether it is possible to make necessary repairs, or whether the building can be used for other than classroom purposes.

The SSAC report is the basis on which the school board will develop a work plan to correct school fire hazards.

In its report, the committee concluded that "there is no possible way to provide safe exits from upper floors except by enclosing stairways in such a manner to prevent smoke, gasses and heat from rising to higher levels through stairwell and vertical openings." While enclosing these areas will be criticized for having adverse effects on traffic movement and ventilation, the committee said no other practical alternatives could be worked out.

The committee gave five general recommendations, the first to provide the ultimate in fire safe conditions, and each successive recommendation drawing further away from the ideal. The school board, hampered by a lack of funds, accepted the fifth and final recommendation that each school be provided with protected exitways and that existing fire alarm systems be revised, implemented or extended to meet requirements of an approved system.

In addition the board accepted recommendations to provide handrails on stairs where needed; see that hardware on exit doors works well and that padlocks and chains are removed from such doors; remove all storage rooms from under stairs; repair worn stair treads that are tripping hazards; repair, renovate or relocate existing fire escapes; and remove the danger from vertical ventilation shafts leading to classrooms.

Roy M. Pooley, architect, a member of the advisory committee, explained to the school board that "the purpose of what we've recommended is to isolate any fire at its source and give children upstairs a chance to get out of the building."

Doors in the enclosed stairwells will be kept open but will have special features to close automatically when a fire alarm is sounded or enough heat builds up in the area to trigger a closing device.

Fire Marshal E. C. McDermon said the committee's recommendations are based on nationally accepted practices. He explained that in the Chicago school fire of last Dec. 1 in which more than 90 children and teachers died, unprotected exits were attributed as the main cause of death.

In that Chicago school, the fire marshal reported, there were two exits, one protected, the other unprotected. "Where children were nearest the protected exit, they lived. Where they were nearest the unprotected exit, they died," McDermon said.

MARVIN EDWARDS LETTER TO BENJAMIN ROGERS, 8-23-1963

August 28, 1963

Dr. Benjamin F. Rogers
Vice-President
Jacksonville University
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dr. Rogers:

We read with interest your remarks made yesterday at the luncheon welcoming Duval County's new teachers. You were quoted as having said, "I join with the mayor in being proud of our fine school system". As a leading educator in our community you must know that by any recognized standards our school system is neither fine nor good, but is poor. The fact that each year our high schools are threatened with a loss of accreditation by the State of Florida and the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools speaks for itself.

Duval County school board members in numerous speeches have recognized the continued deterioration of our county school system. With 5000 more students this year we were forced to drop 145 teachers for lack of funds. In addition the county is 40 more teachers short because of the low salary offered. The school system has too few text books and too many obsolete ones. Duval County has half of all the unqualified teachers in the entire state.

Only by recognition of the school plight by respected and responsible leaders in our community, such as yourself, can we get public support to correct the tragic school crisis.

Wishing you every success in your new appointment.

Sincerely,

Marvin R. Edwards

P.S. The writer has worked for better schools for a number of years. He was one of the founders and first president of The Better Schools Citizen's Committee of Duval County.

APPENDIX J

LETTER FROM MARVIN R. EDWARDS TO RAYMOND DAVID, 8-30-1963

August 30, 1963

Mr. Raymond A. David
7645 Ft. Caroline Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ray,

Enclosed are copies of three letters we have just written relative to the schools. I thought you might find them interesting in view of the comments you have recently made.

When the Better Schools group folded, I thought I might give up the fight, but then I read about the schools and I find myself putting my foot back into the lions mouth. I may not win many friends by being so out spoken, but if something is ever done to improve the schools, I will be able to feel that I helped in some small way.

The mayor's statement was no surprise in view of his political plans. I was surprised however by the statements of Beaufort and Rogers. It is difficult to understand what motivated Dr. Rogers to praise our school system.

I disagreed with Tom Slade when he spoke of adding to the sales tax to finance schools. Now I feel he is on the right track and I wanted him to know that I don't only write to criticize but also to praise.

Keep up your good work Ray. I only wish other members of the school board were equally outspoken.

With warm regards and best wishes for success.

Sincerely,

Marvin R. Edwards

APPENDIX K

MARVIN EDWARDS LETTER TO JACKSONVILLE CHAMBER, 8-30-1963

August 30, 1963

Mr. C. William Beaufort, President
Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce
c/o McCall Service, Inc.
2861 College
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Beaufort:

We read in Wednesday's Times-Union your remarks about the Duval
County schools made at the luncheon meeting welcoming Duval County's
new teachers. It would appear from your comments that you support the
mayor's position that our schools are not "second-rate". You were quoted
as having said, "It's easy to criticize. A lot of people want to jump on the
bandwagon. They are conformists."

Frankly, after working for six years to elevate the standards in our county
schools, I can say it is much easier to accept the status quo and ignore
an approaching crisis than to be critical of inactivity and complacency
when we are facing a serious situation. You talk about a lot of people
wanting to jump on the bandwagon in being critical of our schools. If there
is a bandwagon it was not in evidence during the four year history of the now
defunct Better Schools Citizens Committee of Duval County. The writer
helped form that group and was its first president.

A handful of educators who have resigned their positions to go to areas
where education is taken seriously have recently issued isolated warnings
of impending disaster for our children. There have been a few other
scattered cries in the wilderness, but the school board is still standing
pretty much alone. The bandwagon has been on the side of the pressure
groups who willingly sacrifice our children's education and future to serve
their own political or monetary interests.

You call those of us who are critical of the third rate standards in our
local schools "conformists". Actually it is groups such as the Jacksonville
Area Chamber of Commerce who are the conformists. They are the ones who

(continued)

296

have for 20 years conformed to the "do nothing" attitude towards education which has been the accepted standard for our county. Support for the school bond issue of a few years ago was an exception to a long history of in-activity in the field of education. We will be interested in the report by the School Bootstrap Committee and what action, if any, will be taken by the Chamber as a result of their findings.

