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CHAPTERS NEVER WRITTEN, VOICES NEVER HEARD: UNDERSTANDING
REASONS FOR THREE AFRICAN AMERICAN TEACHERS' LONGEVITY

by

PAMELA CARTER SHUMAN

(Under the Direction of Barbara J. Mallory)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the lived experiences of African American teachers who remained in the teaching profession through integration of schools in the rural South. Providing a voice to three African American teachers in this collective case study, the researcher studied their challenges and inspirations to understand their career longevity. Participants of this study, three African American teachers and nine key informants, were selected and interviewed because they yielded an insight into the experiences of African American teachers who endured the integration mandates after *Brown v. Board of Education*. The researcher also gathered information from newspapers and yearbooks referencing integration of public schools and the African American teacher's tenure in the teaching profession. Using the major themes that emerged from the interview responses and documents examined, the researcher constructed a narrative to document the lived experiences of the three African American teachers.

From the narrative the researcher found that African American teachers remained in the profession for many reasons, including to nurture and protect African American students in the integrated school system; to be model citizens by complying with the norms of the segregated community and modeling the way to advance; to connect with

community events and parents of their students; and to impact student lives. They were able to do so because of their strong self-efficacy, given that they were in control of their lives and decisions that shaped their lives.

The researcher also reported three lessons learned from the African American teachers which maybe applicable for African American teachers today and recommendations for future study. Finally, for school administrators to reflect on the current recruitment, hiring, and retention practices and facilitate necessary improvements in practices, the researcher provided the following implications as a result of this study: administrators should gain a better understanding and appreciation of the achievements and challenges of African American teacher, attain a better retention rate among African American teachers during challenging times, and realize that the effort to educate and create productive citizens of society is a responsibility for all to share.

INDEX WORDS: African American Teachers, Teacher Longevity, Collective Case Study, Recruitment, Retention, Induction Programs, Georgia, Attrition, African American History, *Brown v. Board of Education*, Mentoring Programs, Integration, Segregation

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by

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DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, especially...

to my Mother for opening my eyes to the world;

to my husband for his patience and understanding;

to my siblings for your encouragement;

to the memory of my sister, Marion Evonne Carter;

to my children—may you also be motivated and encouraged to reach your dreams.

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I am appreciative to many persons who shared their memories and experiences, especially the Smith family, Sapp family, and Lockley-Kelly family. They generously shared their experiences which supported and expanded my work. Their experiences gave me an opportunity to gain a better understanding and appreciation of the achievements and challenges of African American teachers, as well as, reflect on the current recruitment, hiring, and retention practices to facilitate necessary improvements.

I must acknowledge, as well, the many friends, colleagues, students, and teachers who assisted, advised, and supported my research and writing efforts. Especially, I want to express my gratitude and deep appreciation to Dr. Sandy Dominy, Dr. Bonnie Gordon, Dr. Terese Martin, Dr. Jim Outlaw, and Dr. Ray Stephens who supported and encouraged me throughout the dissertation process.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An African American law school applicant challenged the long-standing Plessy v. Ferguson's "separate but equal" doctrine when the applicant had to attend an out-of-state law school because his home state did not have a "separate" law school for African American students (LaMorte, 2005). This Kansas case ranked first alphabetically out of five clustered cases which came to be known as *Brown v. Board of Education*, a consolidated lawsuit of African American people who were dissatisfied with the only schools opened to African American students (Aldred, 1990). This court case was considered a monumental educational policy of 1954 given that the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the Plessy v. Ferguson decision and ruled that racially segregated public schools were unconstitutional. Considering the court system left local school boards with the power to implement its ruling of desegregating schools, the decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* triggered unanticipated consequences, which still impact educational institutions and African Americans today (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

Additionally, the Supreme Court ruled that race could no longer be a factor in the assignment of children to public schools, and as a result of these court proceedings, African American schools closed. Many school names, mascots, mottos, and traditions were sacrificed, while African American students were transferred to White schools (Cecelski, 1994). Moreover, in the United States, the downturn in the number of African American teachers was so drastic that some authors have referred to African American teachers and principals as "endangered species" (Irvine, 1988). Cole (1986) contends that in 1980, African American teachers constituted approximately 12.5 percent of the

national teaching force, and by 1981, this number dropped to 8.6 percent. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000), the number of African American teachers fell to 8.4%. These statistics support the belief that *Brown v. the Board of Education* affected educational institutions, and the survival of African American teachers was in jeopardy (Cole, 1986).

The discrepancy between the number of African American teachers and African American students was not only a national concern, but it was also a concern in the State of Georgia. In the State of Georgia, there was an increase in the demand for African American teachers to educate future citizens. The Governor's Office of Student Achievement (GOSA) was established by the *A Plus Education Reform Act* to present an annual educational report card for the State of Georgia (DOE, 2009). The statistical information indicated that in 2009, 75% of the population of teachers (89,945 out of 120,660) in Georgia was of non-African American status. Nevertheless, 38% (613,725 out of 1,615,066) of the student population was African American consistently since 2007 (DOE, 2009). The same information is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Additionally, there were local concerns in Georgia's school systems where there were a disproportionate number of African American teachers available to educate African American students. For example, Carter County, Georgia's educational report card signified that in 2009, only 6% (22 out of 372) of the public school's certified staff was African American where as 23% (1175 out of 5110) of the student population is of African American decent (DOE, 2009) The African American teacher population (5% in 2006, 5% in 2007, 4% in 2008, and 6% in 2009) and African American student population (22% in 2006, 22% in 2007, 22% in 2008, and 23% in 2009) of the school

system slightly increased over the course of four years. The same information is illustrated in Tables 3 and 4. This indicated a moderately high percentage of non-African American teachers educating African American children.

Table 1

State of Georgia – Certified Personnel Data

	Certified Personnel Data (Numbers)			
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	23,343	25,271	26,858	27,616
White	83,951	87,231	89,081	89,945
Other	2,137	2,352	2,772	3,099
Total	109,431	114,854	118,711	120,660

	Certified Personnel Data (Percentages)			
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	21	22	23	23
White	77	76	75	75
Other	2	2	2	3

Table 2

State of Georgia – Student Enrollment Data

	Student Enrollment (Numbers)			
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	592,735	604,139	611,679	613,725
White	748,717	747,224	740,453	742,930
Other	218,376	238,476	257,549	258,411
Enrollment	1,559,828	1,589,839	1,609,681	1,615,066

	State of Georgia Student Enrollment (Percentages)			
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	38	38	38	38
White	48	47	46	46
Other	14	15	16	16

Table 3

Carter County, Georgia – Certified Personnel Data

Certified Personnel Data (Numbers)				
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	19	16	15	22
White	335	338	355	372
Other	1	1	1	1
Total	355	355	371	395

Certified Personnel Data (Percentages)				
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	5	5	4	6
White	94	95	96	94
Other	0	0	0	0

Table 4

Carter County, Georgia – Student Enrollment Data

Student Enrollment (Numbers)				
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	1122	1128	1113	1175
White	3671	3639	3591	3526
Other	306	359	354	409
Enrollment	5,099	5,125	5,058	5,110

Student Enrollment (Percentages)				
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Black	22	22	22	23
White	72	71	71	69
Other	6	7	7	8

Despite the shortage in the number of African American teachers at the national, state, and local levels, some African Americans teachers remained in the profession for years. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine experiences of three local African American teachers who remained in the teaching profession. This study was conducted in order to obtain an in-depth understanding into the achievements and

challenges of African American teachers, their explanations of the reasons for their professional challenges, as well as the strategies they employed in order to overcome them. This insight is valuable to understand how to maintain an educational staff that reflects the racial composition of the school's student population.

Background of Study

There are many factors that contribute to the shortage of African American teachers. In a study by Cole (1986), she found that in 1950, "teaching accounted for nearly half of African American professional workers, compared to less than one quarter of Caucasian professionals" (p. 326). However, a series of actions after 1950 contributed to the decline in the number of African American teachers. In the mid-1960s, due to *Brown v. Board of Education* of 1954, almost 40,000 African American teachers had lost their positions in seventeen states, as African American and Caucasian schools were consolidated to meet school-desegregation mandates (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

Moreover, higher educational institutions often admit students based in part on ACT and SAT scores which are used in the university's selection of students (Bowen & Bok, 1998). As a consequence of the ACT and SAT, in the fall of 1987, of those enrolled in programs of secondary education, only five percent were African American (Farrell, 1990). However, by 2000, African Americans still lag overall in educational achievement compared to White students. The percentage of American college students who were African American was 13 percent (Census Brief, 2000).

According to Cole (1986), another reason for the African American teacher shortage is the use of licensing test as a basis for certification which confirmed the use of the mandated statewide testing of prospective teachers is linked to the reduction in the

number of African American teachers. Additionally, in 1984, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) voiced their concern about the negative impact of standardized tests on African American teachers; therefore, the NAACP opposes the use of a single criterion for licensing in the teaching profession (Cole, 1986).

Moreover, one of the major contributors to the decrease in the number of African American teachers is the low percentage of African American students graduating from high school (DOE, 2009). For instance, in 2009, out of the 106 African American students eligible for graduation in the school district selected for this project only 60% graduated from high school (DOE, 2009). Additionally, Irvine (1988) contends that when African Americans do attend college, fewer than 12% attain a 4-year degree, and the failure to continue educational plans is related to tracking in high school, where African American students are disproportionately assigned to low-level, non-college preparatory curricula.

However, many states and districts are trying to counteract the negative trend of the diminishing number of African American teachers. There are some incentives that inspire African American students to attend and complete college. The HOPE scholarship implemented by Governor Zell Miller of Georgia was established to provide greater access to higher education by all students (Dayton & Matthews, 1995). This program has, in some cities, improved the graduation rate and promoted college enrollment for African American students. The program provides a substantial educational opportunity for students by providing tuition to any Georgia public college, university, or technical institute if the student sustains a “B” average while attending the

institution (Dayton & Matthews, 1995). Another program that is similar in nature to the HOPE Scholarship is the College Cost Reduction Act, which pays tuition after service in a needed content area or service at an urban school (Dayton & Matthews, 1995).

In addition, coaching and mentoring programs are other initiatives implemented to motivate teachers to enter and stay in the field of education. These programs are considered motivational tools because researchers conclude that new teachers who participate are nearly twice as likely to stay in the educational profession (Black, 2004). These programs are important because Black (2004) contends that beginning teachers do not enter the profession as finished products. Additionally, Boles and Troen (2000) concur by stating that creative and highly motivated teachers need career options and professional growth to stay in the classroom. Consequently, coaching and mentoring programs do not specifically address the challenges of African American teachers; these programs address the needs of teachers in general.

As previously evidenced, there are factors that prevent some from entering the teaching profession, as well as, initiatives which encourage African American students to enroll in and complete higher education programs (Boles & Troen, 2000; Black, 2004; Dayton & Matthews, 1995). Therefore, it was important to learn how and why some African American teachers were successful in overcoming the odds and have remained in the profession for years. Hence, the purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of African American teachers who stayed in the teaching profession for over 30 years despite the odds. The researcher documented their achievements and challenges to determine the factors that contributed to their longevity in an effort to ascertain

findings, which will hopefully lead to attracting African American teachers to the teaching profession.

Statement of the Problem

Since *Brown v. Board of Education* of 1954, there have been unanticipated consequences that have impacted African American teachers. Consequently, African American teachers are few in number and are considered an “endangered species” (Irvine, 1988). However, a few have survived the consequences of *Brown v. Board*’s decision and other factors of retention. Moreover, African American teachers are essential to the success of the educational system whose goal is to properly educate all students to be productive citizens of a multiethnic society; it may be argued that their voices need to be heard in order to attract African Americans into the teaching profession. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to use collective case study approach to investigate the lived experiences of three African American teachers in a southeastern Georgia county to understand the reasons for their longevity. Their longevity was studied with the intention of understanding how a practitioner in the field can use the African American teachers’ experiences to address the recruitment and retention of African American teachers.

Research Questions

The 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* Supreme Court’s decision greatly decreased the longevity of many African American teachers; however, a few African American teachers survived the decision. The researcher studied African American teachers who survived integration of schools in a southeastern school district. Therefore, the overarching question of this research was to determine how African

American teachers explain their longevity in the teaching profession? To assist in answering this question, the following sub-questions were explored:

1. How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession?
2. Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, what challenges have African American teachers encountered?
3. How did African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it may provide school administrators with insight into why African American teachers were attracted to and remained in the profession.

This study should grant educators and non-educators an opportunity to gain a better understanding and appreciation of the achievements and challenges of African American teachers, as well as reflect on the current recruitment, hiring, and retention practices to facilitate necessary improvements where needed. As a result of this study, school systems may be able to attain a better retention rate among African American teachers during challenging times.

Finally, in conjunction with the research of Farrell (1990), this study was not conducted to release non-African American teachers from their responsibility of educating African American students because they are essential to the successful educating of all subgroups of students. Moreover, this research did not suggest that the reason African American students have not grasped the concepts of educational achievement is due to an insufficient number of African American teachers (Farrell,

1990). However, the results from this research should enable stakeholders to realize that the effort to educate and create productive citizens of society is a responsibility for all to share. Therefore, this is a “no fault” research project conducted with the intent to generate solutions.

Research Design

The researcher of this study utilized a qualitative approach with collective case study design as the qualitative strategy of inquiry. Glesne (2006) asserted that qualitative researchers seek to understand and interpret how various participants in a social setting construct the world around them. Gay and Airasian (2003) provided a similar description of qualitative research where qualitative researchers strive to capture the human meanings of social life as it is lived, experienced, and understood by the research participants. Additionally, Shekedi (2005) stated that the product of collective case study is a thick holistic narrative which enables the achievement of a level of understanding and interpretation of a whole culture or group. In essence, the findings of Shekedi (2005), Gay and Airasian (2003) permitted the researcher to conduct a series of interviews to capture the lived experiences of the three participants which encompassed a particular event in history that impacted the participant’s culture.

This study employed a qualitative approach to acquire a better understanding into the retention of African American teachers, as well as the strategies the selected teachers used to facilitate their longevity in the educational profession. To accomplish this goal, the researcher collected data from a series of interviews to create a narrative of several case studies that share common characteristics.

