A HISTORICAL CASE STUDY OF AN ALL-BLACK HIGH SCHOOL IN PRE-*BROWN* CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA FROM 1960-1969

By

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ABSTRACT

JAMES E. FORD: A Historical Case Study Of An All-Black High School In Pre-*Brown* Charlotte, North Carolina From 1960-1960
(Under the direction of DR. CHANCE W. LEWIS)

While the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision may have overturned the legal practice of race-based segregation in public schools on the basis of separate being "inherently unequal," the promise of equality for Black students in the United States has yet to materialize (Noguera, 2015). Sixty-seven years removed from the *Brown* decision and 50 years after *Swann v. CMS*, African American students are still faring worse than their white counterparts by nearly every conceivable metric, and the composition of many schools throughout the nation has actually moved rapidly in the direction of resegregation (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 2018). Despite the dominant narrative of segregated Black schools as wholly inadequate, there are counternarratives of them producing educational excellence, racial pride and serving as pillars in the African American community. Second Ward High School was the first Black public secondary school in Charlotte, North Carolina, and located in the historic Black neighborhood called "Brooklyn." It was closed in the wake of desegregation. This investigation of Second Ward High School utilizes a historical case study method through the theoretical framework of Community Cultural Wealth to better understand the institutional assets segregated Black schools in the urban South endowed to their student populations during the period of 1960-1969.

Keywords: Black schools, segregation, counternarratives, community cultural wealth, case study

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DEDICATION

To the many Black educators during state-sanctioned segregation who fought white supremacy and advanced racial justice through the delivery of a quality education. Most especially, this is dedicated to the teachers and administrators at Second Ward High School: Principal Spencer Durante, Principal E. E. Waddell, Ms. Mattie Hall, Ms. Shirley Johnson, Ms. Lucille McKay, Mr. Louis Levi, Mr. Donnell Cooper and many others. Your names live on through the memory of your students. May this modest contribution be an appropriate sacrifice in your honor.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

While the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision may have overturned the legal practice of race-based segregation in public schools on the basis of separate being "inherently unequal," the promise of equality for Black students in the United States has yet to materialize (Noguera, 2015). Black students in the post-*Brown* era continue to significantly underperform their white peers nationally on benchmark reading and math assessments at the 4th, 8th, and 12th grade levels (de Brey et al., 2019). Projections of high school graduation rates for Black students show an anticipated 3% decrease between the years 2012-2029 (Hussar & Bailey, 2020). They disproportionately experience exclusionary discipline by comparison to other subgroups, attend high-poverty schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021), are underrepresented in gifted and talented programs (Grissom & Redding, 2016), and over-identified for special education (Delahunty & Chiu, 2020). Additionally, they are unlikely to be taught by a teacher of their same-race (Gershenson et al., 2016), a drastic contrast from the pre-*Brown* era (Siddle Walker, 2000) and a significant factor in academic achievement (Kelly, 2010). In Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, a district once seen as a model for "integration," Black students have been segregated within-school by being placed on less rigorous academic tracks even in seemingly desegregated environments (Mickelson, 2001).

White teachers often perceive Black students through a deficit lens, even making negative inferences about student behavior based on cultural movements (i.e., walking) (Neal et al., 2003). Research has shown Black students embody a diminished self-perception of their academic ability in comparison to whites, particularly in subject areas widely considered more challenging (i.e., math, science, etc.) (Burnett et al., 2020). The compounding effects of

stereotype threat and frequent microaggressions are significant factors that belie the education experience for many Black students in contemporary public schools (Allen et al., 2013; Douglas et al., 2008; Seo & Lee, 2021; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Despite the dominant narrative of segregated Black schools as wholly inadequate, there are counter-narratives of them producing educational excellence, racial pride and serving as pillars in the African American community.

Background of the Problem

The contemporary American system of compulsory education was never designed to serve African American children (Rury, 2015). No matter pre or post-slavery, every attempt at schooling African-descended children was inherently paternalistic and rife with ethnocentrism. Whether the New York Free African Schools of the Manumission Society in the North shortly after the American Revolution or the schools created by the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association in the South, both operated from the classical liberal ethos of charity and assumed cultural inferiority of African Americans. While the first public school system in the American South was established during Reconstruction by freedpersons and carpetbagging whites, it would eventually be usurped by segregation and deliberately deprived of equal resources (DuBois, 1935). A system of scarce, underfunded schools littered the former Confederate states, offering the most modest form of education African Americans could hope to receive. This inherently unequal system persisted in the American South for nearly 100 years.

Specifically, North Carolina established the Division of Negro Education under the auspice of the State Department of Public Instruction in 1921 (Thuesen, 2013). In Mecklenburg County, North Carolina (home to the city of Charlotte), there were essentially four separate school systems from 1852-1968: a Black and white county school system as well as a Black and white city school system (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Library, n.d.). Situated in the historic Black

neighborhood of Brooklyn was Charlotte's Second Ward High School. Second Ward was the first Black high school in Charlotte, serving grades 7-12 from 1923-1969. Black students from all over Mecklenburg County could attend, although many lacked adequate transportation (Polzer, 1993). The school was a point of pride, serving generations of African American teenagers in the segregated community. Eventually, Second Ward, the educational cornerstone of a once thriving 'city within a city,' closed due to court-mandated desegregation and was demolished as part of Charlotte's urban renewal efforts. The federal program known as Urban Renewal removed blighted neighborhoods and ushered in development that ultimately claimed the Brooklyn community, displacing thousands of African American families in Charlotte (Hanchett, 1998). Children who once looked forward to attending the historically Black high school were left to participate in what was largely one-way integration efforts.

The Mecklenburg County and Charlotte City Schools merged on July 1, 1960, to form Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) in response to calls for a city-county district that would better disrupt segregation (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, n.d.). However, it was not until the landmark Supreme Court Case *Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools* (1971) that the district would eventually be forced to comply with the *Brown v. Board* decision over a decade earlier. This decision had national implications and set in motion a series of reforms, including cross-town busing, to help desegregate the schools within the district. Left in the wake of the move toward desegregation were Charlotte's historically Black schools. African American schools like Second Ward were closed, resulting in the loss of several revered same-race educators and decades of tradition. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools is presently the second-largest district in North Carolina and serves a majority of non-white students (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 2021).

For a number of years, Charlotte was considered a national template for how to do desegregation successfully. West Charlotte High School, one of the few remaining historically Black schools to which whites bussed, was highly regarded as a beacon of successful integration -- producing many successful multiracial alumni (Grundy, 2017). However, the golden years of desegregation in Charlotte were short-lived after a white parent filed suit claiming that their child had been denied a spot at a magnet program due to their race. The decision rendered in *Belk v. CMS* (1997) effectively signaled the end of several years of movement in the direction of racial balance for the district (Mickelson et al., 2015). Despite the growing diversity of the region, schools in CMS, much like schools throughout the nation, have resegregated and continue to be plagued by racial disparities. Contemporarily, African American students in Charlotte are once again more likely to attend racially isolated schools that are also perpetually low-performing (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 2018).

The segregation experienced by African American children in the modern Charlotte context, however, is compounded by concentrated poverty. Of the 50 largest cities in the country, Charlotte has the lowest rate of upward intergenerational social mobility for children born into the lowest quintile of household income. Three of the five factors researchers have associated with upward mobility are as follows: *residential segregation*, *school quality,* and *social capital* (Chetty et al., 2014). Reforms have been instituted in CMS to bring about more parity and responsiveness to the needs of these high-poverty racially-isolated schools. However, they have largely been unsuccessful as well as undermined by student assignment policies still based primarily on segregated neighborhoods (Lacour, 2017).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the role of a segregated Black high school in the urban Southern United States as a place of community cultural wealth through the narratives of the school's community members. This study is significant because, in a modern context where schools have largely resegregated by both race and class, and white teachers make up the majority of the workforce, a post-*Brown* remedy must be sought if racial equity is to ever be achieved. Better understanding of how former students and staff at Second Ward High School experienced the value of this historically Black school will provide insight into what African Americans sought to retain from segregation. Sixty-seven years removed from this landmark *Brown v. Board* decision and 50 years after *Swann v. CMS*, African American students are still faring worse than their white counterparts by nearly every conceivable metric, and the composition of many schools throughout the nation has actually moved rapidly in the direction of resegregation (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 2018).

Critics of the impact of desegregation point to the fact that *second-generation segregation* (within-school) persisted despite enrollment changing in many school buildings (Mickelson, 2001). Others have posited that notions of equal educational opportunity – the true motivations of the litigants in the *Brown* case – are pushed to the periphery, and discussions of race have been reduced to platitudes and slogans (Adair, 1984). They draw a sharp distinction between *desegregation* (the reassignment of bodies) and *integration* (the state of education quality and inter-group relations) (Douglass Horsford, 2011). Additionally, a latent consequence of desegregation resulted in a huge shedding of expert African American educators whose unique pedagogical approaches during segregation were not translated to the newly "integrated" settings (Tillman, 2004). Jacqueline Jordan Irvine (1991) attempted to explain the perpetually

poor performance of Black students as a matter of structure, grounded in the theories of low teacher expectations and lack of cultural synchronization in a field dominated by white instructors. Researchers have argued that African American students, although not a monolith, largely do not learn the same as their white counterparts. They have diverse modes of understanding, cultural knowledge, and expressions that are rooted in a collective ancestral identity (Hale-Benson, 1982; Hilliard, 1997). This is of particular importance because CMS is an urban school district serving over 30% African American students.

This study builds on previous literature exploring counternarratives about Black education prior to desegregation. Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996, 2000), Michele Foster (1997), Adam Fairclough (2007), Richard Milner (2006), Sonya Douglass Horsford (2011), and Jeannine Dingus (2006) have all captured counter stories about segregated Black schools and offer insights into the particular approaches of Black teachers, perspectives of district leaders and experiences of Black students. They each call for greater investigation into the ways segregated Black schools benefited Black students. Their valuable insights have largely focused on teaching dispositions, professional associations, learning environments, and district leadership during segregation. This research focuses on the particular kinds of capital African American students brought to the schools, how they existed within the schools, and how they were recognized by the institution.

Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1) How did the cultural wealth of Charlotte's segregated Black community shape students' experiences at Second Ward High School?

2) How was the cultural wealth of the segregated Black community in Charlotte recognized, nurtured, and transmitted at Second Ward High School?
3) How can the cultural wealth of Black communities be used to facilitate student success in contemporary resegregated contexts?

This study assumes that desegregation was not entirely successful for Black people and members of the segregated school community have largely positive experiences with Second Ward High School from which to draw.

Theoretical Framework

Cultural Capital

French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is largely credited with theorizing different forms of capital. Undergirding this proposition is the fundamental economic assumption within a system of capitalism that all people operate based on self-interest and are motivated by profit maximization (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's notion of *capital* is grounded in this economic theory and is then understood to mean accumulated labor with the capacity to produce or reproduce some form of profits. His conceptualization posits that each kind of capital has value that can be converted into tangible benefits in the dominant society (Bourdieu, 1986). The three "fundamental guises of capital" Bourdieu advances are *economic capital*, *cultural capital*, and *social capital*. While capital may take on these different forms, the "cause and consequence" of them all is economic capital (Rogošić & Baranović, 2016). The immaterial forms of capital -- cultural and social -- undergo a process of transubstantiation or conversion into economic capital (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008). Bourdieu (1986) explained the progression in the following way:

> [E]conomic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is

> convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital. (p.16)

Social capital is the value of networks within the lives of people and the relationships they enjoy. This puts the individual in contact with the "actual or potential resources" and can manifest itself materially or symbolically as well (Bourdieu, 1986). Simply put, this is about who a person knows as a result of networks such as family, class, school, club, etc., and the potential benefits that might be accrued as a result of these connections. Bourdieu explained his theorization of *cultural capital* as a response to the perspective of traditional economists who sought to assess the academic returns of students based purely on economic investment without accounting for the role of culture. He wrote, "[T]hey inevitably, by a necessary paradox, let slip the best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, namely, the domestic transmission of cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.17). The fundamental error in logic Bourdieu cites is a functionalist perspective of scholastic performance that ignores its dependence on the previous transmission of cultural capital to students (e.g., family).

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital also has three different manifestations or subcategories: *the embodied state* (dispositions or mindsets), *the objectified state* (cultural goods or artifacts), and *the institutionalized state* (academic qualifications or credentials) (Bourdieu, 1986). With regard to the three forms of cultural capital, Bourdieu advances that the embodied state of cultural capital is a form of assimilation, whereby forms of external wealth are adopted internally by the holder as a way of gaining symbolic and material profit in a structure where such capital is scarce. The owner of the embodied capital is given the "power of distinction" in an environment where such capitals are unequally distributed. Bourdieu uses the example of

being able to read in a structure where most others are illiterate to illustrate the value proposition. The objectified state of cultural capital, on the other hand, deals more with the goods and products produced by agents of the embodied state of cultural capital. Media, writings, artifacts, goods, etc., are examples of objectified cultural capital. This form of cultural capital is materially transferable and confers value to the owner commensurate with their level of embodied cultural capital. It can be understood as the benefit of both acquisition and application, not only possessing something but also knowing what to do with it. Lastly, the institutionalized state of cultural capital provides a "conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value" to the holder in ways that transcend the individual (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). This can be thought of as a credential or certification sanctioned by the dominant society that secures belief or confidence. An institutional recognition such as an academic qualification can yield symbolic and material profits for the agent and allow comparisons within the larger market.

Bourdieu was greatly concerned with the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital and focused his analysis on the function of the school in the reproductive process (Nash, 2020). He wrote, "the most powerful principle of the symbolic efficacy of cultural capital no doubt lies in the logic of its transmission" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 19). For Bourdieu, schools served as a crucial unit of analysis as he acknowledged the power they possess to shape consciousness and thinking even beyond that of the family. In Bourdieu's concept of habitus (a system of unconsciously adopted dispositions within a social structure), the school is not a passive agent that either sanctions or rewards family-acquired cultural capital. They also exert direct influence over how reality is organized for the pupil. While Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is a useful tool of analysis for the assets possessed by different groups and how they are used for

advancement within the dominant society, it all-but ignores the construct of race and situates Eurocentric norms as the standard of measurement for success.

Black Cultural Capital

Prudence Carter (2003) argued Bourdieu neglected to recognize how low-status communities often use non-dominant cultural capital as currency within-group, and not necessarily to gain social mobility. She exposed how scholars have weaponized Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital against minoritized communities by establishing primarily White and upper-class group norms as the benchmark for status attainment (Carter, 2003). This ethnocentric bias makes way for a deficit-based outlook on Black educational achievement and neglects the "multiple ways cultural resources of other groups also convert into capital" (Carter, 2003, p.137). She advanced the theory of *Black Cultural Capital* (BCC) to explain how Black students use both dominant and non-dominant capital to create ethnic authenticity and signify group membership. Furthermore, Carter made the argument that cultural capital is context-specific, and that in African American communities, certain characteristically "Black" speech patterns, behaviors, clothing, or movements can be used to gain acceptance among the in-group. She refers to this as "cultural status positioning," and shows that holders of cultural capital are not entirely motivated by acceptance into the dominant culture, as Bourdieu suggested. Carter (2003) demonstrated that Black students are culturally ambidextrous. The participants in her research not only possessed the ability to shift between different kinds of cultural capital but also had the know-how of when and why to make the adjustments. In this way, Black students in the study seamlessly synthesized all three forms of cultural capital described by Bourdieu but clearly differentiated between themselves and other racial groups. Carter argued such utilization of capital is worthy of its own distinction:

> I understood from my informants' declarations that their tastes are prized resources that distinguish them from other social groups. If everyone held these tastes, the value of these resources would diminish, creating a loss of distinction or even a lessening of individual and group worth. Thus, the value imbued in their "black" cultural capital compelled these students to be territorial and protective of their resources. (Carter, 2003, p.145)

The theory of BCC extends Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital by interrogating racial blindspots. It does so by specifically looking at how non-dominant forms of cultural capital are employed in school settings by Black students. While BCC has inherent value among the in-group, it is often subordinated or devalued within the walls of the schools (Carter, 2003). BCC is useful for applying a racial lens to traditional understandings of cultural capital but is limited by its directional conceptualization. In Carter's analysis, her focus is understanding how Black people use non-dominant cultural capital among non-dominant groups and dominant cultural capital among dominant groups. It does not, however, presume that so-called non-dominant capital has any value among dominant groups. The assumption is that BCC is profitable only when converted among co-ethnics. The possibility of BCC being valuable both within and without non-dominant groups goes largely unexplored.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a legal framework for understanding how race operates within society, particularly within the legal system. It can also be thought of as a movement among legal scholars stretching across nearly four decades. CRT is the descendant of Critical Legal Studies (CLS), which is a sub-variant of critical theory in the field of law. Proponents of CLS emerged from the left side of the ideological spectrum and rejected the notion of American

law as divorced from politics and free of subjectivities. It challenges the alleged neutrality of the legal institutions, including law schools, and examines the role of law in reproducing the social hierarchy (Crenshaw et al., 1995). CLS found many allies of color in the legal field who shared in many of the critiques of American institutions. However, many felt it lacked similar insights in areas of practical solutions and a rigorous analysis of racism explicitly (Ladson-Billings, 1998). This failure to deal with race in the critique of systemic oppression led to legal scholars of color developing CRT as a response. Therefore, CRT was founded as a criticism of traditional liberal analysis of power dynamics within institutions and exposed the shortcomings of CLS in its failure to properly account for the role of race (Bell, 1995).

Foundational critical race theorist Derrick A. Bell (1995) described CRT as "ideologically committed to the struggle against racism, particularly institutionalized in and by law" (p. 898). Bell is widely considered one of the founders of the theory and began postulating the basis for some key tenets during his tenure as a civil rights lawyer and the first African American professor at Harvard Law School in the early 1970s (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Two of Bell's early essays, "Serving Two Masters" and "The Interest Convergence Dilemma," function as the predecessors of CRT. They both serve as critiques of methods and accomplishments of the civil rights litigation and focus squarely on the issue of school desegregation. In "Serving Two Masters," he interrogates a notion central to the purpose of this study and questions whether the *Brown v. Board* case dealt properly with the matter of educational equity. Bell wrote:

> In essence, the arguments are that blacks must gain access to white schools because 'equal educational opportunity' means integrated schools and because only school integration will make certain that black children will receive the same education as white

> children. This theory of school desegregation, however, fails to encompass the complexity of achieving equal educational opportunity for children to whom it so long has been denied. (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p.7)

Bell posited that overreliance on racial balance by civil rights groups of the period did not capture the true desire of Black parents and plaintiffs. It shifted the focus from making Black schools more equitable to mere desegregation. In "The Interest Convergence Dilemma," Bell goes further and references *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* in particular while making the argument that some whites and Blacks no longer have the appetite for desegregation. He continued to point out the failure of the legal remedy of racial balance for truly equalizing opportunity as white families fled to suburbs and Black students were subjected to indignities even in racially-mixed school environments. Bell advances an argument that bears a strong resemblance to the cultural capital conceptual framework. He wrote:

> Some black educators, however, see major educational benefits in schools where black children, parents, and teachers can utilize the real cultural strengths of the black community to overcome the many barriers to educational achievement. (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p. 26)

CRT certainly has its roots in education but remained a largely legal framework until Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate (1995) began formally introducing it as a tool of educational analysis. While there is no universal agreement on all the tenets found within CRT, a few assumptions remain commonplace. The notion of the permanence of racism, which speaks to the essential nature of racist beliefs, practices, and policies to the formation of American society, is central to CRT (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). A second common assumption of CRT is the concept of property rights and whiteness being treated as property (Ladson-Billings & Tate,

1995). Ladson-Billings (1998) effectively began the use of CRT to understand educational issues such as funding, curriculum, instruction, and returns to the execution of desegregation efforts. She made the forceful argument for adopting CRT as a framework for pursuing educational equity (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Community Cultural Wealth

Tara J. Yosso (2005) extended Prudence Carter's critique of Bourdieuan conceptions of cultural capital by applying a critical race lens to understandings of dominance, which is inherently ethnocentric (centering White middle-class values) as well as the language of capital – which is more limiting than wealth. She pushed past the limitations of even BCC by asserting that communities of color have assets and resources not readily recognized outside of the white gaze. Yosso's theory of *Community Cultural Wealth (CCW)* emanates from a CRT foundation and extends the conventional forms of cultural capital. Yosso (2005) wrote:

> CRT expands this view. Centering the research lens on the experiences of People of Color in critical historical context reveals accumulated assets and resources in the histories and lives of Communities of Color. (p.77)

The six interconnected kinds of cultural capital in CCW include: *aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial,* and *resistant* capitals (Yosso, 2005). Each of the following is part of the whole and operate synchronously within a framework that views phenomenon through an asset-based lens rather than the deficit-based outlook found in research orthodoxy. Yosso (2005) asserted that deficit thinking is used to explain the poor academic performance of students of color by assuming a lack of good cultural habits of success and poor parenting. CCW, by contrast, is an anti-deficit framework that highlights the various kinds of

resources, skills, and abilities communities of color use as they traverse through schools and other social systems (Acevedo & Solorzano, 2021).

CCW thus counters by teasing out the forms of capital Black and Brown communities already possess. It begins with the assumption that non-dominant capital has value for operating in dominant spaces. Aspirational capital refers to the ability of people to maintain hopes and dreams in the face of barriers. It is a radical imagination that sees beyond present circumstances and envisions possibilities. Navigational capital are the internal resources communities of color use to maneuver through institutions that are often hostile and unaccommodating. Finding ways to thrive in environments that may be unfamiliar and oppressive demonstrates an aptitude not fully acknowledged. Social capital, as has been previously theorized, deals with networks and resources at the disposal of communities of color and how they are leveraged to accomplish goals. The communal web of people and institutions provides access to opportunities for people of color. Linguistic capital is the ability to communicate using multiple modes. The diverse methods of expression employed by communities of color include spoken and written language, music, art, and poetry. Familial capital is cultural and experiential knowledge. It is an epistemology developed by people of color that is grounded in the home-life and community. Lastly, resistant capital is the fortitude to persist in the face of obstacles. It speaks to the reservoirs of knowledge as well as traditions students tap into in order to stay motivated and fight injustice (Acevedo & Solorzano, 2021).

Researchers Acevedo and Solorzano (2021) called for an extension of the CCW framework to incorporate new and underexplored forms of capital, such as spiritual capital (Espino, 2014) and educational capital (Kelly, 2010). Further, they present CCW as a mechanism for providing a buffer against racism for Black and Brown students. This research focused on a

historically Black high school in the urban southern US and fulfilled this demand by exploring whether all-Black schools "can serve as an institutional space where Students of Color can strengthen their knowledge and [enact] CCW" (Acevedo & Solorzano, 2021).

Definition of Terms

Segregation: "Separation among students by race or ethnicity" (Orfield et al., 2014)

De Facto Segregation: "Situation in which legislation did not overtly segregate students by race, but nevertheless school segregation continued" (Cornell Legal Information Institute, n.d.).

De Jure Segregation: "Segregation intended or mandated by law or otherwise intentionally arising from state action" (Merriam Webster Dictionary of Law, 1996).

Double-Segregation: "Concentration of students in schools by both race and poverty" (Orfield et al., 2014)

Desegregation: "The physical reassignment of children and staff to change the existing racial composition of schools" (Adair, 1984)

Resegregation: A return to segregated schools following the civil rights movement and after a withdrawal from court-mandated desegregation (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020)

Integration: "A quality of education and interpersonal interaction based on the positive acceptance of individual and group differences as well as similarities" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975).

Racially Isolated: Schools that are predominantly students of color or racially homogeneous (Welton, 2013)

Racially Balanced: Schools that are racially mixed or predominantly white (Welton, 2013)

Black: Refers to people of African ancestral origin covering a wide range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Agyemang et al., 2005)

African American: Refers to people of African ancestral origins that descend from those enslaved in the United States of America, differing from African or Caribbean migrants (Agyemang et al., 2005)

Culture: "The norms, values, practices, patterns of communication, language, laws, customs, and meanings shared by a group of people in a given time and place" (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017, p. 223).

Community Cultural Wealth: An interdisciplinary framework that identifies and highlights the various assets and resources utilized by Communities of Color as they navigate schools and other social systems (Yosso, 2005).

Minoritized Group: A social group that is devalued in society. A replacement term for minority since lower social status may not reflect actual denomination within the population (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017).

Upward Mobility: The mean income rank of children with parents at the bottom half of the income distribution (Chetty et al., 2014).

White: People whose dominant ancestral lineage is or is perceived to be from Europe (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017).

White Supremacy: The ideological, institutional, social, political, cultural, and historical system of race-based advantage that materially favors white people at the expense of people of color (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Origins of Black Education in the Southern United States

The genesis of education for Black people in the Southern US cannot be defined by a specific point in time. The formation is less the byproduct of a singular event and more of an amalgam of several efforts that evolved over time. To be sure, many of the kidnapped and enslaved Africans brought to the early colonies were learned individuals who were literate prior to their capture and subsequent enslavement. Omar ibn Said, for instance, also known by his plantation name "Uncle Moreau'," was a literate West African from the Senegambia region enslaved in both South Carolina and North Carolina. In 1831, he began to write his autobiography in Arabic. He was discovered in a Fayetteville jail while writing on the cell walls and eventually taken into the custody of the Governor of North Carolina, where he remained until his death (Library of Congress, n.d.). Ironically, during the same year, the North Carolina General Assembly passed a slave code that outlawed teaching enslaved people how to read. It read:

> Whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds and to produce insurrection and rebellion to the manifest injury of the citizens of this state: Therefore Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that any free person who shall hereafter teach or attempt to teach any slave within this State to read or write, the use of figures excepted, Shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in the State having jurisdiction thereof. (North Carolina, 1831, p. 10)

This law applied not only to free persons of color, but also to white men and women as well. However, the enforcement of the racial caste was clear in the severity of punishment, with

fines being applied to whites found in violation of the law and up to 39 lashes to free Black people. Even then, a foundational racial disparity identified the privileges of whites over their Black counterparts (North Carolina, 1831).

Despite several laws attempting to outlaw attempts and learning on the part of Black people, there is evidence that the enslaved were "stealing lessons" even under the threat of penalty by the state. For African Americans, the pursuit of the forbidden fruit of knowledge was never something needing the official sanction of the government. The legality of literacy and numeracy was not entirely prohibitive, even if it created barriers. Prior to emancipation, enslaved Africans were already engaging in efforts at self-education, organizing a system of makeshift schools. According to historian James Anderson (1988), prior to the Civil War, there were Black schools in operation that merely increased their activity after the war began. He wrote, "slaves and free persons of color had already begun to make plans for the systematic instruction of their illiterates. Early black schools were established and supported largely through Afro-Americans' own efforts" (Anderson, 1988, p. 7).

Still, even before the organization of clandestine schools for the enslaved, Black people were gaining learning through coveted jobs on plantations. Duties such as bookkeeping, artisans, blacksmiths, and apprenticeships exposed the enslaved to basic mathematics and reading (Watkins, 2001). However, for a Black person to acquire any learning during a system of chattel slavery was nonetheless a dangerous endeavor. In 1860, it was estimated that 5 percent of enslaved people were literate. Although a seemingly small denomination, this was accomplished under the threat of considerable violence. For example, Thomas H. Jones was an enslaved person in North Carolina who learned to read in the back of his master's store. When faced with a surprise visit by his enslaver, he chose to endure three brutal whippings than expose his literacy

(Anderson, 1988). For an enslaved person to be literate represented a threat to the plantocracy and thus made them tantamount to being a fugitive (Givens, 2021). Consider the Frederick Douglass quote invoked by Jarvis Givens (2021) when explaining the seriousness of the infraction that was Black education:

> The criminality of black learning was a psychosocial reality. According to Frederick Douglass's master: a slave having learned to read and write was a slave "running away from himself": stealing oneself, not just stealing away to the North or stealing away to Jesus but stealing away to one's own imagination, seeking respite in independent thought. (Givens, 2021, p. 12)

Among the plantation owners and the enslaved, there appeared to be a mutual appreciation for the disruptive power of education in the hands of Black people. As the first iteration of a public school system was being concretized in the South, efforts at suppressing literacy among the enslaved were taking hold (Anderson, 1988). As Wilmington, North Carolina native David Walker wrote in 1830, "for colored people to acquire learning in this country makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation" (Walker, 1965). If this was the case during the formal structure of chattel slavery, it was equally the case even after emancipation.

Reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the American Missionary Association

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (commonly referred to as the Freedmen's Bureau) was established through an act of Congress at the end of the Civil War in 1865. John W. Alvord, the national superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau, discovered for himself, when traveling down South, that Black people had organized what he termed "native schools" (Anderson, 1988). These were a system of schools organized and operated by freedpersons. By 1866, there were an estimated 500 such schools in operation all

throughout the South. Most of the teachers who would serve in the earliest formal schools emerged from the native school movement. While the development of the first system of schools has largely been credited to the Freedmen's Bureau, it is an overstatement that fails to properly recognize the role of Black people in their own literacy. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, "Public education for all at public expense was, in the South, a Negro idea" (Anderson, 1988).

Black communities throughout the South were assuming control of their destinies in ways that transcended even federal interventions after the war. In addition to the native schools, there were "Sabbath Schools" run by African American church communities. These church-sponsored schools operated mostly on weekends and evenings to provide foundational literacy skills to populations that could not attend school during the weekdays. Yet, another example of a community-initiated remedy for the lack of educational opportunities available to them. The underappreciated truth is that even in the immediate aftermath of slavery African Americans demonstrated a considerable amount of agency, even as the government was tasked with figuring out how to absorb them into the union.

Classical, Industrial, Training, Normal Schools, and Private Institutes

All efforts at schooling Black people from outside of the community were anchored in ideology and a political agenda. The earliest formal attempts at educating freed persons reflect several competing schools of thought about how to properly integrate Black people into US society. The type of instruction they would receive, the courses offered, and the educational philosophy differed greatly depending on the institution and its founders. These schools could be loosely categorized as either emerging from religious missionary societies or Northern corporate philanthropic investments. The two sectors were characterized by a particular ideology about the

purpose of education for Black people and how they should fit into the new industrial economy. As a result, they were often in conflict with each other.

Schools supported by Christian missionary societies eventually evolved from the more conservative approaches of the American Missionary Association (AMA) to adopt a more classical liberal arts curricular model. According to William H. Watkins (2001), notions of humanism, free expression, and altruism undergirded the missionary education outlooks. Watkins (2001) expounded further when he wrote, "Although accepting of America's economic order, the missionary leaders were fervent believers in education as a tool for racial advancement" (p. 15). This was more reflective of the desires of Black people who understood schools as vehicles for leadership development through the production of teachers, ministers, politicians, and business people. The classical liberal curriculum of New England served as a model; however, Black leaders adapted it to help grow a greater understanding of African-descended peoples' place in the world. From this perspective, education was not solely a pursuit of economic mobility but rooted in a more humanistic endeavor. Courses like reading, writing, grammar, history, geography, music, etc., were standard (Anderson, 1988).

Private normal schools and institutions were erected with the support of four major missionary societies: the AMA, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Board of Missions for the Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church (Watkins, 2001). Additionally, Black-led denominations like the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (CME), and African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) were instrumental in establishing secondary schools and colleges. At these schools, the educational programs were largely dominated by the

classical liberal arts curriculum and represented the interests of the Black community (Anderson, 1988).

However, the post-Civil War was consequently the era of industry tycoons. As a result, corporate philanthropies emerged as a way for the ruling class to exert influence by redistributing their wealth in support of worthy causes such as education. Many of the philanthropies predictably opted for a type of education that matched the workforce needs of the industrial South and treated schools more like a source of producing Black manual labor.

Despite discernable differences in educational philosophy, a general consensus about some form of industrial education was at the foundation of every effort. Individuals like Samuel Chapman Armstrong loomed large as a key architect of Black education. The child of Christian missionaries, Armstrong took up the mantle of educating formerly enslaved people with similar evangelistic fervor and paternalism. The Civil War veteran, who had garnered a reputation for handling Black people well, served under the Freedmen's Bureau until it was dissolved in 1870 (Watkins, 2001). It was Armstrong who would later utilize the combined support of the AMA and a wealthy philanthropist to open his own school along the Hampton River in Virginia in 1868 (Watkins, 2001). The Hampton Institute was, at its core, a normal school created for the training of teachers and certainly would not be considered a trade school or college. Most attendees had minimal education prior to entry that, even upon completion of the normal school curriculum placed them at the equivalent of a tenth grade level (Anderson, 1988). However, even Hampton's approach to schooling was anchored in the racist ideology of accommodation and paternalism. Armstrong considered the newly freed Africans to be lacking in any form of cultural capital, and, therefore, a people in need of being "civilized" (Watkins, 2001).

The Hampton program prioritized developing habits of work within pupils that included several hours of manual labor as part of the curriculum. According to Anderson (1988), "The primary aim was to work the prospective teachers long and hard so that they would embody, accept, and preach an ethic of hard toil or the 'dignity of labor'" (p. 34). While it was not unheard of for other white schools to incorporate mandatory labor to help develop work skills, Hampton was unique in making it part of the core curriculum. The second-class nature of the pedagogy and philosophy of Hampton did not escape the critique of many in the Black community. A reporter for the Black publication the *People's Advocate* wrote after visiting Hampton Institute, "I had rather my boy, should grow up ignorant of letters, than attend an Institution to be taught that Negroes, notwithstanding their acquirements, are and must forever remain inferior to the whites" (Anderson, 1988, p. 65)

A former pupil of Armstrong's at Hampton simultaneously served as the greatest ambassador for the model of learned-respectability, and a singular example of the innate brilliance and aptitude of Black people. Booker T. Washington, himself having risen from slavery, recounted the demonstrable appetite for education among African Americans immediately postwar by stating:

> Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for education. It was a whole race trying to go to school. (Anderson, 1988, p.5)

And while Washington clearly made the case that African Americans pursued learning on their own volition after having been enslaved, he ultimately adopted the pedagogical ideology of his mentor Armstrong in believing that Black schools were for producing laborers and not citizens. For Washington, his capitulation toward embracing industrial education eventually put

him in opposition with prominent Black leaders and missionary societies. For many whites, Booker T. Washington stood as the heir apparent to Frederick Douglass and rose to national prominence after his Atlanta Exposition Address. In this speech, he admonished Black people to forfeit their want of civil and political rights and to instead focus on skill development that led to economic mobility. His bias toward an industrial education could clearly be heard when he remarked, "No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem" (Washington, 1995, p. 107).

Washington's conservative and assimilationist stance toward education endeared him to the white ruling class of the South, even as it distanced him from many Black leaders. His proximity to wealthy benefactors, however, did translate into greater influence over the educational program of Blacks in the South, culminating in the opening of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama on July 4, 1881 (Washington, 1995). Tuskegee was styled after the Hampton model as a normal school with an extreme emphasis on industrial training. Much like Armstrong, Washington scoffed at the uselessness of higher education producing Black intelligentsia. There were only 30 students in the first class at Tuskegee, most of whom had received only random and disjointed episodes of classical liberal education. Washington was the sole instructor and showed his disdain for the impracticality of this kind of schooling (Washington, 1995). In the text *Up From Slavery*, Washington (1995) wrote about his students:

> I soon learned that most of them had the merest smattering of the high-sounding things that they had studied. While they could locate the Desert of Sahara or the capital of China on an artificial globe, I found out that the girls could not locate the proper places for knives and forks on an actual dinner-table, or the places on which the bread and meat should be set. (Washington, 1995, p. 59)

These comments expose a palpable contempt for the liberal style of education and its lack of pragmatism, but also a clear sense that what Black people did not possess was a kind of cultural capital in order to advance in the dominant social order of the South. This perspective put Washington at odds with some of the more prolific Black intellectuals of his time, chiefly W.E.B. Du Bois, the first African American to receive a doctorate for Harvard University. Du Bois was a remarkably more ardent advocate for social equality and liberal arts education. In his text *The College-Bred Negro* (1902), he takes up the question of whether providing African Americans with a semblance of higher education is a suitable use of their abilities. He noted when charting the occupations of Black people who received a college education at that time that over half had become teachers. Du Bois lauded the Black teacher as "the group leader" and one who "sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thought, and heads its social movements" (Du Bois, 1902, p. 17). For him, the purpose of becoming a teacher was more than simply about earning a living. It was about Black people improving "human culture" (Du Bois, 1902).

The Hampton-Tuskegee model nonetheless popularized the industrial school movement by the end of the 19th century and cemented Armstrong's legacy long after his demise (Anderson, 1988). By training scores of teachers in the apolitical ideology of racial accommodation, it ensured generations of future pupils would remain subordinate to the white ruling class. It should be noted, nonetheless, that by the beginning of the 20th century, both Hampton and Tuskegee reformed their curricular programs to be more aligned with the mainstream Black ideology (Anderson, 1988). It appeared that the persistent will on the part of African Americans to choose their educational destiny had eventually won out.

White Supremacy and Black Disenfranchisement

The turn of the century found African Americans in the South still clamoring for a universal public education system, but without the infrastructure to deliver it to its Black citizens. In North Carolina, the 1868 Constitutional Convention brought about a law mandating state-supported schooling for all students regardless of race (Thuesen, 2013). Such a truly universal system did not exist prior to the Civil War in the state. African Americans were using the newly gained rights of citizenship to join forces with white liberal Republicans in the state legislature to secure education for all. This North Carolina State Constitution was the only one in the country which declared education a right. Such an achievement was made possible by Black leaders like James Walker Hood, an AMEZ minister who served in the state legislature during Reconstruction (Thuesen, 2013). Hood pushed against the separation of races in education on the premise that white schools would receive superior treatment. He did concede, however, that Black students would likely fare better under the instruction of Black teachers (Anderson & Moss, 1999). He said during the North Carolina Constitutional Convention: "I do not think that it is good for our children to eat and drink daily the sentiment that they are naturally inferior to the white, which they do in three-fourths of all the schools where they have white teachers" (Fairclough, 2007, p. 61). Hood, therefore, supported the idea of all-Black schools on the condition they were created as a matter of community consensus and not by law (Anderson & Moss, 1999; Thuesen, 2013).

By the 1880s, the General Assembly was retaken by so-called "redeemers" or former Confederates bent on undoing the political gains of African Americans during Reconstruction. They revised the state constitution to give themselves the ability to underfund Black schools by permitting local school boards to distribute state funds. This move all but ensured racially

disparate school funds throughout the state (Fairclough, 2007; Thuesen, 2013). In many ways, the late 19th century and early 20th century could be characterized by white backlash, such that it forced African Americans to make a choice between citizenship rights and public education. Black people throughout the South leveraged their political capital to secure as much as they could. The North Carolina Teachers Association (NCTA) was formed in 1881 and gave Black educators a way to organize themselves and work against the attacks from the white power structure (Thuesen, 2013). Black social and political advancement, however, suffered its greatest defeat to date during 1896, when the US Supreme Court ushered in the era of Jim Crow with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. The landmark case officially sanctioned the practice of "separate but equal" facilities and thereby enshrined de jure segregation as the law of the land in the South. Such a development triggered a white supremacy campaign in the Southern states, characterized by attempts at political "disfranchisement" of Black voters, deliberate underfunding of Black schools, and violent racial terrorism. The *News & Observer* newspaper in Raleigh contributed to this propaganda by publishing political cartoons warning of "Negro Rule" (Thuesen, 2013).

Despite the redeemers retaking the state legislature a decade earlier, North Carolina remained a Southern outpost of relatively progressive politics and cross-racial solidarity. In Wilmington, the city boasted a fusionist government composed of Black people and white Republicans committed to a Populist agenda (Faulker, n.d.). In 1898, white vigilante groups murdered hundreds of Black people in a violent coup and overtook control of the municipal government. This barbaric example was immediately followed by the consolidation of political power in the legislature and the election of a governor who ran on the campaign of voter suppression through the vehicle of education.

Charles B. Aycock would ironically be known as the "education governor" for his embrace of "universal education." What this moniker masks, however, is that Aycock did not support equal access to education for all students, merely whites. During his acceptance speech as the Democratic nominee for Governor in 1900, he made his commitment to racial subordination clear when he stated:

> We have taught them much in the past two years in the University of White Supremacy, we will graduate them in August next with a diploma that will entitle them to form a genuine white man's party. Then we shall have no more revolutions in Wilmington; we shall have no more dead and wounded negroes on the streets, because we shall have good government in the State and peace everywhere. (Connor & Poe, 1912, p. 218)

Disfranchisement through Literacy Tests

During the time immediately preceding Aycock's election as governor, Black male literacy rates outstripped that of white males in the state. At the turn of the century, according to research by George R. Stetson (1897), Black students were already exhibiting superior memorization and retention of text by comparison to their white counterparts (Stetson, 1897). Using mnemonic devices, African American children in the study were able to recite select verses from literature at an average rate of accuracy higher than white pupils. This was a significant finding since "the capacity for intellectual achievement depends very largely upon the acquired control of the attention and the degree of memory susceptibility or concentration" (Stetson, 1897, p. 287). Additionally, Black voter participation rates in North Carolina trended near 90 percent (McColl, 2015). As a result, Aycock made it his business to advocate for a constitutional amendment mandating all voters pass a literacy test prior to casting a ballot and championed the cause of education to ensure the next generation of white adults could vote

without issue. The plan was simple: suppress the Black vote and increase white political power in North Carolina. Aycock removed all pretense of this scheme when he remarked,

> universal education of the white children of North Carolina will send us forward with a bound in the race with the world. Life is a mighty combat and the people who go into it best equipped will be sure to win. (Connor & Poe, 1912, p. 223)

For Aycock, and many other whites, diminishing access to education was tantamount to diluting the political power Black people had gained. He was committed to doing both.

State-Sanctioned Segregation and Self-Help

The *Plessy* decision and subsequent white supremacy campaign left Black people in a quandary. Segregation locked African Americans into a situation where equality was espoused but never enforced, and Black schools were at the mercy of local school boards for their share of funding. What quickly developed was a two-tiered system of schools that perpetually under-resourced Black schools and forced communities to adopt a practice of "self-help" in order to deliver a modicum of their educational rights. In 1900, Black people comprised 30 percent of the North Carolina population and received 28 percent of school funding – nearly proportionate. However, in just five years, the ratio of school funding dwindled to 13 percent (Thuesen, 2013). Community contributions and seeking outside help from philanthropy became necessary to provide some semblance of parity.

In a myriad of ways, Black people in the southern US already epitomized the virtue of self-help (Franklin, 1984). As previously stated, their foray into education was the result of their own appetite for learning. They did not wait for others to do for them, nor for permission. They left the institution of chattel slavery and immediately began starting their own native and Sabbath schools financed by the meager means of a people without stable economic footing. The whites

of the North and South knew this, of course, from the moment of emancipation. As one AMA teacher stated upon sojourning into the South, “they have a praiseworthy pride in keeping their educational institutions in their own hands. There is jealousy of the superintendence of the white man in this matter. What they desire is assistance without control” (Anderson, 1988, p. 5). The push for so-called Negro self-help during segregation was not to inspire independence as much as foster legalized neglect.

The General Education Board and Negro School Agents

In this contentious political moment, the mantle of Black education in the South would largely be taken up by a coalition of northern philanthropists and white education reformers (Anderson, 1988; Anderson & Moss, 1999). This arrangement stood in direct contrast to the desires of Black people who had worked toward community control of schools since Reconstruction. Founded on principles of white paternalism, this alliance culminated in the formation of the Southern Education Board (SEB) and the General Education Board (GEB) in 1902 after a meeting in Winston-Salem (Anderson, 1988; Anderson & Moss, 1999). An unlikely assemblage of northerners and southerners committed to universal education, Black industrial education, and white supremacy was now the unsanctioned body effectively governing schooling for African Americans in the former Confederacy. This “interlocking directorate” would shape education policy and programming in the South for generations to come.

Whereas the SEB was more of a propaganda arm promoting universal education, the GEB was a foundation able to financially support activities aligned with this philosophy. This endeavor was not devoid of a socio-political ideology. The unifying principle of this southern education movement was the development of a Black workforce and reinforcement of the white supremacist racial hierarchy. In the words of SEB and GEB trustee Wallace Buttrick, “I

recognize the fact that the Negro is an inferior race and that the Anglo-Saxon is the superior race" (Anderson, 1988, p. 92). This sense of paternalism emboldened the GEB to essentially place individuals in charge of "negro education" throughout every state in the South.

North Carolina Division of Negro Education and Double-Taxation

The profits from the industrial revolution set in motion a Gilded Age in the US, where businessmen and women amassed wealth on an unprecedented scale. The new donor class consisted of individuals like John D. Rockefeller, George Peabody, and William H. Baldwin, all of whom were instrumental in the work of the GEB (Watkins, 2001). Given the political disenfranchisement of Black people in North Carolina and threat of a mass exodus North, the state created an apparatus within the Department of Public Instruction to direct the educational program of African Americans called the Division of Negro Education (DNE). Since 1910, the GEB had been exerting an outside influence over the academics of African Americans through the funding of "Negro school agents" that worked with public school officials in Southern states. The person selected by the GEB to oversee North Carolina was Nathan C. Newbold, a white educator from abolitionist stock that also believed in accommodation (Thuesen, 2013). In the tradition of Samuel Chapman Armstrong before him, Newbold's appointment as the first Director of the DNE positioned him as a white parental figure over Black educational ambitions in the state, even if reluctantly so. While Newbold cautioned African Americans against political and social equity, the DNE did give Black people a channel to exert some leverage over education policy. Though not a full-on champion of Black education, Newbold certainly was not a saboteur and often was at least willing to give ear to concerns such as school construction and curricular reforms.

Nevertheless, Black southerners who desired education were still trapped in an extractive scheme referred to as “double taxation.” That is to say Black communities had their tax dollars diverted to support white education while being forced to make personal contributions to finance their own public schools. Between 1905-1906, more tax dollars were collected from Black communities in North Carolina than were spent on their schools (Anderson, 1988). Requests to local boards for school construction were routinely met with an expectation that the Black community makes some sort of personal sacrifice. Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996) described the segregated Black school in her native Caswell County, North Carolina, in the historical ethnography, *Their Highest Potential*. She wrote, “[T]he history of negro patrons’ willingness to help themselves created among the school board members and expectation that Negroes would assist in the provision of facilities for their race” (Siddle Walker, 1996, p. 20). In instances where Black communities rose to the challenge of furnishing the necessary capital, they were forced to deed their land, money, and other school equipment to the state (Anderson, 1988). This kind of structural theft weakened Black communities’ ability to financially support their own schools while using them to subsidize white education in the South. There was simply no way to build a system of common schools using only the meager resources of a people less than 100 years removed from chattel slavery.

Rosenwald Schools and Jeanes Teachers

The Jim Crow era ushered in a deliberately oppressive environment that gave all decision-making power over the education of Black children to white people at the state agency and local school boards. African Americans may have won the right to universal education in theory, but in practice, the embedded racism within school funding arrangement effectively robbed them of this reality. All over the South, but particularly in the rural communities, Black

children were left without schools to attend. In the few places they did exist, they were often too far away for many school-age children to walk (Fairclough, 2007).

In the urban South, local governments were primarily compelled to build schools by the migration of Black residents into the cities due to industrialization. Unlike in rural areas, children of African American laborers could not be so easily absorbed into the workforce. The concession of elementary school construction was made chiefly as a social intervention to prevent Black children from getting into mischief during the day (Anderson, 1988). However, for Black rural southerners, school buildings were sparse, and opportunities for learning were severely constrained. Where schools did exist in the countryside, there were often dilapidated structures that were abandoned by whites (Anderson, 1988; Fairclough, 2007; Hanchett, 1988). This problem was exacerbated by inequitable funding of Black education, which had grown worse during the period of white backlash. Funding inequities in 1914-1915 are illustrated by the fact that for every $2.77 that North Carolina spent on white students, only $1.00 was spent on Black students (Anderson, 1988). This environment necessitated greater financial assistance to set up public schools outside of the state government.

Philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck, and Company, became the leading proponent of rural schools' construction at the behest of trusted companion Booker T. Washington. The Rosenwald Fund offered matching grants to rural Black communities in the South to help build schools and promote cooperation between African Americans and white school officials. In a relatively short-lived effort, the Rosenwald Fund was "the most influential philanthropic force that came to aid of Negroes" (Hanchett, 1988, p. 426). Over 800 "Rosenwald Schools" were built in North Carolina during the period of 1913 to 1932, more than any other state in the South. Twenty-six such schools stood in Mecklenburg County in the rural townships

outside of the city of Charlotte (Hanchett, 1988). Some schools in the contemporary Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, namely Billingsville and McClintock, began as Rosenwald Schools.

These newer state-of-the-art schools were typically two-to-four room schoolhouses with industrial rooms, kitchens, and auditoriums for community use wherever possible (Hanchett, 1998). However, in line with most self-help requirements, this expensive endeavor required significant contributions from an already financially-strained farming class of Black people. In reality, half of the money for building construction came from local school boards; the remainder was supplemented by African Americans and the Rosenwald Fund (Hanchett, 1988). Despite the stiff requirements, particularly for a marginalized community in the Jim Crow South, Black community contributions in total slightly outstripped even that of the Rosenwald Fund. In North Carolina, rural Black residents managed to contribute over $666,000 toward building construction over the life of the program (Hanchett, 1998). Once again, despite overtly oppressive circumstances, African American communities had risen to the challenges of actualizing their educational ambitions.

In the same fashion as the Rosenwald Fund, philanthropic assistance was needed to supply rural communities with teachers for their schools. Anna T. Jeanes, a wealthy Quaker from Pennsylvania, bequeathed $1 million upon her death in 1907 to the Negro Rural School Fund or the Jeanes Fund for improving Black rural education in the South (Anderson, 1988; Thuesen, 2013). The Jeanes Fund began working with public school authorities in 1909 to employ "industrial supervisors" who worked under the direction of country superintendents (Anderson, 1988; Thuesen, 2013). It was the job of "Jeanes Teachers" to oversee the instruction in rural Black schools, supervise industrial work, and raise money for education. In modern terms, the

Jeanes teacher was a community organizer and typically a Black woman, whom N.C. Newbold preferred male counterparts due to their motherly instincts and education (Thuesen, 2013).

Predictably, Newbold came to discover that Jeanes teachers had "raised far more money for their districts than the districts contributed to their salaries" (Thuesen, 2013, p. 32). Initially, 84% of salaries of Jeanes teachers were paid by the Jeanes Fund; the remainder came from public funds. The outsized role and insurgent attitudes of Black educators are best exhibited by Annie Wealthy Holland, the North Carolina Jeanes supervisor and founder of the North Carolina Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers or "the Colored PTA" (Thuesen, 2013). Newbold hired her to supervise the Jeanes program in the state through the DNE after over two decades of successful work as a teacher. According to Sarah Thuesen (2013), despite Newbold's aversion to political activity and demands for social equality, Holland managed to organize parents through her statewide Colored PTA but also urged teachers to join their local Black-led associations. A study from 1933 included the following remarks about the constellation of community efforts to support Black education in rural North Carolina,

> [T]hose associations had done more for black child welfare than any state agency, building schools, purchasing equipment, providing hot lunches, lengthening school terms, supplementing teacher salaries, and sponsoring health clinics. (Thuesen, 2013, p. 34)

Through her official position as the Jeanes supervisor, Holland was able to encourage African American communities in rural North Carolina to consolidate their power and champion for greater ownership of their schools despite the political disenfranchisement they experienced.

The History of Black Charlotte

Although not in rural North Carolina, the Black community of Charlotte had to fight to secure their constitutional rights to public education as well. Industrialization transformed

Charlotte from a rural courthouse town to an urban landscape with a diverse economy and a fledgling downtown in the late 1870s (Hanchett, 1998). Charlotte was now a city, organized into four wards with a "salt and pepper" racial mixing of residents prior to Jim Crow segregation. Emancipation and the expansion of the railroads precipitated a major influx of African Americans into the city, comprising 47% of the population by 1880 (Hanchett, 1998). While the Black and white populations lived and worked in close proximity, African Americans were most concentrated in the Second and Third Wards. In *Sorting Out the New South City*, Thomas Hanchett explained, "Second Ward represented an obvious locale for former slaves" (Hanchett, 1998, p. 42).

By the 1890s, Charlotte's Black community included several thriving institutions such as drugstores, restaurants, newspapers, and several reputable well-to-do residents (i.e., lawyers, doctors, and business owners) (Grundy, 2022). By the turn of the century, Second Ward became the epicenter of Black businesses and other pillars of the community. While many Black people moved North to escape the suffocating climate of Jim Crow segregation, others remained in the South and committed to determining their own fate in the face of white supremacy. Second Ward was an example of such self-determination, with its impressive buildings and business district designed and built entirely by African American entrepreneurs. Residents referred to the neighborhood as "Brooklyn" – after the bustling New York City borough (Grundy, 2022).

The Historic Brooklyn Neighborhood

As Charlotte's largest and most important Black neighborhood, Brooklyn came to symbolize African American aptitude despite racially oppressive conditions. As Thomas Hanchett (1998) wrote, "The name 'Brooklyn,' with its progressive urban cachet and connotation of a town within a town, neatly fit the emerging neighborhood" (p. 130). Brooklyn operated

much like a city within a city, possessing many amenities that attracted Black families and engendered community pride (Hanchett, 1998). In many ways, the white supremacy campaign of the late 1800s facilitated the climate that created Brooklyn by threatening an aggressive stance toward any Black settlement or commerce downtown. The Black community took their dreams, passions, and enterprise elsewhere to Second Ward instead. According to local historian Pam Grundy (2020),

> The neighborhood filled nearly 50 blocks in the southeast quadrant of the center city, bounded by 4th, Brevard, and Morehead stress, with the southeastern border defined by the now-vanished Long Street, just east of McDowell, where I-277 now runs. Like Black communities across the South, Brooklyn was located in one of the less desirable parts of Charlotte. (p. 52)

Throughout the years, generations of Black Charlotteans would come to know Brooklyn as home. It was a source of pride for those residents, even if it was viewed unfavorably from the outside. Segregation created an artificial environment of racial isolation within neighborhoods, with socio-economic integration. Due to the lack of spatial mobility for middle and upper-class African Americans throughout the city, Brooklyn, like many other Black neighborhoods throughout the South, was a place of unique class diversity. In a transcribed interview with lifelong Brooklyn resident Vermelle Ely in the text *Living with Jim Crow*, she said, "[A]ll kinds of people lived there. You had some doctors, some teachers, some people that worked in service" (Valk & Brown, 2010, p. 43). For residents like Ely, who grew up during the 1930s and 40s, they recall a vibrant place full of many fond memories.

Some of the more renowned Brooklyn institutions were the Savoy Theater, which allowed Black people to watch movies outside the gaze of Charlotte's white community. Places

like Sunset Park served as utility spaces for everything from entertainment acts like James Brown in the evening to Boy Scout troops and swimming lessons in the afternoons (Valk & Brown, 2010). The Armory was a dancehall where adults would go to have a good time to big band music, while Lucille's was a dress shop known for providing ladies with the choice of styles in formal wear (Valk & Brown, 2010). Brooklyn was, of course, not a utopia. There were parts of the neighborhood that were more known for violence and social taboos. At the corner of 1st and McDowell was an area called "Murder Corner;" although few homicides occurred there, it garnered a reputation for being a bad part of town. On weekends, Green Willow Gardens was a place for the Black queer community to find refuge, hosting drag shows and parties long before the modern push for more LGBTQ visibility and rights (Valk & Brown, 2010). Far from perfect, what Brooklyn ultimately offered African Americans in Charlotte was decades of insulation from the daily indignities of Jim Crow. In a political environment where they weren't encouraged to venture out into the dominant society, the all-Black community in Brooklyn was such that they rarely needed to. Former Brooklyn resident Price Davis said,

> [Y]ou name it, you had it, right there on Second Street … And, on Second Street, I found Second Street to be very fascinating, because you had funeral homes there, you had speak-easies, you had cafes, you had Fred's Taxi Cab place … all black owned businesses. (Flint, 2007, 3:06)

In the face of aggressive mistreatment and policy of subordination, Black people in Charlotte, much like the South writ large, found ways to thrive and were unyielding in their embodiment of self-help. They created their own institutions in their own parts of town. McKissik's Shoe Repair, Afro-American Mutual Insurance Company, the AMEZ Publishing House, the Hotel Williams, the Queen City Drug Store, and even Friendship Baptist Church (one

Charlotte's most prominent African American congregations) once stood as pillars of the heart of the Brooklyn community (Ely et al., 2001; Hanchett, 1998). There were, of course, similar Black enclaves throughout Charlotte, such as Greenville, Cherry, Washington Heights, Biddleville, and Blandville, but Brooklyn was without question the largest (Hanchett, 1998).