You further stated, "Our mistakes will be corrected by an aroused public opinion. We will correct the things that are wrong. It may take a little time." First you criticize the critics and then you speak of an aroused public opinion to correct our mistakes. How can their be an aroused public opinion unless someone arouses them to action? Must it take an actual loss of accreditation of our high schools to accomplish this? You recognize that some things are wrong but you feel that it may take a little time to correct them. We have already wasted 20 years. Must we wait another 20 to obtain a school system with even average standards?

You indicated that part of the problem was due to Duval County's "growing so fast it has been bursting at the seams". We would suggest you study the school systems of Brevard, Pinellas and Sarasota counties. They have grown as fast or faster than Duval, yet their schools are considered not only among the best in Florida, but among the best in the nation.

We hope that the Chamber of Commerce under your leadership will spearhead the drive for good schools and an equitable complete reassessment of property in Duval County which we have not had for 30 years. This is the method that furnished the money for schools in Brevard, Pinellas and Sarasota counties. Failure to provide a sound equalized ad valorem tax structure and good schools in Duval County is a major reason why all space age and other major manufacturing plants have by-passed Duval County despite the efforts of the Committee of One Hundred. Until these two areas of gross neglect are corrected we are only fooling ourselves when we talk of our county as being progressive and forward looking.

Hoping the Chamber of Commerce will find the courage to join the list of constructive critics before our schools lose their ratings and our children find it almost impossible to go to college.

Sincerely,

Marvin R. Edwards

MRE:hs

297

"FAULT IS OURS," JACKSONVILLE TIMES UNION, 11-10-1964

—SAYS EX-HEAD OF SCHOOL PANEL—

'Fault Is Ours, Not State, Washington'

By MONROE CAMPBELL
Journal Staff Writer

"We can't blame Tallahassee or Washington for this mess," said a man who has spent considerable time-trying to head off the loss of accreditation for Duval County schools.

Marvin Edwards was a founder and first president of the "Better Schools Citizens Committee of Duval County," which was formed in 1959 to drum up local support for the schools.

. The group folded in 1962, Edwards said, because the community showed no interest in the schools when the voters elected Ralph Walter tax assessor instead of Frank Osborn, who campaigned on a platform of property revaluation to raise money for the schools.

Edwards said the committee warned in 1959 that schools would lose accreditation in the near future unless funds were found on a local level.

Yesterday, he said, "The long heralded threat of disaccreditation of our high schools is now a reality. None of us who for years warned of this happening can take pleasure in saying, 'We told you so.'

"The fault and cause is all in Duval County. We can't blame Tallahassee or Washington for this mess.

"Our entire community will suffer, but the real tragedy of this event is the blow to our children. They must pay the price for the complacency of most of Duval's adult population.

"Any official running for office on a platform of working for better schools has automatically received 'the kiss of death' at the polls and has been defeated," Edwards said.

Another citizens group, the School Bootstrap Committee, this year failed to sufficiently arouse the citizenry to elect a tax assessor who would pledge an equitable revaluation which many have felt would be the key to more money for schools.

been improved by the time his children enrolled.

Despite the failure of the group which he founded, he was active in the work of the bootstrap committee. He said his statement is based on his experience of "five years bucking the complacency."

In a Journal story yesterday, Dr. Samuel D. Harris Jr., chairman of the Jacksonville University division of education, was quoted as saying in 1963 that he was "frankly amazed that the county school system is as good as it is, considering the deplorable financial situation which has existed for as long as I can remember."

It was incorrectly stated that he was resigning his JU post, as had a number of other JU officials who also were quoted. Harris still is on the faculty at JU and he made his statement at a Meninak Club meeting, not in announcing his resignation as reported in yesterday's Journal.

APPENDIX M

LETTER REQUESTING GRAND JURY INVESTIGATION, 11-12-1964

November 12, 1964

The Honorable Tyrie A. Boyer
Judge of the Circuit Court
Duval County Court House
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Judge Boyer:

We the undersigned, being citizens of Duval County, respectfully request that you direct the Grand Jury under your jurisdiction forthwith to initiate an investigation as to the causes of the Duval County School crisis which indicate possible malfeasance. We feel this investigation should include, but not be limited to:

1. The accountability of the school administration relative to the administration of the schools and the expenditure of money.

2. The accountability of the tax assessor's office relative to:
   a. The running of this office.
   b. The qualifications of those officials engaged in the tax assessors present "study" of the tax rolls, and the expenditures being made to accomplish it.

3. The accountability of any other official or official body in the County of Duval or City of Jacksonville.

4. The accountability and identification of a possible power structure in the County of Duval and City of Jacksonville in relation to the afore mentioned school crisis.

We also respectfully request that you appoint a special counsel to work with the State's Attorney in carrying out this investigation.

Respectfully submitted,

s/ Marvin R. Edwards - 1345 Riverbirch Lane
   John B. Ross - 2202 Cheryl Drive
   William E. Scheu - 4313 Forest Park Road
   Jack Coleman - 1275 Norwich Road
   William A. Howard - 904 Granada Blvd. South

PARENTAL LETTER OF SUPPORT TO MARVIN EDWARDS, 11-10-1964

filed 11-16-64
3:00 P.M.

Child Guidance Clinic of Duval County

625 OCEAN STREET • PHONE EL 5-3511
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202

November 10, 1964

MORRIS MYERS, M. D., MEDICAL DIRECTOR
DIPLOMATE AMERICAN BOARD OF PSYCHIATRY & NEUROLOGY
DIPLOMATE AMERICAN BOARD OF PEDIATRICS

Mr. Marvin Edwards
1345 Riverbirch Lane
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mr. Edwards:

I am employed as a secretary at the above clinic. As I am on my lunch hour, this will necessarily be brief. In regard to statement made by you and quoted in today's Journal — "The people should demand that a grand jury be convened to expose the entire rotten political setup we have here......".

