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Remnants of Educational Leadership and Desegregation Etched in the Memories of Black Educational Leaders: An Oral History

by

Janice Barge Clarke

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Leadership, Policy, and Lifelong Learning
College of Education
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This dissertation is the product of a lifetime love for education.

Very early in life I decided that I wanted to be an educator and was inspired by the devotion to education by my parents, who were educators. They were my biggest cheerleaders and educational role models who continued to encourage me to pursue a doctoral degree until their deaths. Dr. James A. and Mrs. Martha M.W. Barge, I am eternally grateful for your love and support. To my husband, J.L. Michael Clarke, Jr., and children Jazmine N. Clarke and Justin M. B. Clarke, you've pushed and prodded me to finish this doctoral journey from the day I enrolled in the doctoral cohort that began as an Ed. D. program. To my sisters, Dr. Cheryl Barge-Seabrooks and Attorney Linda Barge-Miles, you were also my role models who saw lifelong learning as a family endeavor.

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the experiences of Black (*a.k.a.* African American/Negro) educational leaders were explored focusing on the period during the transition to a more desegregated public-school setting in the state of Florida. Using retrospective storytelling and reflections of 'leading' during desegregation, the lived experiences of those in educational leadership roles were captured in the form of oral histories and analyzed using critical race theory. The effect of desegregation is recounted from their vantage point, from the dissolution of the "all Black" schools to the impact it had on the communities. The research question was: *What are the stories told by Black people in educational leadership roles about leading during the school desegregation era?* The sub-questions were: *How did school desegregation efforts affect their experiences as Black educational administrators? How do counter-narratives about educational leadership manifest in their narratives of leading during the transition from segregated to desegregated schools?* I used tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to interpret the oral history findings and the concept of s*tructural racism* as a tool to examine the role of race in educational leadership. The findings were that Black administrators told stories and counter stories about racism affecting their employment, they often subverted racialized ranking processes, and they nor their Black communities were complacent in the struggle for racial justice in education. The experiences of these former Black education administrators are discussed as legacy with implications for educational leadership today.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

"It Takes a Village to Raise a Child"
African Proverb

The concept of the "village" in the African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child," is central to understanding the communal culture expressed in many Black communities, in homes and schools. However, misconceptions about the abilities, values, language, and civil responsibilities of Black people, fueled by racist attitudes, have continued to feed the oppression experienced in the Black communities, including their efforts to gain access to schooling.

Of the Black people in the United States appointed to educational leadership positions after the passage of *Brown v. Board I and II* in the mid-1950s to end *de jure* racial segregation in public facilities, only a select few were promoted or transferred to continue their role in desegregated environments. Even then, they were paid less for their services and provided inferior school supplies, books, buildings, transportation, and other accommodations compared to the amenities provided for white educators and administrators. Some Black educators, administrators, and community members spent their own money to improve the quality of supplies offered to students and teachers. More than 63 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, a dual educational system still exists in many districts as desegregation policies have been relaxed.

After the abolition of slavery through the period of Reconstruction, education was not an option for enslaved Black people or descendants of enslaved Black people in the state of Florida. The Florida Slave Codes of 1821-1861 (Thompson, J. (1992) were modeled after the British Slave Codes (also known as Barbados Slave Codes of 1661), which suggested punishment of enslavers if they afforded slaves the same liberties (including access to education) as white owners (Bates (1927) in the "Florida Historical Quarterly" (Legal Status of the Negro, p. 160). The idea of Black people having an education with the same amenities in schools was considered a privilege. A history of racial segregation existed in Peninsula County. Unfortunately, the loss of data regarding the role of Black personnel in educational leadership roles who were employed in the Peninsula County school district during the transition from segregated schools to desegregated schools is threatened due to the shrinking population of those Black administrators, educators, and community members who can still attest to issues and events in which they were involved. The struggles for Black people to become well-educated continue. Perhaps learning from leadership among Black African Americans who faced harsh conditions and risked adverse outcomes can inform leadership amid similar risks when trying to provide students with a quality education in schools.

The racial segregation of students and their performance was made public when the Tampa Bay Times (2015) published a series of articles referring to some schools as "Failure Factories." All the schools identified were in predominantly Black neighborhoods. As noted by former U. S. Education Secretary Arne Duncan, these so-called *failure factories* were a "man-made disaster." In other words, the underperformance of the schools was a socially constructed rather than a natural phenomenon. Additionally, the social conditions in which students in racially segregated areas live (*i.e.*, single-parent households, crime-ridden segregated

neighborhoods, academic unreadiness) are also outcomes of social and economic arrangements that are often hierarchical and inequitable, such as racial segregation. I began designing this study assuming that racism is a factor in the lives of Black people and other people of color in the United States.

Purpose of the Study and Research Question

This study contributes to the body of knowledge regarding the role of Black people in educational leadership during the school desegregation era, namely those employed by the Peninsula County school system, from their perspectives. The purpose of the study is to gather "memories" about the leadership of Black administrators (their memories and the memories of others) using oral history methods related to racial integration and separation in schools and school districts, namely associated with racial segregation, desegregation, and resegregation. More specifically, this study explores the lived experiences of "leading" among former Black school leaders or district-level personnel (*i.e.*, administrators, supervisors, curriculum specialists, etc.) in educational leadership roles, especially about the education of Black children in the context of school desegregation efforts. The following research question and sub-questions will help to guide the study: *What are the stories told by Black people in educational leadership roles about leading during the school desegregation era?*

a. How did school desegregation efforts affect their experiences as Black educational administrators?

b. How do counter-narratives about educational leadership manifest in their narratives of leading during the transition from segregated to desegregated schools?

Educational leadership roles include those in administrative and pseudo administrative positions, for instance, developing curriculum, supervising special programs, monitoring performance, and hiring personnel at the school or district level.

Rationale for the Study and its Significance

The historical record of educational leadership has given short shrift to ways of leading that are guided by the philosophical worldviews of people in the United States of America. They are of African descent and underrepresented in the ranks of the principalship (Alston (2005). Although the body of knowledge regarding Black educational leaders is increasing, the information is not specific to the leadership structure and communities of the Peninsula County school district. Oral narratives about this school system's journey amid racial segregation and desegregation policies and practices can inform those who lead education today, given the ongoing issues in the district associated with race-related politics, policies, and initiatives affecting racial segregation. More broadly, this study can inform leadership preparation and development affecting Black students and the recruitment of Black people into leadership positions today. Black retirees who served in educational leadership roles may have insights into how policies and initiatives influenced school leadership practices at the height of the desegregation era and are more willing to share them now than before when careers were vulnerable to the politics of education.

This study offers oral narratives to provide insight into (1) how Black people worked in their educational leadership roles while mediating contexts affected by desegregation policy; and (2) how the school system practices and policies changed in response to legislative and narratives shifts from "Separate But Equal" to "Separate But Unequal," and "With All Deliberate Speed" associated with *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) and *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). Although

desegregation was a moral necessity and a social good, today's achievement gap is attributed to the way desegregation was implemented by white authorities of the past with little influence from educational leaders from the Black community (Buck (2016). It is imperative to capture the historical background of the Peninsula school system from the perspective of the Black community to add to the history of segregation, desegregation, and resegregation as it has become etched in the memories of the Black educational leaders based on their experiences in leadership roles. This current situation can be understood by reviewing the past in planning for the future.

Background of the Study

Enslaved Black people during the 1600s in the United States constructed pieces of fabrics known as *remnants.* The seemingly meaningless scraps of fabric concealed messages and were sewn into quilts and led to the escape of enslaved Black people from the bondage imposed by white landowners. For instance, these remnants provided directions or maps to freedom. Quilting was used as a form of storytelling, and the quilts were a display of Black (*a.k.a.* African American/ negro) people's ability to use the language of symbols to demonstrate "mother wit" or common sense (Tobin & Dobard, 1999).

Historically, some Black people were educated unintentionally as the enslaver's children were taught in their presence. The institution of education and the institution of slavery was believed to be incompatible. Allowing "property"/enslaved people to have the same rights as those from the dominant culture was an insult and sign of disrespect for some who advocated that integration be considered illegal (Slave Codes, after the 1600s). The Freedman's Bureau, a federal agency established in 1865, provided aid to refugees of the American Civil War and established 4,000 schools for Blacks/African Americans. To aid in these efforts to give teachers

(including African American teachers) for these schools, the American Missionary Association joined forces with the Freedman's Bureau (Anderson, 1988; Haskins, 1998). The Quakers were responsible for establishing education programs in the North before the Revolutionary War (Douglas, F. 1818-1895).

In the northern parts of the United States, white people primarily taught Black people (referred to as "negroes' initially) after slavery was abolished. Although conditions were more liberal, equal access did not exist. Black students were prohibited from attending schools with white students before 1954 (*Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Education was considered a privilege for Blacks. The idea of Blacks having access to the same amenities as Whites was unheard of (The Florida Historical Quarterly, 1993, *Manual of the Statute Law*, pp. 490-491*)*. No provisions were made for Blacks to receive an education at any level during the antebellum period. This was common in many southern states (Johnson et al., 2007).

The idea of school desegregation was born out of what W.E.B. DuBois (1903) identified as necessary to provide equal educational opportunities for Black students. Though DuBois did not advocate for Blacks to accommodate political conservation, or racial accommodation, he was aware of the benefits to white philanthropists of having an educated workforce. He was a proponent of equality insisting that Whites' civil and political rights be afforded to Blacks. School desegregation was viewed as a means of expanding opportunities and providing access to resources unavailable for Blacks in the separate school settings. DuBois acknowledged the racial prejudice that prevented Black people from receiving a proper education in white institutions located in America due to the separatism inherent in the laws, especially in the South. Unlike the majority of Blacks who existed in more oppressive environments, he did not experience the harsh

conditions of the South because he grew up in a predominantly white environment in the North. He bears the distinction of being the first Black to receive a doctorate from Harvard University.

With the abolishment of slavery, former enslavers/white property owners did not have the financial capacity to afford to pay laborers. Neither did the descendants of enslaved people have the education or other resources to support entrepreneurial ventures independently. Education was and is now often considered a gateway to a better life for Black and white people. Still, access was not equal during slavery nor after the emancipation of enslaved people took place. Before the abolishment of slavery, Blacks were self-taught, sometimes learning while serving as the playmates to white enslavers' children. The belief during the time was to discourage the education of Blacks due to the incompatibility of the institution of slavery and oppression as opposed to the liberties of freedom. The autonomy could result in uprisings and the downfall of slavery and servitude and might foster the desire of Blacks to have the same rights as Whites.

Booker T. Washington was one of the most outspoken Black people on the policies of conciliation and appeasement of the white power structure regarding the struggle for equality and achieving gains. In a speech he delivered at the *Cotton States Exposition* in Atlanta, Georgia, in September 1895, Washington clearly stated that Black people should surrender their push for social equality to gain land and take advantage of the opportunities the South afforded them. These were not the sentiments of other Blacks, especially in later years when Black students were expected to isolate themselves from the general population in desegregated classrooms, cafeterias, and special sections of libraries after being allowed entry into previously segregated environments. These designated separations were intended to continue racial separation/segregation.

Initially, W. E. B. DuBois (1903) furthered the idea of the Talented Tenth (a term created by Northern philanthropists), arguing that 10% of the Black population should be supported to rise above the expectations held of Black people to become a class of African American leaders informed by higher education. During his lifetime, DuBois contracted with the University of Pennsylvania to study the lives, occupations, education, and social issues of 40,000 Blacks living in Philadelphia. His expectation increased beyond 10% of Blacks, and he became more radical in his views, informed by Marxism. He co-founded the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP) but later left the organization, joined the Communist party, and moved to Ghana where he died. Ironically, the day after Dr. DuBois was buried, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led the most significant civil rights march (1963) in Washington, D. C., where he concluded with his "*I Have a Dream"* speech. After the civil rights movement, DuBois predicted that "Blacks could not remain submissive to a white society that would never voluntarily grant them equal rights." DuBois has been referred to as one of the initial contributors (forefathers) of what is now referred to as critical race theory (Chapman (2013).

Watkins (2001) addressed the complex relationships between the education of Black people and the history of philanthropy awarded to Blacks by Whites in the era before the passage of *Brown v. Board of Education* (*Brown I*) and *Brown v. Board of Education* (*Brown II*). Political and economic benefits, brokered by white philanthropists in the late 1800s, provided educational opportunities for Blacks to the extent that they allowed Blacks a taste of autonomy and a sense of elitism compared to other lesser advantaged Blacks. Several philanthropists' motives, primarily focused on making money, used Christian discourse and patriotic activism. As Watkins (2001) claimed, white elites promoted Black education, believing that an educated workforce benefited their financial well-being. Major financial brokers of such endeavors included the Rockefellers,

the Stokes, and the Spencers, financial leaders who served as architects of Black education (Watkins, 2001). Although the efforts of these white architects of Black education appeared to promote education for Blacks, the root motives included economic gains. They provided them gateways to access the Black communities (Watkins, 2001). The control garnered power to outsiders and allowed the determination of which Blacks benefited from education, including higher education, to be controlled by the elite Whites.

It was illegal for Back students to attend schools with white students before (*Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). The impetus for desegregating schools nationwide was fueled by the inherently unequal conditions experienced by Black Americans. Former President Lyndon B. Johnson presented this viewpoint in his commencement address at Howard University (a historically Black institution) in Washington, D.C., on June 4, 1965, when he spoke about some of these disguises.

> Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family you live with, the neighborhood you live in, the school you attend, and the poverty or richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally, the man.

In the speech, President Johnson suggested equality exists unless differences in the perceptions of one's assigned status based on social dictates are passed from generation to generation.

Florida's Historical Context

Unlike many states, Florida was credited with avoiding a desegregation revolt by accepting the court orders handed down to ensure school desegregation in the years following the 1954 landmark Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*. Former Florida governor,

LeRoy Collins, has been credited with allowing desegregation to move forward (Washington Post (2017). Desegregation of higher education in Florida is linked to desegregation in K-12 education, and access to it was controlled by white legislators.

The racially segregated, all-Black Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College (later renamed Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University), a state-funded institution, at one time also housed a law school and hospital in Tallahassee, Florida. In addition, the Peninsula County School District was home to all Black Gateway Junior College. Still, as concessions were made to integrate the educational institutions across the state, these *all-Black* institutions were closed, or programs were eliminated with the agreement that Black students would be accepted into the state's predominantly white junior colleges (later known as community colleges), four-year colleges and universities, and higher education institutions (Johnson *et al*. (2007). Education programs were downsized or eliminated, having the impact of decreasing "seats" available for enrollment in historically Black institutions. Black junior colleges, such as Gateway Junior College, housed on the campus of Gateway High School in Saint Petersburg, Florida, were eliminated for Black students. As a result of desegregating the "higher education mills," the production of educated Black talent was diminished.

Predominantly white populated programs located at state-run four-year colleges and universities that had previously admitted "only white students" continued to exercise discriminatory practices to avoid admitting Black students into some of the higher education programs. The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU), a four-year institution primarily serving the Black population, lost its law school and hospital as a compromise for the admittance of Black students to other state-funded universities that white students predominantly attended. As these concessions were made, some Black students chose to pursue degrees in fields

other than education and select vocational and industrial areas (Johnson *et al*., 2007). Educational leadership is often tasked with ensuring that school settings, standards, and students meet some standard of performance or condition. In all-Black schools, this was the responsibility of Black personnel in educational leadership positions.

There is the issue of fit related to the hiring of educational leadership personnel. When a school leadership candidate applies for a position, criteria are often used to determine whether the candidate interviewed is the *best fit*. This process was and is an avenue for racial discrimination (Tooms *et al.*, 2009). Even with a separate organizational structure (dual system) that existed for Blacks in education, governance, including the formation of policies affecting Blacks, remained in the hands of white people. Glaude (2016) expounded on how race still enslaves the American soul and how fear can inhibit employers from hiring Blacks who will work against injustice and inhibit Black employees from taking action and holding the power brokers accountable when social injustices occur.

Background of the Researcher

I was born when *Brown v. Board of Education* became law (1954). I rode in my parent's car as they, like many FAMU students and Tallahassee residents with vehicles, picked up other Black people who participated in the nationwide bus boycott as they waited for rides around the city of Tallahassee, Florida. My educational journey began in a segregated school less than 110 yards from the back door of our family home. It was where both of my parents taught school, and many of my relatives and neighbors also taught or served in leadership positions.

The school was segregated and remained segregated until I completed the 9th grade. After the 1968 Florida statewide teacher walkout, the school remained open for one more year before being closed as a facility for grades 1-12 and later repurposed as a special education

center. The county required Black students to attend the previously all-white schools located in the county. In 1969, my family moved out of a west Florida county, where we lived until I was 15 years old, to Tallahassee, the state capital of Florida. This was my first experience in an integrated school setting.

After receiving my undergraduate degree from a predominantly white institution of higher learning, and my master's degree from a historically Black university, my first professional job was as a government employee affiliated with a state university in Florida. I was initially hired as a temporary, dependent upon the outcome of a discrimination suit filed by the previous Black agent assigned to the position. It was my first position as an educational leader, teacher, and supervisor of education program aides. It was also an eye-opener regarding the impact of stereotypes held by the organization's leaders about the academic abilities of Blacks in supervisory positions and the capabilities of Black people in general. Many years later, after working in the public-school sector as a teacher, I was appointed as a guidance counselor and later as an assistant principal, under the leadership of a superintendent, area superintendent, and a principal. Each of them saw a need for diversity in the staffing model at a school located in a middle-income level, racially diverse neighborhood. The school's administrators, teachers, and students population was also racially diverse. Unfortunately, from my observations, these were not the beliefs observed nor the structures in place throughout the school district. Over the course of my tenure, the school settings varied from the southern to the northern ends of the county.

My Assumptions and Biases

As a Black woman, I served in various leadership roles: program director for an affiliate of the University of Florida, assistant principal, president of the Assistant Principals Association for the Peninsula County schools, and project director for a summer remediation program at the

local junior college. I had the advantage of observing educational leadership from several vantage points. These experiences influenced my perspectives on representation, advocacy, politics, and leadership in a public education setting. It is a story not unlike the stories of many individuals who grew up during the period spanning from segregation, desegregation, and what some have labeled "re-segregation." My experiences indicate that the rules of the game change constantly, and you may not be included or made aware of the changes that occur. In addition, feedback that promotes 'with-it-ness' might not be provided to enable educational leaders to remain abreast of new trends to promote excellence. Here are the underlying assumptions regarding the work of Black people in educational leadership positions during the desegregation era.

- Black educators interested in educational leadership positions formed alliances to strategize upward mobility in the organizational structure of the desegregated school system. In other words, there was a "community" approach where collegiality existed.
- Black educators and administrators were looked upon as inferior and incompetent.
- Separate and unequal systems of operation continued long after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education I and II* were handed down from the Supreme Court.
- White administrators and educators believed that Black educators had the same opportunities for upward mobility within the school system whereas Black administrators and educators believed white educators were awarded preferential treatment in the selection of educational leaders.

- The same criteria were used by school district personnel to screen Black and white applicants, but the screening results were interpreted with biases.
- Equal employment initiatives were not administered equally for Black and white applicants.
- Black educators aspiring for educational leadership positions felt they had the same credentials or better than their white counterparts.

