The Power and Limitations of Historical Case Study: A Consideration of Postwar African American Educational Experience

John L Rury[1]

1) University of Kansas. US

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

The Power and Limitations of Historical Case Study: A Consideration of Postwar African American Educational Experience

John L Rury
University of Kansas

Abstract

This essay considers the use of case studies in the history of education. In doing this, it focuses on the recent history of African American education and several prominent studies in particular. The power and limitations of case study research are considered, drawing upon literature in sociology and qualitative research. Focusing on highly acclaimed studies, historical research on African American education is utilized to assess the interpretive frames of leading historical case studies, revealing limitations in purview. Because issues related to educational inequality remain so important today, particularly segregation, the "achievement gap" and problems in urban education, this history remains highly relevant to current policy debates. Implications for historians and other researchers utilizing case study methods are discussed in the conclusion.

Keywords: case studies, history of education, historiography, African American education

Hipatia Press
www.hipatiapress.com

Poder y Limitaciones en los Estudios de Caso Históricos: un Examen de las Experiencias en la Educación Afroamericana de la Postguerra

John L Rury
University of Kansas

Abstract

En este ensayo se examina el uso de estudios de caso en la historia de la educación. Enfocado en la historia reciente de la educación afroamericana, y en particular en varios estudios prominentes. Se ponen en consideración, las posibilidades y limitaciones de la investigación en estudios de caso, basándose en la literatura en sociología y la investigación cualitativa. Centrándose en estudios muy reconocidos, se utiliza la investigación histórica en educación afroamericana para evaluar los marcos interpretativos de los principales estudios de casos históricos, revelando las limitaciones en el ámbito. Debido a cuestiones relacionadas con la desigualdad educativa siguen siendo tan importante hoy en día, especialmente la segregación, la "diferencia de rendimiento" y los problemas en la educación urbana, para los debates políticos actuales. Las implicaciones para los historiadores y otros investigadores que utilizan métodos de estudio de casos se discuten en la conclusión.

Palabras clave: estudios de casao, historia de la educación, historiografía, educación afroamericana

T he case study is a widely used research modality in education and a range of other fields. This essay addresses its use in historical studies, although many of the questions raised herein are applicable to other types of case studies as well. Its use in history is a point of concern because of its popularity, and a tendency to occasionally argue from cases about broader phenomenon. While case studies can provide powerful insights into a range of educational and social questions, they also are bound by inherent limitations that must also be acknowledged in seeking to make more universal propositions.

Case study methods typically involve an in-depth, longitudinal examination of developments within a delimited frame of action: a case. In Robert Stake's words (1995, p. 47), a case is a "bounded system," and the object of case study is understanding a phenomenon on its own terms rather than how if differs from others. Within these parameters, this form of research provides a holistic and interpretive manner of looking at events, collecting and analyzing information and reporting the results. Case study thus is widely used as an approach to empirical inquiry that investigates how phenomena unfold within their immediate contexts (Platt, 1992; Sjoberg et al, 1991; Ragin & Becker, 1992). As a result researchers may gain a better understanding of why developments unfolded in certain ways, and what might become important to look at more extensively in future research. Case studies thus lend themselves to both generating and testing propositions and hypotheses.

On the other hand, as Stake's definition suggests, case studies have limits, and this is particularly important with respect to making generalizations about entire *classes* of phenomena. Although the question of how case study research can and should be utilized in this respect has been debated, including the development of generalizations internal to cases, no one disputes the idea that case study in and of itself cannot substitute for more expansive forms of research that are explicitly comparative and systematic in orientation (Stake, 1978; Orum, Feagin & Sjoberg, 1991; Royster, 2003). In short, to make *broad* generalizations, researchers have long held that one must go beyond the particularities that tend to define the investigation of individual cases, and look at tendencies across groups of

cases within an even larger context. (Ragin, 1987) This, of course, calls for a different sort of perspective and methodology, a wider angle of vision and an explicitly or implicitly proportional frame of reference.

This essay considers these issues in the history of American education. In doing this, it draws upon research conducted in the history of African American education, focusing on the long postwar era, roughly between the latter 1940s and 1970. This is a period that has extensively studied, particularly with respect to desegregation and related issues, much of it in case studies of one sort or another.   Because issues related to educational inequality remain so important today, particularly the "achievement gap" and problems in urban education, this history remains highly relevant to current policy debates. While research dealing with this period in the recent past has been very valuable, it also has posed certain questions regarding interpretation and comprehension that call for discussion.   In particular, case studies have been an important aspect of this body of work. Taking three of the very best of these as a point of departure, the matter of their selection and representativeness will be considered below.

Historians and the Case Study

The case study is a mode of inquiry well suited to historical topics. Historians rely upon documentary evidence, particularly letters, published and unpublished reports, newspaper accounts and other contemporaneous materials that reveal evidence about the ideas and activities of people in the past. In particular, historians usually are interested in examining processes of change over time, constructing narrative explanations of how events at one point influence developments at a later date, or how they are reflective of forces that have shaped change (Carr, 1967; Fischer, 1971). Consequently, historians are naturally drawn to opportunities to examine such processes in particular locations, where documentary evidence of this sort—or similar types of evidence such as oral history participants—may be found. Focusing on a single location also often makes it easier to link documentary evidence to particular events and to identify chronological lines of influence, or at least temporal sequencing that can be considered as evidence of influence regarding change (Gaddis, 2002).

Locating a body of evidence concerning a single institution, organization, settlement or other social entity adds the convenience of utilizing records compiled in the everyday conduct of business, including correspondence, reports, routinely distributed information about operations, records of decisions, along with deliberations and debates, and linking such evidence to changes in policy and behavior over time. It allows the historian to dig deeply into caches of documentary evidence, and to collect information through oral history interviews, without entailing expensive travel costs or the challenges of locating archives and other repositories of relevant information in other places. Since density of documentation (or "thoroughness" of research) is a point of distinction in the discipline, the ability to conduct research in such a confined setting is often hard to resist, particularly for purposes of dissertations and early career studies (Howell & Prevnier, 2001). As a large portion of historical scholarship is produced by individuals in the early stages of an academic career, as in many other fields, it is hardly surprising that so many case studies are conducted by historians in many subfields.

