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LOYOLA MARYMOUNT UNIVERSITY

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

An Analysis of Policy Implementation, Outcomes, and Unintended Consequences

by

Carla M. McCullough

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the School of Education,

Loyola Marymount University,

in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Education

2012

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

An Analysis of Policy Implementation, Outcomes, and Unintended Consequences

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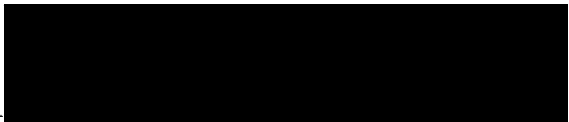
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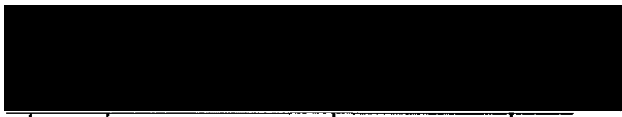
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April 17, 2012
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DEDICATION

To my mother, Tracey D. McCullough.

The sacrifices you made more than three decades ago and those you continue to make
have made all things possible for me.

Thank you for being my mom. I love you.

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ABSTRACT

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

An Analysis of Policy Implementation, Outcomes, and Unintended Consequences

By

Carla M. McCullough

Brown v. Board of Education (1954) was a significant court case fought to provide equal educational opportunities for African-American students. Though the case was fought with good intentions, there may have been unintended consequences that occurred due to the policy implementation. The purpose of this research was to explore the policy, its implementation, and assess the extent to which the goals of the original policy were met. This study used a mixed-methods approach and was set within one large urban school district. The qualitative portion of the study included interviews with a small group of educators who were directly impacted by *Brown* and its implementation. The data from both the interviews and the selected focus schools indicated that the initial goals of *Brown*, equal educational opportunities and integrated schooling, were not met. This research provided information from key areas that may serve as a guide to help make future policy implementation successful.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

“Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local government” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954 p. 493). This statement, though written almost 60 years ago by Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court, still rings true. Linda Darling-Hammond noted, “Public education is central to the promise of American democracy” (Darling-Hammond, 1997, p. 41). In the mid-1950s, all three branches of the United States government became involved in the educational democracy of African-American children. Today, in a time when many students of the United States are testing far below their foreign counterparts (National Center for Education Statistics, 2009; U.S. Department of Education, 2008) and the harsh requirements of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)* 2001 make the inadequacies of the U.S. educational system crystal clear, the educational functions of all forms of government warrant evaluation. Policies from the federal government such as the aforementioned *NCLB*, as well as its still-pending update, are current topics of conversation, but previous policies and their implementation might serve as a better roadmap for today’s policy makers.

Many large school districts are falling victim to massive restructuring due to the loss of teaching staff, low-test scores, and federal mandates from the Department of Education (*Reed v. State of California*, 2010; Sorenson, 2009). The schools that are most

deeply affected within these districts are primarily located in the inner city (Brill & McCartney, 2008; Delpit, 2012; Noguera & Cohen, 2004; *Reed v. State of California*, 2010; Smith & Kozleski, 2005). Some characteristics of these types of schools are low academic performance, as well as students who come from low socioeconomic backgrounds. One key component also prevalent is that the schools have a student population that consists largely of students of color (Aubry, 1988; Brill & McCartney, 2008; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Noguera & Cohen, 2004). This study focused on specific schools within one large urban school district. The schools included in this study are similar to the ones described above and are the same schools that were majority African-American at the time of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (Aubry, 1988). Years after the *Brown* decision these schools are still largely segregated, and at many of them the achievement rates of the student population has decreased (Boudreaux, 1999). Historians argue that the court case, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was designed to ensure that students of color, specifically those of African-American descent, received equal access to a quality education (Horsford & McKenzie, 2008; Zirkel, 2005). A snapshot of the schools presented in this mixed-methods study will showcase that the *Brown* court decision may not have met all of its intended outcomes.

Statement of the Problem

Brown v. Board of Education, a court case fought to help minority students, particularly those of African-American descent, may have hurt both students and inner city schools in general. This problem presents a serious social justice issue for students

of color and students who lack financial resources. Students within the inner city are continuing to lag behind their more affluent counterparts in academic achievement, test scores, and graduation rates (Aubrey, 1988; Curtis, 2001; Delpit, 2012). These components translate into lower paying jobs and less influence on societal change. While the low socioeconomic status, home life, and other factors might contribute to the aforementioned issues, the root of the problem could stem in part from the slow demise of inner city schools and communities that followed the implementation of *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)*. According to Sabrina Zirkel (2005), the court decision was only able to address the end of legally sanctioned racial segregation in public schools. However, implementation tactics such as school busing and forced student and teacher integration seemed to exacerbate the issue. Currently, “Across the country, schools are segregated in terms of race and class, and as was true before *Brown*, the vast majority of poor children are relegated to an inferior education” (Noguera & Cohen, 2004, p. 2). Since local and federal mandates are still used today to make significant changes at school sites, it is crucial to study the implementation and effects of previous policy directives such as *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)*.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this mixed-methods study was two-fold. The first objective was to explore the extent to which the goals of the original lawsuit were met, and the second goal was to uncover potential unintended consequences of the case’s implementation. Quantitative data was used to determine to what extent the initial goals of the *Brown*

lawsuit were met. In addition to the quantitative means, qualitative methods were used to garner the unheard perspectives of veteran educators about their experiences with the implementation of the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) policy. These educators, who each participated in one interview, spoke exclusively to the impact of *Brown* within two minority areas of one urban school district during the 20-year period directly before and after the policy's implementation, 1965 to 1985. Though the court case was decided in 1954, many desegregation plans were not put into place until after the passage of *The Civil Rights Act* of 1964, which mandated the loss of federal funding for any school that did not institute a desegregation plan (Jones-Wilson, 1981). The *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision was referenced to highlight the differences between four inner city schools from one large urban school district before and directly after the policy implementation.

Research Questions

In order to conduct this research study, two questions were posed:

1. What do veteran educators from one large urban school district identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)?
2. Using data from four schools within one large urban school district, to what extent were the goals of *Brown v. Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met?

The Significance of the Study

In spite of the fact that so much time has passed, the study of the *Brown* case still holds much significance. For African-American students, Derrick Bell an African-American Critical Race Theorist, argued that we got what we fought for, an educational system that was not segregated, but we lost what we had, high academic achievement among African-American students (Bell, 2004). An example in the current context of education is *No Child Left Behind* and the race to be top achievers in math and English. Many school communities have sacrificed the arts, laid off exemplary teachers who did not possess the necessary certifications, and increased the amount of time in a day that students are instructed in math and English, at times foregoing subjects like history and the arts (Beveridge, 2010). As of today we are still not on track to meet the proficiency requirements laid out by *NCLB*, and under the current presidential leadership, the act is set to be reauthorized again. This research studies the impact of the *Brown v. Board of Education* cases, while also exploring a recommendation that can be used to determine implementation tactics for current federally mandated policies.

Many Supreme Court cases that referenced segregated education, such as *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954), have been heard (*Hawkins v. Florida Bd. of Control*, 1956; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Bd. of Regents*, 1950; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950). However, none held more promise for K-12 students than the decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). According to Horsford and McKenzie (2008), many African-American educators

hoped that school desegregation would provide equal educational access, opportunities, and resources to Black children who were disenfranchised under a racially segregated, dual, and unequal education system. The *Brown* verdict was enforced years ago, yet students within the district in this study and many like it are still not fully receiving the promises made by this historic court decision. Verbiage from the case's original verdict states that segregation deprives minority students of equal educational opportunities (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). In some of the schools within this study, the equal access that was originally sought is lacking.

Equal access to education when discussed during the era prior to the *Brown* case referred to minority students, specifically those of African descent, who were deprived of simple things such as unused textbooks and new school facilities (Ashmore, 1954; Nairobi Research Institute, 1973; Walker, 1996). Access to equal educational tools, as well as other resources, was denied solely based on the race of the student. According to Smith and Kozleski (2005), the financial inequalities still continue. Statistics show that 80% of the nation's urban schools are funded at a lower rate than their suburban counterparts (Smith & Kozleski, 2005). In addition to funding discrepancies, urban schools are also prone to low teacher retention rates (Brill & McCartney, 2008; Gunzelmann, 2012; Jacob, 2007). Schools with low income and minority students are more likely to have worse teacher retention problems and bear the subsequent costs more heavily (Brill & McCartney, 2008; Gunzelmann, 2012). The high turnover of teachers, particularly at urban school sites, can be a contributing factor to low test scores, high dropout rates, and general disinterest in school (Pepper, London, & Dishman, 2010;

Veltri, 2008). As America tries feverishly to reach achievement levels that match those of students in foreign countries, children at all schools need to meet and exceed academic expectations. This, however, is currently not the case.

The achievement gap, as defined by Ansell (2004), is the disparity in academic performance between groups of students. Achievement is no longer merely defined by graduation rates. Test scores also provide data about the academic attainment of students. The *No Child Left Behind* legislation in 2001 required schools, districts, and states to report test score data according to race and socioeconomic status, which made the achievement gap even more visible (Patterson, Niles, Carlson, & Kelley, 2008). The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which is the only gauge of K-12 student achievement across the U.S., noted that 50% of students eligible for free and reduced lunch tested below basic in 2007 (Price, 2008). The most recent statistics available, the National Center for Educational Statistics indicated that as of 2007 there still existed a gap in test scores amongst 8th grade Black and White students. The gap in mathematics was 31 points, which was down only two points from the year 1990. The statistics for reading scores were similar with a 26-point gap. These statistics speak to a question raised by Asa Hillard (2004), “Has the achievement of African children improved significantly?” (p. 6). While the initial outcome of *Brown* was to eliminate educational segregation, the underlying goal within the Black community was better opportunities in order to obtain equal status within society. The statistics listed above and those presented later in this research highlight the failure to meet this goal.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory is defined as an analytical framework on race and racism in the law and society (Lynn & Parker, 2006). This concept, while not the main framework for this study, is discussed here because issues that led to the passage and implementation of the *Brown* decision were largely driven by race. According to Milner (2008), CRT emerged from the law as a response to legal studies and civil rights scholarship. The author further noted, “Critical race theorists are concerned with disrupting, exposing, challenging, and changing racist policies that work to subordinate and disenfranchise certain groups of people and that attempt to maintain the status quo” (Milner, 2008, p. 333). Derrick Bell, who passed away in 2011, was a pioneer in the field. His book, *Race, Racism, and the Law* (2000) explores the history of race in America through topics ranging from education to housing. Loren Miller, an African-American judge, who fought against discrimination in housing, added to the field of race and law with his book *The Petitioners: the Story of the Supreme Court and the Negro* (1966). Based on his judicial expertise, Judge Miller noted, “The harsh truth is that the first *Brown* decision was a great decision; the second *Brown* decision was a great mistake” (Miller, 1966, p. 351). Tales of what went wrong with desegregation serve as a reminder that racism did not die with the imposed court order. Additionally a critical analysis of racism in education could lead to new ways to think about the failure of schools to properly educate

minority populations (Lynn & Parker, 2006). The framework utilized for this study, the theory of Interest Convergence, emerged from the work of Critical Race Theorists.

Interest Convergence Theory

The theory of Interest Convergence is credited to Professor Bell as an offshoot of Critical Race Theory (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). The basic premise as it relates to the *Brown* decision is that the interests of Blacks in racial equality are only sought when it converges with the interests of Whites (Bell, 1980). Bell (1980) further noted, “The Fourteenth Amendment standing alone will not authorize a judicial remedy providing effective racial equality for Blacks where the remedy sought threatens the superior societal status of middle and upper class Whites” (p. 523). Supporters of equal rights hoped that the *Brown* decision of 1954 would offer this remedy. However, even after the Court revisited the issue in *Brown II* (1955) many schools districts still did not fully implement a plan to desegregate. In Los Angeles the threat of losing federal money (Watson, 1976) prompted the school board to begin working on a plan. According to various articles in the *Los Angeles Times*, many of these plans were abandoned by the early 1980s, less than 20 years after implementation.

Richard Milner (2008) provides another example of Interest Convergence in his article on the topic. A visit to a northern U.S. town provided an opportunity for him to be given a tour of local schools. The tour guide pointed out that a new district plan would allow Spanish-speaking students to learn English in an integrated setting. It would also allow the mostly White, upper class students to become bilingual through interaction. The

interests of the majority group in this scenario coincided with the interests of the minority. The converging of interests along with the racial undertones that permeate the *Brown* decision provided a lens through which the story of this study could be adequately shared. According to Castagno and Lee (2007), convergence exposes the selfishness behind many policies that are intended to advance greater equity.

Research Design & Methodology

The methodology used for this mixed-methods study included a combination of data analysis consisting of participant interviews and *Brown v. Board of Education* implementation records found in newspapers, scholarly articles, and related books. Demographic data from specific schools within the studied district were also used. The interviews were conducted with 10 people that were directly affected by and involved with the implementation of the *Brown* case. Interviews of political players, teachers, administrators, and district personnel all provided a unique perspective that gave insight to the issue at hand. Hatch (2002) detailed several types of interviewing strategies. For this research a combination of formal and standardized interview techniques were used. Formal interviews, which are also referred to as structured or semi-structured, consist of a researcher-led interview, which is often recorded (Hatch, 2002). Standardized interviews, also considered formal, contain pre-determined questions, which are asked in the same order to each participant. As Hatch (2002) detailed, the data generated is comparable to an open-ended questionnaire except answers are recorded and transcribed

by the researcher. As this study is historical in nature, observations, like those used with traditional semi-structured interviews, were not conducted.

Assumptions and Limitations

The nature of this study lent itself to several assumptions on the part of the researcher. As an African-American educator who also spent time as a student in a public school setting, personal biases do exist around the topic of school integration. General observations while working in an urban school, along with conversations with more seasoned colleagues caused the researcher to suspect that the major shift within inner city education began at the implementation of *Brown*. Participation in a magnet program within a large urban school district during the 1980s added to this suspicion. In addition, there was an assumption that subsequent interviews and data collection would support this notion. Along with these assumptions, this study also presents some limitations.

The limitations of a study with a historical component are numerous. Interviews that were conducted asked the interviewees to recall information from decades ago. Due to the length of time, accurate recollection poses a problem. Also, interviewing a sample size of only 10 participants about an area that covers thousands of workers may leave some opinions untouched. The participants of this study also all represented the African-American race. The data collected provided a rich perspective, but not having participants of other nationalities limited the scope of the study. Despite the limitations

of this study, the information gathered could be useful for future policy implementation within the field of education.

Definition of Key Terms

Terms used within this study that may need further clarification are as follows:

- a. *African-American or Black*: The term “Black or African American” refers to people having origins in any of the Black race groups of Africa. It includes people who may be referred to as “Negro, Black or African American. Throughout this study the terms “Black” and “African-American” are used interchangeably. “Negro” and “colored” are also used where historically applicable.
- b. *Dejure segregation*: Segregation imposed by law (Chapman, 2005).
- c. *Defacto segregation*: Segregation created by social practices and individual choices (Chapman, 2005).
- d. *Inner City*: Refers to a particular kind of urban setting, one that serves largely poor, minority students (African-American, Hispanic, Native American, immigrant Asian) and that is situated in or draws its students from economically depressed neighborhoods (Brunetti, 2006).
- e. *Mini district*: The locale for this study consisted of a large urban school district that is broken down into several sub or mini districts. The districts discussed in this study are identified by both letters and numbers according to the time period being discussed.

- f. *Socioeconomic Status (SES)*: An individual's or group's position within a hierarchical social structure. Socioeconomic status depends on a combination of variables, including occupation, education, income, wealth, and place of residence. Sociologists often use socioeconomic status as a means of predicting behavior (“Socioeconomic Status”, Dictionary.com).
- g. *Social Justice*: Requires that everyone receive respect and equal access to basic necessities such as jobs and education regardless of their place in society (Andrzejewski, Baltodano & Symcox, 2009).
- h. *Urban*: Of or related to a large metropolitan area. Throughout this study the terms “inner city school” and “urban school” are used interchangeably.

Summary of Research Study

This chapter reviewed the components of the study. The study inquiry focused on two questions: “What do veteran educators from one large urban school district identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)?” and “To what extent were the goals of *Brown v. Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met?” The questions were explored through the theoretical lenses of Interest Convergence, which derives from Critical Race Theory. In Chapter Two, relevant literature surrounding the topic is explored. Literature on subjects that range from segregation, federal education policies, and inner city schools is also discussed. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) is reviewed at considerable length along

with relevant information from specific urban centers. Chapter Three explores the methodological approach used to conduct this study. Individual interviews were conducted in addition to an in-depth review of the policy implementation, an analysis of the pertinent school district information, and student demographics from the time period leading up to and after the policy implementation. Chapter Four discusses the data collected. The findings reviewed were based on the *Brown* policy implementation, the collected demographic and district data, and the corresponding interviews. Finally, Chapter Five puts the findings in perspective based on the current context of education. In addition, the final chapter discusses the impact this research can have on future policies as they relate to significant government-driven change within urban educational settings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The history of the United States might well be organized into the pre- and post-*Brown* eras (Smith & Kozleski, 2005). The experiences of Black America that began during the period of slavery and continue to present day have had a profound effect on the rest of the country. Though rarely talked about in the current public policy debate, educational desegregation is as relevant today as it has ever been (Kozol, 2004). The text of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) breaks down the previous “separate, but equal” policy and advocates for educational equity amongst Blacks and other minority students.

In order to adequately understand the effects of the *Brown* legislation, this study focused on two pertinent questions:

1. What do veteran educators from one large urban school district identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)?
2. Using data from four schools within one school district, to what extent were the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met?

This literature review covered several areas that are interrelated to the main topic as a means to lay the framework for the data presented later in this study. The historical

context that surrounds the *Brown* legislation and treatment of African-Americans within the United States is discussed beginning with the constraints of slavery through the start of the Civil Rights Movement. The theoretical framework that guides this study is Interest Convergence. This progeny of Critical Race Theory will be discussed at length within the review. The different lawsuits that made up the class action *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)* case will each be covered individually along with later *Brown* cases. The Supreme Court policy reviewed came out of judicial legislation; therefore government and its role in education were closely examined. Both the large urban setting and the selected school district have a valuable history, which was interwoven into the literature review. This examination of the literature, organized as an intricate picture of the country and the studied urban area as it relates to *Brown*, provides substantial background information for the reader before the Methods section that appears in Chapter Three.

Historical Context of Segregation

To effectively address the question of the impact of *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)*, thorough coverage must be given to the politics behind the initial issue. This begins with a discussion of racial segregation within American schools. The history of segregation, its role in schools, and the policies that moved toward integration are significant because they lay the framework for the shift in urban schools. The initial problem of resources for Black students called for education reform in an effort to provide a level playing field. The unintended consequences of this action, by way of the

implementation of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), may have been the impetus for public schooling that is divided along economic and racial lines. Some of this division may have a direct effect on the large number of the minority public school students that do not receive a sufficient education.

This review of the historical context of segregation begins with slavery and moves to a series of court cases. In order to fully understand the impact of *Brown*, it is important to touch on all of these components briefly. The institution of slavery was the beginning of the second-class citizenship treatment that many Blacks faced in the United States. A brief period of reprieve known as Reconstruction occurred after the abolition of slavery, but soon Blacks were returned to a place of inferiority which included lack of equal treatment and scare tactics on the part of White Americans. The 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, confirmed the notion that Blacks should be separated from their White counterparts, and allowed this separate but equal policy to be condoned by the federal and local government.

Slavery

An explanation of the history behind segregation within the United States must first begin with how the country came to be so divided. Most scholars and historians agree that slavery in the United States of America began in the early 1600s in the southeastern states (Smith, 2005). From this time until 1865, a period of more than 200 years, people of African descent were treated in a manner that would be considered unthinkable today. Slaves were made to work in the fields tending cotton, sugar cane, and other crops, for

the majority of the day. At night they were fed scraps not fit for the White citizens that owned them. The sanctity of the family was not respected, and African-American families were consistently split apart when members were sold on the auction block to other slaveholders. Those who revolted or dared to question the system were frequently killed in an effort to maintain order and to remind those watching how little their lives meant. While slaves in the southern states may have appeared to have had it worse than the free men and women who lived in the north, neither group was treated as the equal of their White counterparts. What follows is a series of court cases.

Roberts v. Boston (1850)

More than 100 years before the *Brown* lawsuit, another school desegregation case was tried in the North. *Roberts v. City of Boston (1850)* was argued in Massachusetts by the first Black lawyer to ever argue a jury case in the United States, Robert Morris. The events of the case are chronicled in the book *Sarah's Long Walk: The Free Blacks of Boston and How Their Struggle Changed America* (Kendrick & Kendrick, 2006). The lawsuit took place in the decade prior to the Civil War, during a time when roughly nine out of ten Blacks were slaves, and only 2% attended any kind of school (Kendrick & Kendrick, 2006). The lawyer, Robert Morris, began as a servant boy to Gray Ellis Loring and eventually became one of two Blacks who joined the ranks of the nearly 25,000 lawyers who had passed the bar at that time.

This period was filled with conversations centered on education. Horace Mann, one of the main education reformers of the day, spent considerable time discussing the

parameters of what a “public” school should be. Though Boston was a northern city, the Blacks that lived there still faced discrimination and segregation even in education. Benjamin Foster waged the lawsuit on behalf of his daughter, Sarah, who was not allowed to go to her neighborhood school. The question posed in the suit dealt with whether the school board had the power to exclude certain groups from certain schools. The Massachusetts Supreme Court of four justices heard the case on appeal. A fifth judge recused himself from the trial due to a conflict of interest. After arguments by Robert Morris and his White co-counsel Charles Sumner, the court rendered a decision that began with the following sentence:

The general school committee of the city of Boston have power, under the constitution and laws of this commonwealth, to make provisions for the instruction of colored children in separate schools established exclusively for them, and to prohibit their attendance upon the other schools. (*Roberts v. Boston*, 1850, p.198)

In the first decision of its kind, *Roberts* gave approval for school segregation. It was cited in other school desegregation cases and was eventually used to help decide *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). This sometimes forgotten court case set the stage for more than 100 years of separate, but equal educational treatment.

The case and school segregation in Boston was eventually challenged, not by *Brown*, but by *Morgan v. Hennigan* (1974). This lawsuit sought to end de jure segregation in Boston, which still continued decades after 1954. The result of the

Morgan case was a formula created to desegregate schools citywide, including the Boston Latin School, which founded in 1635, is the first public school in the country. Twenty-two years after *Morgan* and a little more than four decades after *Brown*, another case *McLaughlin v. Boston School Committee* (1996) brought into question the affirmative action part of the Boston school desegregation plan. As a result, a White student who was originally denied admittance to the Boston Latin School because of quota numbers was allowed to attend the institution. Two years later the case of *Wessman v. Boston School Committee* (1998), heard on appeal, dismantled the original plan altogether. Boston, the United States leader in public education, was where the issue of school desegregation began to unfold.

Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

Around the time of the *Roberts* school battle in the north, a slave was fighting for his freedom in Missouri. Dred Scott was born into slavery and through a series of sales and moves ended up living in the free states of Illinois and Wisconsin, though he was not considered free. Mr. Scott decided to sue for his freedom after the death of his original owner. Though he sued twice, he was unable to gain his freedom because according to the Supreme Court he was not a citizen. Chief Justice Taney speaking for the majority put it this way: “We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States” (*Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 1857, p. 404). Simply put, people

of African descent, whether born into slavery or not, were not citizens, and thus had no rights. This sentiment continued across the country even after the end of slavery.

Freedom from Slavery

The *Dred Scott* Supreme Court decision took place in the year 1857, but by the beginning of 1861 the state of slavery as a whole was being called into question. From the years of 1861 to 1865 the country was divided over the issue, a division that led to a four-year Civil War. At the end of this war, the northern states had won, slavery was completely abolished, and those of African descent were granted their freedom. The *Emancipation Proclamation* issued by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 while the war was still being fought was intended to “free” the slaves, but it in fact merely opened the doors to further discrimination and unequal treatment under the guise of separate but equal. Though they were no longer enslaved; colored people as they were then called, faced discriminatory treatment for more than 100 years after the abolishment of slavery.

After the slaves were emancipated in the South, they were given the option of remaining at their former plantation and continuing to work as sharecroppers. Many southern Blacks decided this was their best option and remained on, living in their former slave quarters, continuing the same work, and making only a small amount of money. As most slaves were unable to read due to policies that forbade their education (Mays, 1971) they were dependent upon their former master for many things. Items that were needed to live, such as food and clothing were charged to an account that constantly kept the newly freed workers in debt to their former owners or other Whites. Though as a whole,

Blacks enjoyed a small period of reprieve known as the Reconstruction era, there were still pockets of discrimination.

Before his untimely death, President Lincoln created the Freedman's Bureau, which as a part of the *Freedman's Act* was designed to assist newly freed slaves (*Freedman's Bureau Act*, 1865). President Lincoln was assassinated before a commissioner could be assigned to the bureau, and despite the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments being added to the constitution, the time of reprieve for former slaves was brief. Though the Fourteenth Amendment was slated to ensure equal protection for all citizens, the amendment was frequently challenged (Smith & Kozelski, 2005). Once the period of Reconstruction had ended, both southern and northern Blacks faced issues of segregation in areas, which included restaurants, churches, and schools.