Participants and Procedure

Collective case study design permitted the researcher to capture the perspectives of the participants with the purpose of generating solutions to the African American teacher shortage. The first phase of the study involved two electronic recorded interviews of three African American teachers, along with follow-up interviews used for clarification purposes. The three African American teachers retired from the teaching profession, survived the transition from segregated to integrated schools, and had at least thirty years of teaching experience. The African American teachers were asked a series of questions about their lived experiences as African American teachers and the reasons for their longevity in the educational profession in the southeastern Georgia school system. The researcher gathered information from documents referencing integration of public schools and the African American teacher's tenure in the teaching profession.

The second phase of the study consisted of one electronic recorded interview with each of the nine key informants. The key informants for this study consisted of three school administrators who supervised the African American teachers, three students who were in the classes of these teachers, and three other persons (including friends and former colleagues) who were knowledgeable about the experiences of the selected African American teachers during the transition from segregated to integrated schools. The key informants were asked a series of questions about the experiences of the African American teachers for this project to understand the lived experiences of the African American teachers and the reasons for their longevity in the educational profession in the southeastern Georgia County.

To find similarities or themes in the collected data, coding was applied.

Furthermore, triangulation was utilized to relate all of the different data in order to check the validity of each data source and to construct the narratives of the educational careers of the African American teachers.

Summary

It was evidenced that *Brown v. Board of Education* negatively impacted the number of African American teachers in the teaching profession. Though major research projects (Inman, 2004, Brown, 2003, Feng, 2005) exist that incorporated general findings about the teacher shortage, there remains a shortage and more drastically, African American teachers. In view of these facts, it was imperative that the researcher augment the current body of literature on the subjects of recruitment and retention of African American teachers as to assist administrators in balancing teacher race, culture, and ethnic representation within school systems.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study examined some of the issues confronted by the three African American teachers before and during their tenure as teachers in public education. The study addressed three specific research questions, which include:

1. How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession?
2. Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, what challenges have African American teachers encountered?
3. How did African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession?

Various scholars have concluded from their research that the inability of school systems to recruit and retain teachers is a result of unproductive recruitment programs, ineffective induction programs, lack of mentor support, as well as a lack of administrative support at the site and district levels (Bobek, 2002; Good, Halpin & Halpin, 2000; Cole, 1986; Hudson & Holmes, 1994). Yet, the utilization of these programs becomes moot if school systems do not have teachers to fill classroom positions. Thus, school districts must have teachers to recruit before they can focus on retaining teachers. Equally important is the need for a self-replenishing supply of students seeking to enter a career in education.

However, the problems associated with teacher recruitment and retention are increasingly critical among African American teachers whose limited presence in the teaching profession has been and continues to be a serious problem confronting the

profession and the African American community in the United States as well (King, 1993). The review of literature was conducted in four major areas including, the historical foundations and challenges of African American teachers, the schools' role in the diminishing pool of potential African American teachers, the use of assessments on prospective African American teachers, and the educational tenure of African American teachers.

Historical Foundations and Challenges for African American Teachers

History

In order to gain some level of understanding of the current African American teacher shortage, this section examines the educational history of African Americans. Given that African American educators have long possessed a legacy of a strong commitment to education, it is vital to understand the journey that was undertaken (King, 1993; Spring 1994).

In the 1600s, African Americans were brought to America for involuntary servitude —“a state of bondage; the control of the labor and services of one man for the benefit of another, and the absence of a legal right to the disposal of his own person, property and services” (LaMorte, 2005, p. 288). In the latter part of the 1700s, African Americans were considered not more than chattel, and thus were not, nor intended to be, included as “citizens” in the writing of the Constitution, and thus had no rights or privileges other than those their owner chose to grant (LaMorte, 2005). Additionally, some Whites, at the time, suggested that African Americans did not have the intellectual capacity to be educated, yet feared literacy would encourage escape or revolt (Salvatore,

2000). With this fear in mind, slave owners decreed that educating slaves was a capital offense. Nevertheless, many Americans, both African American and White, risked their lives in order to learn from or teach African American slaves (Salvatore, 2000; Bullock, 1970; Anderson, 1988). Moreover, clandestine classes were taught on the plantations, on Sundays or after dark by Whites, freed African Americans and literate slaves:

Elizabeth Sparks was part of a group of rebel slaves who attended secret literacy sessions in the slave quarters held by free African Americans who attempted to teach slaves to read and write (Anderson, 1988, p. 17).

King (1993) and Spring (1994) concluded that literacy classes were held because many African Americans had long recognized the importance of education as a means of improving their life circumstances and standard of living. Yet, when Union Troops discovered Ms. Deveaux (an African American) secretly teaching slaves in her Savannah, Georgia home in 1865, they were surprised to discover that she had taught them for over thirty years (Anderson, 1988; Woodson, 1919; Bennett, 1982). In essence, African Americans considered literacy as the key to self-determination and were willing to take considerable risks in acquiring an education (Spring, 1994; Anderson, 1988; Woodson, 1919; Bennett, 1982).

U.S. Government documents indicated that by the end of slavery in 1865, five percent (approximately 15,000) of former slaves were literate, while 95 percent remained illiterate (Spring, 1994; Anderson, 1988; Woodson, 1919; Bennett, 1982). Those literate African Americans became the teachers in the privately-operated African American missionary schools. These schools enabled many African Americans to become literate and obtain the political, social, and economic skills required to survive and prosper in an

environment controlled by Whites (Spring, 1994; Anderson, 1988; Woodson, 1919; Bennett, 1982).

The passage of the “Reconstruction Amendments” provided the first official recognition of African Americans as citizens and human beings. Further, the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 provided equal protection of the law for all persons born or naturalized in the United States, including those born as slaves, and insured their rights to an education (LaMorte, 2005). The newly freed slaves were persistent in their pursuit for an education as was noted by field agents from the federal government:

In 1869, when field agents for the federal government were asked to count how many private schools were opened by African Americans, they counted 1,512 schools taught by 6,146 African American teachers. The field agents also reported that the teachers taught 107,109 students of all ages. The average teacher to pupil ratio was one to 93 (Anderson, 1988, p.13).

Beyond Slavery

Since the slavery period, African American teachers have performed an important role in the education of African Americans. An integral part of the African American teacher’s job was to prepare future leaders of the African Americans by teaching them the social, economic, and political skills needed to be successful as a freed people (Anderson, 1988; Siddle-Walker, 1996; Shujaa, 1996). The efforts of these educators appear to have produced significant results. By 1880, the illiteracy rate for African Americans had decreased to 70 percent. By 1890, less than 40 percent of African Americans remained illiterate, and by 1910, less than 30 percent were illiterate

(Salvatore, 2000). By 1930, over 93 percent of African Americans in the South were literate in comparison to only 32 percent of White southerners (Bullock, 1970; Anderson, 1988).

Between 1869 and 1874, fourteen African Americans from the south were elected into the U.S. House of Representatives and two served in the U.S. Senate (Cowan, & Maguire, 1994). These elected African American officials were ardent supporters of government funded education and the creation of a system of public education because of their awareness that an education served as a means by which African Americans could reach economic, social and political equality (Cowan, & Maguire, 1994).

However, with the growth of White Northern philanthropists and the renewed power of southern plantation owners at the end of the Reconstruction Era, in the late 1890s, privileged, powerful Whites supported the social concept “separate but equal” races. Additionally, in 1898, the Supreme Court in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* affirmed the constitutionality of separating the races on the condition that both races must possess equal access and facilities (Wishon & Geringer, 2004). This ruling evolved into a policy of “separate but equal,” which segregated African Americans from Whites in restaurants, schools, hotels and other public facilities nationwide as a means to circumvent the Fourteenth Amendment (Wishon & Geringer, 2004). As a result, the increase in literacy among African Americans began to decline and a social and political assault on African American educational opportunities began during the early decades of the Twentieth Century (Salvatore, 2000). White social and economic policies were created to maintain a subordinate and dependent laboring African American class that resulted in a system of separate and unequal schools for African Americans, which placed

African American students and teachers at a distinct disadvantage due to inadequate funding, facilities and support (Salvatore, 2000).

African American schools also experienced problems associated with educational funding. “The majority of public funds went to white segregated schools” (Spring, 2001, p.173). African American southerners paid taxes, which supported the White schools, and then found it necessary to subsidize funding for African American schools using their personal funds (Anderson, 1988; Spring, 2001; Woodson, 1919). Spring (2001) found that African Americans funding African American schools caused African American schools to become inferior to other schools in both the quality of education and the physical conditions of their buildings. Earlier, Franklin and Anderson’s (1978) observed that often African American students were educated in inadequate facilities, while White students exercised increased access to better facilities, teachers, texts and other necessary resources. At times, African Americans advocated for improvements in their schools. Once the renovations were completed, African American children were often relocated to schools abandoned by Whites who then occupied the renovated facilities (Franklin & Anderson, 1978).

Franklin and Anderson (1978) concluded that scarcity of funding caused many African American schools, both private and public, to become reliant upon monies from Northern philanthropists to remain viable institutions. Many of these philanthropists challenged not only the necessity of educating African Americans, but the continued source of quality African American teachers. To ensure the continuance of African Americans in the lower class, White Northern philanthropists fired many African American teachers who sought to improve the conditions of all African Americans, but

especially those who were young and held promise for the African American people. They were replaced with African American teachers possessing few qualifications who would continue the practice of preparing children to work as field hands and domestics. As a result of these philanthropists who opposed the advancement of African Americans and the Great Depression, illiteracy expanded among the African American population facilities (Franklin & Anderson, 1978).

The continued presence of illiteracy among African Americans, inferior buildings staffed by less-than-qualified teachers, restricted curricula offerings, and lack of adequate books and supplies made it clear the need for community action among African Americans (Fairclough, 2000). The mantle of leadership was placed squarely on the shoulders of the teachers among the African American community, and these leaders used the school organization to assist the community in defining themselves as a racial group and provided an increased level of cohesiveness for the community in general (Fairclough, 2000). King (1993) and Spring (1994) noted the influence of education in fostering social change, liberation, citizenship, and personal advancement. Because of their value of preserving African American heritage and developing cultural traditions for the newly freed slaves, African American teachers were highly respected leaders within their communities (King, 1993; Spring, 1994).

Philanthropy

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, African American teachers nationwide filed lawsuits challenging unfair compensation between White and African American teachers in public schools (Torres, Santos, Peck & Cortes, 2004). School districts maintained separate salary schedules—one for White teachers and another for African American

teachers. Officials explained the salary disparity using the economic law of supply and demand based upon the contention that since there were fewer African American students, the need for highly qualified African American teachers was significantly lower than the demand for White teachers (Torres et al., 2004). Researchers, Torres, Santos, Peck, and Cortes (2004) noted that in contrast to White teachers, African American teachers had fewer employment options and were willing to teach for less compensation.

Gardner (1975) proposed pedagogies for the attainment of equality among African Americans with Whites, and these approaches were noted and discussed among African American educators. The equalitarians, under the leadership of Booker T. Washington, contended that African American citizenship rights had to be earned (Gardner, 1975). It became the teacher's duty to train children to work diligently and advance their way through the southern caste system in order to earn their rights of citizenship. In effect, equalitarians believed that attaining equality was a gradual process. This pedagogy was heavily supported by White Northern philanthropists and southern plantation owners because it ensured continued and long-term control in limiting the progress of African Americans attaining full citizenship in mainstream society, which supported the status quo or current condition. Teachers were attempting to dismiss and replace African American leadership in trade schools in order to adhere to Booker T. Washington's doctrine (Gardner, 1975).

Conversely, W.E.B. DuBois asserted the purpose of African American colleges was to produce teachers who would train children to become leaders in the African American struggle for equality (Franklin & Anderson, 1978). According to Carter Woodson, "African American education should serve two purposes: preparation and

training for movement into the mainstream of American political and economic life, and the appreciation of ‘race pride’ in the younger generation of African American Americans” (Franklin & Anderson, 1978; p. 5). Some White philanthropists worked diligently to close African American institutions of higher learning whose faculty and students supported DuBois’ doctrine.

Eventually, most knowledgeable African Americans, including professors at African American colleges adhering to Washington’s doctrine, became supporters of the DuBois philosophy (Franklin & Anderson, 1978). From one’s perspective, it was necessary for many African American educators to conduct their classes in a manner that suggested support for the philanthropists, who provided much of the funding and sought to retain control over African Americans, while also attempting to train their students to be political activists.

As a result of the efforts of the Northern philanthropists and the actions of the U.S. Supreme Court, African American teachers and students were further disenfranchised with the passage of *Brown v. the Board of Education* in 1954, which mandated that all schools nationwide were to desegregate (Franklin & Anderson, 1978). The African American educational community became one of the first victims of the unintended consequences of *Brown v. the Board of Education* (Franklin & Anderson, 1978). Desegregation immobilized African American teachers:

Desegregation mandates in many school districts visibly changed the racial composition of the teaching staff while the composition of the student body remained unaltered. The effect was that new, mostly White teachers were placed

in all-African American schools in which they did not want to work" (Irvine & Irvine, 1983, p. 417 - 18).

One of the most devastating consequences of the Brown decision and the resulting educator reassignment was the en masse termination of many African American teachers (Bell, 1983; Irvine & Irvine, 1983; Philipsen, 1999; Ethridge, 1979). Hudson and Holmes (1994) reported that during the decade 1954 and 1964, some 38,000 African American teachers were released from their jobs. By the time federal measures were initiated in the 1960s and 1970s to prevent further dismissal and the unbalancing of educational staffing in school systems, thousands of African American faculty and staff had been dismissed (Cole, 1986).

Historical Events that Impacted African American Teachers

The review of historical events in this study was undertaken to emphasize certain incidents before and after *Brown v. Board of Education*, Topeka, Kansas, which contributed to issues of current concern of African American teachers within the public educational system. This narrative considered the school desegregation struggles of the principle communities of African Americans as dictated by the historical record.