Theoretical Framework

The exploration of the service of Black men and women in educational leadership roles who served during the desegregation era was addressed in this study. Findings and implications were discussed using Critical Race Theory ("CRT") to provide insight into core issues relating to desegregation efforts today in consideration of concerns held by members of the Black community for Blacks in educational leadership roles and the schooling of Black students. Omi and Winant (1986) suggested that rules and the classifying of individuals by race is a behavior learned by most groups through a socialization process and is embraced by different ethnic groups. This socialization to accept racial categories (an outcome of racial formation) then shapes behaviors that help fuel some of the racism impeding desegregation. For instance, many white parents who did not want their children to attend public schools with Black students and teachers were often vocal in their resistance to desegregation and leadership by educational leaders who were Black.

A theory that excludes *race* and addresses other marginalized groups/populations (due to religion, political or cultural group, age gender) was not as appropriate for this study, given the centrality of race in desegregation efforts. Additionally, while a multiple identities framework is

applied to studying Black people's experiences, race/racism is still central. Thus, the intersectionality of race and socioeconomic status (*i.e.*, administrative employment opportunities) was a focus of literature and the policies guiding the role of African American/Black people in leading education. According to Delgado (1990, 1988, 1995), people of color, including Black, negro, and/or African Americans, experience a world in which race and racism are an integral part of their experiences.

CRT is recognized as an outgrowth of Marxian philosophy that was taken up in Critical Legal Theory, but neither of these theoretical perspectives centered on the issue of *race*. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) identified *CRT* as an analytical tool constantly changing as new themes evolve (i.e., gender identity, native theory, race, law, and power) and as storytelling is used to expose/dissect the different facets of racism. The following assumptions have remained stable.

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in the selection and placement of Black school leaders.
2. Issues and acts of oppression are subtle but systemic.
3. Concerns exist regarding a lack of empowerment of those holding titles or positions that generally denote power, race, and class and 'powerlessness' experienced by people of color in the United States of America.

CRT in education starts from the view that the effects of racism are strong (Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995). Guiding the analysis of education are central tenets or themes. The following ones are relevant to this study.

Counternarratives: Counternarratives *are* narratives that counter/oppose the dominant narrative and take into account the social and political context within which the dominant narrative is made (Peters & Lankshear, 1996). Counternarratives about education indicate that students who attended elementary, junior high school, and high school in all Black school settings performed well with Southern Black teachers who produced outstanding students and leaders (Forletta (2012); Griswold (2002); Shircliffe (2006); Walker (1996). While the expectation and the belief **were** that desegregation would improve outcomes for Black students, an assessment administered to over 600 Black male students in Texas high schools indicated that school desegregation had little effect on their values and aspirations. Nonetheless, Buck (2016) attests that desegregation was a moral necessity and a social good. Still, today's achievement gap is attributed to how white authorities of the past implemented desegregation.

Intersectionality: Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1996) coined the concept *intersectionality* to understand how Black people are impacted by various oppressions, including racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism, that are inseparable from the individual, resulting in the marginalization of the Black race. In this study, *intersectionality* will be used to interpret the narratives collected and examine leadership issues related to the equity relevant to desegregating schools in the Peninsula County Schools and hiring into educational leadership roles. Intersectionality will also be used to examine exclusion issues affecting Black people's career opportunities. Likewise, the inception of intersectionality was in the context of employment discrimination.

Definition of Terms

- Affirmative Action: A set of procedures designed to eliminate unlawful discrimination between applicants, remedy the results of such prior

discrimination, and prevent such discrimination in the future (Wex Legal Dictionary, retrieved 10-4-17).

- De Facto Segregation occurs when widespread individual preferences, sometimes backed up with private pressure, lead to separation (Dictionary of American History, 2003).
- De Jure Segregation: Racial separation, a practice designed to perpetuate racial subordination, enforced by law (Dictionary of American History, 2003).
- Desegregation: integrating the races in schools or housing (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).
- Integration /racial integration: process of desegregating environments such as public schools or neighborhoods (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).
- Race: Notion of a distinct biological type of human being, usually based on skin color or other physical characteristics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).
- Racial Inequality: refers to societal advantages and disparities that affect different races within the United States. These may be manifested in the distribution of wealth, power, and life opportunities afforded to people based on their race or ethnicity, both historic and modern (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).
- Resegregation: renewal of segregation, as in a school system, after a period of desegregation (Orfield, 2001).
- Segregation: the enforced separation of different racial groups in a country, community, or establishment, such as schools. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com.

- White privilege: (1) The ability of Whites to maintain an elevated status in society that masks racial inequality; (2) A system of unearned advantages and benefits given to white people based on race (Andersen & Taylor, 2014).

Anticipated Outcomes of the Study

This process of historicizing the lived experiences of those who served in educational leadership roles may provide insight into the past and inform the future of educational leadership. In addition, those in educational leadership roles may be able to use the information to plan strategically to blend different cultures amicably and equitably. This study has the potential to contribute to the limited body of research regarding Black educational leaders in the Peninsula County Schools as well as inform school districts faced with resegregation, racial disparities in hiring practices and other race related issues faced by marginalized groups.

Overview of the Study

I conducted a qualitative study using oral history methods, a narrative form of research. Through the oral history narratives, the segregation, desegregation, and leadership practices by Black people will be illustrated using their lived experiences in the Peninsula County school district in Florida. The projected outcome of the study is an oral history of the Black educational leaders' roles from the era of segregation to desegregation and beyond. Information was captured in the form of oral histories I generated using retrospective storytelling and reflections on 'leading' in a time emphasizing school desegregation.

Findings are presented from the perspectives of the research participants about their lived experiences based on oral histories generated from semi-structured interviews, artifacts (*i.e.*, documents), and notes/reflective journals maintained by the researcher. The oral history

approach is utilized to highlight the experiences of Black educational leaders during a tumultuous time in the growth of the educational system in this country.

Anticipated Dissertation Completion Timeline	
Proposal Submission	Fall 2018
Proposal Defense	Fall 2019
IRB Paperwork Submission	Spring 2020
Conduct Study	Spring 2020-Spring 2021
Submit Findings	Summer-Fall-2021
Defend Dissertation	Fall 2021-Summer 2022

Figure 1: Anticipated Dissertation Completion Timeline

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of the literature provides a historical glimpse of the body of knowledge available from a historical perspective as well as the evolution of current research relating to the leadership roles played by Blacks, in general, and specifically, extending from an era of the self-taught Blacks to the establishment of segregated schools for Black students and through the school desegregation movement. The resegregation of schools is of concern due to conditions related to public school reform efforts. This review is in three parts: (1) historical background related to the content and practice of *de jure* and *de facto* racial segregation, desegregation, (2) re-segregation, and (3) educational leadership mainly in Florida.

Historical Background

This review began with information on the historical and pivotal events, policies, legislation, and reflections of key players in the desegregation era and the movement to make available to Black students what was perceived to be the benefits of joining white students in the classrooms. The literature demonstrates some of the beliefs about discrimination, equality, and academic performance of Black students and the trials and tribulations of Black educators and educational leaders (Dillard, 1995; Fairclough, 2006; Sergiovanni,1995).

Racial Segregation. After slavery was abolished education was available to some Blacks who learned in ‘Free Schools.’ Clandestine efforts of slaves included the use of storytelling, music, and crafts as a means of passing along the history, and so were cultural traditions such as

basket weaving and quilting, and so was other information and symbolism (Douglas (1845); Langhorne (2000). There was an assumption that Black people were unable to learn because Black slaves were transported to the Americas from various villages in Africa where languages varied from village to village. The language adaptations were examples of their abilities to learn.

Black people were primarily taught by white people (after slavery was abolished), in the northern parts of the United States of America. Separate schools were the outgrowth of attitudes of exclusion of Black students/Blacks from schools attended by white students. Exclusion of, mere tolerance of, and a lack of fair recognition of Black students either in the classroom or on campus, would become commonplace in integrated schools where Blacks were isolated from other students, assigned courses, and ability grouped without testing to measure abilities. Biblical indoctrination was the primary purpose of teaching Blacks to read or to help white property owners track the abolition movement. Some of the slaves learned to read before the Civil War ending and became the first teachers of the freed people (Coats (2010); Williams (2005).

As early as the 1930's, DuBois (1931) professed that it was well known that Negro students would not be educated in an integrated environment because the white philanthropist who supported the education of Black students were motivated by power and their potential for economic gains instead of a genuine desire to raise the position of Black students via an equally educated workforce (Butchart (2010); DuBois (1908); Watkins (2001). The economic involvement of white philanthropists was evident through their support of higher education institutions serving Black students. These power brokers provided financial backing to institutions popular among Black college students today. Their wealth resulted from the Civil War and their funding of Black education exceeded church funded charity. The Negro was to be semi-educated, provided with false liberation/semi-equality and the experience of a sense of self-

actualization (Butchart, 2010). DuBois (1931) pondered over the necessity of segregated schools concluding that due to the lack of value Whites placed on educating Black people then separate schools were needed.

Legal developments. In Executive Order 9981, issued by President Truman on July 26, 1948, racial discrimination was abolished in the United States Armed Forces and eventually led to the end of segregation in the armed services (Harry Truman Library). The doctrine of "separate but equal" was successfully challenged regarding racial segregation in the case of *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629, 70 S. Ct. 843, 941, L. Ed. 1114 (1950). It is considered one of the cases that helped to propel the efforts of the civil rights movement in the United States of America. Although Herman Sweatt, an African American mail carrier, met the requirements for admission to the University of Texas School of Law, he was denied admission based on the color of his skin and the fact that Texas prohibited integrated education. Sweatt's lawyer, Thurgood Marshall (who later became the first Black/African American United States Supreme Court Justice) argued that the University of Texas Law School was better equipped than the Texas State University Law School attended by Black law students and won the case, opening the door for Black students to attend the formerly segregated law school. Early on, there were implications that amenities for white institutions exceeded what was provided to and for Black institutions.

In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950), the Supreme Court found that the intangible consideration attached to the admittance of Black students to institutions of higher learning were subject to discrimination by the intangible quality of life conditions denied Black students make them aware Whites considered them inferior and thus impaired their learning, p. 336).

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 349 U.S. 294, 75 S. Ct. 754, 99 L. Ed. 1083 (1954) was a landmark United States Supreme Court case which determined segregation of students in public schools violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because separate facilities are inherently unequal. This case resulted from the combination of other civil rights cases after Mr. Oliver Brown, a local pastor, was recruited by the NAACP to be the plaintiff on behalf of his daughter, Linda Brown.

Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430, 88 S. Ct.1689391, 20 L. Ed 2d 716 (1968). The court ruled that school segregation was unconstitutional and that a Virginia school board's freedom of choice provision plan was unacceptable because there were available alternatives that promised a quicker and more effective conversion to a school system that was not segregated.

Leon W. Bradley, Jr., et al., Etc., Plaintiffs-Appellees v. Peninsula County School Board, et. al., 961 F.2d 1554 74 Ed. Law Rep. 480 (1964). This suit was filed on behalf of all Black children eligible to attend the public schools of Peninsula County, Florida alleging that the Peninsula County School Board was operating a dual school system. After much litigation, in 1971, a final desegregation order was issued dividing the district into two large school zones (north and south) promised a more effective conversion to a school system where the 30 percent maximum enrollment of Black student ratio remained the same throughout the county, but the minimum Black student ratio was changed. The outcome of this court case placed the burden of compliance on the Black student population to maintain limits whereas the white population of students could exceed 70 percent of a school's population. (*The Evening Independent*, *Tampa Bay Times, The Weekly Challenger* Newspaper, Retrieved 2017).

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1, 91 S. Ct. 1267, 28 L. Ed. 2d. 554 (1971) was a landmark, United States Supreme Court case dealing with the busing of students to promote integration in public schools.

Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, 413 U.S. 189, 93 S. Ct. 2686, 37 L. Ed. 2d 548 (1973). The school district of Denver claimed *de facto* segregation affected a substantial part of the school system and therefore was in violation of the equal protection clause because of the segregation. The Supreme Court upheld the claim.

The desegregation era was characterized by the elimination of schools for Black students, firing of/elimination of Black teachers' positions, elimination of positions, demotions of Black principals and Black district office administrators, and forced retirement of Black educators and administrators (Williams, 2016).

The Role of Educational Leadership

The experiences of educational leaders are reflected in the studies and demonstrate differences in the assignments, longevity, and respect endured during what became tumultuous times. The *legacy* of slavery continued to persist. Ongoing challenges faced Black educational leaders in the United States of America (Anderson, 2016). The goal to obtain the same level of recognition as more privileged (white) citizens is one that many Black people continue to face. Although Black people were denied opportunities, many refused to accept this as their legacy.

Black educational leaders were faced with adapting to a culture of exclusion and superiority from a historical perspective. The impact of the desegregation movement on the Black community, educators and parents was overlooked in the process of receiving some access to freedoms denied Black people and losing what Tillman (2004) referred to as "(un)intended consequences" of the *Brown v. Board of Education* legislation. The ability to be accommodating

benefited some Black educational leaders with administrative placements and suggested their selections as leaders was a vote of confidence of their abilities to lead. On the other hand, these concessions could be viewed as a means of "selling out" or sacrificing one's beliefs as a trade for financial or promotional gains or favors. Blasi (1990) suggested five principles for moving ahead with the goals of Brown v. Board of Education:

1. Adopt the view from the bottom.
2. Practice principled solidarity.
3. Be a principled pragmatist.
4. Follow the money.
5. Address racism, in all its forms, all the time. Among his five principles, he suggested moral responsibility.

The impetus for desegregating schools nationwide was to provide Black students with an education comparable to the education provided to white students (*i.e.*, facilities, equipment and resources for teaching and learning). Relationships among Black and white co-workers were not the same. Value problems required value solutions in response to long held beliefs by some white colleagues, and Black educators missing the types of experiences of working alongside Black educational leaders. A paradigm shift was underway. It wasn't always clear who was benefiting from the changes that occurred (*i.e.*, Black educational leaders, Black teachers, Black students, or the white power brokers who controlled who could take advantage of what). Displacements, dismissals and demotions of thousands of Blacks in education, especially Black principals in the south had the effect of demeaning some of the victims (Karpinski, 2006). Although there appeared to be a fear for their jobs, the actions of Black educational leaders and educators had already been forged with activism long before desegregation became a reality (Walker, 2015). It

was prevalent for the school administrators to be caught in the middle. The power brokers assumed that these leaders would promote the agenda of the prevailing establishment and the Black school leaders were torn between their allegiance to the Black community without risking the source of their livelihoods (Sommerville, 1980).

In a study of the success of desegregation of schools (Sommerville, 1980), 158 school superintendents nationwide were randomly selected to respond to a questionnaire sent to school districts with a Black population of at least 10 percent. Responses focused on the processes used to desegregate schools. Of the key findings, Sommerville found conflicts occurred during the fall, aligned with the opening of the school year, Two-thirds of the mandates to desegregate occurred in the south. Communication (two-way), organization, training and effective planning were key to avoiding and overcoming the conflicts that arose. Sommerville stressed that the person in the middle must have an awareness of the desires of all groups involved and be prepared to avoid favoring one group over the other or the actions and reactions of either group. Common to both studies was the concern for the welfare of educational leaders and the personal commitment to make sure the voices of the community members were heard.

Scientific developments resulted in scrutiny regarding the readiness of the United States of America to compete in the space age and for declining dominance in the realm of science and technology, during the mid-1950's to the late 1960's. In 1968, Florida educators were wooed by the scientific acumen of German scientist, Werner Von Braun, whose speech at a statewide educators' conference sparked the massive Florida teacher walkout of 1968. This was on the cusp of many Florida schools beginning to deal with statewide desegregation of schools. Florida was a non-union, non-strike state. Educators at all levels of employment were fed up with low wages and thought a walkout would encourage higher salaries. The effect was just the opposite

for educators in several counties, and especially for Black teachers and administrators. The act of walking out provided an opportunity to demote, displace and fire educators, impacting Black educators the most because many of the schools serving all Black or predominantly Black school populations were slated to be closed, repurposed, or designated at a lesser status, such as high schools became junior high schools, buildings that served as schools were used for storage or as district administrative offices (Boardman & Redfield (2008).

Continuous evaluation became a mechanism for measuring the performance of educators and a means of weeding out educators /educational leaders from the profession, particularly if prior training or preparation did not meet new measures imposed for employment. This was not a new concept but after the desegregation process began it had a larger impact on Blacks in education (Giles (1958); Williams (2016). Claude Kirk, governor of Florida at the time, was relentless about his lack of support to address the concerns of Florida's educators. He was the first Republican governor elected in Florida since reconstruction. Although he promised to make Florida number one in education, he failed to support better pay and working conditions after he assumed the position of Florida's governor.

Florida was not unique in its efforts to garner attention to the low wages and meager contributions school districts received to maintain infrastructure and provide instructional materials, professional development, transportation for students and deal with the issues relating to the desegregation of schools (Goldstein, 2014; Hatter, 2018). These were issues confronting school systems across the nation. Florida was a non-strike state, making it illegal for its educators to participate in a walkout/strike.

Memories of schools designated as all Black schools represent what Black educators, students, and families hold onto. Some of these schools remain in neighborhoods as reminders of

“what was.” Other school buildings have been repurposed as community centers or African American museums or torn down or resurrected with the name of schools that existed during the days of segregation but bear no resemblance to the sense of community and engagement experienced by the students, teachers, and neighborhoods of the past (Demby, 2015; Shircliffe, 2006). Griswold (2010) historicized her experiences and the experiences of teachers and students who attended or taught at the segregated schools of Dougherty County in Georgia, during the Albany Movement. She found it consoling to intertwine “Freedom Songs” in the narrative of the oral histories of participants she recorded. She proposed a curriculum to motivate, organize and liberate all students to act as agents of social change. The relationship fostered in the Black community encouraged students to maintain the community by giving back. The engagement of the community in the affairs of the schools was common in the Black community. Parents were highly involved with the schools. Black educators lived in the same communities where their students and parents attended church and other social events prior to the desegregation of schools.

In the Peninsula County schools, (the focus of this study) several strategies were employed to meet the requirements for school desegregation: (1) token desegregation occurred with a small number of Black students and teachers receiving assignments to formerly all-white schools; (2) as a result of a court-ordered school desegregation plan, the school district was divided into school zones. Black students could not occupy more than 30% of the available seats in any particular school. In Tampa, Florida, Federal Judge Merryday issued the order to end court ordered busing in the Peninsula County school district. The busing mandates primarily affected Black students, in the effort to integrate the public schools.

Segregation, *Brown v. Board of Education* I, II and Beyond

Black communities were legally isolated from other communities, by local codes, laws, and policies such as “racial proximity,” and what were known to the communities as “Black quarters” describing the sections of town where Black people lived. This practice, called “redlining,” was a practice that restricted financial dealings related to the purchase of real estate and “designated” the neighborhoods in which Blacks could live. It impacted the financial access and financial power Black people could leverage. Without financial access, their basic needs and resources were impacted. The Peninsula Negro School was opened in 1893, after the Civil War, at a time when the Peninsula County school officials followed the state constitution. The Florida constitution clearly stated that the provisions of negro (Black) students would not be taught in the same facilities as white students.

During the era of segregated schools, Black administrators served as the county-level administrators of the Black public schools. Additionally, they were unofficially responsible for providing a link between the school and the Black community. The school played a social, civic, and educational role in the community. Black schools served as the site of vocational education and adult education. In the state of Florida, students could attend junior college (first two years) on the campus of the local “all-Black” public junior college.