With its inherently institutional orientation, the history of education has been especially predisposed to this sort of research. The number of published case studies of particular schools is relatively modest, but studies examining school districts or state systems are considerably more common. Over the past several decades, examination of schools in particular cities has become a familiar motif in the history of American education. Past examples, for instance, have included many studies of education in Chicago and others focusing on New York, Boston, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Providence, Seattle, and Los Angeles among other cities (Wrigley, 1982; Hogan, 1985; Lyons, 2009; Neckerman, 2010; Ravitch, 1974; Kaestle, 1973; Schultz, 1973; Nelson, 2005; Dougherty, 2004; Franklin, 1979; Labaree, 1988; Kaestle, 1973; Perlmann, 1988; Nelson, 1988; & Raftery, 1992). By and large, these works have emphasized similar themes: inequality, institutional growth or decline, bureaucracy and its problems, and social conflict over educational policies and purposes. Taken together they provide a rich tapestry of the social history of education in the United States. All are fine studies, but each one is focused on a particular time and place, or even particular schools or groups. In Stake's terms, each one has considered

educational problems in a system largely "bounded" by city limits. (Stake, 1978, p. 7) This has contributed to the depth of research and analysis that each instance, but it has also entailed certain restrictions as well.

One important subfield of historical research and writing—biography—can be considered a genre comprised entirely of case studies. This is relevant because there has been debate in the past about whether biography can even be considered a legitimate branch of historical research. British historian and philosopher R. G. Collingwood (1946 p. 69) once suggested that biography should not be considered a branch of history, largely because he considered it concerned with matters of "gossip-value" rather than more important issues in the past. The biographer, he argued, begins from a standpoint of sympathy with a subject, rendering critical judgment difficult to achieve. If Collingwood was scornful of biography as a genre, it is possible to imagine that he would also be somewhat skeptical about studies of particular institutions or school systems on similar grounds. In focusing on a particular entity, whether a person or organization of some sort, there is always the danger of losing the detached skeptic's perspective that is so important to an evenhanded treatment of a problem.

For their part, proponents of case study methodology occasionally point to the importance of an emic perspective in understanding the experiences of individuals or groups within a particular social and cultural milieu. Anthropologists often seek to explain events from the standpoint of their subjects, much as a biographer, or researchers in other fields (Morris et. al., 1999; Medicine, 1980; Lingenfelter, 1977; Keesing, 1972). It is not clear whether Collingwood would object to this as "gossip," as it seems that his principal concern was the tendency of popular biographies to dwell on matters of celebrity and scandal and utilize sources of dubious value. Taking the viewpoint of a person or institution, on the other hand, is not necessarily a problem, particularly if it can be balanced with additional information that helps keep judgment from becoming overly partial. Indeed, one of the principal strengths of the case study approach is that it affords an understanding of problems and accomplishments from the standpoint of the entity being considered, whether it is an individual, a group, an organization or a nation. It also enables researchers and their audience to grasp the meaning that actors involved in the case assigned to

the events and outcomes being studied (Harris, 1976; Orum, Feagin & Sjoberg, 1991; Gerring, 2004).

A likely more serious problem with case study research is generalizability. Strictly speaking, studies that examine single cases should not be utilized to make inferences about events or developments outside the cases in question. Stake suggested that "naturalistic" or everyday generalizations may be made from case study, but not expansive "scientific" assertions. As he put it, "case study attends to the idiosyncratic more than to the pervasive" (Stake, 1978, p. 7). While single cases can certainly be used as points of comparison and contrast in other studies, it is hazardous to draw upon them for more general conclusions about entire classes of similar circumstances or events. In a well-known article, Bent Flyvbjerg (2006) has suggested that case studies may be used to make generalization in the absence of other forms of evidence, or in certain scientific disciplines where critical experiments have historically led to conceptual breakthroughs. But he also argues that they are perhaps most useful in the social sciences as a means of *falsification* of prevailing theories or ideas. He cites the famous metaphorical example of the black swan as the case disproving the theory that all swans must be white. Flyvberg maintains that such falsification constitutes a form of generalization, or at least a critical element in forming and testing generalization, but he also argued that expertise—or the ability to make generalizations based on the accumulation of knowledge—typically entails knowledge of many ("several thousand") cases (p. 222). In this sense he acknowledges that generalization entails comparison and judgment spanning a number of particular instances of a phenomenon. Single cases, while holding the ability to falsify generalization, rarely have to power to assert them, at least with respect to phenomena outside their boundaries or limits.

At bottom there is the sticky question of representation, an issue that Flyvbjerg also addresses. He suggests that the best cases for study often are those at one extreme or another of the class of relevant instances. It is these instances, after all, that are most likely to demonstrate the properties that make a case distinctive, and generate insights into properties that it shares with others. He also maintains that selection of cases should depend on the investigator's familiarity and comfort with particular locales and

circumstances more than attempting to identify instances that are somehow representative of a larger class. This position, of course, is quite consistent with the view that case study research is most useful for generating insights that can be explored in other cases, or for falsifying theories or ideas that are held to be true for an entire class of events or developments.

It is not difficult to see the inherent problem in this position, however. Without examining a sample of relevant cases, it is impossible to know just where the instance in question lies on the continuum of such experiences. This is a point, as suggested above, that Flyvbjerg appears to readily concede. To put it simply, to generalize one must compare, and to one extent or another it is necessary to count across cases. Consequently, while examining a particularly rich case of some problem or process of development, however revealing and insightful the results may be, it is necessary to avoid the natural temptation to draw conclusions about the larger class of phenomena of which it is a constituent member.   This is among the most critical limitations of case study as a mode of inquiry.

The Case of Caswell County, North Carolina

To illustrate some of the problems with case studies in historical research, this essay considers two prize-winning books and a best-selling account of urban education, all published during the decade of the 1990s and dealing with different facets of African American education during the postwar era. As many of the references cited above suggest, the 1990s marked a time when case study research became fashionable in certain circles, especially among sociologists. (Orum, Feagin & Sjoberg, 1991; Ragin & Becker, 1992) Whether this was true among historians is another question, but there can be little doubt that studies such as these represented a long tradition within the history of education as a field of inquiry.

