

DOWNLOAD PDF THE POLITICS OF TOKENISM IN MISSISSIPPI'S DELTA, BY M. AIKEN AND N. J. DEMERATH III.

Chapter 1 : Project MUSE - Mutual Accommodation

The politics of tokenism in Mississippi's delta. Token school desegregation comes to the Delta, but quality and opportunity are still low Michael Aiken; N. J.

Board of Education decision. With segregationists in retreat and the Voting Rights Act on the horizon, this was a time of celebration for civil rights activists. But this was not the end of the story. Thus, the integration of public schools in the South after was accompanied by a proliferation of segregated private academies. Private schools had already been used to evade integration in Prince Edward County, Virginia, with some success. Undertaken at a time when most contemporary observers and historians believed their movement was rapidly declining into irrelevance, the private school system Michael W. He would like to thank the Institute for its support of his research and Jonathan Zimmerman for his encouragement. He would also like to thank Barbara Fields, Chris Capozzola, Martha Jones and Ellen Saoud for reading and offering valuable criticisms of this article in its various stages of development. The first allowed the Department of Justice to file suit directly against local school districts. The second required that non-compliant schools lose federal education funding. University of North Carolina Press, idem. This article looks at the phenomenon of segregation academies by focusing on the private school movement in Mississippi from to 1. It puts forward three primary arguments. Segregationists believed that integrated schools would undermine the viability of white supremacy as a value system and feared that the federal government might use the schools to promote alternative values. Segregationist parents hoped to recreate the social, cultural, and ideological environment of their own upbringing and thus nurture in their children a set of beliefs then being rejected by the outside world. Finally, this essay concludes that private schools played an important role in the shaping of modern conservatism. Prior to , local control in Mississippi had been synonymous with white control. Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 2nd ed. University of Illinois Press, ; Numan V. Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the s, 2nd ed. Louisiana State University Press, , Random House, , , provides an excellent example of the attitudes towards civil rights that prevailed amongst national opinion makers. Simmons, interview by author, 9 March , Jackson, Mississippi, notes in possession of author. Private School Movement in Mississippi matic increases in black political power led segregationists to view all government with suspicion. Private schools, created for the purpose of maintaining segregation, came to be seen as an effective means to reduce the power of interracial local governments while decreasing the tax burden of white citizens. The organization quickly spread across the South and became the most powerful manifestation of massive resistance and the segregation movement. Prior to , any challenge to segregation had to be made through the courts on a case-by-case basis. Southern segregationists were the first, and to this date the largest, group to act on this call. Other suggestions by Friedman, such as the use of tuition vouchers, were also used by segregationists. Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom Chicago: Princeton University Press, Eastland, Histoy of Education Quarterly cil stronghold of Mississippi, where not a single school had been desegregated ten years after Brown. Without effective civil rights legislation, the only enforcement mechanism available to federal officials was the use of armed force, a politically unpalatable course of action. The Civil Rights Act provided clear legal guidelines and viable enforcement provisions, thus undermining resistance to federal authority and ending any realistic hope of maintaining segregated public schools in the South. They announced a nationwide campaign to repeal the act and urged their members to resist its enforcement until a constitutional test could work its way through the courts. University Press of Mississippi, , Free Press, , ; Tony A. Freyer, The Little Rock Crisis: Government Printing Office, September 11, , Thomas, correspondence, undated, Archives and Special Collections, J. Private School Movement in Mississippi buy white-we can vote white. Federal courts had consistently ruled in favor of civil rights plaintiffs, repeal by Congress was unlikely at best, and the Johnson administration, which had played a decisive role in breaking the southern filibuster, would be in charge of enforcement. Correctly rec- o p z i n g