The Civil War Amendments

After the end of the Civil War in 1865, three new amendments were added to the Constitution of the United States. The amendments were added over a five-year period and became known as the Civil War Amendments. The first, the Thirteenth Amendment, abolished slavery. Though the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued two years prior, it merely freed the slaves, rather than abolishing the institution. The Fifteenth Amendment granted all persons the right to vote, regardless of skin color. Though ratified in 1870, many Blacks were not freely able to vote until almost a century later. Of the three amendments, The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868 is the most relevant to the *Brown* case. Within this Amendment, Section One granted all persons equal

protection of the law. This clause was used by the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund to argue away school segregation, first in segregated law schools with the cases of *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950) and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) and finally in K-12 education with the *Brown* case.

***Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)**

A lawsuit filed by Homere Patris Plessy, a man of mixed race known simply as Homer Plessy, challenged the segregation of public facilities. In this case the facility was a segregated train, and Plessy participated in an organized act of civil disobedience much like that which would occur nearly 60 years later by Rosa Parks on an Alabama bus. As explained by Keith Weldon Medley (2003) in the book *We as Freeman: Plessy v. Ferguson*, the attempt to defy the Louisiana Separate Car Act was orchestrated by Homer and 18 other men of the Comite des Citoyens (Committee of Citizens). Mr. Plessy volunteered for the job as he was of mixed race and could pass for a White man. He was arrested for his efforts, and the action eventually led to a lawsuit that made its way to the Supreme Court. The outcome of the trial coined the beginnings of the term "separate but equal." The decision as read by Justice Henry Brown (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) is encapsulated with the following quote:

The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the Negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities,

a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals. When the government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized and performed all of the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed.

(p. 551)

Justice John Harlan was the single dissenter in the case. In addition to reminding the reader that the Constitution of the United States was intended to be colorblind, Justice Harlan is quoted as saying “In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* Case” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896, p. 559).

Jim Crow Laws

The decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) paved the way for years of discrimination in the form of Jim Crow Laws. In the 1830s a White minstrel actor performed in Black face a song, which was entitled “Jim Crow.” The time period and laws of extreme segregation within the United States share this name. The laws were designed to keep the races, specifically Whites and Blacks, separate. The regulations ranged from separate public facilities to no intermingling of the races through marriage or education. While such laws were understood in most states around the country, they were mostly on the books in Southern states. Northern areas such as Illinois allowed integrated schools and the children there were exposed to races other than their own. In

contrast places in the Deep South such as Mississippi had some of the most strict Jim Crow laws and racist practices. This became evident in a 1955 court case that some believe was the true catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement (Whitfield, 1988).

State of Mississippi v. J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant (1955)

While Jim Crow existed in an unofficial form in the North (Jones, 2002), hardly any state enforced the laws more than Mississippi. The book *The Warmth of Other Suns* (Wilkerson, 2010) chronicled the migration routes of many Blacks from places like Louisiana to Los Angeles and Mississippi to Chicago. In her autobiography, Mamie Till-Mobley (Till-Mobley & Benson 2003) discussed the same migratory path. She and her mother came to Chicago from Webb, Mississippi to join her father who was already settled in an area just outside of Chicago. During her childhood, Mamie returned to Mississippi for visits. When she had a child of her own, she allowed him to do the same. Emmett Louis Till was visiting an uncle in Money, Mississippi when he made a fatal mistake. Though he attended an integrated school in Chicago, the laws of Money as it related to Black and White relationships were not the same. Emmett chose to have a conversation with the White female storeowner on a dare and issued a “wolf-whistle” at her (Bradford-Huie, 1956). This violation of the Jim Crow law cost him his life (Whitfield, 1988).

J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant were the two men charged with taking Emmett from his uncle’s home, torturing him, shooting him, and then tying his body to a cotton gin fan and dumping him in the Tallahatchie River. Despite the evidence and testimony from

Emmett's uncle, the two men were set free after a remarkably speedy trial. A short time later, they sold their story to a local reporter and gave explicit details of the killing. According to the men Emmett, or BoBo as he was called, was not afraid of them. Miliam is quoted as saying, "Well what else could we do, he was hopeless." Mr. Miliam elaborated further by saying "As long as I live and can do anything about it, niggers are gonna stay in their place. Niggers ain't gonna vote where I live. If they did, they'd control the government. They ain't gonna go to school with my kids" (Bradford-Huie, 1956, para. 62). The remainder of the article explained that Emmett was forced to carry the cotton gin to the riverbank prior to being shot. After the open casket funeral held in Chicago and the rapid trial acquittal in Sumner, the events of the Civil Rights Movement began to unfold.

The Civil Rights Movement

The timeline of the Civil Rights Movement spans from the mid-1950s until the close of the 1960s. Some literature lists the *Brown* court decision as the start of the movement (Ettinger, 2003; Smith & Kozleski, 2005), while others cite the Emmett Till story or the Montgomery Bus Boycott as the beginning. As the movement progressed, events such as The March on Washington, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the death of several prominent leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King, and the rise of the Black Panther Movement, began to unfold. Though the exact time span varies, the events of Black America throughout this time are important to the fabric of the United States.

The spread of Jim Crow laws in the early 1900s caused the facilities for Whites and Blacks to remain separate as long as they were deemed equal. During this time Black children were educated in segregated schools that lacked many of the resources of their White counterparts. This form of segregation went on for years before the members of several Civil Rights organizations began working to prove that separate was not actually equal. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909 worked tirelessly on helping Negroes to gain equal rights. Their legal team brought the court cases that came to be known as *Brown* to the Supreme Court in 1952. The May 1954 decision seemed to signal a significant change on the horizon; however the 1955 *Brown II* court case put brakes on the policy implementation. The next 10 years saw a yearlong bus boycott, the rise of Dr. King, student-led protests, countless marches, and numerous assassinations and lynchings. During this time the massive school integration efforts that were expected did not happen everywhere. Ten years after the first *Brown* case, on the heels of President John F. Kennedy's assassination, the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964 was signed by President Lyndon Johnson. This act covered many topics, one of which was the loss of federal funding for any public educational institution that did not end segregation. Finally the interests of the minority and the majority converged.

Theoretical Framework

Theory can be defined as a set of formal propositions or axioms that explain how some part of the world operates (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2009). The historical context

through which segregated schools came to be is in part a result of thoughts of inferiority and racism from Whites toward Blacks. In the time after the Civil Rights Movement, however, the pervasiveness of these attitudes seemed to have subsided. Though this may be the case, the issues of race and class still provide an appropriate framework through which to answer the questions of unintended consequences of *Brown* as well as assess the anticipated goals. The lens of Interest Convergence, an offspring of Critical Race Theory, offers a simple context for the research being conducted and the framework that is prevalent throughout this work.

Critical Race Theory

The Critical Race Theory movement is a collection of activists and scholars who seek to transform the relationship between race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefaniec, 2005). The mere act of having segregated schools is a concrete example that racism is alive and well in the educational community. Gloria Ladson-Billings and Lansing Tate (1995) put the intersection of Critical Race Theory and education this way, “If racism were merely isolated, unrelated individual acts, we would expect to see at least a few examples of educational excellence and equity together in our nation’s public schools” (p. 18).

Critical Race Theory (CRT) first emerged through work done by Derrick Bell, a Black law professor, and Alan Freeman, a White activist. Originally largely related to the field of law, the connection to education was inevitable considering the landscape of America in the 1970s. CRT places a strong emphasis on storytelling and the narrative of

African-Americans as a tool for understanding (Jones, 2002). Within this work the components of the narrative as found in CRT are utilized to tell a story of *Brown v. Board of Education* and its impact. The framework beneath these narratives is the theory of Interest Convergence.

Interest Convergence

The Interest Convergence Theory proposes that change benefitting Blacks only occurs when those interests also benefit Whites (Bell, 1980). In his article *Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma* (1980), Bell hypothesized that even the Fourteenth Amendment could not authorize judicial remedy that provided racial equality to Blacks, if there was somehow a threat to middle and upper class Whites. Since this theory was first put into place, scholars have expanded the idea to other minority groups and to women (Aleman & Aleman Jr, 2010; Kohli, 2009). Despite the theorists who utilize Interest Convergence (Gafford Muhammad, 2009; Harper, 2009; Milner, 2008), there are still others who point out potential flaws to the concept (Driver, 2011). However, Derrick Bell and those who have come after him provided a compelling case for an intersection of Interest Convergence and the *Brown* lawsuit.

An analysis of *Ayers v. Fordice* (1995) completed via a Southern institution's Department of Educational Leadership (Gafford Muhammad, 2009) applied the Interest Convergence Theory. The case, filed on behalf of the children of Jake Ayers and numerous other co-plaintiffs, was originally heard in 1975. The basic problem was that African-American college students in Mississippi were being denied equal access to a

quality education due to five predominately White schools and three Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). The final remedy, 20 years after the original lawsuit, was that the HBCUs must maintain a 10% White enrollment in order to earn endowment funding. In addition, money must be used to provide financial aid in order to attract White applicants. No such provisions were put in place for traditional White universities to attract Black or other minority candidates. Ms. Gafford Muhammad (2009) hypothesized that the handling of the public higher education desegregation supports the Interest Convergence Theory.

The theory could also be applied to the handling of school segregation and desegregation in Boston. The 1974 *Morgan* case was intended to promote compliance with the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964 and to dismantle de jure segregation in the city. As a result one of the most prestigious schools in the area, the Boston Latin School, was forced to apply methods that would make room for more minority students. This formula, however, came at the expense of potential White students. The 1998 lawsuit of *Wessman v. Boston School Committee* and its 1996 predecessor for the McLaughlin family provided an example where the interests of minority students did not converge with the interests of Whites. Though students of color had faced many years of discriminatory practices in education, the loss of coveted spaces in a prestigious school caused a setback in Boston's school integration process. The convergence theory has even been applied outside of the United States. David Gilborn (2010) related the concept to poor Whites in England and their relationship to middle and upper class Whites. Within the context of the *Brown* case, despite the 1954 decision, real action did not take

place until years later. The threat of a loss of federal funding and eventual lawsuits played a significant role in having the two sides meet in the middle.

Brown v. Board of Education

Brown v. Board of Education was a significant piece of legislation that is still spoken of more than 50 years after it was heard. Named for Oliver Brown, one of the plaintiffs in a class action suit, this court case was argued by members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The NAACP, an organization founded by a multi-race group of people as a result of the Springfield, Illinois riots of 1908, played a pivotal role in desegregation court cases which focused on education, housing, public transportation, and other public forums. The organization had its own Legal Defense Fund (LDF) specifically for the litigation of such cases. The fund, which was organized in 1939, became a separate entity in the mid-1950s. The LDF was responsible for the *Brown* case, *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), and numerous other anti-discrimination cases from the 1940s until the present day.

The Forgotten Cases Prior to *Brown*

Though the *Brown* case was the most well known of the segregation cases, there were others that came before. The first school segregation case *Roberts v. Boston* (1850) was fought more than 100 years before *Brown*. The ruling came down in favor of the defendants, and in the case *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the U.S. Supreme Court cited *Roberts v. Boston* (1850). The Massachusetts case of the 1800s was not the only one of

its kind prior to *Brown*. In the state of Kansas alone there were 11 school segregation cases between 1881 and 1949. However, the landmark case that might have set the most precedent for the *Brown* decision occurred on the other side of the country in California.

The lawsuit was *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946), a federal court case that prohibited the racial segregation of Mexican-American students in Orange County. The case began with five Mexican-American fathers, one of whom was Gonzalo Mendez. The segregation of Mexicans in Orange County was similar to the plight of Blacks in Los Angeles. The areas of Garden Grove, Westminster, El Modena, and Santa Ana all maintained separate schools for Whites and Mexican Americans based on the neighborhood or transfer policy (Wollenberg, 1976). The decision to desegregate came down in early 1946, and was upheld when appealed in 1947. This case, besides setting a precedent for *Brown v. Board of Education*, which came less than 10 years later, was also notable amongst segregation cases because of California's governor at that time. Governor Earl Warren would later become the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Warren took his post in January of 1954 and decided the landmark *Brown* case later that same year.

Several other court cases were significant in terms of the *Brown* decision. Like its predecessor, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927) upheld the notion that separate but equal did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. This case was fought on behalf of Chinese-American students in Mississippi and applied the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) precedent to public schools. *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), though not an education

case, did deal with restrictions based on race. This case determined that the courts could not uphold racial covenants, which barred people of color from living in a particular place. Major cities such as Los Angeles and Chicago at one time had as much as 80% of the land covered by restrictive covenants (Farley, 2008). This limitation in the areas where Blacks could reside had a rollover effect on the schools that could be attended by children of color. *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) along with *Brown* began the dismantling of segregated schools based on housing patterns. However, years after the cases, issues of “White flight” caused defacto segregation patterns to increase. This phenomenon of Whites leaving an area recently populated by people of color for more homogeneous neighborhoods (Haines, 2010) caused an influx of school segregation issues all over again. Despite the problems that lay in the future concerning racial separation, the verdict in the *Brown* case appeared to be a significant victory and was a part of the springboard for the Civil Rights Movement that was to come.

The *Brown* Case

Beginning in the fall of 1951 several parents were encouraged by the local NAACP to enroll their children in neighborhood schools in an integrated area of Kansas. Though the neighborhoods were integrated, the local elementary schools were not. The denial of enrollment along with other school segregation cases across several states formed into the *Brown* court case. The eventual results of three years of hard work led to the overturning of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which had condoned segregation. The decision, as read by Chief Justice Warren, states; “We conclude that in the field of public

education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, p.495). With this statement, hundreds of years of unequal treatment began the slow start of being dismantled.

The Class Action.

The *Brown* court case was actually a class action suit that combined four cases. A fifth case *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954) was decided on the same day, May 17, 1954. The cases were located in the southern and eastern regions of the United States and all dealt with the same essential issue. The map in Figure 1 highlights the area of the country that condoned racial segregation.

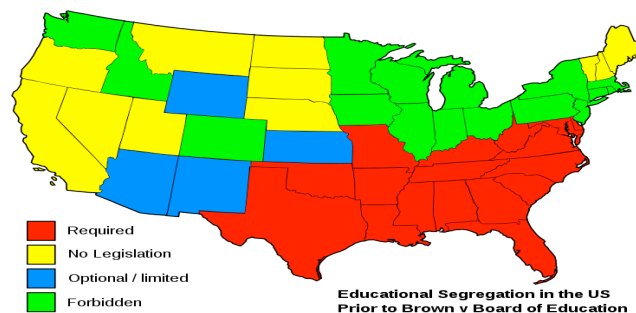


Figure 1. Map of Educational Segregation in the US Prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*. Boerner (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.boerner.net/jboerner/?p=18634>.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund members argued the *Brown* case. One of the lead counselors was Thurgood Marshall, who would eventually go on to be a member of the Supreme Court. Each of the cases involved in the class action originated due to a disparity in the education being received by Negro children. The cases are individually outlined below.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas (1951).

Kansas is a midwestern state and, unlike its southern counterparts, had a mostly integrated school system. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Kansas law permitted school districts in large cities to decide whether or not to have segregated schools (“Brown vs. the Board”, 1984). In Topeka schools, integration did not extend down to the elementary grades. For this reason, third-grader Linda Brown had to walk a mile to get to the Colored elementary school, passing up the White school on her way. Similar to Sarah Roberts more than 100 years before, her father Pastor Oliver Brown, along with several other parents filed a suit after failed attempts to have their children admitted to the local area White schools. The Brown name was incidentally the first name listed in both the original suit and the larger 1954 class action. Though he was able to witness the official victory, Pastor Brown passed away suddenly in 1961 at the age of 42. A dissertation written in 1980 detailed both the events of his life and the case (Masters, 1980).

Briggs v. Elliott (1952).

The *Briggs et al. v. Elliott et al.*, one of the four cases combined to complete *Brown*, was set in Summerton, South Carolina, which was one of 17 states that required school segregation. The original issue surrounded Eliza Briggs and 21 other families who sought a school bus for their children. The parents sought reprieve from the superintendent, R. M. Elliott, who denied the request for their own school bus. The NAACP took up the case, enlisting the help of a local minister, Reverend Joseph Armstrong Delaine. Reverend Delaine, his family, and the family of the named

defendant faced hardships because of their willingness to participate. The Briggses and the Delaines had to relocate because of their involvement. Originally the case was heard by the Supreme Court and returned to the district court before it was reappealed as a part of *Brown*.

Part of the litigation introduced the findings of Kenneth and Mamie Clark's doll test. The psychologist husband and wife team conducted an experiment in the 1940s that studied the effects of dolls on the attitude of children on race (Bernstein, 2011). In addition to arguing that segregation made Black children feel inferior, lead attorney Thurgood Marshall also attacked the violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment spells out equal protection under the law for all citizens, and though education is not a right stated in the constitution, the inequity of receiving an inferior one solely because of race was the basis for Mr. Marshall's argument. The LDF approach with the initial desegregation school cases, first on the graduate level and later at elementary and secondary, was that separate but equal was a denial of equal education. This strategy was first used with law school cases such as *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938) in an effort to connect with the law school experiences of the judges.

Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (1952).

Robert Russa Moton was an African-American educator who worked for two Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's), Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute. In 1923 a school, R. R. Moton, was named in his honor and opened near his birthplace in Farmville, Virginia. Less than 30 years later, the school was the subject of a

student protest that eventually led to a lawsuit for unequal facilities. The students of the school led by Barbara Johns protested the shortage of quality facilities such as a cafeteria or a gymnasium. The lack of classroom space also required students to take classes on a school bus that had once belonged to the area White school. The result of the student protest led to a law suit being filed against the school board which was eventually won on behalf of the students. Though the case resulted in victory through the *Brown* class action, the people of the town would not endorse school integration. The failure to comply was so great that the local area schools were actually shut down for a period of five years to prevent school integration. Many students had to relocate to other cities and states in order to receive schooling. Barbara, the student leader behind the events, was sent to live with her uncle, the famed Reverend Vernon Johns in Alabama.

Gebhart v. Belton (1952).

Delaware, the first state admitted to the Union and the second smallest state in the U.S., played a pivotal role in the fight for integrated education for Black students. Two court cases, *Belton v. Gebhart* (1952) and *Bulah v. Gebhart* (1952) were combined into the larger *Gebhart v. Belton* (1952). Ethel Lee Belton sought remedy for her daughter Ethel Louise who was denied access to Claremount High School, which was within walking distance from her house. The younger Ethel was instead forced to attend Howard High School, which was the only school for Blacks in the entire state of Delaware. During this same time, another woman initiated a fight for her daughter. Sarah Bulah and her husband Fred were concerned with the fact that their daughter Shirley did not have

transportation to school. Sarah began a letter writing campaign to request that the bus reserved for White students, pick her child up and simply drop her at the post office so that she would only have two additional blocks to walk to school. This request was repeatedly denied and Sarah eventually took her petition to Delaware's first Black attorney, Louis Redding.

Louis Redding passed the Delaware Bar in 1929 after being the only Black graduate of Harvard Law School's 1928 class. He would remain Delaware's only Black lawyer for the next three decades. While Mr. Redding oversaw many successful court cases, his most lasting legacy came from school desegregation litigation (Gadsden, 2005). His first major case resulted in the desegregation of the University of Delaware. *Parker v. University of Delaware* (1950) made the Delaware institution the first public university to be desegregated by court order. This success continued with the *Gebhart* case, making it the only one in the *Brown* class action where the courts sided with the plaintiffs.

Bolling v. Sharpe (1954).

Washington, DC, formerly the District of Columbia, has the unique distinction of being the capital of the U.S. while not being an actual state. Despite this, over the years DC has had similar racial segregation concerns as other parts of America (Cottrol, Diamond, & Ware, 2003). During the 1950s the Black population in the area was well-educated and financially well off, with one-third of the Blacks being employed by the federal government (Cottrol, Diamond, & Ware, 2003). Even with the affluence of the community, integrated schools were still an issue. Bishop Gardner and several other

parents filed the lawsuit *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954) with James Nabrit, a Morehouse College graduate and future Howard University president, as the presiding attorney. Since DC was considered a federal territory, the laws of the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply. However, the lawyers decided to use the Fifth Amendment equal protection clause as the basis for the argument that the schools within the area should be integrated. The first attempt was dismissed due to the *Carr v. Corning* (1950) case that had just ruled segregated schools in the District of Columbia as legal. *Bolling v. Sharpe* would be reargued in 1954.

Brown v. Board of Education I (1954)

The Supreme Court first heard the consolidated lawsuit of *Brown v. Board of Education* in December of 1952. It was reargued one year later with the intention of answering the question “Does the segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, p. 493). Each of the five cases outlined above were argued separately over a span of three days in early December. The justices took nearly six months to deliver an opinion with Chief Justice Warren speaking for the majority on May 17, 1954.

Chief Justice Warren outlined several other cases in the decision and noted that the intention behind the Fourteenth Amendment and the *Plessy* case, both from the late 1800s, should be acknowledged, but the decision must be made in light of the current context of education (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). He explicitly stated it as

such: question, “Does the segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?”

After much consideration, it was decided with no dissenting opinions, that Black children were being deprived of equal educational opportunities under the current segregated school system. One sentence seems to sum up the entire opinion. “We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, p. 495).



Figure 2: Picture of George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit on May 17, 1954. New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (1954).

Brown v. Board of Education II (1955)

The iconic picture in Figure 2 above depicts three of the lawyers in the *Brown* case after the reading of the verdict. Though it was a landmark decision, they would soon discover that further remedy in the matter was still needed. On April 11, 1955, arguments in the follow-up *Brown* case, *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955) were heard. The goal was to establish a means by which the earlier decision was to be implemented. Again the ruling was unanimous and read into the record by Chief Justice

Warren. While some relief had begun in areas like Kansas and Delaware, other areas were still waiting for a decision from the courts. Chief Justice Warren laid out the next steps in this way:

Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the cases to those courts.

(Brown v. Board of Education II, 1955, p. 299)

Thus the implementation of a desegregation plan was remanded back to the local school systems with the local courts listed as the enforcers. With this, the local courts were required to “make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance” (*Brown vs. Board II, 1955, p. 300*) of the original ruling. The words “with all deliberate speed,” which are embedded within the last paragraph of the *Brown II* decision would be the phrase used to sum up this court case. More than 50 years after the implementation timeline was set, many inner city schools are still operating with students of color as the majority of the student population.

Brown v. Board of Education III

The lineage of the Brown began before the initial case of 1954 and continued sporadically for decades before finally ending in 1999 (McConnell, Hinitz, & Dye, 2005). In Topeka, full implementation of a desegregation plan did not occur until 1961. By 1974, the federal government via the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), had threatened to withdraw funds for lack of compliance (McConnell, Hinitz & Dye, 2005). In 1979, at the request of Linda Brown and others, the original case was reopened. The case first went to court seven years later after which it took a year to reach a decision (*Brown v. Board of Education III*, 1987). The plaintiffs had argued that a new open enrollment policy encouraged segregation. The judge in the case ruled for the defendant saying that the schools were in fact integrated. Two years later the decision was overturned (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1989) by a higher court. On appeal the case was remanded back to the lower court (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1992). The case went back and forth like this for several more years before a petition to close the case was finally granted in 1999. The level of integration within the Topeka School District today may be hard to decipher from the data on the district's website, as everything is given by individual school in raw number only. However, further research found that the district was approximately 66% White and 27% Black with 23 current elementary schools. Of these schools only one had a 65% majority race school. The rest of the schools had a significant mixed number in terms of race, ranging from a third of Blacks, Latinos, and Whites to a half and half mixture. This indicated that as of this

writing, the elementary schools of Topeka, where the fight for desegregation began, were sufficiently integrated.

Student Integration

During the decade after *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, there was only limited compliance with the order of the Supreme Court (Wolters, 2008). In some places, such as Delaware and West Virginia, it began with forcing teachers to integrate (“Teachers Facing Integration,” 1955). Though there was some integration, many school districts chose to remain segregated until forced into desegregation plans by the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964. As late as 1970 some schools across the country were still segregated. A February 1st deadline was met with some school closures or white students who refused to attend (Associated Press, 1970). In order to fully understand the implementation of the *Brown* decision it was important to explore both sides of the integration issue. There were many positive elements to segregated schools that were run by African-American teachers and leaders but also certain drawbacks, namely around facilities and materials. Likewise, the partially integrated school systems that occurred as a result of *Brown* had both positive and negative components. Both sides of segregated and integrated education are discussed below.

The Positive Side to Pre-Integration Schools

While many advocated for integrated schooling, some scholars believed that things were fine when African-American students were being educated in a segregated environment by teachers that shared their racial background (Fairclough, 2004; Hawkins,

1969; Walker, 1996). *Their Highest Potential* by Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996), details the inner workings of one segregated school in rural North Carolina. The author began this work after noticing the difference between the unengaged, misunderstood, and uninspired African-American children of today compared to the yearbook pictures of years past that showcased inspired and academically involved youth (Walker, 1996). Mrs. Walker's book carried similar undercurrents of other works by looking at a successful segregated school during a time when many in the nation were adamantly fighting for integration. Jeannine Dingus conducted a qualitative study that focused on the narratives of African-American teachers. Many of the teachers in this study stated that one of the positive attributes of segregated schooling was having teachers that were personally invested in the academic, personal, and character development of their students (Dingus, 2006).