In 1954, the Supreme Court Case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, provided the catalyst that led to the integration of public schools and all public facilities in the United States (Whoriskey, 2007). Further, the political and social climate of the country created an atmosphere, which permitted *Brown v. the Board of Education* to become the catalyst that propelled significant changes in African American educational opportunities and efforts toward desegregation (Salvatore, 2000). Therefore, *Brown v. Board of Education* provided a model upon which to build future desegregation cases.

Fennimore (2005) found that after the Brown decision and subsequent court proceedings, African American teachers and community leaders recognized and more fully understood the prejudices and discriminations that had fueled the unequal treatment of African American students in schools due in part to difficulties in implementing public desegregation. Researchers, Torres, Santos, Peck and Cortes (2004) compiled a list of some of the unforeseen consequences of Brown v. The Board of Education on African Americans and included the following:

- The loss of teaching and administrative jobs by African Americans through dismissals, demotions, and displacement;
- The loss of millions of dollars in projected earned income;
- The loss of racial models, heroes, and authority figures for African American children;
- The loss of cherished school symbols, colors, emblems, and names of schools by African American children when their schools were closed and they were shifted to white schools;
- Subjection to segregated classes and buses, and exclusion from extracurricular activities;
- Disproportionate numbers of African American students suspended, expelled, or pushed out of school;
- Exposure of African American children to hostile attitudes and behavior of white teachers and parents;

- Victimization by forced one-way busing policies and the uprooting of African American children for placement in hostile school environments without any support systems;
- Victimization by misclassification in special education classes and track systems;
- Victimization by unfair discipline practices and arbitrary school rules and regulations;
- Victimization by ignorance of their learning styles, culture, and social, educational, and psychological needs; and
- Victimization by lack of exposure to an inclusive curriculum (p. 13).

In addition to the Brown decision, other events further assisted in establishing the framework for the continued progress of the Civil Rights Movement. Historically, one particular event in the desegregation process was recognized as a primary catalyst that prompted many of the future significant changes in public education in America. On September 23, 1957, nine African American students were escorted through a side entrance at Little Rock Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, to attend an all White school. In 1957, however, escorting of this group of nine students was the Arkansas National Guard under the command of President Eisenhower. President Eisenhower had federalized the Arkansas National Guard and had used these troops to enforce the Brown Supreme Court decision of 1954. Eisenhower intended to show the American people and state governments that the federal government was willing and able to use force to implement federal laws. In spite of the social turmoil, Little Rock became a national symbol of change (Whoriskey, 2007).

In another instance, *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, (1968) is often considered an instrumental case that offered promise of aiding desegregation by eliminating the practice of a dual school system. The case findings dictated that if there are reasonable means available to create a unitary system, such as zoning, then “freedom of choice” in school selection is unacceptable (LaMorte, 2005). LaMorte also stated that the U.S. Supreme Court in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, mandated that segregation had to take place at “all deliberate speed” among students, faculty, staff, transportation and extracurricular activities.

Orfield and Lee (2005) recalled that Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke of the previous Supreme Court Civil Rights cases and the *Brown* decision as “simple, eloquent and unequivocal” steps to end segregation and a “joyous daybreak to end the long night of enforced segregation.” The researchers also noted that during a national address, King called for the government to give African Americans the political power to enforce their newly recognized rights. For King, desegregation was not only a social goal, but a profoundly moral and spiritual mission (Orfield & Lee, 2005). Nevertheless, after the *Brown* decision in 1954, many predominately White school boards and superintendents remained in control of critical desegregation decisions.

As a consequence, personnel decisions often resulted in the termination or transferring of many African American teachers (Irvine, 1988; Bell 1983; Irvine & Irvine, 1983; Hudson & Holmes, 1994). Hudson and Holmes (1994) found that during the decade 1954 and 1964, some 38,000 African American teachers were dismissed from their jobs. In 1980, as a result of the unanticipated consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education*, African American teachers constituted an estimated 12.5 percent of the

national teaching force (Cole, 1986). Even though the number of African American teachers was drastically reduced, and in some districts, they were completely eliminated, the number of African American students remained at 30 percent, which is a significant proportion of students in the nation's educational population (Ceceleski, 1994).

In conclusion, while examination of the impact of unanticipated consequences of Brown (1954) and other political and judicial decisions are important, acquiring African American teachers to maintain racial balance and participation is considered essential to the improvement of academic achievement of African American students. The aforementioned literature failed to provide intrinsic and extrinsic factors, which enabled some African American teachers to enter and remain in public education when others did not after the Brown decision. Therefore, this study investigates the varied perspectives of African American teachers to provide some insight into their decisions to enter into and remain in the field of public education.

School's Role in Diminishing the Pool of Potential African American Teachers

Pre-collegiate Education of Prospective African American Teachers

The shortage of African American teachers is a product of a variety of factors and has been and continues to be considered by some a national crisis (Cochran-Smith, 2006). Denise Alston, of the National Governors' Association, concluded that African Americans, who suffer a disproportionate share of economic and educational disadvantage, will continue to comprise an increasing proportion of the student population in the twenty-first century (Alston, 1988). Alston stated: "These students must be prepared, not only for occupations requiring basic skills, but also for a wide

range of high-skill professions such as teaching” (p. 7). Coupled with this, the researcher found that some states have noticed the racial inequalities of the educational system and have taken measures to close the gap in educational achievement among the races.

Researcher Darling-Hammond (2000) suggested that the overall educational attainment of African American students increased steadily between 1960 and 1990. However, this trend began to diminish with the federally mandated requirement that students meet certain scoring criteria on assessments. Furthermore, the hiring of less qualified teachers to address these graduation requirements of African American and other students further reduce their probability of success on these examinations.

Bates (1990) stated that African American students are often tracked into lower level classes, which negatively influenced student performance on standardized assessments. According to Ayers and Klonsky (1994), African American students score more than 50 points lower than Whites on the standardized tests. “Out of 39,000 freshmen who entered high school, only 18,500 African American students graduated in 1984” (Ayers & Klonsky, 1994, p. 5). The reality according to Philispen (1999) was that African American students are three times as likely to drop out of school as White children and are twice as likely to be suspended from school. Secondly, although African American students constitute about 17 percent of the public school population, they comprise 41 percent of the special-education populations, which may be symptomatic of the harsh social and economic realities many African American families confront.

Not only are African American students ill-prepared for standardized testing and are tracked in lower level classes, but teachers hired to teach African American students may be ill-prepared. Mastery of the primary content domains often presents a problem for

many teachers in high poverty areas because they are frequently required to teach in content domains for which they have not been trained (Mezzacappa, 2003; Scribner, 1999; Chester and Beaudin, 1996; Hanushek, 1989). According to Howard (2003), more than 12 percent of the teachers hired to work in urban schools have no prior educational training. Other research demonstrated that among urban teachers working in high poverty environments, African American teachers are usually less qualified and some lacking certification (Bruno & Dorsher, 1981; Mezzacappa, 2003). As Anthony Amato, the superintendent of schools in New Orleans stated, “Forty percent of [my] teachers are not certified to teach their subjects or not certified at all” (Mezzacappa, 2003, p. 3). Statistics indicated that more than 80 percent of our nation’s urban schools hire non-certified teachers. As a result, the students with the greatest needs receive the least qualified instructors (Ascher & Fruchter, 2001; Mezzacappa, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 2000).

A three-year study by Nancy Zimpher and Susan Rieger (1988) concluded that when vicarious experiences are few or eliminated, novice teachers may well experience problems concerning self-confidence and positive self-perception due to their lack of interaction with other adults. These problems become exacerbated in low performing schools that tend to have the least qualified teachers (Zimpher and Rieger, 1986). As Howard (2003) notes: “Many students in urban schools endure a life outside of school that would be unfamiliar to most of the teachers they encounter, and many teachers are unable to successfully educate students because they do not know how to successfully approach the demands that urban schools present” (p.149). Instead of seeking professional guidance or the benefits of mentoring, many teachers prefer to blame parents

for many of the problems experienced in the classroom (Gay, 2000; Spring, 1994; Fink & Stoll, 2000; Delpit, 1995; Teddlie & Springfield, 1993).

Equally influential were the fears of some novice White female teachers of African American males. The literature suggested that most novice teachers' negative images of African American males interfered with their perceptions of their teaching abilities; in essence, the negative portrayals of African American males in the media become the realities as many White teachers develop racist ideas about African Americans (Hopkins, 1997; Lewis, 2003; Gay, 1990). This irrational fear at times leads younger, more inexperienced instructors to conclude that young African American males are simpler, smaller versions of the adult African American males seen committing crimes almost daily on television and in films (Fine & Weis, 1998; Lewis, 2003).

“Unfortunately, policymakers in many states have been willing to fill teaching vacancies by lowering standards so that personnel who have had little or no preparation for teaching can be hired, especially if their clients are African American and low-income students” (Darling-Hammond, 2000, p. 270). This researcher also found that African American students, because of these prejudicial sentiments and stereotypes, are often denied lack of access to qualified teachers, inadequate curricular and insufficient educational materials.

Darling-Hammond suggested that schools have implemented new standards, which have been stymied by preexisting inequalities between African American and White races (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Darling-Hammond's study proposed that inequalities continue to be created by sprinklings of charter schools and voucher programs created to provide additional options for more affluent White students. On the

other hand, African American students continue to face persistent and profound barriers which limit their educational success, such as being placed in low-ability, non-college bound tracks where they receive less socially valued knowledge—usually taught disproportionately by the under qualified and unqualified teachers in a system (Darling-Hammond, 2000); being taught by teachers who fear African American males which may also inhibit teachers from teaching African American students effectively (Hopkins, 1997; Lewis, 2003; Gay, 1990).

In 2009, 95 percent of African American children relied on public schools in America, yet a great number of these systems lacked the funding required to deliver the level of educational quality considered acceptable by educators, policy makers and parents and further, many school districts found extensive renovations are required for their facilities which over time have become inadequate or unusable (Edney, 2009). In the past 40 years, some seven trillion taxpayer's dollars have been invested into public education, and much of this funding has been spent on personnel and not facilities. President Barack Obama suggested providing funding designed to expedite the renovation and modernization of an estimated 10,000 schools, which may well factor into retaining or creating jobs for African Americans especially in high density urban school systems (Edney, 2009). Additionally, the increasingly technical economy can no longer provide adequate employment opportunities for unskilled workers seeking decent wages and benefits (Darling-Hammond, 2000).

Consequently, the lack of education established a probable link to crime and welfare dependency (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Darling-Hammond (2000) also stated that the result is more African American citizens are on probation, in jail, prison or on

parole than in college. Yet, political and educational leaders recognized an adequate education for all is the most viable route out of poverty and into the middle class for young people (Alston, 1988). However, in spite of this recognition, the political will to address persistent educational inequities among the races appeared to be lacking.

Collegiate Barriers and Opportunities

In spite of the various Supreme Court rulings between 1954 and the 1980s, African Americans did not occupy proportionate positions of leadership in the community or in higher education (Bowen & Bok, 1998). In fact, the authors stated that in 1965, only 4.8 percent of college students were African American, and no college or university had established policies designed to seek out and admit African American students (Bowen & Bok, 1998). Also, between 1975 and 1985, the number of African American college students entering the teaching profession dropped by 66 percent (Smith 1987 as cited in Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

Therefore, selective universities began to take an interest in the education of African Americans (Bowen & Bok, 1998). This initiative was started when universities felt as though they had an obligation to educate African American students which would enrich the education of all students by including African American students (Bowen & Bok, 1998). They also discovered that university officials sought to enrich the education of all students by creating a more diverse student body of varying talents, backgrounds and perspectives (Bowen & Bok, 1998).

Additionally, Irvine (1988) concluded that nowhere are the figures more dismal regarding training of African Americans as teachers than at colleges of education at historically African American institutions where the majority of African American college

students matriculate. Affirmative action is a concept first established by President Kennedy in 1961 and revisited on several occasions by other political leaders and has been praised by many political and social leaders as a constructive policy designed to reduce racial inequalities in collegiate school admissions, scholarships, financial aid, compensation, and career advancement of African Americans (Muhammad, 2002). In 1963, a Florida university graduated more than 300 African American education majors, but in 1985, the number was fewer than 100. Between 1980 and 1984, the number of African American teachers in the United States declined by 6.4 percent or 5000 teachers, which equates a decline in African American graduates becoming teachers in the classroom (Irvine, 1988). Irvine (1988) concluded that despite the efforts of President Kennedy, college admissions officials and others, there continued to be a shortage of college graduates who may have become tenured African American teachers in the United States.

Smith (1988) stated that the failure of institutions of higher education to graduate more African Americans are not to be found by examining African American students, but to dismiss the fallacies about African Americans in general. The following are the fallacies presented by Smith:

Fallacy #1: African Americans do not want a college education.

Fallacy #2: African American youth are discouraged from working at an early age.

Fallacy #3: No one knows what works and does not work to increase the flow of African American teachers.

Smith (1988) also concluded that expanding the pool of African Americans at the undergraduate level, changing the perception of young African Americans toward teacher education and teaching as a career, getting help for a university, and finally the coordination of effort and reward of any successes one might have over time are possible solutions to eliminating the fallacies about African Americans at the collegiate level and maintaining the pipeline of African American teachers.

Use of Assessments

Factors Leading to the Decline of African American Educators

Researcher Beverly Cole (1986) stated that Whites contested the right to vote by African Americans in public elections in a variety of ways. African Americans seeking to vote were often required to pass a literacy test to demonstrate an understanding of the political system. The argument supporting the use of literacy tests was based on the contention that one who could not read was one that could not deal with the issues and positions that were presented by the political candidates. Cole (1986) also stated that while the literacy test and poll tax have been declared illegal, for some African Americans, the strategies have simply become more sophisticated and complex in the continued efforts by some to deny African Americans the opportunity to exercise their civil rights with the improper use of assessments.

Shipp (1999) offered reasons for the decline in the numbers of African Americans entering the teaching profession. The researcher contended that the decline is linked to the expanded career opportunities now available in other areas considered more profitable and influential than teaching, such as lawyers, engineers, scientists, and so

forth. An additional perspective was also presented by the researcher who contended that the decline is due to more stringent testing and admission standards in schools of education and more demanding certification and licensing measures to become certified teachers. Shipp (1999) also noted that no fewer than 46 states require some form of competency testing of teachers.

The Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores theoretically provide college admissions officers with a method to compare all students from across the country to one standard of measure in order to determine admission into their institution (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003). On this standardized test, African American students on average do not perform well and scores are on average about 200 points below White students. Additionally, *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* has documented many reasons that contribute to the large scoring gap between African Americans and Whites on the SAT. These include, African American students are educated by White teachers who have low opinions of the abilities of African American students; African American students who study hard are often the subject of peer ridicule; African American students are aware of the fact that society expects them to perform poorly on standardized tests which makes it more difficult for African American students to perform well on these tests; African American students may be taught curriculum which pays little attention to the subject matters that are covered on the SAT, and the majority of African American students cannot afford to attend SAT preparation classes like many of their White peers (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003). Therefore, African American applicants begin the collegiate application process at a disadvantage,

thus contributing even more to the decrease of potential African American teachers (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2003).

Most states have also established some form of standardized or custom-made tests for entry into the teaching profession. “The tragic consequences of this rapidly spreading practice are that a disproportionate number of African Americans are failing the tests, and thus are being excluded from the teaching profession” (Cole, 1986, p. 327). Cole (1986) contended that large numbers of African American teachers were eliminated even if they were capable of teaching effectively, but failed the competency test due to a great degree of anxiety, lack of opportunities to develop good test-taking skills, or educational inequities. Additionally, numerous African American students attended historically African American colleges, which trained most African American teachers. As well, more than 50 percent of the nation's African American public school teachers earned degrees at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) (Bowen & Bok, 1998). However, many HBCUs have been placed on probation due to the fact that many of their students are unsuccessful on standardized exams required for entry into the field of education (Bowen & Bok, 1998).

State and federal policies which tended to limit the access of certified African American teachers to the teaching profession attracted the interest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (Bowen & Bok, 1998). In fact, in 1984, the NAACP opposed the use of testing as the single criterion for certifying or licensing in the teaching profession (Cole, 1986). Bowen and Bok (1998) concluded that these standardized tests are meant to screen out incompetent students (SAT) and teachers (Certification Test), but studies have not found any consistent

relationship between scores on these tests, including the GRE, and the measure of performance in higher education programs or their teaching effectiveness in a classrooms. Despite research proving that these tests do not adequately measure the performances of African Americans, universities and school districts continue to use them as a means to limit access for advancement (Bowen & Bok, 1998).

The Educational Tenure of African American Teachers

Recruitment

“The convergence of demographic changes, the current course of education reform, and teacher supply and demand begs for an aggressive effort to recruit, prepare, and certify African American teachers” (Alston, 1988, p.7). Therefore, recruitment efforts have to take place at many different intervals in the educational process to recruit and retain African Americans in the educational field. Moreover, specific recruitment recommendations from Gederman (2001) included:

- Establishing articulation agreements with four-year institutions to ensure a smooth transition for students.
- Creating formal partnerships with four-year institutions.
- Developing traditional teaching education programs as well as alternate-route certification programs.
- Involving students in local schools and actively recruiting in the service area.

Gifford (1986) found that the lower performance of African Americans on licensure tests tended to screen them out of the pool of potential teachers and resulted in an increasingly White teacher population. By limiting the diversity of the pool of

candidates for teaching, the overall teacher supply by screening out African American teacher candidates was limited. In addition, there was no evidence that higher test scores produced better teachers, particularly for students of diverse racial, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds (Gifford, 1986).

Gitomer, Latham, and Ziomek (1999) argued that if high standards in the form of licensure assessments were the wave of the future, it was important to prepare the potential teacher pool more rigorously, beginning in grades K-12. Gifford (1986) contended that the lack of African American teachers lead to the need for high schools to provide a quality high school education for the pool of prospective African American teachers. Their suggestions for strategies included targeting African American students as early as middle school, establishing rigorous but flexible alternative route programs to increase the recruitment rate of African American teachers. Haselkorn (2000) has recommended that secondary students be offered teaching-related clubs, general career awareness activities, and visits to college campuses with teacher preparation programs. Given that the largest potential supply of African American teachers is arguably found in the public schools, identification and systematic study of high school encouragement programs is clearly needed (Haselkorn, 2000).

Case, Shive, Ingegretson, and Spiegel's (1988) suggested that colleges and universities examine their present policies in regard to recruitment and retention of prospective African American teachers and create new strategies to meet the current African American teacher shortage. Recommendations for more effective practice included identifying potential teacher candidates much earlier, using more personal recruitment methods, providing intensive university and post-graduate training, providing

support services while in school, employing exit criteria that did not require heavy reliance on standardized testing, and increasing the diversity of college faculty. Ingersoll (1996) made similar recommendations for supporting African American students in college programs; suggesting that teacher preparation programs:

- conduct individual, diagnostic student assessment to assist faculty in choosing appropriate courses as well as in determining the amount and types of support services needed;
- offer tutoring services to help students understand course content as well as to help them with homework;
- provide academic advising that is concentrated and personalized;
- provide study and test-taking skills through a course or through several sessions, with follow-up; and
- monitor students' academic progress on a continual basis to ensure a positive experience.

Due to the low ratio of African American teachers in contrast to the increasing quantity of African American students, efforts to train, recruit and retain sufficient quantities of African American teachers has become especially critical to confront the changing demographics of our nation's schools (Natriello & Zumwalt, 1992). Natriello and Zumwalt's (1992) found that many state policymakers have begun to seek members of diverse populations who are interested in becoming teachers as part of their anticipated career change. These policymakers promote and encourage prospective teachers to seek alternative licensing programs in part because these alternative approaches require little time or out of pocket expenses, both factors which made alternative education and

certification programs appealing to those seeking to enter the educational profession as a second career choice.

Consequently, the absence of effective recruitment programs is a contributing factor to the current shortage of African American teachers. In Kennedy's (2006) article, she contended that improving hiring practices and attending to equitable teacher qualifications are crucial to increasing the number of African American teachers. In the past, hiring committees of schools districts relied on interviews to assess the personal qualities of their candidates and rendered their final teacher selections from the interview session. Increasingly, to hire effective teachers, school districts are utilizing external interview committees in the belief that these committees will be more objective in candidate assessment than the interviews internal committees conduct spontaneously on their own (Kennedy, 2006).

Further, Kennedy (2006) stated that school districts should not select new teachers solely on the basis of their résumés and interview sessions, neither of which guarantees high-quality teaching. Moreover, the researcher states that one problem with external interview committees is that often these committees do not reliably differentiate between effective and ineffective teachers. Further, the use of external search committees is expensive, especially compared to their predictive power.

Concluding, Kennedy (2006) contended that perhaps a more effective and less expensive strategy is to select teaching candidates is by viewing candidates on videotape. Videotaping is no longer an expensive technology, and teachers who have just completed their teacher education programs may well have videotapes of themselves in the classroom. By requesting candidates to provide videotapes, personnel officials can see

their classroom management skills and professionalism while teaching actual content in a real-time environment. This practice would allow school districts to improve their hiring procedures by reducing the time spent on interviews and spend more time on professional aptitude which may well lead to improved teacher quality which has the potential to improve student achievement (Kennedy, 2006).

Alston (2000) concurred with Kennedy on the need for effective recruitment programs at the district level. In her study, Alston used data collected by the National Governors' Association to examine the supply of African American teachers compared to the growing African American student population. Alston examined the programs which states are implementing to increase the number of African American teachers. For example, Illinois State Board of Education and the State Teacher Certification Board presented a thorough analysis of gender and minority distribution enrolled in colleges of education. Additionally, Florida's Education Standards Commission produced similar data on meeting the challenge of providing minority teachers to their public schools which included a statewide study on the causes of minority teacher attrition and the systematic follow-up of college of education graduates. Her findings suggested that none of the fifteen states had a representation of African American teachers that matched the quantity of African American students and should follow through with the data collected to recruit, prepare, and certify minority teachers to populate public schools (Alston, 2000).

Alston (2000) further stated the most important step in increasing the number of African American teachers is to compile and collect statewide data on African American teacher candidates for use by a newly formed recruitment task force. The researcher

confirmed that five southern states (Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) have created recruitment task forces, which may result in an enhanced effort to recruit and retain African American teachers. For example, the data collected by the Tennessee Task Force resulted in the implementation of programs and several initiatives to improve the supply of minority teachers in Tennessee's public schools. Programs currently in operation include: Project PASS which is a mentoring program aimed at helping junior and senior high school minority students explore the teaching profession and the Minority Teacher Fellowship Program which provides up forgivable loans. Furthermore, the North Carolina Teaching Fellows Program has recruited young men and people of color from high school to teach. The students agree to teach in exchange for college scholarships. Shaw (1996) stated that such programs are necessary, given that the existing demographics of the African American teaching force are out of tune with the developing demographics of the nation's classrooms.

Induction Programs

Few African American students are meeting graduation requirements from high school or college for reasons such as, lack of access to qualified teachers, improper use of assessments and insufficient educational materials (Cole, 1986; Bowen & Bok, 1998). However, if and when college graduates become teachers, there are many elements required for classroom success.

Teacher resiliency is defined by Bobek (2002) as the ability to adjust to varied situations and increase one's competence in the face of adverse conditions. An effective induction program addresses resiliency. Moreover, resiliency is not an instant characteristic of teachers, but it is a learning process that occurs over time in the context

of teacher-student-school interactions (Bobek, 2002). Novice teachers must develop such resources that will sustain them, increase their resilience, and improve their professionalism as they enter the initial career stages as professional educators.

Bobek (2002) also contended that fostering productive relations with fellow teachers who understand the tribulations of educating students allows new teachers the ability to enhance their resiliency. To retain these quality teachers, many school districts require or strongly encourage mentoring programs, through which teachers provide support for new teachers during the first few years of their career. This is due to the belief that novice teachers are twice as likely to leave teaching after three years if they have not participated in some type of induction program.

To assist teachers in establishing resiliency, Bobek (2002) stated that novice teachers must be exposed to some of the key elements in mentoring programs which include the belief that teacher's must experience a sense of ownership in their careers as they solve problems, make decisions, set goals, and help students. Also, newly hired teacher should experience success and being recognized for that success. Finally, humor is vital to strengthening a teacher's resilience because novice teachers tend to be overly self critical (Bobek, 2002).

Implementation of induction programs creates a climate of trust and an open exchange of ideas about potential instructional possibilities and generally accepted good practices to allow the new teacher to thrive in the educational environment (Bobek, 2002). Finally, Cochran-Smith (2006) reported that while recruitment programs was both the "wrong diagnosis" and a "phony cure" for the teacher shortage, induction programs are vital to the increased retention and reduced attrition of novice teachers.

Haskins and Loeb (2007) asserted that school districts should form induction programs that include professional development opportunities because these opportunities can assist new teachers in gaining skills and knowledge are the foundational to improved effectiveness. Professional development should expose new teachers learn new and innovative instructional strategies and curriculum used in the school system.

Kennedy (2006) also stated that induction programs are essential to professional growth and should include programs that will foster this growth. During professional development, teachers expending numerous hours developing lesson plans in isolation might be better served by forming grade-level groups of teachers to compare materials, share notes on the benefit of these materials, discuss ways to improve these materials, and learn from the experiences of others. Implementing effective induction programs allow teachers to form study groups, which can address some of the problems that undermine their work, thereby enhancing teacher quality which may well lead to improved student achievement.

Retention

Teacher retention is a major problem of many school systems which may be addressed by an effective induction programs. Webster's dictionary defines retention as "the act of retaining something or the condition of being retained" (Webster's Dictionary, 2007). Moreover, Good, Halpin, and Halpin (2000) conducted a study of nineteen participants in which they examined the academic and interpersonal growth of novice employees in an effort to determine the effectiveness of a program designed to retain employees. The researchers implemented a program of one-to-one teaching in which experienced mentors guide neophytes during their early years as employees. This

program is sought to improve the retention of African American employees in a professional environment that is predominately comprised of White employees.

Furthermore, Good's, Halpin's, and Halpin's (2000) study indicated that both members, mentor and neophyte, were positively impacted from this induction program. While this study was conducted at an engineering firm, the program implemented is similar to the type of program typical in the field of education. Further, Brown (2003) asserted that it is of great importance that building leaders ensure new teachers receive ongoing support from all faculty and staff. Additionally, the researcher contended that schools, which provide help in the form of an induction program, tend to get positive results in their efforts to retain African Americans (Brown, 2003).

African American Teachers in Georgia

In the years following the Brown decision of 1954, state and local school boards across the nation began allocating funds to construct new African American schools, remodel older ones, and hire more African American teachers. The Brown decision, which declared segregated African American schools inherently unequal, in reality assisted in the perpetuation of segregation. White community and school board leaders created these belated construction projects based upon the conviction that if allowed, African Americans would prefer to be among their own rather than be integrated with Whites. As a consequence, public school systems in southern towns and cities soon began to construct state-of-the-art buildings for African American students out of the mistaken belief these efforts would pacify the majority of African Americans (Haney, 1978).

Southern states and local governments engaged in massive resistance to segregation and in some instances, a decade or more was required for some state governments to act on the Brown decision (Haney, 1978). Often teachers who attempted to organize into a viable negotiating force and others joining organizations deemed as radical or racist by local Whites such as the NAACP were frequently the victims of harassment (Haney, 1978).

O'Brien (1999) found that from the turn of the century to 1961, there was a substantial expansion of educational opportunities in the State of Georgia. The author found that African American reformers demanding improved educational opportunities and facilities for African Americans eventually forced White Georgians to heed the needs of the African American citizens of the state and provide the necessary political and economic support necessary to establish parity of opportunity between African Americans and Whites. Race relations became an issue of significance within the issue of education in the various public debates that dominated Georgia politics between the 1940s and early 1961. It was during these debates and other public forums that African American activists, especially those in the larger metropolitan areas, realized important strides in their efforts toward an equitable educational system in the state.