As the mother of a little girl who will soon begin her schooling in Duval County, I want to wholeheartedly congratulate you for having what it takes to make this statement. My question is — what action must be taken to instigate a grand jury investigation? And what can I do in this regard (and other interested individuals) if anything. I really believe that this would be the "beginning of the end" of Duval's school problems. If you have any suggestions, I would appreciate very much hearing from you at the above address.

Sincerely
(Mrs.) Saundra J. Snodgrass

300

MARVIN EDWARDS LETTER TO SACS, 11-13-1964

November 13, 1964

Dr. Raymond G. Wilson
Executive Secretary
Commission on Secondary Schools
SACS
795 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Wilson:

We write this letter relative to the recommendation of the Florida Committee of the SACS that Duval County's high schools be disaccredited. My appeal is that you CONFIRM the decision that they unanimously made.

The people have been lead to believe that enough pressure could be brought to bear on the SACS that the schools would never be disaccredited. Failure of the SACS to back up the Florida Committee's recommendation would lull the community back to sleep.

The schools in Duval County have been substandard for at least 10 years. The SACS has bent over backwards to give our community every opportunity to act. They chose not to do so. The fact is that in the past two years three candidates have run for the office of tax assessor on a platform of updating the tax rolls and broadening its base to get money for our schools. All were soundly defeated at the polls, the last candidate losing this month in the face of the threatened loss of accreditation.

The deadline is at hand and there is now a wild scrambling by our leaders (?) to come up with some stopgap measure to save the day. This would obviously still not provide the long range financial support needed for our schools.

There are many other responsible citizens, with children in the schools, who feel as I do that it would be a far greater tragedy for this community if the Florida Committee were overruled than to disaccredit now. Voiding the Florida Committee's recommendation would strengthen the hand of the power structure which has been responsible for the crippling of our schools. It would also cast an unfavorable reflection on the SACS since it would imply

(Continued)

that the pressures that could be applied by a large community would supercede the educational standards that the SACS have a reputation of upholding.

It is ironic that so many of those citizens and politicians who now beg for mercy and are literally "marching on the SACS" have for all these years either ignored or actually helped to bring about Duval's substandard schools. The fact that our local children have been deprived of a decent education for so long did not arouse in these leaders enough concern to precipitate action. The only thing that is now new is the concern that disaccredition might cause an economic blow to Duval County which is apparently more tangible than a child's education.

Before disaccredition is removed the officials of Duval County should be required to <u>actually have in operation</u> a sound long range financial program that will eliminate the year to year financial crisis that has plagued our schools. The school administration should also be required to correct its deficiencies as pointed out by the Florida Committee. We feel that this could not be accomplished until after the present Peabody study is completed at the earliest.

We recognize the tremendous burden of responsibility placed upon you and the others serving in the SACS. With confidence that a sound decision will be reached.

                              Sincerely,

                              Marvin R. Edwards

P. S. By way of Background, I have three children, two now in public elementary school, and one pre-school age. My interest in better schools began in 1958 when I became a board member of the Citizen's Advisory Committee to the Board of Public Instruction. In 1959 I was one of the founders and first president of the Better Schools Citizen's Committee of Duval County. The same year I also served on the board of Fair Tax, Inc., a group dedicated to broadening the tax base to get money for schools. Presently I am on the board of the School Bootstrap Action Committee. This past week I was one of a group of private citizens requesting a grand jury investigation of the schools.

APPENDIX P

MARVIN EDWARDS LETTER TO LOOK MAGAZINE, 12-17-1964

December 17, 1964

Mr. Gardner Cowles
Editor-in-Chief
Look
488 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr Cowles:

Your publication has established an enviable record for its community studies
in depth, where such reports are of national news interest. We feel that a
situation now exists in Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida that would fit
into this category.

Our 15 county high schools have just been disaccredited by the Southern Asso-
ciation of Colleges and Schools after three years of warnings and one year of
probation. The primary cause has been a lack of local financial support for
teachers, textbooks, library books, science laboratories, and school mainten-
ance. Other contributing factors have been defects in the school system's
administrative structure.

We have one of the 20 largest school systems in the United States with a student
enrollment in excess of 100,000. It is the first major school system to be so dis-
accredited by a regional accrediting association. Duval County has the only
elected superintendent of the 20 largest school systems. The others have taken
the school director out of politics by making this an appointive office.

Our county is one of the richest per capita in Florida, and yet we raise less
money per pupil on a local level than any of the other 66 counties in the state.
Three times in the past two years candidates for the tax assessor's office,
running on a platform to update the 28 year old tax rolls to raise money for the
schools, have been soundly defeated. A power structure has strongly sup-
ported the local tax assessor who has stood on a platform of status quo.

The two local newspapers are owned by a trusteeship of three railroads. Rumor
has it that pressures have been applied to the trusteeship to force the papers to
avoid criticism of the local officials responsible for failures in the city and the
county government. Their lack of criticism would tend to confirm these reports.
The power of certain influencial citizens have also prevented the Jacksonville
Area Chamber of Commerce from being a constructive force for civic improvement.

(continued)

Our elected officials, with only a handful of exceptions, have shown no interest in education. Mayor (now governor-elect) Haydon Burns has not only failed to use the influence of his office to work for better schools, but in his public statements until recently denied that there even was such a problem. He has been Mayor for 14 years.

A court case is now being heard as the result of a taxpayer's suit filed against the tax assessor. The charge is that the tax assessor has not reassessed and revalued the tax rolls as required by state law. Even with a favorable ruling, after appeal to the state supreme court, it would be 3 to 4 years before funds would be available for the local schools.