The Teachers.

Dr. William Harvey, a product of both segregated and integrated schools, recalls that teachers at his new school were shocked at his academic ability. Dr. Harvey notes, "They had no sense of the unwavering expectations of the African American teachers in my former community that I do well in my studies" (Harvey & Harvey, 2005, p. 45). Similarly, the Dingus (2006) qualitative study spanned several generations of African-American teachers looking specifically at cultural values and other aspects of being a teacher of color during segregated times. One participant agreed that the conditions of

such schools were poor, but the educational attainment outweighed the circumstances (Dingus, 2006).

Dr. Adia Harvey, the daughter of Dr. William Harvey, painted a picture of an educational system that was quite different from that of the generation of her father. Dr. Harvey noted that she was not a part of the generation that participated in majority Black schools where teachers knew students' names, families, backgrounds, and the nature of the communities. Her generation encountered school environments where White teachers ridiculed these Black schools and their students (Harvey & Harvey, 2005). This experience gave her a different vantage point from that of her father. An advantage to the pre-segregation schools of African-Americans, according to Dr. Harvey (2005), was having teachers who did not believe that race made them intellectually inferior. Though both Dr. Harveys obtained the highest level of education possible, the younger seemed to reach her goals in spite of her teachers, unlike her father who made it partially because of the caring and shared experiences of his instructors.

The Parents.

Parental involvement is a hot topic in the field of education, with many affluent schools striving to find ways to work within the high level of involvement and urban, less affluent schools looking for ways to involve parents more. Thandeka Chapman (2005) put parental involvement of African-American students in a new light, reminding the reader that parents of students at segregated schools were overly involved in their child's education. Her study of a school district in Rockford, Illinois highlighted parents within

that area that fought the courts for a right to equal educational opportunities for their children. Though this fight began in the late 1960s, Chapman reminded the reader that beginning a decade earlier, “parents of color looked to the U.S. district, state and federal court systems to help them acquire equity and equality in education” (Chapman, 2005 p. 30).

The Students – What They Lost.

The *Brown* education case, though a compilation of segregation cases around the nation, was centered in Topeka, Kansas. While the parties of this lawsuit undoubtedly rejoiced at the outcome, a community in another Kansas town still mourns what they lost during the era of *Brown* more than 50 years later. Citizens of Parsons, Kansas witnessed the dramatic closure of the all-Black Douglass School as a part of integration compliance. Generations later, student achievement within the community is still low and the loss of Black teachers and young Black talent is still mourned (Patterson et al., 2007).

The qualitative case study, entitled *The Consequences of School Desegregation in a Kansas Town 50 Years After Brown* (Patterson et al., 2007), looked at the effect of school desegregation on the town of Parsons. In an effort to comply with the court’s decision, while maintaining some semblance of its former ways, the governing body of Parsons eliminated grade after grade of the Frederick Douglas School before finally closing the institution and bulldozing the building in 1957. Not only were the students forced to find new schools, but the teachers were not deemed good enough to teach at schools with a majority White student population and were thus relieved of their

educational duties. Despite this move toward compliance, the achievement of Parsons' Black students has not made significant gains. At least one former Douglass student insisted that even after 50 years of desegregation, the White schools were not serving Black students as well as the all-Black school did (Patterson et al., 2007). Stories similar to this exist in cities from Parsons to Chicago to Los Angeles (Danns, 2008; Patterson et al., 2007; Watson, 1987). Many scholars agree that while integration was great in theory, it did not pay off in the way that its supporters thought it would.

The Downside of Segregated Schools and the Fight for Integration

Public education is an equalizer and the logic for desegregating schools was that African-American children would achieve equity and erase the color line (Smith & Kozleski, 2005). Though the proponents for pre-integration schooling are numerous (Everett, 2006; Flumo, 2006; Walker, 1996) there are others that would argue that the education being received by minority students pre-integration was not at the same standard as that being received by Whites (Cobb & Glass, 2009; Mayo, 2007). Many children, who were only allowed to go to schools once the farming season was done, attended schools that lacked basic necessities such as books. Some former teachers noted that students were responsible for their own books, a reason that many were not able to read as the resources were too expensive to purchase (Dingus, 2006). In addition to expensive books, schools themselves were not readily available to many students. Some students were unable to attend school during bad weather as the location was simply too far (Dingus, 2006).

Since the period of racial conflict caused segregation to be an ingrained part of American society, the process of integrating schools was far from an easy one. Students were moved from the only schools and neighborhoods that they had known to places where, many times they were not welcome. Numerous long-standing African-American schools were closed under the pretense of aiding in the integration process. In addition to that, the new teachers, many of whom were not equipped to teach in an integrated classroom, may have created feelings of inferiority amongst the students of color (Zirkel, 2005). Though the integration of schools seemed to be a victory in the mid-1950s, years later the downside of this fight is glaringly evident.

Government and Education

The education received by students has long been a state and local responsibility. Likewise, many issues of race and racism as it related to K through 12 education were handled at the state court level prior to the *Brown* decision. After the passage of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964 coupled with the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* of 1965, the federal government became more invested in the issues of race and education alike.

The Three Branches of Government

The United States has three branches of government. The legislative, executive, and judicial branches work together to make, execute, and interpret the laws respectively. The purpose behind the three branches is to ensure that checks and balances exist so that no entity has too much authority. The Presidents from the executive branch that were instrumental in advancing Civil Rights began with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who

instituted his New Deal 20 years before the *Brown* case. He and his wife, Eleanor, were considered advocates for Black citizens. The subsequent presidents, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson, were all somehow involved in the plight of Black America whether through Supreme Court appointments or through signing important Civil Rights Legislation. The judicial branch of government, made up of the nine Supreme Court justices, was instrumental in interpreting the constitution and laws of the land during the time when the Black fight for equal rights was most prominent. Likewise, the legislative branch, which consists of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, has been extremely influential on both sides of the race issue. The Department of Education and its subsequent committee spoke to this influence.

The Department of Education

The Department of Education in its current form was founded in 1980. However, more than 100 years earlier in 1867, the original Department of Education was formed. The department was headed by the Commissioner of Education and had the primary goal of collecting educational statistics from around the country (Hanna, 2005). Throughout the years there were several names changes. When a 1972 law repealed the statute that created the department it was named The Office of Education. Eventually the U. S. Department of Education was resurrected and has been active in its current form for 31 years. Prior to the creation of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965)*, the most important legislation to come out of this forum was the *Morrill Land Grant*

Colleges Act, which created public colleges in many states, including 19 HBCUs. While this legislation was passed in the late 1800s, the most significant changes that took place happened in the middle of the 20th century through the Committee on Education and Labor from the House of Representatives. These changes included the creation of Head Start in 1965, oversight of ESEA and its reauthorizations, and the *Higher Education Act* also started in 1965.

The Committee on Education and Labor

As education was a function that was initially left to state and local government, there was for a time no significant federal involvement. A review of Presidential policies found that prior to the Kennedy Administration there was an average of two educational actions per administration, beginning with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Prior to Roosevelt's tenure little took place in reference to educational policy. During the Kennedy Administration there were ten educational actions, many beginning in the Committee on Education and Labor. Table 1 below notes the number of times education was mentioned as a part of presidential speeches during selected administrations.

Table 1. *Presidential Attention to Education*

| Years | President | Total Number of Speeches with Word “Education” | Annual Average Number of Speeches with Word “Education” |
|--------------|----------------------|---|--|
| 1789-1913 | Washington-Taft | 226 | 2 |
| 1929-1933 | Hoover | 148 | 37 |
| 1933-1945 | Roosevelt | 382 | 29 |
| 1945-1953 | Truman | 667 | 74 |
| 1953-1961 | Eisenhower | 771 | 96 |
| 1961-1963 | Kennedy | 777 | 259 |
| 1963-1969 | Johnson | 3,104 | 621 |
| 1969-1974 | Nixon | 1,428 | 238 |
| 1974-1977 | Ford | 830 | 277 |
| 1977-1981 | Carter | 2,055 | 514 |
| 1981-1988 | Reagan | 2,497 | 312 |
| 1989-1992 | George H. W. Bush | 2,656 | 664 |

Source: Analysis conducted by Patrick J. McGuinn, 2006

After President's Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon B. Johnson took up the educational torch and continued pushing education legislation. Men who were also active in the Civil Rights Movement chaired the House of Representative's committee from the time of Kennedy. Adam C. Powell of New York and Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles were instrumental in advancing their race on both educational and general Civil Rights fronts. Two other chairs, William D. Ford and Carl D. Perkins, eventually had federal loans established in their name in an effort to further higher education for the less fortunate. *The Elementary and Secondary Education Act 1965 (ESEA)* was originally born out of President Johnson's desire to help the economically disadvantaged. The Committee on Education and Labor was renamed the Committee on Education and the Workforce and currently has 39 members from the House of Representatives.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed *The Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in 1965. This act was the beginning of a significant federal role in education (McGuinn, 2006). When President Johnson unexpectedly took office, one of his first priorities was a war on poverty, which was first introduced, in early 1964. During this time the poverty rate in the U.S. had fallen to 19%. As depicted below in Figure 3 from the U.S. Census in the time prior to and after *Brown*, the poverty rate in America has seen significant increases and decreases over time.

Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate: 1959 to 2005

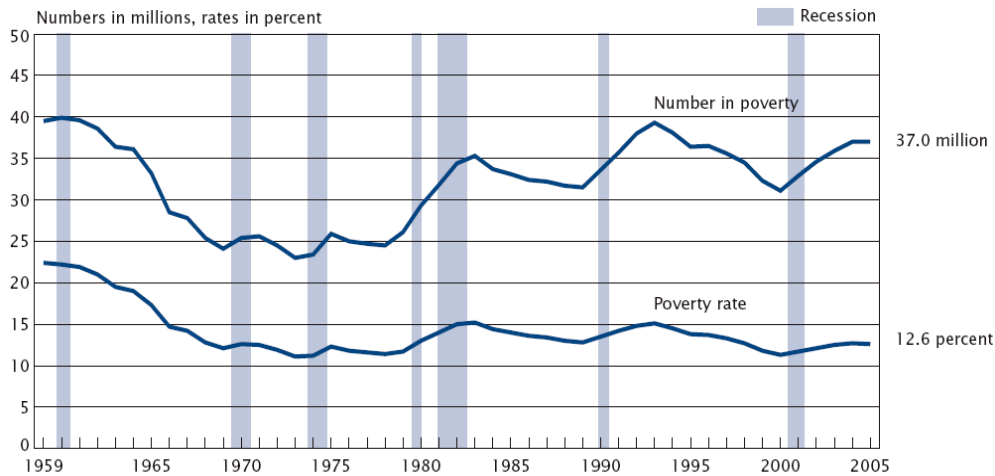


Figure 3. Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate: 1959-2005. Note: The data points are placed at the midpoints of the respective years. U.S. Census Bureau (2006) Current Population Survey, 1960 to 2006 Annual Social and Economic Supplements. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/histpov/hstpov2>.

Education and civil rights were the foundation of President Johnson’s war on poverty and these early statistics were used as a basis for the establishment of the *ESEA*. Of the six titles that were a part of this Act, Title I, which is still in use as of this writing, was the most important for funding inner city schools. Title I funding was established for any school with a rate of 40% or more students that were designated as being below the poverty line. Today *ESEA*, which has been reauthorized 10 times, resides in its current form of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB, 2001)*.

ESEA vs. NCLB

The purpose of *ESEA* and the purpose of its current reauthorization, *NCLB*, are different. President Johnson saw his initial act as a way to help students who were living in poverty. The *NCLB* legislation takes on a more punitive tone, threatening takeover for

schools that do not meet its rigid standards. Patrick McGuinn (2006) noted the following in his study of federal education policy:

The passage of NCLB in 2002 fundamentally changed the ends and means of federal education policy from those put forward in the original ESEA legislation and laid the foundation for a new policy regime. As noted earlier, the old education policy regime was narrowly focused on helping disadvantaged students by promoting equity and access, and it had been governed by largely congressional and interest group-dominated policymaking process made possible by the issues low salience with the public. The new education policy regime embraces a broad federal commitment to promoting academic achievement for all students and features a visible and open policy making process that is responsive to public pressures and directed by presidential leadership. (p. 23)

While the initial policy was enacted in an effort to help the economically disadvantaged, the current reauthorization promised to withdraw additional help if certain demands were not met. The students most affected by the legislation from nearly 50 years ago and by those of today, are not only of low socio-economic status, but are also primarily children of color (Ravitch, 2010). These are the same children that were the subject of the *Brown* court case.

***NCLB* Implementation**

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) is the latest in a long line of ESEA reauthorizations. The purpose of the act is to ensure that 100% of the nation's children reach proficiency in education standards by the year 2014. Based on ESEA, all schools that receive Title I funding must meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) each year beginning with the year of *NCLB* implementation. Schools that do not meet the scores required are placed on a watch list and can be subject to state takeover, loss of funding, or closure. In addition to test score requirements in Math and English, each student must also be taught by a highly qualified teacher, meaning an instructor who is fully credentialed in the area in which they teach.

In the last 10 years, implementation of the policy has varied from state to state. Many school districts have had to fire non-certified teachers while also increasing Math and English instruction to two classes a day (Beveridge, 2010). Implementation in Los Angeles, as explained in a district data provided in Table 2 below (Addressing the Challenge, 2007), called for an elaborate plan for Program Improvement Status of schools that do not meet the required standard each year.

Table 2. *LAUSD Program Improvement Status by Year and Number of Schools.*

| Program Improvement Status | Number of Schools 2005-2006 | Number of Schools 2006-2007* | Projected Number of Schools 2007-2008** |
|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| At Risk Schools | 170 | 51 | |
| Year 1 – School Improvement | 39 | 110 | 51 |
| Year 2 – School Improvement | 64 | 33 | 110 |
| Year 3 – Corrective Action | 17 | 53 | 33 |
| Year 4 – Planning for Restructuring | 8 | 18 | 53 |
| Year 5 – Restructuring | 71 | 79 | 97 |

*Data updated 2006-2007 as of 6/26/07 **Projected 2007-2008 as of 6/26/07

School takeovers and restructuring did begin within Los Angeles Unified; however the 100% testing goal has still not been met. In addition, three of the focus schools within this study, which were already hard to staff, saw increased turnover because of *NCLB* demands. The implementation of the *NCLB* law created a significant change in public education, though the change was not necessarily an improvement. A similar fate, awaited the *Brown* decision, which was implemented decades ago.

Public Schooling After *Brown*

One of the intentions behind the *Brown* case was to provide equal educational opportunities to Black students. One way that this was to be provided was through an integrated school system. Around the country, schools began to implement integration plans, though for many integration was delayed for more than 10 years after the *Brown II*

decision of 1955 (Danns, 2008). With the implementation of the integration plans de jure segregation, separation forced by specific laws, was eliminated. However, de facto segregation, which happens in fact but is not required by law, began to take place due to “White flight” from urban area schools and the introduction of magnet programs and other divisive forces (Zirkel, 2005). A significant court case for the city of Los Angeles along with one integration implementation tactic, is presented below. Both the *Crawford* case and integration plans across the country are discussed in detail within Chapter Four.

Crawford v. Board of Education (1982)

The city of Los Angeles endured its own battle with school desegregation. The *Crawford v. Board of Education* case began in 1963 and ran for nearly 20 years with barely favorable results. In the years that the case dragged on, it destroyed the career of at least one judge and divided the city council along racially ideological lines (Ettinger, 2003; Watson, 1987). The purpose of the case, like many before it, was to end segregation in the Los Angeles Unified School District. A countersuit filed by members of the Busstop organization went all the way to the Supreme Court. A dissertation study by former board member Diane Watson, detailed the inner workings of the school board during this time. The eventual outcome led to anger from White voters and taxpayers, and paved the way for *Proposition 13* which weakened the tax base for local educational funds (Watson, 1987). The *Crawford* lawsuit was just the beginning of cracks within the Los Angeles school system that led it to its status today.

Busing of Students

In addition to segregated schools and other public facilities, the cities were also sometimes divided along individual racial lines (Danns, 2008). This division of neighborhoods aided in the separation of school houses by race. Once the results of *Brown v. Board of Education (1955)* were strictly enforced by cities and states across the nation, transporting students from one side of town to the other became necessary. Mandatory busing was implemented in many northern states and caused the beginnings of White flight from the city to areas that eventually became known as suburbs (Chapman, 2005).

Superintendent James Redmond, the leader of the Chicago Public School System in 1967, worked to implement a plan that would limit the White flight syndrome that had plagued so many other states (Danns, 2008). The initial plan called for the mandatory busing of more than 1, 000 students mostly Black students to White schools. Both Black and White families opposed the plan. When it was eventually implemented, it was voluntary and less than 1% of the targeted students participated. Detroit implemented a better plan which is outlined in Chapter Four, but both plans came many years after the *Brown* decision was handed down by the courts (Danns, 2008). Today, Chicago schools are more segregated than they were 38 years ago, much like many other large school districts in urban areas (Danns, 2008, p. 74).

Realities of Urban Schools

Barron's Business Dictionary defines the inner city (2007) as the older and more urbanized area of a large city surrounding the Central Business District. Brunetti (2006) stated that the term inner city refers to a particular kind of urban setting: one that serves largely poor, minority students (African-American, Hispanic, Native American, immigrant Asian) and that is situated in or draws its students from economically depressed neighborhoods. In the case of cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles, the racial makeup of urban or inner city schools was largely African-American beginning in the early 1960s. A shift in the overall population of many large cities within the United States has changed the racial demographics of today's schools, though the students are still largely minorities. Besides race, another component of the inner city is the socioeconomic status of its residents. Although many of the students fall below the poverty line, some of their teachers may come from a middle or upper class background. This divide may be a root cause for the lack of retention within today's teaching field. According to J. Gregg Robinson (2007), "Decades of research has demonstrated that beliefs about whether poverty is a function of structural causes (racism, poor job markets, etc.) or individual pathology (laziness, lack of financial planning, etc.) has a profound impact on people's behavior toward the poor" (p. 542).

In addition to individual ideologies about poverty, certain other perceptions also play a key role. Many outside teachers may come into a school with the notion that everyone is poor, uneducated, and violent, all negative connotations. The perception of

violence within the inner city is played out on the big and small screens, feeding into ideas that may already exist. Teachers participating in a study based on inner city and suburban school films gave examples of inner city schools that were “run down,” full of “frustrated and burned out teachers,” along with “out of control students who used drugs” (Trier, 2005, p.175). When asked where these ideas came from nearly all of the students referred to media-films, television programs, and the news (Trier, 2005). An ethnographic study done by Deborah and Brian Smith (2006) examined the perception of violence by teachers and its impact on high turnover rates. According to the writers “The reality of violence and the perception of violence as a possibility, leads to an assortment of reactions and positions for the students and staff at urban schools” (Smith & Smith, 2006, p. 36).

Los Angeles Schools Prior to 1954

History of Los Angeles School System

The Los Angeles Unified School System (LAUSD) is today the second largest school district in the United States behind New York. Formed in 1961, LAUSD is a combination of the Los Angeles City School District formed in 1870 and the Los Angeles City High School District founded in 1890. Due to the size of the city and school district, LAUSD has been consistently broken down into smaller more manageable parts. These “mini-districts” within the larger Los Angeles Unified, each have their own superintendent and offices. Throughout the years, each mini or local district, as they are frequently called, has housed one or more high schools, middle schools that produce

201 students to attend the local high schools, and feeder elementary schools. The oldest high school, Los Angeles High, was created in 1863 and is located within Local District 3, a focal area for the data collected in this study. A pertinent piece of information about this time period is the issue of segregation. As early as 1872, lawsuits charging discrimination based on not being able to attend the neighborhood school, reached the courts (Hendrick, 1977). Despite these lawsuits, census records note that the number of Negro residents in both California and the city of Los Angeles was statistically insignificant. As the 19th century came to a close, these numbers would slowly increase. By 1900, there were 2,131 Blacks within Los Angeles, which at that time had a total population of 102,479 (Wilkinson, 1979).

Inner City Los Angeles

A study entitled *The Education of Non-Whites in California 1849-1970* (Hendrick, 1977) found that schooling within the city of Los Angeles was significantly segregated. The author notes, “In LA segregation was the way of life” (Hendrick, 1977, p. 22). A *Los Angeles Times* article from 1887 stated that the number of Negro children ranging from age 5 to 17 was 119, a long way from the nearly 17,000 White children. As the number of children of color increased, schools were erected that were unofficially dedicated to their education.

The school boundaries for the city that were first laid out in the 1880s, according to a *Los Angeles Times* article, did not take into account racial boundaries (Los Angeles Public Schools, 1882). However, as more Blacks began to infiltrate the city as a part of

the Great Migration, in an era which some call the most underreported story of the 20th century (Wilkerson, 2010), the perimeters around racial separation became more clear. Wilkerson (2010) noted, that during this time period many of the new implants to California came from the southern states of Texas and Louisiana. As the new faces arrived to the area of Los Angeles, they were relegated to certain parts of the city. The heart of the city was divided into East and West by Main Street with the majority of the colored neighborhoods by 1953 being east (Wilkerson, 2010).

The Schools.

By the turn on the 20th century, the truancy problem that had existed early on within Los Angeles' school history, had decreased as evidenced by various *Los Angeles Times* articles. As the number of students increased, so did the number of newly built schools. Between the years of 1923 and 1927, 10 new high schools were built, including David Starr Jordan, John C. Fremont, and Washington Preparatory High School. During this timeframe segregation was not a major concern for the local Blacks. Segregation was prevalent throughout the city, but it was established through the manipulation of school boundaries, the location of new schools, and a selective transfer policy (Hendrick, 1977). This was clear in the unspoken agreement surrounding four high schools in the 1920s and 30s. Jefferson High School, founded in 1916, was understood to be the school for Blacks, while Fremont, which was three and three-fourths miles away, was the school for White students. Likewise Jordan High School in Watts had 533 Blacks, while South Gate had none (Hendrick, 1977). A report completed four decades after this earlier time

period notes six schools that were between 98 and 99% Black at that time, Washington, Jordan, Manual Arts, Locke, Jefferson, and Fremont (Nairobi Research Institute, 1973). Fremont is a focus school within this study along with Dorsey High School which is listed by the Nairobi Research Institute as being 75% Black in (1973).

LAUSD School Integration

Though the original *Brown* decision was handed down in 1954, little effort was made to implement the policy within LAUSD until well into the 1960s. A 1962 *LA Sentinel* article discussed the disparity faced by the Negro teaching force. Many districts had ceased collecting racial data. However a study conducted by The National Urban League in 1957 found that of the 19,535 teachers within the district, slightly under 5% were Negro (Robertson, 1962). Twenty years later Raymond Avenue teacher, Alicia Thorp, wrote about a proposed nine-week integration program that called for “learning centers” (Thorp, 1977). During this time period, the height of the school integration push in Los Angeles saw voluntary student busing and forced teacher integration as part of the district’s plan to intermingle the races (Watson, 1976). The eventual end result was inner city schools that lost veteran teachers from the neighborhood and students who left the neighborhood school for a sometimes two-hour bus ride to the other side of town, and magnet programs.

The literature available on the *Brown* case, its implementation, the city of Los Angeles is extensive. This literature review began with an overview of the national plight of African-Americans during the studied time period and included pertinent court

cases that came both before and after the 1954 *Brown* lawsuit. Although there is a plethora of information on historic court cases, the government's role in education, and segregated school, some gaps in the literature were found. These gaps are discussed in the next section.

Gaps in the Literature

On the topic of *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)*, numerous studies center on the inner workings of the case. In recent years, scholars have studied the impact that the case had on the current educational system since its implementation 50 years ago. The public perception of the Civil Rights Movement and the *Brown* case has leaned toward a purely positive outcome. Though studies exist of counter-narratives to the desegregation period, some areas need to be addressed more in depth. One such area is the role of higher education for African-American students.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's) were the only schools of higher education available to many students of color prior to the start of the Civil Rights Movement. Studies have focused on these historic institutions (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009), but a more in-depth review is needed. In addition to serving as institutions of higher learning, many schools also had elementary and high schools on campus (Mays, 1971). With the beginning of integration, most of the elementary and high schools were no longer necessary and enrollment at HBCU's saw a significant drop. In addition to this, teaching, one of the premier occupations for professional Blacks also saw a decline. Research on the impact of this would be beneficial to the discussion of

quality teachers of color that might have a positive impact within today's inner city educational system.

Conclusion

More than 50 years later, "Efforts to reconceptualize *Brown* draw attention to parallels between the contemporary and historical schooling experiences of African American children, particularly those educated in segregated schools" (Dingus, 2006). The *Brown* case was mainly fought for southern schools, but students in the north also experienced educational segregation. De jure segregation in the south was imposed by law; while de facto segregation, which was based on housing patterns, was faced by many in the north. The latter was created more by social practices and individual choices (Chapman, 2005). Regardless of the type of segregation, the school system that existed pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) is different from the one that exists today. Researchers fall on both sides of the fence in relation to which era of school was the better one.