Currently, there is a significant disparity between the proportion of students of color and the proportion of teachers of color (Dandy, 2000). In 1996, only 20 percent of Georgia's teachers were African-American, yet the proportion of students of color in many urban and rural schools exceeded 60 percent. This situation becomes even less acceptable if one examines the need for additional African American teachers in the Georgia's rural counties. Located on the southeast coast of Georgia, Effingham, Glynn,

and McIntosh counties have experienced unprecedented growth. Collectively, their African American population averaged 37 percent, but their teachers of color ranged from 5 – 10 percent of the teaching force (Dandy, 2000).

In a comprehensive examination of the condition of African American teacher recruitment, preparation and retention, Torres, Santos, Peck, and Cortes (2004) found that African American teachers are underrepresented in the workforce today for the following reasons: inadequate academic preparation; attraction to other careers; unsupportive working conditions; lack of cultural and social support groups; increased standards and competency testing; low salaries; and high attrition rates.

Lambert's (2006) study found that teachers prefer a school with higher achievement levels, above and beyond its racial composition. Lambert also found that African American teachers are less sensitive to student racial composition than are White teachers. In fact, conditional on student achievement and poverty levels, African American teachers were more likely to remain in their districts as the share of African American children in their schools rose, whereas White teachers were significantly more likely to leave. A study of teachers in Georgia reached similar conclusions. Dee (2004) found that elementary teachers left low-performing, high-minority schools, but African American teachers responded less to the racial composition of the school than did White teacher.

Teacher retention has been and continues to present a substantial problem in Georgia. By 2009, Georgia will have to replace 51,498 teachers, an equivalent of more than 50 percent of the current workforce. According to the Alliance for Excellent Education (2005), the cost of teachers in Georgia leaving the profession is estimated at

more than \$81 million per year. Throughout Georgia, the problem affects both urban or inner-city schools and rural schools classified as high need institutions.

Educational institutions of Carter County, GA

In 1873, Cartersville Academy was the first recorded school in Carter County, which was located in an unfinished Methodist church (██████████ County Information, 2007). The second school was housed in a local hotel and was taught by Miss Belle Norwood in 1876. Students who were graduates of Ms. Norwood's class established Milikin School for Girls in Carter County. Boys in the county went to the Masonic Building to attend school.

Schools in Carter County were formed to service White and usually privileged students. However, the city of NI begun to realize the need for a public city school to service all students of the town. In the 1890s, the White school, NI High School, was housed in a large brown frame building and serviced grades fourth through tenth (██████████ County Information, 2007). It is documented that schools were segregated and integration did not occur until 1967 (The Jesupsonian Yearbook, 1967). If African American elderly residents are asked about their educational background during the transition from a dual school system, they cite Carter County Training School, which existed in the county for attendance by African American students. However, there was not a reference in any online document or the Carter County Public Library concerning schools for African American students.

In 2009, there were four elementary grade centers, where students were zoned by age and not by address, two middle schools, and one high school located in the county

seat. There were two additional elementary schools in each of the other two towns on the outskirts of the county.

The mission of Carter County High School was “All students at CHS will earn a meaningful high school diploma.” In the year 2008, of the 106 African American students in the county’s high school, only 60% graduated from high school (DOE, 2008). This is lower than a school district only a few miles away from this county.

Furthermore, of the students who graduated from the high school, most students requested transcripts to be mailed to colleges near the school system, i.e. Georgia Southern University, Valdosta State University, Savannah State University, Albany State University, and Armstrong Atlantic State University (██████████ County High School Guidance Department, 2008). The school system collaborates with Altamaha Technical College, which is located in NI and provides students with additional learning opportunities.

Summary

In conclusion, it is the contention of many researchers that the presence of African American teachers in the classroom is critical to the success of the education of all students. The review of literature provided some information about obstacles and opportunities for African American teachers in nationwide public schools. The literature included historical events that impacted African American teachers, pre-collegiate education of prospective African American teachers, collegiate barriers and opportunities for African American teachers, the use of assessments and the educational tenure of African American teachers which encompassed other factors like, recruitment, retention and induction programs.

If the reasons for the decrease in the number of African American teachers were evident, it seems like the issue could be resolved. However, the shortage of African American teachers still exists and continues to deteriorate. Therefore, this study directly focused on the African American teacher shortage of the southeastern Georgia County, which is drastically lower than the average of school systems in the United States and Georgia. Such an inquiry provided a context for further exploring the experiences of African American teachers and perhaps all teachers; for a continuation of efforts to cultivate and improve strategies to recruit and retain African American teachers; and for improving the education of all youth and prospective teachers.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Children need the experience of being in the presence of an African American person who serves as the medium between themselves and a valuable body of knowledge (Bobb, 2007). This African American person guides the child's mind from a point of ignorance to understanding. This experience evokes an extraordinary amount of humility, respect and admiration for that African American person (Bobb, 2007). For that very reason, African American teachers are significant figures who are required to educate children in this diverse society. In this chapter, the researcher presented methods for studying three African American teachers, including strategies and techniques used in gathering and analyzing data appropriate for the study. The researcher of the study stated the research questions, described the research design, profiled the selection of sites used in the study, discussed the participants, explained the role of the researcher, presented descriptions of the data sources, and detailed the data collection and data analysis processes.

Research Questions

The purpose of the study was to investigate the lived experiences of three African American teachers to understand their career longevity in the educational profession. All three entered the teaching profession after the landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* and served for at least 30 years in the teaching field. Their longevity was studied with the intention of understanding how educators can use the African American teachers' experiences to identify lessons learned and specifically to apply the lessons to recruitment and retention of African American teachers.

The researcher examined the following overarching question: Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, how do African American teachers explain their longevity in the teaching profession? This essential question was made operational through the following sub-questions:

1. How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession?
2. Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, what challenges have African American teachers encountered?
3. How did African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession?

Research Design

To conduct this study, the researcher utilized a qualitative approach with collective case study as the qualitative strategy of inquiry. Glesne (2006) asserted that qualitative researchers seek to understand and interpret how various participants in a social setting construct the world around them. Gay and Airasian (2003) provided a similar description of qualitative research where qualitative researchers strive to capture the human meanings of social life as it is lived, experienced, and understood by the research participants. Additionally, Shekedi (2005) stated that the product of collective case study is a thick holistic narrative which enables the achievement of a level of understanding and interpretation of a whole culture or group. In essence, the descriptions of the research paradigm of Shekedi (2005), Gay and Airasian (2003), and Creswell (2007) permitted the researcher to employ the multiple case study methodology as it best suited the study. Creswell (2007) described case study as a qualitative approach in which

the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information, and reports a case description and case-based themes” (p. 73). The one issue of this study was understanding career longevity of African American teachers, and the researcher selected several cases to illuminate the issue with the desire to gain multiple perspectives. Creswell (2007) advised that selecting representative cases allows for generalization across cases, which suited the researcher’s purpose of the study. The researcher of the study had access to definable cases (three African American teachers who had long careers as teachers within a similar context), which were illustrative of the central issue of the study.

Collective case study design involved multiple sources of data, including a series of interviews to capture the lived experiences of the three participants, discussions with nine key informants, and a review of documents, including yearbooks and newspapers. Eliciting ideas and feelings of participants and observers of events and activities central to the research problem (African American teachers’ longevity in the profession following integration of schools) required tracking data over time to analyze and explain the logic of the participants’ socially constructed reality. Collecting multiple realities ensured the researcher better interpretation and understanding of reasons for African American teacher longevity.

Collective case study was a design especially suited to the researcher’s need to capture and explore experiences and their significance. For the project, the cases were not a historical documentation of teachers’ careers, but rather cases used in the sense of capturing in-depth experiences, conditions, and challenges that compelled the teachers to

remain in the profession. By providing an opportunity for the three major participants of the study to share experiences, the researcher was in a unique situation to gather data from three retired teachers who had served in the teaching profession in a unique time in the history of American schooling, from a time when schools were segregated by race post *Brown v. Board of Education*, through the integration of schools to a time when one system for all students was established. In the first decade of the 21st century, it is critical to understand experiences of career African American teachers to provide insight into how teachers endured challenges and remained in a profession that continues to need African Americans in the workforce.

Selection of Site

According to the Georgia Department of Education 2008 – 2009 State Report Card, 23% of the teacher population (or 27,616 out of the 120,660 public school teachers) for the state was African American while the African American student population was 38% (or 613,725 out of 1,615,066 public school students) (DOE, 2009). The school district selected for this study (pseudonym Carter SD) is geographically located in southeastern Georgia. In 2010, this rural system had nine schools within one county and across three towns. In one town, there were four schools, specifically one pre-kindergarten center and three elementary grade centers that had students zoned by age and not by address. The other two towns contained one kindergarten through fifth grade elementary school each. However, the students were bused to the county seat to attend one of the two middles and the high school.

In Carter SD, the African American student population was 23% (or 1,175 out of 5,110 students) (GDOE School Report Card, 2009). Additionally, the African American

teacher population was 6% (or 22 out of 372 teachers in the school system) of the teacher population which is significantly lower than the 23% African American teacher population in the state of Georgia. However, prior to integration in 1970, there were 31 African American teachers in the school system while the African American student population in the school system remained the same. Moreover, 13 teachers survived the transition; out of the 13 teachers who were employed when the system was totally integrated in 1970, three of the African American teachers remained in the profession over 30 years. These three African American teachers became an interest of the researcher and were ideally suited for the issue of the study, especially in light of the fact that other African American teachers did not endure. Therefore, three African American teachers became the focus of this study, given that the researcher wanted to learn how administrators can use the African American teachers' lived experiences to address career recruitment and retention of African American teachers for 21st century schools.

Major Participants

The major participants for this study consisted of three African American teachers. Purposeful sampling is defined as the selection of individuals and site for the study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study (Creswell, 2007). By using this sampling technique to identify the cases of this study, the researcher selected the participants and site for this study. The three African American teachers were selected because their narratives yielded an insight into the career experiences of African American teachers in one school district, and the researcher of this study knew of their contributions through the researchers association with the same district. African Americans have had a long

history in the teaching profession, but their career experiences during and post-integration of schools has rarely been captured. Furthermore, the teachers were selected for the researcher to learn of their plights as African American teachers after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

Participant #1: Robin Barnhart (pseudonym) at the time of the study was 79 years old. She was a teacher and coach in the site selected for this study for 33 years. Ms. Barnhart was the researcher's gym teacher and the only African American teacher to educate the researcher. In 2006, the school system named an elementary school in honor of her.

Participant #2: Sarah Keith (pseudonym) was 57 years old. She retired in 2005 after thirty-one years of educational service. After retirement, Ms. Keith became an elected Board of Education member. As a board member, Sarah Keith was an advocate for African American students, educators, and community members.

Participant #3: Louise Grantham (pseudonym) was 66 years old at the time of this study and an educator for 42 years. In 1967, Louise Grantham was one of two African American teachers selected by the superintendent of schools to integrate the high school attended by only White students. At the time of the study, she was a substitute teacher in the school system and a civil rights advocate.

Table 5

Major Participants

	Robin Barnhart	Louise Grantham	Sarah Keith
Characteristics	African American Female	African American Female	African American Female
Education Level	B.S. Health and Physical Education	B.S. Health and Physical Education	B.S. Social Science
HBCUs	M.S. Education	M.S. Education	M.S. History Education
	Savannah State College	Tennessee State University	Savannah State College
Years in Education	33 years as Physical Education teacher	42 years as a Science teacher	31 years at same school as SS teacher
Coaching Experience	21 years as basketball coach	Many years as basketball and track coach	Did not coach
Career	1955 – 1988	1963 – 2005	1974 – 2005
Educational Philosophy	Strive to make education an interesting experience.	Love and hope will save those that are in need the most.	Respect, expect, love and challenge every student.

Additionally, McMillan (2004) defined key informants as people who are especially knowledgeable about a topic and who could provide information that could not be found elsewhere. To understand the lived experiences of the major participants fully, the researcher wanted to interview key informants who were familiar with the teaching careers of the three African American teachers. Each African American teacher provided the names of the three informants to the researcher which equated to a total of nine informants for this study. The key informants for this study consisted of three school administrators who supervised the African American teachers, three students who were in the classes of these teachers and three other persons (including friends and former colleagues) who were knowledgeable about the experiences of the African American teachers for this study. In table 6, each of the informants in this study described their relationship to the major participants.

Table 6

Relationship of Key Informants to Major Participants of the Study

Key Informant	Robin Barnhart	Louise Grantham	Sarah Keith
Student	I had Ms. Barnhart's 6 th grade class in 1974 when schools were integrated.	I knew her as her student and athlete in high school in 1965.	We were raised in the same church together. From the time I was about 8 years old, we were at the same church. I was in her class in 1977-1978.
Colleague/Friend	In 1973, I taught with her in the gym.	We worked together as a health and physical education teacher, dance team instructor, and jr high basketball coach.	We have been friends since 1957 in kindergarten; I have known her approximately 49 years.
Administrator	We met in 1967 when integration of schools began and knew each other through coaching. I later became the principal at her school.	I was the principal of the school when I met her in 1968.	I first met her in 1976 when I transferred to the high school.

Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research, there are four roles that a researcher can play: observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and full participant. As stated by Glesne (2006), the researcher who has little to no interaction with those being researched is when the researcher is referred to as “observer.” On the contrary, the researcher could take the role of a “full participant,” where the researcher is a functioning member of the group enduring the investigation. The last two roles that the researcher could play is “participant as observer” or “observer as participant.” In this study, the researcher chose to remain out of the limelight. The role of the researcher was primarily as an observer given that the researcher is an African American educator who lives and works in the school district where the study was conducted.

Additionally, Creswell (2003) stated “‘backyard’ research involves studying the researcher’s own organization, or friends, or immediate work setting” (p. 184). The researcher of this study conducted “backyard” research given that the researcher is presently an African American educator in the said county where the study was conducted. Moreover, the researcher has always lived in the county, but commuted for thirteen years to a nearby county to work as an educator. Glesne (2006) inserted that subjectivity, like friendship, has long been considered something to keep out of one’s research, something to, at the least, control against through a variety of methods to establish validity. The researcher was aware of subjectivity and the effects of “backyard” research; hence, the connection that the researcher had with the subjects and site did not defect the outcome of the study. The researcher was the connection between the literature and the participants in making certain that the participant’s voices were heard.