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that the battle in the public sphere was lost, Council leaders urged their members to abandon the public schools in favor of a system of segregated academies. Simmons had long maintained that integration would render education impossible because of what he deemed the moral and mental inferiority of black people. Simmons had used these notions to argue that the federal government should leave important decisions about education to local government officials. Most segregationists continued their fight for segregated public schools. *History of Education Quarterly* on though, Simmons dedicated himself solely to the cause of the private school movement and his editorial page consistently emphasized the folly of staying within the public system. The Council school used the same network to recruit teachers and parents to take part in its educational experiment. Although these vouchers were eventually ruled unconstitutional, the availability of public funding encouraged schools to open and provided a crucial financial base in their tenuous early years. They hoped to use their new school as a living laboratory where they would gain valuable experience before expanding their system. Remarkably, although private school advocates emphasized that their primary interest was educational quality, no one expressed concerns about the quality of education that would be provided by an under-resourced, upstart school run by admitted novices. They also took their staff on a trip to Prince Edward County, Virginia, where local segregationist leaders had shut down their public school system and provided private schools for the white community in a scorched-earth approach to massive resistance. Besides Griffin, three full-time teachers were hired for the six-grade school. The biggest initial obstacle to opening the school was securing adequate classroom space. The Council School Foundation purchased a large house in a white neighborhood for this purpose, but when renovations had not been completed a month into the school year, classes had to be held in the home of a board member. The school added two new teachers, expanded to the seventh and eighth grades, and broke ground on a new high school facility in the fall of Council publicist Dick Morphew sent three of his children to the school and urged other parents to do the same. Simmons, Interview by Orley B. One issue even carried an architectural blueprint for an inexpensive school building. The *Citizen* also kept its readers apprised of legislative and judicial developments that might affect private schools. Private school boards traveled to Jackson to observe the operation of the Council School at first hand. Between and , Council School leaders were kept on the road as many as five nights a week consulting with local groups interested in forming their own schools. In the first two years following passage of the Civil Rights Act, fifty-five private school foundations were incorporated in the state of Mississippi. By that number had grown to . Despite this frenzied activity, the number of operating private schools in Mississippi grew slowly. One early student of academies estimated that between two and seven new schools opened each year from to . Founding a private school was a complicated and expensive endeavor. While every community had a few wealthy individuals who could help financially in establishing a school, most white Mississippians were simply too poor to afford tuition. In Jackson, the Council Schools thrived because they could ignore the working class and serve only those able to pay, but most Mississippi communities were simply too small for this approach. For a private school to be economically viable in a rural or small-town district required that a large percentage of white students attend. Political viability often required that the school be accessible to all white residents, particularly in class-conscious hill districts. These necessities raised the initial requirements for starting a school. Community members with means had to be willing to shoulder the burden for those without. Furthermore, broad community consensus had to be reached before a course of action was decided. Segregationists routinely demonstrated that these barriers were surmountable, but they served to slow the pace of school expansion and allowed a broader range of community input than was necessary in the more elitist schools of Jackson. Carroll indicates that his figures may underestimate the number of new schools in this period. Accurate figures are difficult to come by because private school founders tended to be very secretive due to fear of lawsuits. A number of schools deliberately kept no written records that might be subpoenaed in court. *Acropolis Books*, , The local white school had long been the most important public institution in small southern communities. Community meetings were held at the high school gym, and community events were planned around the schedules of

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varsity sports and proms. The improvement of public education had been a central political battleground since the days of Populist Governor, then Senator James Vardaman. Having struggled to wring school improvements from the wealthy but parsimonious Delta, hill-country whites were hesitant to give up hard-won victories such as free textbooks. The small pockets of organized opposition to the school closure amendment of had come from counties in the northeast and southwest where small farmers, timber employees, and mill workers predominated. Segregationist editor James Kilpatrick aptly described the dilemma of abandoning public schools for academies in the rural South. To abandon such a school costs a wrenching of the heart strings. To take on the heavy financial burdens of a private school operation, especially for families with more than one child of school age, represents a task of formidable dimensions. However, in the private schools that did open, clear patterns are discernible. Public records indicate that in , forty-two academies were receiving state tuition vouchers. Of the remaining three, two were in the plantation-rich districts of Natchez and West Point and the third, in Ashland, enrolled only 43 students. Coleman and Kathryn S. Williams Library, University of Mississippi. Private School Movement in Mississippi Why were the early segregation academies so geographically focused? Urban districts had obvious advantages for private schools. Population density and relative wealth allowed those schools to charge higher tuition without jeopardizing enrollment. In rural areas the creation of a white academy could be seen as a threat to the existence of the white public school and community consensus was needed before action could be taken. This was less of a concern in larger districts, and a determined minority with financial resources and organizational skill could create a school, without these constraints. Most importantly, the Councils provided the sense of crisis and fear that propelled the segregation academies.