In the decades that followed the original *Brown* case, efforts were made to comply with the mandate of integration. However, in the late 1970s there was cause to attempt a reopening of the case in the form of *Brown III*. These efforts, along with many school desegregation plans eventually fizzled out and today, almost 60 years later, many inner city schools are still filled with a majority of minority students. This study will explore both the impact and the unintended consequences of the landmark 1954 *Brown* case.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used to complete the study, while Chapters Four and Five present the findings and analyze the data respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study explored the impact of the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) court case. The original intentions of the lawsuit were to provide equal educational opportunities for African-American students while dismantling the law of school segregation. The purpose of this mixed-methods study was to identify the unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) while simultaneously determining to what extent the outcomes of the legislation were met within one school district. The 10 chosen participants for the qualitative portion of this study all worked in or retired from one large urban school district. Though the *Brown* decision was enacted more than 50 years ago, the policy and the way it was implemented are still relevant today. The policies currently dictated by the federal government have been primarily themed around student achievement and mandates such as *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB). NCLB has significantly impacted the makeup of schools and school reform. A look back at the implementation of the *Brown* decision serves as an informative tool for today's policy makers in light of the upcoming NCLB reauthorization and other federally mandated policies that impact education in the United States.

The organization of this chapter begins with a review of the research questions for the study. The two questions addressed here were answered using a mixed-methods approach of historical data collection, comparison of the collected data from eras both

prior to and after the *Brown* implementation, and semi-structured individual participant interviews. A detailed overview of the study's context included school district information and data on four focus schools for the 20-year period of 1965-1985, as well as a biographical sketch of each participant.

Research Questions and Design

In order to conduct the research needed, two research questions were posed:

1. What do veteran educators from LAUSD identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954)?
2. Using data from four schools within one school district, to what extent were the goals of *Brown vs. Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met?

The questions guided the data collection using mixed-methods research.

Narrative inquiry was used to explore the education and work experiences of 10 participants. Participants were asked to reflect on the time period and their personal experiences through interviews. Hatch (2002) noted that interviews used with unobtrusive data collection can reveal the meanings and significance of artifacts collected in the field. The information collected was triangulated by completing a document review of the implementation process along with pre- and post-*Brown* data analysis and individual interviews. An outside source was used to transcribe all audiotapes, after which the interview data was analyzed.

The quantitative portion of this study consisted of several points of data analysis. In order to answer the second question of whether or not the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) were met, school data was accessed through the public records of specific areas in the district. Data consisting of the racial makeup within the schools that currently constituted the focus areas of the selected district, helped to provide a snapshot of the area prior to 1954. Though the court case was originally decided in 1954 along with a follow-up in 1955 that mandated “all deliberate speed” (*Brown v. Board of Education II*, 1955 p. 301), school desegregation didn’t explicitly begin in California until more than a decade later as evidenced by various articles in *The Los Angeles Times*. For this reason, the focal point of this study was the 20-year period from 1965 until 1985. The implementation of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964 helped to speed up the desegregation requirements with the threat of withholding federal funds. Desegregation cases such as *Crawford v. Los Angeles Unified School District* (1970), hit the courts beginning in 1963. However, by the early 1980s this case and others like it became too expensive to litigate (Tackett, 1981), and the arguments around school desegregation were virtually dropped.

Sample and Methods

The targeted population for this study was current and retired employees from within the Los Angeles Unified School District. The 10 selected participants were chosen through convenient sampling and use of the “snowball” technique, which consisted of recommendations from potential participants (Gay et al., 2009). The participants consisted of five current veteran teachers, two retired teachers, two retired

superintendents, and one retired school board member. As this study was one of mixed-methods, the methodological approaches used are based on each question.

For question number one:

1. What do veteran educators from LAUSD identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954)? the qualitative method of interviewing was used.

The second question of:

2. Using data from four schools within one school district, were the goals of *Brown vs. Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met? was answered using both qualitative and quantitative data.

Public district data available through oral history collections, yearbooks, and periodicals included demographic data for the areas being researched. Demographic information from the studied time period was used to answer the question of whether or not the schools were successfully integrated and offered equal educational opportunities. The reason behind the choice of the four schools was their location, current and previous demographics, and the number of years open. Each location provided a statistical picture of student body and staff demographics before and after the 1955 school year, which was the year the Supreme Court released a remedy for segregation. As with any study, a level of researcher bias is present. This potential bias is expressed in the next section.

Researcher Bias

Though this research study is historical in nature, there does exist a level of researcher bias. The author's K-12 educational experience in Chicago consisted of an elementary school magnet program and a segregated middle school experience. This, coupled with an integrated high school education with a student population that was approximately 11% minority, provided the background for an interest in school segregation. Upon entering the educational field, the researcher's teaching experience began at Samuel Gompers Middle School, a focus school within this study. As such, two of the participants in this study are former colleagues. This information, though it presents some level of bias, provided a lens through which to analyze the collected data. The data collection methods are detailed below.

Data Collection

Due to the nature of the study, much of the non-interview data that was collected was done through public record. Though the district stopped keeping racial data beginning in 1947 (Nunis, 1966), various newspapers tracked both school segregation and the integration process. Using key search terms, information was garnered from periodicals, books on the subject, and previously conducted studies. This research was conducted prior to the participant interviews, though themes that arose from the conversations provided an opportunity for additional research. All of the data gathered was triangulated in order to succinctly answer the research questions. Though no pilot

study was conducted for this research, information from previous studies on the topic was utilized.

Each participant was contacted via phone to set up an interview time. Participants were reminded of the purpose of the study and given time prior to the start of the interview to review and complete the consent form and demographic survey. Participants were also given a copy of the interview protocol and allowed to ask questions if they desired. The participants were recorded and the researcher was an active listener taking minimal notes during the interview process.

Once the interviews were transcribed, the documents were coded for specific themes and links found from each participant. The context and participants of the study are described in detail below.

Context for the Study

The Los Angeles Unified School District was founded in 1961 as a consolidation of the Los Angeles City School district and the Los Angeles City High School district. Due to the size of the district, it was divided into several mini districts, which have also been consistently restructured through the years. The most recent restructuring lowered the number of areas from 11 letters to 8 numbers. The focus of this study will center on the schools located in what is currently mini Districts 3 and 7. The location of both areas encompasses South Los Angeles (formally South Central) and Watts, two areas that were heavily African-American during the time of the *Brown* case. The selected participants either worked in or were familiar with the areas being studied. The schools for which

explicit data was used were Broadway Elementary in Local District 3 (LD 3), Samuel Gompers Middle School in LD7, Susan Miller Dorsey High School in LD 3, and John C. Fremont High School in LD 7.

Broadway Elementary School

Broadway Elementary School was founded in 1926 and is located in the beach city of Venice at the corners of a popular intersection. The racial makeup of the school has been largely Latino for several years, a change from the large number of black students that once filled the halls. During the time when the area was called the “slum by the sea” (Torgorson, 1973), Broadway Elementary School was active in the discussions around school integration and busing. In addition to being a part of the district’s one-year busing program (*Los Angeles Times*, 1981), the school was also the site for many town hall meetings during the ‘50s and ‘60s, which were documented in the local newspaper. Today the school boasts an API score of 855 and a Mandarin immersion program.

Samuel Gompers Middle School

Samuel Gompers Middle School opened on September 7, 1937. In its nearly 75-year existence, it has seen major shifts in both its student population and staff members. Upon its founding, it was a school with a full student body and staff that consisted largely of Caucasians, as evidenced by yearbooks and pictures from the time period. Beginning in the early 1950s, Black students begin to fill the halls and by the 1970s the junior high was almost entirely Black. The 1980s saw a shift from a junior high, which consisted of grades seven through nine, to a middle school. The incoming sixth graders came from

neighboring elementary schools, while the ninth graders were pushed to a newly built high school located down the street. Today, the turmoil that permeated the neighborhood in the time after the Watts Uprising in 1965, coupled with the influx of gang activity in the 1980s, make the school a hard one to staff. The API score is well below 600, and though there are pockets of excellence amongst the student population, overall the academic achievement levels do not rival that of the student population from 50 years ago as evidenced by student work from that time period.

Susan A. Dorsey High School

Susan A. Dorsey High School, located near a well known urban area of city, was named for the first female superintendent of one of the city's early school districts. A vocal member of the educational system in Los Angeles, she worked for 16 years as a teacher. By 1902 she was the assistant principal at a local high school, and 8 years later she was working as the superintendent. The school named in her honor was opened on the same day as Samuel Gompers Middle School, some nine years before her passing. Unlike Gompers, the school boasted an integrated population for much of the time surrounding the initial *Brown* lawsuit. An influx of Black students did not occur at the site until the 1970s. In present day, despite the opening of several experimental magnet schools on campus, Dorsey was deemed a failing school in a study conducted by Stanford's Hoover Institution ("Study Reveals Schools," 2004). The current state budget crisis and school choice program make the future of the school, its staff, and the student body unclear.

John C. Fremont High School

The high school named for a former presidential candidate opened its doors in the year 1924. According to a study about the education of non-Whites in the area, as late as 1940 Fremont High School was a school with an all White student population (Hendrick, 1977). There existed an unwritten understanding that Fremont would be the school for Whites, while another high school nearby would be the Negro school. Similar to the shift seen in another agreement between two other high schools, by the year 1950, Fremont High made a 180-degree transformation becoming a school with a nearly all-Black student population. In more recent years the enrollment numbers were such that the school had to become multi-track to accommodate the student body. A multi-track school is designed to accommodate large numbers of students within the same campus. It staggers the students so that some are in school while others are on vacation. As of 2010, despite reform efforts such as the small schools model, Fremont was reconstituted under the local superintendent at that time, Ramon Cortines, with the approval of the United States Secretary of Education. Today the school of nearly 5,000 students is 90% Latino.

Description of Participants

This study included 10 total participants. The participants were divided between classroom teachers and educational administrators who held leadership positions within the studied district. The seven teachers included five teachers of varying ages who were either impacted by *Brown* as a student or as a teacher. The two retired teacher participants are a husband and wife team that retired from a high school art classroom

and elementary education respectively. The administrative participants consisted of a former school board member who went on to become an influential member of the United States Congress, and two former district superintendents. Many of the participants listed above were chosen through purposive sampling of friends and colleagues. Some others, such as one of the former superintendents and the congressional member, were selected through the snowball method of conversation with other participants who were familiar with their work in the field and knowledge on the topic.

Mr. Curry

Kenneth Curry Sr., a physical education teacher, began his career as a playground supervisor 38 years ago. He left that position when the after-school playground was closed due to the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978. Staying on at the same school site, he worked in different positions before becoming fully credentialed and taking a job in the PE department. Coach Curry was an area native and a product of both a local elementary and junior high school in addition to Fremont High School.

Ms. Jefferson

Georgette Jefferson worked as a computer science teacher who taught at Samuel Gompers Middle School for 21 years. These years coupled with educational experiences elsewhere, provided Georgette with nearly 30 years of teaching experience. During her time at Gompers she worked under 16 different administrations. While, she grew up just down the street from the school, her own education was in smaller nontraditional settings.

Her mother, however, had extensive district experience as she worked for decades at a local elementary school.

The Davis'

Doris and Dale Davis, a retired married couple, both had long careers as educators. Dale began as an art teacher at Dorsey High School. In addition to his work at the school site, he and his brother also owned a local art gallery. Doris retired from a career as an elementary school teacher at Broadway Elementary. Both Doris and Dale were directly affected by the *Brown* implementation efforts that took place in the late 1960s into the early 1980s.

The “Student” Teachers

Of the five currently working teachers interviewed, three were students during the time of the *Brown* implementation period. Carita Bryant grew up in the Midwest before beginning a teaching career on the West Coast. Husband and wife David and Myra Williams were both educated in Southern California prior to becoming teachers. Myra was a student at Dorsey High while her husband was directly affected by the desegregation plan that took place in Pasadena.

Dr. Diane Watson

Dr. Diane Watson, a graduate of Dorsey High, is nationally known for her work in the United States Congress. Before becoming a figure on the national political spectrum, she worked as an elementary school teacher and school psychologist. Dr.

Watson took her love for education into the political world by becoming a local school board member. She used this experience as the subject for her dissertation, detailing issues within the school board around the topic of school busing and integration. She recently retired from her post as a United States Representative.

Dr. Judy Burton and Dr. Owen Knox

The 1970s and '80s saw an influx in the numbers of African-American school site administrators and leaders within the school district. Two of these, Judy Burton and Dr. Owen Knox, were each mini-district superintendents prior to their retirement. Judy Burton served as a local area superintendent and in several other leadership capacities prior to leaving the district. She currently works as the CEO for a large charter organization. Dr. Knox began his work in the district in 1951 and worked for 58 years specifically at the height of the integration and busing issues within the district. In early 2011 his efforts were recognized with an elementary school named in his honor located within the studied community.

Interview Protocol

The individual interviews consisted of six questions that aimed to explore the participants' ideas around the topic of study. Prior to the interview, a demographic questionnaire was given in order to provide further background information for the interviews. This demographic survey consisted of standard identification information along with several other questions (See Appendix A). Based on the experiences of each participant, additional non-scripted questions were asked to gain a more complete picture

of the time period. The interview questions are listed in Appendix B. The consent form is shown in Appendix C.

Validity and Reliability

The validity of qualitative research is defined as the degree to which the data accurately gauges what is being measured (Gay et al., 2009). Because this study is historical in nature, it will be essential to triangulate the collected data in order to provide a clear picture of the time period and completely answer the two questions being addressed. The quantitative portion of this study adds a reliability factor by specifically answering the question of whether or not the schools in the area being studied were successfully integrated. While the small sample size may not make the results generalizable to a wider population, the outcome of the data presented provides a pathway to a replicated study done in a different setting in the future.

Anticipated Benefits of Research

This research study will provide great benefit to the students of the district. The anticipated outcomes should aid in providing a clear roadmap to assist in effectively implementing policy, particularly policy that comes from outside of the district. A specific protocol for implementation can improve educational outcomes for students while simultaneously improving the delivery of services. Though the *Brown* decision was outlined expressly for African-American students, poor implementation hurt students of all races. The findings of this research have been shared with the members of the

studied local districts. The local districts may disseminate the information to specific schools.

Conclusion

The oral histories of veterans to the profession of teaching provided insight on the implementation of *Brown*. Many historians utilize qualitative methods as a means to tap into oral histories as a data source (Mason, 1996). This method along with the quantitative data collection provided a clear representation of both the impact of the *Brown* legislation and the degree to which the initial goals were met. The chosen sample size of participants, though not large, provided in-depth information on the time period, the perceived impact, and the long-term effects of the legislation. The research gathered here can serve as archival information to be used for future generations when discussing new educational policy, implementation, and effects over time. Chapter Four of this study presents information from the data that was collected. Chapter Five analyzing that data, discusses its importance, and provides recommendations for future policy makers.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

Brown v. Board of Education (1954) was a lawsuit decided by the courts 58 years ago during a time when the country was in racial turmoil. The original lawsuit put an end to the separate but equal doctrine that had governed much of the United States, particularly in the South. Perhaps because the initial case took place in the southern region of the country, the effects were not felt on the West Coast until almost a decade after the original decision. This study used a mixed-methods approach to answer the following two questions:

1. What do veteran educators from one large urban school district identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)?
2. Using data from four schools within one school district to what extent were the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met?

The presentation of the data collected to answer these research questions first begins with a recap of the original *Brown v. Board of Education* lawsuit from 1954 and subsequent cases, *Brown II* (1955) and *Brown III* (1992). A brief review of *Brown* implementation around the United States is presented as a means to juxtapose the Los Angeles implementation. Details about the studied locale are given at both the city and the school

district levels. In addition to the two mini districts being studied, historical information is provided on each of the four schools. Data from interviews of participants is also presented along with the themes that emerged. Chapter Five presents an analysis of the findings from the data presented.

The *Brown* Lawsuit

Brown v. Board of Education (1954) was a consolidated case that first went before the Supreme Court in 1952. The case answered in the affirmative the question of whether the segregation of public school children based on race, deprived minority children of the equal protection of the laws (*Brown v. Board*, 1954). Brought before the court in December 1952, it was reargued a year later, after the death of Chief Justice Fred Vinson, who had originally ordered it to be reheard. The new Chief Justice, Earl Warren, presided over the case and wrote the majority opinion delivered on May 17, 1954. Warren noted that segregation in schools had a negative impact on colored children (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954) and ordered the lawyers to return to court to discuss a potential remedy. The stretching out of the case decision was uncommon, as was the fact that there was no immediate remedy. The brevity of the court's opinion, as given by Chief Justice Warren, was also unusual. It was only 11 pages compared to other decisions that ran upwards of 60 (Wilkinson, 1979). According to author J. Harvie Wilkinson (1979), the court's decision showed that it was content to take one memorable step, while leaving future problems for the future.

One year later an additional step was taken when *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955) was heard before the same court. Again the Chief Justice delivered the opinion for the court. Negro children affected by school segregation would receive a remedy. The remedy would come in the following form:

Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts that originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal.

Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the cases to those courts.

(Brown v. Board of Education II, 1955 p. 299)

School districts all over the country were ordered to “make a prompt and reasonable start” that would take place “with all deliberate speed” (*Brown v. Board II, 1955 p. 300-301*).

Of the phrase “with all deliberate speed,” scholar Charles Olgetree (2004) noted that the term had been used in numerous Supreme Court cases prior to *Brown* and actually derived from a 1545 poem. Both Olgetree (2004) and Wilkinson (1979) agree that the phrase, while promising speed to Blacks, provided Southern Whites with a slow means of integration. The *Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary* defines the term deliberate

(2012) as slow, unhurried, and steady as though allowing time for decision on each individual action involved. This study provides data that indicated that many states took deliberate steps toward integration that some might characterize as steps taken too slowly. Twenty-four years after the initial *Brown* lawsuit, Linda Brown, now an adult, filed a case that was known as *Brown v. Board of Education III (1992)* because she felt that her children were still getting a segregated education. The case, from the motion to intervene to a formal ruling, went on for 20 years, finally concluding in 1999. In 2004 as a part of the original case's 50th anniversary, Monroe Elementary, the school site that Linda Brown attended, was dedicated as the *Brown v. Board of Education* museum.

Implementation of *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)*

Periodicals across the states regularly recognize the *Brown* decision, especially around its anniversary. In Los Angeles, various local newspapers reported on the anniversary, impact, and implementation. A 1970 *Los Angeles Times* article entitled "Trauma in Canton" described the integration process in Canton, Mississippi. A veteran White teacher at the local elementary school was profiled. Her previously all White class was transformed overnight to almost entirely Black. The author of the article noted that the experience must have been severely traumatic for the Whites who remained (Chriss, 1970). Mr. Chriss (1970) also reported that the majority of the White students did not attend school on the first day and that the White principal resigned from the school to become a teacher at a private institution.

Nine years later the *Los Angeles Sentinel* chronicled the “Quarter Century of Hope” that marked the 25th anniversary of the lawsuit. The article noted that the lawsuit struck down legal barriers to education though it did not change the minds of all racist people (“Quarter Century,” 1979). In reference to Los Angeles, it was noted that any board member who actively pursued integration became the subject of recall movements (“Quarter Century,” 1979; Kerchner, Menefee-Libey, Mulfinger, & Clayton, 2008). Thirty years after the ruling in 1984, *The Los Angeles Times* asked, “Have the nation’s public school systems adhered to the ruling?” George McKenna, the principal of George Washington Preparatory High School, noted that racism and segregation still existed in the schools (Taylor, 1984).

By the year 1993, former lawyer in the case Thurgood Marshall, had retired from his post as the first African-American judge on the Supreme Court. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* wrote that 40 years after the original lawsuit, schools in Summerton, South Carolina were mostly Black (“40 Years After,” 1993). This is significant because Clarendon County in Summerton was the site of one of the original cases. In 1965, 11 years after *Brown I*, the county adopted a desegregation plan that involved school choice and saw four Black participants going to formerly all-White schools. By 1993, all of the schools in Summerton were majority Black, with White students attending private schools. One of the White men interviewed for the article noted that the White flight was a result of the inferior education being given at majority Black schools. A year later, during the true 40th anniversary of *Brown*, a panel discussion held about the case determined that most of the United States still had segregated schooling (“Panel: Schools

are still,” 1994). Provided within the next section is an overview of desegregation efforts across the county.

Examples of Implementation Across the Country

After the *Brown* decision, the number of court cases across the country in reference to school desegregation increased significantly. The 12th edition of U. S. Supreme Court Education Cases (2004) lists nearly 50 heard by the Supreme Court alone. In order to provide examples of *Brown* desegregation implementation outside of Los Angeles, five other areas of the country are detailed below. These examples depicted implementation in the South, Midwest, and West Coast. An example of East Coast implementation in Massachusetts was provided in Chapter Two.

Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Alabama, the state known as the Heart of Dixie, is the southern hometown of one participant in this study. The famed Tuskegee Institute is located there where the Tuskegee Airman, an all Black flight crew from World War II, were trained. Booker T. Washington (1997), author of *Up from Slavery*, founded the Tuskegee Institute and for a time served as its principal. This was during the time that the school provided education for young children in addition to college age students. While Alabama boasted well-documented advances in the education of Blacks, the schools were still largely segregated. George Wallace was elected governor of Alabama in 1962. His inauguration speech included such lines as “In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny . . . and I

say . . . segregation today . . . segregation tomorrow . . . segregation forever” (Wallace, 1963 para. 14) and “We invite the Negro citizens of Alabama to work with us from his separate racial station . . as we will work with him” (Wallace, 1963, para. 32).

Both the inauguration speech and his speech entitled “Stand in the Schoolhouse Door” are available on the Alabama Department of Archives website. True to his word, Governor Wallace attempted to prevent integration at the University of Alabama. The students that he barred from entering the school were later admitted. A report on potential resegregation of Tuscaloosa, where the University of Alabama is located, noted that federal desegregation ended in 2000. The city at that time was 54% White. The public school system was 75% Black (Dillon, 2007). More than 20 years prior to this report, George Wallace gave an exclusive interview to Ebony Magazine where he renounced his former ways (Sanders, 1983). Despite this, pockets of segregation still exist in the state.

Chicago, Illinois.

Chicago, known as the Windy City, is located in the midwestern state of Illinois. Home to Emmett Till, the city received an influx of Blacks from Mississippi during the time of the Great Migration (Wilkerson, 2010). The new residents were mostly relegated to specific areas of town including large housing projects. Robert Taylor, the son of a famed Black architect of the same name, was elected the first Black chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority in the late 1940s. The Federal Housing Act of 1949 provided monies to Chicago and other places for construction of affordable housing. Robert

Taylor created a plan by which housing would be built all over the city and would be shared by the city's Black and White residents. As detailed in a *New York Times* article about Chicago (Lemann, 1991), Chairman Taylor's plan was rejected and the money was instead used to build Housing Projects in majority Black areas of the city. Taylor disagreed with this plan and resigned in spite. The first of a series of housing projects was opened in 1962, the largest of its kind in the United States. It was named for Robert Taylor.

As Taylor predicted, the projects promoted segregation and they were in deplorable conditions by the time they were demolished in 2006. Like housing, the educational institutions in Chicago were also segregated. In 1967, with pressure from the federal government (Danns, 2008), the Superintendent James Redmond released a 294-page desegregation plan. Within this plan, he had this to say about the plight of the schools and the city:

Proponents of racial integration must face other unpleasant facts. Unless the current exodus of Whites from the city is quickly arrested, the question of school integration may become academic. Chicago will become a predominantly Negro city unless dramatic action is taken soon. Anyone who carefully analyzes the block-by block neighborhood patterns of Negro in-migration and white flight cannot help but see the handwriting on the wall for Chicago as well as other large cities. The immediate short-range goal must be to anchor the whites that still reside in the city. To do this requires that school authorities quickly achieve and

maintain stable racial attendance proportions in changing fringe areas. If this is not done, transitional neighborhood schools will quickly become predominantly Negro, as Whites will continue to flee. One does not have to be a sage to predict this result. This has happened to dozens and dozens of schools in Chicago and other urban areas. (Redmond et al., 1967, p. B-17)

The plan created by the superintendent and his team called for mandatory busing. The busing was later deemed voluntary. On the whole, less than 1% of Chicago's students participated in the plan (Danns, 2008). Chicago Public Schools' statistics for 2007 as cited by Dionne Danns (2008), showed that in 1968, the public schools were 42% White. In 2007, this number had decreased to 8%, with 46% of the students being Black and 39% being Latino. Today with 675 schools and an enrollment of just over 400,000, the schools are 42% Black, 44% Latino, and 8.8% White (Chicago Public Schools, 2012).

Jackson, Mississippi.