Besides the school disaccreditation there are many other community problems that indicate other failures on the part of the local government. Serious charges of corruption in the Jacksonville police department have again been made, and substantiated by tape recordings obtained by the FBI. Governor-elect Burns has been in charge of this department as mayor-police commissioner. The State Board of Health has just pointed out that stream polution in Jacksonville is a serious menace to health and must be corrected.

The writer has files of clippings on the school fiasco, and other civic matters going back to 1949. I would be happy to make these available to your staff if you decide that the local situation justifies sending any of your editors to Jacksonville to view the crisis first hand.

This letter is not for publication, but is only to apprize you of the existing conditions. Our hope is that by focusing national attention on these deplorable events the local citizens will awaken from their complacency, and at the same time other communities would be warned about the dangerous consequences of a disinterested citizenry.

We enclose a lengthy article that appeared in the December 14, 1964, issue of the Wall Street Journal. It reviews the overall school and tax problem and its relationship to the business community. A second clipping that appeared in a local newspaper gives a brief resume of the writer's background relative to the local schools.

We would appreciate hearing from you relative to your interest.

Sincerely,

Marvin R. Edwards

304

REFERENCE LIST

Akin, I., & Neumann, C. (2013). Identifying proactive collaboration strategies for teacher

readiness for marginalized students. *Journal of College Teaching & Learning, 10*(4),

235–244. https://doi.org/10.19030/tlc.v10i4.8139

Almond, M. (2012). The Black charter school effect: Black students in American charter

schools. *The Journal of Negro Education, 81*(4), 354–365.

https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.81.4.0354

American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *Racial and ethnic identity*.

https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/racial-ethnic-

minorities

America's new aristocracy. (2015, January 22). *The Economist*.

https://www.economist.com/leaders/2015/01/22/americas-new-aristocracy

Anderson, C. (2017). *White rage: The unspoken truth of our racial divide*. Bloomsbury.

Anyon, J. (1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *The Journal of

Education, 162*(1), 67–92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42741976

Anyon, J. (1995). Race, social class, and educational reform in an inner-city school. *Teachers

College Record*, *97*, 69–94.

Anyon, J. (1997). *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform*.

Teachers College Press.

Anyon, J. (2011). *Marx and education*. Routledge.

Apfelbaum, E. (2001). The dread: An essay on communication across cultural boundaries.

International Journal of Critical Psychology, *4*, 19–34.

Apple, M. W. (1990). *Ideology and curriculum* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2012). *Education and power*. Routledge.

Apple, M., & Weis, L. (1986). Seeing education relationally: The stratification of culture and people in the sociology of school knowledge. *The Journal of Education*, *168*(1), 7–34. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42741705

Aronowitz, S. (1990). *The crisis in historical materialism: Class, politics, and culture in Marxist theory*. University of Minnesota Press.

Bakan, A. B., & Dua, E. (2014). *Theorizing anti-racism linkages in Marxism and critical race theories*. University of Toronto Press.

Baker, R. S. (1964). *Following the color line: American Negro citizenship in the progressive era*. Harper & Row.

Baldwin, J. (1963a). *The fire next time*. Dial Press.

Baldwin, J. (1963b). A talk to teachers. *The Saturday Review*, *21*, 42–44.

Bartlett, L., & Vavrus, F. (2015). *Transversing the vertical case study: A methodological approach to studies of educational policy as practice*. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *45*(2), 131–147.

Bartley, A. A. (2000) *Keeping the faith: Race, politics, and social development in Jacksonville, Florida, 1940–1970*. Greenwood Press.

Bartley, A. A. (2015). *In no ways tired: The NAACP's struggle to integrate the Duval County public school system*. Florida Historical Society Press.

Bartley, N. V. (1996). *The new South, 1945–1980*. Louisiana State University Press.

Bartley, N. V., & Graham, H. D. (1976). *Southern politics and the second reconstruction*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Beckert, S. (2015). *Empire of cotton: A global history*. Vintage books.

Beckert, S., & Rockman, S. (2016). *Slavery's capitalism: A new history of American economic development*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bell, D. (2005). *The Derrick Bell reader*. New York University Press.

Berry, M. F., & Blassingame, J. W. (1982). *Long memory: The Black experience in America*. Oxford University Press.

Bhavnani, K. K. (1994). *Tracing the contours: Feminist research and objectivity*. In H. Afshar & M. Maynard (Eds.), *The dynamics of "race" and gender: Some feminist interventions* (pp. 26–40). Taylor & Francis.

Billington, M. L. (1975). *The political South in the twentieth century*. Scribner.

Black, E., & Black, M. (1987). *Politics and society in the South*. Harvard University Press.

Blakely, J. (2017, April 17). How school choice turns education into a commodity. *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/04/is-school-choice-really-a-form-of-freedom/523089/?utm_source=share

Blumer, H. (2000). *Selected works of Herbert Blumer: A public philosophy for mass society* (S. M. Lyman & A. J. Vidich, Eds.). University of Illinois Press.

Bock, K. E. (1994). *Human nature mythology*. University of Illinois Press.

Boschma, J., & Brownstein, R. (2016, February 29) The concentration of poverty in American schools. *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/02/concentration-poverty-american-schools/471414/

Bowles, S. (1972). *Unequal education and the reproduction of the social division of labor*. Center for Educational Policy Research.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2011). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. Haymarket Books. (Original work published 1976)

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Harvard University Press.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

Brown, K., & Jackson, D. D. (2013), The history and conceptual elements of critical race theory. In M. Lynn & A. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 9-22). Routledge.

Brownstein, R. (2020, September 11). America's cities are staggeringly unequal. *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/07/us-cities-massive-wealth-and-education-gaps/614491/

Bruch, S. K., Rosenthal, A. J., & Soss, J. (2019). Unequal positions: A relational approach to racial inequality trends in the U.S. states, 1940–2010. *Social Science History 43*(1), 159–184. https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/715710

Bryant, J., & Sarakatsannis, J. (2015, July). *Why U.S. education is ready for investment.* https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/social-sector/our-insights/why-us-education-is-ready-for-investment

Bush, G. G. (1889). *History of education in Florida. Bureau of Education Circular of Information*. U.S. Government Printing Office.