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Chapter 2 : Obituaries - , - Your Life Moments

The Politics of Tokenism in Mississippi's Delta MICHAEL AIKEN N. J. DEMERATH III *Mississippi Delta. One is a growing town of about 40,*

Florida v Robinson, Dawson, Johnson St. After DC declined to take jurisdiction of habeas and bail petitions, trials of riot Defs completed: Defs filed removal petition. On appeal CA 5 reversed; ordered removal. Demonstrations, picketing, for nondiscriminatory hiring. Each person who went to inquire re identity of and charge against Def-Stern arrested: On 3d day of sit-in, 64 Defs forced way into bldg; 64 arrested by Asst Supt Nevins: Police dispersed demonstrators, arrested Chain-in at Ala exhibit; 23 arrested. Released on bond; pending. Defs picketed in protest against unequal treatment of Negroes by city police; led to affray with local firemen. Police broke up picket; arrested demonstrators: Pending on removal to ED Mich. For removal see Sup Ct issued injunction. Def-Johnson arrested while acting as principal of freedom school. Removal petition filed in DC. Def sought habeas in DC: CA 2 refused to enjoin Sup Ct hearing on temporary injunction pending determination of removal question. Boycott extended to allegedly segregated high schools. Arrests in demonstrations at Bd and City Hall: Many arrested during voter registration campaign. Jan 22, 28, Feb Appeal to CA 5 pending. Juv Ct refused to allow Defs to perfect appeal. Ct of App ordered Juv Ct to allow appeal. Ct of App dismissed appeal: And see Singleton, Broadway, Ocala erroneously described as Harrison E. See NYC "" schools cases, Def told her not to have sexual intercourse but if she did, to use contraceptives. Daughter bore 2 more illegitimate children. After second pregnancy Def-mother repeated admonishment; told daughter could buy contraceptives at drug store. Def charged with contributing to delinquency of minor for giving information; convicted in jury trial. On appeal Def argues conviction devoid of evidentiary support therefore violates due process; violates 1st Amdt; unconstitutional invasion of privacy; statute unconstitutionally vague. Merritt and Avery S. Berkman and Larry S. And see Griswold,

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Chapter 3 : The Changing South

The changing realm of King Cotton, by J. S. Vandiver
The politics of tokenism in Mississippi's Delta, by M. Aiken and N. J. Demerath III
The census search for missing parents, by A. I. Pozner
How Southern children felt about King's death, by J. W. Clarke and J. W. Soule
What Black power means to Negroes in Mississippi, by J. Ladner.

After a 21 year long legal battle the ACLU was able to get thousands of files released. Shades of current National Security Agency domestic spying activities? It happened in Mississippi not so long ago December 27, --The volume of information gathered from telephone and Internet communications by the National Security Agency without court-approved warrants was much larger than the White House has acknowledged The New York Times reports. Mississippi leaders, public and private, established the commission in to spy on citizens and deal with anyone, black or white, who challenged Jim Crow segregation. Former FBI and military intelligence gatherers and paid informers hired by the commission including school superintendents, college officials, ministers, teachers and others, black and white were used to hassle Civil Rights workers and individuals, the records show. It was a small agency with tremendous influence on the state -- its culture and politics in the late s and s. Those who worked for voting rights were spied on and taken down. Outspoken academics, doctors who treated people who were brutally beaten by the Klan or police, ministers who registered voters, sympathetic journalists and so many others were watched and reported on. Their color often did not matter. If they tried to influence social change -- to bring down Jim Crow -- they were ruined. Driven out of the state or much worse. The worse came as the commission documented the whereabouts, finances and sexual habits of civil rights leaders. Some of the information was fed to employers and the Ku Klux Klan. In January two carloads of thugs tossed lighted Molotov cocktails into his home. Dahmer had announced earlier that day that poll taxes could be paid at his shop. Dahmer shot at the attackers while his family escaped, but Dahmer died of smoke inhalation later that day. Four men were convicted in the case while several others escaped trial. Former Klan Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers, believed to be the mastermind, was freed after two mistrials. Both women had Sovereignty Commission files; both were early voting rights advocates. The bodies of Birdia Keglars and Adlena Hamlett were both found decapitated. Hamlett, a retired teacher in her mid seventies, had both of her arms cleanly severed from her body, relatives and her minister say. The deaths were formally reported by highway patrolmen as resulting from a car accident. Hundreds of Sovereignty Commission records show continued spying on a white minister, Horace Germany, whose crime was to try and build a small, self-contained college for black missionary-ministers who would also be trained in agriculture. At graduation, students were to go into rural areas of the state and teach poor blacks how to feed their families. The Mississippi native was beaten nearly to death by Klansmen. Evers, a year-old NAACP field secretary who pushed for an end to segregation, had stepped out of his Oldsmobile when he was shot in the back on June 12, Years earlier, on September 18, , commission records show that Simmons contacted the commission about an upcoming Southern Christian Ministers Conference of Mississippi that included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Simmons wanted "these speakers coming here from out of the state â€" harassed as much as possible. These were not front-line activists but were people like the parents of Ralph Eubanks, a native of Mount Olive Mississippi and director of publishing at the Library of Congress. Eubanks wrote about his early life in Mississippi and the later impact of learning that his parents were spied on. In Ever is a Long Time, Eubanks told how an internet search took him to the Mississippi chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union where he discovered an Orwellian list of the 87, names collected by the Sovereignty Commission during its existence. Included were the names of his parents: Warren Eubanks and Lucille Eubanks. Eubanks recalled feeling physically ill when he discovered how close his own parents came to crossing the line. Both were quiet members of the NAACP through their church; they were not civil rights activists in any way, but just quiet people who wanted to see social change. When Eubanks returned to Mississippi in the late s, he found an atmosphere that was still uneasy about his mixed marriage; he and his wife were mistreated in a bed