Mississippi is noted as having resisted the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision longer than any other state (Bolton, 2007). The court case *Alexander v. Holmes* (1969), brought upon urgently by the NAACP, ordered the state to desegregate schools immediately. The process of how the case came to the court and was decided is detailed in *The Brethren: Inside the Supreme Court* (Woodward, Armstrong, & Armstrong, 2005). The *Alexander* case, which involved more than 30 Mississippi school districts, resulted in a 1970 desegregation plan (Bolton, 2007). According to Bolton (2007) previous attempts to desegregate had included the Freedom of Choice plan, which resulted in the

harassment of any Black pupil who attempted to integrate. More than 40 years after the *Alexander* case, data collected from the Mississippi census showed that Mississippi was, as of 2010, 59% White and 37% Black. One of the larger cities in the state, Jackson, is nearly 80% Black (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). As of 2012 the school district website for the Jackson Public School System, notes that the public school system is 97% Black. This supports the assertion made by Bolton (2007) that White flight throughout the state impeded the integration process.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

Michael Harlan Washington, Sr. (1984) completed a dissertation on the desegregation of Cincinnati, Ohio from the 20-year period of 1954-1974. Charles Jackson (1988) completed a similar study on the period of 1974-1984, which was followed by another 20-year study ending in 1994 authored by Ester Erkins (2002). Similar to Chicago, the Negroes of Cincinnati were relegated to specific areas of the city (Jackson, 1988; Washington, 1984). Restrictive covenants helped to enforce this, but after the *Brown* decision, the state created the Ohio Civil Rights Commission (OCRC), whose primary focus was to enforce state laws against discrimination (Ohio Civil Rights Commission, 2012). In addition to this, the state had actually banned segregation in public schools in 1887. That year Perry Gibson filed a lawsuit, on behalf of his child who could not attend the White school (Rousmaniere, 2003). The photo in Figure 4 depicts the school in Oxford, Ohio, which was the location of the integration lawsuit.

The class of students includes White students, a White teacher, and several Black students who are all in the back row.



Figure 4. Students at South School in Oxford. Elliot, and Smith Library of Lane Public Library (2003). Retrieved from <http://www.units.muohio.edu/eduleadership/faculty/kate/oxford/deseg.html>.

Cincinnati, less than an hour from Oxford, continued its struggle for desegregation well into the 20th century. In 1966, Tina Deal and others filed a lawsuit under the backing of the NAACP against the Board of Education (*Deal v. Cincinnati Board of Education*, 1966). The lawsuit alleged that though integration was taking place, students who were bused to White schools were kept in segregated classrooms and that teaching and student assignments did not promote integration. The court ruled, "...a showing of harm alone is not enough to invoke the remedial powers of the law. If the state or any of its agencies has not adopted impermissible racial criteria in its treatment of individuals, then there is no violation of the Constitution" (*Deal v. Cincinnati Board of Education*, 1966 p. 17). On appeals, the decision was affirmed. A bout with the Supreme Court ended in the case being remanded back to the lower courts (*Deal et al v. Cincinnati*

Board of Education, 1971). Many subsequent lawsuits were filed but as of 2012 the school district noted on its website as Ohio's highest rated urban school district, remains only partially integrated. The district is 69% Black and 24% White and of the 14 secondary schools, 11 are predominately Black or White, leaving only three schools with student populations that are sufficiently mixed.

Pasadena, California.

Pasadena, a city located in Southern California, is the home of the Rose Bowl Tournament and a place that was significant to the integration story of the West Coast. According to the city's website, there was a large influx of African-Americans to the city from 1940 to 1950 (*"Heritage: A Short History*, n.d). As with other cities across the country, the housing of these new residents was separate from the Whites of the area. In 1963, almost a decade after *Brown*, a lawsuit was filed against the district on behalf of 13-year old Jay Jackson. *Jackson v. Pasadena City School District* (1963), a case filed in part by Loren Miller, went to court because Jay was not allowed to transfer from his segregated school to a predominately White school located nearby. It was found that the city had been using gerrymandering, the idea of manipulating geographic boundaries to the benefit of a particular group, to keep the schools segregated. The California Supreme Court heard the case on appeal. Five years later, Mann (1968) noted that the board needed to begin work on the two goals of ending segregation and providing equal educational opportunities for all students. Ramon Cortines, an administrative director and later the superintendent for LAUSD, offered four plans to the board. Mr. Cortines was

quoted as saying “I am convinced that we will never be able to create an ethnic balance within these high schools without mandating or assigning students to a school they do not wish to attend” (Mann, 1968, p. 8).

By 1970, massive busing within the city had begun even as a state bill to ban busing authored by Floyd Wakefield, sat on the Assembly floor. Despite opposition, the city did begin busing students, particularly between the two high schools of John Muir and Pasadena High. One participant in this study was directly affected by the busing. Seven years after it began, the issue was still being hotly debated (Rawitch, 1977). By 1982 Ramon Cortines, now the Pasadena Superintendent, made a recommendation to the board that the school district be restructured. White flight to private schools had hit the city hard and according to Cortines the schools were no more integrated in 1982 than they were prior to the original order of 1970 (Barber, 1982). The plan called for a consolidation of certain schools by grade level. Thirty years later, Ramon Cortines was the recently retired Superintendent of Los Angeles Unified School District, and Pasadena, with 26 schools, had a majority Latino student population. Blacks in the district made up 17%, while Whites make up 14%. John Muir High School was overwhelmingly Black and Latino, with Whites making up only 2% while Pasadena High was slightly more integrated. The school’s population was 54% Latino, 19% White, and 16% African American (Pasadena Unified School District, 2012).

White Flight Across the Country.

According to a study conducted by the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, DC, as cited in Browne-Marshall (2007), there was a sharp decline in White student enrollment in several areas of the country. Table 3 depicting this is reproduced here:

Table 3. *Percentage of Decline in White Students across the United States*

| City | % Decline in White Students |
|----------------|------------------------------------|
| New York City | 45.7 |
| Los Angeles | 63.4 |
| Chicago | 62.1 |
| Philadelphia | 41.2 |
| Detroit | 77.8 |
| Houston | 62.8 |
| Baltimore | 58.0 |
| Memphis | 54.6 |
| San Diego | 37.9 |
| Washington, DC | 59.9 |
| Milwaukee | 58.2 |
| New Orleans | 71.0 |
| Cleveland | 66.3 |
| Atlanta | 85.7 |
| Boston | 63.3 |
| Denver | 58.7 |

Based on the data of the four focus schools in this study, White flight from the inner city was a trend in Los Angeles as well.

Data Presentation

The Setting

Los Angeles.

The city of Los Angeles, founded in the late 1700s, is the largest city in California and the second largest in the United States. In the year 1800 the city consisted of 315 people; 10 years later the number was closer to 360 (Willard, 1899). By the time the Southern Pacific Railroad line was created near the end of the 19th century the number of residents had increased significantly (Willard, 1899). This train line ran east and west bringing inhabitants from places such as New Orleans. The New Orleans to Los Angeles migration was a popular one for many Blacks both by train and later by car via the Interstate 10 freeway (Wilkerson, 2010). Dr. Robert Foster, a New Orleans native interviewed for the book *The Warmth of Other Suns* remembered having to drive constantly as there were not many places for Negroes to sleep or eat (Wilkerson, 2010). According to Douglas Flamming (2005), Black Los Angeles traces its thickest roots to the Southern states.

Within the city of Los Angeles, Blacks lived only in certain areas. As the Black population of Los Angeles swelled with the influx of migrants from Louisiana, Texas, and other parts of the south, racial realities more reflective of Jim Crow soon followed (Chapple, 2010). While data indicated that Blacks living in Los Angeles during the 19th century were likely to have White neighbors, as the Black population began to increase in the 20th century, smaller proportions of residential land were available (Robinson, 2010). According to researcher Paul Robinson (2010), deed restrictions became a method to

prevent Blacks from living in most areas. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (1913) said of a visit, “The color line is there and sharply drawn” (p. 194). While in Los Angeles on a visit in the early 1900s, Dr. DuBois stayed at the homes of both Dr. Foster, who was mentioned above, and John. A. Somerville, owner of the famed Dunbar Hotel. The Dunbar Hotel, originally named Hotel Somerville, sat at the heart of Black Los Angeles on 42nd and Central Avenue.

The 20th century brought with it clear lines of segregation within the city limits of Los Angeles. Black residents lived in specific areas near the eastern and northern parts of the city, such as the land surrounding the Dunbar Hotel, which came to be known as South Central. Restrictive covenants, which forbade White homeowners to sell to Blacks, were set up in many parts of the city. One such covenant was struck down in 1939. Judge Georgia Bullock, one of the first women judges in the state, ruled that Mr. and Mrs. Sam Dedmon could live at a house they purchased on 50th Street (“Race Restrictive Covenant,” 1939). The case argued by then lawyer Loren Miller, set precedent for such covenants to be struck down all over the city (Robinson, 2010). The Supreme Court case of *Shelley v. Kramer* (1948) strengthened this argument and shut down restrictive covenants all across the country. To combat this, Whites began to move out of southwest Los Angeles as Blacks moved in (Robinson, 2010). Despite the rulings of various courts, Anglo members of the Los Angeles community, continued to fight to keep neighborhoods and schools for Whites only.

As the schools built in Los Angeles were neighborhood schools, the institutions attended by the children were segregated under defacto segregation. The housing patterns dictated who went to which schools. William Bryan Rumford, the first African-American elected to public office in Northern California, attempted to do something about the housing pattern discrimination. In 1963, he worked to pass the *Rumford Fair Housing Act*, which would eliminate discrimination in housing (“California: Proposition 14,” 1964). Despite the passage of the bill, residents of Southern California did not begin to work toward striking down the traditions that should have been banned 24 years earlier with the *Dedmon* case. Instead, *Time Magazine* reported in 1964 that signatures were gathered to create Proposition 14, which would have overturned the *Rumford Act* and eliminated open housing. The act initially passed by a large majority, but there was an immediate loss of Federal housing money and the Proposition was eventually overturned (“California: Proposition 14,” 1964). Despite the attempt at open housing, the neighborhoods remained segregated due to White flight. The housing patterns seen around the city were also reflected in the schools.

Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD).

The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) was created seven years after the initial *Brown* case. According to the LAUSD website, the newly formed district was a consolidation of the Los Angeles City School District and the Los Angeles City High School District. The former serviced K-8 schools, while the latter was exclusively for high schools. Los Angeles High School, founded in 1873, was the first of its kind to

open in the city. As the city grew, so did the number of schools and students. A 1923 *Los Angeles Times* article (“School Population Grows,” 1923) written during the time that Susan Dorsey was the superintendent, listed the number of students in the district at nearly 160,000. Less than 4,000 of these students were Negro. Research done on the Black population growth of Los Angeles, produced several maps of where Blacks were located in the city at that time (Sides, 2006). These locations coincide with the studied local districts found within this study. The boundary maps of LAUSD during current times and in the 1970s are found within Appendix D.

In both its time as a unified school district and as two separate entities, superintendents within the district have had a lot to contend with. The oral histories of two of them, Ellis Jarvis and Arthur Gould, detailed the job. Superintendent Gould’s history entitled, *Forty Years in Education* by Southern California (1904-1944), gives detailed information about the leaders that came before him and the general time period (Schippers, 1965). Though he doesn’t have a lot to say about segregation, he did note of Jefferson High School in the 1940s that it was “nearly all colored” (Schippers, 1965, p. 33). Ellis Jarvis’ history was recorded one year later. Within the nearly 700-page document, he had a lot to say about his experiences with integration (Nunis Jr., 1966).

Ellis Jarvis had a varied experience in the school district prior to becoming Superintendent. He served as an Assistant Principal at both John Burroughs and McKinley Jr. High. Speaking on their differences, he noted that Burroughs, which was located in what is currently District 3, had students from a very high-income bracket, as

opposed to McKinley, which was mostly lower income, and Negro. In speaking about the IQ of 89 possessed by students at Burroughs, he said “Neither the IQ...nor the averages at Burroughs told the true story. The youngsters at Burroughs had latest magazines, encyclopedias, while at McKinley they barely even saw a Newspaper” (Nunis Jr., 1966 p. 135). He recalled of McKinley, which later became George Washington Carver Middle School, that it was located in a neighborhood that had been originally an all White area. When he arrived to the location, at 48th and McKinley near Central Ave. and the Dunbar Hotel, he recalled it being entirely Negro with a few Mexicans, Orientals, and Whites (Nunis Jr. 1966).

Though he was only at McKinley for two years, he remembered it fondly and had only good things to say about the teachers there. On the topic of race he began the discussion by defining school permits. Within the district there was a practice, which is still used today, of allowing students to obtain attendance permits. He defined it this way, “A permit allows a youngster to attend some school other than the school assigned to his residence” (Nunis Jr., 1966, p. 218). He used this as an example to explain how the district handled segregation. According to his recollection, it was strictly based on the number of seats available, and anyone could go anywhere as long as there was an open seat and they could get there. According to him, “There’s no problem as you can see. All you’re talking about is children in seats in schools. That’s all we’ve been talking about for 15 years” (Nunis Jr., 1966, p. 223).

Besides the fact that students were allowed open enrollment, he also recalled that there was no record of race or employees kept from the year 1947 until the present time of 1966. According to Jarvis, he often couldn't tell whether a person was Negro or not. He would often make a mistake. He encouraged all who came to him with a question of the racial divide in the schools to go out and look. While one might find a school that was all of one race, he was sure that they could also find one that was mixed (Nunis Jr., 1966). Within the telling of his history he was quoted as saying, "In my opinion, we are way ahead of the country in this regard, because anyone going into the history of their activities can see that a lot of problems that crop up in LA don't occur in other places" (Nunis Jr., 1966 p. 227). Jarvis' reign as superintendent ended in 1962, just as the fight for equal rights in Los Angeles was getting started.

The Negro Experience within Los Angeles Schools.

In the year 1940 there were nearly 60 junior and senior high schools. As the district continued to grow, so did the number of mini-districts. The area of Los Angeles was so vast that schools within the city's districts were scattered as far as the Valley in the north and the City of Carson in the south. According to various *LA Times* and *LA Sentinel* articles, the areas within the district were divided by grade level and area through a letter system, and then changed to various other letter systems before the number system that it later adopted (See Appendix D). The areas with the highest concentration of Black students are the current Local Districts numbered 3 and 7. In 1964, it was noted that most of the Negro teachers were also grouped together ("Negro Teachers Grouped," 1964).

The article states that 72% of the Negro teaching staff was employed in the South and Central district where 77% of the students were Negro. To put the number in perspective of the entire district, 13.3% of the entire teaching staff was Negro, correlating with 14% of the student population (“Negro Teachers Grouped,” 1964). The article cites housing patterns as one of the reasons for this trend.

As the 1960s continued, the school district found itself in the news numerous times surrounding the issue of race. The 1965 Watts Uprising, which was concentrated within the area that constitutes present day LD7, caused more than property damage. The newspaper reports of 1966 began to predict a teacher shortage (“Teacher Shortage,” 1966) as, according to the reports, both Black and White teachers started requesting transfers. By 1968 student walkouts began in both the Black and Latino areas of the city. In 1969, the *LA Sentinel* reported that Jim Crow practices were in full effect at South and Central schools (“Schools 75%,” 1969). The article stated that federal funding might be lost if integration plans were not enforced. This came five years after the official threat of federal funds withdrawal, which was a result of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*. According to the article, the State Board ruled that a school is racially imbalanced when its minority student enrollment differs by more than 15% above or below the percentage of minority youngsters of the school district in which it is located (Nairobi Research Institute, 1973; “Schools 75%,” 1969). Schools listed as being majority Black were Jefferson, Fremont, Jordan, Locke, and Manuel Arts. With the exception of Jefferson, the other schools were concentrated in the present day Local District 7.

Local District 3.

Local District 3 embodies the overwhelming size of the entire school district. The schools located within this area span from Venice, North Hollywood, South Central, to the Pacific Palisades. The seven high schools located there include Los Angeles, Venice and North Hollywood High, Dorsey, and Alexander Hamilton High School. Though Hamilton High is not a focus school within this study, the implementation of the district's integration program is made transparent based on the events that transpired at Hamilton.

Hamilton High School.

Named for Alexander Hamilton, the school opened in 1931 to mainly serve the West Adams, Palms, and Culver City areas ("Contract Let to Build," 1931). Three decades later, as the first student integration plans began to take shape, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that enrollment at Hamilton was on a decline, with a loss of 35 students from 1966 to 1967 ("Enrollment Down," 1967). Three years later reporter Gerald Faris (1970) noted "School talking out its problems." in the article by the same name. Faris (1970) went on to report that the school had lost its mostly White and upper to middle class population from three years ago.

The increase in Hamilton's Black population is depicted in Figure 5:

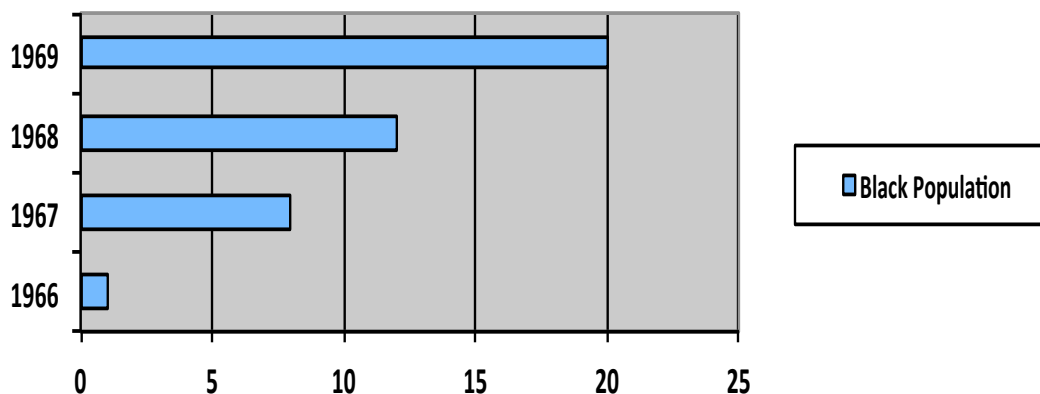


Figure 5: Black Student Population Increase at Hamilton High School.

According to the 1970 school principal, as the Black population increased so did the racial tensions on campus. The school leadership provided opportunities to ease the tension by creating space for small student groups where the issues could be ironed out. A fire set on campus, raised tension levels again until it was discovered that the fire was set by a White student trying to cover up a forged note (Faris, 1970).

Despite the principal's best efforts, various news reports from 1971 and 1972 showed an increase in Black student enrollment to 34%, and an increase in issues amongst the races. News reports said that the school board, in part due to the issues at Hamilton, issued a decree putting a halt to transfer permits at certain schools once the minority enrollment reached 30%. A 1972 article noted that a racial balance would soon come to Hamilton, and might eventually be needed at other schools such as Westchester High, which at the time had become only 80% White due to transfers (Greenwood, 1969).

The concerns over Hamilton High during the early 1970s were such that the *Los Angeles Times* devoted a five part series to the school during June of 1973. The piece entitled, “The Changing High School” (1973), chronicled the experiences of several *LA Times* reporters as they observed the inner workings of the school for a period of two months. The subtitles of the various reports which were titled “Changing School” (1973) included “Frustration Fills Hamilton High Academic Life” and “Hamilton High Seeks Security Beyond Fences”. The second part of the report quoted an administrator as saying that the bragging rights that the school used to have for academic contests were no more (“Changing School: Frustration Fills Hamilton,” 1973). The article went on to mention “The so called decline of Hamilton High is commonly traced to about 1967-68, when-not coincidentally, in the minds of many Whites-the number of Black students at the school climbed above 10% for the first time.”

Based on district statistics found on the website, the student population of Hamilton was majority Latino, with Whites constituting 18% and Blacks making up 27%. Some district personnel, who remembered the time period, still quoted the 30% or less rule put in place during the 1970s when interviewed for this study. Three of the focus schools within this study, like Hamilton, at one time maintained a predominately White student population. The main difference was that the area around Hamilton High School sustained the general racial makeup within the community that it began with in the earlier part of the century. While Hamilton experienced White flight from the educational institution, the majority of the schools listed below experienced White and middle class flight from the schools and the surrounding community.

The Focus Schools

This study focused on four schools within the two mini districts of LAUSD that had the highest concentration of African-American students. The schools were chosen purposely so that the design of the study would focus on one elementary school, one middle school, and two high schools. A brief history of each educational institution is presented below.

Broadway Elementary School.

Though Broadway Elementary has been open for more than 85 years, there is not much public information available about its early beginnings. The school website noted that it is located one mile from the Pacific Ocean in Venice and boasts a student population that consists of some students who are the third generation at the school. A snapshot of the school's academic performance based on standardized test scores showed a steady increase over the last 12 years, as depicted in Figure 6

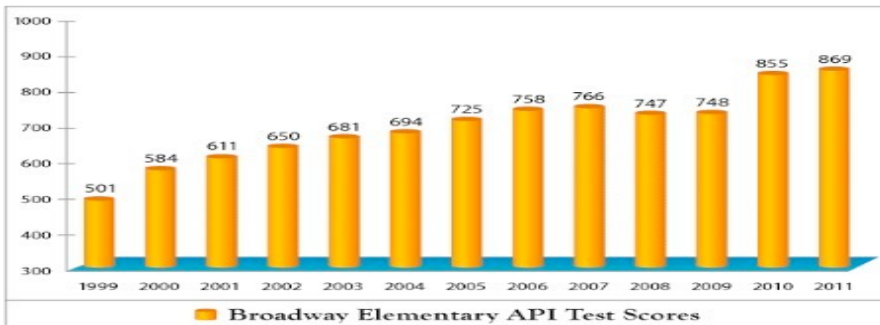


Figure 6. LAUSD Broadway Elementary School Academic Performance Index Change from 1999 to 2011. Source: LAUSD Press Release (2010).

Despite the increase in test scores, the school has declined in enrollment, with the 2010-2011 numbers listing only 276 students. Of this number fewer than 4% are White, 14.5% African-American, and the remaining students are Latino. This picture is slightly different than the one detailed in newspaper articles from 40 years ago.

In 1965, Broadway was listed as one of 220 schools that would receive federal funding from ESEA to assist economically disadvantaged youth (“Programs for Disadvantaged,” 1965). Four years later there were major protests at the removal of a P.E. and music teacher from the school. The children at many of the Venice schools were described as not being able to read by the time they left elementary (“School Board Plans,” 1969). Around the same time members of a Black Education Cadre began working to eliminate the problems they perceived to be pervasive throughout the community schools (Greenwood, 1969). The article noted that the area surrounding Broadway was considered the Black community. The area was also referred to as the ghetto, a sentiment echoed in a *Los Angeles Times* 1973 article. The article by Dial Torgerson (1973) began, “Venice, once called Los Angeles’ slum by the sea, is changing.” The article further noted that Venice was the only Black ghetto in California within walking distance of the beach, though according to the reporter, the poor Black population was dwindling (Torgerson, 1973). Despite this change, integration meetings held at Broadway Elementary, and chaired by Councilwoman Diane Watson and others, were taking place as late as 1977. While the demographics of Venice were becoming increasingly White, the opposite was happening just 30 minutes south.

Samuel Gompers Middle School.

Samuel Gompers was the founder of the American Federation of Labor. Though he worked primarily on the East Coast, articles appeared on him nearly every week in *Time Magazine*, and his influence stretched across the country. In the mid-1930s plans began in Los Angeles to open a series of new schools. On September 13, 1937 Samuel Gompers Junior High School first opened its doors along with Susan Dorsey High School, and eight other institutions. These new school openings were a part of the district's four-year rebuilding and rehabilitation plan ("Schools Call Pupils Today," 1937). Things at Gompers Junior High School began smoothly enough with its founding principal Evelyn Daynum. Ms. Daynum had begun working in the school district 24 years earlier, where one of her first pupils was Ralph J. Bunche, the first Black Nobel Peace Prize winner ("Faculty Honors Retiring," 1953).

Three years after the schools' opening, the first report of violence occurred, though it did not occur on campus. Three White female students were attacked by unnamed Negro girls while at a football game. One student was noted as being in a coma ("Girl in Coma," 1940). Eight years later the violence reached the school's campus when one student killed another student with a handgun. In the shooting, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times* ("Boy Killed by," 1948) one student shot the other while playing a game of holdup. Another male student took the gun in question from a robbery that had happened earlier in year. As was the custom of this time, all participants were identified by both name and address within the article. All those named were identified as White.

Yearbooks and pictures from this time period confirm that there were no Negro students at the school during these years.

Nine years after the above event, the first principal of the school had died. Miss. Daynum, as she was identified in the newspaper, (“Miss Daynum principal,” 1957), served as principal of the school for 16 years before her retirement in 1953. In the early 1960s various articles in the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the city’s Negro newspaper noted positive activities taking place amongst Gompers’ students such as track meet wins and delegates to a youth conference. By 1963 murder had occurred within the school’s walls again. A White security guard completing night patrol, surprised two would be burglars. In stories told in the both *Los Angeles Times* (“Security Officer,” 1963) and the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (Meriweather, 1963), the security officer killed two brothers by shooting them both two times. The brothers, identified by name and address, died almost on the spot. They were taken to Bon Air Hospital, located on 120th and Broadway in South Los Angeles, not far from the site of the Watts Uprising that took place two years later.