In the Peninsula County schools, the schools designated for Black students were staffed by all Black personnel. A separate district-level structure was in place for the governance of the schools attended by Black students and staffed by Black/African American personnel. In addition, *Gateway Junior College* was an arm of the public school system, and many Black students matriculated at the school, located only steps away from the *Gateway High School* for Black students. The other Black high school was Peninsula High School, located in the Clearwater/Dunedin area. During this time, white and Black students attended segregated

schools, 'Whites Only' for white students and 'Blacks Only' for Black students (Clemons, 2006; Peck & Wilson, 2008). There was no question of Blacks excluding Whites because white students were not attempting to enroll in schools attended by Black students. The junior college for white students was initially housed in a wing of St. Patrick High School, considered the flagship of high schools for white students.

An NAACP attorney accompanied eleven Black students to obtain admission to the first classes offered at Huckaby High School (named after former school superintendent Huckaby) in the fall of 1959. Later, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed a class action suit in the U.S. District Court of Tampa, Florida, in 1964, against the Peninsula County school district due to continued segregation in the schools. Leon W. Bradley, Sr., a police officer and vice president of the Clearwater Branch of the NAACP, challenged the school board regarding the continued segregation of schools in the district. James Sanderlin, a young Black attorney, was assigned to the case, *Bradley v. Board of Public Instruction*, 453 F.2d 408 (1971).

Less than two (2) percent of the county's Black pupils attended segregated schools nearly a decade after *Brown v. Board of Education* was passed. A court order was issued to the district to present a comprehensive plan that eliminated attendance zones and reassigned pupils, faculty, and other personnel on a non-racial basis in 1965. As a result of a motion filed by NAACP Attorney Sanderlin urging the Peninsula County schools to desegregate by September 1971, the school board attorney, John Carlson, acknowledge that a dual system was in place. With the urging of the vice chairman Calvin Hunsinger, Peninsula County, Florida, became the first system in Florida to approve an all-inclusive desegregation plan.

The desegregation era was characterized by eliminating Black high schools and neighborhood schools for Black students. In addition, it was common for Black principals to be

demoted or relegated to positions without student or teacher contact at the District/Regional administrative offices. It was also a common practice to place former Black athletic coaches in positions as deans, handling discipline. For some students, it was a time of conflict and physical turmoil as they suddenly became minorities at school. Tillman (2004) identified desegregation as the root cause of the disappearance of Black educational leaders. For the educational leaders who were displaced or lost their jobs, a job crisis was created in the Black community. The impact was far-reaching, affecting the status of educators as valued members of the community, and serving as community leaders and role models. For the last two generations, the consequences of these actions have resulted in policies that excluded mandates for Blacks to be visible at all levels of the public education hierarchy. Whereas Black educational leaders lived, shopped, and communed with other Blacks, some of those connections were broken when these educational leaders were forced to leave the area to seek other jobs.

Pink and Noblit (2007) presented a collection of articles about school desegregation in an anthology of education and policy. Contrary to common beliefs about segregated schools, in these accounts of desegregation, students who attended segregated schools depicted environments as places where a sense of community existed and where educational leaders and teachers were competent, caring, and projected a sense of community (Cecelski, 1994; Dempsey & Noblit, 1993; Shircliffe, 2001; Walker, 1996). Walker (2000) reiterated the consistency of four characteristics valued in the Black/African American school setting: (1) exemplary teachers, (2) curriculum and extracurricular activities, (3) parental support, and (4) the leadership of the school principal.

Terrence Roberts (2013) recalled his experience when he enrolled in Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas (one of the first areas in the Deep South to desegregate schools forcibly)

as a place where he endured physical and emotional abuse, as one of the *Little Rock Nine,* a group of Black students was chosen to integrate the previously all-white high school. Rather than finding a place of acceptance, he was thrust into an environment of fear and rejection.

Brown v. Board of Education raised Black people's consciousness about inequality, economic disparities, and the relationship between money and power. Manipulation of the law and the implication that desegregation would occur ‘with all deliberate speed’ was beyond the influence of the Black communities across the United States of America. Blacks were confronted with the reality of powerlessness experienced repeatedly as their lives changed yet remained the same (Cohen, 1975).

Racial Uplift and Unrest

In the past, Black educational leaders and teachers took responsibility for and thecontrol of the destiny of each student they were charged to educate, without expecting other groups to do what was not being done through education policies in the era of racial segregation. Racial assimilation wasn’t the goal of desegregation, although racial harmony was an expectation. The social injustice inflicted upon and suffered by Black educational leaders, teachers, and students, including isolation, and the loss of jobs, positions, and relationships revealed that it takes more than legislation to promote equality associated with the intent of integrating groups and promoting good race relations. Some school districts invested in diversity training for their employees to provide a smoother transition from the segregated school environment to desegregated school systems. A study conducted at the Queens University of Charlotte, North Carolina, found diversity among students directly impacts their performance. In addition, when diversity is promoted in the staffing model, the effects extend beyond the school by increasing students' *“level of critical thinking, raise levels of their knowledge and awareness,*

challenge assumptions, and raise levels of their contact connections and communications" (Benefits of Diversity in Schools, online.queens.edu). But activists, such as Malcolm X, encouraged Blacks to look beyond the surface of the intent to desegregate, and suggested objectives and methods may not be aligned (Corlett (1995).

Rist (2002) suggested that school personnel relied on implicit, unarticulated philosophical assumptions about the children/students as incapable of exhibiting high academic performance levels, improving their behaviors, and changing the school's climate. These perceptions obstructed the likelihood of educators and educational leaders keeping open minds about students' capabilities. The community referenced was in St. Louis, Missouri. This assumption is familiar in the Peninsula County Schools, where journalists and some educational leaders dubbed some low-performing schools "*Failure Factories."* These schools, located in the historically Black community, characterized students as low-performing and judged educational leaders based on the student's performance (Tampa Bay Times (2007, 2015 & 2016).

Racial proximity and "redlining" by housing lending agencies and community covenants included restricting where Black people could live and date as far back as the days of slavery. Jim Crow laws stipulated the confinement of Blacks to plantations. They knew it was unsafe to be caught in areas or neighborhoods designated for white people. Before the desegregation movement, Black people were expected to remain in their designated areas or quarters after the sun went down. In an informative narrative about St. Patrick's historic 22nd Street South, Peck and Wilson (2006) alluded to the curfews Black families observed in Peninsula County, Florida a county stretching for approximately 30 miles from north to south and surrounded by water on three sides. Such policies were designed intentionally to ensure the Black and white races were

segregated. Thus, *de jure* segregation in neighborhoods and schools resulted (Massey & Denton (1993). This arrangement of the areas later placed the burden of desegregation on Black families.

Some public schools in the southern states threatened to abolish public school systems to avoid having to desegregate the schools. According to a former white house correspondent and bureau chief for the Los Angeles Times, Robert Donovan (2003), South Carolina and Georgia were among the states advocating for this move. As the desegregation movement moved forward, some Black students were subjected to harassment, including feeling misplaced, as white students made it clear that they were not welcome (Patterson (2001).

Black Communities Values and Schools for Black Students

The employment status of Black principals changed drastically ***after*** *Brown v. Board of Education*. Although they served as central figures pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* and during the school segregation era, this role in the schools was coveted, and few leadership positions were available. After desegregation began, Blacks were taking on responsibilities for which they were overqualified and working under the direction of white educational leaders who were less qualified in comparison. These displacements, including demotions and terminations, were devastating life events for some Black educational leaders (Pollard (1997); Siddle Walker (1996); Tillman (2004). Racism was the root cause of job losses and removed some of the stability of the Black community. Teachers were revered by the Black community (Shircliffe (2006). The white communities were left intact. Florida school districts were represented among the areas where white parents removed their children from public schools. They established private and parochial schools to avoid school desegregation and busing mandates established for public schools, which was known as ‘white flight’ (Giles (1974).

Barriers to School Desegregation

Parents, teachers, school board members, community activists, and even the students were fed up with the noticeable differences in the school building and the allocation of other resources that were made available to Black students attending Black schools. During the desegregation movement, issues such as residential restrictions, the exodus of white students to parochial schools and private schools, school boycotts, and a firm insistence that Black families would not back down until Black students and educators were awarded rights and privileges of the same quality of education made available to white students.

Fear sometimes thwarted the activism that was necessary to overcome segregated school environments. But many courageous Black people were willing to do whatever it took to make the educational playing field equal. According to Green (2015), education was a central objective of the civil rights movement. As a result of the protest for voting rights, job placement, and other social issues, motivated Black families to work hard and believe in the power of education.

Historically, when segregation and desegregation era students, educators, educational leaders, and community members were questioned about the ills of segregated schools and the privileges associated with desegregated schools, some Blacks felt there was a loss in the Black communities (Shircliffe, 2006). Prevailing assumptions that school desegregation would be a cure-all for Blacks have not been proven to be so. The accommodations made during the desegregation era included benefits for the majority population, white educators, and students. There were no exclusive perks for Blacks when buildings were constructed, materials were purchased, and training was provided for school system employees when the school settings were separate for Blacks and Whites. Few jobs were available for Black teachers and educational leaders who were moved to other schools, laid off, demoted, and fired (Clemons, 2006; Forletta, 2012; Griswold, 2011; Horsford, 2010; Lampkin, 2016; Oakley, 2009; Walker, 1996).

The desegregation of schools promised in the litigation of *Brown v. Board of Education* was never fully implemented and continues to be threatened by the proliferation of initiatives such as school zoning, busing, school choice, and magnet schools maintaining environments of segregation. A lack of fully utilized academic and parental advocacy/support programs is needed to keep the classrooms, schoolhouses, and communities as desegregated environments (Eaton (1996; Orfield & Eaton, 2007).

The dissolution of public schools designated exclusively for Black students was another sign of continued racism and condemnation of what was valued by the Black community. Early European settlers planted the seeds of racism by constant reminders to Black people of the assumed superiority of European descendants. Frederick Douglass led the fight against using scientific theories to back up ideas and beliefs justifying racism (Herschthal, 2018). Historically, the exertion of power and use of 'isms' such as Catholicism, Protestantism, fascism, and communism were used to help promote oppression and further the idea of inferiority of Black Americans.

Resegregation

The rebirth of school segregation, known as resegregation, has led to some of the same issues of unequal school settings that existed before the school desegregation era, post-*Brown v. Board of Education I* and *Brown v. Board of Education II*. It is not uncommon for Black school leaders to be assigned to low-performing schools in predominantly Black neighborhoods. Accountability for the failure of schools is often attached to the principal's performance and may lead to a demotion or the loss of one's job. Community groups are keeping a watchful eye on the school settings that are becoming disproportionately Black, while the growth of charter schools is gaining support from white parents. Parent involvement, school district support, and the ratios

of Black to white students ran white families out of the public school system opting for enrollment in white-only Christian schools. Betsy Devos, former Education Secretary for the United States of America, was a champion of the charter school and school voucher movement as alternatives to traditional public schools. This initiative siphoned money from public schools, and the private education system garnered exemptions from the scrutiny of public education systems. Implications of the movement include opportunities to exclude Black teachers and administrators in the hiring schema (Morris (2001).

In a study of school choice policies, Mathis and Welner (2016) found that claims from school choice advocates regarding access to schools outside of highly segregated neighborhoods enrolled more significant proportions of students from low-income families and families of color than traditional charter schools. The problem with the data is an unbalanced comparison. When comparisons were made throughout the school system, it was found that traditional public schools were not included in the data with charter schools. Students characterized as living in poverty, indicated by enrollment in free or reduced lunch programs, showed significantly different enrollment patterns, as did students identified as Dual Language Learners in both populations, segregation patterns were similar, mostly poor and primarily dual-language students.

White flight, the residential movement of Whites to avoid self-determined, unacceptable levels of racial integration, has also impacted the resegregation of schools. Laws, public policy, and government-sponsored discriminatory practices contribute to the large proportion of students labeled as disadvantaged, at risk for failure, disorganized, lacking ambition, and marginalized. With frequent changes of residence, inadequate study spaces, poor health care, and disengagement of school and home (lack of parent-school interaction), fewer opportunities are

available for students to keep up (Rothstein (2013). These are challenges for educational leaders, teachers, parents, and students and are used as excuses for the majoritarian population to advocate for "separate but equal" school settings. Reform programs, for example, made little difference in an attempt to remedy the inequities in a Chicago School setting (Bryk et al., 2010, p. 210).

On the other hand, charter schools are providing opportunities for some aspiring Black educational leaders who had the opportunity to work with a smaller, targeted audience. A coalition organized nationally by the Black Alliance for Educational Options (a group of 160 Black educational and community administrators and organizers) sought to halt the efforts of the NAACP to stop the growth of future charter schools. The NAACP argued for a "Moratorium on the proliferation of privately managed charter schools" due to concerns about the alleged weak oversight and risk imposed on low-income communities (diversion of funds from public schools).

According to Reardon and colleagues (2011), the resegregation process has been gradual. Initially, segregated housing efforts led to court-supervised desegregation oversight. As years passed, programs used as attractors have, in some cases, attracted certain groups of the population and eliminated others. Magnet and Choice Programs and Career Institutes in the schools are among the tools meant to promote desegregation. These curriculum options may instead promote resegregation due to parent involvement, application requirements including deadlines and lotteries, and transportation restrictions.

The goal of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was to make equal opportunities for education the law of the land. "Separate" education settings were determined to be unequal, resulting in the desegregation of schools. The effects of this legislation were long reaching. The

Black communities were vastly affected by the closure of schools, downgrading of the status of schools, the demotion of Black educational administrators, loss of Black teachers, diminishment in the cohesiveness of Black communities, and dismantling of the support systems that allowed Black families, businesses, social and civic initiatives to survive, in general.

Some of the scholarships regarding Black educational administrators indicated that even where the facilities, materials, and monies were lacking, there was a sense of pride and longing for the betterment of conditions for members of the Black community (Horsford, 2007; Forletta 2012; Shircliffe, 2006; Walker, 2000). Educational losses occurred due to school desegregation, and an in-house form of segregation in the integrated school setting. DuBois (1903) predicted that tokenism would not be in the best interest of the Black community. In addition, Black educators were not equitably represented in leadership positions nor as teachers in the classrooms in the desegregated educational setting, comparable to the population of Black students in the schools. The change was not a feature in the structure of southern school boards. Most had been all-white, chosen through an election process dominated by white voters. This was one of the driving forces for the Black community to canvas neighborhoods encouraging Blacks to register to vote. Obstacles were laid in the paths of unregistered voters as government officials made up rules to suppress the Black vote and their desires to have their voices heard via voting rights and actions. As long as Blacks could not participate in the voting process, changes were needed for schools to provide equitable services and indiscriminate practices affecting the jobs of Black educational leaders and educators and the education of students (King (1964). Almost all the Southern school districts had desegregation plans though the process extended from 1954-1980 and 1968-1980. Two time periods are highlighted because the pivotal events of

the civil rights movement occurred in alignment with the passage of *Brown v. the Board of Education* and later with the court-ordered desegregation of schools (Reardon et al. (2012).

One of the purposes of educational leadership is to provide educational opportunities for students. The practice of enlisting and guiding the talents of teachers, pupils, and parents toward achieving common educational goals/aims. It focuses on pedagogy and human development. In addition, other disciplines may become intertwined. According to Karanxha, Agosto, and Bellara (2013), the limited enrollment of applicants from underrepresented groups to be selected to participate in educational leadership programs may be the result of a hidden curriculum. This underrepresentation of some applicants for educational leadership graduate programs and positions possibly streamlined the pipeline of advocates for initiatives protecting the interest of educators and students who could impact the achievement gap, resegregation, and education reform efforts geared to eliminate bias and discrimination.

Targeted efforts to provide programmatic equity and socialization to work well in schools may thwart some of the policy development and implementation biases for those charged with leading educational programs, schools, and academic/ school systems. There is a relationship between the assumptions noted by Rist (2002) and the impacts of those assumptions regarding student performance and the assumptions of educational leaders toward their students, educators, and academic leaders.

The civic reach of Black educational leaders has traditionally stretched beyond the titles they held and beyond their civic affiliations but extended into the communities they served. For example, in an article penned by the *Washington Post (2017),* accolades were written about former Dade County, Florida public school employee Frederica Wilson, a former teacher, school principal, and school board member for the Miami-Dade County school system, and lastly, a

Congresswoman representing her district in Miami, Florida, in the U.S. House of Representatives. During her tenure serving with the school system, she used her influence to add favorable structure in the lives of young men, targeting African American males through the development of the *5,000 Role Models of Excellence Project (named initially* the *500 Role Models of Excellence Project),* a mentoring program founded in 1993. Although the program targeted African American/Black males, it was open to any young man enrolled in the public-school setting interested in becoming involved and welcomed its multicultural members. The groups were established throughout the state of Florida. She is an example of an educational leader who reached beyond the confines of the school and school system to impact the lives of students in her school district and worked collaboratively with local community organizations, businesses, and other groups to provide role models and to communicate with her constituents (http://5000rolemodels.dadeschools.net/).

Former principal and community leader Dr. Ezekiel Bryant of Jacksonville, Florida, was highly revered in the Duval County school system and the education community in Florida. He extended his leadership reach throughout the Jacksonville metropolitan area while serving as a principal and later after becoming the first Black provost of an integrated junior college in Duval County, Florida, at Florida Community College in November 1974 (Gentry (1991).

The Peninsula County school system operated a dual system of education that included housing segregated junior colleges on the campuses of the county's flagship high schools, one exclusively for Black students, Gateway Junior College, and the other for white students, Saint Patrick Junior College (http://www.pcsb.org/2016). As school desegregation efforts progressed, the former Gateway Junior College, the site serving Black junior college students from across the state of Florida and the second of its kind to be established in the form of Florida (The Weekly

Challenger (July 10, 2014), was eventually merged with the formerly all-white Saint Patrick Junior College (renamed, Saint Patrick College). Dr. Walter Smith, a former student of the Gateway Junior College, later became president of the historically Black university, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU), after receiving his bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees. He wrote the history of the historically Black former Gateway Junior College and, using properties owned by his family, opened a Black history museum in the City of Tampa, Florida (Smith, 1994).

In contrast to the stories listed above, some educational leaders allowed racism at various levels: dyadic, subcultural, institutional, and societal (Pepperl & Lezotte, 2004). In public schools across the United States, educational leaders, including local school boards, teacher/education professional organizations, community organizations, and religious organizations, stood in the way of progress when called upon to lend their support to the school desegregation movement. Some of these organizations (school boards included) had clauses in their charters and bylaws that excluded people of color in schools and certain areas of the town or communities. These covenants were used to circumvent the requirements of legislation passed during the civil rights movement (Rothstein (2017).

Resegregation continues to occur as a result of so-called innovations such as schools within schools, magnet/choice programs, charter schools, ability grouping, testing mandates, special education, English as a second language/English for speakers of other languages ("ELL/ESOL"), which includes *Ebonics (*the designation of American Black English rather than as a dialect, by the Linguistic Society of America) thus perpetuating racism. The intersection of law and public action fails to yield results that position educational leaders and educators as power brokers who favor what benefits students and teachers. The power brokers (in many cases,

individuals such as politicians) within the background of educational leadership or education practices favor what benefits them politically or financially without regard for those individuals who are impacted by their decisions (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2004). This "intersection of race" and rights has been a barrier for Black educational leaders, educators, and students to achieve equity and equality in public education.