The first study is Vanessa Siddle Walker's award-winning examination of a black high school in North Carolina over a number of decades in the twentieth century. (Walker, 1996) She provided a detailed portrait of the institution's development from the modest Caswell County Training School in the 1930s to a sizeable comprehensive high school, renamed the Caswell County High School, thirty years later. In particular, she highlighted the role

of Nicholas Longworth Dillard, the school's only principal throughout its existence as a segregated institution. By all accounts, Dillard was an exemplary leader, inspirational to students and teachers, dedicated to the cause of education, cunning at getting resources for the school, and adept at maintaining ties to his own community. Walker also described the care and patience exhibited by the school's staff, which included her mother, and the manner in which they cultivated high levels of accomplishment in their students. She argued that the black institution eventually out-performed the county's white high school, which lacked a comparable level of leadership and community support. Altogether, she paints a vivid picture of an outstanding school that flourished despite the discriminatory conditions of the Jim Crow South.

Walker's study has been widely and properly praised for the quality of its research, its accessible style and its many insights into African American education in pre-desegregation South. It also is a textbook example of Flyvbjerg's "black swan" case study, one that overturns an existing theory or a prevailing idea about a critical issue. As Walker herself has suggested, her account offers a counter narrative to the conventional story of educational deprivation and shortcomings that had characterized this era in black history. The Caswell County experience, along with a small but growing number of other studies of similar schools in other communities, demonstrated that academic accomplishment was indeed possible for African American teachers and students during the pre-Civil Rights era (Jones, 1981; Cecelski, 1994; Morris & Morris, 2000). It also is a counter narrative to those who would argue that African Americans do not value education, or that black education has always been inferior and indifferent. This is part of what lends the book such force, along with Walker's formidable skills as a researcher and writer. The very qualities that make the book such an excellent case study, on the other hand, has led to some concerns[1].Some have interpreted the experiences of black high schools in the past to suggest that segregated schools could be just fine, and that desegregation was not necessary, or even that it was largely detrimental to black students (Adair, 1984; Fairclough, 2004; Payne, 2004; Kelly 2012). This was perhaps encouraged by the painful transitions to desegregated institutions endured by black secondary students and teachers in the sixties and seventies, evident in

Walker's account and other studies. It also has surely been influenced by the disappointing performance of many black students today, decades after integration in many school districts across the country (Shircliffe, 2001). Whether Walker and other historians who have documented the accomplishments of black schools in the past, regardless of their intentions, have contributed to such sentiments is an open question. It is another issue altogether, however, whether utilizing these works to critique or condemn school integration is fully warranted.

To address the question of how well such case studies capture the full extent of black educational experiences in the South at this time it is necessary to take a somewhat wider perspective. Just how typical was CCHS, and what does its development tell us about African American high schools in the South? This, of course, is a matter of comparison, and there are a number of points to be made regarding it.

First, by virtue of its status as an institution approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (AACSS), the regional accrediting agency for the entire South, CCHS was unusual. The vast majority of black secondary schools did not achieve this distinction, which was awarded for meeting a range of criteria, including the quality of facilities, qualifications of the staff, student teacher ratios and the extensiveness of the curriculum (Walker & Byas, 2009). As it turns out, large numbers of black secondary schools across the South lacked even state accreditation, which often represented considerably lower standards than the AACSS. This was especially true in the lower South, states such as Mississippi and Alabama, where more than a third of black high schools were unaccredited at the end of the 1950s. In Georgia, which had the largest black population, fewer than thirty percent of high schools held regional accreditation in 1960, and an even larger number had no accreditation whatsoever. Conditions in North Carolina, by contrast were much better, as it led the region in the proportion of its schools receiving AACSS accreditation (Rury & Hill, 2012). Institutions such as CCHS, a large and comparatively well-endowed school, were leaders in the field and represented less than a quarter of Southern black high schools in the segregation era. In this respect it was hardly typical.

As noted earlier, CCHS was also led by just one principal for the entire thirty eight years of its existence as a segregated institution. This too made it quite unusual. It was impossible to know this in 1930 when N.L. Dillard was hired as a twenty four year old novice, but he turned out to be an extraordinary leader. While there were relatively few opportunities for well-educated African Americans such as Dillard to pursue careers outside of education, it was unusual for an individual with his credentials (a graduate degree from the University of Michigan) and experience to remain at one institution for so long. This was even true at regionally accredited schools.

A 1961 survey of two dozen black principals at such institutions in Alabama found that the average tenure was 12 years and that only two had been in office at the same school for more than 20. Other studies revealed similar patterns (Hatch, 1964; Rodgers, 1975; Walker & Byas, 2009). Because of his devotion, skill and experience, Dillard was able to guide CCHS through a period of expansion and achievement. The postwar era was a time of rapid growth in black secondary education and Dillard surely had many opportunities to move to larger, better appointed institutions in the region's big cities. The fact that he stayed at CCHS contributed substantially to the picture of success that Walker has painted. It provided a measure of stability over an extended period that was absent in the vast majority schools, black or white.

Finally, there was the community, another topic that Walker gives considerable attention. The African American community in Caswell County, and in and around Yanceyville in particular, was certainly not wealthy, but it did control some vital resources and was willing to utilize them to advance the cause of education. Key to this was land-owning farmers, who could donate funds and other forms of wealth, such as vehicles and lumber. A statistical analysis conducted for another study has revealed a robust and enduring relationship between property ownership and secondary attainment among African Americans during this time (Rury & Hill, 2012). In the words of an experienced Mississippi high school principal, institutions were most likely to succeed with "a group of progressive black farmers who had land and resources and supported the school." He declared the prospects greater for "educational opportunities for blacks in a community where independence exists than in a community where dependence is a way of life"

(Pyle, 1982, p. 25). This description certainly fit Yanceyville and the stable group of parent and community "advocates" that Walker describes as providing CCHS with crucial support at various junctures in its development.   Also important, it was not in a large city, and thus did not experience significant migration of new families from the countryside, as most urban schools in this era did, and associated problems such as severe overcrowding (Fairclough, 2007). Rather, it was a small and cohesive community that was able to focus attention and resources on the institution and its students.