Carson, R. (1949). William Dunnington Bloxham: The years to the governorship. *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, *27*(3), 207–236. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30138981

Cassanello, R. (2016). *To render invisible: Jim Crow and public life in new South Jacksonville*. University Press of Florida.

Center for Popular Democracy. (2016). *Charter school vulnerabilities to waste, fraud, and abuse*. https://populardemocracy.org/news/publications/charter-school-vulnerabilities-waste-fraud-and-abuse-federal-charter-school

Chase, S. (2005). Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches and voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 651–679). Sage Publications.

Clark, K. B. (1965). *Dark ghetto: Dilemmas of social power*. Harper Torch Books.

Clarke, J. (n.d.). *Collected writings of John Henrik Clarke* (web edition). http://www.baytagoodah.com/uploads/9/5/6/0/95600058/157081243-98827452-collected-writings-of-john-henrik-clarke.pdf

Colburn, D. R. (2007). *From yellow dog Democrats to red state Republicans: Florida and its politics since 1940*. University Press of Florida.

Colburn, D. R., & DeHaven-Smith, L. (1999). *Government in the Sunshine State: Florida since statehood*. University Press of Florida.

Coles, G. (2018). *Miseducating for the global economy: How corporate power damages education and subverts students' futures*. Monthly Review Press.

Comas-Diaz, L. (2000). An ethnopolitical approach to working with people of color. *American Psychologist, 55*, 1319–1325.

Cornwall, A., & Jewkes, R. (1995). What is participatory research? *Social Science & Medicine*, *41*(12), 1667–1676.

Corrigan, M. T. (2007). *Race, religion, and economic change in the Republican South: A study of a southern city*. University Press of Florida.

Council of Social Agencies (1946). *Jacksonville looks at its Negro community*.

     https://palmm.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/unf%3A19389#page/Page+54/mode/1

     up

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence

     against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241.

     https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, K. (1995). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*. New

     Press.

Crooks, J. (1998). Jacksonville before consolidation. *The Florida Historical*

     Quarterly, 77(2), 141−162. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30152245

Crotty, M. (2015). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the*

     research process. Sage Publications.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2004). The color line in American education: Race, resources, and

     student achievement. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race, 1*(2), 213−

     246. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X0404202X

Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to*

     equity will determine our future. Teachers College Press.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2016). *Critical race theory: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). New

     York University Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage

     Publications.

Desjarlais, R., & Throop, C. (2011). Phenomenological approaches in anthropology. *Annual*

     Review of Anthropology, 40, 87−102. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41287721

Dewey J. 1958. *Experience and nature*. Dover

Douglass, F. (2015). *The color line*. Another Leaf Press. (Original work published 1881)

Du Bois, W. E. B.. (1935). Does the Negro need separate schools? *The Journal of Negro Education*, *4*(3), 328–335. https://doi.org/10.2307/2291871

Du Bois, W. E. B., (1994) *The souls of Black folk*. Dover Publications. (Original work published in 1903)

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1998). *Black reconstruction in America:*. The Free Press. (Original work published 1935)

Dumas, M. J. (2013). "Losing an arm": Schooling as a site of black suffering. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *17*(1), 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2013.850412

Duval County School Board. (1956). *Negro schools of Duval County 1955–1956*. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AM00000077/00001

Duval County Taxpayers Association. (1964). *Bad schools—good Schools* [Pamphlet]. Duval County Taxpayers Association.

The economists predict recovery next summer. (1974). *Business Week,* (2362), 49.

EdBuild. (2019, February). *$23 billion*. https://edbuild.org/content/23-billion

Education Trust. (2005). *The funding gap 2005*. https://edtrust.org/resource/the-funding-gap-report-2005/

Edwards, M. R., & Brandenburg, S. D. (2017). *Now it can be told: Tales of the OSS*. Susan the Scribe.

Edwards, M. R., (1965, January 21st). *Presentation to the Duval County Taxpayers Association.* [Speech]. Marvin R. Edwards personal files

Fairclough, A. (2002). *Better day coming: Blacks and equality, 1890–2000*. Penguin.

Fanon, F. (2011). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press. (Original work published 1961)

Fine, M. (2006). Bearing witness: Methods for researching oppression and resistance—a textbook for critical research. *Social Justice Research*, *19*(1), 83–108.

Fine, M., & Ruglis, J. (2009). Circuits and consequences of dispossession: The racialized realignment of the public sphere for U.S. youth. *Transforming Anthropology*, *17*(1), 20–33.

Fischer, C. S., Hout, M., Jankowski, M. S., Lucas, S., Swiddler, A., & Voss, K. (1996). *Inequality by design: Cracking the bell curve myth*. Princeton University Press.

Florida Department of Education. (n.d.). *Charter schools*. http://www.fldoe.org/schools/school-choice/charter-schools/

Florida School Desegregation Consulting Center. (1968) *A report to the Duval County Board of Public Instruction*. University of Miami.

Flynn, A., Holmberg, S. R., Warren, D. T., & Wong, F. J. (2017). *The hidden rules of race: Barriers to an inclusive economy*. Cambridge University Press.

Forester, A. & Epstein, B. (1965). *Report on the Ku Klux Klan*. Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith.

Formisano, R. P. (2017). *American oligarchy: The permanent political class*. University of Illinois Press.

Franklin, J. H. (1994). *The color line: Legacy for the twenty-first century*. University of Missouri Press.

Franklin, J. H., & Moss, A. A. (1980). *From slavery to freedom: A history of Negro Americans*. Alfred A. Knopf. (Original work published 1947)

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum International Publishing Group.