The benefits of desegregation have favored white students and communities, resulting in what is known as *interest convergence.* This practice was in effect before *Brown v. Board of Education* and was supported by the philanthropy of wealthy white donors to Black community ventures/causes (DuBois (1903); Watkins (2001). What could be described as a problem of supply and demand of available Black candidates for higher-level positions at the district level and in higher education educational leadership were examples of race and gender bias. As desegregation took a foothold, fewer Black candidates were in positions of authority. Those who held district-level positions were often appointed to oversee facilities instead of personnel. Fortunately, in some of the major cities in the United States of America, some Black educators could break through the *glass ceiling* and occupy high-level posts. The initiatives of Black school leaders have influenced the structure of public education as a result of the efforts of pioneers in the settings of large cities. Sizemore (1970, 1973) was a standout in the profession when she became the superintendent of a major city, a national lecturer, author, and a professor. Alston (2000), Horsford (2009), Nesmith (2013), Sizemore (1986), and others wrote about the perils and highlights of the ascension to the superintendency and the political context of the struggle for Black leaders.

Abney (1974) compiled a summary of the status of Black school principals in the state of Florida after serving in the roles of project director for talent development and principal in the

Dade County school system. The desegregation movement was propelled by the 1968 Florida statewide teacher walkout, the closing of some of the formerly all-Black schools ,and the massive school desegregation efforts. The decline in the number of Black educational leaders was felt across the state. Abney historicized the accounts of the demise of Black educational leaders and their relegation to lower positions as some were provided titles without the responsibilities commensurate with their abilities or experiences. As a result of racism and gender inequities, teachers, school principals, and district administrators were demoted, displaced, or fired.

The research efforts of Abney (1974), Clemons (2006), Griswold (2010), Horsford (2007, 2009), Nesmith (2013), Shircliffe (2006), Siddle Walker (a.k.a. Walker (1996), and Tillman (2004) provide the historical background of the desegregation movement that changed the lived experiences of Black educational leaders, educators, and the students they were entrusted with ensuring an equal opportunity to be educated.

Subtle racism, gender bias, and low expectations of Black educational leaders, educators, and students were common among white leaders during the era of segregated schools and continued through the desegregation of schools. A sense of surprise was and still is characteristic of some white teachers and white school leaders when Black students, teachers, and leaders excel in the educational setting.

It is concerning that the issues that existed at the beginning of the desegregation movement continue today. The tactics to segregate Black leaders from the majority (white) population are still used today. The labels may be different, but the consequences are the same.

In the 1991 ruling in the *Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell,* the Supreme Court authorized the federal courts to dissolve desegregation plans, approving the dissolution of desegregation plans after the courts concluded that all practical steps to eliminate a

dual school system had been taken. Some Florida districts were declared *unitary* and gained local control to restore segregated neighborhood schools. As some of the larger school districts adopted "Controlled Choice Plans," widespread resegregation occurred. Some of these schools were and continue to be led by Black principals. Former Florida Governor Jeb Bush introduced high-stakes *testing* and promoted the rise of charter and voucher schools. As public schools were graded "D" or "F," there was an exodus of white students prompting the resegregation of some schools, many of these led by Black principals and located in predominantly Black neighborhoods. As these schools received grades of "D" or "F," the principals were either relocated or demoted, and the schools were labeled *Failing Schools* (Orfield & Ee, 2017).

Other tactics affecting the pipeline of viable Black educational leadership candidates included the use of assessments, requirements of specific experiences before consideration for placement as principal, assistant principals, or other leadership positions in school districts and states, in addition to certification requirements or advanced degrees, previous related experiences and recommendations from supervisors. In addition to being selective, the opportunities are limited and exclusive (Horsford, 2009, 2010a; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Oakes, 1995). The historical reversal of affirmative action policies and inclusive hiring initiatives threatens to dismantle the processes established to discourage gender, race, and age bias/discrimination in education in general and in educational leadership at all levels of education in the United States of America.

Clarity regarding the roles Black educational leaders assume, combined with the extension of their contributions to the Black community and the relationships and authenticity of the engagement with other cultures, are essential to avoiding the resegregation of the field of

educational leadership (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003; Lomotey, 1989; Siddle Walker. 1993, 1996; Dillard, 1995).

The death of Linda Brown (2017), the plaintiff in the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) legislation ending the legal apartheid in the United States of America, was a reminder of the journey to "open doors" via the sacrifices of Black citizens to provide the freedoms experienced by Black students, educators and educational leaders today. Her family and the families of the original plaintiffs in similar cases provided roadmaps for tackling discrimination and overcoming barriers placed in the path of progress.

Conclusion of the Review

This review of literature offers nuances of segregation, desegregation, and hints of resegregation and how each has either influenced and continues to have an impact on education and educational leadership in the schooling of students in the United States of America. In addition, the politics of educating Black people and the governance of schools are also presented as the roles of educators, and educational leaders intersect with the perceptions of how Black people are perceived by society and the opportunities provided and denied to Black educational leaders. There are fears of the "*quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education"* and the "*dismantling of desegregation" (*Orfield & Eaton, 1996) resulting from the resurgence of the exclusion of Blacks in mainstream school leadership due to the growth of Charter Schools.

In the next chapter, I describe the research methodology, including the approach, design, methods and procedures used in the study. I discuss the role memories and artifacts play in creating oral histories, study participants' selection, and data handling.

CHAPTER THREE:

METHODOLOGY

A description of the research design guiding this exploration of the memories of individuals who served in educational leadership positions in the Peninsula County school district will be provided in this chapter. The purpose of the study was to explore the role of leadership among Black educators/administrators during the height of school reform efforts focused on racial desegregation. This study was used as a means to elicit oral histories about the Peninsula County school district related to historical moments and legacies and lessons it might offer for ongoing school reform efforts (*i.e.*, busing, school choice, school zoning, magnet schools, charter school agreements, professional development/educational leadership preparation, race relations, factors and processes associated with school transition/school transformation.

The research question is: *What are the narratives told by Black people in educational leadership roles about leading during the school desegregation era?* The sub-level questions are:

a. How did Black educators/administrators respond to school desegregation efforts?

b. How do counter-narratives about educational leadership manifest in their histories of leading under court orders to desegregate public schools?

The study addresses topics relating to the roles, experiences, processes for selecting Black people to fill educational leadership roles, and the liberties they were charged with exercising. It drew on the narratives of those who identify racially as Black and have served in educational leadership positions. The associated events stored in the memories of individuals who served at

the forefront of the historical and pivotal desegregation era in American education may hold valuable insights regarding the potential challenges and impact of future educational reforms on the leadership, facilities, financial management, curriculum, human resources, families and the communities served.

It crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matters. Qualitative research has the advantages of answering exploratory "why" questions, enabling flexible discourse, and provides face-to-face and nonverbal indicators. Disadvantages of qualitative studies include the inability of the researcher to quantify findings due to the small number of study participants and the difficulty of placing values on emotions. The following is a description of the methodology guiding this exploration of the memories of individuals who served in educational leadership positions in the Peninsula school system and will be provided in this chapter.

Critical Oral History

This study was conducted from a qualitative oral history approach that draws on the oral history narratives (*i.e.*, counternarratives) about leadership in Black communities and schools through desegregation efforts. Critical race theory makes this a critical oral history to interpret the past's lessons for how they are relevant today, given the specific issues and problems of practice and policy. Counter-storytelling depicting counternarratives is of interest in this study of educational leadership related to racial segregation and racial justice. Janesick (2010) compares storytelling to choreography as a means of drawing out the social justice/social change issues as a qualitative research method. The narratives derived from the oral histories will be used to form the 'portraits' of educational leadership among Blacks during the desegregation.

Epistemology of Memory

The historical record of educational leadership has given short shrift to ways of leading that are guided by the philosophical worldviews of African/African Americans (Blacks in the U.S.) (*see* Alston (2005). The history of segregation, desegregation, and integration are etched in the memories of Black individuals who served in the capacity of educational leaders during the events. The data for this study depends upon the collection of the individual and collective memories of the participants. Although some researchers dismiss individual memories, rationalizing that memories fade and tend to be embellished over time. The memories are validated when participants share memories with few variations in the content and context (Green, 2004); Wydra, 2018). Koselleck (2010) disputes the idea of collective memory and embraces the concept of collective conditions of potential memories (cited in Wydra (2018).

Nonetheless, the information stored as memories adds to the history of the past. Generations serve as conduits of memorial activity, traveling across distance, time, and space. Forgetting and remembering are important actions that occur as earlier generations who were the carriers of commemorative activity pass away (Mannheim, 1928 as cited in Wydra, 2018). Wydra (2018), on the other hand, agreed the divisions between generations become thresholds for the experiences passed down as memories.

Accommodations for individuals with hearing loss will be provided as needed. Considerations regarding the quality of the microphones, the environment where the interviews will take place, and possible amplifications will be provided. If required, assistive listening devices, noise-canceling equipment, and other accommodations will assist the interviewee in the most productive conditions to conduct the interview(s). Other considerations may include adapting sound to include intonational variations, displaying questions on the computer screen to provide a visual context, and including intonational variations to accommodate hearing loss and

dialect or inflections in the interviewer's voice (Rakerd, 2013). Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest using interviewing to hear data. This allows the interviewer to look at/hear the data for complexity, contradictions, and/or counterintuitive matters. In-depth interviews may also provide the motives and perspectives of the interviewee.

Ontology: Historicizing the Study

By historicizing the events of the transitions from segregation to desegregation, it may become understandable why resegregation exists. I will use the individual stories of the experiences of former employees in educational leadership roles who are Black to analyze the possible effects of social, political, cultural/ethnic, and economic realities on the leadership of Blacks in the field of education and how the communities are impacted (Green (2015). I will historicize the insights of participants. The ontological focus of this research on oral history, to add to the existing body of knowledge on positive and negative aspects of leadership in a school district's journey through school segregation, desegregation, and resegregation not unlike what was occurring in schools across the United States of America.

Researcher's Role

I, as the researcher, will serve as the instrument of data generation and collection. Relevant aspects of my personal experiences, such as my enrollment in a small, segregated county school system in west Florida during the segregation era may influence the interpretive nature of the data acquired. In addition, my experience as a school administrator/educational leader should be limited to my awareness that there are many facets to job titles with differing responsibilities. As the researcher, I also made an effort to avoid assuming that participants' experiences are similar to my experiences as a student during the era of desegregation.

Ethical Practices

I will address the ethical guidelines set out by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) as part of the University of South Florida application process. The process helps to ensure that I engage in ethical handling of information. I intend to gather data with consideration, clarity, truthfulness, respect, and individual integrity. In addition, I will participate the specific guidelines and protocols for interviewing, questioning, maintaining journals, conducting the research, tools to be used, processing data, and outlining feedback per the IRB and the University of South Florida. The interviewees signed the informed consent form before the interview took place. I provided detailed information about the interview, the rights and responsibilities of the interviewer and the interviewer, and asked whether or not interviewees would prefer anonymity. (*See* Appendix for the *Informed Consent Form*).

Methods and Procedures

Sample and Recruitment. I sought 10-15 individuals who are Black and served in an educational leadership position (*i.e.*, school administrators and district personnel) between 1954, after the passage of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954 and 1974), when the Peninsula County school district was divided into four operational areas. In addition, I sought potential participants who were educated in the Peninsula County school district.

I served as an assistant principal and had frequent contact with other individuals in the school district who served in the capacity of educational leaders and have, over the past years, been in contact with potential study participants. I compiled a list of former Black principals, assistant principals, county level administrators, including some of the first Black educational leaders to be appointed under the desegregated organizational structure. Some of these potential participants have indicated an interest in serving as a participant. Contact information will be gathered for each potential participant using school district personnel directories dating back to

the 1970s (copies are available at the school district's central records center and the offices of school leadership teams). There were no Black members of the school board before the early 2000s.

Participant Selection and Exclusion Criteria. Eleven participants were purposively selected from a group of 15. The participants were vetted to determine their suitability to provide information specific to the targeted time and events. Participants were asked to verify the time frame they served in a leadership position. Candidates who were candid about their lived experiences leading in educational settings during the segregation and desegregation eras and the issues driving the school desegregation process were selected. Participants were eliminated from the potential list of participants if the participant/ caregiver indicated his or her physical, mental, or emotional health would make it difficult to obtain information needed to warrant their inclusion in the study.

Data Generation

Pilot Interview. Before approaching the participants with the questions, I conducted a trial interview with one of my former colleagues who worked with public school staff and students and later became an educational leader during this transitional period to avoid the inclusion of questions that may be answered with "yes" or "no" answers. In addition, I recorded the answers from the trial interview responses to remind myself of the questions resulting in dead-end answers. I asked the mock interview participants to provide feedback to refine the questions to be used with actual study participants. The trial interview helped me determine if the interview protocol needed to be adjusted. A pilot interview (a feasibility interview) increases the likelihood of success because the researcher can eliminate what does not work and may be able to identify elements of the study that should be excluded from the original plan (Rubin and

Rubin (2005). The wording and comprehensive nature of instructions and questions allowed me to reflect upon my interviewing skills and ability to elicit cooperation and engagement of the study participants. In addition, I reviewed studies with similarities to determine the appropriateness of participants and the suitability of the interview questions to be used for the study (Griswold (2010).

Semi-Structured Interview. I conducted a one-on-one interview with each participant. The interviews took place in locations void of noise interference and the possibility of interruptions (*i.e.*, in a study/conference room at a public library, church conference room, private daycare/school, at the participant's home, or at an office setting provided by the researcher, in an area that was noise and interruption-free). Access to electrical outlets, sufficient lighting and comfortable seating (with restroom facilities nearby) were among other requirements for the setting. The location was agreed upon by the researcher/interviewer and with the participant/interviewee.

When a second interview was necessary, after review of the transcripts from the initial interview, the participant was contacted to obtain answers to questions that arose from the first interview. This additional data was used to provide clarity regarding the historical perspectives of the study or to generate additional discourse for future studies.

Interview appointments were arranged with the participants via telephone or home visits (options included the use of a digital audio recorder and a backup cassette recorder was available to document the dialogue between researcher and participants to preserve the lived experiences in oral history format. An equipment reliability check was performed on the audio recording equipment (and backup equipment was available in case of equipment failure before starting the interview. Extra batteries, external power cords, and any other auxiliary equipment were

available to replace any equipment needed for the semi-structured interview to take place. Participants were reminded of the date and time of the follow-up interview and provided with additional interview questions or prompt or another semi-structured interview. Files were not compressed as the interview was taking place. I manually transcribed the audio recordings following each participant interview.

Artifacts. In addition, I sought to review pertinent documents that may reveal the context of the desegregation movement: *i.e.*, curriculum vitae/college transcripts and records of continuing education and education records of the study participants via a historical search of archived records maintained at the school system's central records facility and electronic records, if they existed for the participants. In addition, I asked to review any artifacts available from participants (*i.e.*, yearbooks, copies of photos from events, newspaper articles, convention agendas, resumes, awards/recognition, professional organization meeting notes), and other items acquired from the participants or families of educational leaders who are deceased.

If a participant was not able to access documents or artifacts that reminded them of the specifics regarding an event, I offered to contact the participant to arrange a follow up interview to review and photographically capture a replica of the document to be used for gathering information only (*i.e.,* education certificates, awards, training transcripts, diplomas, honors).

Journaling. In addition, participants had the option of maintaining a reflective journal. This information was intended to be referenced during the semi-structured interviews as related to each participant's story. The study participants were encouraged to maintain a journal of their thoughts about their experiences, including how they were selected to assume roles of leadership, rewards and sacrifices, training expectations, and coveted information they were charged with providing to leading stakeholders from the school system, community, department of education,

the local clergy, political affiliates, media and other entities playing a role in the desegregation of schools. I used their journals as part of the data generation process that supported my preliminary analysis. Furthermore, after listening to the taped interviews I noted any information that was unclear, contacted the participant, and requested clarification from the participants via electronic contact.

Public Documents. The threat of losing the history from the desegregation era and the deterioration and disposal of records that were, at one time, maintained by community organizations and other community outlets is difficult to access and provides the impetus for the preservation of the desegregation history. The Poynter Institute, a division of Saint Patrick, Florida, on the campus of the University of South Florida, partnered with the *Weekly Challenger.* This newspaper has been the heartbeat of the Black neighborhood for over 50 years. According to Allene Savage, a former employee of the *Weekly Challenger,* they partnered to preserve the remaining copies of the newspaper (November 15, 2016). Lynn Johnson, owner, and daughter of the paper's founder, Cleveland Johnson, acknowledged that many copies of the newspapers are unavailable due to wear and tear, lack of storage space, and subsequent disposal of the papers through the years (November 2016).

Various data was obtained via recorded interviews, examination of school board policies, conversations about select personnel records, and state and national legislation. Additional artifacts reviewed included diplomas, certification documents, awards, personnel notices, letters, pictures, news articles, minutes from meetings, and other related documents made available from the participants, if they chose to or secured via local news outlets and personnel records. Participants were encouraged to add information they perceived relevant to the study. 'The release of information "document" was obtained from each participant before proceeding with

the data generation process. I reserved the right to include or exclude information that is irrelevant to the study.

Data Analysis

Earthy and Cronin (2008) outlined multiple units of narrative analysis. This study used categorical and content analytical approaches. Categorical approaches to narrative analysis are used when the researcher is focused on an experience that is shared by a group of people (Lieblich, *et al.* (1998). Content approaches to narrative analysis are focused on the who, what, when, and where it relates to the data (Earthy & Cronin, 2008). Because my focus was on how the participants encountered their experiences during the desegregation era, the oral histories evolved into narratives to center the participants' voices in the study.

I recorded notes while listening during the interviews. As key common themes emerged, I constructed oral history accounts by relying heavily on excerpts of their oral interviews. I determined the data to be used for admission into or omission from the study based on relevance to the purpose of the study**.** Critical race theory informed my interpretation of data for development of counter-narratives of commonly held beliefs about the era. These steps took place to complete the interview, provide feedback, review of the interview recording and compile the transcripts of the interviews. Additionally, my construction of the oral history narratives and counter-narratives are informed by participants' responses to the member checking process as well as their journals and documents, those they provided as well as those I located through my search of public repositories (websites, archives,).

Member Checking Notes

Study participants were provided a draft of the oral history narratives to give them an opportunity to corroborate, expound on, correct or dispute any content considered to be

distorted/erroneous. In addition, where the need for clarity was indicated, the participants had an opportunity to provide additional information. Their responses further informed my analysis.

Quality Criteria

Readers should evaluate the "*qualities of this study*" using the following indicators proposed by the Oral History Association:

- An in-depth account of personal experience and reflections should be provided by each participant.
- Time was allotted to give the narratives resulting from the oral history interview the fullness desired.
- The narratives provide reflections of the event, not embellishments of what happened.
- Coercion was not used to obtain the oral histories. Only those participants who willingly agreed to participate and sign a consent form, were able to participate in the study. A participant could have exercised the right to withdraw from the study at any time or may refuse to answer questions, at any time. Note: The participant may ask the interviewer/researcher to repeat any question that is not understood.
- The interviewer/researcher asked questions significant to educational leadership and that are related to the desegregation era and how Black educational leaders who served during this process responded to the changes.
- Study participants had equal opportunities to understand the questions posed to them and could have refused to answer the question(s). Unproductive answers or repeated failure to answer questions may because to dismiss the data gathered

from the participant or to inform the participant data garnered may not be suitable to include in this study. (www.oralhistory.org>webguides-to-doing, 2000).