The following year, Principal John Hunt reported to the *Los Angeles Sentinel* that attendance permits would now be available for parents who wished their students to attend a school other than Gompers (“Gompers Glimpses,” 1964). The same article also reported various events at the school, such as Student Body elections, a Mother and Daughter Night, along with Father/ Son Awards. The *Sentinel* continued to report on Gompers for the next decade, including information about a district-wide award given for school safety (“News from Schools,” 1966), and a student that was awarded the table

tennis champion (Moore, 1968). During this same time period, reports on the school in the *Los Angeles Times* dwindled. Class portraits of the time period depict an entirely Black 9th grade class.

By the mid-to late 1970s, news reports at the school had again turned sour. In 1976, a White male teacher was reported as having choked a 7th grade Black female student. The teacher was reassigned for a time to Charles Drew Middle School, before being removed from service (Christmas, 1976). Despite the negative happenings on campus, former Gompers students continued to excel as noted in various *Sentinel* articles in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The school remained out of the news until 1992, when the then principal was accused of being racist by various members of the staff (Schatzman, 1992). In the year 2000, another female student reported being hit by a White teacher, this time a female (Williams Jr., 2000). The same teacher was noted as attempting to bribe the student not to tell with payment of one dollar and was listed by other students as calling them monkeys, special education students, and retards (Williams Jr., 2000). In more recent times the school, joined by others in the surrounding area, became party to a lawsuit, which would preclude the district from sending pink slips to any teachers employed there (*Reed v. State of California*, 2010). Gompers, recently with a majority Latino population, became part of the lawsuit due to the fact that the majority of the staff did not have seniority status, making them more prone to ruff notices.

John C. Fremont High School.

John C. Fremont High School, the 22nd high school built in the Los Angeles area, was one of the largest erected during the time period (“Plans for Big School,” 1923). Opened near 76th and San Pedro, Fremont cost \$600,000 to build in 1923 and housed 72 classrooms. Various newspaper articles chronicled the first decade of the school including listing the names of the members of the graduating classes. The school maintained a mostly White student population until almost two decades after it opened.

On February 21, 1941, the school was first integrated with six Negro students (Theoharis, 2006). The White students held a mock lynching in response. Five years later the school was nearly all White again. Just one year later, however, in 1947, hundreds of students protested the six new Negro students who were attempting to integrate (“Fruit of Racist Tree,” 1947; Theoharis, 2006). The incident, which was reported as far away as the *New York Times*, confirmed that Fremont was being maintained by the district as the school for Whites. The article noted that most Negro children attended Jefferson High School (“500 Students Strike,” 1947). An article from later within the same year (“Coast Pupils Go Back,” 1947) found the school principal suspending nearly 200 students for walking out of class to protest potential Negro peers. The picketing students were said to be influenced by the Communist Party, and their parents were made to sign a release stating that the exhibited behavior would not continue. From 1960 on the majority of the articles about Fremont High School were found in the city’s Black paper, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*.

In the late 1960s the school experienced another major student protest like the one 20 years prior. This time, however, the student population was almost entirely Black and they created a list of demands. In addition to requesting a Black principal who had community approval, they also wanted a Black Studies Class, and required the removal of teachers they deemed incompetent (McCurdy, 1968). The protest was led by members of the Black Student Union (BSU) and included a boycott and student walk out when a Black principal was appointed to the school, without the requested approval. Two hundred students at Hamilton High staged a sit-in in solidarity with the protest. The protests at Fremont were led in part by student Rickie Ivie, who was profiled in a newspaper article three months later (Drummond, 1969). Both Fremont and Dorsey High were essential to the story of several of the participants in this study.

Fremont and Dorsey High School were both profiled in a survey of Los Angeles Area High School Student Higher Education Plans. The survey focused on the student enrollment of area high schools, racial make-up of the student body, percentage of students in college preparatory classes and percentage applying to college. Of the two non-minority schools profiled, Pacific Palisades, located in LAUSD Local District 3 along with Dorsey, was noted as being 99% non-Black with 100% of those students in college prep classes and 90% applying to four year schools. The survey indicated that Fremont was 99% Black with 22% of the students in college prep classes and 14% applying to four year colleges. Dorsey fared slightly better with 30% of its 75% Black population being in college prep classes and 40% applying to four year colleges.

Susan Dorsey High School.

The articles on Dr. Susan Miller Dorsey are numerous. Dr. Dorsey, a New York native, came to Los Angeles in the late 1800s and began a teaching post at the city's oldest high school, Los Angeles High. She moved up the ranks there serving as the teacher of the superintendent who would later replace her, Vierling Kersey, and taking on several leadership roles within the school. She eventually went on to serve as both the Assistant Superintendent and the Superintendent of the Los Angeles City School District ("Dr. Susan Dorsey," 1946). Nine years prior to her death, a school bearing her name was opened in her honor.

Various articles and conversations with Dorsey alumni depicted a school that was racially integrated during the time when many other schools were experiencing racial strife. The stories told in periodicals prior to the 1970s painted a serene picture of a school on the rise with a popular athletic program. By the 1980s the school had become predominately Black (Kirkland, 2011), but the reports that plagued neighboring schools seemed not to hit the mainstream media in the same way. One of the participants in this study, Myra Williams, was quoted in an article about the 50th year school celebration. "It feels like a family reunion. It's good to come home again. To be with others who have such love for a place that has meant so much to all of us." ("Dorsey Celebrates 50," 1985) In more recent times the school, now divided into smaller academies, has experienced some racial strife but very little conflict was documented during the 20-year period of LAUSD integration implementation.

Interview Protocol and Participants

For the purposes of answering the two research questions, 10 participants were interviewed for the study. Of the interview participants, six were women and four were men. Seven of the interviewed participants were either retired or current classroom teachers, while the other three retired from out-of-classroom roles. Two of these served as sub-district level superintendents, while the other, Diane Watson, served as one of the few minorities elected to the Los Angeles School Board. All of the interviews, save one, were conducted inside of the participant’s homes. Their stories ranged from being a part of educational segregation in the South to school integration in the Midwest. Each of the participants was directly affected by the *Brown* case and its implementation within LAUSD.

The data collection for the interviews consisted of a demographic survey and an interview protocol, which had six questions. Table 4 shows where each participant was during four time periods selected from the 20-year span between the *Brown* decision and full implementation.

Table 4. *Location of Participants During Studied Time Span*

| Participant | 1954 | 1965 | 1975 | 1985 | Present Day |
|------------------------|--|---|----------------------------|---|---------------------|
| K.C. Curry | 1 st grade (Russell Ele.) | 11 th grade (Fremont High) | LAUSD Youth Services | P.E. Teacher/Coa ch LA Harbor College | P.E. Teacher |
| Georgette Jefferson | Not born | 5 th grade (Parochial) | LA Mayor’s Office | Vocational Adult Ed | Computer Teacher |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| | | school) | employee | Teacher | |
| Doris Davis | Student | Student (Bret Harte Jr. High) | Teacher (Broadway Ele) | Teacher (Broadway Ele.) | Retired/mentor |
| Dale Davis | Student (Tuskegee Institute, Ala) | Student (Dorsey High) | Teacher (Dorsey High) | Teacher (Dorsey High) | Retired/artist |
| Carita Bryant | Not born | Student (Detroit, Mi.) | Student (Wayne State Uni.) | Completing UCLA teacher credential, Began teaching | English Teacher |
| Myra Williams | 1 yrs. old | Student (32 nd St. Ele.) | Student (Cal State Northridge) | State Farm Ins. Co. Claim Rep | SPED Teacher |
| David Williams | Infant | Student, 9 yrs. old (Marvin Ele.) | Student (U C Irvine) | English Teacher (Dorsey High) | English Teacher/Coach |
| Dr. Diane Watson | Student (LACC) | Teacher | School Board | Working on PhD, member of State Senate | Retired Congress woman |
| Judy Burton | Student | Student (Washington Prep) | Teacher (Hyde Park Ele) | Principal (West Vernon Ele) | CEO of Charter School District |
| Dr. Owen Knox | Teacher | Principal (102 nd Ele) | Area J (District 2) Administrator | Asst. Supt. Personnel | Retired |

All of the participants knew at least one other participant in some capacity outside of this study. For instance Judy Burton and Dr. Owen Knox crossed paths while working with each other at the District, while Dale Davis was the teacher of Myra Williams while she attended Dorsey. There were also several similarities among some of the participants.

These commonalities are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Education Commonalities Amongst Study Participants

| | | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|
| Teacher at Broadway Elementary | Carita Bryant | Doris Davis | | |
| Teacher at Gompers Middle School | Kenneth Curry | Georgette Jefferson | | |
| Student at Bret Harte Junior High | Judy Burton | Doris Davis | | |
| Student at Foshay Junior High | Kenneth Curry | Dale Davis | Diane Watson | Myra Williams |
| Student at Dorsey High School | Dale Davis | Diane Watson | Myra Williams | |
| Student at George Washington High School | Judy Burton | Doris Davis | | |
| Student at Non-LAUSD School | Carita Bryant | Georgette Jefferson | David Williams | |
| Student out of state (for any part of K-12 education) | Carita Bryant | Judy Burton | Dale Davis | Owen Knox |
| Attended University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) | Judy Burton | Doris Davis | Owen Knox (Ed.D) | Diane Watson |

The interview questions, asked in a similar order to all participants, were:

1. Given the information on your demographic survey, what differences did you notice in your schooling experience versus your experience as an educator?
2. What do you remember about the initial *Brown v. Board of Education* lawsuit, which went before the Supreme Court during the year 1954?
 - a. What do you recall about the time period?

3. What are some of the differences in today's educational system as it relates to Black students compared to fifty years ago? Based on your experiences, to what do you attribute any difference?
4. Two of the goals of the *Brown* legislation were equal educational opportunities for Black students and integrated schooling. In your opinion, to what extent were these two goals met?
5. Thinking specifically about the school sites that you have worked at in the past or that you currently work in, is the education of Black students more adequate now or was it more adequate prior to the full implementation of *Brown*? On what are you basing your opinion?
6. If you could advise today's policy makers on education policy and its implementation, what advice would you give them?

Though this study was historical in nature, questions 3 and 5 about the current state of school are relevant to the overall *Brown* implementation. These two questions sought to answer whether the schools that were originally in need of integration are currently integrated. The data collected from each participant is highlighted in narrative format in the following section. The current educators are introduced with the title Mr., Ms., or Mrs. while the retired participants are introduced with first and last name only unless the title of Dr. is applicable. Themes that emerged from both the interview and document review data are presented in the subsequent section.

The Teachers

Mr. Curry.

Kenneth Curry, like eight other participants in the study, is a native to Los Angeles. Born and raised in the South Los Angeles area, Kenneth attended LAUSD schools, including Fremont High School, an institution highlighted in this study. Of his schooling experience, Mr. Curry remembered growing up in schools that had a majority Black student population and a mostly White teaching staff. His graduation from high school in 1966 came before Fremont students felt any effect of integration. Despite not directly feeling the effects, Mr. Curry recalled the initial decision and remembered conversations around how things would change down South and how the changes might eventually affect L.A. By the time he returned to LAUSD as a teacher, the changes in the school system due to the *Brown* decision were much more prevalent.

“Caring for the kids makes the difference.”

When asked about his own schooling experience, Mr. Curry recalled the most influential person at his elementary school. Though the teaching staff had very few male teachers, there was one male on campus that was extremely significant.

I can't even recall his name. I can almost see his face. But he was a custodian. He was the only custodian. They had one custodian, and he kept the school clean. And in elementary school he was the most influential because he—you know, just one of those guys that would talk to you. And then when you got in trouble, you had to deal with him (K. Curry, interview, January 3, 2012).

Of his high school experience, Mr. Curry recalled both White and Black teachers who would give information, but rather than expecting students to take them at their word, would also provide the means for the students to complete the research on their own. Remembering how Los Angeles worked at the time, Mr. Curry (interview, January 3, 2012) noted, “With so many of the people migrating from the South, education was the way out of whatever poverty we were looking at, at the time.”

As Mr. Curry reflected on his influences and the difference between his schooling experience and that of some of his former students, the caring nature of the staff stood out. Among the Gompers staff in 1973, it was noted that many of the Black teachers lived in the neighborhood and walked to school. For the White teachers, who he recalled made up about 50% of the staff, many, had been teaching at the school for years with plans to retire from the institution. However, a 1974 plan to integrate the staff resulted in forcing some teachers to come to the inner city. They were able to remain for only a few years, and then returned to their neighborhoods to teach. Mr. Curry remembered that this was the start of an influx of inexperienced teachers coming to the school.

In response to the question of whether or not the goal of integration as laid out by *Brown* was met, Mr. Curry had this to say:

That never happened. I mean, it was just like with the you integrated the staff and then you ended up sending folks into the inner city, that, one, didn't really want to be there; or they came in with the idea I have to be here for two years, get permanent and then I can, you know, use my contacts to get transferred back to,

quote, my neighborhood, back where I came from. (K. Curry, interview, January 3, 2012)

In further clarifying his statement, Mr. Curry expounded on what it means to become permanent within the district. The process is similar to securing tenure within higher education. Once a teacher has completed and received a teaching credential, after a period of two years they are considered permanent by the district. The permanent status means that they are fully protected under the union, cannot be discharged without due process as defined by the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), and have such rights as transfers from school to school. The researcher is familiar with the process from time spent as an LAUSD employee. Prior to becoming permanent, a teacher is considered probationary.

Throughout this time in the mid-1970s, in addition to gaining White teachers who didn't want to work at the school site, Mr. Curry also pointed out that when the staffs had to be integrated, the best of the Black teachers were sent to schools in the Valley. Mr. Curry gave two examples of teachers affected by this time, one White and one Black. The African-American teacher was bumped from an inner city school to one in the Valley. After one year spent at the Valley school, the teacher gave up his seniority rights to return to the inner city as a long-term substitute. The White teacher described, also wanted to return to her school site, though she used a different method. Mr. Curry recalls overhearing a phone conversation in which the teacher was told that if she were to get hurt, she would be allowed to return to her original school. The opportunity came, during

a schoolyard brawl on the P.E. field. The female teacher was able jump into the middle of a fight, where the students stopped fighting as soon as they were told. According to Mr. Curry, the respect given to teachers at the time dictated that you did what they told you immediately. Despite the fight being over, the teacher laid down as if hurt and was able to use this injury as a means of returning back to her home school. Mr. Curry goes on to note that the revolving door of teachers to the inner city, but specifically to Gompers began at this time. In reference to that he said,

I see too many teachers and fellow educators that they're just not really into it, you know, working with the kid that they're supposed to work with, you know. Not having the—just the respect of those kids, you know, or the caring for those kids. And I think that makes a big difference. (K. Curry, interview, January 3, 2012)

“The cream will always rise to the top.”

When asked about his thoughts on integration, Mr. Curry expressed very detailed ideas from both his experience as a classroom teacher and his experience as a coach. To his knowledge, the busing of students that happened went this way. Black students were sent to the Valley or the Westside, on a sometimes two-hour bus ride. Once they reached their new schools, they were all put in the same classroom. In his words, “Where was the integration at?” (K. Curry, interview, January 3, 2012). Though there was rumor of students being sent both ways, it didn't occur at Gompers. Mr. Curry recalls a friend, who was also a coach, calling to make sure that his child would be looked out for at

Gompers if he ended up being bused there. This sentiment was echoed years earlier in a 1968 article that detailed Fremont and Locke students who would be spending a week in Chatsworth as a part of a Black/White student exchange (Altschul, 1968). The White students who would exchange were never identified as that part of the exchange never occurred.

As for the students who did participate in the busing program from the inner city, Coach Curry (interview, January 3, 2012) had this to say, “The cream will always rise to the top. So they would take and they would want the best of what we had.” Curry noted that students who weren’t the best weren’t going to be able to make it and would be sent back. Though the concept of Interest Convergence was never mentioned, Mr. Curry expressed two ideas in line with the theory. One was that many of the schools in the Valley where students were being bused were in danger of being closed due to low enrollment. The Black students that were sent, and many times placed in the same class, provided an opportunity for additional teachers that would have otherwise been displaced. In addition to this, sometimes the students were only kept until norm day. Norm day, which occurs about the fifth week of school, provides the district with an accurate count of students, which determines the number of teachers a school actually needs. If a school gave a high number, but didn’t re-norm after the designated time, the school could use the additional teachers to lower class size.

The other idea around Interest Convergence was in reference to Black athletes. From his coaching days, Mr. Curry recalled one student in particular who was an all-city

athlete for a school in the Valley. He was allowed to attend the school each year around football season. At the end of the season, he would usually be returned to his home school of Locke for some disciplinary reason and would remain until the summer. The next year, the football coach would come and get him and the cycle would continue. This was done for three years in a row before the student finally graduated high school. He walked the stage at his home school of Locke, not the school in which he had played football. Stories like this one led Mr. Curry to believe that the fall down of *Brown* was on a local level. He stated, “I don’t think the *Brown* case should have been for the city. It was needed to take care of what was happening where the case was originated.” He further noted, “It wasn’t the fault of the law. It was the fault of the people that were in charge of—they were told to enforce the law, and they didn’t do it” (K. Curry, interview, January 3, 2012).

Ms. Jefferson.

Georgette Jefferson is a colleague of Mr. Curry’s at Samuel Gompers Middle School. They are currently the two staff members who have worked at the school for the longest. Like Mr. Curry, Georgette grew up in South Los Angeles, though she did not attend local LAUSD schools. When asked about this, she noted that her mother worked at 99th Elementary School, which is an elementary from which students typically go on to Gompers, also known as a feeder school. The reason that she did not attend the local schools was simply because her mother did not want her to go to the same school where she worked. Of the Lutheran School that she did attend, she noted, “They allowed me to start 1st grade. When I started-this was just South Central Los Angeles. So when I

started, it was basically Caucasian. By the time I reached 3rd grade it was totally African-American” (G. Jefferson, interview, December 10, 2011). The change in the demographic makeup of the neighborhood took place over a span of less than five years. Similar to the school, when Georgette’s family first moved into the neighborhood in 1955, the year she was born, the community was mostly White. As more Blacks began to move in, the Whites left. By the early 1960s the area, which was walking distance from Gompers Middle School, was all Black.

Though Georgette was too young to remember the initial lawsuit, she did remember the integration period that began around 1965. Her mother was a part of the forced integration of the staff, which would have required her to teach at a school in the Valley while a White teacher from that area took her place at 99th Street. Georgette (interview, December 10, 2011) recalled, “I can remember her being upset about having to leave her community. And I can remember that at what—whatever happened she didn’t have to leave, but other teach—some White teachers did come to 99th Street School.” Georgette also recalled conversations in which it was felt that the community was being done a favor by having White teachers come to the local schools. In Georgette’s opinion, this was a slight to the teachers who had been there and felt that they had helped the students excel.

“The biggest difference—community schools have ended.”

Speaking of her own education, Georgette went to a Lutheran High School, unlike her older brother who went to Fremont High School. The school was located in

Inglewood, California and she attended with most of her 8th grade class. In the 9th grade, they were the first class of African-American students to attend the school. Four years later there were no more White students and the school was closed. Reflecting on this, Georgette (interview, December 10, 2011) says, “So every experience I’ve had of trying to integrate, it started off with the school being integrated, but by the—a span of no more than three or four years it was no longer integrated.”

In comparing her own school experience to that of those who came after her, Georgette contended that the concept of the community school had eroded. Though she did not attend public schools, she recalled her brother and his friends all attending the local high school. Her own children were also raised in public schools because she wanted them to have the community school experience that she didn’t. “I felt that was something that I missed as a student growing up living in a community, but going to a school in a different community. I always felt like an outsider” (G. Jefferson, interview, December 10, 2011). Speaking further on the community school concept, Georgette noted that the school used to be the focal point of the community. Various articles written about two other participants of this study, Dr. Diane Watson and Dr. Owen Knox, supported this. Dr. Watson, in particular, was showcased in numerous articles written in the 1970s, as holding town hall meetings during her time on the school board at local schools such as Broadway Elementary. Like Mr. Curry, Ms. Jefferson echoed the sentiment of integration being a fallacy based on the bused students being kept together when they entered their new school. Doris Davis, a retired teacher from Broadway Elementary, experienced this first hand.

Doris Sadler-Davis.

Doris Sadler-Davis, a Los Angeles native, was a product of LAUSD schools, though her experience differed from the above participants. “When I was in school, the schools that I have attended, elementary school especially and junior high school was integrated.” Doris recalled having her first Black teachers in the 8th grade at Bret Harte Junior High, which though located at 93rd and Hoover is a part of the district’s southern most region, currently Local District 8. One of the teachers taught Latin. When Doris began high school at George Washington Prep in 1964, the school was predominately White. One semester later, Doris recalls, all of the White pupils were gone. Her own educational experiences differed from how things were when she began teaching. As a teacher at Broadway Elementary in Venice in the 1970s, most of the students were Black, though the population eventually became mixed.

“For me students were students, kids were kids.”

Of the initial lawsuit, Doris remembered her parents talking about the case and its implications. Both of her parents experienced a segregated education. Her father attended all Black schools in Texas, while her mother, an immigrant, attended schools in New York with various nationalities, but no Blacks. As an educator, returning to her school site in 1979, Doris experienced forced integration first hand. She and many students from Broadway were sent to a school near Brentwood. As she recalls it, she went willingly “Because for me students were students, kids were kids” (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011). The teacher whom she replaced, a 25-year veteran of the

school, assumed that she would be returning so the cupboards sat full with her things for the entire year.

Of the students, Doris recalled that many of the Black students at the school were typically placed in her class and the Resource class, a program for students with special needs. “They read on grade level, they did math on grade level, but they were in Resource” (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011). In addition to teaching a significant population of Black students, Doris an English only speaking teacher, was also given the Bilingual class. This left the other two 6th grade teachers with classes of around 15 White students who read above or at grade level; and Mrs. Davis with mixed-level classes of 40 students. Though Doris was only at this school for one year, the experiences there stuck with her. Recalling a conversation with students who were being pulled from her class by the kindergarten teacher for additional help in ESL and language, she learned a disturbing truth.

My kids would come back and they’d say—they’d always have these emotions. And they’d say, well you know we’ve been cleaning. And so the kindergarten teacher had them cleaning her room rather than teaching them anything. So I would stop—I would not let them go back after I found that out. And she was like, you know, how do you expect me to get my room clean? (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011)

Though Doris was not able to change the minds of some of the adults at the school, the shared experiences allowed her to have an impact on the students. One such

teachable moment involved two students in the class, one White and one Latino. The Latino's mother worked for the other student's parents. Based on actions witnessed by Mrs. Davis, such as the carrying of books, a class conversation was had about whether or not the Latino boy worked for the White boy. As everyone in the class knew what was going on, the discussion was one in which all of the students were able to voice their opinion and a resolution was reached in which it was understood that no student in the class worked for another. The students were given credit for the activity under Social Studies. Doris' husband Dale, who always worked with high school aged children, had a slightly different experience.

Dale Davis.

Dale Davis, like his wife, was a retired educator. He retired from many years of service as an art teacher at his alma mater. An artist in his own right, though retired from teaching, Dale continued to sell artwork and was featured in art shows around the city. In the late 1960s he and his brother Alonzo Davis founded the Brockman Art Gallery, which was located in Leimert Park. The gallery, which stood at its Leimert Park home for almost 25 years, was chronicled in detail in the book *Black Los Angeles*. The author of the chapter devoted to Black art in Los Angeles listed the gallery as “the most influential and durable private space providing a major venue for exhibiting the creative efforts of Black artists in Los Angeles and helped to generate a Black artistic renaissance in the late 1960s” (Von Blum, 2010, p. 251).

Prior to showcasing his artistic talent in Los Angeles, Dale was born in the southern state of Alabama. He recalled his first school experience at the Tuskegee

Institute as being a segregated one. Entering first grade in Los Angeles however, he realized that he was a little better prepared with a more extensive vocabulary than the other students at the school. Both his experience at 6th Street Elementary and the one at Foshay Junior High School were integrated and he considered the institutions community schools. He was able to walk from his house to each of the schools. In addition to an integrated setting that included Asian and White students, a vast curricular offering was provided of music and the arts. Dale also recalled holding several leadership positions (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011).

Upon entering Dorsey in 1960, the student population was about an even mix of thirds, White, Black, and Japanese or Asian. Many of the White students at the school during that time period were Jewish. This racial breakdown, as Dale recalled it, was supported by various newspaper articles and independent conversations with other graduates from the time period.

“It didn’t equalize anything. It weakened.”

Throughout this interview, the researcher had to stop for clarification because many of the things mentioned no longer existed. Dale noted that his mother made sure he had a strong academic program. “My mom realized that I had more—too many [vocational] shops, and so she made a point to meet with the counselor to say this kid’s going to college” (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011). Within his schedule, Dale was able to complete wood and auto shop along with classes like International Relations, Economics, and Chemistry. He was also an elected member of the Boys Personnel board. Dale graduated from the school in 1963 and returned in 1969 as a teacher. Of the

differences that occurred in the period that he was absent, he noted that a lot of the stronger teachers were lost possibly due to a change in demographics rather than attrition (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011).