Second Ward High School (1923-1969)

One of the most revered institutions in Brooklyn was the schools. At the turn of the century, the problem with access to the promise of public schools for Black southerners was particularly acute with secondary education. Even as white resistance to elementary education began to soften, many still did not believe African Americans should be able to pursue education beyond 8th grade (Anderson, 1988). In 1886, a sympathetic white Republican donated land in Charlotte's Second Ward for the construction of Myers Street School (also known as the "Jacob's Ladder School" for its winding exterior staircase), the first Black public elementary school in Mecklenburg County (Hanchett, 1998). This was a major development, as there was no place for school-aged children to attend in the area for years. Prominent Black Charlotteans like Samuel Pride, a mathematics professor, postmaster, and board member of the Black-owned cotton mill in town, also took a teaching job at Myers School – eventually becoming principal (Grundy, 2022).

At a time when white high schools were being built, no such attention was given to Black communities in the South. After Charlotte opened its first public high school for whites, Pride soon became politically active and lobbied the local school board for a Black public high school (Grundy, 2022). Although this request initially fell on deaf ears, Pride was successful in creating the political pressure needed to eventually generate a material response. The Charlotte Negro Citizen's League began making requests to the city to rebuild the crumbling Myers School and

establish a separate Black school board that would choose the teachers for their schools. White citizens in the city scoffed at the League's attempt at self-determination as "mistakenly concluding that the only way to secure such an objective is to have placed racial rulership in this matter in their hands" (Grundy, 2022, p. 56-57). The assertion of community agency pricked the sensibilities of the white polity in Charlotte and violated the code of "Negro civility." Nevertheless, such a demand created the necessary environment to effectuate change.

However, in September of 1923, Second Ward High School opened its doors, becoming the first public secondary school for Black people in Mecklenburg County (Polzer, 1993). The three-story brick building on the corner of 1st Street and Alexander Street finally gave Black students in Charlotte and the surrounding county a place to extend their learning with facilities they could take pride in (Polzer, 1993). Of the many storied institutions in Brooklyn, it now boasted a high school. Second Ward opened during the same year as the new all-white Central High School. According to Christopher M. Polzer (1993), author of *A Brief History of Second Ward High School*, "If ever an ideal example existed to illustrate the lie that was 'separate but equal' in urban public education, it is in tracing the development of these two institutions" (p. 3). Such was the case for most Black schools; there was a distinct difference in the resources made available. However, for Second Ward's 6,000 graduates who walked its halls from 1923-1969, the school remains a source of extreme community pride (Polzer, 1993).

Second Ward was a junior and senior high school serving students from grades 7-12. Students from Myers School now had a secondary school to attend after completing their primary grades. One of the most celebrated aspects of the school experience was the adults were given the charge of supporting the students' education. Principals like William H. Stinson, Jefferson E. Grisby, Spencer E. Durante, and E.E. Waddell were towering figures who helped

steer the students at Second Ward toward success in a doggedly racist society. As one Second Ward alum recalled about Principal Stinson, “If it were not for [him] there are many successful young men and women who would not have their present station in life” (Polzer, 1993, p. 5). These school leaders each developed a school culture that encouraged excellence with limited resources. Second Ward offered courses more in line with the classical liberal curriculum in tandem with some vocational training and domestic arts (Polzer, 1993). By 1940, Second Ward extended its vocational offerings to adults in the community as well, in the form of a night school. What began as the Diversified Occupations program would eventually develop into Carver College by 1944, the Black counterpart to white Charlotte College offering adults two-year degrees (Polzer, 1993). The Second Ward campus was not only a place for junior and senior high students to pursue learning, but a space for adults to continue their education. These principals were tasked with not only designing diverse programmatic offerings, but also providing a teaching staff that also met the community's high expectations despite the racial hostility of the dominant culture.

Teachers in the Black schools in Charlotte were unrivaled by any in the white schools. Since the advent of the movement for public education in the South, Black teachers assumed an additional burden or “Black tax” associated with the profession (Anderson, 1988; Fairclough, 2007). They characteristically went above and beyond the traditional role of teacher to impute to Black students the full extent of their ability. The teaching staff at Second Ward were no exception. These instructional leaders were extremely well-educated at some of the best higher education institutions in the country (namely Historically Black Colleges and Universities or HBCUs), taught in their areas of expertise, and possessed the highest ratings of North Carolina

teacher certification (Polzer, 1993). Dorothy Fletcher Steele, a young Black Charlotte educator and transplant from Pennsylvania in the 1930s, remarked,

> I had never come across a group of so many fine, cultured Negroes. These were graduates of Howard University, Fisk University, Atlanta University, Spelman, Bennett, and that sort of thing. At those black schools at the time, if you went there without culture, they instilled it in you. (Valk & Brown, 2010, p. 95)

The Black educators at Second Ward High School transmitted whatever sense of culture they either developed or recognized within themselves to their student population. By some in the community, the students at Second Ward were considered to be from the "bad side" of town and portrayed as troublemakers (Polzer, 1993; Valk & Brown, 2010). However, the teachers did not allow this sort of deficit thinking to prevail. Second Ward Assistant Principal Ernest H. Stanback (1963 to 1969) remembered when it came to developing positive academic indemnities, that "teachers continually encouraged and motivated their students, prodded them, gave them a self-image, and pointed the way to success" (Polzer, 1993, p. 9).

Teachers were respected, looked upon as role models, and often referred to as "Professor" in the greater Brooklyn community (Polzer, 1993). Given the nature of residential segregation, they were consequently part of and lived in the same neighborhoods as their students. This tight-knit sense of community created a collective impulse for shared prosperity and expectation. As Second Ward alum Arthur Griffin put it, "Our teachers, they'd look at you, almost as if they were wanting to will a good education into your head" (Grundy, 2001, p. 162).

In terms of the environment at Second Ward, it resembled much of what was seen at the traditional white high school. The primary distinction, however, being they were all-Black, and bore the cultural markings associated with that significant difference. *The Second Ward Herald*

was the name of the school newspaper, while *The Tiger* (the school mascot) was the name of the school yearbook (Polzer, 1993). *The Herald* spoke to the experiences of Black students and served as a civic organ, keeping them apprised of current events. Over the years, Second Ward had a Literary Club, Student Council, and National Honors Society, among other important student clubs and associations (Polzer, 1993). Some of the greatest traditions to come from Second Ward developed after the second Black public high school opened on Charlotte's westside in 1938 (Grundy, 2017). The West Charlotte High School Lions and Second Ward High School Tigers grew into crosstown rivals who battled athletically in ways that generated great community fanfare and cultural institutions. The Queen City Classic was an annual football game played at Memorial Stadium between the two schools. It became a city-wide staple that set in motion a week of festivities, including a parade, homecoming dance, and the Miss Second Ward pageant (Grundy, 2017; Polzer, 1993). The rivalry extended into a competition between the schools' marching bands, who would often face-off as a part of the city's Carrousel Parade. According to Pam Grundy (2017), "The African American bands, whose high-stepping style sparked enthusiastic reactions from both blacks and whites, became a point of particular pride for students and alumni" (p. 37). In sum, Second Ward represented more than a place of learning; it was a point of pride for the greater Brooklyn community and an institution that served as a launching pad of possibilities for Black people continually fighting the scourge of systemic racism.

Redlining of Black Communities

The clear demonstration of community cultural wealth notwithstanding, Brooklyn was never able to escape the negative stigma by the white power structure in the city. It was viewed as "a breeding ground for crime, devalued property, a diminished source of tax revenue, and a

deterrent to attracting new businesses to the city" (Polzer, 1993, p.11). These assumptions, however, were not the result of the natural course of events but rather a public policy rooted in racism at the federal level prohibiting investment in Black communities (Rothstein, 2017). The practice of *redlining* involved the collusion of banks, developers, real estate agents, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to deny investment in majority Black neighborhoods in urban centers based on their racial composition. In 1933, in response to a housing crisis exacerbated by the Great Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration created the HOLC to help rescue homes about to go into default and offer working- and middle-class families a chance to own. It revolutionized the financing structure for home buying, a luxury typically only available to the wealthy, by creating mortgages where payments could be stretched over 15-25 years, and occupants could build equity (Rothstein, 2017).

The process, however, involved hiring local real estate agents to provide decision-making guidance to banks on issuing loans by surveying entire cities and appraising the property values. As a result, HOLC created maps of metropolitan areas all over the country where they color-coded neighborhoods by their perceived level of risk – safe investments were colored green while red signified prohibiting (Rothstein, 2017). Among the favorable influences listed about the Brooklyn neighborhood on the Charlotte HOLC map was that it had "Adequate transportation, schools, churches" (Nelson et al., n.d.). However, the map also mentioned as detriments the "Cheap properties, negro section almost entirely, and old community" (Nelson et al., n.d.). As a result, the area encompassing Brooklyn was labeled "One of the older negro sections of the city - adjoining main business district" was unsurprisingly given a Security Grade of "D" and colored red.

African American neighborhoods were *redlined* regardless of the class status of occupants. The FHA insured 80% of the home mortgage loans against default but would only do so if the applications from the bank followed the *Underwriting Manual* based almost entirely on the HOLC maps (Rothstein, 2017). According to housing policy expert Richard Rothstein (2017), who quoted a line directly from the *Underwriting Manual*,

> The FHA was particularly concerned with preventing school desegregation. Its manual warned that if children 'are compelled to attend school where the majority or considerable number of pupils represent a far lower level of society or an incompatible racial element, the neighborhood under consideration will prove far less stable and desirable than if this condition did not exist.' (Rothstein, 2017, p. 66)

The simple deduction was that if Black people occupied the neighborhood in any significant denomination, and whites were to purchase a home there, the property value was diminished by the mere prospect their children may eventually have to attend school together. This practice set into motion a three decades-long process of devaluing Black property while simultaneously robbing the population of home equity and investment.

Urban Renewal and Displacement

After years of systematic underinvestment at the local, state, and federal levels, yet another policy would provide the pretense of disrupting the Black Charlotte community of Brooklyn. Right near the ending of redlining and the dawning of the Civil Rights Movement were the Housing Act of 1949 and the Federal Urban Renewal Administration (Hanchett, 1998). The alleged goal of urban renewal was to improve housing for low-income Americans by giving local governments federal money to tear down slums, sell the property, and redevelop it at an affordable rate. However, the boundaries of this plan were amended overtime to allow for

increased nonresidential development and demolition of housing in order to make way for public facilities (Hanchett, 1998). Urban renewal provided cover for local politicians to displace entire communities and convert the land for other purposes under the guise of removing "blight." Brooklyn, "the historic heart of Charlotte's Black community," was the very first area targeted by the city in 1960 (Grundy, 2022; Hanchett, 1998).

The razing of Brooklyn was to be done in five phases; however, the Charlotte Redevelopment Commission deliberately chose to destroy the most prosperous areas of the neighborhood in Phase One (Grundy, 2022). Homes in good condition, mainstay businesses and recreational areas were leveled, sending a clear message about the true intentions of urban renewal. Vermelle Ely recalled watching her family home be put on rollers and moved to make way for the construction of Independence Boulevard. Ely told the story of movers beginning the process of relocating the house before stopping abruptly during the day:

> [The next morning] we were still in bed and [her grandmother] was fixing breakfast. When she went to the door to find out if they were ready to start moving the house again, they had moved it so easily that before she could ask the man about it, he said, 'How did you enjoy your ride?' (Valk & Brown, 2010, p. 43)

Most Black families were simply left to the open market despite not being compensated at a rate commensurate with the value of their homes. Brooklyn residents were forced to uproot, leaving behind the social bonds and cultural wealth they had created over the years, only re-establish themselves in other parts of the city. Many businesses and churches followed suit, eventually landing primarily on the city's west side (Grundy, 2022). Not one unit of housing replaced those that were torn down, and 1,007 families in Brooklyn were displaced by 1967 (Hanchett, 1998).

Desegregation in the New South

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case. Two decades of legal strategy led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund sought to dismantle the precedent of de jure segregation set by *Plessy* on the basis that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution (Bell, 2004). Using four school desegregation cases consolidated into one, the plaintiffs in the *Brown* cases argued before the Supreme Court that the doctrine of "separate but equal" violated the equal protection clause by limiting the educational opportunities of Black students. The Court ultimately agreed, striking a major blow to the practice of state-sanctioned segregation in public schools (Bell, 2004). In the Court's second decision *Brown II* (1955), it left the question of when and how the lower courts when instructed that desegregation occur "with all deliberate speed." Such an ambiguous and vague directive would ultimately create plenty of space for resistance from Southern legislatures.

The Pearsall Plan in Response to Brown

In North Carolina, Governor William B. Umstead appointed an Advisory Committee led by former speaker of the state House, Thomas J. Pearsall to formulate the state's response to *Brown* (Thuesen, 2013). In 1955, the Committee declared race mixing as an unworthy pursuit and proposed the Pupil Assignment Act, which transferred the authority to place students in the hands of local school boards. After Governor Umstead died in 1954, Pearsall was again tapped by new Governor Luther Hodges to chair another committee dubbed the Pearsall Committee (Thuesen, 2013). This committee would ultimately devise a plan to subvert the *Brown* decision known as the "Pearsall Plan." It gave white families who did not want their children to integrate

access to state grants for private schools as well as the right to hold referendums to determine whether to close their schools altogether (Thuesen, 2013).

"Token Integration" and Dorothy Counts

By 1957, a handful of districts in North Carolina attempted token integration efforts to signal modest progress toward the goal of desegregation. In Charlotte, 15-year-old Dorothy Counts was one of four children across the city who attempted to enter white public schools (Grundy, 2022). Counts arrived at Harding High School escorted by her father in a dress her grandmother made amid a crowd of menacing white people and students captured on film as they harassed, jeered, and spit at her. The images of the young Counts being subjected to such hostility would be shared around the world, eventually catching the attention of James Baldwin while in Paris (Grundy, 2022). Counts would withdraw after only a few days and attend school in the North, but her disgusting reception served as proof that despite the Supreme Court decision, many whites were simply unwilling to put forth any serious effort to absorb African Americans into spaces where they maintained dominance. Despite the fact that universal public education for the enjoyment of all was the legacy of Black people in the South, white communities were unwilling to reciprocate with any accommodation.

Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools

Ten years after the original *Brown* case, there had been little to no movement toward desegregation in Charlotte beyond token gestures. Charlotte City and Mecklenburg County Schools consolidated in 1960, but it did not translate into any change in student population; only 722 Black children attended formerly all-white schools (Grundy, 2022). Darius and Vera Swann returned to Charlotte after having spent several years in India doing missionary work. They attempted to enroll their son James in the majority-white Seversville Elementary instead of the

all-Black Biddleville Elementary. The Board of Education denied their request, but the Swanns joined in with other Black Charlotte families to file a lawsuit in 1965. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund enlisted the support of Julius Chambers, a young stand-out civil rights attorney, to lead the case (Mickelson et al., 2015). When litigating the case before traditionally conservative Federal District Court Judge James McMillian in 1969, Chambers focused on resources controlled by whites and argued Black students would only get what they needed if they learned alongside white children. Chambers supported this assertion by presenting a preponderance of achievement data demonstrating Black-white gaps and also higher performance by Black students at majority-white schools (Grundy, 2022). McMillian was persuaded by the evidence and stunned the white Charlotte community by issuing that CMS use busing to eliminate racially-identifiable schools (Mickelson et al., 2015). The decision was appealed, reaching the US Supreme Court in 1971. In *Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools*, the Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling and affirmed the constitutionality of mandatory busing as a remedy for desegregation (Mickelson et al., 2015).

While the landmark *Swann* decision was certainly a victory that thrust Charlotte into the national spotlight, the details of how to go about the program of busing were met with resistance. Initial busing plans bore a clear bias in favor of wealthier white neighborhoods that remained relatively untouched by the desegregation mandate (Grundy, 2022). This move exacerbated the community division over the *Swann* decision and demonstrated once again the intractable nature of white resentment in the city. After much deliberation, a plan that more equitably distributed the burden of busing among Charlotte's affluent white enclaves was adopted in 1974. From 1974 to 1997, Charlotte stood out as the most effectively desegregated school district in the country and a national model for how to use busing as a remedy – although still largely a one-way

arrangement with Black students bearing the brunt (Grundy, 2022; Mickelson et al., 2015). Much as Chambers had predicted, with the presence of white children came more resources and aesthetic upgrades. In the words of West Charlotte High School alumnus Gosnell White, class of 1973, "It took integration to get parking lots paved" (Mickelson et al., 2015, p. 41). While Charlotte enjoyed the notoriety of being the city that made "integration work," welcoming an influx of new residents and businesses, there were incalculable costs to the Black community that often go understated.

The Closure of Charlotte's Black Schools

As a result of desegregation orders, many communities simply responded by closing local Black schools. In 1969, only months after Judge McMillian stunned the Charlotte community with the initial decision to support busing in *Swann*, the school board abruptly decided to close Second Ward High School along with all the city's historically Black schools (Grundy, 2022). The decision appears to have been motivated by concerns of wealthy white parents who lived close to Second Ward, wanting to prevent the possibility of their children being forced to attend this historic Black school. (Mickelson et al., 2015). The African American community in Second Ward, simultaneously dealing with the displacement caused by urban renewal, was outraged. Black Brooklyn residents packed the school board meeting to protest, and 19,000 signed a petition against the move (Grundy, 2022). Despite pleas from residents of this storied neighborhood, their "symbol of black community pride," known as Second Ward High School, was soon demolished (Polzer, 1993). The only thing that presently remains of the school is the gymnasium. The district promised to replace Second Ward with a new and better school to be called Metropolitan High School in 1970 (Polzer, 1993). However, just like the promises to

provide new affordable housing with urban renewal proved empty, so too were the commitments to building another high school.

Black communities all over the South responded with similar disdain as districts began to shutter urban and rural schools they had struggled mightily to secure and support. In North Carolina, several localities were particularly resistant to having their Black schools taken from them in the name of integration. None, however, better demonstrated the commitment to Black community control of schools better than the coastal population of Hyde County.

In 1968, African Americans demonstrated their collective strength after the Hyde County school board adopted their desegregation plan. Like other systems throughout the state, it required closing all-Black O.A. Peay High School and turning it into an administration building while sending its students to the all-white school. Similar to the Second Ward High community, Black residents expressed their disapproval in the form of a petition to keep the school open. When the school board refused, the Black community of Hyde County took matters into their own hands and threatened to boycott by keeping their students at home. Much to the chagrin of the white education leaders of the county, the Black community was not bluffing and engaged in a boycott that lasted nearly the entire 1968-69 school year. As author David Cecelski (1994) chronicles in *Along Freedom Road*, the threat of closing of their schools "collided with educational traditions that had helped to sustain the Hyde County black community since Reconstruction" (Cecelski, 1994, p. 59). While many whites perceived Black pupils as inferior and viewed the prospect of integration as implausible, Black educators, parents, and teachers wanted to preserve five generations of high achievement and racial progress (Cecelski, 1994).

For Black Hyde Countians, O.A. Peay High School was not merely a school but part of the community. As David Cecelski (1994) noted:

> Such schools figured prominently in the daily life of their surrounding communities. Local residents used the school buildings for squared dances, basket parties, festivals, and other assemblies. (Cecelski, 1994, p. 60)

The elders of the Black community could recall the sacrifices made to secure the right to education, the struggles to build the earliest training school, and luminary leaders like the school's namesake. The synthesis between the older, more conservative members of the community and younger, more militant generations culminated in a protest movement that included student walkouts, marches at the State Capitol, and lawsuits challenging desegregation (Cecelski, 1994). Outside of the 1968 parent protest and subsequent teacher strike of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York, Black Hyde county residents were engaged in the largest movement for community control over education in the country. Even the links between the two North-South communities were apparent, as an enclave of Black Hyde countians lived in Brooklyn, New York, after migrating during Jim Crow and were early supporters (Cecelski, 1994; Merisol Meraji & Demby, 2020).

The sentiment expressed by many African Americans in Hyde County was not only a fear of losing valuable symbols but a genuine concern for the children. They did not trust that their students would be treated fairly or with the same sense of care and concern as they had received in their segregated Black schools. The juxtaposition of running counter to the widely supported-strategy deployed by the NAACP brought about a contentious environment that included the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Ku Klux Klan, the State Bureau of Investigation, and the eventual intervention of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction to settle the dispute (Cecelski, 1994). While the Black community in Hyde County succeeded in delaying desegregation, the movement eventually suffered defeat at the polls in

November of 1969 by white voters who did not want to upgrade facilities to accommodate keeping the Black schools open. The Hyde County affair should not be understood as Black people wanting to preserve the oppressive circumstances endemic to de jure segregation. It should instead be looked upon as a recognition that "something valuable was lost in the process of the great civil right victory that [desegregated] the public schools" (Cecelski, 1994, p. 174). This subtle yet near unanimous point could be felt by African Americans who lived through it, from rural northeastern North Carolina to the Second Ward of Charlotte.

Resegregation and Social Mobility

Despite Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools once serving as a beacon for effective desegregation of schools, the success of this program was relatively short-lived. Following a predictable pattern of white racial retrenchment, the schools in Mecklenburg County have been resegregated to levels comparable to the years prior to *Swann* with added layers of complexity. In many ways, desegregation had, in fact, worked. A study by Rucker Johnson (2011) demonstrated exposure to integrated environments correlated with improved quality of life metrics such as educational attainment and earning potential throughout life (Johnson, 2011). The City of Charlotte reaped the benefits of a progressive image, becoming the nation's largest financial center outside of New York City and welcoming a huge inrush of new residents during the peak period of desegregation (Johnson, 2019). Influential banker and Charlotte civic leader Hugh McColl wrote, "Almost immediately after we integrated our schools, the southern economy took off like a wildfire in the wind. I believe integration made the difference" (Grundy, 2022, p. 111).

Belk v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (Cappachione)

However, Charlotte had now become a destination for many migrants from the West and Northeastern part of the US who had not lived through this transformation and had no interest in preserving the legacy of desegregation. One such transplant, William Capacchione, turned his discontent into litigation after his white daughter was unable to get into one of the district's premier magnet schools in the Southeast part of town (Johnson & Nazaryan, 2019; Mickelson et al., 2015). Capacchione and six other families filed suit against CMS in *Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1999). The case went to the US District Court, where it was heard by Judge Robert Potter, a President Reagan appointee and former anti-busing activist (Johnson & Nazaryan, 2019). Judge Potter predictably ruled that CMS had reached unitary status and no longer needed to be desegregated. He further ruled against using race-based student assignment policies altogether. The decision in *Capacchione* was appealed in the case *Belk v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* but was ultimately upheld (Mickelson et al., 2015). Court-ordered desegregation in CMS was over.

The movement toward desegregation has been complicated by two important landmark Supreme Court cases. In *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), the court ruled that despite the white flight experienced by the urban center of Detroit that courts could not order desegregation efforts across district boundaries (Mickelson et al., 2015). Although CMS had consolidated the city and county schools in 1960, it essentially signaled to suburban families that they were safe from forced busing. Later in 2007, *Parents Involved in Community Schools (PICS) v. Seattle School District No. 1* set the precedent in the highest court in the land that race could not be used as a part of admissions policies, in the tradition of *Capacchione* (Mickelson et al., 2015). As Rucker

Johnson wrote, "*[PICS]* is the greatest legal barrier to integration in the modern era" (Johnson, 2019, p. 188).

Double-Segregation (Race and Class)

Once the racial desegregation had been defeated, CMS quickly pivoted to a more neighborhood school model. In 2002, the Family Choice Plan was adopted that, allowed parents to apply to schools throughout the district but be ensured a slot in their home school. Due to the legacy of residential segregation, this policy all-but ensured racial homogenous schools, with three-fourths of white parents opting to stay in their neighborhood. This school policy translated into housing policy as many white Charlotte parents began to use residence as a proxy for a school assignment. Researchers Liebowitz and Page took note of this trend in their chapter of the book, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* when they wrote,

> White families in particular revealed an increasingly strong preference for moving to zones that had a higher proportion of white students living in them when considering among zones that were lower performing. (Mickelson et al., 2015)

What emerged from this policy was a particular kind of resegregation known as *double-segregation*, where racial isolation is compounded by socioeconomic status (Orfield et al., 2014). This means that as white and affluent families cluster into particular school attendance boundaries, low-income students of color are concentrated into certain schools based on their geography. This pattern is known in Charlotte as the "crescent and the wedge," a semi-circle in the urban core populated by primarily poor Black and Brown people, disrupted only by a wealthy slice at the southern edge of the county (Grundy, 2022). This differs in some respects from the segregation of yester-year, since there was a level of socioeconomic integration in

neighborhoods like Brooklyn in Second Ward. In contemporary times, resegregated schools are saddled with the baggage of racial isolation and intense poverty.

Project L.I.F.T

Given the resegregation CMS and legal restraints to desegregation efforts, Black Charlotteans have been forced to again confront the question of whether separate schools are inherently unequal or whether there are ways to equalize educational opportunities in a neo-*Plessy* environment. True to historical form, the philanthropic and business community of Charlotte spearheaded an initiative in partnership with CMS to turnaround the district's perpetually low-performing schools in the city's West corridor. In 2010, a collaborative of major area foundations, city leaders, and CMS executives called the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Investment Study Group was formed to respond to dismal graduation rates of 51% at West Charlotte High School, once a picture of desegregation (Kim & Ellison, 2015). The CMS Study Group sought to close gaps in achievement exacerbated by the *Capacchione* decision to do away with racial considerations in student assignment. Four areas of concentration emerged from the convening: time, talent, technology, and parent and community engagement. The West Charlotte corridor was deliberately selected by the CMS Study Group as "an area where community support is strong and opportunities to leverage community resources are significant. If we can achieve success in the most challenged area of the community, we can learn from and replicate those successes elsewhere" (Kim & Ellison, 2015).

Project L.I.F.T (Leadership and Investment for Transformation) was officially announced by the CMS Study Group as the intervention strategy for turning around schools in West Charlotte. Funders would inject $55 million over a five-year implementation period to accomplish the goals of 90-90-90: 90% on-time graduation at West Charlotte High School, 90%

proficiency in reading and math at school in the corridor, and 90% of students reaching one year of growth (Kim & Ellison, 2015). The strategic framework prioritized the pillars of time and talent over technology and parent engagement. In turn, Project L.I.F.T. directed most of its resources to teacher recruitment with hiring bonuses and extending the reach of effective teachers through a strategy called Opportunity Culture – the creation of hybrid leadership roles for teachers (Kim & Ellison, 2015; Public Impact, n.d.). Time was addressed through credit recovery, extended learning during the school day, and year-round schools, which were marketed as a continuous learning calendar. Tech was leveraged by giving students in the L.I.F.T. zone devices as part of a one-to-one initiative to close the technology gap.