CHAPTER FOUR:

Findings of Oral History Narratives

A. Mitchum Interview

The schools were doing a good job when desegregation occurred. Things changed. Black educators were placed in different parts of the school system (elementary, jr. high (later became middle schools, high schools, alternative education centers, vocational centers, and special education centers. In addition, A. Mitchum taught biology and chemistry with no problems. She noticed that they (white co-workers) did not care if people came to observe. Blacks (about eleven (11), taught core subject matter areas. They (Black teachers) were observed more than the others (non-Black teachers) in the school. No problem, they (observers/administrators) could come and listen all they wanted, observe more. They (Black educators) were devalued. The principal gave kudos to teachers who did a good job. All Blacks weren't valued, even though they covered extracurricular activities, others (non-Blacks) did not. Black educators/leaders got value by discussing how to make the system work for Black, Asian descent and Haitian students. They wondered how they could help students get over language barriers but received no kudos.

One of the parts of the desegregation order was "busing." There were enough buses for activities after school. After A. Mitchum became an administrator the "district" supervisors and administrators said they did not have enough money for transportation for extracurricular activities, so the administrators would transport the students back to their homes. Some students did not attend certain schools due to a lack of transportation by bus.

After becoming a school administrator, A. Mitchum noticed more negative perspectives. Males did not think females should have positions as administrators. White females would ask them, “Where did you go to college? What degree do you have?” A. Mitchum made sure she was certified. Trainings were held at schools and made the group more cohesive. During her last 2-3 years at one of the schools, she was chosen as psychological counselor for the “time out” program. A lot of the teachers felt she wasn’t following guidelines. Teachers wanted students to be suspended. She would go throughout the school with a pad making notes about the *needs* of the students. She provided special interest training to help youths by scheduling guest speakers targeting how to handle racial situations, college entrance requirements, vocational skills training, and other topics of interest for life after high school. She felt she was doing a good job. Some of the teachers thought students should be suspended, not in classrooms.

Every school had an intervention administrator. Some thought they had “arrived” if they saw their names written on a wall. A. Mitchum wondered why administrators felt “good” if negative comments were “scribbled on the walls” about them. On days when there was “professional development training” about “ethnicity, different groups” in the school, etc., administrators had the responsibility to make arrangements for guest speakers. The school district did not provide much for the schools. A. Mitchum was in the school district for 35 years and brought five (5) years of experience from another school district.

Administrators in schools (high schools and a middle school) located mid-county shared tactics/strategies to make their jobs easier. They, school leaders, as a group, would look at all assistant principals’ responsibilities and divvy them up by grade level, alphabetical listing of last name (*i.e.*, A-D, E-H, etc.) and followed them from grades 9-12th, etc. Responsibilities changed from year to year, to some extent. A. Mitchum did not have any contentions about that. They got

to a point where, if sporting events/games were in south county and she lived in the area, she and the other administrator(s) would switch coverage with each other. For events that occurred in mid-county the group members would meet at the events. Administrators living in the north county would go to the events in the northern area of the county. The principal would also chaperone activities.

A. Mitchum was the school district's only Black assistant principal of curriculum (assistant principal for curriculum, was in charge of the construction of the school's "master schedule") at one time. Other Black assistant principals handled discipline, primarily. She would fuss about it in private, but she knew that she was a ground breaker as the only Black person with that assignment at the time. The other APC's (assistant principals for curriculum) were white. The only negative about the job was the lack of other Black assistant principals with the same duties.

Former Black area/regional superintendents and directors of operations were instrumental in the recruitment of other Black educational leaders (*i.e.*, S. Ranger, V. Danford, L. Wainwright and O. Ranger Dr. S. Baker, Jr.). More Black educational leaders have been recruited since A. Mitchum's retirement. Sometimes Black educational leaders would have sessions with other Black educators and identify teachers to encourage them to go through classes for "educational leadership" certification to become assistant principals and hold other leadership position. There were several white principals who encouraged minority educators to become educational leaders in the school district. Unfortunately, some of the minorities (*i.e.*, Blacks, Latinos & Asians) in the community did not do enough to get "others" to come into education, period. They tried to convince those who wanted to be top level administrators to "be ready," attend related trainings

and obtain certification. Most of the assistant principals were working on or had doctoral degrees.

At the last school where A. Mitchum worked as an assistant principal, she would substitute if a county-level administrator was absent due to illness. She never served in the top tier of the school district's administration. She believed that it was because there were other Black educational leaders in the top tier of the administration level. When her principal was absent/sick she served as the interim/lead administrator. A. Mitchum was not aware of any acts of discrimination and never experienced situations of discrimination. There was someone at the school who was a large teachers' union representative. The teachers' union was available to members and non-members. She was aware of an assistant principal who "won the battle but didn't win the war!" In other words, just because the administrator was successful in the effort to convey the concerns did not mean that the conditions changed.

There were actions that were perceived as "discriminatory acts." Some of the new teachers (Black and white) felt that they would be automatically dismissed if they did not have an "avenue" to complain if terminated. Some did not feel they could go to other teachers. At the administrative level, there was a person who was dismissed, who moved to another county, then came back and the next thing you knew, he was fired. He was adamant about teachers following rules. He might've been overly concerned about "school grades." He had degrees (M.S., Ph.D.) and taught higher education to teachers. He subbed at the school where A. Mitchum worked.

When the school district was under a desegregation court order, the community was included but they (the school district) did not ask *the right people to serve as representatives from the community*. To this day, they never asked A. Mitchum and other Black educational leaders for advice about this. The people who were members of the community had no idea what

was going on in the schools. They were people who weren't qualified to provide input. There was only one person on the school board who had concerns and who people felt could and would express their concerns and the Black community would be heard. There have only been one (1) or two (2) people in the last 20 years who expressed concerns of the people. A. Mitchum remembers one white male in the community who people could go to with concerns about the community.

There was one organization that impacted the desegregation concerns, COQUEBS (A. Mitchum belonged to the organization made up of principals, educational leaders and community representatives) because Black males were being suspended more than any other group, including students from the "islands" and people who came from other "brown" countries including Hispanics. Another group, The UHURU Movement's members (led by the African Socialist Party) engaged in some protesting. Since desegregation sanctions/laws were lifted the school district stopped busing to achieve desegregation. This did not help minorities at all. Now we have negative groups and gangs. Before her retirement, she told the police she "didn't know we had gangs," when police would come to schools regarding gangs and drugs. There was a time she did not think there were gangs, but they were forming when they brought students back into the schools in their communities.

A. Mitchum said, students in the south county area did not have transportation like schools in the middle and northern part of the county. Therefore, south county students did not participate in activities due to the lack of transportation. Students had to apply for acceptance to *fundamental* schools through an application process. Some students still participate in *fundamental* schools. District leaders never asked school administrators for their opinion before they took the *bite* out of desegregation laws, with resulted in less continuity of the relationship

with the school board and the school system. The school system is almost segregated, again. Some schools still have a lot of problems getting materials and getting money for labs. Schools in north county are rated excellent. The science labs in north county schools are excellent. South county schools did not have adequate equipment. She (a science major) and others wrote a book for the school district about equipment used to teach chemistry but were never acknowledged as the authors of the book. Their expertise was ignored.

Looking at south county schools v. north county schools, differences were apparent when opportunities were compared for students, educators and educational leaders. Some of the best teachers, Black or white, did not want to teach in the "south county," due to disparities among the investments in the schools. She had concerns about the strategic placement of facilities, including schools, homes, businesses, that impacted school populations.

C. Josephs and P. Josephs

"We were blindsided," said Mr. Josephs, who had worked at Syracuse University in New York when he accepted the job in the Peninsula school system, but they adjusted.

Mrs. Josephs, (also an educational leader) and their children accompanied him when he accepted the job. Mrs. Josephs noted, "Our (Black) students were thought to be 'educationally inadequate' regarding the 'ability to learn.' Our Black students were academically adequate, some with perfect scores. Teachers were accused of giving Black students the test/test answers but that was not true. They were competitive with students of all races."

There wasn't anything in place from the school system, initially, (*i.e.*, multicultural training/guidelines) for Blacks or Whites in the field of education to deal with desegregation issues. Community groups such as the local branch of the NAACP and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance ("IMA") were supportive of desegregation issues. Rev. Copper (president of

the IMA), organized school leaders, especially those who worked at the school systems district office, to advocate for Blacks as potential candidates for educational leadership positions.

Rev. Copper served as president of IMA and organized school leaders, especially those who held jobs at the school system's district office (*i.e.*, superintendents, assistant /area superintendents, subject matter supervisors, subject matter specialists). Lawsuits regarding inequalities were filed (some of which are still unresolved). There was an emphasis on the recruitment and placement of Black males in positions of educational leadership.

Later COQEBS ("Concerned Organizations for Quality Education for Black Students") formed to ensure equal representation was afforded to Black candidates and other minorities. Their goal was to obtain equal representation for Black students. The organization functions to this day. At least one lawsuit was filed by the group and has not been settled. In addition, other community groups such as the North County and South County Minority Advisory Group advocated for placement of Blacks in higher level positions: *i.e.*, area/regional superintendents, principals, specialists, teachers and paraprofessionals (*i.e.*, classroom teaching assistants, bus drivers, cafeteria workers, etc.).

For years Black males and Black females were not placed in positions with curriculum responsibilities (some Black leaders had to ask to work on the master class schedule). White leaders perpetuated a "good ole boys" system. If someone in their family held a management position it appeared their relatives had the advantage of a "move up the ladder." White educational leaders assumed Black educational leaders could handle Black students, and that Black students were more difficult to handle. Handling Black students, bus duty, 9th graders (most difficult grade in high school), English as a Second Language ("ESOL") students and

special education students were often assigned to the Black administrator. Mr. Josephs had these duties every year for 26 years.

They were told that “white men and women” were better suited for white women who wore high heels and dressed well/in business attire, and they were *recruited* for the jobs. That is how principals decided. Sometimes it worked out for the best. The “good ole boy” selection process was in effect. There was no choice for Blacks aspiring for leadership positions. The late Mrs. Camp-Jeffrey oversaw minority recruitment for the school district. She would look at the credentials of Black candidates to see who met the qualifications for open positions.

There were not many people who met the criteria for educational leadership positions initially. Principals did not recruit Blacks except through the *minority recruitment office,* led by Mrs. Camp-Jeffrey, minority recruiter for the school district. Mr. Josephs had a master’s degree in guidance and counseling. He became a dean (had also coached football at the college and high school level and taught “vocational shop” classes). He later became an assistant principal at the “flagship” south county school.

Mrs. Josephs strategy was to identify a minority to replace her if she was promoted. So, she recommended minorities (to her principal) who would be eligible to replace her if she was going to have an opportunity for a promotion. Mrs. Josephs said she did not officially have the authority to provide input at the school level to make hiring recommendations, though; nor did she have the authority to provide input at the regional/district level or the superintendent’s cabinet level. She felt that if the opportunity was available why not make the suggestion.

Candidates for leadership positions had to be marketable, “over the top,” overcompensating, had to stay out of trouble, be visible in the community . . . whatever it took to be observed as a leader. It was necessary to let people in “high” places know what you were

doing in a leadership capacity. The rewards did not come overnight. You had to be a "good ole boy/girl," too! Mrs. Josephs had children in college and needed her job. The principal told her he had been to a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) meeting when asked why he was not present at an event. She did not report him for fear of being "Black balled." Blacks were afraid of losing their jobs. Besides, who would a Black person report it to? All the individuals in the upper-level positions were white. Being promotable: Some Blacks aspiring for leadership roles and/or trying to be promoted were called "Uncle Toms" by their Black colleagues. Most were just making their abilities known to those who were in a position to hire or make recommendations for promotions.

S. Ranger, a Black male, was appointed "director of school operations" after serving as Dean at St. Patrick High School. His former boss, V. Danford, was the first Black principal at St. Patrick High School (one of the flagship high schools in the county/school district). He was promoted from principal to an area superintendent, a position he held until he retired. B. Gary, a white male, was appointed as the director of operations (this occurred after S. Ranger, the first Black person to hold the position passed away) and served with V. Danford at the area administrative office in the south county.

One of Mrs. Josephs' principals made a remark about the car she drove, a Mercedes Benz. (Even the other Black assistant principal remarked about the vehicle, questioning her ability to purchase/pay for that type of car). "Schools aren't getting what they need." according to the Josephs. "Before busing was used to facilitate desegregation, it appeared that funds had not been distributed equitably. Black youth only saw what was going on in their neighborhoods prior to 'forced busing' during the desegregation movement. During the era of forced busing our (Black) youth saw what happened elsewhere." Some Black students were targeted/labeled as

“failures.” “There will always be *failures* if we have this divisiveness,” according to Mrs. Josephs.

“A lack of exposure to better equipment at home was not the students’ fault. Some parents couldn’t afford better equipment or did not know how to access resources. Busing remains the main problem: the lack of busing and the lack of exposure outside of the areas they lived in was and is a drawback for some of the students, currently.” Concerns continue to exist. “All schools were involved in rezoning, not just schools in trouble. It involved all of them.” It appeared to divide Black students from a majority Black school. It was recommended to place experienced teachers in those schools willing to work with students with academic and/or behavior problems.

It was the sentiment of the advisory group participants that the community should embrace the idea that “we had to get parents involved and be willing to send students to upper county schools that had a small population of Black students or Black and white parents had to be willing for their children to be the minority race at a school that had a low population of same race students (*i.e.*, low Black/low white student populations). In addition, it was suggested that parents could/should:

Permit their children to be exposed to different situations.

Allow students to participate in busing to schools in other areas.

Attend Parent-Teacher-Student Association meetings.

Parents were encouraged to take a stake in their children’s education.

S. Simon

S. Simon held the position of assistant superintendent for human resources for Peninsula County schools. His employment background includes a lengthy career in public administration

and human resources in the public sector and in the public education arena. His educational background included degrees in public administration, human resources and he began coursework in pursuit of a doctoral degree in educational leadership. Administrators inside the school district did not have a whole lot of “say,” according to Mr. Simon.

He worked on the human resources section of the district’s policies. Community representatives included such notables as G. Donald, former Saint Patrick, Florida, chief of police and the first Black person to hold that position in the city. Also contributing to this effort was W. Herman II, president and chief executive officer of the Urban League in Peninsula County, Florida. Both men are natives of Saint Patrick, Florida.

S. Simon led the construction of the document regarding the *aspirational goals* of the school district. School board member, M. Beaumont, was instrumental in the formulation of the desegregation plan, as well. In addition, he led efforts for district-wide diversity training, utilizing presenters who had no special interest, *i.e.*, businesses that were not impacted by the schools, school children and others. District personnel (*i.e.*, leadership members, specialists, teachers, support staff and “contracted” experts) worked with community-based organizations and religious groups to develop plans of action for improvement of failing schools (schools with high numbers of students who performed poorly on standardized tests).

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (“EEOC”) “green factors” (named after the *Green* court decision of 1968), were satisfied as related to: (1) transportation balance, (2) building space available and the conditions of the buildings (*i.e.,* classrooms, gymnasiums, office space and libraries, (3) faculty and staff, (4) economic equity, but the other “green factors” were not met.

The district was willing to build schools but not invest in the quality of teachers. Some poorly trained/poorly performing teachers were sent to the schools.

Schools under court order to desegregate and labeled as “failing (F) schools” were provided with assistance (*i.e.*, workshops, mentors, additional funding for training, mentors for educators, funding for curriculum and electronic supports).

Counternarratives regarding a sense of *trust-no-trust* existed before and after desegregation. Some Black families wanted the amenities that came with desegregation but preferred that their children remain in the neighborhood schools because busing students out of the communities they lived in impacted Black students more than busing impacted white students. This lawsuit stayed in the courts for years. The status of the “green factors” was negative, as many of the “green factors” remained unmet.

Twenty years after desegregation occurred there were only three (3) Black high school principals out of thirty (30) public high schools principals in the school district/county. The court order specifying conditions for school desegregation lasted for over 30 years. COQEBS and other community groups formed alliances with the University of South Florida. The goal of community involvement was to improve academic performance of Black and brown students and to have representation of Black students in the specialized academic programs. S. Simon served on the magnet programs recruitment committee composed of administrators, educators, business representatives and community representatives. As a diversity officer, his duties included “bargaining and staffing” among other activities.

Collaborative raises were negotiated for educational leaders, specialists, teachers, and paraprofessional, with consideration to years of experience and other qualifications (including training/education, responsibilities, years of related experience, etc.) were dealt with equitably.

These efforts did not just focus on the teacher workforce. It included the administrators/management, plant operations, school-based support staff and the students. The school district's "equity" plan (required by the state) outlined all levels of staff, especially instructional. Equal Employment Opportunity administrators and officers were in charge of investigating and reviewing complaints and concerns, identifying areas that needed improvement, and provided training that addressed the specific and general needs of administrators, supervisors, educators, paraprofessional and other hired or who collaborated with the school district.

Leaders worked to make sure that training conformed to district, state, national standards and provided training to prevent and alleviate complaints and resolve issues. Training was also integrated in the professional development opportunities available from the school district. The intent of the training was to prevent issues of discrimination and harassment. In addition, district wide training and school-based training were integral parts of training sessions made available at the beginning of the school year and utilized throughout the school year.

Interview with B. C. Little

"Our response to desegregation was "apprehension" at first. We had no idea what to expect." The transition included workshops. We did not know what the staff knew or what the students felt. We were very apprehensive. B. C. Little felt they had to take into account what she learned and use common sense. The biggest concern was the reactions she got from white leaders. They made it "tough" because they did not want to integrate. What she learned she used to help others.

She said, "It was a turbulent time for the students. They were afraid and were met with defensive mechanisms because of the staff". Many of the students came into high school without

any integration. Teachers and students did not know how to relate. They built relationships with students to make them get along. They also used counseling, the skills were put into practice, and they acted like human beings. She had to put students and teachers at ease. None of them (white administrators and teachers) had dealings with Black teachers and students before the school was desegregated. Black employees had to provide calm for students and teachers. B. C. Little felt good being there. She was the only Black staff member. She had no problem with white students although some of the students did not accept her.

B. C. Little taught one year before integration as the only Black faculty member at the school where she worked. Before she became an administrator, she taught grades 9-12 business education for 8 or 9 months. When the "dean of girls" got sick, B. C. Little finished the school year as *dean of girls*. At the southern-most high school in the school district, Waterside High School, there were two Black educational leaders including J. Wellington and M. Striker.
B. C. Little previously taught in Manatee County. She had held other business education jobs before segregation ended but there were only two business education positions in the county for Black educators in the school district. She also worked for the "Job Corp," the department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS) and Honeywell and graduated from college in 1957.

The only high school for Blacks in Saint Patrick was Gateway High School. The upper county area high school was "Peninsula High School. It had one (1) business education teacher, but the school was phased out after 1967/1968. B. C. Little's husband, C. Little, taught there for two (2) years, before moving to Jack Henry Junior High School in St. Patrick, which later became a middle school when grades 6th -8th grade were housed there. They tried to work with the school system as desegregation occurred. Attorneys Womack and J. S. Silt (later became Judge Silt) worked as a team to bring about integration in the schools. F. Paul, Sr., (also an

attorney) moved to the city and worked with the local NAACP's efforts. Mostly attorney groups and Black ministers tried to prepare children and parents for school desegregation.