In reference to the student demographics, both the White and Japanese students left the school as a part of White and middle class flight. A program that was not there while Dale was a student was a Japanese language class. The class was there when he returned in 1969, but after three or four years the program was closed and the teacher returned to Japan. By this time, the school had more of an African-American base. One of the programs that created an exchange of students was the Area Program for Enrichment Exchange (APEX) program. According to Dale's recollection, this was a model for what is now the magnet school. Students were bused to Dorsey for the art program, while they might be sent to another school for a different subject. Dale (interview, December 20, 2011) recalled, "At that point integration had kind of eased. We didn't really get—we'd get a few kids that were non-Black. But mostly our demographic pretty much kind of stayed the same."

When asked about the differences in the education his students received and his own, Dale was quick to point out that there had been a decline. The class offerings such as International Relations, Advanced French, Italian, and Latin that existed when he was a student, had disappeared by the 1970s. There was also a turnover of teachers. Though Dale had the pleasure of working with teachers who had taught him, when they retired, some of the young teachers that replaced them did not stay long. During this time period,

principals remained at a school site for years. Dale remembers having about three principals during his career, two of which he was able to name with no problem. In addition to losing teachers and administrators, Dale also pointed out that after integration, no students were gained, only lost.

We did not have any significant number of White kids coming to our school or Japanese kids coming to our school. We were sending African-American kids to other schools. And because of our demographic problems that we had in the urban school, we started losing—this was major impact. We started losing the brighter kids. (D. Davis, interview, December 20, 2011)

In response to whether equal educational opportunities were gained, Dale (interview, December 20, 2011) had this to say: “It didn’t equalize anything. It weakened—as far as I’m concerned it weakened the schools, because once again we couldn’t attract those—the best teachers from the job that they had.” All of the participants interviewed didn’t recollect the feeling of loss that Dale expressed. The stories of the teachers impacted by *Brown* as students, is detailed below.

Teachers as Students

Ms. Bryant.

Carita Bryant, a middle school teacher, was born one year after the initial *Brown* decision. Born and raised in Flint, Michigan, Carita remembered an integrated education beginning in kindergarten. Though Carita recalled more African-American kids due to the racial makeup of the city, she distinctly remembered going to school with Whites in a

space where race wasn't an issue. As she grew to be an adult, Ms. Bryant studied Spanish in college, and put her fluency skills to use when she migrated to Los Angeles in the late 1970s. One of her first teaching experiences was at Broadway Elementary with Doris Davis. Carita noted that the students of the time period seemed to get a more creative education, similar to what she received, compared to the more recent trend of teaching to the test. To further put the area of Venice, California during the time period into context, Carita noted that there were housing projects near the school, which housed minority students. This same area is now being regentrified. Like some of the interviews before her, the notion of Interest Convergence appeared within the conversation. When asked if the goals of *Brown* were met, Carita was adamant that the answer was no. When asked why the answer was simple. In addition to the schools being void of White students, there was no rising in the caliber of information.

Mrs. Williams.

Myra, like Carita, had an integrated schooling experience during her elementary school years. Unlike, Ms. Bryant, Myra is a Los Angeles native. Due to having an aunt who worked at a school near the University of Southern California (USC), Myra was able to attend private school until the third grade. Though the racial makeup of the school was mixed, Mrs. Williams (interview, February 7, 2012) pointed out that she did not live in the community. She was finally able to attend a community school during junior high when she entered Foshay. Like Dale Davis, who was also her art teacher, she attended Dorsey for high school and lived close enough to walk to classes. Myra was able to

participate as a student in the APEX program that Dale referred to as a part of his years as an educator. She also recalled the school being not completely segregated in the late 1960s, though the dominant groups were Black and Asian.

Once Myra moved into education in the late 1970s, her first school assignment was at a segregated institution. The elementary school, a part of Local District 3 was predominately African-American. In recalling her schooling experience, Mrs. Williams didn't recollect feeling impacted by the *Brown* decision. Of her school she had this to say:

We had books and we weren't run-down and it didn't appear that we were downtrodden in our school because of the type of parents. I mean, our parents were working class parents. They came. They made sure things were on the up and up. If you had a problem, they were there. So I didn't see the effects. (M. Williams, interview, February 7, 2012)

In remembering an interaction with a counselor, Myra recalled being discouraged from gathering university information, as the counselor thought she would only be able to attend a junior college. Her parents, when told of the encounter, went to the school for a meeting with the counselor.

In reference to the goals of *Brown* being met, Myra had the unique experience of a somewhat integrated experience in her own education. In later years, though she didn't experience busing herself, she recalls friends that taught at schools where the bused children were simply grouped in the same classroom throughout the day. When asked

about integration, Myra contended that busing helped with this, though she admitted that White students did not expand to other areas as Blacks did. Myra had this to say about the other goal of *Brown*, equal educational opportunity: “I think the equal opportunity is there. It may not be equitable, but it’s equal opportunity where we’re equal, we’re in the same school, here’s your book.” (M. Williams, interview, February 7, 2012)

Coach Williams.

David Williams began his interview by recalling his own educational experience. Though he was not educated in LAUSD, he was directly impacted by the *Brown* legislation through his experience in the Pasadena Unified School District. Originally slated to go to John Muir High, David instead attended Pasadena High. Of how he ended up at the school, David says he received a letter in the mail telling him that he had to attend Pasadena in the fall (D. Williams, interview, February 7, 2012). To his knowledge, no White students received letters; only the Blacks students were made to disperse. When asked later in the interview about the way in which the desegregation process took place for him, he noted that integration is not something that should be forced. Mr. Williams did think, however, that because of the experience he was much more comfortable around different people when he made the transition to college.

Prior to his experience in Pasadena, David did attend LAUSD schools. In elementary he attended Marvin Elementary, a school in Local District 3 that was segregated in the 1960s. Perhaps because of the benefit of having different experiences

within his childhood education, David believes that *Brown* met the goal of equal educational opportunities. On that topic, he had this to say:

In terms of opportunity, I think that's largely been successful. Now I don't know if it's all due to the government. I think it's due to attitudes changing and more, more people in positions of power and money and influence that are helping the government along. (D. Williams, interview, February 7, 2012).

However, David was skeptical about the goal of integration. Admitting that his experience was only limited to Southern California, he noted that in the schools there is still segregation.

The Out-of-Classroom Experience

The final three participants in the study, though all teachers at some point in their careers, experienced *Brown* while outside of the classroom. These are their stories.

Dr. Diane Watson.

Dr. Diane Watson, a retired member of Congress, began writing her dissertation by long hand 25 years ago. During the time that she was a student; she was also an active member of the Los Angeles School Board, one of only a handful of Blacks to hold this distinction. Dr. Watson's (1987) dissertation entitled *The Effects of the Desegregation Controversy on Trustee Governance in the Los Angeles Unified School District (1975-1980)*, detailed her time in working with the school board on the district's desegregation plan. Her dissertation chair, Dr. Charles Kerchner, recently authored *Lessons from LA* (Kerchner et. al 2008) about the Los Angeles Unified School District. The purpose of Dr.

Watson's study was to chronicle the school board's desegregation work during the five-year period that coincided with a court ruling in the *Crawford v. Board of Education* (1963) case (Watson, 1987). One of the reasons behind the mandated busing was the court ruling in the *Crawford* case. Though *Brown* stipulated that the schools must be integrated, it did not say how, thus allowing more than 20 years to go by before a concrete plan was put into place for the integration of Los Angeles' students. Dr. Watson spoke of her school board experience during our interview.

Diane Watson, like two other participants in this study attended Foshay Junior and Dorsey Senior High. She, however, had already graduated from Dorsey prior to the initial *Brown* decision. Of her education, Dr. Watson recalled it being integrated. She described the experience as extremely wonderful and noted that both her schooling and neighborhood were integrated (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012). Her father, a police officer, was the first Black officer at the Newton Street Police Station, which is located at 34th and Central Ave. She grew up in an eastern area of the city amongst such celebrities as Eddie Rochester, Mantan Moreland, the Nicholas brothers, and Dorothy Dandridge, who lived across the street. Diane recalled a special teacher who taught her life skills in addition to academics, while she was an elementary school student at 36th Street Elementary. Of her experience at Dorsey, Diane recalled being one of five Blacks who went to the school at the time. She was able to attend Dorsey on a sibling permit, as her older sister was already there (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012).

While at Dorsey, Diane took Latin as her foreign language requirement. She recalled that her integrated high school experience carried over when she became a fourth generation UCLA student. During this time in the 1950s she lived in experimental co-op housing, which provided space for integrated living. She remembered the influence of her aunt's, Pauline Slater, also a UCLA grad, who was the first Black teacher in LAUSD. She followed in that aunts footsteps and also became a teacher, with her first assignment being at Warner Avenue Elementary, where she was one of two Black teachers and all of the children were White. The school located within Local District 3 is still 78% White. Reflecting on her time with the students, she had this to say:

And I did all kinds of experimental things in my classroom. And the parents at open house they would come in and they'd say, oh, we didn't know. They never told us. I said, well, why would they? I said, they were telling you about some science experiment we were doing or some countries we were studying. Yes, they talked about you all the time. We never knew you were...I said, yes, I get that all the time. (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012)

Within the interview, Diane reflected on her heritage, which includes many nationalities. Of her time teaching children, she noted that she only ever had one Black student. This was during her time teaching overseas in Okinawa, an island in Japan. She kept in touch with the student, Donna, and years later had the pleasure of performing her marriage ceremony to actor, Robert Guillaume. Of her own experience outside of the classroom,

Dr. Watson (interview, February 17, 2012) noted that she was almost always the only [Black] one.

Reflecting on her time in politics, Dr. Watson (interview, February 17, 2012) noted, “So it’s no problem for me, you know, to integrate. Everything I went into I was the first.” Being one of the only Blacks was the reason behind her dissertation topic. In response to a question about LAUSD’s implementation of *Brown* she said, “It was probably one of the major fights of my life, and I’ve had lots of them getting to where I wanted to go. The reason why I wrote my dissertation with that issue is because I’m sitting on a school board as the only Black” (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012). Dr. Watson also spoke to the neighborhood concept of schooling, or community schools. The reason that she believed that LAUSD never integrated was because the majority population chose to move. According to her recollections “We were never able to integrate our schools because the Whites home-schooled, put their kids in private schools and moved out of the district. So we never had enough of a majority to integrate the minority” (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012). Despite this, she worked extensively with the members of BUSTOP to change their thoughts on busing and integration; but in the end, many times she was shut out from the other board members. She recalls being put out of executive sessions where the topic of conversation was on how not to integrate.

In response to the question of whether or not the goals of the initial *Brown* lawsuit were met, Dr. Watson answered in the negative. In remembering her thoughts on the issue at the time, she asked a series of questions to other board members:

And so I would go in, I said why should Caucasians have the best schools, the best classrooms, the best teachers, and excellent education? Why shouldn't a Black or a Brown be able to be in that same classroom? And why should Caucasian, or if you want to call them White, not experience how it feels to go into another community? But we have to have excellent education for all children. The Constitution demands it... (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012)

Dr. Judy Ivie Burton.

Judy Burton's time within the Los Angeles Unified School District is chronicled in the book *Learning From LA*. (Kerchner et al, 2008). A proponent of both the LEARN and LAMMP program of the 1990s, she left LAUSD to become the CEO of The Alliance for College Ready Schools, a charter organization. Ms. Burton was born Judy Ivie in Fort Worth, Texas and migrated with her family to Los Angeles in the 3rd grade. She recalled attending South Park Elementary School and Bret Harte Junior High School, both of which were integrated at the time. As a high school student at George Washington High School in the early 1960s, the school was also integrated. Though her school experience was integrated, Ms. Burton remembered that her neighborhood went from mixed to all Black, shortly after her family moved in there (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012).

While a student at Washington, though she was academically gifted and a leader, there were still certain clubs and organizations to which she could not belong. There was one club in particular that was a Whites-only girls club. Judy and her friends complained to the principal and one African-American girl was finally accepted. However, during her time at Washington, she did see the first African-American homecoming queen, a friend named Paula Hartsfield. Through research it was later discovered that Paula married Dock Ellis, a famed baseball player who had also been her date to the homecoming (Hall & Ellis, 1976). Judy does not remember there being a focus on Black students attending college. She applied because she had a brother who had gone to Fremont and later attended UCLA. In talking to the counselor about attending a trip for students in Spain, she was flat out told that that kind of thing was not for her (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012).

Though she attended Washington, Ms. Burton had a strong connection to Fremont High, a focus school in this study. Her family lived down the street from Fremont, but Judy and her sister decided that Washington would be a better fit for them, while their brothers attended the community school. Of Fremont she recalled:

My younger brother, and this is 40 years ago, led a walkout at Fremont because they couldn't get college prep courses. They couldn't get current textbooks. So they formed a student union, demanded new principal, new books. And the sad thing is we just had another walkout at Fremont for the same thing, which is kind of sad that even after all the focus at that time—and they did change the principal.

A big, you know, press conference about the students walking out at Fremont. It didn't really change anything. (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012)

The brother to whom she refers is Rickie Ivie, though the relationship was unknown at the time of the interview. He is referenced earlier in this chapter in the section on the Fremont boycott of 1968.

Like her brother, Judy was personally involved in the BSU as a student at UCLA along with others such as H. Rap Brown and Angela Davis. Once Judy graduated from UCLA she became a teacher. Her first assignment was Hyde Park Elementary, a predominately Black school. Of this experience, she remembers the school being high performing. In later years, Judy moved from teacher, to bilingual coordinator, to assistant principal, and eventually Area Office Administrator. Of this experience, which included time in East Los Angeles, Ms. Burton (interview, January 30, 2012) noted, "I don't think I was ever overtly denied any opportunity because of my ethnicity." After working as principal at various schools, Ms. Burton became the Elementary District Administrator for 14 elementary schools. The schools were located in then Area C, a section of the city, which now constitutes parts of Local District 7 and Local District 8. She later took a job closer to her home in the Valley and eventually worked in the district's reform office.

In reference to the *Brown* legislation, Judy remembered feeling the impact while a student at UCLA. Financial assistance became available because of government programs such as the Education Opportunity Program. In reference to integration implementation, she recalled a mixed raced teacher who was sent from the Valley to

Hyde Park Elementary because she put White on her ethnicity survey. This was during a period of forced staff integration. In reference to students and the education they were receiving after *Brown*, Ms. Burton pointed out that there still seems to be a racial divide (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012). In her opinion, the perception of a class with a large number of African-Americans was that they would be difficult to manage. She also had this to say, “I think all you have to do is look at the data and see that the data still shows that African-American kids are not getting the same educational opportunities” (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012). She further expounded on her thoughts that the school system in LA is still unequal as evidenced by the schools in the less affluent neighborhoods where students do not always meet the A through G graduation requirements.

Speaking specifically on whether or not the two goals of *Brown* were met, Ms. Burton said:

Neither was met. With schools’, academic achievement clearly reflects that students are not getting an equal education compared to other schools where performance is significantly different. And the schools are not—they’re not integrated at all. And now that I think the—well, we haven’t had integration for a long time. (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012)

The notion of Interest Convergence surfaced again, though it was not directly stated. In speaking about what the magnet schools were meant to achieve, Judy noted that the traveling happened by Black students only, not in the reverse. In addition, though rarely

mentioned anymore, Judy still recalled the 70/30 integration rule of which she noted no one checks any longer to see if that portion of integration is actually being met (J. Burton, interview, January 30, 2012). Based on her experiences, Judy had very specific recommendations for future policy makers, as did Dr. Owen Knox who was the oldest of the 10 participants.

Dr. Owen Knox.

On July 1, 2010, Dr. Owen Lloyd Knox was bestowed an honor similar to that bestowed upon Dr. Susan Miller Dorsey 73 years earlier. As reported in an official press release from Los Angeles Unified (2010), Dr. Owen Lloyd Knox Elementary School was opened in his honor at 90th and Main Street. Dr. Knox, an employee of the district for nearly 60 years, was written about in the local area newspapers almost nearly as much as the school integration topic itself. The interview with Dr. Knox was obtained through snowball sampling and contained a rich history of both the school district and the man himself.

Dr. Knox was the only participant who was a Louisiana native, like many Los Angeles residents of his generation. He completed his entire early education in the south and remembered it both fondly and with some disdain. Of his early schooling in Baton Rouge he remembered being educated by all Black teachers who had attended Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Despite the students and faculty being Black, the superintendent of the school district and all of his attendants were White. Dr. Knox recalled that when the superintendent came to visit hundreds of students had to stop

their education to entertain him by gathering in the auditorium and singing Negro spirituals (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012). The year was 1932.

Another potentially negative situation actually ended up being a positive lesson that stayed with Dr. Knox for his entire life. The Black and White schools in his town were located near each other. On the way home each day, sometimes the students would get into skirmishes. In order to stop this, the district decided to alter the ending times of the school. The students at the Black school were required to get out at 3:30; 30 minutes after the White students were released. During these 30 minutes, the teachers had to create a curriculum for the students. The class that Owen received was Black History. Within these 30 minutes every day he learned about Blacks outside of the south and their accomplishments. This became some of his favorite time during the school day (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012).

Dr. Knox completed his high school education in Baton Rouge and went to nearby Baker, Louisiana for undergraduate school at an HBCU called Leland College. As a Chemistry major, he quickly discovered that all of the professors were available at any time. During this time, it was instilled in him that he had to succeed. The only route for this success was through education. Though he didn't have a lot of money, he and the other students were able to receive support for the education from their parents and others in the community. As he recalled it, only about five students paid full tuition. Leland College has since been placed on the National Register of Historic Places, though according to the Baker, Louisiana website, only the school marker remains.

After graduating from Leland, Owen made his way to Chicago, where he had a cousin. His intent was to go to medical school at Rush Medical College. He, however, did not have the funds to attend school. Despite this, he decided that he would sit on the steps of the college until someone let him in. He was able to stay with his cousin, and decided that before sitting on the steps he would try going to the bank. He spoke to the son of the bank manager, requesting an insurance policy in which the bank would be the beneficiary. The idea was that he would pay back the loan after he became a doctor, and if he expired prior to, the bank would still get their money. He came in week after week requesting to see the bank manager, who seemed to never be in. As summer turned to fall, he soon discovered two things about Chicago. After being hit by “the hawk” one day when leaving the bank, he came upon two men fighting. The men fought, as people walked by without giving them a second glance. He had this to say about the experience:

First it’s cold here. But second, these people are going to let me sit on the steps of the university and die there without ever knowing I’m there. I said these people are—this is not going to excite them somebody—a little Black boy sitting on the steps of a university. So I decided the best thing for me to do was go back home. So I caught the train. And that reminds me of the Great Migration. I took the train and went back south. I went back to Baton Rouge. (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012)

Upon his return to Baton Rouge, he was offered a job as a teacher. He worked for a year as a teacher at a local school. One Saturday he and two friends went into town on a

shopping trip, though he notes, “Well, I wasn’t shopping. I didn’t have any money to buy anything” (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012). The men went into a White department store, where one of them began to look at dress shirts. Dr. Knox recalled the events that happened next very clearly.

So the White salesman laid out four or five white shirts on the table. And my friend looked down at the white shirts and he said uh-hum. And this salesman stood up, face got red, and he says Niggers don’t say uh-huh to me. They say sir. And I thought I was going to placate him by saying, well, he wasn’t speaking to you, sir. He was just remarking about the shirts. He said, you don’t—niggers, don’t say sir to me. By this time his voice was loud and people were gathering around, all White people. (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012)

The men left the store quickly and returned to the school where they taught. On Monday, the principal of the school called a faculty meeting in which the incident from the weekend was discussed. Owen and his friends knew it was best to leave town. According to him, they were able to escape Louisiana and made their way to Los Angeles. One friend became a lawyer, the other a court clerk, and Owen became a teacher.

Dr. Knox’s first teaching assignment was at the predominately Black 79th Street Elementary School, which has since been renamed McKinley Elementary located in what is now Local District 7. Dr. Knox recalled that the students at McKinley and the students in Louisiana were a lot alike with the exception of one thing. “There was something in

Louisiana that said I've got to learn to get out of here. We had all Black teachers and they impressed us with the fact that to better yourself in this society, segregated society you have to know a lot" (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012). Dr. Knox found this drive to be missing from the South LA students. Despite this, Dr. Knox was adamant that poor children can learn just as well as other students. According to his recollection, he didn't realize that he grew up poor until he entered college and discovered Black students with real money. Of the students at McKinley he believed that they could learn, though he feared that there were others who did not think this.

During the time of the initial *Brown* lawsuit in 1954, Owen Knox was already teaching in Los Angeles. While he did not notice any immediate changes, he did wonder what would happen in the South. Of the segregation in Los Angeles, Dr. Knox noted that it was based on housing patterns, not on law. Around 1957, Owen and five other Black people made the district's list and were promoted to Assistant Principals. LAUSD has maintained the AP and Principals list, on which a person has to be placed before being allowed to apply for the said role. During this time, there were only six Black Assistant Principals. They worked together and met often to discuss what they were experiencing at their school site. Eventually a regular meeting was established with all of the Black administrators and a presentation was made to the then-superintendent, Jack Crowley. Out of this the Council of Black Administrators (COBA) was born (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012).

In the meeting with the superintendent, the main topic of discussion was the disparity in the allocation of resources in the Black schools and the White schools. During this time period, several new schools were being built in the Valley. The most shocking part of the conversation was when the superintendent acknowledged that he had been expecting them in that there was expectation for the Black leaders to call a meeting about the issue. Despite this expectation, as Dr. Knox recalled, “Nothing happened. I just assumed he was going to do something, and nothing happened” (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012). It was sometime after this meeting that COBA became official, though Dr. Knox did recall that the superintendent eventually made one Black appointment to a downtown organization. Within the circle of colored administrators, everyone did not join the group. Dr. Knox noted that at this time, the term Black was still considered an epithet so some did not join for this reason. The group successfully formed, however, and after making a presentation to the board, was acknowledged as an official group of the district.

By the time of official *Brown* implementation in 1965, Dr. Knox was principal of 102nd Street Elementary. The appointment came right after the Watts Uprising. Dr. Knox had originally been assigned to a school in the northern part of the Valley, but was sent back south when he was told several White principals in the area requested transfers. Upon talking to the principal at 95th Street School, where he was originally slated to go, he learned that the information of mass transfer requests due to the uprising was not entirely accurate. Though he stayed at 102nd Street School, the principal whom he

replaced was adamant that he also had not requested to be transferred. At the time, the school was predominately African-American (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012).

Dr. Knox was able to juxtapose his experience at 102nd Street with his experience in the Valley. In reference to books, Dr. Knox noted that at 102nd Street School he received used books and materials while the supplies received in the Valley had always been new. In reference to whether or not the two goals of *Brown* were met, he said that *Brown* didn't immediately provide educational opportunity because of White flight in the south. In terms of integration, Dr. Knox recalled busing being successful in getting Black kids to White schools but not the other way around. During the initial busing phase, he was working as an area superintendent in Area J, now District 2, which is located in the Central Valley. The schools were mostly White with a small Black and Hispanic settlement. Dr. Knox was successful in getting parents from each of the segregated schools to come to the table to create an effective integration plan for the area. A bus route was mapped out and the larger district used part of his plan. Aside from integration, Dr. Knox had very definite thoughts about the major impact of *Brown*. "The major impact of *Brown* to me is the perception that we must educate all the people equally as well. No matter what their socioeconomic status is, what their race is, we must educate them. The purpose isn't just integration. The purpose is education" (O. Knox, interview, February 3, 2012).

Themes and Outliers

Within the participant interviews several themes emerged from what was said. The common threads are listed here and discussed in detail in Chapter Five. The three themes that emerged were Interest Convergence, the notion of community schools, and the idea that forced integration was not true integration. The verbiage of Interest Convergence was never spoken by a single participant, but several of the people interviewed gave examples of instances where the interest of the majority and the minority converged or didn't. Almost every participant had something to say about the community/home school concept. In addition, the majority of the participants frowned upon the way in which integration was carried out within the district. In this, there were some outliers to the thoughts of the group. Some of the younger teachers along with the more affluent group had slightly different experiences from the rest. The discussion of the findings and themes are described in depth within the next chapter along with the identified unintended consequences of the *Brown* implementation.

Conclusion

The information presented in this chapter detailed the data that was collected throughout this study. The context of the city and the school district being studied were reviewed using data collected from local newspapers, books, oral histories, scholarly articles, and the school district website. Likewise, the data gathered on each of the four focus schools was obtained through the public records of newspaper articles prior to and during the time period being studied, as well as the participant interviews. The

interviews conducted with the 10 participants were outlined here with biographical information for each participant along with their thoughts on the *Brown* lawsuit, and the integration process that occurred due to its implementation. Finally the themes that emerged from both the school profiles and the participant interviews were explained. Chapter Five of this study follows the same structural format of Chapter Four. The purpose of Chapter Five is to report the findings from the collected data and to provide recommendations on the implementation of future school related policies.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study entitled, *Brown v. Board of Education: An Analysis of Policy Implementation, Outcomes, and Unintended Consequences*, represented an in-depth look at the impact that the implementation of the *Brown* policy had on subsections of one large urban school district in Los Angeles. The purpose of this research was to answer the following two research questions:

1. What do veteran educators from one large urban school district identify as the unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)?
2. Using data from four schools within one school district, to what extent were the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, met?