In short, a number of circumstances contributed to the accomplishments at CCHS that Walker has documented.   While there were many other instances of similarly successful black institutions in the South, they represented a fraction of the high schools serving African American students during the postwar era.   It would be wrong, in that case, to interpret Walker's study as representative of African American secondary schooling in the segregated twentieth century south, and she certainly does not make such claims.   As Flyvbjerg (2006) has suggested, this makes it an excellent choice for a case study and in that respect the study is unquestionably a remarkable success.   It certainly does show that good black high schools existed, and it reveals a great many of their strengths, overturning the notion that excellence could not be linked to black education.   Walker's study, however, says little about the experiences of schools in other circumstances, where the prospects for success were considerably less auspicious.

What about the question of integration?   As suggested earlier, Walker documents some of the difficulties that CCHS students encountered when they were forced to attend a formerly all-white school, and other studies have described similar issues elsewhere.   Indeed, the years between 1968 and 1972 were a time of heightened conflict between black and white students in secondary schools across the county.   If this was the case, why was desegregation even an attractive goal for African Americans?   Here too, the answer can be linked to the peculiar qualities of CCHS as a case of institutional development in black education.   As Walker notes, CCHS was superior in many respects to the county's white high school.   During construction of the school's new building during the early 1950s, Dillard was carefully strategic in building an auditorium first and then adding

classrooms. But it turns out that many other black high schools built during the 1950s lacked an auditorium, along with other amenities typically found in white schools (*Chicago Defender*, 1959; *Atlanta Daily World*, 1958; Rodgers, 1975).

In other words, CCHS was also the rare case of a black institution that did not suffer by comparison with adjacent white schools. In other parts of the South it quickly became apparent that white school boards were never going to treat African American education equally. As a consequence, many black community members eventually concluded that the only way the achieve equality was through school integration (Bolton, 2007; Baker, 2006; author reference). Separate, it turned out, rarely was equal. The CCHS may well have been one of the relatively few instances were equality appears to have been accomplished, at least for a time. This, of course, is yet another reason why this case—as fascinating and important as it is—was not representative of most African American experiences during the period, at least in these respects.

Urban Education in the North

Another prominent topic of case study research in the history of American education has been urban schooling. Cities make convenient units of analysis, as they generally entail the study of single school districts with centralized records, and local newspapers and other local government agencies can be utilized as source material as well. Cities also have been the scene of considerable social change in American history, so the stories associated with their development, including events surrounding the schools, often entail conflict and drama. This has been particularly true of studies focusing on the years after 1960, when struggles over race and equity in schooling came to dominate urban education (Rury, 1993; Kantor & Brenzel, 1992). A related genre of case studies has dealt with desegregation in particular cities during this era, although these studies also deal extensively with legal questions and events surrounding relevant court decisions (Baugh, 2011; Baum, 2010; Douglas, 1995; Formisano, 1991; Kellar, 2009; Wolf, 1981).

By and large, the prevailing narrative of this literature is one describing

educational "decline" or even "crisis" in these years, starting with the 1960s. Much of this, of course, was directly related to race, and the story is familiar by now. In the decades immediately following the start of the Second World War nearly five million African Americans migrated from the South to Northern and Western states, practically all taking up residence in large urban centers. They were drawn by the prospect of employment in wartime industries and the robust economic expansion of the postwar era, particularly in the industrial North. They settled in segregated areas such as New York's Harlem, or Chicago's South Side, and somewhat later in newer settlements such as Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant or west side neighborhoods in Chicago and Detroit. Black families crowded into densely populated "ghetto" areas, straining the existing housing stock as well as city services (Lemann, 1991; Fligstein, 1982; Hirsch, 1998). This contributed directly to growing problems of over-crowded schools, resulting in large classes, double-shift schedules, and over-burdened staff and facilities. As historians have amply documented, these issues became early points of conflict between community activists and urban school officials during the 1950s and 1960s (Katznelson&Weir, 1985; Rury, 1999). Eventually, this contributed directly to a growing perception that Black schools were inferior to those serving Whites.

A host of commentators at the time remarked on the poor conditions that Black students faced in their crowded and dilapidated schools, and their high dropout rates and the poor neighborhood and housing conditions they endured. This was widely seen as part of a larger "urban crisis" then unfolding in major American cities (Sugrue, 1996; Teaford, 1990). Social scientists invented new terminology to describe poor urban students, calling them "disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived," although both terms eventually became politically controversial and fell out of favor. But the idea that such students had social and cultural deficits that made high levels of academic achievement unlikely stuck in the popular mind. Inequality in education seemed inexorable, because poor urban students suffered from cumulative deficiencies; those who had fallen behind in the earlier grades, or who had not received strong preparation there, were at an obvious disadvantage. By this reasoning, African Americans in particular had suffered the ills of inferior schooling throughout their lives, and could hardly

be expected to succeed under such circumstances. In many respects, this represented an early manifestation of "deficit thinking," or what later became known as "blaming the victim" (Martinez & Rury, 2012; Patterson, 2010; Ryan, 1976).

By the end of the 1960s these impressions were well established, and contributed to the extensively discussed phenomenon of "White flight" from urban schools. Widely publicized battles over desegregation added fuel to the fire. In some cities there was protracted conflict over questions of educational equity, curriculum change, and discrimination on the part of teachers and administrators. The general failure of desegregation in the urban North, fully consummated by the late 1970s, contributed further evidence to the perception that Black education was not the equal of whites (Kantor & Brenzel, 1992; Rury and Hill, 2012). The urban schools that Blacks attended were for those students who had no other educational alternatives, and were forced to suffer the consequences of an inferior educational opportunity.

It was natural for historians and other scholars to read the accounts of observers from the 1960s and 1970s, and to assign them considerable weight in constructing narrative portrayals of urban education in this period. Consequently, it is hardly a surprise that most of the historical treatments of Black education in the urban North have stressed the many problems that students and schools faced, a tendency exhibited in my own work (Rury, 1999). In her best-selling account of the Newark schools, for instance, Jean Anyon described the system as "bankrupt and dysfunctional" by the time that the city's first Black mayor, Kenneth Gibson, took office in 1970. Citing testimony before a governor's commission in 1968, she echoed the group's conclusion that the city's schools were in a state of "crisis" [2].Noting the concerns of visiting accreditation teams with "watered down" content in certain courses, she highlighted the high degree of segregation in the schools and the relatively poor performance of Black students on standardized achievement tests. Most of the book's chapter on the 1960s focused on the poor credentials of teachers working in the Newark schools during these years, and the high turnover among both students and staff. The term used in the chapter's title to characterize the period is well suited to Anyon's treatment of such problems: "educational chaos." Elsewhere in the book she

argued that conditions did not substantially improve in the years that followed.