When integration started at the high school level, there were few Black leaders at the high school level. There were few Black leaders at any of the schools. Their duties were divided equally. B. C. Little had different responsibilities. The first year of serving as dean, she helped the senior class sponsor. She wondered why she got that responsibility. She was also responsible for the homecoming activities. It was her responsibility to include Black boys and girls to ensure Black students were included. Black students got involved. She had to set her own criteria. The previous sponsor (a white person) gave her some ideas. It was a BIG task. She learned how to get students to get along and work together. Looking back, she realized that she did a lot to teach herself, especially how to deal with the problems. New Edge High School had fewer problems (*i.e.*, rioting) like Waterside High School and Gateway High School. The principal at New Edge High School was resourceful.

The principal left after the "teacher walkout." A lot of credit is due to the principal. He had good foresight! He tried to provide the faculty with the training they needed. He also made sure that B.C. Little had responsibilities she might not have readily been assigned as a Black female if she had worked under the leadership of a different principal. There was only one Black principal at the time, the principal of Gateway High School. The other schools did not really integrate until 1968-1969. Elementary and junior high schools integrated about 4-5 years before. They started integration with elementary schools. Waterside High School was the first school to have an integrated staff, including custodians. In 1966, M. Shows joined the staff, then V. Reddington came in the next school year, with two (2) English teachers. B. C. Little was assigned to New Edge High School in 1967. She was slated to go to Lake Junior High School but

two (2) days before she was to start, the principal at Gateway High School called T. Rothchild left in 1970 because he was a key player in the teacher walkout. He was fired for his role in the teacher walkout.

Today teachers and educational leaders cannot unionize, but they could be members of the teachers' union at that time. Teachers were permitted to hold memberships and offices in professional organizations. There were very few schools left standing open in the school district on the day of the Florida statewide teachers' walkout. Everybody walked out (or so it appeared). Everyone went to the stadium for a big rally. The teachers were told to return but they would not allow administrators to return to their jobs

Interview with J. Austin

J. Austin worked in the field of education for 37 years including three years in Broward County and 34 years in a Peninsula school district, where she eventually became the principal of a middle school. In the beginning stages of desegregation, there was no impetus to move Black educators into schools formerly serving "all white" students, into positions of leadership. Teachers were moved to achieve desegregation. Blacks were given roles as "deans" to ascend to an assistant principal position and then to the position of principal.

When Black educators were assigned to integrated schools there was a quota for assignment to a leadership role based on the size of the school. There weren't many Blacks sent to one place (at the same time). Teachers were just moved. There had to be "space available" based on their expertise. Black educators weren't happy about where they were assigned or the distance of the assignment from their homes. Most Black educators had not worked with white educators before schools in this school district were court ordered to desegregate.

Many of the Black educators did not have the background or education to be placed in leadership positions. There was no vehicle for mentoring Blacks to be “tapped’ for leadership positions either. Individuals had to have the impetus to accelerate or move Blacks into leadership positions. Black teachers interested in becoming administrators formed study groups so that when the district formed opportunities for advancement, they would be ready. Those (African Americans/Blacks) who had gone through the process mentored each other. No formal efforts were made by the district early on, but the Peninsula County Teachers Association (“PCTA”) developed a program-partnership between Stetson University and PCTA. Professors would come to Peninsula County every Saturday to teach.

B. R. Inglis, C. Agnes and A. Roland-Frank (area superintendents/subject supervisors) formed focus groups for those educators working on educational leadership certification. Black teachers became mentors as they gained their certification in educational leadership (a.k.a. administration and supervision). They “reached back” to help others. The district passed on to the principals the decision regarding who participated in the school district’s leadership training program. Prior to the implementation of this initiative, potential administrators had to serve as a coach/physical education teacher to serve as dean of girls or boys. Later, co-workers who saw your skills recommended Black educators for ‘administrator/supervisor’ positions.

After teaching 10 years, J. Austin received a call that there was a curriculum teacher opening at Peninsula Park Middle School. B. Scope, J. Eastern, D. Dangerfield, C. Flagler, B. Evergreen and A. Graham recommended J. Austin to become a curriculum specialist based on her control in the school’s open-spaced facility (working with two males). Most of the people on the curriculum team were working on their master’s degrees. The others already had their

master's degrees. They (those in leadership positions) waited for J. Eastern to complete her master's degree. (C. Flagler was smart).

In the 1980s, the cry went out for the formal recruitment of Black teachers. J. Austin, in the later years J. Fontaine, and R. Tally were members of the team for recruitment of minority teachers from historically Black colleges and universities (also known as HBCUs). Recruitment fairs included efforts to increase the number of Black educators in the school district. She was taken off the recruitment team and J. Stockton and his wife, S. Stockton, (both white principals) became recruiters. When Turner Middle, Meridian Beach Middle School and Peninsula Park Middle School had openings, J. Austin was called to serve as "acting" principal but was not hired as principal.

School level hiring was based on the discretion of the individual principals and their views regarding the importance of diversity at the school level. Participation in job fairs was the discretion of the principal. Former director of personnel, B. Grant, maintained statistics and said that several schools did not have a representative number of minority hires. He was aware of the low numbers. J. Austin became a principal in the early-mid 1990's. The "targeted selection" initiative provided inspiration and mentoring informally. J. Fontaine was an excellent recruiter for the district. The curriculum team and the president of Phi Delta Kappa encouraged Black candidates to do things to showcase their leadership abilities. Area superintendent V. Danford was appointed to oversee the recruitment of Blacks interested in educational leadership.

Later, L. Wainwright was appointed area superintendent and supported and encouraged Black educators to network. He provided support and pushed Black educators to become educational leaders. At one point, there were conversations/comments about a "Black caucus," but it did not materialize. Complaints from teachers about administrators were usually made by

people who did not do their jobs. There was an individual who was physical with students and was removed from school level and the PCTA became involved. Administrators had no union representation; their appointments were annual, and nothing was contractually binding for school leaders.

The NAACP voiced concerns about the closing of schools in the Black community and the assignment of lower-level positions to Blacks who previously held higher level positions/positions of leadership in the Peninsula County school district before desegregation. Local Southern Christian Leadership Conference ("SCLC") affiliate and civil rights leader S. Billings, III were involved with community leadership. S. Baker, Sr. was instrumental in the appointment of J. Fontaine as a minority recruiter for the school district. V. Danford served as director of operations and became area superintendent before he retired. A. Camp-Jeffrey served as EEO superintendent. She was responsible for recruiting, district monitoring of hiring of minorities, very active with handling discrimination issues and provided a network for J. Austin's concerns (a position later held by S. Simon). "Camp-Jeffrey and Simon" really knew the federal laws.

"CHOICE schools" evolved as a result of (white) students participating in busing. North county parents persuaded the district to go to *CHOICE* schools, resulting in the re-segregation of some schools. The school district organized focus groups, but the parents were intent to move forward with the effort to minimize the acceptance of Black/minority students. This effort minimized the number of Black students in some schools. During the most recent years the enrollment of white students increased at Meridian Beach Elementary School and increased the number of Blacks at the federal fundamental schools.

Black educators and administrators were not happy where they were assigned nor how far away they were assigned from their homes. Black leaders and Black educators had not worked with white educators before school desegregation was implemented, just with the Black population. Support systems were not available for Black educators before they arrived at the desegregated school settings. Few Black educational leaders were given responsibilities related to curriculum or master scheduling. Blacks were typically given positions that did not lead to upward mobility. Support systems eventually included "sensitivity" workshops held at the Franciscan Center in Tampa, Florida, in the mid to late 1980's-1990's.

Interview with C. Barrington

Background information: C. Barrington began her career in education in 1958/1959. She is a native of Saint Patrick, Florida, and was her parents' only daughter. She knew that she wanted to be a teacher and knew that a college education was a requirement to teach. Her friend attended North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, later renamed "North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University," so she also chose to attend the same college.

Segregation was accepted at the time. Black people were told that white teachers were better educators than Black teachers. After school desegregation occurred, she saw that "Black educators were trained much better and were much more competent than white counterparts." C. Barrington said she "educated the children." When C. Barrington worked as the former Jack Henry Junior High School principal (Jack Henry) made sure teachers were prepared with training in different fields. The school was like a little university.

Local organizations helped to promote desegregation. Even organizations that are active today in the Black community become involved when school issues arose. Some white parents did not want their children in the classrooms with Black teachers or Black students and some

white educators did not want Black students in their classrooms. C. Barrington believes some of these beliefs still exist.

Some schools were re-zoned to accommodate racial integration and to avoid racial clustering in the schools (although some schools in predominantly white neighborhoods were not involved in the rezoning process). Very few white students were impacted by the rezoning efforts. Later "magnet schools" were used as attractors to increase the number of Black students in schools with predominantly white student populations and to also increase the number of white students in schools with predominantly Black populations.

Years later, schools were re-zoned, but educators were still concerned about the composition of classrooms with "white students only" and with the classrooms composed of Black or other minority students who were assigned to Exceptional Student Education ("ESE") and English for Speakers of Other Languages ("ESOL") programs. Due to changing housing patterns, it became necessary to review the racial populations of some schools for rezoning. COQEBS became plaintiffs in a state case filed in 2000. It was alleged Black students were shortchanged by the school district (Tampa Bay Times (2007). "Black teachers did creative things, but the department head complained that C. Barrington didn't teach by the book but did creative things. C. Barrington, a graduate student at Indiana University, was the only Black student in the guidance and counseling program. The professor was prejudiced (racially). C. Barrington demonstrated she could do just as well as the white students. She literally brought the class together.

When she was promoted to an assistant principal position, she was sent to an elementary school in Peninsula Park, Florida, where the climate of the faculty was known to be racist. She was there an hour before anyone acknowledged her presence. The principal openly admitted that

he did not want her there but wanted his friend instead. He told her that he checked her record and acknowledged it was exceptional. C. Barrington, on the other hand, was guided by the Holy Spirit.

A Black teacher asked her what she was doing there. The principal would say, “gal,” instead of using her name to address her, and C. Barrington told him that “gal” was not her name. Later, when the secretary’s husband was diagnosed with cancer, the secretary asked C. Barrington to pray for him, so she did, and he was cured of the cancer. When the principal was transferred to the north county area, C. Barrington originally became the acting principal, then she was appointed principal, at Palmetto Elementary School. She was there for seven years. She visited the students’ homes, including sitting in “filth” and sitting among animals that were kept indoors. The number seven (7) was significant to C. Barrington. It meant “completion.” She decided it was time to go after working there for seven years.

Administrators went through an assessment called the “round table” interviews. Candidates shared their experiences working with all types of people and situations. Her answers had to represent the five (5) points of the S.T.A.R. She was promotable as defined by the results of her interviews, experiences, self-presentation, educational background, and input from top-level district administrators.

If discriminatory practices were suspected, principals who saw this happen reported the act to the area superintendent. If it couldn’t be resolved at that level then the concern was referred to higher levels of the administrative ladder, someone in the superintendent’s office became involved. When C. Barrington had an employee with a concern it was her practice to utilize the chain of command. The man openly “displayed” his dislike for her. Her expectation

was for the employee to do his job/comply with expectations. The staff member just did not like her. She counseled with the employee to work out the issue.

Members of the Black community saw people who should be promoted and would vouch for the person to be hired but others would be placed in the jobs. There are more upper-level positions now. There were not that many positions when she retired, though. There were more Black supervisors at the elementary level when desegregation began. COQEBS was formed in 2000 and became plaintiffs in a lawsuit alleging Black students had been shortchanged by the Peninsula County school district. In 2007, the Peninsula County school district leaders hoped that the 1964 *Bradley* lawsuit could be mediated at the same time (Tampa Bay Times (2007).

Mrs. Tulip retired from the Peninsula school district in 1992, as principal of Coastal Elementary School. She notified S. Sienna, superintendent for personnel, of her conversation with God calling her to retire as she was called to the ministry. She enrolled in the Theological Seminary where she received her training. It was something she felt compelled to do. She currently works in a Christian Ministry.

Interview with M. Roland

M. Roland served as the elementary science supervisor for Peninsula County elementary schools. He started in this position in 1969. He was an active member of the NAACP. G. Jarrett, NAACP president, informed the group that the local school system was hiring African American/Black women but not African American men.

M. Roland became the first male Supervisor in Peninsula County Schools and the first Black/African American supervisor in the State of Florida. M. Roland served as a resource teacher and science curriculum supervisor for over 30 years, serving over 1700 teachers, of which 17% were African American/Black. His hiring was part of a court order. No Black men

held a position as a curriculum supervisor. He became the first male curriculum supervisor of the Peninsula County School District. Papers were already signed, and the community recommended him. M. Carpenter was the other Black supervisor hired during that era. I. Hunter was the director of elementary science and M. Roland reported to her. I. Hunter taught him. She was a wonderful lady to work with.

Bradley v. Peninsula County School Board (1964) still hasn't been resolved. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund interceded in the proceedings. Over the years, the requirements for the position changed. When he began in the position, a Bachelor of Science degree was required; later, certification in supervision and administration was required. So, he commuted to Tampa and Sarasota to take evening classes. The number of African Americans was not great, four percent (4%). The number of African Americans went up as negotiations with the Peninsula County school district took place. The superintendent acted as representative for the school system. There was no mass separation. Some people were supervised ("reading, math, health") by someone regardless of race.

Approximately 27 elementary schools were identified as Title I schools and assigned an area superintendent. Later this became Area I representing "up county" and Area II for "down county." Funding for Title I schools always came from the government. At some point, there was an unfair distribution of money. Less money was provided to the schools that really needed it. Though funds were earmarked for schools that were needy, funds were distributed to all schools. There was not a lot of advancement.

Most of the educational leaders were white. African Americans who did get a job in educational leadership had authority over everybody. V. Danford was one of the first Blacks hired in the desegregated setting and had full authority over everyone he supervised. M. Roland

was in charge of elementary science and was fully in charge (handling funds for books, materials and training) and he retired after 22 years in the position. Before retiring he trained over 1,700 elementary teachers to educate students in science, over the course of his career. He had a cadre of science teachers that he supervised. Most training was held before or after school. Schools that received materials also received the training that went with it. Principals, area superintendents and others recruited minorities. They went to historically Black colleges as far west as Oklahoma.

J. Fontaine was the county's recruiter and could hire African Americans on the spot at education job fairs. He later included administrators in the recruitment process. When the recruits arrived, he connected them with seasoned administrators. M. Roland said he and J. Fontaine held religious services with the Black recruits in the Black community. Only two percent (2%) loss of recruits occurred annually. It was a good program. M. Roland also worked closely with the person who held the position as one of the first of seven (7) superintendents (superintendent, Dr. Grayson).

M. Roland was involved with several groups that promoted equality, equity, desegregation, etc. He was engaged with COQEBS. The group was led by the NAACP and helped keep racial balance in the school district's leadership. They would evaluate the status of desegregation. When there was slacking off by the school district, changes were made. The superintendent would use tactics like "extending the time" to take action. The lay group was given large stacks to read. The NAACP was right on top of it. When they could not get it worked out with the superintendent, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund codified the recommendation so the new superintendents couldn't just change it. "Black Teachers for Progress" would discuss issues of concern and strategize how to handle the issues. Black administrators helped new

administrations. This concept came from “Deacon” J. Fontaine: “Lead, Hire, Maintain”. The number of top administrators near the end of M. Roland’s tenure was representative of good ratios of Black educational leaders, related to retention, not fired. Follow-up occurred if retention was an issue (from the perspective of M. Roland, as an elementary supervisor).

P. Shepard was the first supervisor of Title I programs and served as area superintendent over Title I elementary schools after serving as principal of Mooring Elementary School (M. Roland commented that she had a “lovely personality.” P. Shepard did not bite her tongue! B. Hill served as area superintendent (in the area that M. Roland supervised). M. Roland was not aware of any African Americans separated from their position due to discrimination. Some of the Black folks holding positions weren’t qualified. Some were just there (in positions) “because they were Black/African American.” Some individuals had no compassion for children. He never voiced this but knew the issue was there. At least two of M. Roland’s protégés became principals. There were some white administrators who did not accept the idea of integration/desegregation. Some people slipped through the cracks due to discrimination, though. Some people (some Blacks did not make it due to discriminatory practices and thought the watchdog organization, COQEBS, was still operating under oppression. Representatives from the community and the Urban League were involved (W. Herman and Thelma).

In the Office of Equal Opportunity, S. Simon was excellent in his job and would make things happen. Discrimination was handled in a tiered process (*i.e.*, school, area superintendent, superintendent, school board). Plaintiffs signed a form acknowledging protests, then it was sent to the school board. When there was a complaint, the plaintiff had to go through the process of documenting it without relying on “word of mouth.” M. Roland often said he was oblivious and never encountered discrimination. He heard what both sides said because supervisors were often

used to provide evidence of discriminatory complaints. The accused employee was given about four (4) times to work it out over a 4-6 week period with feedback provided for corrective action to take place before the person was "separated" from the school district. When someone filed an allegation against a pastor, his supervisor tried to give the pastor's position to the supervisor's girlfriend. M. Roland prayed about it. The man and the man's girlfriend's positions were cut.

COQUEBS was the main organization that met with the district administrators, teachers, principals, and the NAACP was there also. Surveys administered to the African American community indicated that they did not want any more busing. (We have a lot of schools with high populations of Black students and these schools are failing and have been failing for a while). The five schools at the bottom of the list are elementary schools: Mooring, Progresso Park, Maloe, Deerhill Park Elementary & Waterside Elementary. The schools have remained open due to the result of votes by African American parents. Malone Elementary came off the "failing school list" two (2) points away from a "B" school grade in nine (9) months, as of 2018. Progresso Park Elementary came off the list of failing schools also. The principal of Aloe Elementary School utilized parents and the community (actually recruited parents). She also worked with and exhibited compassion whereas the other schools did not necessarily utilize those strategies. The "Parent Support for Education Council" requested a listening session at Jack Henry Middle School. The strategies included:

Faculty and staff involvement.

Participants listen and don't respond.

Display ideas on the board/screen.

Provide instruction for participants.

The first family engagement committee evolved from the parent support group and liaisons. Roland encouraged superintendent Dr. Grayson to meet with the pastors/ministers in the school district. One million dollars was spent for training provided to teachers by Harvard University professors. The training was also open to parents.

Surveys completed by parents indicated: (1) they did not feel respected, (2) professionals spoke “down to them,” and (3) school personnel did not make special efforts to let parents know failures was occurring. Only one (1) principal made special efforts for her school that resulted in the school moving from a “F” school grade to a “C” school grade. Parents also indicated that the education professionals “didn’t respect them” and that they used acronyms without explaining the meanings of the acronyms that were unfamiliar to parents. (3) Some parents indicated educators didn’t make a special effort to let parents know failures were occurring. Only one principal moved the school grade from an “F” to a “C’ grade. That principal was in the school on weekend’s and after hours. When parents came to school meetings there was standing room only and the parking lot was not adequate for the crowd (it was overflowing).

The religious values of the community were a driving force for the school’s progress. M. Roland felt the engagement of 5 (five) members of the religious community and the power of prayer had an impact on the success of the principal. Five local pastors attended the school meetings to offer continued support and prayers. Teachers began requesting to work for the principal because she connected with the community and teachers. There were concerns that Black school administrators were overloaded and were set up for failure.