Data Sources

The nature of the study required several data sources. Primary data sources were interviews with three African American teachers and key informants. Other data sources for the study were documents, such as newspapers and yearbooks. This section provided a detailed account of the data sources and an explanation of the role of each source for collective case study.

First of all, Creswell (2003) stated that interviews involve open-ended questions which are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants. The researcher constructed relevant open-ended interview questions directly associated with the overarching question and sub-questions which established boundaries for this qualitative research study. The interview questions were developed to establish rapport, ease transition from one question to another, and to elicit explanations about the lived experiences of the three African American teachers. Glesne (2006) stated that researchers should think of interview questions as tentative and be willing to modify, abandon, add or replace them to obtain clarity and depth in a qualitative research project. Therefore, the researcher utilized follow-up questions for clarifying initial interview data which provided depth in the research and clarity for accurate findings. The researcher of this study developed two sets of interview questions, one for the major participants and the other for the nine key informants. During interviews, the researcher found it necessary to use some follow-up questions, to solicit more specific information. For example, the researcher wanted more specific information about integration of schools and the major participant's experiences, especially the first day in an integrated school, so

the researcher asked for more details about these experiences. The two interview protocols are included for review in the appendices of this study.

The interviews of the African American teachers elicited oral histories, which provided first-hand accounts of events and experiences and primary data, and interviews with key informants yielded observations to provide insight into the careers of the teachers that were unobservable to the researcher. The interviews also offered the opportunity to capture opinions and feelings, as well as factual knowledge of events surrounding the career longevity of the three African American teachers.

After interviews with major participants, data were obtained from key informants who were able to provide background and demographic information through the interview process. These nine informants enhanced the researcher's ability to understand the cultural context of the information gleaned from document analysis. The researcher also asked the key informants to reflect on critical incidents which they had observed in the careers of the teachers or incidents mentioned during the African American teacher's interviews. The reflections of the key informants proved not to contribute substantially to the career experiences of the three African American teachers. The researcher was unable to gain in-depth accounts and narratives from their experiences with the three major participants of the study, perhaps due to the time that had passed since their critical incidences and relationships.

Additionally, the researcher gathered information from documents (newspapers, yearbooks, etc.) for triangulation and validity checking of the information collected from the interviews. The researcher viewed yearbooks from the African American and White schools during the dual and integrated system from 1966 to 1970. The yearbooks from

both schools provided the researcher insight into the type of activities afforded to students, photos of faculty and students, and academic information.

The researcher found it difficult to find yearbooks needed to review for this study from the African American school, Carter County Training School. The main administration office of the African American school was destroyed in a fire in the 1960s; therefore, all essential human resources information was destroyed (██████ County Board of Education, 2009). Consequently, the researcher asked random African American individuals if they attended the Carter County Training School and if so, did they have access to yearbooks from 1966 to 1970. From this random search, the researcher was able to locate the yearbooks. Each book was entitled *The Jesupsonian* with the year of publication.

However, the yearbooks from one White school in the district were readily accessible. The researcher called the public library, and the representative referred the researcher to the current high school for obtainment of NI High School's 1966 – 1970 yearbooks. Fortunately, the yearbooks were housed in the library of high school and were made available to the researcher.

The final data source was newspapers which were used to obtain information about events during the time period from 1966 to 1967 that encompassed integration efforts by the Carter County school system. At the time of the study, *The NI Press-Sentinel* was the local paper. The researcher contacted the newspaper to attain copies of the paper during the research period, but the representative directed the researcher to the public library. The process was a laborious task for the researcher given that the newspapers were only available on microfiche. The researcher reviewed each newspaper

in an effort to find key terms in the title of the articles, such as, *Brown v. Board of Education*, integration, segregation, Negro students, teachers, and school consolidation. Once the researcher discovered the newspaper articles, the articles were printed and organized by date (See Table 7). The use of newspapers provided a wealth of information to illuminate the significance of the experiences of the African American teachers.

Table 7

NI Press-Sentinel Newspaper Articles

Article Titles	Date
New School Regulations Unreasonable	March 24, 1966
De-Segregation plan allows parents choice of schools	March 31, 1966
Temporary Injunction Is Granted Against ██████ School Consolidation	March 31, 1966
Board Sets Hearing on Odum School Consolidation	April 14, 1966
Eighty Negro Students seek School Change	May 26, 1966
School System is Integrated	September 1, 1966
██████ County School Enrollment shows Gain of 244	September 15, 1966
Class Activity at High School be Integrated	November 3, 1966
Schools in the Cities	November 24, 1966
Equality - it's Meaning...	November 24, 1966
Broader Integration Approved by Board	January 5, 1967
Fall De-Segregation Plan for all Grades	January 26, 1967
Broader Student, Faculty Desegregation Required	April 9, 1967

Article Titles	Date
95 █████ Students Elect to attend White Schools	April 13, 1967
Broader Desegregation of School is Predicted for █████ County	June 22, 1967
210 Teachers Direct █████ 5,500 pupils	August 31, 1967

Data Collection

The African American teachers were interviewed individually on several different occasions with primary and follow-up questions to understand the achievements and challenges of the teachers before and during their tenure as school teachers. The key informants were also interviewed individually to understand the African American teacher's lived experiences and the reasons for their longevity. The time and place of the interviews were decided based on the participants' schedules and responsibilities. The researcher utilized electronic recordings for collecting and transcription of essential data collected during the interviews. All electronic recordings were stored in files that only the researcher can access until they are deleted by the year 2011.

The first phase of the study consisted of two electronically recorded interviews with each of the African American teachers. Two of the interviews were conducted at the homes of the African American teachers, while the third was conducted in the office of the researcher. The interviews took approximately two (2) hours with the follow-up interviews. Each teacher was asked a series of twenty-four (24) questions (see Appendix A). The focus of the first interview provided responses to the initial interview protocol while the subsequent interviews provided access to additional avenues of discussion and clarification about their lived experiences in search of how their particular experiences reflect that of a people during a set period in time.

After transcription, the researcher placed a printed copy of the transcribed interview document in each major participant's home mailbox, followed-up with a phone call and proofing instructions. The major participants were given a week to review their transcribed comments and other sections of the project that were based on them. This

gave the African American teachers an opportunity to catch any errors in the material and to express their opinion as to whether the manuscript accurately captured what they were trying to convey. The participants returned the documents and expressed confidence that their transcripts were accurate which improved the quality of the manuscript.

The second phase of the study consisted of locating key informants and conducting interviews with them. Since the study focused on the integration mandates after *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)* which took place in Carter County public schools from 1966 to 1970, the nine key informants for this study were at least 45 years old given that this study was conducted in 2010. The researcher had to ensure that the informants were still alive and physically able to provide information about the experiences of the African American teachers. For example, an informant who was a colleague of one of the main participants was not physically able to interview given that the informant had major health issues. This incident constituted the researcher requesting another name of an informant from one of the African American teachers.

The researcher used the Carter County phone book to obtain the address and phone number of each of the informants. The researcher contacted each informant by phone, supplied the informant with the background of the study, the name of the African American teacher who provided their name as a person knowledgeable about the educational careers of the African American teacher, and asked if the informant were willing to be informants in this study. All of the informants were willing to participate in the study.

The interview consisted of one electronically recorded interview with each of the nine key informants. Five of the interviews were conducted at the homes of the

informants, while the other four were conducted in the office of the researcher. Before interviewing, the researcher reviewed the IRB consent form with the informant and each informant signed the IRB consent form. The IRB consent form was provided in the appendices. Each key informant was asked twelve (12) questions about the experiences of the teachers selected (see Appendix B). The researcher also used responses from the African American teachers in the study to ask probing questions that allowed the informant to reflect on critical incidents which they had observed in the career of the teacher. The interviews took approximately one (1) hour each to complete.

The third phase of the study consisted of the researcher triangulating the different data sources. McMillan (2004) stated triangulation may transpire during an interview where recollections of other participants produce the same descriptions of an event or from documents containing information about historical events. These “documents” may be written or printed, such as yearbooks, dropout rates, memos, letters, newspapers, and books. For this study, yearbooks and newspapers were used to validate data obtained from participant interviews, to assist in the understanding the cultural context of the study, and to assist in the understanding of the cultural context of the study.

Data Analysis

Creswell (2003) describes six steps for data analysis to help the researcher make sense out of the recorded interviews and documents used in the study. Step one is transcribing interviews and arranging all data for review. Step two involves getting a general sense of the data by reading and reviewing to gain an overall impression. Step three describes the coding process. Glesne (2006) defined coding as “a progressive process of sorting and defining those scraps of collected data that are applicable to the

research purpose” (p. 152). Step four is using the coding process to develop a general sense of the people, places, and events of the study. Step five is identifying the narrative that evolves from the description and themes in the coding process. Step six, the final stage, is to make meaning in terms of lessons learned from the interpretation of the narrative. “These lessons could be the researcher’s personal interpretation, couched in the individual understanding that the inquirer brings to the study from her or his own culture, history, and experiences” (Creswell, 2003, pp. 194-195). In this study, the researcher, as observer, interpreted the narrative through the lens of historical culture generated through data collection.

In the first step for this study, the researcher organized the data and transcribed the interviews. In the second step, the researcher read through all of the transcripts and documents to gain a general sense of the culture and lived experiences of the career African American teachers. This was an iterative process, in which the researcher made notes in margins and began to formulate initial thoughts about coding. In step three, the researcher took individual responses from each participant and placed the responses under each interview question. The researcher reviewed the consolidated interview transcripts to identify key events and key reflections. The researcher used a repetitive process, or progressive process as defined by Glesne (2006), to review all transcripts. As suggested by Creswell (2003), the researcher extracted key concepts, or a list of all topics, turning the descriptive phrases into codes. The key topics and concepts were color-coded by respondent (major participant or key informant) using a perspective coding scheme, which allowed the researcher to identify categories. The researcher also created a table to help in identifying categories that led to major themes.

In step four, the researcher consolidated the African American teachers and the key informant perspectives and studied them by similarities and differences to generate categories that were developed into themes from the categories. If the responses were the same, the responses remained under the same code. However, if they differed a new code was given. To illustrate the steps one through four and the coding process, the investigator of this study offered the following example.

For example, in one interview question, “Describe your first day in an integrated school,” the three major participants’ responses were transcribed and then read repeatedly by the researcher (steps one and two). In step three, the interview responses were color-coded by respondent by general perspectives of first day events, people, and experiences. The major topics, or perspective codes that emerged, were “met key officials,” “nothing I remember about first day,” and “nothing out of ordinary” on first day. The researcher visualized the experiences to begin to identify similar and dissimilar events, people, and experiences. Two described the same type of first day, meeting various key stakeholders and preparing for the new classroom in the integrated school, while one simply could not recall her first day. There were no differences, with mostly similarities, resulting in the category of “typical first day of teaching” as a theme for lived experiences of African American teachers during integration. The researcher then identified a narrative in response to the question: “When African American teachers were blended into their new role as teacher in the integrated school, the first day of appointment was rather typical, meeting key stakeholders and preparing to teach.”

In step five, the researcher used the narrative descriptions to identify findings to the research questions. The major objective here was to respond to the research questions

by themes to explain reasons and to detail the lived experiences to account for African American teachers' longevity in the profession. Lastly, in step six, the researcher interpreted the findings to determine lessons learned from the lived experiences of the three African American teachers.

Summary

In summary, the researcher used a qualitative approach and collective case study design in an attempt to further understand three African American teachers' longevity in the profession. By designing an interview protocol to provoke a recollection of African American teachers' challenges and inspirations, the researcher collected data to address the overarching and sub-questions of this research project. The researcher also gathered information from documents referencing integration of public schools and the African American teacher's tenure in the teaching profession to triangulate the interviews and check the validity of the information gathered. The researcher then analyzed the data to develop themes that were used to construct a narrative, following six steps of data analysis. These six steps involved transcribing interviews, arranging all data for review and coding, and using the coding process to develop a general sense of the people, places, and events of the study in order to develop a narrative. Finally, the last step in data analysis is making meaning in terms of lessons learned from the interpretation of the narrative.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

In this chapter, the researcher presented the results of the investigation of the lived experiences of three African American teachers in a southeastern Georgia county. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section reviewed the data analysis process, including the researcher's reflection of the teaching career of the three major participants of the study. The data analysis process, steps one through four, was described and illustrated by example in an accompanying table. In the second section of Chapter IV, findings are presented from data analysis steps four and five (from theme to narrative), in which the researcher related the major themes through a narrative of the lived experiences of the major participants in four chronological narratives. The narratives cover four distinct periods of the African American teachers' lives: 1) Demographics and Early Lives; 2) K-12 and Higher Education Experiences; 3) Professional Experiences; 4) Reflections of their Teaching Careers. These four substantive narratives account for the lived experiences of the three African American teachers during a difficult time in the history of American education. Lastly, data analysis step six is reported by identification of lessons learned.

Finally, in section three of Chapter 4, the researcher provided responses to the research questions of the study. The overarching question to be addressed was to determine how African American teachers explain their longevity in the teaching profession after the 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka*, Kansas Supreme Court decision. This overarching question was made operational through the following sub-questions:

1. How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession?
2. Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, what challenges have African American teachers encountered?
3. How did the African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession?

Overview of Data Analysis

Coding and identifying themes from data sources to compile a narrative was the researcher's objective in this collective case study. The major data were interviews with three African teachers, Robin Barnhart, Sarah Keith, and Louise Grantham. They were retired teachers who had begun their teaching careers prior to integration of schools in the South. Collectively, they achieved 106 years of experience, which spanned from the 1950's through 2005. These three reflected on their long careers in teaching from a unique vantage, having the historical perspective of integration through the lens of an educator. Reading the transcripts of African American teachers' stories, the researcher weaved a chronological narrative illustrating the lived experiences, especially as the experiences revealed the reasons for their longevity.