In his prize-winning and fittingly acclaimed study of the Detroit schools, Jeffrey Mirel dealt with many issues, spanning more than eight decades in the city's history[3]. Chapter Six deals with the 1960s and their aftermath, and much of it is focused on the city's high schools as critical sites of conflict over the quality of education and equity between Black and White students. Like Anyon, he cited contemporary reports deploring the quality of education in the Black high schools, noting racial disparities in achievement tests and community complaints about the inferior education received by African American students. In a particularly dramatic turn, he described the remarkable walkout staged by Black high school students in 1966 to protest the inferior education they were receiving. It was event that electrified the city and fueled community anger at the school district, but it also pointed to the fact that many Black youth at the time were keenly interested in learning, and succeeding in school. Mirel acknowledged this, but the thrust of his narrative was concerned with the relatively poor conditions in many Detroit schools, the budget problems that beset them in the latter 1960s and 1970s, and community unrest over just how to best organize the district. These were all critically important issues, to be sure, but what was left out was just what happening to the students in the schools. Like Anyon, Mirel did not discuss graduation rates or attainment levels during these years.

There are many other examples of this sort of treatment of Black urban education during this period (Rury & Hill, 2012). It was an era of great conflict over issues of racial equity in schooling and a wide range of other issues in American life. Given this, the metaphor of crisis was certainly appropriate. The dominant historical narrative has accurately pointed to the many problems of urban education at this time.   In this respect, the Anyon and Mirel case studies do not attempt to falsify or contradict the prevailing view of this period; they add detail and texture to it, but do little to challenge or modify it.   Each is a powerful case study, and Mirel's is especially rich and nuanced, but both have limitations too. Among the most telling may have been a tendency to overlook what was happening to students, despite Mirel's treatment of the Northern High School affair. This is a difficult question for historians to tackle, of course, for evidence is often fragmentary

at best. But some data do exist, and they have not been fully exploited. In particular, there is the question of educational attainment, especially the numbers of students graduating from these urban systems. At the same moment that conflict and discord raged around the schools, it appears that something positive may have been occurring with African American students.

In fact, in examining census data from this period, it is clear that graduation rates were increasing in the cities, particularly among African American students. This was true, moreover, in both Newark and Detroit (Rury, 2009). A 1970 United Press International story on the front page of the *Atlanta Daily World* declared that blacks were "closing (the) gap on education." Citing recently released census reports, it noted that the median black education level had become high school graduation and that the racial gap in attainment rates had shrunk half a year among young people. Similar articles appeared throughout the decade, marking the steadily advance of black students finishing high school and entering college (*Atlanta Daily World*, 1970, 1972, 1975). Such stories conveyed a sense of progress in education and optimism about the future. This was linked to a general expansion of educational opportunity, including federal funding for schools through Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act and popular early childhood programs such as Head Start (Davies, 2007). In providing more resources to elementary schools, these measures undeniably helped boost graduation rates as well. By the latter seventies the Census Bureau reported that advances in black education had closed the graduation gap even more, and that fewer African American students were falling behind in school (*Chicago Tribune*, 1979). These gains were results of more than two decades of continual efforts to encourage students to remain enrolled and work toward graduation, a reflection of the impulse that Walker described in her study of CCHS. If black students made remarkable progress, it was due in large part to sustained community determination (Rury & Hill, 2012).

Despite the many problems they faced, African American students continued to enroll in high school, and growing numbers succeeded there. Overall, the national gap between black and white attainment closed by more than twenty five percent between 1960 and 1970 and it continued to narrow

into the seventies. This was a development that historians have overlooked, although it was a recurrent topic in African American communities, judging from the press (Levitan, Johnston & Taggart, 1975; *Chicago Defender*, 1965a, 1965b).

The experience of rising attainment, of course, ran contrary to the prevailing narrative of decline and misfortune associated with African American communities and schools, and the crammed, seemingly chaotic conditions that students encountered in urban institutions. But the thousands of black youth crowding into urban high schools were not leaving in proportions as great as in prior years. While black dropout rates continued to be greater than whites', the differences were diminishing, even in the cities. To observers at the time, of course, it often appeared that school conditions were worsening as black students increased, just because of the overcrowding, higher dropout rates and lower grades and test scores. Improving graduation rates were not appreciated by contemporaries who bemoaned the "decline" and "hopelessness" of urban schools (Meyer, 1965). Additionally, rising educational norms and expectations also contributed to better enrollment rates, as did movement from the countryside to the city and regional out-migration. African American youth were going to high school in greater numbers everywhere, even in the South (Levitan, Johnston & Taggart, 1975; Rury & Hill, 2012). Rather than posing "chaos" in education, in this respect the urban settings of the 1960s represented new educational opportunities for many black youth.

Improved secondary education was part of broader changes in African American life that pointed to a better future, even in the big cities. Poverty rates among urban blacks dropped dramatically in the sixties, and those in middle class circumstances (at least 2.5 times the poverty level) increased rapidly, nearly tripling in just ten years (from about 7 to nearly 20 percent). Things were improving in the cities as well. Home ownership among urban blacks went up also, by about sixteen percent during the sixties and ten in the seventies (Teaford, 1990; Levitan, Johnston & Taggart, 1975). Destitution declined for all Americans in the wake of Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" at mid-decade, and with robust economic growth. The change was especially significant among blacks, however, partly because their degree of hardship was so severe (Farley and Hermalin, 1972),

African Americans also benefitted from anti-discrimination legislation, particularly the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Employers began to make more concerted efforts to hire blacks and provide them access to better positions. Between 1958 and 1973 the proportion of African Americans in the highest paying job categories more than doubled and those employed in the lowest paying jobs fell by a third, with improvement most notable among black women (Levitan, Johnston & Taggart, 1975). These developments contributed to the rise of an African American middle class, and also reflected the greater numbers of black adults with secondary and college credentials. Theirs were the families moving out of the ghettos, buying homes and increasingly moving into integrated neighborhoods. It was youth from these households who led the growth of black high school graduation and college enrollments. (Teaford, 1990; author reference) This was the other side of the "urban crisis" of the sixties.