A major weakness of Project L.I.F.T. was the parent and community engagement. While the initial justification for concentrating on the West Charlotte corridor clearly identified the community as an asset, in practice, little was done to utilize it. According to Juli Kim and Shonaka Ellison (2015) of Public Impact, the organization hired to evaluate the impact of Project L.I.F.T.,

> The community engagement strategy focuses on communicating L.I.F.T.'s mission and purpose to Charlotte and especially the communities L.I.F.T. immediately affects, and engaging community members and organizations in helping address non-school, home issues that affect student achievement. (Kim & Ellison, 2015, p. 39)

The plan for authentically engaging stakeholders in a mostly Black community lacked depth, instead concentrating efforts on town hall style discussions, communicating the L.I.F.T. brand, and social media marketing. Of the four pillars within Project L.I.F.T., the least number of budgetary resources in two of the first three years of implementation were spent on community engagement. Given the history of Black people in the South having their educational pursuits

determined in part either by wealthy white philanthropists or restricted in some way by power brokers in local, state, and federal government over the last century, Project L.I.F.T. missed a crucial opportunity to capitalize on community control of the educational program.

Project L.I.F.T. was not intended to impact only the West Corridor. The theory of change was to take the strategies implemented in the L.I.F.T. schools, and expand them to other low-performing schools throughout the district. The Beacon Initiative - a partnership between CMS and the University of Virginia – essentially adapted the L.I.F.T. model and extended to 14 other schools populated by low-income students of color. At the end of 2017, however, both Project L.I.F.T. and the Beacon Initiative failed to meet their goals, with only one of the 23 schools in either program breaking the 50% pass rate on state exams and over half still identified as low-performing (Lacour, 2017). As journalist Greg Lacour wrote, “Even the best teachers and programs can’t scale the wire-topped wall of an effective resegregation of schools and the economic fragmentation that accompanies it” (Lacour, 2017, para. 7)

Raj Chetty and The Land of Opportunity

In 2014, economist Raj Chetty and colleagues released a working paper titled “Where is the Land of Opportunity?” measuring intergenerational mobility rates among the poorest populations in the country’s 50 largest cities. The study found that Charlotte ranked the lowest among all major metropolitan areas in “absolutely upward mobility.” In other words, a person born into the poorest income bracket in Charlotte has a lesser chance of mobilizing into the highest income bracket than anywhere else in the United States (Chetty et al., 2014). This sobering statistic was characteristic of all of the Southern states that once constituted the Confederacy but especially pronounced in North Carolina.

This rigorous analysis found a few factors correlated with lower mobility rates: racial demographics, segregation (by race and income), income inequality, school quality, social capital, and family structure. Though the paper stops short of naming racism, it mentions the following with regard to race:

> [U]pward income mobility is significantly lower in areas with larger African-American populations. However, white individuals in areas with large African-American populations also have lower rates of upward mobility, implying that racial shares matter at the community level.

Of particular interest is the notion of social capital, used in the more traditional Bourdieuian fashion to denote networks that translate into greater income-earning potential. While social capital is just one of many kinds of capital within the conceptual framework of CCW, other research has been done to explore how it impacts residents in the greater Charlotte community. The Brooking Institute extended the work of Chetty and colleagues further by producing a report called "How We Rise," which found that while white Charlotteans have the most homogenous social network, consisting of over 75% same-race individuals, Black Charlotteans have fewer strong connections "across job, education & housing opportunities" (Busette et al., 2019). The landscape of residential patterns, school assignments, and living wage jobs has locked the city into an arrangement much like the Jim Crow era at the turn of the century, which has drastic implications on the life chances of Black communities.

Breaking the Link Report

Diminished rates of income mobility are conferred to whole community populations and are influenced by the density of Black people, even for white people. Given Charlotte's history with each of the variables identified as correlates of mobility, these data paint a particularly bleak

picture for poor Black students growing up in the very communities left to fend for themselves in the wake of school resegregation. CMS discovered the persistence of this racial and economic pattern of school composition and performance in its "Breaking the Link" report released by the district's Office of Accountability in 2018 (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 2018). "Breaking the Link" was a near exhaustive catalog of student outcome measures that included end-of-grade and end-of-course assessments, academic growth, ACT performance, graduation rates, attendance, effective teachers, and out-of-school suspensions, all disaggregated by race and class (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 2018). The report concluded:

> [W]ith limited exceptions, there were both within–school-poverty-level and across–school-poverty level achievement gaps between black, Hispanic, and white students. Those gaps were often most pronounced between white students in low-poverty schools and black students in high-poverty schools. (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 2018, p. 54)

Over 150 years after Emancipation, nearly 130 years after the advent of Jim Crow, and nearly 70 years after *Brown,* Black students are being deprived of their education rights to equal educational opportunity. Despite the outright racist denial of equitable funding and resources that characterized de jure segregation, many Black students coming of age in the South were still able to learn and had something valuable in which to take pride. In historic Black Charlotte communities like Brooklyn, Second Ward High School was such a place. It would appear something may have been lost in the pursuit of equality that may need to be retrieved.

The Full Cost of Desegregation

Viewing the pre-*Brown* period of Black education as a universal failure and the post-*Brown* desegregation era as ideal fails to capture the nuances of African American student

experiences. Even after *Swann*, when most Southern school systems were forced to desegregate, it was often done in ways that did not create racial parity. Vanessa Siddle Walker (2009) used the phrase "second-class integration" to explain the myriad ways desegregation failed to meet the expectations of Black educators. She explored narratives of Southern Black educational leaders who expressed their concerns about the ways integration efforts were robbing schools of identity and disempowering practitioners (Siddle Walker, 2009). Sociologist Roslyn Mickelson (2001) introduced the phrase "second-generation segregation" to discuss the ways racial inequities persisted in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools even during the prime years of desegregation in the city. Academic tracking of Black students continued through enrollment in less rigorous courses and consequently exposed them to less experienced teachers not certified in their field. Second-generation segregation occurred within-school in such a way that subverted the *Swann* decision (Mickelson, 2001).

Much like the rest of the South, an unfortunate byproduct of school desegregation was the massive loss of black teachers and principals (Tillman, 2004). One year after the *Swann* decision, it is estimated that 3,051 Black teachers lost their jobs in North Carolina due to state-level policy that required their contracts to be renewed annually (Cecelski, 1994; Thuesen, 2013). In CMS, after the first round of Black school closings, nearly 200 educators and administrators were let go. To understand the scale of loss, in 1965, African Americans comprised 44% of the teaching positions in the district. By 1969, that number shrunk to 22% (Grundy, 2022).

Community Cultural Wealth

Several critics of desegregation, including the founding figure of critical race theory Derrick Bell, have continued to point our attention back to the Black community. They pose the

question not of whether segregation was evil or in need of being eradicated, but rather if the approach prescribed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund of racial balance truly conformed to the wishes of Black parents listed their names as plaintiffs. The fundamental assertion of the *Brown* case that segregation endowed Black students with a sense of inferiority has gone relatively unscrutinized. While it proved persuasive to the Supreme Court Justices, it assumed a deficit-based perspective that reinforces notions of Black ineptitude. Bell (2004) pointed to cases in Atlanta, Boston, and Detroit to illustrate how the desires of Black parents who never conceded that "all-Black" was synonymous with "less-than" often ran counter to the strategy of racial balance (Bell, 2004; Crenshaw et al., 1995). Quoting Benjamin E. Mays, Bell (2004) wrote:

> Black people must not resign themselves to the pessimistic view that a nonintegrated school cannot provide Black children with an excellent educational setting. Instead, Black people, while working to implement *Brown*, should recognize that integration alone does not provide a quality education. (p. 115)

Other scholars like Alvis V. Adair (1984) argued more forcefully that desegregation was a mistake that permanently locked Black people into a "minority status" by using racial balance as the primary metric of integration. Such a measure ensures desegregated learning environments are a proxy for white-dominated spaces, thereby relinquishing any control over the educational process by the Black community. Adair (1984) wrote that "Black Americans have been steered away from the goal of absolute equity in all aspects of American society" (p. 4). This forfeiture of community control in the name of progress set in motion a cascade of high suspension and expulsion rates, the eradication of Black adult education professionals, and diminished motivation and sense of belonging for African American students (Adair, 1984). Adair (1984)

warned that mandatory desegregation through an adherence to mathematical ratios will prove to be the "axe that beheads the Black community." (p. 87)

This study does not attempt to engage a historical retelling of Black education in the South, or Charlotte, as this has already been done to varying degrees by scholars in the field (Anderson, 1988; Fairclough, 2007; Watkins, 2001). In exploring the educational impact of *Brown*, several researchers have documented the deleterious costs to the Black community and called out the disproportionate sacrifices of African Americans (Adair, 1984; Irvine & Irvine, 2007). Additionally, ample literature has been produced that takes a retroactive analysis of the characteristics of Black schools during segregation, such as the professional associations of educators, the role of parents, school climate, and success strategies (Kelly, 2010; Siddle Walker, 2000).

Some have explored the pedagogical practices, activism, and political dispositions of pre-*Brown* educators (Baker, 2011; Heller, 2019; Houchen, 2020). Michele Foster (1993, 1994, 1997) contributed substantially to understanding the features of African American culture that play into the learning process for Black students. There has been a "cultural ignorance" about the relationship between the African American community and the school environment during desegregation and a lack of "cultural synchronization" between students and teachers afterward (Dempsey & Noblit, 1993; Irvine, 1991). In more recent studies, researchers have attempted to conceptualize the particular historical traditions of Black teaching and learning, referring to it as "African American Pedagogical Excellence" and "Black educational heritage" (Acosta et al., 2018; Givens, 2021; James-Gallaway & Harris, 2021). Charlotte's journey through desegregation has been the subject of many studies and historical research (Mickelson, 2001).

However, most of the historical analysis centers on West Charlotte High School as the unit of study, with Second Ward High School only mentioned peripherally.

This research synthesizes prior literature about the various dimensions of the pre-*Brown* Black school experience in the South through a holistic analysis of the school community (Franklin, 1984). It adopts the definition of *community* used by Adair (1984) as "an organized group with designated roles and goals which operates through formal as well as informal institutions and systems" (p. 4). In particular, it endeavors to fill the gap in the literature that teases apart the particular kinds of cultural assets manifested by the community, identified within students and endowed by educators, with a particular focus on the future implications for Black students in resegregated urban environments.

Summary

African Americans have always been in dogged pursuit of education. Prior to enslavement or even Emancipation, Black people found ways to gain literacy. From native schools to a system of common public schools, they have epitomized self-reliance. The type of education due to African Americans has historically been a point of contention and often illustrated a conflict of interest between the desire of southern Black communities themselves and white outsiders. The practice of white supremacy from either sympathetic missionaries or industrial philanthropists has always attempted to exert control over the educational program of Black people and rob them of agency. Throughout the generations in the South, and in North Carolina in particular, Black people have endured the forces of systemic racism in trying to build communities and secure educational achievement. These efforts have been undermined by deliberate underfunding of schools and second-class citizenship. In Charlotte, the historic Black enclave of Brooklyn surrounded the city's first public high school, Second Ward, for 46 years

and produced excellence in the face of Jim Crow. However, Second Ward High School would be closed after *Brown* and *Swann* signaled desegregation in the city. The stories of this school community have gone widely untold and could offer significant insight into how to facilitate Black student success in Charlotte's modern resegregated context.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The qualitative research utilizes a historical case study method through the theoretical framework of CCW to better understand the institutional assets segregated Black schools endowed to their student populations. The research questions driving this inquiry are:

1) How did the cultural wealth of Charlotte's segregated Black community shape teachers' and students' experiences at Second Ward High School?
2) How was the cultural wealth of the segregated Black community in Charlotte recognized, nurtured, and transmitted at Second Ward High School?
3) How can the cultural wealth of Black communities be used to facilitate student success in contemporary resegregated contexts?

The qualitative design selected for this research is a single case study. The case study is defined by the unit of analysis being studied, separate and apart from the phenomenon (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In order for the case study method to be employed, there must be a bounded system or *case*. This is a singular entity with boundaries that the researcher can "fence in" or isolate. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2015), "If the phenomenon you are interested in studying is not intrinsically bounded, it is not a case" (p. 39). The bounded system or unit of analysis for this inquiry is Second Ward High School in Charlotte, North Carolina, during the years of 1960 to 1969. This particular school, within the parameters of this specific period of time, serves as the boundaries needed and makes the case study the most appropriate research design

A *case study* is defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon

and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003, p. 13). In the case of my inquiry, the cultural assets of the segregated all-Black school community cannot be properly understood outside of the socio-political context of de jure segregation. Although the contemporary issue of how to improve teaching and learning for Black children remains imminent, it must be broached through a specific contextual lens. Given the nearly 100-year period of de jure segregation, Black schooling against the historical backdrop of protracted efforts at suppression is the prime context for the study. Understanding the function of cultural wealth in the midst of the overtly oppressive conditions of white supremacy is central to answering the research questions associated with this study.

A case study approach is unique in its holistic and comprehensive nature. According to Creswell (2013), the researcher may utilize "in-depth data collection, involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audio-visual material, and documents and reports)" (p. 97). Although there are many different types of qualitative research commonly found in social sciences, investigators may be compelled to design a study that blends them together due to unique attributes (Merriam, 2014). Histories or historical methods are preferred when studying matters of the past, with no or few relevant persons associated with the event or unit of analysis still living. Yin (2003) wrote that a conventional historical study "must rely heavily on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artifacts as the main sources of evidence" (p.7). Second Ward High School has been closed since 1969, and some who attended there are no longer living. However, many still are living, although elderly, and remain in the Charlotte area. This study prioritized the location and recruitment of these individuals who attended Second Ward to interview as part of the case study.

Historical Case Study

It is possible, however, for case studies and historical inquiries to intersect. Particular research methods are often characteristic of specific disciplinary purposes. The *historical case study,* for example, is common in the education field of scholarship. Merriam (1998) wrote the following about historical case studies:

> The nature of the account also distinguishes this form of case study. In applied fields such as education, historical case studies have tended to be descriptions of institutions, programs, and practices as they have evolved in time. (p. 35)

Historical case studies can also be used to apply "knowledge to present practice;" however, adhering to the case method means a deliberate and nuanced understanding of the context and the relationship with the phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). It is distinguished from traditional historical research in its utilization of public documents, various kinds of media, or interviews of people directly affiliated with the case, beyond just records and data (Merriam, 1998). Yin (2003) wrote, "the case study's strength is its ability to deal with a variety of evidence -- documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations--beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study" (p. 8). As such, this is particularly advantageous because it combines the strengths of the traditional case study with that of the historical method. Yin (2003) wrote, "case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes" (p.10). For the purpose of this study, a holistic approach was employed that performed an analysis of documents associated with the institution of Second Ward High School, specifically during the time period being investigated. Searching through archives, digital collections, public documents and consulting with historians with expertise in Charlotte proved vital for this historical case study.

Epistemological Paradigm

Epistemology is defined as "the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature, origin, and limitations of knowledge" (APA Dictionary of Psychology, n.d.). It focuses on the relationship between the researcher and how one determines what is known. The interpretive framework or paradigm used to inform an inquiry is a "basic set of beliefs that guides actions" (Guba, 1990, p. 17). This research took a *transformative* approach to understand the phenomenon, which "centers on the meaning of knowledge as it is defined from a prism of cultural lenses and the power issues involved in the determination of what is considered legitimate knowledge" (Mertens, 2015, p.32). The transformative paradigm explicitly confronts politics and social oppression as a means of understanding the experiences of those who have been marginalized (Mertens, 2015). What makes educational research transformative is, "the fundamental requisite of human freedom that are implicated in the educational and life circumstances of people" (King, 2005, p. 1). Declarations of dominance and inequity are coupled with a commitment to taking transformative actions to dismantle hegemonic structures and create social justice.

Much like other subjectivist paradigms, transformative research encourages the acceptance of multiple perspectives on reality but calls for critically examining the role of historical and social conditions in shaping what is understood to be "real" (Mertens, 2015). Rigorous researcher reflexivity and examination of one's social position are required in order not to perpetuate lopsided power dynamics between participants and themselves as well as account for influence on research design and methodology. A wide variety of qualitative methods are utilized within a transformative paradigm, including interviews, observations, and document analysis. This research is premised on the notion that the experiences of students at Second Ward

High School are situated within a particular cultural outlook and a power arrangement of social and political hierarchy known as legal segregation. The continuance of racial dominance is manifested in the post-*Brown* education system of the present. This research is inspired by the pursuit of transforming that system in the interest of racial justice.

Participant Selection Criteria

This study involved multiple types of data. One of the key data is the recollected narratives of the members of the Second Ward High School community. Identification of key individuals to participate in interviews required a strict purposive strategy for a criterion-based sample. All informants had to meet certain criteria to be included in the sample (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). In the case of this study, participants had to identify as Black or African American and have attended Second Ward High School between 1960 and 1969 for at least one full academic year. Given that Second Ward served students grades 7th through 12th, I purposely selected participants who represented a cross section of grade levels. The specific purposive sampling technique needed for this study depended on knowledgeable interviewees to provide additional contacts to the researcher and is referred to as snowball sampling (Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

According to Mertens (2015), this is when "the researcher asks the key informants to recommend other people to whom he or she should talk based on their knowledge of who should know a lot about the program in question" (p. 333). As the researcher learns more and gathers more referrals, the list of informants grows. At the end of each interview, I asked for both names and contact information (including emails and phone numbers) of potential research participants. I then attempted to reach out to each person via email first and then by phone about the purpose of my study, my subjectivities, and my commitment to take action in pursuit of social justice based upon my learnings. A pre-interview screening in the form of a brief survey was utilized to

gather basic demographic information, rate their enthusiasm about participating in the research, and determine how well each respondent remembered their experiences with Second Ward (Appendix A). This instrument was also used to dictate eligibility for selection. Respondents were deemed ineligible if they either did not appear enthusiastic about recalling their experiences or lacked vivid memories about their experiences at Second Ward High School. Given the narrow criteria and the age of the target population, the interview portion of this study was based on a sample size of seven total informants, four males and three female participants who are alumni of Second Ward.

Recruitment Strategy

As part of the snowball sampling technique, I first consulted with a few noteworthy local scholars and community contacts who possess valuable information about segregated Black Charlotte and the Brooklyn neighborhood in particular before selecting participants. Initial conversations with the following individuals provided a strong foundation for recruiting potential interview subjects for my inquiry, but their commentary was not included as data. A purposive sampling strategy was utilized to locate documents for analysis. These informants were also relied upon to provide direction about available sources of primary documents and secondary documents relevant to the inquiry.

Researcher Tom Hanchett specializes in place-based histories about Charlotte and embodies an extensive knowledge of the city's historically Black populations. Hanchett has authored *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975,* and published scholarly articles about Rosenwald Schools in the South. Pamela Grundy is a Charlotte-based local historian, author, and activist who has written extensively about Second Ward's rival high school West Charlotte High School, school resegregation, and

Black history in Charlotte. She authored *Color & Character: West Charlotte High School and the American Struggle over Educational Equality,* published newspaper articles about Second Ward High School and conducted several recorded interviews with Second Ward graduates for the Southern Oral History Collection of *Documenting the American South* – a digital online repository of primary and secondary materials sponsored by The University Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Karen Sutton is the Director of Community Engagement at the Levine Museum of the New South, which features an exhibit called *Brooklyn: Once A City Within a City* that recounts the rise and eventual demise of this once prosperous Black neighborhood. Each of these individuals was instrumental in providing key resources and contact information for potential interview participants.

Additionally, I consulted with Theodore Kennedy, the President of the Second Ward Alumni Foundation and the Mecklenburg County Parks and Recreation. Both were instrumental in allowing me to visit the historic Second Ward High School gymnasium, which features a small museum filled with artifacts, as well as attend the 2022 Second Ward Alumni Foundation annual meeting. While attending the alumni foundation meeting, I handed out recruitment flyers for participation in my study.

Furthermore, I made initial contact with all participants except one via phone and provided a brief overview of the nature of my research. The other was contacted by email. After informing them of the research objectives and evaluating them against the articulated criteria for the study, I requested their permission to participate in their semi-structured interview process by delivering informed consent forms for them to sign. Upon gaining signatures, I scheduled interviews with each participant. All interviews were recorded and lasted between 60 to 90

minutes in length. The recordings were then transcribed, and their names were anonymized with a pseudonym to protect their identities (Table 1).

Table 1

Demographic Profiles of Participants

Pseudonym	Sex	Grades Attended	Graduation Year	Neighborhood While Attending
Oliver	Male	10th-12th	1966	First Ward
Derwin	Male	10th-12th	1966	Grier Heights
Josephine	Female	10th-12th	1961	Grier Heights
Gene	Male	10th-12th	1965	Brooklyn
Annie Mae	Female	7th-12th	1964	Newtown & Third Ward
Martha	Female	10th	N/A	Third Ward
Stuart	Male	10th-12th	1968	Brooklyn

Meet the Participants

Oliver

Oliver is a native Charlottean originally from the First Ward of the city. He completed all of his primary schooling in Charlotte, attending Alexander Street Elementary, First Ward Elementary, and Second Ward High School, where he graduated in 1966. He recalled Brooklyn as a tight-knit community and his whole adolescent world revolving around Second Ward High School. Although he described experiencing economic hardships as a child and being raised by a father without any formal education, he surfaced narratives about high community expectations.

He went on to complete his undergraduate degree, become an Army veteran, fight in Vietnam and serve on a local school board for a number of years. He also spent many years as a paralegal advocating for due diligence rights on behalf of families in the welfare system. His experience in the field and education service led him to tell many contrasting stories about pre- and post-*Brown* schooling and evolving needs of students and families. He married a graduate from arch rival West Charlotte High School but has fond memories of his experiences with teachers and classmates at Second Ward High School. He and his wife still reside in the area, and he remains active in the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation.

Derwin

Derwin is a retired entrepreneur who spent the majority of his childhood between Brooklyn and the Grier Heights community (also referred to as "Griertown") in east Charlotte, another historically Black enclave. Derwin's elementary and junior high schooling took place at Billingsville Elementary, a former Rosenwald school in the Grier Heights community but he went to Second Ward High School in the 10th grade. He graduated in 1966 and served in Vietnam. Upon returning to Charlotte, he went to barber college and into business for himself. He had vivid memories of segregated Charlotte and the daily indignities Black people suffered "like it was yesterday." However, he had many glowing recollections about the Brooklyn community and Second Ward High School and credited his time there for much of his professional success. He also married a West Charlotte High School graduate who he met at the Queen City Classic as a teenager. He still resides in the Charlotte-area and serves on the executive board of the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation.

Josephine

Josephine is a 1961 graduate of Second Ward High School and a former resident of the Grier Heights community. She was the youngest of seven children who all attended Second Ward High School, raised by a mother who was widowed while she was a little girl. Her father was killed while working on the railroads in nearby South Carolina in what she believes was a robbery but was never proven because it "was when segregation was really terrible." Her elementary and junior high school was Billingsville Elementary. Josephine didn't spend much time in Brooklyn outside of attending Second Ward, but recalls the many institutions and activities that surrounded the school. Her recollection of Second Ward was filled with many extracurricular activities and select teachers who she did not always enjoy but credits with doing their best to give them a quality educational experience and developing her lifeline love of numbers. Both she and her husband went to Second Ward but graduated several years apart. She went on to become one of the first students to desegregate a local state-affiliated university and feels strongly that she "turned out fine" as a result of her education at Second Ward.

Gene

Gene is a 1965 alumnus of Second Ward High School and a native of the Brooklyn community who grew up not far from present-day Uptown. He is the oldest of seven children who lived together in a one-bedroom house. His father was a self-trained mechanic who did the work of maintaining the machinery at a dry cleaner but was paid as a delivery truck driver, and his mother was a homemaker. He went to Myers Street Elementary in Brooklyn, York Road Junior High for one year, and then onto Second Ward High School in eighth grade, eventually graduating in 1965. Gene remembered Second Ward as a place of consummate educators and rigorous academics but with different academic tracks for students. He also told stories of robust

social relationships at Second Ward that created an insulated experience for the students. Despite very humble beginnings, he went on to achieve top academic honors and attend some of the most reputable Ivy League institutions in the country. He currently serves as a legal scholar at a prestigious university in North Carolina.

Annie Mae

Annie Mae was born in Charlotte in an area just north of Uptown called "New Town" off of North Tryon and Wadsworth Place, near where the Urban Ministry Center presently sits. It was a small Black community with a cotton mill as the backdrop. She was raised primarily by her grandmother in her early years as part of a large, blended family consisting of 13 uncles and aunts, all under the same roof. The communal nature of Annie Mae's upbringing led to more collectivist cultural practices that included her grandfather feeding neighborhood children and her running errands for neighbors, such as paying bills Uptown as an adolescent. Her mother had her at a young age but eventually assumed custody of her after becoming more financially stable. She attended Alexander Street Elementary, did a brief stint at the Ninth Street Annex, and then entered Second Ward as a junior high student in seventh grade. She went to West Charlotte for a year after moving over to the west side of town and missed nearly a school year after becoming pregnant. Despite what she described as a "derail," she graduated from Second Ward High School in 1964 and went on to pursue a career in nursing. She gives immense credit to Second Ward for her fortitude and personal achievements. She is retired, still lives in Charlotte, and is an active member of the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation.

Martha

Martha is a native of Charlotte who was raised in almost "every poor neighborhood" around the city. She notes moving quite a bit as a child to areas that are now considered prime

real estate due to their proximity to Uptown. Consequently, she went to several Black elementary and junior high schools, including First Ward, Myers Street, Zeb Vance, and Irwin Avenue. Martha went to Second Ward High School during her sophomore year after it converted to a senior high (serving students grades 10 through 12) during 1968-69. She followed the tradition of nearly all of her family members by attending the school, which she said: "was in my blood." She was, unfortunately one of the students to attend during the final year of the school's operation before its abrupt closure. She was forced to go to rival West Charlotte High School and a desegregated East Mecklenburg High School, where she eventually graduated. Martha laments her truncated experience at Second Ward and loathes being a part of the last group to attend. She did go on to be a career educator in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools and credits her Black teachers for inspiring her. She is married to Stuart, her childhood sweetheart and fellow Second Ward alum. Martha serves on the executive board of the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation.

Stuart

Stuart is the one and only participant not born in Charlotte. He is from Kingstree, South Carolina but moved to the city at four years old. He spent the first part of his childhood in an area of Brooklyn that got "wiped out" by urban renewal and was later relocated to a neighborhood in Third Ward near the present-day Bank of America Stadium. He attended Isabella Wyche Elementary School and later Zeb Vance before doing junior high at Irwin Avenue. Stuart began Second Ward High School in the 10th grade and graduated in 1968. He had distinct memories of his experiences at Second Ward, encounters with the world outside of the Black community, and told stories that included certain school activities and exemplary teachers. He also has palpable anger and distrust of local politicians due to the nature of how the

school was closed and the resultant impact on the community. He is an Air Force veteran, retired educator, and a chess instructor. Both he and his wife Martha are active members of the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation.

Data Collection

After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I began the data collection process. Given the historical nature of this case study, the collection occurred in two stages: 1) analysis of documents, yearbooks, public records, and newspapers, and 2) interviews of former members of the educational community (i.e., students). I successfully recruited seven former students from Second Ward High School during the years of 1960-1969 to participate in 60-90 minute semi-structured interviews conducted in-person and virtually. Upon receiving signed consent forms from every participant, I scheduled interviews using the mode with which they were most comfortable. Given the unpredictable nature of the COVID-19 pandemic and the elderly demographic of the interview subjects, I was careful to prioritize the level of comfort expressed by the informants. Many, however, did not have the technological acumen to do virtual interviews, which led to all but two taking place at the homes of participants.

Document Analysis

Documents are often used as a part of case study research and summarized in narrative form after they have been analyzed (Hancock & Algozzine, 2017). In order to locate relevant documents for analysis, I have created a table of potential sources of the primary and secondary variety (Table 2). Due to limited access to physical archives as a result of COVID-19, this research relied more heavily on online digital archives, and I had to visit some locations due lack of online access to materials. I focused my material collection on the following documents: yearbooks, school and community newspaper articles, school board minutes, and personal

memos. I asked interview participants if they were comfortable sharing any personal artifacts with me that may have contributed to the study's objectives.