Following the interviews with the major participants, the researcher also read transcripts of discussions with key informants. These nine were three school administrators who supervised the teachers of the study, three students who had been in their classes, and three other key individuals who were knowledgeable of their experiences as African American teachers. Their observations and recollections were used to support the narratives described in a later section of this chapter. Overall, the nine

key informants held the African American teachers in very high regard. The respect for them seemed to originate from the description of one who stated, “They’re just good-hearted people.” (Administrator)

From yearbooks and newspaper articles, the researcher gleaned a view of past events, including schools prior to and following integration. Photos from the yearbooks displayed a time past with very few African American teachers and students appearing in yearbooks from the White schools of the mid- to latter 1960’s. Yearbooks from the historically African American schools were basically lost, some due to a fire in the late 1960’s and perhaps due to their not being in the local library collection. The Press-Sentinel newspaper provided a timeframe for the integration of schools and the historical movement of students and teachers into the White schools. The researcher was able to sense the pacing of integration in the small school district in rural Georgia.

The researcher used six steps provided by Creswell (2003) for data analysis which involved transcribing interviews, arranging all data for review and coding, and using the coding process to develop a general sense of the people, places, and events of the study in order to develop a narrative. The last step was making meaning in terms of lessons learned from the interpretation of the narrative. The researcher constructed a table as an additional example, which clarified the process used to aggregate the data from multiple data sources.

The table consists of five sections. The perspective codes were generated from transcribed interviews, interview responses from which codes were derived, and the major theme that surfaced from the codes (steps 3 and 4). The continuation of the table

(steps 5 and 6) illustrates the narrative that is a consolidated response to the interview question and finally, the lesson learned which is from the interpretation of the narrative.

Table 8

Coding Example

Perspective Codes	Interview Responses	Major Theme
Ability to educate; Respected; Worked with parents	<p>African American teachers worked closely with parents and basically knew their parents. In the segregated environment, there was a caring attitude and parental support was strong. Parents respected their child's teacher. The segregated setting was great for parents and teacher interaction. In the segregated system, parents really respected, adhered to the teacher's authority and cooperated well with the African American teachers. (SJK-fri, September 29, 2009); African American teachers made it a point to know their parents, attend church in the community, and attend community events. All of which was great for the African American child and the African American teacher. (LJG-coll, September 12, 2009); During my first and second year of teaching my classes were loaded with the so called behavior disordered, slow learners, the economically disadvantaged, or simply mean kid. It was not long before the word was out that these labeled students were not only having fun learning and enjoying the challenges in my class; but their parents were pleased that they were in Ms. Keith's class. By the third year, I noticed that the student cliental was changing. My classes were now being filled with college prep, very few African American students or minorities in my upper level classes, and my course outline changed from mostly basic classes per day to higher level advanced classes per day. Now why was this? The changes occurred because the corner stone populous and social elites of our community heard of the learning and well disciplined atmosphere that was taking place in my class. They wanted their children in my class. That is how I knew that I was proving myself and carrying out the challenge of my elders. (SJK, June 5, 2009)</p>	Parental Support

Coding Example (Cont.)

Major Theme	Narrative	Lesson Learned
Parental Support	African American teachers, in conjunction with parents, prepared students academically to become successful members of society.; The African American teachers described the initial experiences as difficult due to lack of support they received from stakeholders.	The support of parents is crucial to the advancement and longevity of African American teachers.

Voices Never Heard

“Our stories, our personal stories, our family stories, are our real gold. If we’re lucky, as we age, we put our stories in the bank, where they gather interest, in deepening meaning” (Richard Louv, 1993).

Early Life of Career Teachers

By coding key events and experiences from documents and interviews, the researcher was able to identify significant narratives from the early lives of the three, long-time educators to reconstruct a story of their career longevity. The researcher identified similar responses to interview questions to generate major themes that were the essence of their early experiences. As a result of the iterative coding process, the major theme of “separate, but equal” emerged from the data analysis process. From the African American teachers’ growing up in segregated communities, the researcher observed that they lived a life that embodied the Plessy doctrine of “separate, but equal” and constructed the following narrative:

Carter County is a small southeastern county. According to the 2000 U. S. census, Carter County is the home of approximately 26,000 people (76.7 percent white, 20.3 percent African American, and 3.8 percent Hispanic). Three of these people, two of whom were born and reared in this county, were the focus of this study.

[I am a] true Screvenite. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

I am a native of Carter County. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

While the third participant moved to Carter County at an early age.

I was not born here, but from the age of about 4 months, I was raised here. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

The family structure for the participants was mostly traditional two-parent households. The parents of the participants were of limited education, yet they managed a living in Carter County to adequately support their families (participants). As the participants recall:

My mama, Rachel, taught school. She had an 8th grade education. My dad, Clarence, was a farmer. We never knew how high he went in school. Mom taught elementary school in Screven, and dad worked the farm in Screven. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

My dad finished an 8th grade education in the rural town of Appalachicola, Florida. My dad said he hated every minute of school because of the mean teachers who misread his mischievous conduct. My mom was privy to at least two schools in completing her high school education and receiving her diploma. She received schooling in the small town of Council, Georgia, and the large city of Savannah. She even taught school in her rural home town of Council for a brief period. Of course, this was without any college education. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

My mother completed 11th grade and was a restaurant owner. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

Since the women of interest lived in Carter County, this section revealed how living in this county prepared them for the dual system. The community let them know that Whites and African Americans would be separated, would never be equal, and this policy should be accepted as such. The city's newspaper represented the opinions of the majority at the time.

That should not depress anyone who thinks the problem through, for it would be impossible in any society to create conditions in which all enjoyed equal opportunities. People have never been equal and never will be. One of the mistakes in some of our thinking and crusading is the thought that all must be equal. Nothing could be worse. We will never all be equal nor should we attempt to force all to conform to the same pattern or habits. (██████ Sentinel, November 24, 1966)

Even the police helped to enforce separate, but unequal practices.

There are many alleys in NI. If African Americans were caught in one of the alleys alone, they would be beaten unmercifully by the White Police. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

They learned to accept being separate, which was the norm.

We had to schedule our sporting activities around the Whites because there was only one field and we could not go if the Whites had the field booked. We were taught that we were African American by the community because there was a White and an African American side of town. (LJG, April 3, 2010)

Even when African Americans and Whites were allowed to utilize the same facility, they did not interact; African Americans knew to accept traditions developed by White community members.

The only time that Whites and African Americans were together was at the movies. We [African Americans] had to sit on the second floor of the movie theatre when Whites were on the main floor. The quality of the floors was

different. The second floor of the movie theatre was always dirty. We could not go into the restaurants. We had to use the side door. (LJG, April 3, 2010)

African Americans who challenged the systemic norms realized the extent to which they would be punished.

Additionally, if we were caught in the streets without our parents during school hours, we were locked up, and truant officers would fine our parents. (LJG, April 3, 2010)

Nonetheless, some African Americans protested and accepted the consequences.

There was one riot in NI where my mother, brother, grandfather and stepfather protested. My family members were activists. My mother was protesting because an African American man was severely beaten by the White police. She was arrested and when my stepfather and grandfather went to the police station to see about her, they were arrested too. My brother and uncle went to the station to see what they could do and my brother was locked up for coming down there. The police refused to lock up my uncle because he was a pastor of a large Baptist Church. The police were afraid of the church members rioting. However, I do not think our household lived in fear, but households around us lived in fear. (LJG, April 3, 2010)

The participant's parents taught them how to survive in the dual system while stressing the importance of obtaining an education.

My parents taught us how to treat others, not to steal, to be kind and share with others. We learned how to work. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

My mother was and still is a firm believer that education is the key and she made sure that we understood this. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

My mother, stepfather and grandparents were very influential in my life. My mother influenced my life by instilling in me and my siblings the importance of getting an education and by helping us soar for a higher education beyond high school. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

K-12 and Higher Educational Training of Career Teachers

The researcher was able to identify significant narratives from the African American educators' lives from the period of time that they entered school through earning their college degree, basically in the 1950's and 1960's. The researcher identified similar responses to interview questions to generate major themes that were the essence of their K-12 and college experiences. As a result of the iterative coding process, the major themes of "parental support" and "community support" emerged from the data analysis. As demonstrated by the narratives below, the researcher found that community and the African American teachers' parents taught them to be model citizens by complying with the norms of the community and understanding that the way to advance was to obtain an education.

Prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, dual school systems were common across the United States whereby Whites and African Americans attended separate schools. Accordingly, Carter County's school system was no different. African Americans attended Carter County Training School and White students attended NI High School.

Before integration, there were two schools: one African American school and one White school. It was not until the schools were integrated that the school system

changed the name of Carter County Training School to Carter County High School. Many believed that this name change was due to White students not wanting to graduate under the name, Training School. (LJG-stud, August 15, 2009)

All participants in this study stated that they attended Carter County Training School in the dual school system. Two of the participants graduated from Carter County Training School.

I graduated from Carter County Training School. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

I and most of my older family members graduated from Carter County Training School. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

However, the third moved to the White School for her senior year of high school.

I was a product of the dual system until my senior year in high school when mandatory integration took place. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

Inequalities found in the community spilled over into the school systems. The participants supported this fact.

The dual school system was different in that African American schools received the used books from the White school whenever they got new books and many times there were not enough books to use in the classes at the African American school. African American teachers were also paid on a lower salary scale than the White teachers. Before integration, the African American teachers were paid two weeks after White teachers. Even after the schools were integrated, there continued to be a difference in salary of White and African American teachers. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

African American students had to get the books that the White students used the last year. And it was always books that when you open them up, they had writing all in them. They were torn books. (SJK-stud, August 15, 2009)

As African American students, we used second hand textbooks given to the African American schools by the White schools. (LJG-fri, September 14, 2009)

African American teachers did not have the proper materials to teach with as opposed to the White school. (LJG-stud, August 15, 2009)

In the dual school system, the African Americans received the cast-offs from the white schools. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

To compensate, students and parents had to fund certain activities.

Our kids had to get out and sell things to support their extra-curricular activities.

The African American teachers and students were at the bottom of the totem pole. (RLB, September 12, 2009)

Despite the inadequate quality of resources for the African American students, Carter County Training School, in conjunction with parents, prepared students academically to become successful members of society.

African American teachers worked closely with parents and basically knew their parents. In the segregated environment, there was a caring attitude and parental support was strong. Parents respected their child's teacher. The segregated setting was great for parents and teacher interaction. In the segregated system, parents really respected, adhered to the teacher's authority and cooperated well with the African American teachers. (SJK-fri, September 29, 2009)

African American teachers made it a point to know their parents, attend church in the community, and attend community events. All of which was great for the African American child and the African American teacher. (LJG-coll, September 12, 2009)

On a positive side with the dual system, African American teachers were able to relate and identify more with the African American students. (LJG-stud, August 15, 2009)

Another common aspect of the African American school was the academic placement of students.

Academically, African American students were tracked or grouped according to abilities. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

While in elementary school, high school and college, African American students were reminded that they had to be better academically and athletically than Whites to be successful in America.

African American students were not wanted and it was made known to them. We had to be three times better than the White students and still were not considered equal. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

Teachers back in the 50s and 60s appeared to have a different work ethic. The care given to African American students was one that has carried on throughout life. We were made to believe that we could do all things and given opportunities to work toward those various goals. Failure was not acceptable. African American teachers worked together to help each other. (LJG-coll, September 12, 2009)

After completion of high school in the Carter County School System, all three participants continued their pursuit of education by attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) which were like an extension of Carter County Training School.

One thing I recall vividly in both the segregated elementary-high school system and also in the HBCU (historically black college and university) is the constant lecture by our teachers who told us we had to be better than our white counterparts in order to get the job and the respect that whites would get just because of their skin color. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

Two of the participants earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Physical Education while the third person earned a degree in Social Science. Each continued her education and all earned Master's degrees.

My high school basketball coach obtained a Savannah State College scholarship for me. I then earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Physical Education from Savannah State College and Masters Degree from Bloomington University of Indiana. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

I went to Savannah State College and got a Bachelor of Science degree in Social Science and Masters Degree in History Education from Armstrong Atlantic State University and Savannah State Joint Graduate Program. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

After high school, I attended Tennessee State University in Nashville, Tennessee on a track scholarship and earned a degree in Physical Education and Master of Education from Southern University in New Orleans, Louisiana. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

Professional Experiences of Career Teachers

From the collective 106 years experiences of the African American teachers, the researcher identified many events, people, places, and influences on the lives of the three African American teachers. The data were filled with accounts from the years of teaching, and at times, there were discrepancies in data sources. However, from the data reported in this section, the researcher was able to identify two key themes: painful transition and student advocacy.

Robin started teaching physical education in the African American high school in 1955. She enjoyed many years and then was selected to integrate the White school in 1967. Louise started teaching science at the African American high school in 1963, and, she, too, was selected to integrate schools in 1967. Having spent her senior year of high school at the integrated school in 1968, Sarah began teaching social studies in 1974 at the same high school. Primarily, the transition was unpleasant for all, and especially for African Americans because African American students and teachers were relocated to other schools and African American teachers were released from employment; however, the transition was necessary due to the integration mandates following *Brown v. Board of Education*. The stories of the teaching careers began soon after college:

Upon graduation from college, all participants of this study returned to Carter County to pursue a career in the educational field.

After college, I decided that I would place an application for employment in my hometown. There were two positions available for Social Studies teachers at the high school level which is exactly where I wanted to teach. I believe I received one of the positions because I had been an honor student in both high school and

college. I graduated Magna Cum Laude from Savannah State College. I also think I aced the interview. And it probably did not hurt that most adults in my hometown knew me to be a very serious and dedicated person. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

I accepted a scholarship from my basketball coach with the promise that I would have a teaching job upon my return to Carter County. Moreover, it was home, and I felt a sense of loyalty. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

I returned home after college and was offered a job as a teacher and coach at Carter County Training School, the school from which I graduated. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

Two of the participants returned to Carter County to teach at Carter County Training School, while the third participant was still a student there.

As an employee at Carter County Training School, I received a great deal of assistance from the African American community. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

As a student in the segregated schools with predominantly African American teachers, administrators and students, it was much like an extension of home.

This very fact, I believe, positively impacted discipline. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

However, after *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the Carter County School System was presented with integration requirements amid community protests criticizing the necessity of such a process. The school system's dilemma was highlighted by newspaper articles from 1966.