(Original work published 1968)

George Peabody College for Teachers, Division of Surveys and Field Services (1965). *Duval County, Florida, Public School: A survey report*. George Peabody College for Teachers.

Giroux, H. A. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Towards a pedagogy for the opposition*. Bergin & Garvey.

Glass, R. D., Morton, J. M., King, J. E., Krueger-Henney, P., Moses, M. S., Sabati, S., & Richardson, T. (2018). The ethical stakes of collaborative community-based social science research. *Urban Review, 53*(4), 503–531.

Glaude, E. S. (2017). *Democracy in black: How race still enslaves the American soul*. Broadway Books.

Goldfield, D. (1990). *Black, white, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern culture, 1940 to the present*. Louisiana State University Press.

Gorman, R. A. (1985). *Biographical dictionary of neo-Marxism*. Greenwood Press.

Gorski, P. (2014). *The big lies of school reform: Finding better solutions for the future of public education*. Routledge.

Grusky, D., & Parker, C. (2016, February 2). *Stanford report shows that U.S. performs poorly on poverty and inequality measures*.
https://news.stanford.edu/2016/02/02/poverty-report-grusky-020216/

Hannah, J. (1967). *Racial isolation in the public schools: Summary of a report*. Commission on Civil Rights. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED015970

Hannah-Jones, N. (2019, August 14). America wasn't a democracy, until Black Americans made it one. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/black-history-american-democracy.html

Hanushek, E. A. (1994). *Making schools work: Improving performance and controlling costs*. Brookings Institution.

Hanushek, E. A., & Lindseth, A. A. (2009). *Schoolhouses, courthouses, and statehouses*. Princeton University Press.

Harlan, L. (1957). The Southern Education Board and the race issue in public education. *The Journal of Southern History, 23*(2), 189–202. https://doi.org/10.2307/2955313

Hohle, R. (2012). The color of neoliberalism: The "modern Southern businessman" and postwar Alabama's challenge to racial desegregation. *Sociological Forum, 27*(1), 142–162. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41330917

Huang, H. B. (2010). What is good action research. *Action Research*, *8*(1), 93–109.

Huckshorn, R. J. (1991). *Government and politics in Florida*. University of Florida Press.

Hurst, R. L. (2008). *It was never about a hot dog and a Coke!: A personal account of the 1960 sit-in demonstrations in Jacksonville, Florida and Ax Handle Saturday*. WingSpan Press.

Hurst, R. L. (2015). *Unless we tell it ... it never gets told!* KiJas Press.

Jacobstein, H. L. (1972). *The segregation factor in the Florida Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1956*. University of Florida Press.

Jacksonville Branch, NAACP v. Duval County School Board, 978 F.2d 1574 (11th Cir. 1992).

314

Johnston, S., Williams, L., & Mattick, B. (2003). *Florida's historic Black public schools*. Bureau of Historic Preservation. https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/8b62a6bd-12df-4c32-9d05-7eb60c65ff91

Karl, F. B. (2010). *The 57 club: My four decades in Florida politics*. University Press of Florida.

Keisch, D. M., & Scott, T. (2015). U.S. education reform and the maintenance of White supremacy through structural violence. *Landscapes of Violence*, 3(3), Article 6. https://scholarworks.umass.edu/lov/vol3/iss3/6

Key, V. O., Jr. (2011). *Southern politics in a state and nation*. University of Tennessee Press.

King, M. L., Jr. (1967). *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* Harper & Row.

Kluger, R. (2004). *Simple justice: The history of "Brown v. Board of Education" and Black America's struggle for equality*. Alfred A. Knopf.

Kohli, R., Pizarro, M., & Nevárez, A. (2017). The "new racism" of K–12 schools: Centering critical research on racism. *Review of Research in Education*, *41*(1), 182–202.

Kozol, J. (2005). *The shame of the nation: The restoration of apartheid schooling in America*. Broadway Paperbacks.

Kratz, C. (2010). In and out of focus. *American Ethnologist*, *37*(4), 805–826. www.jstor.org/stable/40890789

Krueger-Henney, P. (2016). What are we listening for?: (Participatory action) research and embodied social listening to the permanence of anti-Black racism in education. *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, *7*(3). http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ijcp/article/view/1326

Kulikoff, A. (2018). *Abraham Lincoln and Karl Marx in dialogue*. Oxford University Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding

 achievement in U.S. schools. *Educational Researcher, 35*(7), 3–12.

 https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x035007003

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education.

 Teachers College Record, *97*(1), 47–68.

Langland, C. (2015, May 27). *What is a millage rate and how does it affect school funding?*

 https://whyy.org/articles/what-is-a-millage-rate-and-how-does-it-affect-school-

 funding/

Lassiter, M. D. (1999). *The rise of the suburban South: The "Silent Majority" and the politics*

 of education, 1945-1975 [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Virginia,

 Charlottesville, VA.

Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. *Journal of Social Issues*, *2*(4), 34–

 46.

Lewis, D. L. (2000). *W. E. B. Du Bois: The fight for equality and the American century,*

 1919–1963. Henry Holt.

Lincoln, A. (1854). *Speech at Peoria, IL: Natural law, natural rights, and American*

 constitutionalism. https://www.nlnrac.org/american/lincoln/documents/peoria-

 il#_edn1

Litwack, L. F. (1998). The white man's fear of the educated Negro: How the Negro was fitted

 for his natural and logical calling. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 20*,

 100–108. https://doi.org/10.2307/2999249

Llorente, R. (2013). Marx's concept of "universal class": A rehabilitation. *Science &*

 Society, 77(4), 536–560. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24584620

Lombardo, C. (2019, February 26). Why white school districts have so much more money. *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/2019/02/26/696794821/why-white-school-districts-have-so-much-more-money

Loury, G. (2015). Racial stigma and its consequences. *Focus, 24*(1), 1–6. https://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc241a.pdf

MacFeely, F. (1964, November 15). Duval dons a dunce cap … and worries. *Miami Herald*, 1–2B.