Table 2

Data Collection Resources for Historical Case Study

Type of Documents	Purpose for Inclusion
Yearbooks	Primary source information about the school culture, students, activities, and recollections of the school environment situated in the historical context
Pictures	Visual representation of students, events, and time period
Official School Documents	Correspondence, memos, letters, course offerings, staff rosters, etc.
School & Community Newspapers Articles	Firsthand narratives about the school from the student and community perspective
School Board Meetings Minutes	District-level information about key decisions and dominant narratives about the school
Oral Interviews	First-hand accounts from Brooklyn community residents and Second Ward graduates
Personal Effects	Artifacts or materials possessed by alumni or teachers are key in answering research questions

Participant Interviews

After getting signed consent from all participants, virtual interviews were conducted using the online platform Zoom for two participants and in-person interviews for the five others to engage in a 60 to 90 minutes semi-structured interview. Each interview was audio-recorded and then transcribed using a third-party service called Rev.com. I audited the transcripts to ensure accuracy and conducted member checks by sending each participant a copy for their review. Interviews followed a narrative format, where I deliberately attempted to elicit stories from the participant. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), after asking for an initial story,

the interviewer's job is to "remain a listener, abstaining from interruptions, occasionally posing questions for clarification, an assisting the interviewee in continuing to tell his or her story" (p. 180). Several verbal and nonverbal techniques were used as a part of the interview practice to help co-construct the narrative with the interview participant.

I began the interview protocol with a general question to start the discussion and allowed for a more conversational style. Harding (1993) recommended beginning interviews with what is referred to as a "starting off thought" that permits for historically marginalized participants to discuss what may be the less examined parts of their lives and invites more critical questions. The remainder of the protocol explored issues aligned with the research questions of the study. Informants were asked a total of 10 questions, each with potential probing or follow-up questions to gain more insight (Appendix B). The questions invited participants to recall narratives and tell stories about the Black Charlotte community, attending Second Ward High School, and how Black students and educators experienced desegregation.

Data Analysis

In a historical case study, significant attention must be given to the analysis of both the interview and document data. In this study, narrative analysis was utilized for interviewees' recollected narratives of their experiences at Second Ward High School as students. The methodology "focuses on the stories told during an interview and works out their structures and their plots" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 254). It should be stated that while the chosen method is described as a narrative analysis, it is situated within a case study methodology and does not qualify as traditional narrative inquiry research. Documents can also be analyzed using a narrative form within the context of a different research design (Hancock & Algozzine, 2017). Narratives are co-constructed between the researcher and participants, and do not emerge from

the pretense of objective aloofness. Narrative analysis situated with a historical case study design does not attempt to locate one true interpretation of the stories, but instead "allows the researcher to be explicit about the political and cultural location of both the narratives of participants and the researcher" (Ezzy, 2002, p. 101).

A critical race methodology (CRM) emerges from the theoretical framework of CRT. It prioritizes methods that 1) challenge the dominant ideology, 2) commit to social justice, and 3) value the centrality of experiential knowledge (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Counter-narrative storytelling is an important aspect of CRM. Given that critical race theory serves as the theoretical underpinning of CCW, it is paramount to select an analytical strategy that aligns with this key tenet. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) asserted that "racism creates, maintains, and justifies the use of a 'master narrative' in storytelling" (p. 27). These narratives are typically used to explain the low academic performance of Black students and other students of color as well as reinforce racist stereotypes. The counter-narrative, on the other hand, is defined as "a method of telling stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society)" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32). Engaging in this method of storytelling strengthens social, political, and cultural survival of minoritized groups. They are not offered as a direct response to master narratives but rather introduced into the discussion, so the analysis does not rest solely on the dominant story (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). This research will hold true to the critical race foundations of CCW by employing an *experience-centered* narrative analysis of both interviews of participants and document analysis. This kind of analytical strategy encompasses stories about experiences with a phenomenon as well as various forms of media in order to constitute a narrative (Squire, 2008).

As with many historical case studies, two kinds of data were collected. My analysis began with a first-level or primary cycle of coding the interview data to establish an initial understanding of what participants were saying and drawing out meaning (Tracy, 2013). According to Tracy (2013), coding is "an examination of the data and assigning words or phrases to capture their essence" (p.189). It is a cyclical process of identifying *codes* or words and key phrases connected to the phenomenon being studied. This specific study sought to locate the *plot,* which is defined as a central characteristic or structure of a story, present within the various parts of the interviewee's responses (Ezzy, 2002). In keeping with the narrative approach, the notion of a cycle communicates a commitment to a reflexive qualitative analytical process, which may be returned to at several points during the study by the researcher (Saldana, 2009). My process was therefore less structured than a thematic analysis where a line-by-line technique of coding is utilized. Instead, I coded by hand the various story plots into narrative chunks of text through the use of memos and annotations of the transcripts (Appendix G). I engaged in a second-level of coding using the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) NVivo. This cycle was more interactive, as I returned the data several times to make modifications, and was focused or axial in nature. Axial coding is that which takes the initial codes and groups them into larger thematic or narrative categories (Tracy, 2013).

After reviewing the chunks of texts across all interviews, I organized them into six larger plot categories or core narratives associated with the phenomena of study: Back in the Day (stories about family or upbringing), Over There (spatial stories about the physical landscape of Charlotte), the Black Schools (stories about experiences other segregated Black schools in Charlotte), It Was a Community (stories about segregated Black Charlotte), Second Ward was… (stories about experiences at Second Ward High School), and lastly After Desegregation

Happened (stories about the advent of court-ordered desegregation). Of these six categories, only three are included in this study (It Was a Community, Second Ward was, and After Desegregation Happened), as the others were not aligned to the research questions of this inquiry or constituted on the basis of a shared experience. Eight counternarratives were subsequently identified as part of this analysis. They were used as the basis for answering the questions guiding this study. The counternarratives from the interview data analysis also provided a basis for engaging in document analysis. Historical documents and contemporary artifacts were used to support and triangulate the solidification of a set of emergent counter-narratives from the research relative to the research questions.

Subjectivity Statement

As the researcher, I have numerous connections to the phenomenon, the historical context, and the locality. I am an African American male educator who, although not from Charlotte, participated in desegregation as a student in my native of Rockford, Illinois, during the early 1980s. I experienced the promise of the *Brown* litigation and know firsthand the realities of being introduced into homogeneous environments in order to create more racial balance. I lived the legacy of *Swann,* riding the bus from my primarily Black and Latinx side of town to attend a majority-white elementary school. Being one of a small number of Black students at my majority-white elementary school, I know the psychological impact of not being around same-race teachers or students and have several vivid memories of the overt racism I experienced. Additionally, I taught in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) from 2010 to 2015 in what would be considered a resegregated environment, nestled in the Plaza-Shamrock corridor of the city (a former industrial area east of the city center), teaching almost exclusively Black and Brown children. Having no initial knowledge of the *Swann* case, furthermore, *Belk v. Charlotte-*

Mecklenburg Schools, the student composition of my school was the direct result of the decision to end court-mandated desegregation in the district. In many ways, my teaching context represents the contemporary picture of urban schools.

Being selected as Teacher of the Year for Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools in 2013 and North Carolina in 2014 propelled me into the role of community leadership and educational advocacy. I have written and spoken extensively in support of CMS undoing its resegregated schools during the period of student reassignment in 2016. From 2017 to 2020, I served as the co-chair of a civic council called Leading on Opportunity that seeks to undo the impacts of residential segregation and increase upward social mobility in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. I bore witness to the failed attempts to raise student achievement in racially isolated schools throughout the district and continue to consult in the area. Based on this experience, I have an intimate connection with and knowledge of the phenomenon. My ultimate goal with this research is to better understand how Black people themselves understood the experience of their segregated schools in Charlotte so that whatever assets present might be leveraged to improve teaching and learning today.

Issues of Validity

Validity refers generally to "the ways researchers can affirm that their findings are faithful to the participants' experiences" within the field of qualitative research (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p.186). Another way of understanding it is the trustworthiness of the study since some researchers believe that the term validity is problematic and epistemically incompatible with interpretive frameworks (Ezzy, 2002; Ravitch & Carl, 2016). There are several other micro and macro definitions that accompany the term, but it is widely considered, "scientific accuracy

among those who identify closely with science and for correctness and credibility among those who do not" (Wolcott, 1990, p. 347).

This study employed member checks, triangulation, thick description, peer debriefs, and structured reflexivity to ensure quality and rigor. *Member checks* are check-ins with study participants at various stages of the research process. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) in order for the researcher to make any claims that findings accurately reflect the experiences of participants, "it is essential that they be given the opportunity to react to them" (p. 314). *Triangulation* is "convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes and categories in a study" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). Combining the document analysis with the participant interviews is a form of data triangulation that strengthens the analysis and findings. *Thick description* is a way that qualitative researchers describe a research site and provide in-depth contextual detail (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Generated through the process of triangulation, it permits the reader of the research to experience an enhanced comprehension of Second Ward High School during the 1960s as well as the socio-political factors that shaped the experiences of the participants. *Peer debriefs* permitted me to share my research with other colleagues and invite their critical feedback. By soliciting challenges to my assumptions, bias and interpretations from fellow researchers, it can unearth subjectivities and biases (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Lastly, *structured reflexivity* acknowledges the role of the research throughout the inquiry process and encourages systemic confrontation with biases. Through memo writing and journaling during the collection, analysis, and interpretative process, I embedded the practice of reflexivity beyond the subjectivity statement.

Risks, Benefits, and Ethical Considerations

Ethical research is more than just a set of guidelines. According to Ezzy (2002), an ethical approach includes the following:

> It involves a weighted consideration of both how data collection is conducted and how analyzed the data are presented, and will vary significantly depending on the details and particularities of the situation of the research. (p. 51)

There are several considerations to be taken into account as part of the process of research. Prior to pursuing this study, I obtained approval from the IRB at my university. Given the transformative paradigm, ethical research must then be accompanied by an explicit commitment to political action and the inclusion of participants (Ezzy, 2002). The impetus of this inquiry is to find ways to improve academic performance for Black students in the contemporary context. Therefore, using the findings to advocate for change at the local district level is a potential benefit to participants. The power dynamics that are part of the interview process however are asymmetrical. There are several risks such as manipulating dialogue and monopolizing interpretation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015); therefore, getting informed consent from participants is paramount. Additionally, signed consent forms from every participant were acquired that explicitly give permission to engage in the research, as well as have their names and demographic information included in the study. This will enhance the reliability of the historical claims.

As such, confidentiality becomes difficult to honor as part of the study design. However, any personal information not germane to the purpose of the research was not published in order to protect participant privacy. Audio recordings of the interviews were converted to an electronic file and uploaded to a secure drive. Transcripts and memos associated with interviews were kept

in a similar manner, placed in a secure location, and only shared with individual participants as part of the member check process. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), “the sum of potential benefits to a participant and the importance of the knowledge gained should outweigh the risk of harm” (p. 96). It is the responsibility of the researcher to consider the potential consequences not only for participants but the group they represent as whole before pursuing.

Summary

In this chapter, I explained the research design and reviewed the research questions driving the inquiry. I also explained the logic behind the historical case study method; I used it to study the bounded system of Second Ward High School. I detailed the process for participant selection using a snowball sampling technique as well as a recruitment strategy. The data collection in this historical case study includes both document analysis and participant interviews. I employed a narrative analysis of the data as part of the case study methodology and identified eight counternarratives as a result of the first and second levels of my coding process. I have addressed my positionality as a researcher as well as the strategies for validity and mitigation of potential risks associated with this research.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to understand the role of a segregated Black high school in the urban Southern United States as a place of community cultural wealth through the narratives of the school community members. The period of 1960 to 1969 encapsulates a moment when Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools was working through the process of court-ordered desegregation, while the historic African American community of Brooklyn was simultaneously the target of demolition and forced removal as a result of urban renewal. As previously stated, the data from the various interviews were collected and then organized according to their plot. The plot is "the integration of various events, happenings, and actions of human life woven into a thematic whole" (Oliver, 1998, p. 253). Accordingly, the data were then coded into eight counternarratives that deal specifically with the Black Charlotte community, Second Ward High School, and after desegregation happened. The counternarratives are organized into narrative chunks from participant interviews and woven together with supporting artifacts discovered as part of the document analysis procedure.

Black Charlotte

Group Socialization Counternarrative

An overriding counternarrative across all interviews was that of the larger Black Charlotte community as a place that encompassed the full spectrum of positive, neutral, and negative elements found among any group of people. Participants often spoke in terms of a singular Black Charlotte community, despite the fact many at Second Ward came from smaller historic Black nooks other than Brooklyn throughout the city, such as Grier Heights, Newtown, as well as parts of First and Third Wards. They articulated what I call a *group socialization* counternarrative about a collective sense of solidarity experienced within segregated Black

Charlotte and experienced it as a place of high expectations with a communicable sense of unspoken norms. There were 24 such stories in the data. Members of the Black Charlotte community were seemingly trained from conception in the ways of the larger group, characterized by communal values, high expectations, and a transcendent duty of group advancement. Community members everywhere, from the churches to schools to other civic-oriented programs or events, appeared to be operating by a particular code and were adept at using whatever devices were at their disposal to impart it to the younger generation. Oliver articulated the process of induction in this way:

> [Y]ou'd end up invariably having to read or remember poems or do something[...]So from first grade all the way up, they were preparing us to be successful in that world outside. And, and something as simple as *Invictus* or *Lift E'vry Voice* or poems by Langston Hughes. I mean, there were things that they would say to us and make us memorize, Lord knows they make us memorize. And I think it was to instill in us a sense of greatness and that we could compete. It was almost like they drilled into our heads.

Black Charlotte was not free of social problems, crime, or problematic behaviors. In his recollections of the community, Oliver went on to make mention of "prostitution, gambling, all of that stuff" but insisted there was still adherence to a broader community order. There were real hardships felt by the Black community, and many of the participants themselves came from less than idyllic circumstances, such as extreme poverty, loss of a parent or sibling, and teen-pregnancy. It was, after all, a Jim Crow system that deliberately disadvantaged African Americans both spatially as well as in terms of upward mobility. These stories, however, were less-dominant in the discourse, which cuts against some of the prevailing narratives in the white community about Black Charlotte – particularly Brooklyn – being a primitive wasteland. Instead,

participants described an ever-present and intangible encouragement from members within the community to strive for excellence. Martha expressed the feeling of being reared to carry the weight of an entire people on her shoulders:

> [W]e felt, we felt for our people, we felt like we were going out representing not just our families or our school, but the whole Black race. We, we felt like we were charged with being, doing something so we could, so we could advance the race.

Like some of the other research participants, Annie Mae was not from Brooklyn. She was born and raised in a small community just north of Uptown called “Newtown,” but was taught the same sort of values about self-sacrifice on behalf of others. She narrated a story about her grandfather, nicknamed “Cook” because he was known for feeding the whole neighborhood, telling little children, “you’re not full until you leave some [food in your bowl].” The commonality expressed between several different accounts of Black Charlotte during de jure segregation made it apparent that such a disposition was more the norm than an outlier. Annie Mae illustrated the intergenerational transmission of this kind of group socialization when she told a story about her and a friend walking home from school together during a sleet and hail storm, without coats to keep them warm:

> [T]his white guy comes up very well-dressed. He said, "What's the matter? What's the matter?" I said, "We're cold. My friend has got to go further." And he, he said, "Come here." He bought her one pair of gloves at Sears & Roebuck. And I said, “Let her have them because she has to go further than me." And I don't know, you know, maybe we could have taken one glove a piece and put the hand in the pocket, but she took the gloves and I went on.

The key aspects of the *group socialization* counternarrative portray segregated Black Charlotte, not as a backward or disjointed community, but rather operating by a set of pervasive norms. The customary practices of using arts and culture to reinforce high self-esteem, exhibiting racial pride and working together to overcome hardships are discernible in the stories captured within the data.

Institutional Vitality Counternarrative

In the *Brooklyn Area Blight Study* (1958), it states, "to the casual observer that the Brooklyn Area is a blighted district by commonly accepted standards" (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission, 1958, p. 3). The passing reference to what a "casual observer" would think obscures the underlying assumption that it is likely a white person, and subsequently from outside the historic Black community, drawing such a deficit-based conclusion (Appendix C). The study was produced in compliance with the North Carolina Redevelopment Law, which facilitated the process of urban renewal (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission, 1958, p. 3). It enumerates the number of dilapidated buildings and rates of tuberculosis by comparison to other parts of the city. Artifacts such as these contributed to the narrative within the dominant culture of Brooklyn as a slum. However, narratives about Brooklyn from participants run counter to this sort of discourse and offer a contrasting picture of a community with *institutional vitality*.

There were 23 counternarratives among interviewees that portrayed the Brooklyn community that surrounded Second Ward High School as a bustling area, brimming with exciting activities, annual traditions, and storied institutions frequented by Black people from all over the city. They are not devoid of the socioeconomic diversity that came to characterize the area, with low-wealth pockets and rickety structures interspersed amongst more prosperous homes, but it is mentioned more as an asset than a liability. There is nuance in the way the

participants recall Brooklyn that does not flatten the community into a dichotomy of it being entirely one thing or another but engages in the complexity of some of the aesthetic features. Gene, who himself grew up in a one-bedroom extremely-modest house in Brooklyn, describes it in this way:

> So Brooklyn, unlike west Charlotte, Brooklyn was, was, was poor. I mean, you know, relatively poor. And I say relatively because while most of the people who lived in the area were poor there were people who were not poor. Middle class people who chose to live in Second Ward in Brooklyn as opposed to west Charlotte. So there were some nice houses in the area particularly you know, sort of on the other side of Uptown, there were sort of more middle class Black people. In my neighborhood, you know, there were a couple of, you know, fairly decent houses, but for the most part, you know, there were all these "shotgun" houses. You know, you can look straight through it. One room after another. And you know, we had a couple of, we had a grocery store, we had a sort of a, a cafe. We had a barber shop, church and they were all, you know, Black institutions.

Gene casts an image of Brooklyn as a place with vital Black-owned and operated amenities, while also acknowledging that it was not the same for everyone who lived there. In a pictorial brochure produced in the 1970s called *The Brooklyn Story*, it noted that Black people owned 80 percent of the homes in Brooklyn (Burke, 1978) (Appendix D). One would never know this by the way the area is prominently labeled unequivocally as "social and economic liability" in a document produced by the City of Charlotte that attempts to justify the need for slum razing (Figure 1). This historical artifact displays the overtly deficit-based framing of the Brooklyn community and only makes passing mention of "over 1700 substandard dwellings" where actual people lived. There was, of course, poverty and also what could be considered

blight, but these factors were integrated as part of a heterogeneous community-whole and did not exhibit the kind of rigid class boundaries seen in present-day segregation.

Figure 1

Map of Brooklyn from Urban Renewal Document

However, recognition of the area as a unique Black epicenter of attractions was appreciated by other Black Charlotteans outside of Brooklyn. From the annual May Day Festival to the Wednesday night "sock hops" (or dances) for the youth at the Black YWCA, Brooklyn is recalled by participants during the period of research as a place where a lot was happening. Annie Mae referenced her sense of anticipation at the prospect of going to Second Ward High School and knowing that she would be venturing into Brooklyn:

> We went to Second Ward and I was very, very excited to be in Brooklyn because I'm in little Newtown that wasn't much of nothing, but Brooklyn had the theaters. Brooklyn had the hotel. Brooklyn had the bakery. Brooklyn had the clubs. Brooklyn had St. Paul

> Baptist Church. They had the House of Prayer and it was what's happening on McDowell Street. It was just the, it was like the Renaissance, you know, like Harlem or something to me. And, and I was so excited about going in that area.

For the students at Second Ward High School, the belying area of Brooklyn gave them a cultural center to interact with and plug into. Participants who were native to the area, as well as those who entered in from other segregated Black communities to attend school, spoke about establishments they frequented as a part of their school experience. For them, the high school was part of the Black community and not something separate or disconnected. Going to Second Ward meant they would naturally encounter the nucleus of Black Charlotte – Brooklyn and its many merchants and residents. Derwin, who spent most of his childhood between his grandmother's house in Brooklyn and Grier Heights further in east Charlotte, discussed the community fixtures that were part of his Second Ward High School experience.

> [W]e just, you know, just running around in Brooklyn, just doing what, you know, enjoying it. You had a, uh, I guess you call it a little soda shop right across from Second Ward. Where, when we would go to school in the morning, everybody would go in there and get a soda. That's where, the hangout, you hang out before you can go to school. If the school started, what? Nine? You get there about eight and just, it was something like a little cafe, a little soda shop. And that's where you gather there and, you know, mingle and do what you wanna do 'for you go, went to school.

Many of the artifacts collected from the period of this research unmistakably cast Brooklyn as an irredeemable ghetto, full of low-income residents and blighted buildings. But the counternarrative of *institutional vitality* was also pronounced and illustrates a community with several highly-frequented establishments, Black homeownership and coveted attractions as well

as traditions. It was experienced by Second Ward alumni as a place to which African American students felt connected, even if they were not a native of that particular neighborhood.

Insular Cohesion Counternarrative

Another prominent counternarrative by interviewees, seen 36 times, was the independence of the Black Charlotte community. Whereas Black people are generally stereotyped as dependent and incapable of self-governance by the dominant culture, the counternarrative of *insular cohesion* paints a different picture. The artificial environment created by de jure segregation isolated Black people from the larger white-world, except for the most mundane activities such as paying bills Uptown or the occasional trip to department stores (i.e., Ivey's, Belk's, or Kress's). But participants indicated that a standard practice of white institutions treating Black people as second-class citizens disincentivized any unnecessary interactions outside of segregated Black Charlotte. Nearly all of them told stories of blatant racism they faced or a humiliating experience that discouraged them from leaving the safety of their insulated environment. Stuart, for example, moved to Charlotte from South Carolina when he was four and spoke of his community as a place of safety and protection:

> I can think of a, in those days, as Charlotte, it was happy. I mean, I was happy because most of my dealings <inaudible> 99.9% <laugh> was with people, people like me. You know, we, we had stores in our neighborhood we had, that we, we went to. Bought from. I mean, teachers, doctors, everybody lived in, you know, lived together. It was only when I ventured outside of the community. Like, I remember just getting on the city bus to go Uptown. I think I was about 12 then. And just the, the harassment. I mean, you on the bus, go to the back of the bus[...]And just like I said, interactions outside of our community tended to be problematic, right.

The insulated character of Black Charlotte created appreciable barriers against the most menacing aspects of white supremacy, but also drastically reduced the degrees of separation between individuals. The Second Ward alums interviewed from various Black neighborhoods spoke about an intense level of connectivity between Black people who lived in the community. The juxtaposition of independence from white Charlotteans, and interdependence among Black Charlotteans meant that there were many routine and often mundane interactions among members of the community. The deep cohesion and accessibility between highly-regarded figures, common folks, and everyone in between was expressed by Annie Mae:

> [M]y teacher's husband was my dentist also. So, you know, it was just the community entwined, you know, you couldn't escape being good. Or, you know, if they weren't at the school, they were at your church, they lived in your community. The teachers didn't feel like they were any better than we were as the students. So, not too good to live next door to you. And they lived in boarding houses and things because there wasn't anything available because of segregation. Now, segregation was a motivator for me. I didn't feel it.

The *insular cohesion* counternarrative represents an important idea of Brooklyn and the broader Black Charlotte community as the embodiment of self-help, in spite of being systematically disconnected from the white community. According to participants, interactions with white Charlotte were born out of necessity and were not mandatory for everyday life. Moreover, many of the Second Ward alumni in my study experienced Black Charlotte as a safe space, with an extensive network of social ties, away from the microaggressions routinely experienced when encountering white people and institutions.

Second Ward High School

Holistic Support Counternarrative

Schools in the pre-*Brown* era did not have many of the social services that have since been provided as a part of the education experience today. If this fact were true of white schools, it was an even more imminent reality for Black schools, which remained perpetually underfunded and under-resourced. While there were school counselors, nurses, and administrative staff, the traditional public schools of that period did not formally afford the same sort of attention to the whole-child in the ways we have come to expect in contemporary times. The 38 counternarratives of *holistic support* speak to the ways participants experienced being enveloped in an entire supplementary ecosystem. Second Ward High School compensated for the lack of systemic social and emotional support by finding other ways to buttress the students holistically. Gene experienced the Black adults who worked at Second Ward as agents of social change who stood in the gap against the inherently racist and callous disregard of white decision makers in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools:

> Second Ward was sort of community-wide, you know, it was for all of us. And it was, it, you know, it, it, it was a, an institution that we ran where we could, you know, we could do, and the teachers were able to do for the students. And, but for our teachers who cared and who by their, by their work invested in us you know, we could, we could very easily have been, you know, one generation after another of people who were ill-educated, unprepared, and, you know, the people who ran the school system would not have cared.

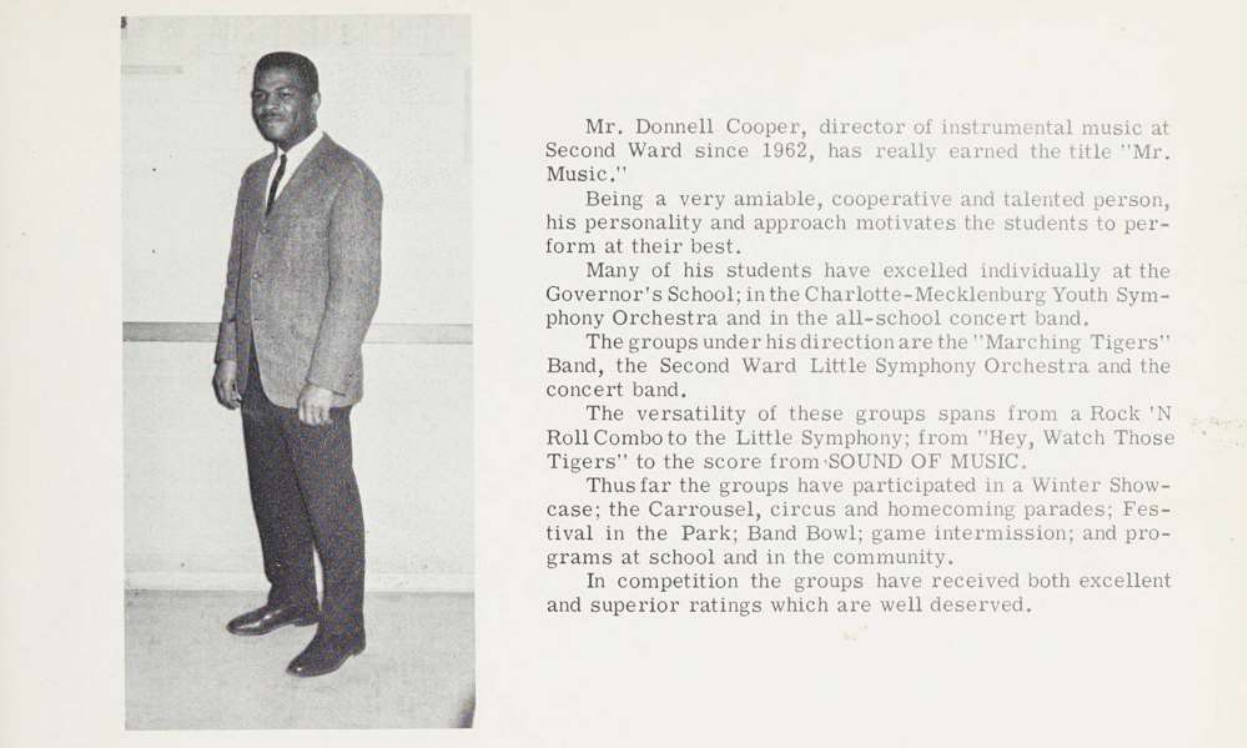
True to the sense of collective community present in the stories of participants, the specific practice of support exhibited by Second Ward staff stretched beyond the classroom and back into the community. Stuart told a story about a band teacher named Donnell Cooper (Figure

2) who left an indelible mark on his psyche through his facilitation of opportunities for students in the out-of-school time and after the school-term was over:

> Mr. Cooper I guess he, he made the biggest impression on me cuz this, this man would take his, this is ex-, his extracurricular. This is his off time. This, school stops at, you know, three o'clock or whatever it was. Well, of course he had the band and the marching band and we practiced and everything else. But beyond that, he formed these other combos and little groups and had connections with the city. And they would do, in that summer, especially summer of ‘67, ‘66-‘67, when you know, riots were at play in all the cities, the Charlotte, one of the things they tried to do was have some, they call 'em block parties, city-sponsored block parties. Well, he got in connection with them. He would, he put together some of us guys in the summer and we would go and play at these block parties. And then, I mean, he'd pick us up, go play. After we played, pay us, take us home[...]I mean, this guy was just, he was incredible. He just, he cared about us. He cared. He was like, he was like a dad to us.