The data gathered from a historical document review and participant interviews was compiled in order to draw conclusions about the extent to which *Brown*'s goals were met in the areas of Los Angeles that were most segregated prior to *Brown*. In addition, the data from the interviews were used to identify possible unintended consequences of the policy implementation. These findings are discussed within this chapter along with recommendations for future policy makers.

Major Findings

Implementation of the *Brown* Verdict

The data gathered on the implementation of school desegregation around the country, indicated that full compliance with *Brown* varied from state to state. The story of compliance measures in much of the south has been told repeatedly in the history books through the resistance to implementation in places like Alabama and Arkansas. Other implementation efforts, like the ones chronicled in Mississippi, Ohio, and California indicated a prevailing non-violent factor, White flight. The issue of White, and in some cases, middle-class flight was prevalent throughout various parts of the country. Rather than the blatant measures of violent protests, or closure of the school district, many of the Whites in school districts that were to be integrated, simply fled. The sampling of integration across the country was similar to some of the problems faced within Los Angeles.

Implementation within LAUSD

The data presented from Los Angeles provided both the media and political forces as the propeller of integration within the city. From its early reporting of how integration was being implemented in other places, some of the newspaper reporters from the 1950s until the early 1970s presented a view of integration that contained negative undertones. The predicting of a teacher shortage in 1966 and the handling of the Hamilton High

School integration story were some examples of articles that spoke negatively when talking about adding Black students into a setting where previously only Whites had been. The media reports coupled with the uprising in Watts, promoted a backdrop where Whites might have thought it best to simply leave the city and the schools.

This idea was also furthered by the politicians of the time period. Pressure from constituents coupled with existing biases promoted the passage of *Proposition 13* to quell integrated housing. It also provided a space for the 30% rule, which allowed for some schools to remain closed to a large majority of blacks. The abandonment of quality schools by both the White and middle class set the stage for those schools to be forgotten. The busing and integration plans that did withstand time, as evidenced by the data, only succeeded in taking some of the highest performing Black students from their community school; leaving behind a homogeneous population with a lower success rate of academic achievement. This action added to the idea that some already had of schools with majority Black populations being of lower quality. The next section of the findings looks specifically at the focus schools.

Did the Schools Meet the Goals of *Brown*?

One of the questions that this study sought to answer was the extent to which the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), school integration and equal educational opportunities, were met. This question was answered using data from four focus schools within two local districts. The time period utilized for this study was the 20-year period of 1965 to 1985. As the district was not keeping raw data during this time, the number

projections detailed were ascertained based on school yearbooks accessed from personal collections or from E-yearbook.com, along with data from the participant interviews and newspaper articles of the time period. In addition to the studied 20-year period, data from the current racial make-up of the schools was provided.

Broadway Elementary and Gompers Middle School.

Both Broadway Elementary and Gompers Middle School were opened more than 15 years prior to the initial *Brown* lawsuit, with Broadway being opened in 1926 and Gompers being opened in 1937. During the 1950s Broadway was predominately Black while Gompers was predominately White. For the purposes of the data provided predominately constituted 70% or more, while majority constituted between 50% and 69%. The demographic changes from Broadway Elementary and Gompers Middle School are depicted in the table below:

Table 6. *Demographic changes over time at Broadway and Gompers*

| School name | 1955 | 1965 | 1975 | 1985 | Present Day |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Broadway Ele. | Predominately Black | Predominately Black | Majority Black | Majority Latino | 80% Latino, 14% Black, 4% White |
| Gompers M.S. | Predominately White | Majority Black | Predominately Black | Predominately Black | 67% Latino, 32% Black |

Dorsey and Fremont High School.

Fremont High School opened in the mid-1920s, during the same time period as Broadway Elementary, while Dorsey High shared the same start date as Gompers. Dorsey maintained a relatively integrated student population for much of its first 35 years, while Fremont was reserved as the school for Whites. In the 1940s the first Black students attempted to integrate, though the action had to be attempted twice before the students were allowed in. In the 1950s Fremont began to see a shift that made it a largely minority school by the middle of the next decade. The change over time is chronicled in Table 7.

Table 7. *Demographic changes over time at Dorsey and Fremont*

| School Name | 1955 | 1965 | 1975 | 1985 | Present |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| Dorsey High School | 30%* White 30% Black 30% Asian | 30%* White 30% Black 30% Asian | Majority Black | Majority Black | 55% Black 43% Latino .03% White |
| Fremont High School | Predominately White | Majority Black | Predominately Black | Majority Black | 91% Latino 8% Black .02% White |

*Indication based on participant interviews and yearbook data.

The demographic data provided from the four focus schools indicated that the *Brown v. Board of Education* policy of school integration was not met at these school sites. While this data may not be generalizable to areas outside of inner city Los Angeles, trends from a select group of cities across the country indicated similarities.

What the Participants Thought

As all of the participants were either students or teachers in the focus schools or selected mini-districts, they had distinct ideas about whether or not the goals of the legislation were met.

With regards to integration, none of the participants felt the goal of integrating the schools was attained. Though some of the participants experienced an integrated schooling experience at Dorsey and Washington prior to *Brown* implementation, a majority of the participants felt that in reference to integration White flight prevented it from happening. As Dr. Diane Watson recalls, “We were never able to integrate our schools because the Whites home-schooled, put their kinds in private schools, moved out of the district. So we never had enough of a majority to integrate the minority” (D. Watson, interview, February 17, 2012). From the student perspective Georgette Jefferson (interview, December 10, 2011) remembered, “So every experience I’ve had of trying to integrate, it started off with the school being integrated, but by the—a span of no more than three or four years it was no longer integrated.” For the second goal of equal educational opportunity, seven of the participants felt that the equal opportunity aspect of the legislation had been adequately implemented within LAUSD. The three youngest participants felt that more opportunities were made available after the *Brown* legislation. David Williams had very specific thoughts about this. “In terms of opportunity, I think that’s largely been successful. Now I don’t know if it’s all due to the government. I

think it's due to attitudes changing and more, more people in positions of power and money and influence that are helping the government along" (D. Williams, interview, February 7, 2012).

Unintended Consequences.

The data from both the participant interviews and the document review garnered several unintended consequences from the implementation of the legislation. The unintended factors were identified as:

1. The loss of teachers who cared about the students and wanted to work at the school sites through periods of forced integration. This may have contributed to the high teacher turnover rate at some schools.
2. The loss of community or neighborhood schools due to student busing. This may have had a direct effect on a decline in parental involvement as the schools that students were being bused to were out of the area where they lived.
3. The further isolation of Black students who were bused to majority White schools. Many of these students were segregated within the new schools, which may have caused a feeling of inferiority.
4. A decline in student class offerings and the loss of some higher achieving students, which left behind a more homogeneous population.
5. Significant White flight to suburban areas or private schools.

Themes

In addition to the unintended consequences several themes emerged from the participant interviews. Interest Convergence, which is also the framework for this study, was a common thread coupled with the importance of community schooling and the impact of forced integration.

Interest Convergence.

Though never identified by the participants within the interviews, there was a recurring theme around the theory of Interest Convergence. Participant Kenneth Curry recalled that within the Athletic Department, coaches from other schools used integration as an opportunity to get the best athletics from the inner city. Though they were allowed to play sports at the new schools, they were not always welcomed there as students. In reference to the busing of students, it was also noted that some receiving schools were allowed to only keep the students for the first five weeks of school before returning them to their home or community school. This allowed class sizes at these schools to be lowered. For the schools that did not do this, but instead chose to retain the new students, the open spaces within the under-crowded schools were filled thus providing an opportunity for more teacher jobs. Mr. Curry also observed that newer teachers who were placed in the inner city were allowed to remain for the required two years before applying to the school of their choice. This depleted the teaching staff at some of the inner city schools.

Doris Davis observed that teachers at receiving schools were sometimes able to maintain lower class sizes by placing all of the minority students in class together with a minority teacher. This action allowed certain classes to be low in number and to have only White students. Dale Davis pointed out, as did several other participants, that the busing of students depleted the inner city of high achievers, but increased the overall academic level of the receiving schools. This notion also appeared within the interview of Judy Burton in reference to magnet schooling. As she pointed out, the specialized schools did not promote integration as much as intended. Other participants noted that the purpose behind some of the inner city magnets was to simply attract White students. These notions of the Interest Convergence of the majority with the minority were prevalent throughout this study.

Community Schools.

The terms community school and neighborhood schools were consistently evident in both the participant interviews and the review of pertinent *Brown* implementation documents. The oral histories of two LAUSD superintendents, written in the 1960s mentioned the term community school. Seven of the participants interviewed for this study were educated or worked at the school in their neighborhood. One of the participants, Diane Watson, represented the district where her alma mater was located in her position on the school board. There were only 2 of the 10 participants who did not have a personal connection to the schools where they worked. Both people, Carita Bryant and Owen Knox, were educated from kindergarten to the 12th grade in other states.

The data collected from the interviews provided multiple examples of educators who had a strong connection to the neighborhood or community school. Mr. Curry, adamantly recalled teachers who walked to school every day. Though Ms. Jefferson did not attend the neighborhood public school, her mother who was a teacher was able to walk from their home to her job. Speaking in reference to the possibility that her mother might have to leave the school due to forced teacher integration, Georgette (interview, December 10, 2011) recalled, “I can remember her being upset about having to leave her community.” Of her own schooling, Georgette had this to say; “I felt that was something that I missed as a student growing up living in a community, but going to a school in a different community. I always felt like an outsider.” This feeling caused her to make sure that her own children were educated in the local neighborhood school.

Diane Watson, Dale Davis, and Myra Williams were all alumni of Dorsey High School. While Dale returned there to teach, Diane represented the interests of the school with a political position. Many of the town hall meetings that she chaired were located at one of the local schools, Broadway Elementary, as recorded by the *Los Angeles Times*. The local newspaper quoted Myra, who still has strong ties to the school community, at a school celebration decades after her graduation. Though Dr. Owen Knox was not educated in Los Angeles, he experienced the community school effect throughout his formative years and while in college. The loss of the community school due to the busing of students and the forced integration of teachers had a profound effect on the schools in this study and the participants who were interviewed.

The Impact of Forced Implementation.

The implementation of the *Brown* policy within LAUSD was a slow one that had some negative consequences. The data suggested that part of the reason for this was the degree of forced compliance. Teachers from the inner city that were forced to leave their home school sometimes ended up leaving the profession; just as the teachers that were required to come to the inner city schools many times did not stay. Mr. Curry's story juxtaposing two teachers who participated in the forced teacher integration evidenced examples of this. The residual effects left a teaching staff at the focus schools that had little connection to the students and the community.

The students also felt the impact of forced integration. Carita Bryant expressed that the implementation process resulted in a complete void of White students in the inner city. Diane Watson also noted this in reference to the mass exodus of White families that took place during that time period. David Williams verbalized a different viewpoint, having been a child of the busing movement. He felt his time in an integrated setting made him a better-rounded person by the time he entered college. Both Judy Burton and Diane Watson enjoyed their integrated school experience. In the time prior to *Brown* implementation, both participants expressed mostly positive recollections of their education. It is important to note that the integration prior to *Brown* implementation in Los Angeles was not forced, but allowed to happen naturally. Both the participants of this study and the research indicate recommendations for future policy makers based on the implementation of the *Brown* policy.

Recommendations

Participant Recommendations

The final question of the interview protocol for this study asked participants to make recommendations to future policy makers. Some of their recommendations for both future policies and in reference to *Brown* legislation were:

The question of equality.

Doris Davis noted that policy makers should focus less on attempting to make things equal. Her thoughts were, "...things will never be equal in the schools because the kids aren't equal." In her opinion, kids that come from an entitled background have a different base from students who come to school without. Former LAUSD superintendent, Ellis Jarvis, also expressed this sentiment more than 40 years ago (Nunis, 1966). Her recommendation for leveling the playing field was to provide better training for teachers and create ways to hold parents accountable. Mr. Curry also thought that teacher quality was important. In addition to qualified teachers that care, he recommended that all schools receive equal funding and resources.

The recommendations from Judy Burton, herself a policy maker, coincided with those of Mr. Curry. She believed that the expectations for children everywhere should be the same and that resources in the community should be adequate. In reference to resources, however, she believed that additional resources should be extended if it was a necessity for the community. She also expressed additional thoughts on student need.

It's about education not integration.

The recommendation of many of the participants came back to doing what was best for students. Judy Burton recommended that schools be structured so that more attention could be paid to the individual child. Diane Watson expressed that increased education of a child almost always results in that child's advancement. David Williams noted that in education, implementation of a policy cannot be forced. Myra expounded on this, recommending that policy makers talk to people in the trenches, specifically teachers, prior to making sweeping decisions. Dr. Knox, who helped to create numerous LAUSD policies, brought the topic back to teaching and learning. Expressing the idea that all children learn differently, he put the ownership back on the classroom teachers. In his equation, if a child fails to learn neither he nor his parents have failed. The responsibility, in his opinion, lies with the teacher who by embarking on a career in education has accepted the challenge to educate. In reference to policy, Dr. Knox believed that in order for students to have the best education, they must have the best teacher. He noted that this was an essential factor for schools within the inner city. Recommendations by the researcher also began with the role of the educator.

Researcher Recommendations

The data presented in this study led me to make several recommendations to future education policy makers. These recommendations begin with the role of people working in the education field.

1. Future policy makers should seek advisement from classroom teachers and other school site personnel prior to creating implementation plans for any policy. The recommendations of the people closest to the classroom should provide a clear sense of what will be in the best interest of students. Even if policy makers do not consult educators before creating the policy, district employees should hold conversations with school site personnel prior to implementation.
2. In reference to the implementation of policies such as *Brown* and *No Child Left Behind*, the implementation process should not contain a component of coercion. Though it may be impossible for everyone to agree on the correct plan, areas for opting out, or other alternatives should be provided.
3. Specifically in relations to the *Brown* case, the data presented here suggested that the policy was not successfully implemented. Due to this, many schools in the inner city are still segregated based on race and socioeconomic status. This is a social justice issue that should be rectified with or without mandates from the federal government. School districts in the Los Angeles areas and other places where this issue is prevalent should return to the drawing board to devise a plan for true integration and equal educational opportunities.

Recommendations for Future Studies

The data gathered from this study added to the field of knowledge on *Brown v. Board of Education* policy implementation, specifically within Los Angeles.

Recommendations for future studies include expanding on the participant interviews, specifically within the Los Angeles area. In order to inform local policy, more in-depth research should be conducted to garner a variety of opinions and recommendations. This research could include interviews with participants of different ethnic backgrounds, as well as a younger demographic. Possible participants that could add even more to the body of research might be former students who experienced busing within LAUSD. In addition, a study on teachers who were made to forcibly integrate would add another layer to the data on this topic.

Conclusion

Brown v. Board of Education, a court case fought to help minority students, particularly those of African-American descent, may have hurt both students and inner city schools in general. Derrick Bell (2004) expounded on this notion by stating that in the fight for integration, African-American may have gotten what they fought for while losing what they had. This study sought to answer two questions in reference to *Brown*.

The data presented in this study indicated that schools within the inner city of Los Angeles did not meet the goals of *Brown*. The schools that were partially integrated prior to *Brown*, like Dorsey High School, currently have a predominately minority population. This trend began near the time of *Brown* implementation, even though prior to 1965, the school had been integrated. Schools like Gompers and Fremont that were largely White prior to the policy implementation, are still segregated, though the demographics of the student population have changed. In a letter to the Los Angeles Times more 35 years

ago, Jack Tanner (1977) predicted, “Within two generations or perhaps even sooner, the strife over school integration will be over and forgotten.” In addition to the loss of the desegregation conflict, the idea of integrated schools has become a thing of the past.

The dismal desegregation effort, coupled with some of the participants’ feelings of adequate education prior to the implementation, indicated a lack of success with the intended goals. The proper assessment of any educational policy implementation is essential. An assessment of *Brown* implementation in Los Angeles indicated that work is still required to reach the desired goals. If education is truly the most important function of state and local government as the *Brown* (1954) opinion stated, both the government and local educators need to work together to ensure that a quality education is being provided to all. The very fate of our united states may depend upon it.

APPENDIX A

Demographic Survey

1. What was/is your work experience as it relates to education, (i.e., # of years, type of position, location)?
2. Prior to becoming an educator, what was your personal education background, specifically K-12 (i.e., type of school, location)?
3. What is your current job status/position?
4. What was your position (student, teacher, or administrator) during the time of the *Brown v. Board Decision*?
 - a. 1954: _____
 - b. 1965: _____
 - c. 1975: _____
 - d. 1985: _____

APPENDIX B

Individual Interview Questions

1. Given the information on your demographic survey, what differences did you notice in your schooling experience versus your experience as an educator?
2. What do you remember about the initial *Brown v. Board of Education* lawsuit, which went before the Supreme Court during the year 1954?
 - a. What do you recall about the time period?
3. What are some of the differences in today's educational system as it relates to Black students compared to fifty years ago? Based on your experiences, to what do you attribute any difference?
4. Two of the goals of the *Brown* legislation were equal educational opportunities for Black students and integrated schooling. In your opinion, to what extent were these two goals met?
5. Thinking specifically about the school sites that you have worked at in the past or that you currently work in, is the education of Black students more adequate now or was it more adequate prior to the full implementation of *Brown*? On what are you basing your opinion?
6. If you could advise today's policy makers on education policy and its implementation, what advice would you give them?

APPENDIX C

Dissertation Research – Consent Form

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of the research is to examine the policy implementation, outcomes, and unintended consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The first objective is to collect data on educator perspectives about the consequences of *Brown* and the second goal is to explore the consequences of the *Brown* case.

The research will be used by the researcher, Carla M. McCullough, to prepare a Dissertation which will be submitted as part of the requirements of the Doctorate for Educational Leadership at Loyola Marymount University.

By signing below you are acknowledging you have been made aware of the nature of this research and give permission for your name to be used within the dissertation.

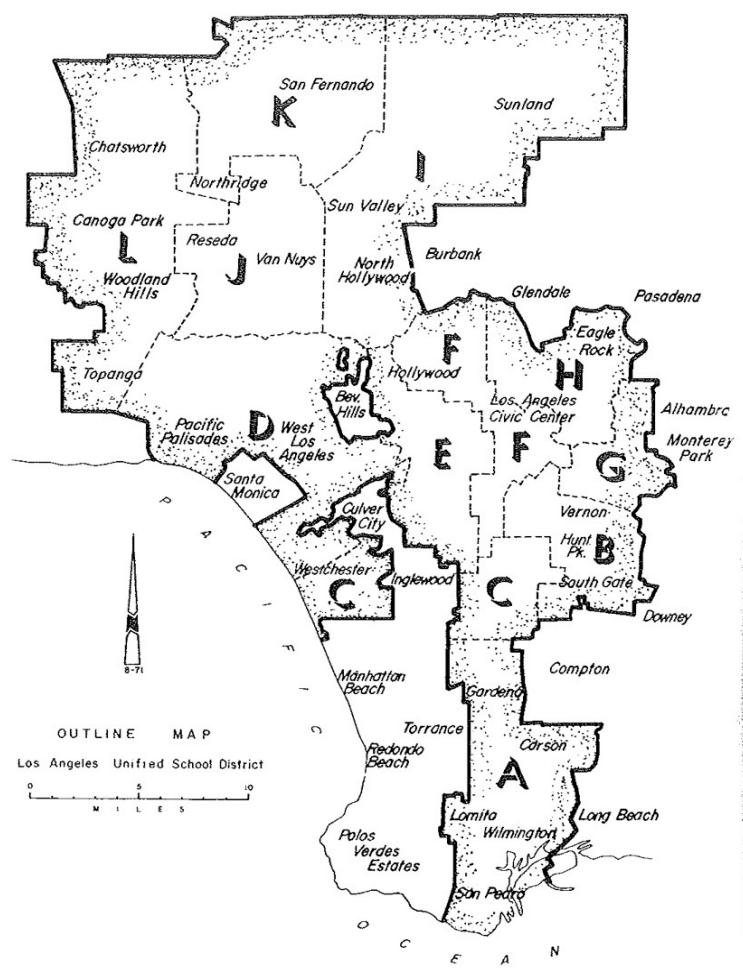
The data collected will be viewed by the researcher, their supervisor, the external examiners and other authorized persons whose only interest will be to review and support the research undertaken.

Participant

Signed: _____

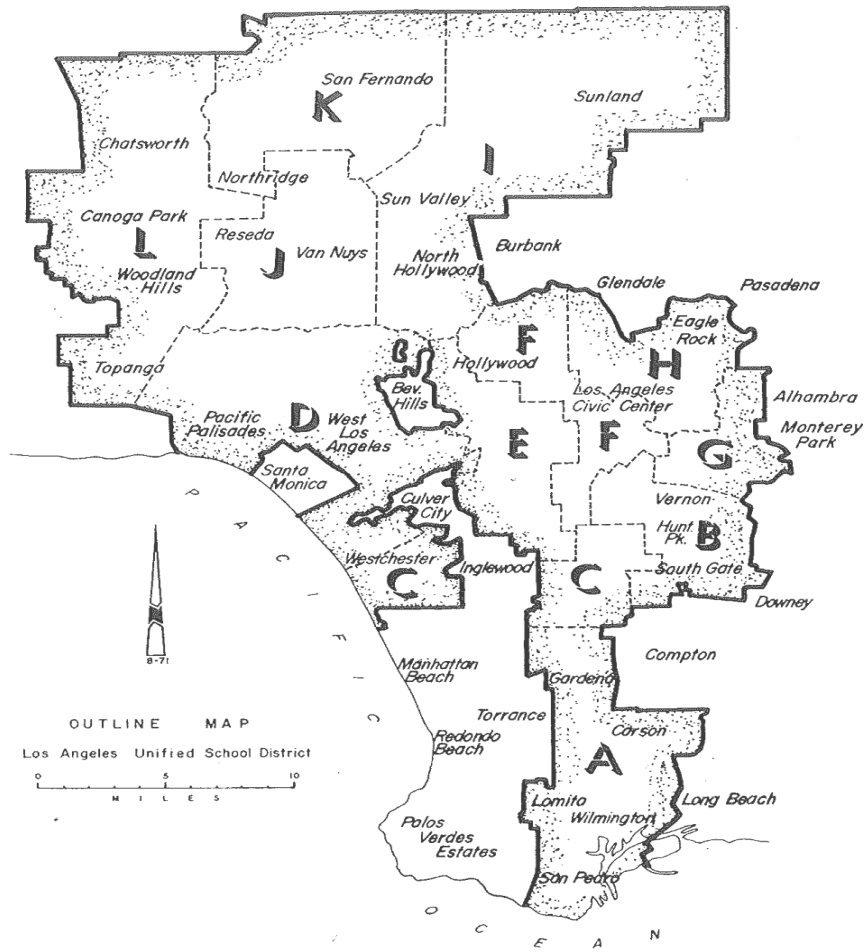
Print your full name: _____

APPENDIX D
LAUSD DISTRICT MAPS



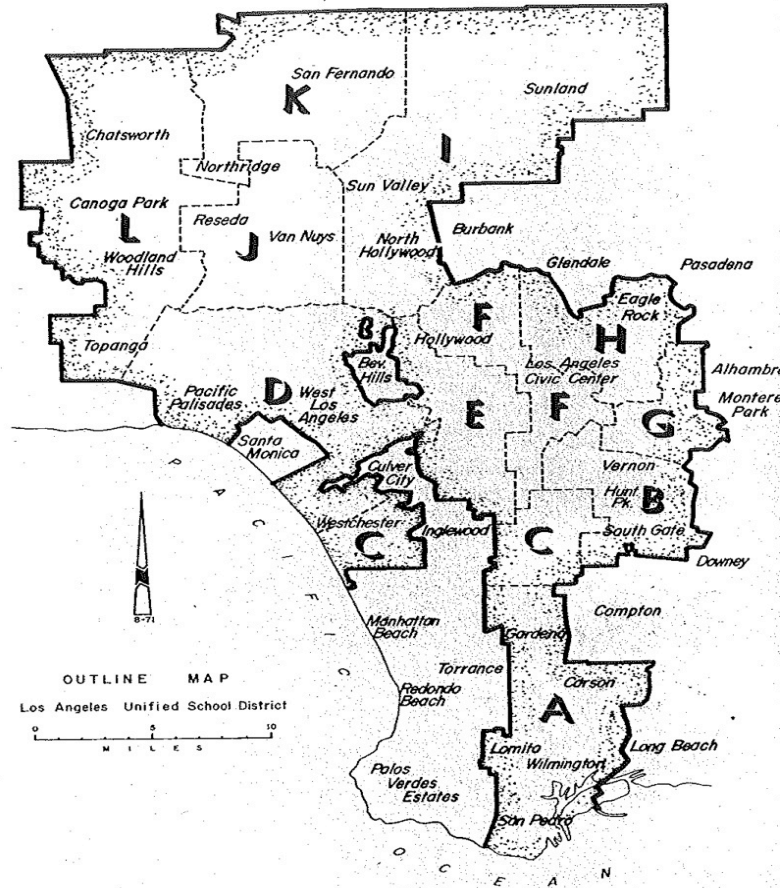
Fall 1972, LAUSD

LAUSD DISTRICT MAPS



Fall 1973, LAUSD

LAUSD DISTRICT MAPS



May 1973, LAUSD

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