Such general improvements were noted in the press, and the central city figures paralleled national shifts in the status of African Americans (*Chicago Defender*, 1960, 1962). Because poverty remained much higher for blacks than whites, however, the growth of the African American urban population meant that overall destitution often *did* increase in larger cities. This was especially true in places with the largest number of black residents, and certain cities characterized by high unemployment, poverty and crime. Consequently, even if national poverty rates declined across the decade, awareness of deprivation was heightened by the growth of sprawling African American ghettos, contributing to impressions of growing hardship (Rury, 2009). Like the question of educational attainment, the perception of decline or advance depended upon the perspective of the observer. Despite widespread poverty in many cities, the economic status of African American families was improving. Consequently, what seemed a "crisis" from one standpoint was progress when viewed from another.

Historians of the educational crisis of the 1960s, however, have generally overlooked the many improvements in the lives of African Americans and other urban residents during these years. Poverty rates dropped for all Americans, even those in the cities, and educational attainment went up everywhere (Katz, 1990; Levitan, Johnston &Taggart, 1975). With respect to Mirel's and Anyon's studies, part of the problem may have been the

particular cities they chose to examine, Detroit and Newark. These were among the most notorious of major northern urban centers, with unusually large black ghetto communities, high unemployment and poverty, and corresponding problems in the schools. Each was the site of a major "race riot" or rebellion by African Americans in 1967, precipitated by the deplorable conditions they faced in these cities, resulting in scores of deaths and millions of dollars in property destruction. In both instances active U.S. Army troops were summoned to quell the violence (Fine, 1989; Mumford, 2008). In terms of the modal African American experience at the time, these two places represented one side of the spectrum, where many of the advances noted on the national scale appear to have been least evident. With respect to Flyvbjerg's criteria, they were fine candidates for case studies, but not to disconfirm the prevailing narrative of urban education at the time, at least with the evidence they utilized. There is an important question, in that case, whether they represent the best cases to examine in characterizing both the problems *and* the successes of the times.

Historical Case Studies and the Problem of Representation

As indicated earlier, the question of making generalizations from case studies is always at issue in this type of research. Despite Flyvbjerg's protestations, sooner or later the matter of representativeness must be considered some form of implicit or explicit comparison of cases should be made. In the case of powerful and influential studies such as these, there is always the question of just how "typical" can a given case be said to be. As indicated earlier, these studies are all very strong from the standpoint of documentation, exposition and analysis of the material they draw upon. They have been celebrated and widely cited for good reason. But it is possible that readers who encounter them could gain misleading impressions about the larger historical phenomena touched upon in these works. This is a problem with implications both for how we understand both the past and the present.

Each of these studies takes the emic perspective discussed earlier quite seriously, to one extent or another, describing and analyzing events from the standpoint of the historical actors in their narratives. This is especially true

of Walker's highly engaging account of CCHS, which represents an approach she has described elsewhere as "historical ethnography" (Walker & Byas, 2009). Mirel and Anyon assume this perspective somewhat less resolutely, but each confines the bulk of his or her exposition and analysis to events that occurred within the boundaries of the city chosen as a focal point. In this respect their works each examine a "bounded system," to use Stake's term. To the extent that they rely on interviews and other first-hand accounts of perceptions in a particular setting, they too reflect the meaning that contemporaries gave to developments in the past. All three studies share an emphasis on the *internal* dynamics of the case in question, attempting to explain its transformation from one condition to another. This, of course, is an important part of historical analysis: representing the views and behavior of historical actors in terms that they would recognize and acknowledge. It also calls for putting these ideas and actions into context, however, and part of that is situating events in the larger frame of parallel developments elsewhere.

In perusing the works in question it quickly becomes clear that the sites for these studies were selected in a somewhat idiosyncratic manner. Walker's mother had taught at CCHS and she had long been familiar with the school and eventually was moved to investigate its past. Anyon lived and worked in Newark and was intimately familiar with the school system's problems, which led her to undertake a study of the city's educational history. Finally, Mirel was a graduate student at the University of Michigan, and chose Detroit as a focal point for his dissertation at least partly because of its proximity. In short, each was undertaken for reasons of personal propinquity, and not because the case in question was deemed somehow representative of a larger phenomenon. In this respect, these studies were not unusual: most historical research of this sort begins in this way, often in the form of dissertations or early career studies. And as Flyvbjerg (2006) has suggested, familiarity and convenience are certainly legitimate concerns when undertaking an extended research project; such advantages can contribute directly to insights and perspective. Rarely, however, is there consideration of how well the case in question may reflect national or international trends or tendencies regarding the issues at play.

This essay has outlined some of the larger historical context for these

studies, based on research in the history of African American education in the latter twentieth century.   This points to the limitations of even the very best historical case studies, and raises the question of whether authors undertaking this type of research should be expected to situate their cases within a larger context. Each of the authors identified herein attempted to do this to one extent or another, and they do not attempt to make broader generalizations from their specific cases. Walker discussed other exemplary Black secondary schools and pointed to an emerging body of research examining their development. Mirel and Anyon situated their studies within the narrative of decline in urban education, already a familiar story from decades of prior research and commentary about city schools.   In one instance a very positive account of African American experience was provided, albeit with considerable struggle and conflict, and in the other a story of decline and deprivation prevailed, despite considerable evidence of advancement at the time.   Without additional research, permitting case studies such as these to shape historical impressions of black schooling—and by implication contemporary policy debates—can be problematic. At the very least, a somewhat distorted sense of the historical record may result, as people are often prone to making generalizations based upon fragmentary evidence (Kahneman, 2013). At worst, a misleading sense of African American experience and such critical policy issues as desegregation, black achievement patterns and urban educational development could be fostered. The critical importance of these questions makes it imperative to achieve a rich and comprehensive understanding of the relevant history.