Madison, D. S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. Sage Publications.

Maggs-Rapport, F. (2000). Combining methodological approaches in research: Ethnography and interpretive phenomenology. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *31*(1), 219–225. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.2000.01243.x

Manza, J., & Sauder, M. (2009). *Inequality and society: Social science perspectives on social stratification*. W.W. Norton.

Marshall, T. (2001). *Thurgood Marshall: His speeches, writings, arguments, opinions, and reminiscences*. (R. Kennedy, Ed.). Lawrence Hill Books.

Martin, R. A. (1968). *Consolidation: Jacksonville-Duval County: The dynamics of urban political reform*. Convention Pr.

Martín-Baró, I. (1994). *Writings for a liberation psychology*. Harvard University Press.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (2018). *Manifesto of the Communist Party: By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.* International. (Original work published 1848)

Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid*. Harvard University Press.

317

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Sage

   Publications.

McDowell, W. H. (2002). *Historical research: A guide*. Longman.

Merleau-Ponty, M., & Bannan, J. (1956). What is phenomenology? *CrossCurrents, 6*(1), 59–

   70. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24456652

Mims et al. v. Duval County School Board, 329 F. Supp. 123 (M.D. Fla. 1971).

Mohraz, J. J. (1979). *The separate problem: Case studies of Black education in the North,*

   1900–1930. Greenwood Press.

Monroe, C. R., & Morris, J. E. (2009). Why study the U.S. South? The nexus of race and

   place in investigating Black student achievement. *Educational Researcher*, *38*(1), 21–

   36. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.3102/0013189X08328876

Monroe, N. (2019, May 26). *Jacksonville can't afford to repeat history on public schools*.

   https://www.jacksonville.com/news/20190523/nate-monroe-jacksonville-cant-afford-

   to-repeat-history-on-public-schools

Morrison, T. (1984). Memory, creation, and writing. *Thought, 59*(235), 385–390.

Morrison, T. (2015). *Playing in the dark: Whiteness and the literary imagination.* Vintage

   Books.

Myrdal, G. (2017). *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy*.

   Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. (Original work published 1944)

National Education Association of the United States, National Commission on Professional

   Rights and Responsibilities. (1966). *Florida: A study of political atmosphere as it*

   affects public education. National Education Association of the United States,

   National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities

Nelson, W. (1986). Racial definition: Background for divergence. *Phylon, 47*(4), 318–326. https://doi.org/10.2307/274627

Nemeth, T. (1976). "Capital" and phenomenology. *Studies in Soviet Thought, 16*(3/4), 239–249. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20098701

News Front. (1965, April 1). *Education U.S.A., 58*. National School Public Relations Association.

Newton, M. (2001). *The invisible empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Florida*. University Press of Florida.

O'Connell, H. (2012). The impact of slavery on racial inequality in poverty in the contemporary U.S. South. *Social Forces*, *90*(3), 713–734. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41682675

Odum, H. W. (1997). *Race and rumors of race: The American South in the early forties*. Johns Hopkins University Press. (Original work published 1943)

Ogletree, C. J. (2004). *All deliberate speed: Reflections on the first half century of Brown v. Board of Education*. W.W. Norton.

Orfield, G. (1969). *The reconstruction of Southern education: The schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act*. Wiley-Interscience.

Orfield, G., & Yun, J. T. (1999). *Resegregation in American schools*. UCLA: The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6d01084d

Patterson, J. T. (2010). *Brown v. Board of Education: A civil rights milestone and its troubled legacy*. Oxford University Press.

"Politinomist" sees U.S. crisis in '80. (1979, October 21). *The Tampa Tribune*, pp. 6-B. https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/325290568/

Poppell, J. (1998). *The desegregation of a historically black high school in Jacksonville, Florida* [Doctoral dissertation]. https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd/74

Porter, G. (1956). The status of educational desegregation in Florida. *The Journal of Negro Education, 25*(3), 246–253. https//doi.org/10.2307/2293433

Price, H. D. (1957). *The Negro and Southern politics*. New York University Press.

Przeworski, A. (1977). Proletariat into a class: The process of class formation from Karl Kautsky's *The class struggle* to recent controversies. *Politics and Society*, *7*, 343–401.

Pulido, L. (2008). FAQs: Frequently (un)asked questions about being a scholar activist. In C. R. Hale (Ed.), *Engaging contradictions* (pp. 341-366). University of California Press.

Putnam, C. (2019). *Race and reason: A Yankee view*. Ostara Publications. (Original work published 1961)

Rabaka, R. (2008). *Du Bois's dialectics: Black radical politics and the reconstruction of critical social theory*. Lexington Books.

Ravitch, D. (1983). *The troubled crusade: American education 1945–1980*. Basic Books.

Ravitch, D. (2014). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to Americas public schools*. Vintage Books.

Reardon, S., & Fahle, E. (2017). Education. In *State of the Union: The poverty and inequality report. Special issue, Pathways Magazine* (pp. 20–23). Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality. https://inequality.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Pathways_SOTU_2017.pdf

Richardson, H. C. (2020). *How the South won the Civil War: Oligarchy, democracy, and the continuing fight for the soul of America*. Oxford University Press.

Rossman, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2017). *An introduction to qualitative research: Learning in the field*. Sage Publications.

Rothstein, R. (2017). *The color of law: A forgotten history of how our government segregated America*. Liveright Publishing.

Rury, J. (2016). *Education and social change: Contours in the history of American schooling*. Routledge.

Saltman, K. J. (2018). *The politics of education: A critical introduction*. Routledge.

School Bootstrap Committee. (1963, November 6). *Summary of the report of the School Bootstrap Committee*. Personal files of Marvin R. Edwards.