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and breakfast, once the innkeeper saw them together. Eubanks left his home state believing that little had really changed in the hearts and minds of white Mississippians. In Mississippi there remain dozens of unexamined brutalities including the murder of Cleve McDowell, a civil rights attorney who was close to both Evers and Meredith. McDowell was the first black graduate student in Mississippi; he was admitted to the James O. McDowell, reporting evidence of torture, told a minister friend that he would be murdered next. Too few racist attitudes have changed in this state that continues to suffer from horrific poverty, the poorest education and all of the accompanying results. But even worse, we seem to have a much larger sovereignty commission operating throughout our entire country. The most important one of all. Klopfer maintains blogs on Emmett Till, Murders Around Mississippi, and Voting Rights and is currently working on a book that focuses on Mississippi Delta cold case files. Her web page is at <http://skloper.earthlink>.

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Chapter 4 : Pembroke News | Pembroke, ON | Classifieds

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Additional Information In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: Berkeley and Los Angeles: The rise of black consciousness in South Africa. Social control, violence and radicalization, behavioral data. Freedom of Choice in Housing, Opportunities and Constraints. Ethnic identification and personality, adjustments of Canadian adolescents of mixed English-French parentage. Community structure and innovation, the case of urban renewal. Tokenism in the Delta. The political economy of health care, dynamics without change. Reprinted as Warner Modular Publication. Personality and ideology in university students. Personal religious orientation and prejudice. Will the Soviet Union Survive until ? Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. The role of intergroup contact in change of prejudice and ethnic relations. In Towards the Elimination of Racism, ed. Effects of interethnic contact on friendship choices in the military. Southie is my home town. New Times November The evidence on busing. Cooperation in the classroom, the jigsaw puzzle model. Presented at the 83rd Ann. Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. Limited knowledge and economic analysis. Psychological approaches to understanding intergroup conflicts. Restrictive and protective viewpoints of fair housing legislation, a comparative study of attitudes. Legitimacy of social protest actions in the United States and Sweden. Values and violence, a test of the subculture of violence thesis. Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. School integration in Newark, the public schools. Recent developments in minority and race relations. You are not currently authenticated. View freely available titles:

Chapter 5 : Civil Liberties Docket - Vol. X, No. 2 - April,

/ R.W. Mack --The changing realm of King Cotton / J.S. Vandiver --The politics of tokenism in Mississippi's Delta / M. Aiken and N.J. Demerath III --The census search for missing parents / A.I. Pozner --How Southern children felt about King's death / J.W. Clarke and J.W. Soule --What Black power means to Negroes in Mississippi / J. Ladner.

Chapter 6 : Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, " - [PDF Document]

"Tokenism in the Delta: The Mississippi Case." With Michael T. Aiken. and N. J. Demerath III (eds.) Marwell and Michael Aiken, Research in Political.

Chapter 7 : Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, State Government Funded Racist Department:

"White Flight" Schools in Mississippi / There has been substantial research on the impacts of law on social movements (see Rosenberg). One of the major constraints of law as a mechanism of change is that court orders often lack an effective institution to oversee and enforce decisions.

Chapter 8 : The Jewish Floridian

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content.

Chapter 9 : The changing South - ECU Libraries Catalog

Basic equations (BE) in the title are derived, whose main characteristics are as follows. (1) Plastic deformation of a single-crystal specimen is due to slip on N slip systems, where N is an.