Figure 2

Picture of Donnell Cooper from 1966 Second Ward Yearbook



Mr. Donnell Cooper, director of instrumental music at Second Ward since 1962, has really earned the title "Mr. Music."

Being a very amiable, cooperative and talented person, his personality and approach motivates the students to perform at their best.

Many of his students have excelled individually at the Governor's School; in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Youth Symphony Orchestra and in the all-school concert band.

The groups under his direction are the "Marching Tigers" Band, the Second Ward Little Symphony Orchestra and the concert band.

The versatility of these groups spans from a Rock 'N Roll Combo to the Little Symphony; from "Hey, Watch Those Tigers" to the score from SOUND OF MUSIC.

Thus far the groups have participated in a Winter Showcase; the Carrousel, circus and homecoming parades; Festival in the Park; Band Bowl; game intermission; and programs at school and in the community.

In competition the groups have received both excellent and superior ratings which are well deserved.

For students at Second Ward, there was a symbiotic relationship between community and school. Educators lived in the community and brought shared group values, customs, and norms into the school. They would, conversely, take the resources and serviceability of the schools and connect them back to the community. Perhaps nowhere was the virtue of schools responding to a community member's needs better captured than in the story to me by Annie Mae. She discussed how she managed the formidable setback of becoming pregnant while still in school. This incident threatened to permanently disrupt her studies, had it not been for the intervention of educators at Second Ward helping her to maneuver through this challenge. She recounts the moment she returned to school after having missed nine months to deliver her baby and how the teachers and administration responded to her request to take summer school:

> Ms. Johnson was my homeroom teacher and she taught me, uh, history class. And the principal was E.E. Waddell at the time. Okay. I went over to the school after I'd had my child and to meet Ms. Johnson. And she said, “Come, let's go to the office,” walking in her heels. And she met Mr. Waddell in the hall and said, "Mr. Waddell, this is [Annie Mae]. Said she had a situation where she could not get her last English, her, you know, the quarter of the semester. And she said, summer school is going to start <mimicking> da, da da, say, I'll say tomorrow. And we need get, get your permission to get her to summer school." He said, "Get'er in, get'er in, get'er in." And she said, "Thank you." And that was it.

Figure 3

Ms. Johnson’s Picture in the 1966 Second Ward Yearbook

Miss Shirley Johnson

In Annie Mae’s story, Ms. Johnson (Figure 3) does not make mention of her pregnancy, whether intentional or not. As Annie Mae notes regarding having a child outside of marriage, “[B]ack then, you didn't boast about that. It was a very private thing.” It is also unclear whether

Principal Waddell knew the full extent of her circumstances. What is most glaring is the absence of stigma from either caring adult and the immediate pivot to accommodating her need and finding a solution to the matter in short order. She graduated slightly later than anticipated, but was grateful to the school for ensuring one misstep did not prevent her from continuing her education.

While Second Ward was regarded by all participants as a supportive environment, I was struck by two important stories of exceptions to this norm. While Gene certainly portrayed the teachers as intermediaries seemingly standing in the gap between students and the world, he remarked about the feeling that guidance counselors "sometimes would steer kids into vocational curriculum, as opposed to the college preparatory curriculum." He was one of the highest performing students in his graduating class but mentioned a desire to take classes that were not a part of his track that permitted him to "learn how to repair a car or type." Josephine offered a story that contradicted the no-nonsense depiction of the school culture when she spoke about a boy who "just came to school to play in the band." She recalls him being older than other students, but the school "let him keep coming to school, even though he didn't do nothing in class." At first glance, these stories seem to be in opposition to the counternarrative. However, there are plausible explanations that go unexplored for both accounts that do not necessarily repudiate holistic support. The encouragement of vocational training may have been a direct response to the segregated economy and a way of ensuring the employability of Black students after high school. Similarly, the permittance of a talented low-performing student to remain at the school may have been considered an act of empathy to keep the student engaged. According to Josephine, he eventually went on to make music professionally.

The *holistic support* counternarrative is about teachers who operated as advocates in addition to being instructional leaders on behalf of their students. Educators at Second Ward High School found ways to connect their students to opportunities that benefited them and allowed for the practical application of their skills. Adults at the school also marshaled necessary resources to respond to student needs when they found themselves in crisis.

Motivational Guidance Counternarrative

By most accounts, Second Ward was a place of rigid structure where adults were demanding but generally warm toward students. Former students in the study recalled 38 stories of a tough, rigorous, and fair environment that was enjoyable but ultimately about the business of academics. I refer to this counternarrative as *motivational guidance*. The strict nature of governance seemed to be informed by a desire to see students survive in the larger US society that would afford them little-to-no opportunities or protections due to their race, as well as a sense of duty to guide and motivate students to want better for themselves. Still, as much as some alumni appreciated the push to achieve at a higher level, they weren't always enthusiastic about being on the receiving end. Josephine narrated her sentiments about her teacher Ms. Hall, who she regarded as "mean," even though she was a good instructor.

> [S]he was very stern, uh, you know, and I mean you, and I guess it was good cause you knew not to go in there without your homework, you know?[...][B]asically I liked my, most of my teachers because, you know, I know they were there to do their job. And even though you might not agree with how they went about it, you know, uh, like I said, I made it through school and was able to graduate. And so, um, I can't say that they were bad teachers. They, uh, I think they put forth the effort to try to learn you something so that you could go out in the world and make it on your own.

From the perspective of the students, the adults at Second Ward seemed preoccupied with a long-view of their students' lives. Their guidance was not predicated on the time spent within the walls of the school building. It was filled with wisdom and instruction with a further outlook and broader focus on community advancement. I could not determine if the interviewees were clear about whether this was a premeditated ethos of nation-building or merely an unplanned commonality found among teachers from segregated Black Charlotte. However, as with the following quote from Martha, the presence of such a counternarrative was inexplicable:

> [T]he teachers were, as I said, very concerned with giving you a future outlook saying, this is, this is what I, this is, you need to look forward to what you're going to do. What you're going to do, not just for yourself, but what you're going to do for your people. These, this is, you know, it was, it was like what did [President] Kennedy say? "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." And that was their attitude. Don't, don't, don't don't, you are smart! You're proud! You, you can do this for your people. And that was that.

I continued to hear the recurring allusion to race as a central part of who and how teachers taught. There was a salience on the part of interviewees about the role of race, racism, and how their Blackness would ultimately shape the opportunity structure of students beyond their high school years. Alums spoke of teachers as developing a critical consciousness among students and preparing them for a life of being Black in a white supremacist society. Oliver seemed to imply that teachers were aware that the regime of de jure segregation was falling, and were training them for how to interact with white people, a population from whom they had formerly been essentially quarantined.

> [T]hey were preparing us, although we were all segregated, they were preparing us to be in the desegregated world. Okay. Cause they knew what was outside of. They knew what was outside of Brooklyn. Okay. They knew downtown Charlotte was outside of Brooklyn and they knew their own experiences and they wanted us, <abruptly transitions> you remember what I said about Ms. Lucille McKay? She said, "You can talk all that talk out there all you want to, but you gonna learn the King's English in here." She knew I had, she knew we had to go meet the “king" at some point. And she wanted us to be bilingual, bicultural and everything else when you got out there. So, <in teacher voice> “I think you can, I think you can learn some of the basics. But at some point you're gonna have to be able to deal with that outside world”. Just like they did. My Black teachers had to deal with the white outside world because they had to get a job at a white school district. It wasn't a Black school district. It was just segregated, but the powers to be were all white. Okay. So those Black teachers and Black principals had to navigate that white educational structure for their own success as professionals. And they wanted us to learn all the skills that we could so that we would be able to be, have a certain level of success in that world.

The “king” Oliver mentions felt like a metaphor for the dominant white culture. I was struck that he did not say the teachers encouraged students to substitute their own cultural norms with that of others but instead learn how to adopt a more multicultural orientation. This spoke to the asset-based paradigm of educators at Second Ward. Students have different ways of being, demonstrating knowledge, and communicating ideas. The Black teachers at Second Ward High School appeared adept at appreciating and spotting different kinds of cultural capitals, even when

presented in their rawest form. When Annie Mae discussed the incident that led to her being selected for the National Honors Society, I clearly saw this principle in practice.

> I had a, a music teacher when I got tapped for the Honor Society. She said, "Let me tell you the reason I signed for you to get it. You impressed me one day in my class doing somebody else, homework, because you had a deadline" and I'll never forget it. And I, I thought the teacher wasn't looking or anything, but the teacher was watching. They had eyes in the back of the head, on the side and everything. And she said, "That's what impressed me about you."

The notion of a teacher seeing a student doing another student's homework in class and interpreting as aptitude to do work at a high level and not as a lack of ethical standards was to me, the clearest demonstration of an asset-based worldview. In that moment, Annie Mae's music teacher chose to focus more on the positive attributes she displayed in that instance, and use them to motivate rather than punish. The counternarrative of *motivational guidance* appeared in a multitude of ways within the stories shared by participants. The firmness of the teachers, while not always enjoyed, was appreciated, and the race-conscious approach seemed to always be about preparing students to survive in an overtly oppressive social system. Lastly, educators at Second Ward found a way to see the best in their students and use the various identified assets they embodied to provide opportunities.

Pedagogical Excellence Counternarrative

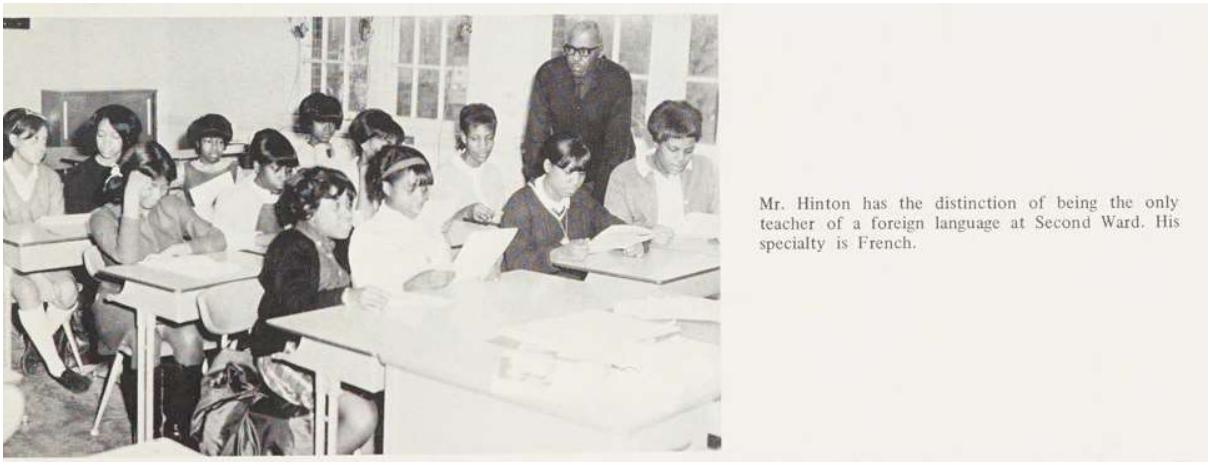
Among the multitude of different accounts, memories, and opinions about their experiences was the consensus that the teachers were well-educated, content experts that knew how to teach. I refer to this counternarrative as *pedagogical excellence* because participants had vivid stories about specific characteristics of teachers or their teaching style that left a lasting

impression on them. There were 32 moments during their tenure at Second Ward High School they could conjure that showed how well their instructors were at what they did and how much they retained from classes. There was consensus across participants that the educators at Second Ward were, bar none, some of the best pedagogues around. Nearly 60 years after the fact, Gene recalled how impressed he was by his French teacher:

> [Mr. Hinton] spoke French with a, with a French accent. And you know, the only French I, I, I took was, I, I guess, two years of French at Second Ward. And, you know, I still remember some of it. It's pretty extraordinary. You know, my, my wife you know, is Swiss. She was born in Switzerland and, you know, in the, in the French part of Switzerland. And, you know, we'd go over, visit her family. And I can, you know, I can understand some of what they're saying, just from Mr. Hinton's French course you know.

Figure 4

Mr. Hinton's picture in the 1967 Yearbook



This recollection of Mr. Hinton (Figure 4) and his fluency in French was made all the most impressive by the fact that Gene had just returned from spending several weeks in Paris at the time of our interview. Even after recently being immersed by native French speakers, Gene

credited Mr. Hinton for his moderate comprehension of the language. According to a caption in *The Tiger* (1967), Hinton was the only foreign language teacher at Second Ward. High School. The volume was appropriately dedicated to him during that year.

As previously mentioned, there appeared to be two separate tracks for students to select at Second Ward. One was a college preparatory track, while the other was more aligned to a skilled trade that one could adopt in order to find work in a segregated economy. No matter which of the tracks were selected, students were exposed to teachers who taught with a high level of rigor. Participants were former students who represented both college prep and the skilled trade tracks. In their responses, they often made mention of the same teachers and the kind of higher-order thinking expected from them. Ms. Mattie Hall again makes an appearance in the following story by Annie Mae:

> Yes, I was on college [track]. I had algebra, chemistry, um biology and not, not, it is not so much the course that I had[...]this English teacher was a cut above, Mattie Hall. I don't know if you've interviewed anybody else in that they told you about Mattie Hall, but you are going to have your English with Mattie Hall. You're going to dissect sentences. You goin know the structure of sentences. You're going to use the right grammar. You're gonna do *Macbeth*. You're gonna do *Julius Caesar*. I can still quote *Julius Caesar*, <recites> "Cowards may die many times before they death, but the valiant never taste of death but once. Of all the wonders I've yet have seen, it seems to me most strange that men should fear death. When death is a necessary end."

Figure 5

Mattie Hall Pictured in the 1966 Yearbook Dedication

According to an article in *The Charlotte Observer*, of the 46 years Second Ward High School was open, Mattie Hall (Figure 5) worked there for 35 of them, longer than any other teacher (Appendix E) (Gates, n.d.). As Derwin stated, "when you mention Second Ward, you mention Mattie Hall." High academic standards were a part of the culture at the school, and Ms. Hall was not alone in her enforcement of them. The practice of separate and unequal during de jure segregation meant that Black schools were intentionally funded at a fraction of the rate of white schools. Consequently, things like textbooks were second-hand from the local white schools and resources required for the purpose of practical instruction were often lacking. Derwin recalls:

> [T]hey would let you know about the books. When I'm, when I'm saying that and what was in it. And they felt like if you wanted to go deep into it, they would do that. You know, but they knew that we was getting, what you say "second-hand-down" books. But they had to teach out those books, you know, and they did. At Second Ward it wasn't no, uh, <laugh> it wasn't no, no, no, no, no low-rated school. I'm gonna be straight up.

Oliver confirms the statements made by Derwin, but is careful to note that his teachers were experts at making do with less. Inequitable funding notwithstanding, the Black teachers at Second Ward found ways to push the boundaries of rigorous instruction despite working from a position of disadvantage. This was not lost on Oliver, as he retold a story about his physics teacher, Mr. Louis Levi (Figure 6):

> [S]ometimes they were able to compensate. I can't even remember the exact experiment, but Levi, he stuttered but he was smart as a whip. We would go out into the school quad and conduct some type of light experiment using mirrors and stuff out in the quad, out outside of the, the classroom. And he was using some, something, some mirrors and some other stuff to try to teach us about the speed of, of light and stuff like that, because we didn't have the store bought or the district bought supplies. He kind of compensated with stuff that he was able to create based on his skillset for, for physics.

Figure 6

Mr. Levi pictured in the 1967 Second Ward Yearbook

There was a virtual constellation of consummate educators to be found in the stories shared by participants. Whether it be the meticulous attention to detail exhibited by Ms. Johnson, or the expert language arts skills of Ms. McKay, vivid memories of teachers and their attributes were consistently heard. Ms. Green, Ms. McCorkle, Coach Moten, Ms. Rhodes, Assistant Principal Stanback as well as Principals Durante and Waddell remain luminary figures in the minds of Second Ward alumni.

In sum, *pedagogical excellence* counternarratives were the norm when participants discussed their experiences at Second Ward High School. Educators were respected by students as highly-qualified instructional practitioners, who were well-educated, cultured, and often forced to compensate for a socio-political reality that made their jobs more difficult. There were also important deviation stories like that of Mr. Paige, a music teacher who was in charge of selecting the majorettes (the dance team that accompanied the marching band). He was referred to by Josephine as a "fast man" (a cultural euphemism that insinuates being flirtatious with the girls) despite his position as a teacher. She also named contrary instances where some teachers "would tell people, not me personally, but that you'll never amount to anything." While Josephine recalls them as a "rarity," her first-hand accounts of such behavior occurring at all

provide important context to this research and prevent an overly-positive skew about the teachers at Second Ward High School. As with all communities, there was the full-range of experiences, even if most alumni remember their teachers favorably.

After Desegregation Happened

Fallout Counternarrative

The onset of court-ordered desegregation, the subsequent closure of Second Ward High School, and all the 20 stories about the changes set in motion by this event can best be described as *fallout* counternarratives. While decisions in the *Brown* (1954) and *Swann* (1971) cases are widely hailed as victories in the way of social progress for Black people, there is an undertow to these events that had extremely damaging impacts on the Black Charlotte community. After the abrupt announcement that Second Ward would no longer be rebuilt as promised, the emotions ranged widely from moderate disappointment and feeling like someone in the community could have done more to keep it open to outright rage and anger. Josephine, who had long ago graduated at the time, spoke about her feelings and expressed some gratitude for the little that they were able to preserve:

> I was very disappointed that they would tear Second Ward down because it was one of the first Black schools in Charlotte. Uh, they had, uh, uh, high schools in Charlotte and, uh, I didn't see why they couldn't, I, I don't know why enough people didn't come together to preserve that, to, uh, make that a historical, uh, site. They kept the gym, but, uh, you know, I don't, I guess that's okay because it was a part of Second Ward that they at least kept a part of it there, but I was, I was very upset that they, uh, did that.

It's important to note that while the gymnasium is the only structure left standing and was recently renovated, this was the result of immense community pressure. And while Josephine

remarked that people in the community should have done more, many in the Black community did mount an unsuccessful campaign to keep the school open. Stuart discussed the protests as a way to focus his frustration and the ultimate deflation when it went unheard:

> So you can imagine, get, you get all pumped up. You know, and this is like, couple of years, they, you know, selling this thing and you get all pumped up, you know, "Hey, we're gonna do it". And then they announced what we're closing the school. I was like from high, from here to <makes plummeting sound>, I was so angry. We had a protest, we did a protest march. You know, they didn't, it didn't change anything, but at least it was an outlet. It was an outlet for my anger.

Stuart's account of a promised school is substantiated by several artifacts found in my research. Principal Waddell conveyed similar optimism in the 1967 Second Ward High School yearbook, *The Tiger* (Appendix F). He writes, "Looking toward the future, I see the prospects of many good things for Second Ward. Among these are a new plant, new programs, increased student body, new activities—and we may even have a new name" (Second Ward High School, 1967, p. 7). In 1968, editors of *The Tiger*, again clearly communicated an expectation of a new school name and building on the current site, going as far as to say, "The new Metropolitan High School should be ready for occupancy in the fall of 1969"(Second Ward High School, 1968, p.3). In a separate document titled *The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools System: Analysis and Recommendations* (Appendix G) produced in 1969, it lays out potential plans for desegregation wherein the recommendation to "cease plans for construction of Second Ward High on the old site" can be seen on page 11. The document goes on to make reference to a yet-to-be-named "new school" to instead be built that would serve the city's east side with Garinger High School (Larsen et al., 1969). The palpable discontent of Stuart and many of the Second Ward High

School community can be felt, as this announcement was clearly a surprise, given the years of a promised new building.

The fallout was not relegated to a fixed period of time proximate to the closure of Black schools. For some participants, they felt the impacts of the decision to desegregate had far-reaching implications for students who did not endure or live through these events. For them, there were generational effects for Black education writ large. Closing Black schools and sending Black students into more racially-balanced environments had dire consequences for the quality of the educational experience. Gene expressed these concerns when he posited that Black students are now merely provided a substandard education in supposedly integrated contexts.

> I've always felt that, that desegregation destroyed or damaged the education of Black people in the south. Because it, it closed down the schools in, in which the teachers cared about us. Uh forced us to go to schools that didn't welcome us. And, and to attend classes, taught by teachers who didn't respect us and didn't have high expectations for us. And, you know, and, and we lost our own institution. I mean, Second Ward was the most important institution in Brooklyn other than some of the churches. And I think that when Second Ward closed, I, we lost that kind of learning where people were teaching us who looked like us and cared about us and did not allow us to just sort of slide by without being challenged. You know, they, they challenged us. You know, I, I, I think it makes a difference if the people in the schools where you are are, you know, treat you like you're a good student, you, you, you can do the work, u you are smart, you belong there. I, and I think, you know, I never experienced high school in Charlotte -- integrated high school -- but I would imagine that a lot of the kids who were, you know, bussed from Second

> Ward and sent throughout the city, never felt like it was their school. They always felt like they were visitors.

Gene's comments convey a discernible concern about the apathy present during his schooling simply being transferred to Black students in the post-*Brown* era. He also feels that the end result will ultimately be Black students left adrift in educational environments where the same culture of love, expectation, and attention provided by his Second Ward educators is absent. He's careful not to speak too hastily, as he is not drawing from personal experiences. But his projection of the potential costs of the cultural wealth of the Black community being stripped away was deeply-felt. He was not alone in his unease about the fate of Black education. The *fallout* counternarrative captured in the data reflects the frustrations and despair of Second Ward alumni in the immediate aftermath of their school closure, fueled by distrust of a system that flagrant misled them. It is also anchored in an anxiety about the future generation of Black children.

Then and Now Counternarrative

As participants recalled stories about their experience at Second Ward High School, they went back and forth 30 times, drawing evaluative contrasts between how things were and how they are today. These are referred to as *then and now* counternarratives. Naturally, they tended to wax nostalgic about the period and view things more favorably during their era. However, they also provided clarity about the precise kinds of assets that were inherent to their experience and what ought to be done to improve outcomes for Black students in the modern era. Martha, pinpointed a missing component from the pre-*Brown* segregated schools in Charlotte was the lack of collective mission and cultural pride amongst Black students and teachers:

> [T]he biggest difference I see in then and now is where people are so focused on themselves and we, and we encourage people, you know, "Focus on yourself, you know, be happy make you so…", but they, there was a, there was a community, a larger focus, you know, there was a, a goal. The goal was not just your own personal achievement, but achievement for the race, you know?

Derwin seemed to think one reason for the discontinuity is who is in the seat of instruction. Given the overwhelming whiteness of the teaching population, he felt many teachers simply did not have the temperament to teach Black children. This he articulates as due in part to lack of desire and lack of skill:

> I really don't think whites had that much interest, as far as teaching Black kids. You know, they, uh, and they don't know how to teach Black kids. It take patients to teach Black kids and they don't want to have patience with, with, with Black kids. Either you get it or, you dont. They just don't have it, you know, as far as teaching kids. And then the kids, they, they feel that. With the Black teachers, they stay right on top of you. They took time with you. White teachers don't do that. They wanna throw you outta school, take you to the office. Black, Black teachers didn't do that. Now, if you got real bad, they would take you to the office. Don't get me wrong. But they, uh, they would, they, they, they would hang with you.

Derwin's concerns about cultural unsynchronization were made more plausible by a document titled *A Tentative Plan for the Integration of Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1969) (Appendix H). In it, district leaders express similar reservations about the racial mix-match of students and teachers when it reads, "In seeking to improve their own effectiveness, educators must gain a better understanding of pupils of both races" (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 1969,

p. 4). It goes on to remark about the need to accommodate different learning approaches, values, and feelings in preparation for the 1969-70 school year. However, it is communicated as a task fit for Black and white teachers alike, despite the fact, as Oliver suggests, "[Black educators] had to deal with white people on a regular basis." That same was not the case for white educators.

The most enlightening aspect about the *then and now* counternarrative was the recognition of a completely different social context. Second Ward alumni appear to be conscious of the differences between the pre-*Brown* society and the distinct and emergent needs for different approaches in the post-*Brown* world. Annie Mae covers a host of social issues characteristic of the 21st century that have to be responded to in order to facilitate student success.

> So how do you get this thing right, for everybody? And now we don't know the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic. We know we are social creatures and we've been separated. So you got to allow for now far as the gun violence and all of that, that's a different story, but how do we, you know, make allowance for what we've been through? They just act like, you know, the pandemic was nothing and you get to come back and be normal. You know? So I, I just think that was my only drawback is having the teachers. I mean, not having transportation, but you gotta have these teachers, like I had teachers to believing in you. No student left behind and whatever it takes to make it work, that, it, work. Now, the teacher can't do it all. And even if it's giving these parents, who may not deserve it, some kind of incentive to come with your kids, to PTA and come to school with, make the parents feel special.

Annie Mae was clearly thinking very diligently about how to account for the radically-different circumstances Black students in Charlotte now find themselves in. The reality of

community gun violence, isolation due to the pandemic, and decreased parent engagement was all part of modest recommendations for improvement. The *then and now* counternarrative provides a less-rosy picture of loss of community, a culturally unresponsive workforce and new more challenging circumstances. It shows the ways that the by-gone era can be drawn upon to provide some insight for future advancement but not totally mapped onto the present-day.

The eight counternarratives captured within the interviews and document analysis offer a biting critique of the portrayal of the Black Charlotte community of Brooklyn, Second Ward High School and the ultimate consequence of Black school closures. The dominant culture of age, which was subsequently white-normed, predictably looked at Brooklyn as a community with little-to-nothing to offer. The documents from the time period confirm this, and cast the historic Black neighborhood through the prism of superiority, as a spatial obstacle in the way of economic progress. But alumni of Second Ward, from the non-dominant cultural lens of African Americans, experienced this community as a place of group socialization, institutional vitality, and insular cohesion. Even during the period of this study – the advent of desegregation and urban renewal – it was still a place where communal norms were reproduced and imparted, recreation and business were conducted, and Black people felt a sense of safety and connection.

Segregated Black schools were commonly seen as places where Black students could not get a quality education. Although largely absent from the historical canon, Second Ward High School was the centerpiece of this proud Black community and an institution full of holistic support, motivational guidance, and pedagogical excellence. Attending the school meant being enveloped in a blanket of wrap-around services, a structured culture with high expectations, and receiving instruction from some of the best minds the Black community in Charlotte had to offer. Despite the dominant narrative of court-ordered desegregation as a moment of advancement for

African American students, and a significant step in the direction of equal educational opportunities, there was tremendous fallout and sharp contrasts between education offered to Black students then and now. Many in the Black community did not interpret attempts at integration as good news and preferred to keep the school they had during Jim Crow. They perceived considerable disadvantages conferred onto Black children in the modern era due to the lack of culturally competent teachers and general apathy toward the communities from which the students come.