Scott, J. I. E. (1974). *The education of Black people in Florida*. Dorrance & Co.

Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. Teachers College Press.

Shofner, J. (1976). Custom, law, and history: The enduring influence of Florida's "Black Code." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 55(3), Article 1.

Silberman, C. E. (1964). *Crisis in Black and white*. Random House.

Simon, S. (2012, August 2). *Private firms eyeing profits from U.S. public schools*. https://www.reuters.com/article/usa-education-investment-idUSL2E8J15FR20120802

Skaggs, W. H. (1924). *The Southern oligarchy: An appeal in behalf of the silent masses of our country against the despotic rule of the few*. J.J. Little & Ives.

Smith, M. (2015, June 29). Three ways to fight racism in 2014. *The Nation*. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/three-ways-fight-racism-2014/

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. (1964, December 7). *Report to the Duval County superintendent of schools*. Personal files of Marvin R. Edwards.

Spector, C. (2019, September 26). *Data tool shows school poverty leads to racial achievement gap*. https://news.stanford.edu/2019/09/23/new-data-tool-shows-school-poverty-leads-racial-achievement-gap/

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage Publications.

Stake, R. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 443–466). Sage Publications.

Stratton, C. (2016). *Education for empire: American schools, race, and the paths of good citizenship*. University of California Press.

Sunderman, G. L., Coghlan, E., & Mintrop, R. (2017). *School closure as a strategy to remedy low performance*. National Education Policy Center. http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/closures

Taylor, W., & Piche, D. (1990, November 30). *A report on shortchanging children: The impact of fiscal inequity on the education of students at risk. Prepared for the Committee on Education and Labor. U.S. House of Representatives. One Hundred First Congress, Second Session*. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED328654

Thomas, H. (1997). *The slave trade: The story of the Atlantic slave trade, 1440–1870*. Simon & Schuster.

Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. Sage Publications.

Todd-Breland, E. (2018). Corporate school reform: Magnets, charters, and the neoliberal educational order. In *A political education: Black politics and education reform in Chicago since the 1960s* (pp. 179–218). University of North Carolina Press.

Torre, M. E., Fine, M., Stoudt, B., & Fox, M. (2012). Critical participatory action research as public science. In H. Cooper & P. Camic (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology*. American Psychological Association.

Torres, C. A. (1998). *Education, power, and personal biography: Dialogues with critical educators*. Routledge.

Trounstine, J. (2018). *Segregation by design: Local politics and inequality in American cities*. Cambridge University Press.

Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(3), 409–427.

University of Chicago Press Editorial Staff. (2020, June 26). *Black and white: A matter of capitalization*. https://cmosshoptalk.com/2020/06/22/black-and-white-a-matter-of-capitalization/

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (n.d.). *CPI inflation calculator*. https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2019). *Digest of education statistics, 2018* (NCES 2020-009), Table 216.95. https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=619

van Manen, M. (2016). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Vaught, S. E. (2011). *Racism, public schooling, and the entrenchment of White supremacy: A critical race ethnography*. State University of New York Press.

Walker, B. (1984). The local property tax for public schools: Some historical perspectives. *Journal of Education Finance, 9*(3), 265–288. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.umb.edu/stable/40703424

Wallace, R. (2015). *The mis-education of Black youth in America: The final move on the grand chessboard*. Ettelloc Publishing.

Walters, P. (2001). Educational access and the state: Historical continuities and discontinuities in racial inequality in American education. *Sociology of Education, 74*, 35–49. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673252

Ward, J. (1964, November 16). Ministers analyze accreditation issue; cite responsibility. *Jacksonville Times Union*, 21–24.

Warner, W. L., Havighurst, R. J., & Loeb, M. B. (1944). *Who shall be educated? The challenge of unequal opportunities.* Harper & Brothers Publishers.

Washington, B. T. (1969). *The Negro problem*. Arno Press.

Watkins, W. H. (2001). *The White architects of Black education: Ideology and power in America, 1865–1954*. Teachers College Press.

Weber, M. (2015). *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. Andesite Press.

Weiner, L. (2007). NCLB, U.S. education, and the World Bank: Neoliberalism comes home. In C. E. Sleeter (Ed.), *Facing accountability in education: Democracy and equity at risk* (pp. 159–171). Teachers College Press.

Weiss, G., Murphy, A. V., & Salamon, G. (2020). *50 concepts for a critical phenomenology*. Northwestern University Press.

Weis, L. & Fine, M. (2012). Critical bifocality and circuits of privilege: Expanding critical ethnography theory and design. *Harvard Educational Review*, *82*(2), 173–201.

White, A. O. (1979). *One hundred years of state leadership in Florida public education*. University Press of Florida.

White, A. O. (1981). State leadership and Black education in Florida, 1876–1976. *Phylon: The Clark Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, *42*(2), 168–179. https://www.jstor.org/stable/274721

White, C. (1976). Reviewed work: The *education of Black people in Florida*. *The Journal of Negro Education, 45*(2), 216–218. https://doi.org/10.2307/2967092

White, L. (1999). *Community mapping manual. Version 1.0*. Camden and Islington Health

White Citizens' Councils of America. (1965, October). *The Citizen* [Newsletter]. White Citizens' Councils of America.

Wilkerson, I. (2020). *Caste: The origins of our discontents*. Random House.

Williams, D. E. (1963) *A brief review of the growth and improvement of education for Negroes in Florida, 1927–1962*. Southern Education Foundation. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4187623

Williamson, E. C. (1976). *Florida politics in the Gilded Age, 1877–1893*. University Presses of Florida.

Wise, A. E. (1968). *Rich schools, poor schools: The promise of equal educational opportunity*. University of Chicago Press.

Woodson, C. G. (2015). *The mis-education of the Negro*. Dover Books. (Original work published 1933)

Zinn, H. (2002). *You can't be neutral on a moving train: A personal history of our times*. Beacon Press.