In recent years, parent engagement groups were utilized in four of the five failing schools. The community continues to hold the school district accountable. The Black community has concerns, even today, that the school district did not try to maintain desegregation. The

community began to suggest the relaxing of desegregation efforts but the involvement of groups such as the NAACP, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance ("IMA"), COQUEBS, and the Parent Teacher Students Association (PTSA) had been instrumental in maintaining a presence in the schools. The presence of the Parent Support Education Council and local churches is fading. The "Men of Tomorrow" led by the group's president, J. Fowler, focuses on parent engagement with their children.

Interview of E. Dawson-Gunn

At the time of desegregation, E. Dawson-Gunn was not in a leadership position but was assigned to the classroom as a teacher during the 1968 Florida teachers' walkout. In the school where she was employed, there were concerns about rain and flooding on the first floor of the school although desegregation, issues regarding teacher pay and access to adequate supplies and equipment were big issues statewide. She decided she would participate in the school-wide walkout that teachers staged for one day and she decided she wouldn't participate in the statewide teachers' walkout. She felt she should support the local teachers' organization. When the teachers who participated in the statewide "walk out" returned to the school, her principal was not very supportive of those who walked out. E. Dawson-Gunn had been the Girl Scouts sponsor for her school. The principal made the teachers who walked out interview with her to return to work. Afterwards, E. Dawson-Gunn interviewed for a job with Jack Henry for a position as a reading teacher at Jack Henry Junior High School (later renamed, "Jack Henry Middle School"), a position she held from March 1968-June 1970. In 1970, she received a notice of appointment to "Southside School" (white teachers were being assigned at her prior school). Teachers taught all subjects and had other duties (*i.e.,* music, physical education and supervised restrooms and lunch breaks).

When she was reassigned in 1970, as a junior high school reading teacher, people treated her with respect. “They (Black people) grew up doing what they were told to do.” They were punctual and left work late. She worked with children with low reading skills at Southern Middle School for 2½ years. She remembers hearing “fight-fight!” She was prepared for students. She decided to return to the elementary school level and contacted the J. Washington, an elementary school principal who happened to have an opening in reading. He hired her for the position.

In 1975, her title was changed from reading teacher to reading specialist which required additional training and workshops with students. Reading teachers did not have the title of leader, but their responsibilities required the skills of leadership. Some of the white teachers chose to do other thing (take other jobs). E. Dawson-Gunn informed colleagues of her new role and that they were expected to respect her position. She was cordial. There were some individuals who questioned her authority. By checking reading profiles, she was able to assess the involvement of the teachers she supervised because the teachers had to check and document the mastery of students.

Between 1978-1991, she began to take educational leadership classes for “administration and supervision,” she applied to “targeted selection,” a hands-on assessment used to evaluate readiness for an administrative appointment. It was an eye-opener. It included an “in basket” assessment. She might have been the only Black candidate participating in the assessment during the session. One or two of the other candidates seemed very well versed. She found out that one or two of the applicants seemed to have been “coached.” The “playing field” wasn’t level. Another principal was assigned to the school. E. Dawson-Gunn worked well with the new principal. There was no assistant principal, so E. Dawson-Gunn performed the duties of an assistant principal. It was apparent the “playing field” wasn’t equal. The late Adele Camp-Jeffrey

encouraged E. Dawson-Gunn, making sure her voice was heard, the order of responses was noted, and E. Dawson-Gunn passed the "assessment."

One day after bus duty, E. Dawson-Gunn's principal introduced her as the new assistant principal. She was surprised. That was 1986. She attended the assistant principal meetings, was nominated as president of the assistant principals' organization. After a couple of years, she began interviewing for principalship positions. She heard them say wonder why she's interviewing but the principal had to re-interview for his position. E. Dawson-Gunn was appointed "principal" by H. Hemmingway. She had told him she was not coming to talk to him about an assistant principal position. She wanted to speak with him about her chances of becoming a principal and to inform him that she did not want to waste her time. She did not have direct contact with anyone when positions became available. She tried to stay abreast of openings, trainings, etc. E. Dawson-Gunn and another individual, the late J. Jackson, were asked to participate on certain committees when they were assistant principals as a means of preparing for the "targeted selection" process. The principal she worked for was very upfront.

There was racial alignment with seating at meeting and travel to events such as trainings, etc. E. Dawson-Gunn liked to sit upfront at trainings and other events. Her personality was friendly but did not try to get anything by being 'chummy.' Some of the white administrators were friends and went on trips together, on and off the job, just as some Black school leaders did the same thing. This created a sense of collegiality.

Criteria varied regarding the assignment of responsibilities, depended on the supervisor or principal. She was thankful that she had a good bookkeeper and felt fortunate to have her. That was one of the areas she felt she lacked as much experience as she would have liked. If there were any tactics or strategies used to recruit Black educational leaders, she wasn't aware of

any. No one recruited her. She had taken classes with her friends. Her principal, A. Roland (*a.k.a.* Frank, a white female) encouraged her to go back through the "targeted selection" assessment process. There was an affirmative action appointee, but E. Dawson-Gunn did not know her. She also did not get any encouragement from anyone. Early in her career she lived in Clearwater and a friend of hers carpooled with her to her school. It was "who you know" or who knew you.

It was about 1970 when the school district started the desegregation process. When she was assigned to Jack Henry Jr. High School, she had contact with one principal's wife (wife of L. Bernard), who was a principal and later an area director for the school district). Acts of discrimination took place when she came to the school system in 1963. She interned in Miami and stayed with an authoritarian landlord. The Graduate Record Examination ("GRE") was used to dismiss teachers (especially Black teachers if they did not have a passing score).
E. Dawson-Gunn was able to pass the test and L. Stillworth, principal, was able to offer her the job. A lady, known to Dawson-Gunn, kept getting sick after taking the exam and failing it but that other lady finally passed the exam.

The Black community was involved when there were issues of injustice. The "targeted-selection" process may have been biased, at first. When a person with less tenure was slated to be appointed to a position, she did not get it and was transferred to another school. The person with the most tenure remained at the school, but the other teachers wanted the staff member to leave. There was an organization to ensure equality and ensure the school district adhered to the "desegregation court order" focusing on "n ' 'n 'BUSING.'" Black and white members of the school system and the community were involved, including the lawyer (Escarez and Judge James Sanderlin). A community group included journalist P. Patterson, who wrote

about issues and shared quite a bit of information about local issues, including issues that affected the Black community. She worked for the Saint Patrick Times. Also, S. Applewhite, a columnist with the Saint Patrick Times covered issues concerning the people. The NAACP might have had something to do with this. They (members of the NAACP) were vocal. They were aware of the needs and were proactive. More concerned about ensuring children received an "equal" education.

Interview of M. Baskin

Black educational leaders faced challenges. "A lot of networking took place to compensate for what we had to learn to move through the ranks." M. Baskin started as an educator in 1966, teaching math at Gateway High School ("GHS"), where the late E. Silver served as principal in a segregated school environment. He began two (2) years before a court order was issued requiring the desegregation of schools due to all Black racial composition of the administration, faculty, staff, and student population.

County administrators came to GHS to announce plans to "integrate" the schools (most formerly all Black schools were composed of 80% Black educators). For the coming year, teachers were given an option to remain at their current school or transfer to a school to help achieve racial desegregation. M. Baskin taught "modern math." It was pre-education/preparation for algebra/college preparatory math. County administrators came and said people could select the school of their choice but the next year they would be "placed" (assigned) in a school setting. M. Baskin was radical, ready to go (he had taught pre-algebra and was tired of teaching just pre-algebra).

The department chair taught the higher math classes and was the "*valedictorian*" of the department. M. Baskin was told to talk to the department chair. The department chair told the

principal, E. Silver, of M. Baskin's interest. M. Baskin might have embarrassed E. Silver, but M. Baskin raised his hand and volunteered to change schools. M. Baskin chose Bass Canal High School (principal, H. Cleveland) and Saint Patrick High School (principal, Ron Hallam) and Waterside High School.

The next school year, M. Baskin coached plus taught math and algebra. Principal R. Hatchett at Saint Patrick High School had chosen him (and St. Patrick High School was one of the schools M. Baskin had chosen). G. Shiver (superintendent of schools at the time) appointed him. Three principals recommended him. He was told to report to St. Patrick High School. M. Baskin told principal Hatchet he did not just want lower math. He had majored in math. Principal Hatchett assured him that the request would not be a problem. M. Baskin taught two (2) algebra classes, and two (2) pre-algebra classes and served as the football coach. M. Baskin thought he would be assigned to teach five (5) classes because he coached, but that was not the case, he was assigned only four (4) classes. M. Baskin mentioned there were very few Black students in his classes.

Interview of R. Tally

There was no collaborative effort among the individuals who worked in the school district. Individuals in the school systems attempted to do their jobs. Most did what was in the best interest of students and maintained professionalism. The notion of having to work in a system that operated under a "court order" sent the message that "institutional racism" was deeply embedded in the fabric of education settings that the court was compelled to force the school district to take action to remedy racism and discrimination legally. Moreover, the culture and practices of the school district were extremely difficult to change. Consequently, the hiring practices of the school district and practices of school-level administrators were guided by a

commitment to hire culturally sensitive staff members and dismiss those who were culturally insensitive, as well as those who had low expectations of “Black and brown:” students.

Alliances were formed to avoid disenfranchising anyone, but there were very few alliances. Efforts to avoid challenges were a result of court actions officiated by Judge James Sanderlin, especially the case of *Bradley v. Peninsula County School Board*, 165 F.R.D. 676 (1994). Leon W. Bradley, Jr., et al., Plaintiffs. Attorney C. B. Waverly, Dr. R. Waverly and Reverend E. Durns were among those who rallied to improve the status of Black educational leaders, teachers and students. M. Marvin and R. Hardy of the NAACP and other community members rallied to avoid disenfranchising Black/African American educational leaders during the early period of the desegregation fight for equality. Later, there weren’t many people who could be counted on as a group, but individual efforts continued.

R. Tally served as president of the local NAACP after retiring from the public school system. During his tenure as president of the NAACP, he received calls from individuals in the community about concerns relating to racial discrimination, including concerns of discrimination within the school system. He spoke to school board members and the superintendent directly and called school principals who had supervisory responsibilities and could affect the careers of African Americans who served in leadership roles (this was after he retired from the school district as a school administrator). Though he was no longer serving in a school leadership role, he was able to relate to the concerns of the citizens who worked for the school system. He shared that COQEBS, a community organization, had become ineffective. As the NAACP president who was no longer affiliated with the public school system but one who was fighting on behalf of African American/Black people including those who were affiliated with the school system, he garnered the respect of the community across the board.

R. Tally was not aware of any specific criteria for assigning Black educational leaders, but he felt that the school district administrators tried to diversify faculty and staff members of the school-based and county-level personnel. He also felt there was consideration of the qualifications of individuals placed in leadership positions. He noted that district-level administrators attempted to diversify the leadership, teachers, paraprofessionals, and others hired by the school district. The school district had the initiative to recruit minorities from colleges and universities across the nation. He was concerned that there was the appearance that there were limitations regarding the number of Black personnel placed in a particular setting, especially for school-based leaders and faculty members.

Criteria were established for a candidate who had an interest in becoming an administrator at the district level/school or education center leader. After African American/Black candidates completed and passed the assessment process, there were no guarantees that they would be placed in a position of leadership. The community did not play a collaborative role in addressing issues of hiring minority candidates who were African American (though some special interest groups would rally behind a particular candidate when an opening occurred in one of the predominantly Black neighborhoods).

The *Minority Leadership Program* was organized in the 1980’s to target African American candidates who met the criteria for leadership positions as curriculum specialist, assistant principal/assistant center director, and other entry-level leadership positions became available. These individuals were paired with principals, assistant principals, and curriculum specialists to prepare for openings when positions became available.

When the state began the practice of “grading schools,” the school district offered punitive measures for the leaders of the “failing schools” and programs that were

labeled/assigned a grade of "F" by the Florida State Department of Education. One African American leader noted that he had never seen anything like that happen before. Too many instances of unfair treatment occurred among Black candidates and those in leadership positions desiring to move up. There were too many instances of unfair treatment that occurred to Black candidates who were qualified applicants. (*i.e.,* individuals who met the qualifications, including passing district assessment requirements, etc.).

CHAPTER 5:

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

I conducted interviews with eleven (11) study participants, which included one interview combining the experiences of a married couple who each served in the role of school assistant principal at different locations and were included in the study. All the study participants held a minimum of a master's degree. Some held education specialist and doctoral degrees. All held endorsements for leadership and had to participate in regular trainings offered by the school district. In addition, some study participants held leadership positions prior to working in the Peninsula County school district.

I set out to answer the main question, "*What are the stories told by Black people in educational leadership roles about leading during the school desegregation era,"* and sub-questions, "*How did school desegregation efforts affect their experiences as Black educational administrators? How do counter-narratives about educational leadership manifest in their narratives of leading during the transition from segregated to desegregated schools?"* For analysis of data acquired during the study, I used tenets of CRT to interpret the oral history findings and the concept of s*tructural racism* as a tool to examine the role of race in educational leadership. The findings were that Black administrators told stories and counter stories about racism affecting their employment, they often subverted racialized ranking processes, and they nor their Black communities were complacent in the struggle for racial justice in education.

Stories and Counter Stories of Racism Affecting Educational Leadership

The desegregation movement promised equity in terms of blending racial groups in school classrooms (*Brown I* (1954) *and Brown II* (1955), meaning students, teachers, and leaders in schools and the offices of school districts. There were many challenges often resulting from the effects of structural racism. A national focus on education proposed a "separate but equal" approach to running education and other systems nationwide as efforts to dismantle barriers to education were underway. Black educational leaders were provided opportunities for advancement as desegregation mandates were met locally and nationwide as other scholars have found (Horsford & Tillman (2016). However, as Derrick A. Bell described the conflict between the goals of integration and client interests made it difficult for some Black educators' career goals to be met without self-sacrifices and, for some, litigation handled at the local level. Litigation of local desegregation cases (*i.e.*, *Rutledge v. Board of Education*) provided a turning point for the progression of the desegregation movement and a cultural revolution for Black students and educators seeking equality and equity in educational opportunities for students and employment opportunities for adults.

Structural and institutional racism**,** terms initially defined by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton (1967), were among the forms of racism experienced by individuals in the study who were vying for educational leadership positions. Most of the study participants shared examples of breaking down barriers and overcoming obstacles relating to racial discrimination in the job environment and job ascension to leadership. Some were met with doubt about their abilities and the validity of their experiences. Others faced discrimination in hiring for years before they received their promotions. Despite the lack of equity in terms of materials, equipment, adequate transportation and district engagement, the educators who dared to step into

leadership positions after school desegregation occurred, found their assignments to be fulfilling and challenging. The structures of hiring and promotions of Black educators in the county school systems across the state were limited, at best. With the onset of school desegregation, the criteria for ascension to leadership position appointments changed for Black educators holding or aspiring for positions in educational leadership, and school reform was at the forefront of the institution of education.

There were widespread reassignments and demotions of some educational leaders and teachers who participated in the Florida statewide teachers' walkout and some of the walkout participants lost their jobs (note: to go on *strike* was considered *job abandonment*) thus providing an opportunity for school boards to fire/terminate those who participated in the walkout. The "statewide teachers' walkout" provided a turning point for the progression of the desegregation movement and a cultural revolution for Black students and educators seeking equality and equity in educational opportunities for students and employment opportunities for adults. In Derrick A. Bell's "Serving Two Masters…, goals of integration with consideration of client interests" made it difficult for some Black educators' career goals to be met without self-sacrifices and litigation handled at the local level (*e.g.*, *Leon W. Bradley Jr. v. the Board of Public Instruction of Peninsula County Schools*).

Black educational leaders had to prove or present themselves in a manner that indicated that they were competent to hold the leadership positions that they were vying for. Black educational leaders felt they were just as qualified, if not, more qualified than their white counterparts. There is an old cultural belief amongst Black Americans that Black people have to be twice as qualified as their white counterparts. This belief was a common perception amongst Black educational leaders, as well. The counternarrative of educational leadership told by the

Black educational leaders was they were not inferior and had not internalized a sense of inferiority while leading under desegregation court orders. The Black educational leaders who held positions at all levels of the organization/school district felt that they met at least the minimum requirements to hold the jobs they were assigned. There were some Black educational leaders who served directly under the school superintendent, and it was assumed they had influence on the hiring practices and compliance with desegregation orders. Some individuals feared that some sources of discrimination were rendered by Black educators and community members who were "power brokers" yielded some influence among white power brokers. Institutional racism (referring to the policies and practices that operate within social institutions intentionally or not) punish, disadvantage and exploit people of color (Better (2008). A similar outcome occurs when individuals within the Black/African American race, discriminate against other individuals of the Black race, indicative of a *sense of superiority* to same-race individuals based on perceived difference of upbringing related to class, quality of education, standard of living, and other characteristics that might or might not divide individuals as "have and/or have nots."

Some concerns about hiring of Black men and women remained throughout the careers of some of the study participants. They strategized to help others move into the ranks of leadership as subject-matter specialists/curriculum and athletic deans, assistant principals, principals, vocational education and special education program directors and assistant directors (*i.e.,* similar to principal and assistant principal positions in the K-12 educational setting). There are a host of titles that no longer exist. Black educational leaders were confronted by the reality of double standards, a dual reality existed. Even though Black educators met the requirements, including professional education, previous work experiences and subject matter knowledge within the

field, Black educators were still expected to garner the “blessings and affirmations” of the “white power brokers.” White leaders in education had connections (*i.e.,* same race, social connectedness to the “power brokers” and history of favor).

Black educators who sought leadership positions had to jump through hoops regardless of their previous knowledge and experiences. They had to meet all qualifications that were written and inked in job descriptions. These job descriptions were often originally crafted by white organizational architects and approved by all-white school board members prior to the 1968 Florida statewide teacher walkout. Black educational leaders had to make connections via committee work and had to be overqualified to participate in extra professional development opportunities that lead to upward job mobility. These educators often held multiple certifications, participated in community-based activities, and collaborated with social advocates for desegregation. Black educational leaders made sure they met certification requirements for their jobs. Those who were potential candidates for leadership positions were interviewed repeatedly for the same type of positions at different venues (*i.e.,* school-based leadership and district-level leadership positions). An example of structural racism was built on obtaining favor/blessings of the white educational leaders at the top of the power structure. Although Black educational leaders were provided opportunities for advancement as desegregation mandates were met locally and nationwide (Horsford & Tillman (2016), structural racism continued as various means were used to siphon off Black candidates from the leadership applicant pool. Doors of opportunity were locked until those holding the keys of power changed.

The reassignment of some educational leaders and teachers who participated in the Florida statewide “walkout” lost their jobs. Note: To *Strike* was considered *job abandonment,* thus providing an opportunity for school boards to terminate the employment of those who

participated in this act. The structures to hire and promote Black educators in the county school systems across the state were limited, at best. With the onset of school desegregation, the criteria for ascension to leadership position appointments changed for Black educators holding or aspiring to fill positions in educational leadership even though education reform was on the forefront of education talk. Leadership opportunities were not the same for Black educators as they were for non-Black educators. There were concerns about offending white bosses/supervisors, co-workers, and colleagues. Some areas of the school district were informally designated as *white only*. Black people, in general, did not venture into those areas unless they were traveling to or from work, prior the era of desegregation.