Summary

This chapter presented the findings that resulted from interviews of seven Second Ward High School alumni during the period of 1960 to 1969. It also included components derived from the analysis of a series of historical documents to provide a clearer picture of the school, as well as the segregated Black Charlotte community of Brooklyn. Data were organized according to their plots and presented as counternarratives about the role of Second Ward and the school community during state-sanctioned segregation. The eight counternarratives identified were as follows: *group socialization*, *institutional vitality*, *insular cohesion*, *holistic support*, *motivational guidance*, *pedagogical excellence*, *fallout,* and *then and now*. Each of these captures the experiences of participants in great detail and offers stories about the Black community, the school, and what occurred after its closure. The following and final chapter will provide a synthesis of these findings and a greater discussion about the implications of this research.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Overview

The final chapter of this dissertation is organized into five sections that provide a comprehensive analysis of my research. The first section gives a review of the background, research questions, and methodology selected for this inquiry. The second section provides a summary of the findings, presents them according to each of the three research questions, and explains their relationship with the theoretical framework. Next, section three makes connections between the findings and existing literature. Section four discusses the limitations associated with this study. Lastly, section five concludes with the implications for the field and potential future research.

Review of the Study & Research Questions

The legalized racial segregation of public schools was struck down by the US Supreme Court in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. This symbolic victory did not immediately change school systems across the country, but it did set a precedent that racially segregated schools could never be equal in their quality of education. For several years, school districts throughout the southern US attempted to stall progress by finding ways to resist compliance with court-ordered desegregation. In Charlotte, significant headway did not come until Darius Swann and several other Black families sued Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools in the federal district court and won in 1969. The surprise decision was upheld on appeal in the US Supreme Court in 1971. That initial decision set in motion a series of events locally that led the school district to immediately close Charlotte's first Black public high school, Second Ward. The school that opened its doors in 1923, serving as the centerpiece of the historic Black Charlotte community of Brooklyn, would have its legacy abruptly cut-off after 46 years of operation.

Decades later, it remains an open question whether Black students are any better off nationally or locally as a result of desegregation.

Across the board, African American students experienced diminished educational achievement, access, and opportunities in the post-*Brown* era. By nearly every conceivable metric, the school system in Charlotte and across the nation is failing Black students. While the dominant narrative about all-Black schools during de jure segregation casts them as wholly-inadequate, there are many counternarratives that portray them as sights of excellent education for Black children and stalwarts of the African American community. While some research has been conducted on historical Black schools in Charlotte, most of it centered on the historic West Charlotte High School. Insufficient research exists about Second Ward High School, the city's first Black public high school. The purpose of this research is to understand the role of the segregated Black high school in the urban Southern United States as a place of community cultural wealth through the narratives of the school community members. The research questions guiding this inquiry are as follows:

1) How did the cultural wealth of Charlotte's segregated Black community shape students' experiences at Second Ward High School?
2) How was the cultural wealth of the segregated Black community in Charlotte recognized, nurtured, and transmitted at Second Ward High School?
3) How can the cultural wealth of Black communities be used to facilitate student success in contemporary resegregated contexts?

The chosen methodology for this research is a historical case study. Looking at the bounded system of Second Ward High School during the years of 1960-1969, I sought to collect data from a) semi-structured participant interviews with seven Second Ward alumni as well as b)

conduct a document analysis using all relevant historical and contemporary artifacts (i.e., yearbooks, district plans, archival documents, etc.). Using a narrative approach analysis, situated within the historical case study design, I sought to identify significant counternarratives about Second Ward and its relationship to the larger Black community.

Summary of Findings & Alignment to Theoretical Framework

There were eight recurring counternarratives found in the analysis of the interview data and documents about the student experience at Second Ward High School from 1960-1969. They are: 1) *group socialization*, 2) *insular cohesion*, 3) *institutional vitality*, 4) *motivational guidance*, 5) *holistic support*, 6) *pedagogical excellence*, 7) *fallout*, and 8) *then and now* counternarratives. The findings of this study are presented in accordance with each corresponding research question and discussed in alignment with the six various forms of cultural capital that comprise the CCW theoretical framework.

Community Shaping Student Experience

Research question 1, which asked, "How did the cultural wealth of Charlotte's segregated Black community shape students' experiences at Second Ward High School?", sought to understand the ways that specific cultural assets of the African American community influenced the students and interacted with their high schooling experience.

Group socialization emerged as a salient counternarrative, where participants recalled the many stories of Black communities in Charlotte (i.e., Brooklyn, Grier Heights, Newtown, Cherry, etc.), inculcating them into a certain worldview and set of communal practices. These stories of group socialization demonstrate aspirational, linguistic, familial, and resistant capitals at work. Participants narrated how individual people, programs, and organizations used things such as poems, songs, and other devices at their disposal to "drill into [their] heads" the idea that

despite their station in life that they were a people destined for greatness. Linguistic capital is being deployed in the use of communication mechanisms of this sort to convey a message. In the data, Oliver recalled a stanza from *Invictus* by Rudyard Kipling that reads, "I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul." He said, "To understand what that really meant and the segregated experience, that was a message, okay."

Practicing racial pride, abiding by a standard of excellence, and taking care of each other were all a part of the community norms in the segregated Black Charlotte community living in the shadow of Jim Crow. These serve as examples of aspirational capital. Martha's recollection of the charge to "advance the race" illuminated the lofty task placed before the youth of Charlotte's Black community by the elders. It is also resistant capital, as they handed down the mantle of social justice and group progress to the next generation. Participants told stories of putting these principles into practice with their peers, thereby demonstrating that for many of them, these lessons were taken to heart. When Annie Mae discussed walking home from school with a friend during a sleet and hail storm, where neither of them had coats, and deliberating choosing to allow a stranger to purchase her friend a pair of gloves instead of herself, she is exhibiting familial capital. It is plausible that the example set by her grandfather of feeding the neighborhood children may have played a part in her socialization and contributed to her ethos of self-sacrifice.

Institutional vitality was another counternarrative that corresponded with the research question. The community of Brooklyn that surrounded Second Ward High School was often portrayed as filled with blight and a liability by the dominant culture. While the presence of poverty was certainly acknowledged by participants, they presented an image of a community with vertical socioeconomic integration and Black-owned amenities. Gene remarked that,

Brooklyn also had people "who were not poor" and it also had "a barber shop, church, and they were all, you know, Black institutions." This demonstrates a community with social capital, as the sheer proximity to people who are not all of the same class afforded residents the opportunity to expand their contacts and networks.

Social capital is exhibited in stories about the sort of activities and traditions for which Brooklyn became known. The youth dances, annual parades or festivals, and establishments allowed the students who did not live in the area, like Derwin, but attended Second Ward High School to interact with the community as they were "running around in Brooklyn." Annie Mae captured the aspirational capital of Brooklyn, when she referred to it as a "Renaissance" and compared it to "Harlem." Her story demonstrates that even for students who lived in other Black neighborhoods throughout, Brooklyn stood as a living, breathing example of what was possible for African Americans as they went to school at Second Ward. It gave young Black people who lived or ventured into the community something for which to aspire as they pursued their education.

Insular cohesion counternarratives highlighted both the independence and interdependence of the Black Charlotte community. The stories from participants captured the self-sustaining nature of the community that existed almost as a totally different world from white-dominated spaces. In a social arrangement where Black people were almost certain to be treated as second-class citizens when encountering white people or institutions, Black Charlotteans found ways to minimize contact. They were effectively insulated, and many like Stuart enjoyed the level of isolation when he said, "I was happy because most of my dealings[...] was with people, people like me". The reasons for his confession were made obvious when he discussed the "harassment" faced when venturing outside of the enclave, and noted that it

"tended to be problematic." Everything that Black people needed, save a few institutions, was right there in close proximity. As a natural consequence of the closeness, this endowed Black community members with navigational capital that permitted them to maneuver through Charlotte and get their needs met, while avoiding the most vitriolic aspects of Jim Crow wherever possible. There, of course, were exceptions where participants and their families were forced to confront indignities. Some aspects were inescapable. But navigational capital made it possible for them to go to church, to the movies, to K-12 education, etc., and rarely have to be touched by it. The state-sanctioned segregation of most public accommodations unironically shielded Black people from the overt racism that would chip away at their sense of self the community worked so hard to cultivate.

This protective membrane that kept community members from going outside, worked in reverse by keeping them in, and intensified levels of social capital as well. Connectedness deepened ties and created a web of mutuality. Annie Mae spoke about her dentist being the husband of one of her teachers. For participants, it was difficult to speak of the community as separate from their school because educators "lived in your community." They would likely interact with one of their instructors while navigating through segregated Black Charlotte, as both students and teachers were living in the same racial ecosystem.

Recognizing, Nurturing, and Transmitting

Research question 2 asks, "How was the cultural wealth of the segregated Black community in Charlotte recognized, nurtured, and transmitted at Second Ward High School?", seeking to reconcile the role of the high school in engaging with the identified cultural capitals from the community in how it dealt with the students.

Holistic support counternarratives were prominently featured in the responses of participants and correlated strongly with the research question. According to participants, Second Ward was a mirror reflection of the community and practiced many of the same virtues of care and mutual accountability. Schools were generally not outfitted to respond to the social and emotional needs of students in the way they do now. But, because of the cultural orientation of segregated Black schools like Second Ward, there was an informal system of supplementary support that extended beyond mere academics. Teachers were intermediaries negotiating the developmental space between their Black students and the larger world that, according to Gene, "would not have cared" if they remained uneducated and ill-equipped for life. Stuart's story about his band teacher Mr. Donnell Cooper who would provide opportunities for students to play outside of school, earn pay, and gain experience, speaks to this concept of holistic support. He refers to him as being "like a dad."

Both Stuart and Gene report educators recognizing, nurturing, and transmitting familial capital. Serving in the capacity of an advocate shows that teachers pulled on their personal resources and community knowledge to ensure students had what they needed to excel. Navigational capital is also pronounced in the story of Annie Mae's attempt to enroll in summer school after her pregnancy. Her recollection of Ms. Johnson guiding her through the process of getting into the necessary class and gaining consent from Principal E. E. Waddell clearly demonstrates an adult clearing the path for a student in crisis. It was literally a lesson in how to navigate institutions, such as education, when encountering an unforeseen circumstance.

Motivational guidance counternarratives were some of the most compelling when discussing the kind of environment created at Second Ward. Former students continue to tell story afer story about the demanding atmosphere created by teachers who expected the most

from students because they felt they deserved the best. Additionally, the rigid and strict expectations were experienced by participants to be a rebuttal to a white supremacist society from which they could expect no mercy or benevolence. They were therefore expected to abide by a standard of excellence in preparation for their sojourn into a new world. Students like Josephine did not always enjoy the rigidity but felt teachers were "there to do their job." The toughness and preoccupation with a "future outlook" articulated by Martha is an expression of resistant capital. Educators were forthright and race-conscious in their instructional approach. They were teaching students how to be Black and resist the status quo of white supremacy, as much as they were teaching content. They were also recognizing and nurturing seeds of excellence by interpreting them through asset-based lenses, as demonstrated by Annie Mae's recommendation for the National Honors Society, a teacher who caught her doing another student's work

The teachers at Second Ward were also manifesting navigational capital. Given their own personal experiences of matriculating through higher education and operating as Black professionals in white-dominated institutions like the school system, they were cognizant of the skill set needed to successfully manage in hostile environments. Transmitting this capital can clearly be seen in how Oliver expressed Ms. McKay's admonition for students to speak the "King's English" while in class because they would eventually have to "meet the king." Embedded in this response is also linguistic capital that imparted to students an expectation of multilingualism. Retaining native forms of discourse while also being fluent in other languages was a part of the instructional approach.

Pedagogical excellence counternarratives were those that keyed in on the demonstrated instructional expertise of the Black educators at Second Ward. There was a clear and dominant

experience among alumni that they were privileged to have sat under the instruction of their teachers. Very specific incidences of pedagogical excellence on the part of teachers were recalled from the interviews. Mr. Hinton and Ms. Hall impressed students with their superior command of language, French and English, respectively, and were lauded for the indelible impression they left on their students. Gene gave credit to Mr. Hinton for his present comprehension of French, while Annie Mae recited a line from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* she learned from Ms. Hall. The enduring respect and admiration for them as consummate practitioners, as well as their acumen in language instruction, are demonstrations of aspirational and linguistic capitals. For students to see their Black educators exhibit transcendence despite teaching in segregated schools and additionally retaining material decades later serves as evidence of the transmission of community cultural wealth that occurred at Second Ward.

Participants also noted navigational capital exhibited on the part of their instructors. The very clear structural disadvantage presented by the system of separate and unequal schools routinely saddled Black schools with inferior resources. But educators were careful not to allow students to misinterpret this as a reflection of their ability. Oliver and Derwin narrated instances of teachers compensating for the lack of materials required to do experiments or particular forms of instruction. Teachers at Second Ward used their own resources and found ways to amend lessons to still give students high-quality instruction.

Facilitating Student Success

Research question 3 asked, "How can the cultural wealth of Black communities be used to facilitate student success in contemporary resegregated contexts?", and attempted to elicit from participants ways Black students today might benefit from the capitals characteristic of their schooling experience. When recounting the things that occurred in the Black Charlotte

community after desegregation, respondents engaged in *fallout* counternarratives that did not necessarily portray the post-*Brown* era favorably. These counternarratives expressed short-term and long-term consequences for Black students and also speculated about the forms of cultural capital wealth that were lost in the wake. For Second Ward alumni, the *Swann* decision and subsequent abrupt closure of their school was a traumatic experience. Emotions ranged from disappointment that more was not done to prevent it to protest and outright hopelessness. Stuart communicated his palpable anger about how district officials abused the trust of the Second Ward High School community and reneged on promises of a new school.

Chief among the concerns expressed in the fallout counternarratives was the loss of cultural wealth for students in the modern era. Gene spoke candidly about how desegregation "destroyed or damaged the education of Black people in the South." He felt African American students were now left in environments that did not affirm their culture or embody high expectations for them. Not being told, "you are smart" or being challenged translated to being treated like "visitors" in someone else's house. Embedded in this critique are concerns about the loss of resistant, navigational, and social capitals. With Black students attending schools that did not have same-race teachers, they likely are missing out on the charge to overcome social inequality, are not taught how to survive in a system that is oppositional, and are disconnected from people with whom they have meaningful relational ties. Absent this sort of community cultural wealth, African American students are predictably left adrift without the aid of what was lost in a bygone era.

Additionally, *then and now* counternarratives offered contrasting pictures about both what was left behind in pre-*Brown* segregated schools as well as what is needed to facilitate better outcomes for Black students in the present. Naturally, Martha spoke to the need for less

individualistic cultural norms and more collectivist approaches. In times past, she remarked about Black education being about more than "your own personal achievement, but achievement for the race." Her then and now counternarrative can be read as a call for more aspirational capital in the schooling of Black children. By providing African American students something that would inspire community pride, she believes they would fare better. Derwin was convinced that white teachers never really had an interest in teaching Black students and, moreover, did not possess the cultural competency to do so. He discussed the consequences of not having Black teachers who "would hang with you." The subtext of rebuke is the need for greater familial capital by hiring teachers from within the communities that Black students come from. These teachers would presumably also teach their students the same resistant capital that was passed down to Black students generations prior.

Annie Mae offered perhaps the most nuanced take about what is needed to respond to the present reality of Black students. Her recommendations included the social-emotional impacts of COVID-19, as well as gun violence. She was clear that the current generation of students, though they might benefit from aspects of pre-*Brown* schools, are dealing with a different set of circumstances. Still, her proposition amounted to greater familial capital, with schools doing more to engage parents and to "provide some kind of incentive" to facilitate greater school-community relations.

Table 3

Research Question, Counternarrative, and Cultural Capital Alignment

Research Questions	Counternarratives	Forms of Cultural Capital
1. How did the cultural wealth of Charlotte's	Group Socialization	Aspirational, Linguistic, Familial, & Resistant

segregated Black community shape students' experiences at Second Ward High School?	Institutional Vitality	Social, Aspirational
	Insular Cohesion	Social, Navigational
2. How was the cultural wealth of the segregated Black community in Charlotte recognized, nurtured, and transmitted at Second Ward High School?	Holistic Support	Familial, Navigational
	Motivational Guidance	Resistant, Navigational, Linguistic
	Pedagogical Excellence	Aspirational, Linguistic, Navigational
3. How can the cultural wealth of Black communities be used to facilitate student success in contemporary resegregated contexts?	Fallout	Resistant, Navigational, & Social
	Then and Now	Aspirational, Familial, & Resistant

Connection to Literature

The findings in this study conform to much of the literature about the history of Black education, counternarratives of pre-*Brown* schools, and pedagogical approaches proven to work for African American students. The previous literature has been synthesized into general headings to provide an overview of the numerous connections between the findings and the existing scholarship.

Education as a Practice of Freedom

Historical literature shows that Black people in the United States have always desired education, even before it was legal for them to possess it. The dogged pursuit of freedom through the formal acquisition of knowledge was a community value. This research confirms through the

various counternarratives that different forms of cultural capital of segregated Black schools were a driving force behind the promotion of teaching and learning (Du Bois, 1902). Literature also suggests that there has always been an ideological struggle over how education was administered to African American students since the formation of the first public schools (Watkins, 2001). Black people have largely valued education as a tool of racial advancement as well as social mobility but have been forced to choose based on the worldview of entities operating the schools. It has always been about something more than economic improvement, which appropriately contradicts Bourdieu's culturally biased assumption of pure self-interest (Anderson, 1988; Bourdieu, 1986). This study reveals there may have been a false choice fallacy of classical liberal arts versus vocational training for Black students in the pre-*Brown* era. During the period of this study, the dichotomy between the two philosophical traditions seems to have been erased. Second Ward High School offered both tracks of learning and permitted students to choose their desired path, but they were not forced into a particular route based upon the pressures of white paternalism or the undue influence of philanthropy (Anderson, 1988; Anderson & Moss, 1999; Watkins, 2001).

Self-Help as a Community Value

Second Ward and the teachers who worked there were the literal embodiment of a "do-it-yourself" work ethic. They often dug into their own coffers to supply the needs of students, paying what literature refers to as the "Black tax." It is also supported by scholarship that shows African American communities were always admonished by whites to demonstrate "self-help" before ever receiving any assistance in the pursuit of education (Anderson, 1988; Fairclough, 2007, Franklin, 1984). Teachers who found ways to compensate for underfunding were reflecting the same cultural capital that forced Black communities to provide matching grants for

school construction via the Rosenwald Fund, despite the state neglecting its financial responsibility (Hanchett, 1988). Black communities additionally tapped their meager resources to supplement teacher salaries through the Jeanes Fund (Anderson, 1988; Thuesen, 2013).

This study demonstrates that self-sufficiency was a commonly held community value in segregated Black communities in the southern US, and teachers exemplified this virtue in the ways they compensated for structural disadvantage and underfunding within the educational system. The commitment to excellence and assisting students in finding ways to survive in the white world clearly aligned to the literature that suggests this as part of a Black education heritage (Givens, 2021).

Brooklyn Community and Second Ward

Brooklyn was special, even during the period of impending urban renewal and desegregation. Previous historical literature showed the Brooklyn community of Charlotte as a symbol of Black excellence (Ely et al., 2001; Hanchett, 1998). It was the epicenter of recreational, cultural, and entrepreneurial institutions. This research confirmed the high regard that Brooklyn had amongst other African Americans in segregated Charlotte in the counternarratives captured by respondents. Additionally, it corroborated the notion that there was class diversity within the boundaries of this community and that residents were not exclusively from one particular level of the social stratum (Valk & Brown, 2010). Many of the aforementioned places, traditions, and events present in the literature were included in the recollections of interviewees. Many of the other neighborhoods with significant Black populations that appeared in the literature were also supported by the research (Hanchett, 1998). However, some neighborhoods, such as Grier Heights, Newtown, Blue Heaven, Dulltown, etc., emerged from the study, but were not located in the literature.

Additionally, though existent literature on Second Ward High School is sparse, the little that is available was substantiated by the participants in this study. Although this historical case study was from a fenced-in time period of 1960-1969, it still provided names of key educational figures that were part of the Second Ward High School community. People such as Spencer Durante and E. E. Waddell and their looming impact were corroborated by participants in my study (Polzer, 1993). It was able to substantiate significant elements about the story of the school, including its years of operation, courses offered, educational levels of teachers, and community response to the news of its closure found in the literature. The circumstances leading up to the closure of Second Ward, the community response, and even the dishonesty on the part of district leadership were foreshadowing the literature review and supported by the many stories offered by this inquiry. For instance, when Stuart talked about participating in a protest that ultimately went for naught, his story supports the existent historical literature (Polzer, 1993).

Education Responsive to Culture and Context

The findings about the instructional praxis of Second Ward educators map nearly seamlessly to the existing scholarship about Black teachers in segregated schools. The literature suggests that pre-*Brown* educators were always embodying certain pedagogical traditions connected to African American culture (Foster, 1997; Kelly, 2010). Researchers have asserted there were many consummate educators and schools that managed to offer exemplary educational opportunities and endowed students with competencies for how to survive in a fundamentally racist society (Baker, 2011; Dingus, 2006; Fairclough, 2007). Scholars have argued that Black teachers were engaging in a particular culturally-defined practice over time that is conceptualized by some as African American Pedagogical Excellence and might be considered culturally relevant teaching prior to the formation of the theoretical framework and

transmitted capital that positioned students for success, job readiness, and social activism (Acosta et al., 2018; Kelly, 2010; Preston-Grimes, 2010). This study supports that many of the features in the praxis of Black educators were, in fact, present. This research demonstrates that race-conscious instructional techniques, as well as holistic community practices that confronted the sociopolitical realities of students critically, are not new, but a part of the long tradition. Descriptions of educators fit the archetypes of warm demanders and teachers who formed therapeutic alliances with their students (Siddle Walker, 2000). While never using these exact terms, components of these instructional approaches were visible in my study.

Lasting Impact on Black Community, Teachers, and Students

Finally, in keeping with the literature that is foundational to the critical race origins of the theoretical framework, this study suggests desegregation may not have been the panacea it has been portrayed to be. Second Ward alumni never really wanted integration; they just wanted what was due to them under the law. They were expecting a new school when the one they had was closed against their will. As Bell (1980) has suggested, not all community members were looking for desegregation as a remedy. The method chosen by the NAACP LDF deviated from the desire of many residents of African American communities who simply wanted equity. The inextricable bond between the Brooklyn community and Second Ward High School is unmistakable in the data and serves to authenticate research conducted by Michele Foster (1993, 1994). Literature suggests there was immense fallout as a result of wide-spread school closure and a focus on racial balance that left Black students in a permanently marginalized state (Adair, 1984).

This study confirms these as sentiments among many alumni, and as some went as far to say it destroyed the Black community in many regards. Concerns expressed by study participants

about Black students in the post-*Brown* period being taught by teachers who do not look like them, with deficit perspectives, and not being in culturally-affirming environments only fortify the literature that theorized the lack of cultural synchronization and ignorance on the part of many non-Black teachers (Dempsey & Noblit, 1993; Irvine, 1981). The projection of Black students being left adrift in a desegregated landscape where the indifference to their suffering was merely transferred to more mixed-race environments could be found in the data and immediately aligns with notions of second-class integration and second-generation segregation (Mickelson, 2001; Siddle Walker, 2009). In sum, there is clearly a palpable sense that something of great importance was lost by the African American community when historically Black schools like Second Ward were closed, and that whatever it needs to be retrieved for future generations (Cecelski, 1994).

Implications

The implications of this study are numerous and may provide insights that prove useful in the continual pursuit of racial equity for African American students in the modern urban education system. The experiences embedded in the eight counternarratives of Second Ward alumni during one of the most overtly racist and structurally oppressive periods for Black people present the opportunity to retrieve valuable lessons about what may work for African American children today. The same racial demographic that the US public schools presently struggle to educate was served well by Second Ward High School for 46 years. While their stories are not uniform, there is consensus about the fact that they received a quality education, even as the period of state-sanctioned segregation was in its twilight years. Their recollections about their community, their school and teachers serve as intergenerational guidance for a people still trying to grasp the promises of *Brown*. The implications of this research for improving outcomes for

Black students in the urban contemporary context are offered against the backdrop of this particular set of circumstances.

1. A completely different post-*Brown* context:

The modern context of Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools is both similar and different from the times past. Since the *Swann* case and subsequent court-ordered desegregation, the school district finds itself in a much more complicated place. As a direct result of the *Cappachione* case and reaching unitary status, CMS is no longer compelled by the courts to continue efforts at achieving racial-balance within schools. It has subsequently been resegregated, with several racially isolated schools that consequently correspond with deep pockets of intense poverty. This pattern of residential segregation resembles the Charlotte of old in some respects, with the exception that the population of color has grown more diverse to include other racially minoritized groups beyond just African Americans from all over the world. The student population within schools largely reflects the housing patterns of the city.

The historical Black-white binaries common in the US are no longer sufficient when discussing race in urban education. Urban schools in the US are multiracial pluralistic environments that require race-conscious approaches in order to achieve educational equity. There is no way to transcend the social, economic, and political forces shaping schools when delivering education to students of color (Anyon, 2014; Wilson, 2012). In a more globalized era, Charlotte has blossomed into a cosmopolitan city, and headquarters to a thriving banking industry. It is widely considered the second-largest financial center on the east coast. With even greater denominations of African, Asian, Latin American and Native American students, the pedagogy must also be responsive to their various cultural backgrounds. In order to apply the

different capitals in the modern context of education, greater attention must be given to the myriad customs, values and practices of a much more international population.

It also differs drastically in the sense that the coupling of racial and economic segregation is vastly different from pre-*Brown* Charlotte. This unprecedented development has created a scenario of double-segregation that bears little-to-no resemblance to segregated Black communities of yester-year like Brooklyn. The lack of vertical socioeconomic integration concentrates a series of needs in schools that are ill-equipped to deal with them. Additionally, the majority of the teaching workforce in CMS is white, serving as a veritable mismatch between a student population that is 75% Black and brown. The massive layoffs of Black educators following desegregation have created a sizable dearth of educators who look like and come from the backgrounds of students. Finding ways to train teachers in the key practices of Black pre-*Brown* schools may be the most plausible route to shifting practice since it will be many years before the diversity gap is closed.

Lastly, since the closing of Second Ward in 1969, urban environments all over the country entered into a period known as the War on Drugs. What followed in its wake was an era of unprecedented levels of community violence fueled by the illegal drug trade and subsequent period of mass incarceration that funneled scores of people in the Black community into the carceral system (Alexander, 2010). Additionally, the US economy has shifted dramatically from the industrial era, where manual labor jobs were more plentiful, to a post-industrial era where automation and technology have replaced many jobs that once provided employment for the Black community. This has created an extreme underclass of residents in urban centers, that are typically Black and brown and in many ways, relatively economically worse-off than in prior periods (Wilson, 2012). These things complicate the urban contexts that students now find

themselves in and make it impossible to merely transpose practices from then-to-now with the same efficacy. It is tempting to "bask in the glory" and genuflect on the findings of this research, hastily concluding that there is a mere need to apply past-practice to the modern-day. However, caution should be taken when attempting to predict the impact. It may very well be that the various forms of cultural capital found in the pre-*Brown* era of school can be of use for improving educational outcomes. But, there are many other contextual variables that could ultimately mitigate their effect.

2. Excellence can be achieved in segregated urban schools:

It sounds antithetical to the concept of a multiracial democracy to propose that segregation may have had some benefits for African American students, but this research suggests that merely being racially-identifiable does not alone doom schools to educational inequality. The findings offer that, baring many overt attempts by the white power structure to undermine Black agency, a modicum of excellence can, in fact, be achieved. Given that the original spirit of *Brown* was about Black people desiring equity and not necessarily racial balance of schools, the present resegregation gives education systems another opportunity to rethink integration. The success and social mobility of students in the post-secondary space who attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) serve as a telling example of this point.

Additionally, it is not likely that school districts have the appetite or political will to engage in initiatives that seek to significantly change school composition or drastically redo student assignment procedures. This prospect is made increasingly more difficult by a population that is spreading further out into Mecklenburg county, with growing suburban communities that cannot plausible be used to bus students long distances. Even more, the ideological commitment

to preserving residential segregation in Charlotte was made clear by the North Carolina legislature in 2018. It attempted to pass a law permitting the city's four majority-white suburbs to create municipal charters that would require being a domicile of the respective towns in order to attend (Nordstrom, 2018). Such a move signaled the improbability of truly desegregating.