   As noted at the outset, each of these studies was published in the 1990s, and there has been little systematic research examining cases that provide an alternative view.   This is a rather striking development, especially since so many book-length historical case studies have been done on urban schools during earlier periods. With acclaimed books such as these representing particular points of view, there may be a disinclination among other scholars, particularly younger ones, to undertake research potentially challenging these interpretations.   If this is true, where do we get the "thousands" of cases that Flyvbjerg (2006) demanded to establish a high level of expertise in a given field?   One answer, of course, is to do more national or even regional studies of these issues, which can help to put

particular cases into context. The absence of such research makes the lack of references to the larger context somewhat more incomprehensible in these works. Even so, the omission is symptomatic of the potential problems associated with case studies, even if it is reasonable in certain instances.

The particular qualities of these studies aside, the larger question is how best to conduct such case studies in the future, and how the scholarly community should treat them. Researchers undertaking this form of investigation should always take pains to consider the larger context of the phenomena they are examining. If it is a case, the operative question is "a case of what," and "how typical" was it? This is not to say that all such studies should undertake detailed analyses of larger national or international developments. But their readers should be aware of these developments, how they may have shaped events in the case being studies, and how these developments may have reflected important trends elsewhere. At the very least, the reader ought to gain a sense of just how exceptional a case may have been, and what the implications of that may be for interpreting it. This, of course, will necessitate a degree of comparison, and at least some effort at finding cases that differed. That can only serve to raise the quality of historical comprehension and analysis that flows from the analysis, and help everyone understand the limits of the case at hand. Our grasp of history and the multitude of lessons it has to offer will be all the better.

Notes

[1]I should state at this point that the objective of this discussion is NOT to denigrate this study or its author, who I value highly as a friend and colleague, but rather underscore the inherent limitations of all case studies, regardless of their quality. The surest way to do this, of course, is to consider the best examples of such research available.

[2] This is not meant to be a critique of Anyon's findings or her methods, but rather— as in footnote 1 above—the limitations of the case study as a methodological approach.

[3] I should also state here that Jeff Mirel is a dear personal friend whose work I admire immensely. Since we worked closely together on various projects during the time when he was writing this book, and I gave him advice and feedback on the study, I bear some responsibility for any shortcomings implied herein. Similar criticisms can be leveled at my own work from the 1990s, but since it has not

received the highly deserved acclaim that Jeff's has, his work is a better candidate for this sort of discussion.

References

Adair, Alvis. (1984). *Desegregation: The Illusion of Black Progress*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Anyon, Jean. (1997). *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Inequality*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Atlanta Daily World . (1958). NAACP Blasts 'Makeshift' School as Inadequate, November 8, p. 1.

Atlanta Daily World. (1970). 23 Million Negroes Said Closing Gap on Education, August 7, p. 1.

Atlanta Daily World. (1973). Black College Enrollment Comparable to the Whites, March 27, p. 3.

 Atlanta Daily World. (1975). Black Education Rises, March 15, p. 3.

Baker, R. Scott. (2006). *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926-1972*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Baugh, Joyce. (2011).*The Detroit School Busing Case: Milliken v. Bradley and the Controversy over Desegregation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Baum, Howell. (2010).*Brown in Baltimore: School Desegregation and the Limits of Liberalism.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bolton, Charles. (2007). *The Hardest Deal of All: The Battle Over School Desegregation in Mississippi, 1870-1980.* Oxford: University press of Mississippi.

Carr, Edward Hallet. (1967). *What is History*. New York: Vintage, 1967.

Cecelski, David S. (1994). *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina, and the Fate of Black Schools in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Chicago Defender. (1959). Mississippi Cheats On 'Separate, Equal', April 7, p. 8.

Chicago Defender. (1965a). High School Grads Up 93% in Last Decade, January 2, p. 3.

Chicago Defender. (1965b). Need Program to Close Gap in Education, *Chicago Defender*, May 15, p. 5.

Chicago Tribune. (1979). Find More Blacks Stay in School, March 7, p. A2.

Collingwood, R.G. (1946). *The Principles of History and Other Writings.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davies, Gareth. (2007). *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Dougherty, Jack. (2004). *More than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Douglas, Davison. (1995). *Reading, Writing, and Race: The Desegregation of the Charlotte Schools.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Fairclough, Adam. (2004). The Costs of Brown: Black Teachers and School Integration. The *Journal of American History*, *91*(1) , 43-55. doi:10.2307/3659612

Fairclough, Adam. (2007). *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Faulker, William. (1951). *Requiem for a Nun*. New York: Random House.

Farley, Reynolds., & Albert Hermalin. (1972). The 1960s: A Decade of Progress for Blacks?, *Demography, 9*(3), 353-370.

Fligstein, Neil. (1982). *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900-50*. New York: Academic Press.

Fine, Sidney. (1989). *Violence in the Model City: The Cavanagh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot Of 1967*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Fischer, David Hackett. (1971). *Historians' Fallacies: Towards a Logic of Historical Thought*. New York: Routledge.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2), 219-245. doi: 10.1177/1077800405284363

Formasano, Ronald P. (1991). *Boston against bussing: Race, class and ethnicity in the 1960s And 1970s* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Franklin, Vincent P. (1979). *The education of Black Philadelphia: The social and educational history of a minority community.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gaddis, John Lewis. (2002). *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gerring, John. (2004). What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?. *American Political Science Review*. *98*(2), 341-354. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404001182

Harris, Marvin. (1976). History and Significance of the Emic/Etic Distinction. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *5*, 329-350.

Hatch, Robert Herman. (1964). *A Study of the Leadership abilities of Negro High School Principals*, Ed.D. dissertation, Colorado State College (Greely).

Hirsch, Arnold. (1998). *The Making of the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hogan, David John. (1985). *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Howell, Martha., & Walter Prevnier. (2001). *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Jones, Faustine. (1981). *A Traditional Model of Educational Excellence: Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Kaestle, Carl F. (1973). *The Development of an Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kahneman, Daniel. (2011). *Thinking Fast and Slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Kantor, Harvey., & Barbara Brenzel. (1993). Urban education and the 'Truly Disadvantaged': The historical roots of the contemporary crisis, 1945-1990. In M. B. Katz (Ed.), *The Underclass Debate: Views From History* (pp. 366-402). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Katz, Michael B. (1990). *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon.

Katznelson, Ira. & Margaret Weir. (1985). *Schooling for all: Class, race, and the decline of the Democratic ideal.* New York: Basic Books.

Kelly, Hilton (2012) *Race, Remembering and Jim Crow's Teachers*. New

York: Routledge.