Black Administration Subverted Racialized Ranking Processes

Some participants described how they were expected to exercise their influence, not simply perform the task of providing direction. They were also expected to influence the organizational culture by tapping into the values and beliefs of employees to change their behavior. Such leadership practices begin with building relationships gaining credibility and utilizing time and resources (Bolman & Deal (2003); Bryk, *et al.* (2010). However, the pendulum was shifting from all white to a mixture of white and Black leaders, which created an environment that strained relationships and mediated the influence Black leaders had in schools and the school district.

The participants continued to think well of those who they worked with and were among the first to integrate the ranks of leadership and what had once been setting populated only by white people. Those who were among the first to desegregate the ranks of school leadership mentored others. They felt that it was their responsibility to reach back and "pay it forward."

Some of those first Blacks to hold positions of leadership still maintain contact with individuals they worked with as they change the landscape of school leadership in the county school district.

Educational leaders who racially identify as Black/African American/negro responded to school desegregation with optimism. They participated in professional development opportunities provided by the school district and participated in summer institutes offered by universities and colleges and the local school district. They were prepared to meet the requirements for credentialing or certification by the State of Florida's Department of Education. Counternarratives about relationships manifested as team members worked together on projects for the benefit of the students and teachers they supervised. One of the obstacles Black administrators encountered was the reaction of others who feared the release of secrets or that tattling about strategies would help bolster other Blacks into leadership positions. Despite those fears, there was more collegiality among like-minded Black educators who emphasized commonalities above competition.

As opportunities were presented for on the job training, Black/African American/negro candidates who met certification requirements joined professional organizations that previously restricted membership to white/Caucasian educational leaders and educators (*i.e.*, Phi Delta Kappa, Florida Teachers' Association and local school district affiliated professional organizations) including district-wide subject area committees across grade level and type elementary, junior high/middle school, high school, and vocational education centers, and other organized groups. Black educators would carpool to meetings to provide support to each other. The Black educators were previously members of national, state, and local organizations affiliated with organizations in the Black community. Similarly, Hale (2018) discussed how

Black teacher associations served as an avenue for Black educators to advocate for access to quality education, equal compensation, and the right to work throughout the era of desegregation.

As the schools in Florida desegregated, educators were required to pass the *National Teachers Examination.* Some individuals who served in school leadership positions during the era of segregation lacked the credentials to hold their jobs after the schools were desegregated. Some lost their positions and others lost their jobs with the school district entirely because they did not hold advanced degrees and weren't eligible to obtain the certification in school administration and/or supervision required by the Florida Department of Education. This led to the exodus of Black educators and educational leaders (school-based, within county region/area supervisory positions, and district-wide leadership). Desegregation also created opportunities for a new group, Black educational leaders who met the newly established credentialing requirements. Findings from this study parallel Horsford and Bell McKenzie's (2008) study on eight retired Black superintendents' perspectives on desegregation on policy. Specifically, participants in Horsford and Bell McKenzie's (2008) study mentioned how Black administrators faced unemployment due to white administrators taking their positions. Some Black administrators were even forced to relocate to other states to find employment due to these occurrences.

Black Communities Were Not Complacent in the Struggle for Racial Justice

African American community members and community organizations were not complacent concerning the ways schools were being staffed administratively. For example, the walkouts gave impetus for school desegregation and the placement of Blacks in leadership positions opening doors for the post school-desegregation era environment. The local Black community was engaged in the desegregation process, working to ensure and monitor the

progress of local school district efforts to include Black educators at all levels of the school system. The NAACP Urban League entered a ministerial alliance with Black Greek letter organizations, which were instrumental in mentoring and advocating for the inclusion of Black educators to be added as administrators.

A few years into the desegregation movement, mentoring programs were developed to attract Black administrators as school heads or leaders (*i.e.*, principals, assistant principals, directors, deans). Some participants described how they collaborated with community groups to increase the population of Black applicants or collaborated with others to attend workshops, take courses, and apply to increase the representation of Black administrators in schools where Black students were the racial majority. The *Minority Leadership Program* was an outgrowth of community efforts, and its vision was realized with the appointment of forerunners who became the first area superintendents and district area leaders.

Alliances were formed among groups of individuals who aspired to become school or district-based educational leaders. They joined professional organizations, gained experiences working with committees and task forces engaged in leadership-oriented activities. Some of the participants had opportunities to shadow, substitute, and intern serving as an acting administrator while working alongside individuals holding school-based leadership positions. The Black community was very active with efforts to monitor and provide suggestions and feedback regarding preparation for leadership positions. Some of the school leadership teams planned during summer months and attended district wide training for team building and focusing on cultural sensitivity training. There appeared to be a *buddy* system in place. White educational leaders maintained relationships outside of the work environment. Black educators attended trainings and graduate level classes together to ensure that they were ready for promotions when

opportunities for job advancements occurred. In addition, educational leaders who were Black/African American affiliated with local, state and national professional organizations (*e.g.*, Phi Delta Kappa).

As desegregation efforts continued, Black/African American community groups and other groups collaborated to champion the cause of desegregation at all levels (*i.e.,* ecumenical groups, civil rights organizations, Black/African American media outlets). The school district's "Office of Minority Affairs" was formed to address racial, and gender equity. The position was managed by the associate superintendent of minority affairs and employed officers who helped monitor hiring practices, handled discrimination complaints and provided training sessions at schools throughout the school district and within schools as needed and as requested. Desegregation of the school district also resulted in the formation of alliances across racial lines. People who had never worked with anyone outside of their race or ethnic group were introduced to new cultural norms. Some of this was facilitated via racial equity workshops.

Black males with athletic backgrounds (*i.e.*, coaches, former high school and college athletes) were recruited to serve as deans at the junior schools and high schools (later called "middle schools" and high schools). It was assumed that the students would find them intimidating and able to handle discipline. Previous studies have highlighted how Black administrators were offered assistant principal roles or demoted or put in charge of disciplining Black male students (Milner & Howard (2004). Many of these individuals were academically and athletically talented because they had to meet high academic requirements to participate in the segregated historically Black college and university athletic programs. Those who were among the first Black educational leaders were primarily graduates of historically Black colleges

and universities. Their academic backgrounds were a plus, not only serving as great athletic coaches but also as role models for academics, as well.

As time passed, the school district changed its model and eliminated the position of dean and increased the number of assistant principals at the junior high/middle school level and high school level. Though none of the study participants served as educational leaders at vocational/technical schools who were assigned to vocational-technical schools and adult education centers. Some of the high school educational leaders worked closely with the Black educational leaders assigned at the vocational-technical schools in the school district. The Black/African American educational leaders were not assigned curriculum leadership duties at the high school level initially. Years later some Black educational leaders with guidance and counseling or business and industry backgrounds were assigned curriculum leadership responsibilities. Black educational leaders garnered support from the religious community, parent support groups, PTSA, school advisory councils, bands, parent associations, minority community-based groups, and other organizations/groups affiliated with the public schools that were approved by the school district and the state of Florida.

Researcher Reflexivity

I began my study at the onset of the *COVID-19* pandemic, as the pandemic began to spread outside of the United States. In the United States, the pandemic had not reached a level that suggested isolation and the closure of facilities such as restaurants, entertainment and sports establishments, places of worship, schools, etc. As the number of people affected by the health hazards associated with the illness increased, individuals began to socialize less. Shortly after initial interviews were conducted, the pandemic had not made a big impact on the health of residents in the southern states.

The use of digital audio recorders provided opportunities to capture interviews in real time. As a result, the need for study participants to repeat answers was reduced. Cassette tape recorders were used as backup recording devices during interviews to avoid the occurrences of equipment failure and loss of data. I initially attempted to use the “voice to text” or dictation feature on the electronic recording devices but that method of recording did not work as well as recording the conversations and then transcribing the interviews later. These experiences helped me to understand the benefits of documenting the past because historical information could be lost.

Limitations

As the *COVID-19* pandemic spread across the United States, the lockdowns and food shortages, medical access, and other supply chain issues, including access to study participants/working with elders and the need to avoid contact with those who were vulnerable, presented limitations to this study. There were limitations in the selection of participants due to the timing of their service and poor health, (*i.e.,* including but not limited to memory issues, physical disabilities). Some potential participants were concerned about how they would be perceived (by the Black community) even though they were no longer interested in affiliating with any school system. As interviews were conducted the participants’ memories tended to focus on the era of desegregation and comparisons of what they expected conditions would be like versus the reality of what it was like working in an environment with other races/cultures.

Implications for Racially Just Educational Leadership Pipelines

Previous research has demonstrated the impact of *Brown v. Board of Education* on Black administrators (*e.g.*, Lopez & Burciaga, 2014; Oakley et al., 2009; Tillman, 2004). For instance, scholars have argued that desegregation (as a result of *Brown v. Board of Education*) did not

shield Black teachers and administrators from being terminated and strategically forced out of their jobs (Oakley, *et al.* (2009); Tillman (2004). It was reported that around 38,000 Black teachers and educational leaders located either in the southern bordering or southern region were terminated after *Brown v. Board of Education*. Today, there is still a shortage of Black teachers and educational leaders (Sandles, 2020). Given this historical context, recruiting Black teachers and educational leaders is a critical component of increasing the educational leadership pipeline. The role of *color blindness* (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), acting as if color-based racial designations are not influential, on the administrative pool was not addressed in the court-ordered school desegregation cases. However, it is being addressed today in the leadership of schools and communities (Murtadha & Watts, 2005).

School superintendent positions did not open for Black administrators until the mid-2000s in this particular school district. Positions did not open for females until 2010 or after. As more Black men and women were appointed to high-level positions with the school district the presence of additional Black males and females was seen at the school level. Today it is not unusual to find more than one Black person sitting at the head of the administrative table if one considers a meeting that includes district and school administrators (principals and assistant principals). Today, mentoring programs are woven in the fabric of the school district and provide it with a bank of Black candidates to fill vacancies as they arise. The school district continues to support mentoring programs as a means of recruiting minority or Black school leaders and collaborate with others.

Educational leadership preparation should include the development of leadership skills: school finance, familiarity with curriculum standards (*i.e.,* local, state, and national), testing and progress monitoring, cultural sensitivity, curriculum structures, personnel management, public

relations skills, collaboration with stakeholders for career advancement (*i.e.,* perform assessments to determine needs for next level growth). Leaders need to have the ability to foster relationships and provide for the needs of educators, students, parents, and community stakeholders (those with whom educational leaders collaborate with and are accountable to and for (*i.e.,* community-based affiliates such as leadership academies, tutoring and mentoring programs, financial and social service agencies, economic resources.

Community organizations have a role in leading education beyond the school systems. For instance, historically Black/African American "Greek letter" organizations, known as the "Divine Nine" (*i.e.,* Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Sigma Gamma Rho, Zeta Phi Beta for females, and Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, Phi Beta Sigma and Omega Psi Phi, Iota Phi Theta for males) act as mentors, tutors and advocates for Black/African American youth and their families along with educational leaders. These organizations can serve as support networks for grooming and mentoring current and future Black educational leaders. Many of these organizations support leadership development.

These organizations are active today in the Black community and are historically engaged when school issues arise. In addition, these organizations collaborate under the auspices of the National Panhellenic Council. The NAACP, National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), the Urban League, and other civic and community-based organizations focusing on maintaining the history of the Black communities are engaged in the preservation of the past, maintaining records, promoting African American history events, sponsoring activities for the development of African American youth, raising funds to support scholarships, building, and rebuilding communities, and providing service and educational activities. These findings can inform practice. However, further research is needed as described in the next section.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future studies might focus on the transferability of skills exercised in public service leadership, social service, educational leadership, business management, religious and community service leadership, and the pathways to the education management/leadership arena via alternative certification. Some of these studies might also explore the common traits of individuals who change careers from other leadership arenas to educational leadership careers. As communities become more racially mixed the issues surrounding race and its impact on how, where, and when we educate people with differences should be addressed.

Institutional and structural racism meshed with the vulnerability of people becoming racist due to exposure to racist rhetoric and actions may include stoking fear in those who represent human differences (*i.e.*, religious beliefs, racial/ethnic groups, physical traits, cognitive abilities, economics, and living conditions) and how they are manifested in various education environments. Familiarity with what critical race theory purports allows educational leaders to avert conflicts and prepare for opportunities to create an environment inclusive of similarities and differences. Some of the studies that help illustrate these topics were penned by researchers such as: Gloria Ladson-Billings, Barbara Sizemore, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Sonya Douglass Horsford, and a plethora of other African American educators/researchers and public servants. Educational studies leveraging the work of these influencers might expand the understanding of concepts addressing race in the education arena.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SCRIPT FOR OBTAINING VERBAL INFORMED CONSENT

Researchers at the University of South Florida ("USF") study many topics. To do this, we need the help of people who agree to take part in a research study. We are asking you to take part in a research study that is called: *Remnants of Desegregation Etched in the Memories of Black Educational Leaders*: *An Oral History.* You are being asked to participate because you *served as an educational leader during the desegregation era in the Peninsula County Schools].* The purpose of this study is to examine the narratives of leading shared by former Black administrators/educational leaders regarding desegregation and its effects on the Peninsula County schools. If you take part in this study, you will be asked to participate in an oral history interview conducted by me, *Janice Barge Clarke,* the principal investigator.

The interview will be audio recorded. You should only take part in this study if you want to volunteer and should not feel that there is any pressure to take part in the study. You are free to participate in this research and withdraw at any time. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits you are entitled to receive if you stop taking part in this study. Your decision to participate or not to participate in the study is optional and we are unsure if you will receive any benefits by taking part in this research study.

This research is considered to be minimal risk. We will not *pay* you for the time you volunteer while participating in this study.

We must keep your study records as confidential as possible. We may publish what we learn from this study. If we do, we will not let anyone know your name. We will not publish

anything else that would allow people know who you are. However, certain people may need to see your study records. By law, anyone who looks at your records must keep them completely confidential. The only people who will be allowed to see these records are: The research team, includes the principal investigator, Janice Barge Clarke, the advising professor, Dr. Vonzell Agosto, and other dissertation committee members (Dr. Karanxha, Dr. Cobb-Roberts, and Dr. Shircliffe). Certain government and university people who need to know more about the study will also be included. (For example, individuals who provide oversight on this study may need to look at your records). This is done to make sure that we are following ethical guidelines that protect your rights and your safety. Please be advised that the researcher will take every precaution to maintain the confidentiality of the data.

If you have any questions about this study, you can contact the investigator. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the USF IRB at (813) 974-5638 or by email at RSCH-IRB@usf.edu.

Do you have any questions?

Do you understand what I have communicated about the study?

Would you like to participate in this study? ____Yes ____No

APPENDIX B

RECRUITMENT LETTER TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

Dear Former Educational Leader,

I am conducting a dissertation study entitled: *Remnants of Desegregation Etched in the Memories of Black Educational Leaders - Oral History,* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the University of South Florida, in Tampa, Florida. The purpose of this study is to examine the narratives of leading shared by former Black administrators/educational leaders regarding desegregation and its effects on the Peninsula County schools. I invite you to participate in this study and would greatly appreciate hearing you describe your lived experiences as an educational leader who identifies as Black. The information garnered will be used to compile a collection of oral histories that may provide insight for the training and selection of future Black leaders in educational leadership. In addition, this discourse may impact growing concerns regarding the resegregation of public schools and policies about school reform and hiring practices.

If you have any questions, you may contact me at **(xxx) xxx-xxxx** home, **(xxx) xxx-xxxx m**obile, or email me at **xxxxxxxx@.usf.edu.**

Thank you, in advance, for your consideration.

Respectfully,

Janice Barge Clarke, Doctoral Candidate
University of South Florida, Department of Leadership, Policy, and Lifelong Learning

APPENDIX C

PRO #00041888 Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Interviewer: Janice Barge Clarke

The interview questions are:

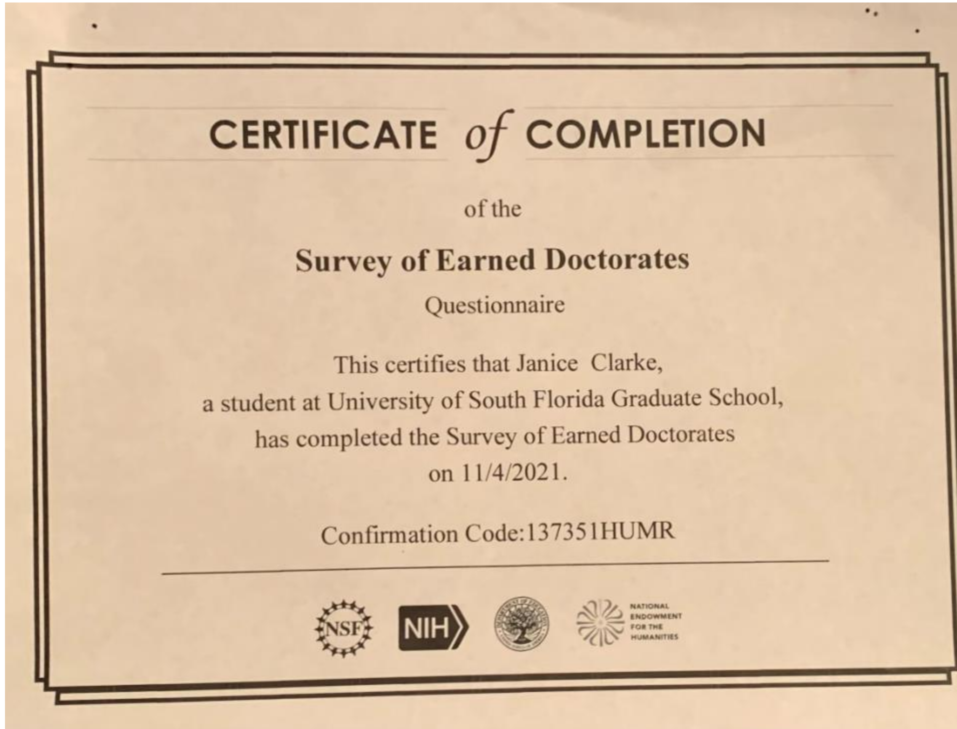
1. How did Black educators/administrators (educational leaders) respond to school desegregation efforts?
2. How do counternarratives about educational leadership manifest in their histories of leading under court order to desegregate public schools?
3. What alliances had been formed among the races to avoid disenfranchising individuals based on race/ethnicity?
4. What criteria were used for assigning responsibilities to Black educational leaders? Give examples.
5. What were some of the tactics/strategies or requirements used to recruit Black educational leaders?
6. Identify strategies used to ensure representation of Black educational leaders at the school level, district level, and as top cabinet-level appointees.
7. How did Black educational leaders remain promotable after desegregation took place?
8. Were acts of discrimination reported, monitored, and addressed? What processes were established to handle complaints/grievances, etc.?
9. What stories did you observe or were shared with you regarding acts perceived as discriminatory/racist by Black or white educational leaders?

10. How was the Black community engaged in ensuring representation of Black educational leaders at the school, district offices, and top management levels during the desegregation era?

11. How had efforts to maintain desegregation changed by the time you retired (*i.e.,* collaboration with community organizations/religious organizations, collegial organizations, etc.) instrumental in the desegregation movement)?

APPENDIX D

Certificate of Completion


CERTIFICATE *of* COMPLETION

of the

Survey of Earned Doctorates

Questionnaire

This certifies that Janice Clarke,
a student at University of South Florida Graduate School,
has completed the Survey of Earned Doctorates
on 11/4/2021.

Confirmation Code:137351HUMR