So a renewed focus on what is needed to truly equalize educational opportunities for students of color is in order. By revisiting the desires of Black community stakeholders, as well as other communities of color, for their schools, and creating initiatives to actualize them, it may truly produce the results that so many during de jure segregation were clamoring for. Simply using racial balance as a measure of progress is inadequate, as Black students in white-dominated contexts may still experience subpar performance. Recalibrating the focus of integration to prioritize equity and excellence should be the path forward.

3. Black education is inherently political:

There has never been a single era where the pursuit of education on the part of Black people has not been overtly political. Whether it be the right to an education, the construction of the schools themselves, the funding for resources, or even the operation of the school itself has been left to the whims of politicians and key decision-makers. With this in mind, it should be stated that to truly begin to transform education in such a way that it affirms the identities of Black students and properly furnishes their academic, social, and emotional needs would likely be a politically explosive endeavor. It would be met with resistance and discredited by populations who continue in the tradition of denying African Americans any ounce of progress. This does not absolve the Black community of fighting for the necessary changes but serves as a cautionary reminder of the struggle that lies ahead. White supremacy continues to stand as an impediment to Black empowerment, so an education system that centers Black students will be

perceived politically as a threat. One need look no further than the scourge of book bans and memory laws attempting to outlaw the teaching of content from a Black sociopolitical perspective as evidence. This backlash against so-called "critical race theory" is a thinly-veiled disinformation campaign designed to rob African American students, and other students of color, of the kind of cultural wealth identified as part of the educational experiences within the study.

An additional form of capital that may be needed in the fight for quality Black education, but was largely absent from the narratives about Second Ward High School captured in this study, is that of political capital. There were no Black persons on the school board at the time of the school closing. The residents of Brooklyn and all the larger African American community were relatively powerless to stop the imminent closure and demolition of the school. Nearly 20,000 people signed a petition, but it was to no avail. Recently, as CMS prepared its 2021-2022 budget for approval, a collective of Black parents, the Black Political Caucus and the Charlotte chapter of the NAACP urged the Board of County Commissioners to withhold funds from the district. They encouraged a portion of the monies to be held until the district could articulate a plan for improving outcomes for historically marginalized students (White, 2021). The move was received by many to be politically unpopular, even if motivated by the right intentions. Eventually, a deal was reached that culminated in the production of such a plan and the release of subsequent funds.

4. <u>The school and community are intertwined</u>:

This study demonstrates that the paradigm of the school as an institution that exists separate from the community is largely culturally-defined. For many African Americans, particularly those who came of age prior to desegregation, they experienced school as not just a building but as a fixture within the community. It was a place where community norms were

reinforced, and those who worked at the schools were accessible, because teachers and administrators were often members of the communities they served. This stands in stunning contrast to how schools function today, where they often feel like colonial outposts positioned within certain territories but are not authentically connected. The sense of detachment from the Black community is sadly part of the legacy of *Brown*, and must be responded to in order to rekindle a semblance of what students felt during the years of segregation. Districts and school leaders must find ways to mandate that educators show up and serve the communities their students come from. Improving school-community relations by emulating the practices of Black educators from a bygone era may help increase student achievement. Educators in the urban South would do well to try to recreate the sort of supportive environments reported during the period of this study. Different from the call for "neighborhood schools," which has tended to serve as a coded-language for the preservation of white residential segregation, "community schools" speaks to a more cooperative cultural approach to doing school. A key failing of the Project LIFT and Beacon Initiative in Charlotte was that it relegated the community it purported to serve to the status of a consultant or sounding board. A shared-governance approach over decision making and providing resources through strategic partnerships are worthy of iteration as a means of achieving this sort of cohesion seen between Brooklyn and Second Ward High School.

5. Restorative opportunities for local district decisions:

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools sits at an impasse where it could potentially apply the hard lessons of the past in a corrective fashion to present and future decisions that initiate a modicum of equity. The failures to properly recognize the various kinds of wealth present in marginalized communities and subsequent creation of policies that ignored their specific needs does not have

to continue. If careful attention is given to the ways that Black people in Charlotte were virtually made invisible, despite their rich school and community heritage, restorative practices can be adopted that do repair for the harm caused in the past. For instance, the promised replacement of Second Ward, named Metropolitan High School, was ultimately never built despite parading-around blue prints and three-dimensional models of the structure throughout the community. However, in May 2022, the Charlotte Mecklenburg School Board announced the construction of new Second Ward Medical and Technology High School to be built on the ruins of the old site (Doss Helms, 2022). While this commitment has been billed as the fulfillment of a broken promise, it will be a magnet school that will likely attract a student population much different than the historically Black population that once went there. If careful intentionality is not prioritized, this school could merely perpetuate the racial and ethnic inequities that have become a part of the Charlotte legacy. However, if policymakers were to consult with Second Ward National Alumni Foundation and the various alumni in order to recapture the kinds of cultural wealth that will be required to enact racial equity, a historical wrong could be made right.

Recommendations

In order to finally actualize the vision of equal educational opportunities for Black students, which is the true spirit of the *Brown* litigation, there are several steps that should be taken in the present-day context. Translating the learnings from the prior generation about the transmission of community cultural wealth requires intentional practitioner and policy prescriptions. The following recommendations are meant to provide potential options for the local school districts, school leaders as well as teachers for how to bring the assets of pre-*Brown* schools into the 21st century:

Substitute racial balance with racial equity. As previously stated, in order to determine what makes a school good or bad, districts must go beyond the traditional measures, which largely focus narrowly on the benchmark assessment and academic outputs. While the aggregate experiences of the students in a multiracial school building may appear fine at first glance, there are several ways that students of color may be getting maligned that are not readily apparent (Mickelson, 2001). Rates of suspension, access to rigorous courses, and gifted and talented identification are just some ways racial disparities have been prone to show up in the post-*Brown* era (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Gathering data that paints a fuller picture of the experiences of all students, looking at access indicators as well as outcome indicators across student subgroups is a better way to determine whether a school is delivering on promises of equity. While school performance grades (SPGs) are typically the synthesis of student achievement on assessments and growth over the course of year, an added component of factoring racial disparities would provide accountability to schools where populations of color often fall by the wayside.

Conduct school racial climate surveys of students. At present, it is impossible to know how Black students and other students of color experience the schooling environment. While literature suggests that they often endure stereotype threat and diminished academic identities in key subject areas, there is presently no way for schools to assess this at a district or school level (Allen et al., 2013; Burnett et al., 2020; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Some student surveys, such as Tripod or Panorama have proven useful in assessing the school climate and have been adopted by choice districts. However, many of these tools, even if they gather basic demographic data, do not have an explicit cultural orientation that attempts to glean how the school environment is experienced through a racial or ethnic lens. Village of Wisdom, an organization dedicated to empowering Black parents in Durham, NC has developed and validated a Culturally Affirming

School Climate Survey (CASCS) (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2020). This tool asks students questions explicitly designed to measure racial bias and discrimination. Used intentionally, the CASCS could be a powerful instrument in the hands of district or school leaders. Establishing a baseline measurement of school culture in a way that centers students of color would serve as a significant first step in the direction of ensuring the educational setting affirms community cultural wealth.

Adopt a teacher diversity plan. The benefits of having a same-race teacher are not only summarily extolled in the interview data, but also supported by the literature (Gershenson et al., 2016). Many in the education field agree to this in principle, but as it stands, there has not been the sort of tangible commitment needed to change the complexion of the workforce in CMS. Despite not being skewed as heavily-white as other districts, there is still a tremendous underrepresentation of teachers and principals of color commensurate with the student population. A plausible recommendation for districts to engage in is adopting a policy that mandates the development of a teacher diversity plan. Such a policy would move the district past platitudes and into action by requiring yearly goals, strategies, and benchmarks for diversifying the teaching workforce. As mentioned earlier, the void of teachers of color left by *Brown* will likely take decades to replenish. But such a plan could be useful in articulating an actual strategy with key performance indicators and projections for how to effectuate systemic change.

Decentralize school governance. There was a palpable sense of ownership of the school in the student that was felt by nearly every student. The symbiotic relationship between school and community was a naturally occurring phenomenon in segregation that may have to be facilitated more intentionally in contemporary times. One way to restore the sense of insular cohesion enjoyed by the community and reflected by the students is to decentralize the school

governance. In many respect, the progenitors of Black Charlotte schools, like Samuel Pride and the Charlotte Negro Citizen's League, were already foreshadowing this concept when petitioning the district to create a Black school board (Grundy, 2022). In the modern context, such an endeavor has been expressed in the form of the Local School Council (LSC). Chicago Public Schools employed this model in the late 1980s and has seen notable improvement in performance at several schools over the course of many years. The LSC is composed of one principal, six parent representatives, two community representatives, two teacher representatives, one non-teacher representative, and one high school student representative. This model has "reshaped the power relationships between principals, teachers, parents, and local community leaders" by putting decision making power over the school largely in the hands of this body (Bryk et al., 2010, p. 216). To be clear, these are traditional public schools, not charter schools, but the duties of the LSC go beyond that of the typical school improvement team. Key decisions such as principal evaluation and how to spend the school budget are within the purview of this entity. Such an arrangement adopted by racially-identifiable urban schools would capture the age-old desire for "assistance without control" expressed since emancipation.

Perform asset-mapping of all school communities. In the present context, schools are often brick and mortar buildings that exist within communities, but do not have any meaningful connections to them. They often sit nestled in the backdrop of very rich and diverse areas, agnostic to the place-based histories without any relationship with the residents. In order to recapture the sense of affiliation that recognized the assets of the community articulated in the study, school leaders may want to intentionally map them. Asset-mapping is a way of identifying what value a community has with a strength-based lens. It is a process used to "document a community's existing resources, incorporate its strengths into shared goals" (National Center for

Farmworker Health, 2021, p. 2). Study participants did this when talking about all of the many institutions in Brooklyn and how they interacted with those things as part of being in the school community at Second Ward High School. This can be brought to the 21st century, but it must be done through the thoughtful and intentional action of asset mapping. Once the richness of certain communities has been made visible to school staff and personnel, it can create the opportunity for authentic connections and leverage those various assets as an integral part of the school experience. Enumerating the specific forms of cultural capital that make up the community cultural wealth framework can be possible if school leaders take employees through the process of how to see it. Such an activity could unlock the power inherent in many segregated Black schools by using a methodical approach and potentially improve the experience for all students, but students of color in particular.

Mandate community service for all school personnel. Ideally, everyone who works at a particular school would naturally feel compelled to serve the surrounding community. This was the state of affairs during the period captured in the study, where educators lived and worked in the same neighborhood as their students. However, as mentioned earlier, segregation was an artificial arrangement. To expect such a commitment to community in the present-day is an unreasonable expectation. Nevertheless, a small measure of the proximity felt by participants in the study can be recreated through the compulsion of school leadership. The principal can set the work culture that assumes all school personnel will participate in community service. For teachers who do not live in or venture into areas outside of their work obligation, it can foster greater-intimacy that creates the opportunity for experiences that counter deficit-based narratives about a particular part of the city. Given the rigid pattern of segregation in Charlotte, and the composition of the teaching workforce, it increases the likelihood that a teacher at a racially

isolated school will come from without the community. Setting the expectation of service to the whole community and not just the school building – while intentionally scheduling opportunities during the year – can potentially break barriers student assignment policies cannot. Implementing such a recommendation with fidelity would usher current educators into the Black school community practices of the past.

Support the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation and Gymnasium. Second Ward High School is no more. All that remains is a gymnasium, which has undergone a recent renovation. According to study participants, even salvaging the gym took incredible community pressure. It is managed by Mecklenburg County Parks and Recreation. There is a historical marker on the site, but the average passerby could walk or drive through without ever knowing it's there. However, the Second Ward National Alumni Foundation remains active. I was able to participate in their annual meeting and see nearly 100 attendees from various classes gathered in the gymnasium. However, they are not producing any more alumni. The last graduating class was in 1969, and many fear that memory of the school will fade into oblivion. The Foundation gives out $1000 scholarships every year to African American graduating high school students as a way of keeping the name alive. But some interviewees, like Martha, remarked about the importance of supporting the gymnasium as well as the alumni foundation. It is important for every Black child in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools to know who came before them. The year 2023 will mark 100 years since Second Ward High School first opened its doors. Despite having its legacy cut short, preserving the memory of everything it contributed to the community becomes all-the-more imperative.

Limitations

There are many limitations to this study that deserve consideration when evaluating the implications associated with the findings. Such limitations include the study participants themselves, as the stories, thoughts, and experiences shared are those of former students exclusively. Due to the historical nature of this pursuit and the specific time period of focus, a small number of surviving teachers from Second Ward exist. It thus limits the pool of respondents only to those who attended the school and not those who worked there. As a result, while the student experience is answered, there are questions about the thoughts and intentions of the educators that cannot be answered in their entirety due to their absence as interview participants. Also, there were other narrative categories of data that, while providing valuable information about the lives of participants, did not align with the purpose of this study. Those data were subsequently not included in this study as they do not align with the research questions guiding this particular inquiry. Lastly, reflexivity forces me to acknowledge that I, as the researcher, play an active role in the co-construction of narratives. This, however, means that my own subjectivity can potentially have an impact on the study. While careful actions were taken to memo and journal in order to identify biases, it is impossible to entirely erase my influence from the research.

Future Research

There are numerous ways future research could extend the exploration of community cultural wealth within Black schools within Charlotte. As noted, there are narratives about the whole Black school ecosystem within segregated Charlotte that deserve to be explored. Several elementary, junior high, and senior high schools dotted the educational landscape. They vary from Rosenwald schools on the outskirts of Mecklenburg County to other urban schools situated

in different wards of the city. Participants still possess vivid memories of these schools as well (i.e., Alexander Street, Billingsville, York Road, JH Gunn, etc.). Additionally, a spatial study of various Black neighborhoods that were feeders into Second Ward High School, such as Cherry and Earle Village, and how the community wealth has changed over time would provide an insightful picture about displacement caused by urban renewal impacted current school composition patterns. Lastly, an exploration of post-secondary experiences of Second Ward alumni could provide a more nuanced look at the life outcomes of the students and bolster understanding of the various forms of cultural capital. In particular, those who went straight through to Carver College after graduating, which shared the same building and many of the same instructors as Second Ward, could really shed light on the insular cohesion of the Brooklyn community. Researchers should take the liberty to find additional counternarratives that speak to how Black education in the South, North Carolina, and the specific context of Charlotte evolved prior to desegregation.

Conclusion

This historical case study was designed to understand the role of Second Ward High School in the Black Charlotte community. Through the counternarratives of participants and documents, I was able to distill the particular forms of cultural capital present at this segregated Black high school that often went unrecognized by the dominant white culture. Alumni clearly experienced the school as a place that reflected community values and practices, provided wrap-around support in the form of high academic standards and life guidance, and left a void in the Black community after its closure. Additionally, this inquiry sought to understand how the kinds of cultural wealth present during segregation could be transposed to the resegregated contexts to help improve outcomes for African American students currently in the urban education setting.

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APPENDIX A: PRE-INTERVIEW SURVEY

A Historical Case Study of an All-Black High School in Pre-*Brown* Charlotte, North Carolina From 1960-1969

Gathering Data

1. Name: _____

2. Address: _____

3. Phone #: _____

4. Email address: _____

5. Affiliation with Second Ward High School: Student_____

6. Years Attended_____ Year Graduated_____

7. Would you be willing to participate in my research project by talking about your experiences related to Second Ward High School and/or the desegregation of Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools? If so, what is the best way to contact you?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Project Title: A Historical Case Study of an All-Black High School in Pre-Brown Charlotte, North Carolina From 1960-1969

This is a semi-structured qualitative interview starting with a few open-ended questions. The interviewer will possibly ask some probing or follow-up questions depending on the response of the interviewee in the interview process.

Participant Profile

Name:

Address:

Phone Number:

Date of Birth:

Gender:

Schools Attended in Mecklenburg County:

Years Attended at Second Ward High School: From 19___ to 19___

Education Level:

High School Graduation Year:

Personal Introduction/Briefing:

Thank you for participating in this study. My name is James E. Ford. I am a former classroom educator and current PhD student at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. My research interests are teacher diversity and education policy. The purpose of this study is to understand the role of a segregated Black high school in the Southern US as a place of community cultural wealth through the narratives of the school and community members. I am going to ask you a series of questions. There are no wrong answers, so please answer as freely as you can. You do not need to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with. You may stop at any time for any reason. Would you still like to proceed?

Warm up questions:

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself. Where did you grow up?
2. How did you end up attending or working at Second Ward HS?
3. What years did you attend or work at Second Ward HS?

Segregated Black Charlotte

4. Tell me a story that shows how Black Charlotteans experienced the Brooklyn community during segregation.

   Probes/Follow-Ups:

   - What kind of amenities and institutions did Brooklyn have?
   - How did Black people interact with each other in Brooklyn?
   - What sort of values and traditions did Brooklyn have?

5. What did getting an education mean to you and those in the Brooklyn community?

   Probes/Follow-Ups:

   - What was the purpose of education for you? For other Black people that you know?
   - What did graduating from high school mean for you? For other Black people? For whites?

Attending/Working at Second Ward High School

6. Tell me about your experience at Second Ward HS.

   Probes/Follow-Ups:

   - How would you describe the quality of education that students at Second Ward HS received?
   - What classes did you take or teach? What sort of activities were you involved in?

7. How did your experiences at Second Ward High School affect you personally or professionally?

   Probes/Follow-Ups:

   - What, if anything, did teachers instill in students about education?
   - Who are some memorable students, teachers or figures at the school? Why?

8. Describe the school culture at Second Ward HS.

   Probes/Follow-Ups:

   - When you think of Second Ward HS, what stands out in your memory?

- Why were students at Second Ward HS successful? Why were students not successful?

- How did things differ in a segregated Black school from that of a white school?

Closing of Second Ward

9. Describe your feelings when you heard that Second Ward High School would be closing?

Probes/Follow-Ups:

- What impact did the closing Second Ward High School have on people in the Black community of Brooklyn?

- How did teaching or teachers change after desegregation?

- How would you describe Black schools before desegregation?

- How were Black children affected by desegregation?

- How were Black educators affected by desegregation?

Wrap up and final comment question

10. Is there anything you would like to say about desegregation in Charlotte; most specifically, about the closing of Second Ward High School that I have not asked you?

APPENDIX C: BROOKLYN AREA BLIGHT STUDY

duced many of these primitive structures to a state that affords scant protection from the elements. Broken, decayed or missing siding, sagging windows and gaping doors leave the inhabitants vulnerable to wind and water. The floors and roofs of other buildings sag or roll over uneven foundations. Dilapidation and deterioration of structures in varying degrees is a common characteristic of the area. Many structures have clearly passed the point of no return to restoration as acceptable housing in the 20th Century, while others could undoubtedly be restored to contemporary living standards.

LEGAL DETERMINATION OF BLIGHT

While it is obvious to the casual observer that the Brooklyn Area is a blighted district by commonly accepted standards, the North Carolina Urban Redevelopment Law sets forth general criteria to be used in determining that a condition of blight exists under the Law. By definition given in the Law, a blighted area is a predominantly residential section of the community in which two-thirds of the buildings are dilapidated, deteriorated, obsolete or are lacking in adequate provision for ventilation, light, air, sanitation or open spaces. Other conditions which contribute to blight, such as high density of population and over-crowding, fire and other hazards to life and property are cited in the Law. The Law also notes adverse health conditions, high incidence of crime or juvenile delinquency as common consequences of slum and blighted environments.

SPECIFIC BLIGHT CHARACTERISTICS IN BROOKLYN

Pursuant to the provisions of the Urban Redevelopment Law, a structure by structure survey was made of the buildings in the Brooklyn

APPENDIX D: THE BROOKLYN STORY

SIGHTS AND SCENES

Although the scenes in the following pictures show sections of decay and slums, Brooklyn prided itself on having some of the finest homes in the city. Unfortunately, pictures of them were not available for the brochure. All of the scenes shown were made available to us by the Redevelopment Commission, and were taken by them in the late 1950s. It has been reliably estimated that Blacks owned about 80% of the homes between McDowell and Brevard Streets. Most of the business and professional Black leaders lived or worked in Brooklyn throughout the past century.

APPENDIX E: MATTIE HALL'S NEWSPAPER HIGHLIGHT

Second Ward High's gone, but not its toughest teacher

By DEBORAH GATES
News Staff Writer

Mattie Hall was out working in the yard when she heard the heart-breaking radio announcement.

Few of the many students who had quaked beneath her stern voice would have believed her reaction 11 years ago, as her nephew relayed the news from the back porch of Miss Hall's Mulberry Street home.

Second Ward High was going to close. Miss Hall, the hard-nosed, take-no-foolishness teacher from the old school, melted into tears.

Tears came again Monday as she sat at her kitchen table and relived the moment.

"I was doing something out in my yard, it was in July. My nephew said, 'Auntie, Second Ward just now ...'"

In 1969, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools closed all-black Second Ward High. It was leveled a year later. The school was founded in 1924 in the old Brooklyn neighborhood. For its first 20 years, Second Ward was THE black high school in Charlotte. More than 6,000 students passed through its doors.

much a fixture in the school as were the English textbooks she preached from. She taught all grades, but most remember her from 12th-grade English class.

Miss Hall taught at Second Ward longer than any other teacher. In 35 years, she earned a reputation as the toughest instructor in the building.

"A boy told me yesterday, 'You were the meanest,'" she said with a chuckle Monday. "I'll tell you, I'd get them told. I had no lipping.

"I told those chaps to get in line and they took a seat. If you thought that was mean, I was purely mean."

One time, a student rebelled after she had kept a class 20 minutes after school for being noisy.

"He came through the door," Miss Hall recalled. "I thought he was going to hit me, but he said he was going to get the principal.

"The principal said, 'Son, you could have gotten killed ... Don't ever run through a door past a woman with a stick in her hand, especially Miss Hall.'"

"He was nice as he could be after that."

Above all, Miss Hall cared about her students. She tried to help them, not only with lessons, but with life.

"I didn't try to teach nobody's hungry children," she said. "The school was in a poor area. I'd bring food and cook it. I ran the school concession, and I fed about 200 to 300 kids a morning for the longest time. They liked the teachers who would work among them."

In 1966, the school yearbook was dedicated to Miss Hall.

Second Ward did not die easily. Its students protested the closing. But a wave of change had gripped Charlotte in the late 1960s, and Second Ward was part of an old order destined for oblivion.

"The school was closed for progress, I know that," Miss Hall said. "I see they needed that land and they wanted us out.

"But Second Ward was in a category by itself. And boy, I cried when they said they were going to take that place."

"The principal said, 'Son, you could have gotten killed ... Don't ever run through a door past a woman with a stick in her hand, especially Miss Hall.'"
— Mattie Hall

And many of them knew and feared Mattie Hall. A Second Ward teacher for 35 years, she was as

APPENDIX F: PRINCIPAL WADDELL'S MESSAGE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE PRINCIPAL'S MESSAGE

We began the 1966-67 school year as a full-fledged senior high school (grades 10-12), facing many challenges. As the year progresses we are fortunately able to conclude that, for the most part, these challenges are being met.

This year has brought changes in our student body with many new faces and I salute these students for accepting their responsibilities as Second Ward Tigers. I likewise salute the returning students for the friendliness and hospitality extended to the new students.

Looking toward the future, I see the prospects of many good things for Second Ward. Among these are a new plant, new programs, increased student body, new activities--and we may even have a new name.

I extend congratulations to the staff of the 1967 TIGER for the diligent work which was done to produce this yearbook. Specifically, I want to commend Miss Queen Green for her unrelenting dedication to the job as adviser to the staff. She worked long and hard to make this book a source of pride and joy to all of us who love Second Ward.

As you examine these pages, I am sure you will conclude that Second Ward is a great school with a dedicated faculty and a wonderful student body.

NEW BEGINNING
WHAT WE HOPE TO BE

The new Metropolitan High School should be ready for occupancy sometime in the fall of 1969. The new Metropolitan High School will be located on the site of the existing Second Ward Senior High School, which is almost directly across the street from the new Education Center.

The auditorium and the cafeteria in the high school will be used by the personnel in the center. The school is to be both a comprehensive high school and a specialized school. The specialized program would offer courses in the arts, sciences, and vocational and technical education not available at any other high school in the system. These would include extensive programs in science, business education, distributive education, and performing arts.

APPENDIX G: SCHOOL SYSTEM ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

portation of students. In essence, if adopted for 1969-70, the first phase of alternative #1 would do the following:

(a) There are presently 15 all-Negro elementary schools in the district. Under this plan, only seven elementary schools would be all-Negro in September 1969, if it is possible to close four of the small old inner city all-Negro schools.

(b) There are presently 12 junior high schools that are racially identifiable as white or Negro schools. Under this plan the number of racially identifiable junior high schools would be six.

(c) There are 11 senior high schools in the district. Eight of these are racially identifiable as Negro or white. Under this plan, one high school would remain racially identifiable--West Charlotte--and plans are offered for the desegregation of that school.

Phase 2 of alternative #1 is, in effect, a plan for the total desegregation of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System. It advances beyond the elementary-secondary feeder approach of Phase 1 into a four-subdistrict scheme. The sub-district boundaries are drawn in such a way as to promote desegregated elementary and secondary schools within each subdistrict. Each, therefore, becomes semi-autonomous. Within each subdistrict, transportation is assumed.

ALTERNATIVE #1, PHASE 1

A Desegregation Plan Based on Elementary School Pairing and Elementary - Secondary Feeder System

If the first alternative is adopted, the following should be done:

1. Redraw district lines or use a pupil assignment plan to bring about school desegregation. Establish groups by pairing or by the Princeton Plan to desegregate schools.

2. Provide at least as much increased desegregation in junior and senior high schools as is brought about by grouping elementary schools.

3. Allow no freedom of choice.

4. Cease plans for construction of Second Ward High School on the old site. Submit program for constructing new high school (note that Hawthorne Junior High School could become a high school, Shamrock

APPENDIX H: A TENTATIVE PLAN FOR INTEGRATION

11. Preparation of the School System

Much careful planning must be done to be certain that additional staff and pupil integration is accomplished with a minimum of disruption. The main thrust of this planning will call for significantly greater attention to the student's individual needs and will require sustained and creative effort on the part of educators as they seek to cope with this problem. The planning must also deal with the employment of additional staff, the provision of a much broader range of curricular offerings, and the production of learning materials to reach pupils of varying levels of educational maturity.

Time + Money

In seeking to improve their own effectiveness, educators must gain a better understanding of pupils of both races. They must better understand individualized learning approaches and gain an appreciation of personal values and feelings. To accomplish these things during the 1969-70 school year, the staff must have time to plan adequately, especially for activities involving other staff members. Teachers must also have time to evaluate the effectiveness of newer teaching techniques. To accomplish the above:

a. Teachers who are transferred will be offered a two weeks summer workshop. Those who participate will receive a stipend of $100 per week. The cost of such a program is estimated as $200,000. An extensive effort will be made to underwrite the cost with funds from federal or state sources. If this attempt is unsuccessful, the project will be supported by local funds.?

Re certification; Credits toward Renewal -

APPENDIX I: CODES

Codes

Name	Files	References	Created on
After Desegregation Happened	6	22	9/21/2022 4:30 PM
Fallout Story	5	20	9/24/2022 8:53 AM
Then and Now Story	5	30	9/21/2022 1:57 PM
Back In Those Days	6	185	9/20/2022 9:40 AM
It Was A Community	6	101	9/20/2022 10:06 AM
Group Socialization Story	6	24	9/21/2022 1:23 PM
Institutional Vitality Story	5	23	9/21/2022 1:21 PM
Insular Cohesion	5	36	9/21/2022 1:13 PM
Over There	6	56	9/20/2022 9:45 AM
Second Ward was...	6	150	9/20/2022 9:57 AM
Holistic Support Story	6	38	9/21/2022 4:38 PM
Motivational Guidance Story	6	38	9/21/2022 4:42 PM
Pedagogical Excellence Story	5	32	9/21/2022 6:33 PM
The Black Schools	6	44	9/20/2022 9:51 AM