Keesing, Roger M. (1972). Paradigms Lost: The New Ethnography and the New Linguistics, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, *28*(4), (Winter), 299-332

Kellar, William Henry. (2009). *Make Haste Slowly: Moderates, Conservatives, and School Desegregation in Houston* College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Labaree, David F. (1988). *The making of an American high school: the credentials market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lemann, Nicholas. (1991). *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America.* New York: Knopf.

Levitan, Sar A., William B. Johnston., & Robert Taggart. (1975). *Still a Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks since 1960* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lingenfelter, Sherwood G. (1977). Emic Structure and Decision-Making in Yap. *Ethnology*, *16*(4), 331-352.

Lyons, John F. (2009). *Teachers and Reform: Chicago Public Education, 1929-70.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Martinez, Sylvia. & Rury, John L. (2012). From 'Culturally Deprived' to 'At Risk': The Politics of Popular Expression and Educational Inequality in the United States, 1960-1985. *Teachers College Record*, *114*(6), 1-31.

Medicine, Bea. (1980). Ella C. Deloria: The Emic Voice. *MELUS*, *7*(4), 23-30

Meyer, Martin. (1965) "Close to Midnight for the New York Schools," *The New York Times Magazine*, May 2, p. 34.

Mirel, Jeffrey A. (1993). *The Rise and Fall of An Urban School System: Detroit, 1907-81.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Morris, Michael W., Kwok Leung., Daniel Ames., & Brian Licked. (1999). Views from inside and outside: Integrating Emic and Etic Insights about Culture and Justice Judgment. *The Academy of Management Review*, *24*(4), (October), 781-796.

Morris, Vivian., & Curtis Morris. (2000). *Creating Caring and Nurturing Educational Environments for African American Children.* Westport, CN: Bergin and Garvey.

Mumford, Kevin. (2008). *Newark: A History of Race, Rights and Riots in America*. New York: New York University Press.

Neckerman, Kathryn M. (2010). *Schools Betrayed: Roots of Failure in Inner City Education.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nelson, Adam R. (2005). *The Elusive Ideal: Equal Educational Opportunity and the Federal Role In Boston's Public Schools, 1950-1985*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nelson, Bryce E. (1988). *Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930*. Seattle: University of Washington Press

Orum, Anthony., Joe R. Feagin., & Gideon Sjoberg .(1991), The Nature of Case Study. In Joe R. Feagin, Anthony Orum., & Gideon Sjoberg, eds., *A Case for the Case Study*. pp. 1-25. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

Payne, Charles M. (2004). "The Whole United States Is Southern!": Brown v. Board and the Mystification of Race. *The Journal of American History*, *91*(1), 83-91.

Patterson, James. (2010) *Freedom is Not Enough: The Moynihan Report and America's Struggle over Black Family Life from LBJ to Obama.* New York: Basic Books.

Perlmann, Joel. (1988) *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews and Blacks in an American City, 1880-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Platt, Jennifer. (1992). Case study' in American methodological thought. *Current Sociology*, *40*(1), 17-48.

Pyle, R. Wayne .(1982) "Interview with Professor N. R. Burger," Mississippi Oral History Project of the University of Southern Mississippi, Volume 356, p. 25.

Raftery, Judith R. (1992). *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools,1885-1941*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ravitch, Diane .(1974). *The Great School Wars, New York City, 1805-1973*: *A History of the Public Schools as a Battlefield of Social Change.* New York: Basic Books.

Ragin, Charles C. (1987). *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ragin, Charles C. (1992). "Casing" and the process of social inquiry. In C. C. Ragin & H. S. Becker. (Eds.), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry. (*pp. 217-226). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ragin, Charles C., & Howard S. Becker. (Eds.). (1992). *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rodgers, Frederick .(1975).*The Black High School and Its Community*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Royster, Deirdre. (2003). *Race and the Invisible Hand: How White Networks Exclude Black Men from Blue-Collar Jobs*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Rury, John L. (1993). The Changing Social Context of Urban Education: A National Perspective. In John L. Rury., & Frank A. Cassel, eds. *Seeds of Crisis: Public Schooling in Milwaukee since 1920.* (pp. 10-41). Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press.

Rury, John L. (1999)**.** Race, Space and the Politics of Chicago's Public Schools: Benjamin Willis and the Tragedy of Urban Education. *History of Education Quarterly*, *39*(2), 117-142.

Rury, John L. (2009)**.** Attainment amidst Adversity: Black High School Students in the Metropolitan North, 1940-1980," in Kenneth Wong & Robert Rothman, eds. *Clio at the Table: History and Educational Policy (*pp. 37-58). New York: Peter Lang.

Rury, John L., & Shirley A. Hill. (2012). *The African American Struggle for Secondary Schooling, 1940-1980: Closing the Graduation Gap.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Ryan, William. (1976) *Blaming the Victim*. New York: Vintage.

Schultz, Stanley. (1973). *The Culture Factory: Public schools in Boston, 1790-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Shircliffe, Barbara. (2001). We Got the Best of that World": A Case for the Study of Nostalgia in the Oral History of School Segregation. *OralHistoryReview, 28*(2)(Summer/Fall), 59-84 doi:10.1525/ohr.2001.28.2.59

Sjoberg, Gideon., Norma Williams., Ted R. Vaughan., & Andre Sjoberg. (1991).The Case Study Approach in Social Research: Basic Methodological Issues. In Joe R. Feagin, Anthony Orum and Gideon

Sjoberg, eds., *A Case for the Case Study* (pp. 27-78). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

Stake Robert E. (1978). The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, Vol. *7*(2), pp. 5-8.

Stake, Robert. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sugrue, Thomas. (1996). *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Teaford, John C. (1990). *Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Walker, Vanessa Siddle. (1996). *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Walker, Vanessa Siddle., & Ulysses Byas. (2009). *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wolf, Eleanor. (1981). *Trial and error: The Detroit school segregation case.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Wrigley, Julia. (1982). *Class, Politics and Public Schools: Chicago, 1900-1950*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Author: John L. Rury is professor of education and (by courtesy) history at the University of Kansas.

Contact Address: University of Kansas. 423 JR Pearson Hall. 1122 West Campus Rd. Lawrence, KS 66045-3101
jrury@ku.edu