The Carter County Board of Education like many other similar bodies throughout the Deep South finds itself faced with ever new dilemmas imposed by the

changing whims of the federal authorities. Apparently not content with their own edicts already in good faith complied with, and impatient as integration proceeds at a palatable pace, and encourage continuously by supportive rulings of the supreme court of the land, they now order the elimination of dual facilities by 1968 and prompt integration of facilities.

I would not deny that complete integration of our schools is right and must become a reality but I seriously question the propriety in the logic, yes, and the legality of forcing everyone to attend a school which he does not wish to attend. Isn't this the very thing they pretend to be trying to eliminate?

Superintendents and school boards earnestly working to accomplish integration with a minimum of friction and as rapidly as possible experience a sense of overwhelming frustration at the new guidelines lately sent down from Washington and burdened with added costs heaped on by necessary distribution of prepared orders and forms to be sent out to students struggle to keep their heads above the water, recognizing all the while the faculty of protest or defiance and decrying the necessity of being a party to such a procedure.

The superintendent and board of education of Carter County ask that indulgence and understanding of the entire populace in this trying situation as they seek to comply with the law while continuing to serve the needs of all the people and to fulfill the promise of "better education for all Carter Countians."

(██████ Sentinel, March 24, 1966)

Carter County developed a plan to eliminate a previously racially segregated school system. Desegregation was not to be addressed all at once, but rather gradually. They

planned to start with a few grades and increase over time until the county was eventually one united system.

Carter County has a school desegregation plan, which means that “in the coming year” will not be “separate schools for children of different races” enrolled in grades one and two, and grades seven to twelve.

First step in the execution of the desegregation plan will be taken during the month of April.

During the thirty days, parents will choose the school, which they want their children to attend. Forms for this purpose will be distributed to parents. Forms are two types. One type applies to students in grades one and two and in grades seven to twelve. This is called the “choice of school” form.

The stated purpose of the county’s de-segregation plan is “to eliminate from the school system the racial segregation of students and all other forms of discrimination based on race, color, or national origin.” (██████ Sentinel, March 31, 1966)

In Carter County, the integration mandates is what brought both schools together. (SJK-admin, June 29, 2009)

Parents of African American students had to prepare their child for the possible transition to an integrated school.

African American students going from an all African American school where most of the workers in the system understood what African American children would face in our society, where the staff basically tried to prepare us not only education-wise but also street-wise, to a predominantly white system where most

Whites could have cared less; self esteem could really drop in an African American student if the family did not constantly reassure us that we could do anything we put our minds to. (SJK, October 9, 2009)

A few African Americans accepted the invitation of the Carter County School System to integrate the schools.

A preliminary report released Tuesday by the county school board shows that 80 Negro students have expressed desire to enroll in a NI school other than Carter County Training School under the “choice” plan submitted in April for all students in the County.

A record of enrollment of Negro students at Carter County Training School and Screven Elementary School for Negroes last year shows a total of 1,324. The 80 students represent approximately six percent of the total Negro enrollment. (██████ Sentinel, May 26, 1966)

Nevertheless, the school system looked upon the integration process as an impending catastrophe, and many White families subsequently decided to withdraw their children from the public schools.

The impending catastrophe is that the cities are witnessing the mass exodus of whites from the public schools. What concerns the community is that the trend produces segregation all over again and that it also ruins the schools. Too much coercion and force to produce quick and immediate transformations based on idealism often bring about the opposite result from that in mind. Gradual, moderate change, as people and conditions dictate change, brings more permanent results. (██████ Sentinel, November 24, 1966)

After being forced to move to NI High School as a means of integrating the school system, there were changes from the White community. Professionally, I think the attitudinal changes came about as a result of the integration issues and they did not want their school integrated. I do not think that it was necessarily about me. White parents started a private school for their students. (LJG, October 12, 2009)

Moreover, some African American students felt betrayed and believed that their feelings did not matter. Given that the primary instruments of change were African Americans.

The transition to NI High School was unpleasant. We who were forced by Uncle Sam to attend the White School felt betrayed and felt that our feelings just did not really count. For example: What about our sad and defiant feelings in the loss of our Alma Mater? What about how hard some of us had worked to graduate first/valedictorian or second/salutatorian in our class? What about the general pride that we had in our school and all of its curricular? It seemed that nobody cared. We were just told, "You are going to JHS, period." Our voices were not heard. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

African American teachers also felt the backlash during the transitional period.

In Carter County, it was mandatory that you make the transfer. The African American kids were not the only ones to catch it; the African American teachers did too. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

The transition was not a good experience. The attitudes of the White administrators, teachers and students as well, were not receptive at all. From that,

I would definitely say that I was not given any assistance with the transition to the White school. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

You had quite a few students on campus who did not want to be there. It is just that African American students had been forced to come from the schools that they were in. (SJK-admin, June 29, 2009)

Essentially, the African American teachers and students were fearful of losing their identities and positions.

Many of the fears of the school system and African American teachers were realized; given that the African American teachers were considered unqualified or degreed improperly, and many were simply released from employment.

Only a few African American teachers and administrators were transferred to the historically White schools of our county. The rumors were that many of the former African American teachers were deemed not qualified or degreed properly and therefore, simply cut from employment. Others left Carter County to find employment in other counties. I learned in my adulthood that some were employed in Ware, Long, Liberty, and Fulton counties. These counties I know for sure absorbed some of our staff because I have met and talked with a few since I graduated from college and became a teacher. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

If African American teachers did not transfer to NI High School, they moved to secure jobs, or they did not have a job. (SJK-fri, September 29, 2009)

Some African American teachers went into other professions or transferred to other counties or states to teach. (LJG-stud, August 15, 2009)

Additionally, African American teachers who transitioned to NI High School were hand selected and gradually placed into the integrated school.

In 1967, two African American teachers [participants of this study] were selected to transfer to NI High School, and in 1972, the school officials moved all African American students into the integrated system. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

The total number of Negro teachers involved in the integration plan includes two Negro teachers [participants of this study] on full-time at Carter County High.

(██████ Sentinel, June 22, 1967)

Louise Grantham was the first African American moved to the White school. She was selected because of her families' ties to the community. Her first few years were rocky because some White community/parents did not want their schools integrated. (LJG-fri, September 14, 2009)

When Robin Barnhart first came over, they did not bring her, but two periods a day. They did not bring her all day. She would teach PE and go back. After about two years of that Robin was brought over all day. The superintendent of Carter County Schools was able to see the people he needed and needed to use. He had the wisdom of a Christian man and the education needed to do the job, and the innate ability to use the right people at the right time. He put it together so that Carter County came through it real, real good. I do not remember any severe problems in this County during the transition. (RLB-admin, June 3, 2009)

However, the integration progress of the Carter County school system moved forward at a leisurely pace. Because of the slow pace, the assistant commissioner for the Equal

Educational Opportunities Program sent a correspondence to Carter County requesting broader desegregation of schools.

The communication bearing the signature of the acting assistant commissioner for the Equal Educational Opportunities Program claims that “further action would appear to be necessary in faculty and student desegregation.” The date for any action to be taken by the Washington office was not set, but the communication reveals that “a review” of the Carter County school integration procedure will be undertaken sometime during the next school year. A possibility that examination may reveal “lack of adequate action” on the part of the Carter County school board is assumed in the Washington letter, and the superintendent is advised to discuss with the board steps that may be taken to eliminate “the dual system” in the county (■■■■ Sentinel, June 22, 1967).

According to the NI Sentinel, the integration went smoothly.

The Carter County System was considered by many as “fully integrated,” with the opening of school on Monday of this week. The total integration in the NI schools was set at above 80 students. Forty-five (45) of the Negro students enrolled at NI High School, with several of the Negro students candidates for positions on the Yellow Jacket football team. Integration of the school system apparently was being conducted without incident. (■■■■ Sentinel, September 1, 1966)

Despite reports of a smooth transition, African American teachers viewed the process from a far different perspective. When the African American teachers were blended into their new role as teacher in the integrated school, the first day of appointment was rather

typical, meeting key stakeholders and preparing to teach. However, they described the initial experience as difficult due to lack of support they received from stakeholders.

During the era when Federal Mandates required schools to integrate, I was forced to move to NI High School as a means of integrating the Carter County School System. We had our own classroom, but we were no longer head coaches. We had to be assistants to the White coaches. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

During my first year at NI High School, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated. On my board was written, "Your nigger daddy is dead." My parents had to come get me from school for a fear of violence. A conference was held between my parents and the school officials because we [the African American teachers] did not want to return to the White school. (LJG, November 18, 2009)

After the transition to NI High School, African American teachers had to constantly prove that they were equally as good as the White teacher. Of course they were met with biased situations. There were White parents who did not want their child in an African American teacher's classroom. African American teachers were given the classes that the White teachers did not want to teach. They were given outdated equipment, little supplies and were expected to do an immaculate job. The biggest issue was always having to prove themselves on a daily basis that they were equally qualified to teach and master classroom requirements. (SJK-fri, September 29, 2009)

After my interview with the Superintendent and High School Principal where I met the Head of the Social Studies Department who gave me my teaching assignments, the rest was left up to me. During my first and second year of

teaching my classes were loaded with the so called behavior disordered, slow learners, the economically disadvantaged, or simply mean kid. It was not long before the word was out that these labeled students were not only having fun learning and enjoying the challenges in my class; but their parents were pleased that they were in Ms. Keith's class. The Assistant Principals did not know what to do when they never received discipline referrals from me on the same kid who could not stay out of the office in another teacher's class. By the third year, I noticed that the student cliental was changing: My classes were now being filled with college prep, very few African American students or minorities in my upper level classes, and my course outline changed from mostly basic classes per day to higher level advanced classes per day. Now why was this? The changes occurred because the corner stone populous and social elites of our community heard of the learning and well disciplined atmosphere that was taking place in my class. They wanted their children in my class and the counselors made it happen. That is how I knew that I was proving myself and carrying out the challenge of my elders. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

Reflections of Career Teachers

Essentially, each of the three African American teachers remained in the teaching profession for over thirty years to impact the lives of students. The teachers did not receive very many accolades from the school system's administration; however, the teachers motivated students to be great athletes who received many championship sporting awards and motivated students to academically believe in themselves. The major theme that emerged as they reflected on their longevity was "personal rewards."

The three African American teachers who participated in this study worked for more than thirty years in the educational profession. Two of the three participants taught Physical Education.

I worked thirty-three years in Carter County at three different schools teaching Science and Health/P.E. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

Before retiring, I taught 31 years at one high school in U.S. History, Economics, and Civics (Basic, College Prep, and Gifted levels) (SJK, June 5, 2009)

I was employed by the Carter County School District for six years at 2 different schools teaching Health and Physical Education/General Science, but taught a total of 42 years before retirement. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

The participants stated that they developed their educational philosophies from the achievements and challenges that they experienced in the dual and integrated school systems.

I always knew my philosophy of teaching: Respect, expect, love and challenge every student; provide a safe and nurturing environment; and students will grow into well rounded perennial students. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

My educational philosophy is to make learning an interesting experience. If it is interesting, students will want to learn more. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

My educational philosophy is that love and hope will save those that are in the most need and that the Lord does raise up some of us to be forerunners for the good of all. If the Lord has commanded it, then it shall be. I have loved and taught by faith. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

Moreover, the participants declared that they remained in the teaching profession to impact students and not colleagues.

I loved teaching, nurturing, and challenging my students to go beyond the norm. A greater expectation was not just a phrase with me. I expected and pushed my students to reach beyond what their greatest nay-sayers ever thought possible and this included my lowest level students. It was great to see the majority of my students respond in-kind to my expectations for them. I knew that most students just needed someone to really believe in them. I did, it worked, and I stayed; enjoying my teaching career tremendously. And although I was pressed many times during my teaching career about going into administration, I simply had no desire to do so. I believe I was born to be a teacher and that is what I enjoyed, that one on one with the students. I could not see giving that up for neither titles nor money. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

I am a people person. I treat people the way I want to be treated. I was fair to my students. I loved what I was doing. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

Believing that I was able to reach and impact the lives of hundreds of students contributed to my longevity in the teaching profession. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

During the participant's tenure in the educational field, some of their colleagues, friends, and administrators offered encouragement to the African American teachers and stressed the importance of their personality and presence as role models for the students in the integrated school.

My role was encouraging the African American teachers and letting them know they are needed role models. They inspire our young people. They incite the need to help young people to want to go to college to be a teacher to increase our presence in the school setting. I thank and appreciate those who paved the way in education because these African American teachers endured many hardships, but they survived. So hopefully by using them as role models, our youth will select the teaching profession as a career to enhance African American teaching visibility. (SJK-fri, September 29, 2009)

I encouraged her to remain in the profession as a role model for other African American children. (LJG-fri, September 14, 2009)

They also received a few accolades while in the teaching profession. One of the participants received Teacher of the Year and the same year was Teacher of the County.

I received Teacher of the Year at my high school, and then Teacher of the Year for our county in that same year. Not to be egotistical, but I probably should have received this recognition even during my early years as a young teacher because I came into my job with the attitude that I would be nothing less than the best teacher in our county. This attitude was from the lecture from both parents and teachers in an all African American community and school. We had to be better than the rest. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

My personal rewards were further enhanced by parents and especially students who took the time to express how much their children were enjoying my class, and how the topics and activities in our daily class sessions were often the center

of discussion during their family time at home. My students related to me how much they were enjoying and learning Social Studies for the first time. More than that, many students were proving it by making good grades and taking me up on my challenges to learn more about the subjects. A chest full of personal rewards also encompassed seeing my students eager to go on with our class even when the school bell rang for class change. Can you imagine how much joy it brought to watch my students rush up the hallway to their next class still debating or discussing something that we were focused on in class? That is a chest full of personal rewards. I really didn't need the Principal or other administrators to validate a job well done. (SJK, June 5, 2009)

The other two participants received awards for extracurricular activities.

While working in Carter County, I started a creative dance group that won several state awards. I also started a group for African American females that was known as the Marching 100 Majorettes. This group participated in the parades. I was assistant coach for the girl's basketball team and we had several state championship teams. I also served as head coach for girls' track, and the team was successful for four years as state champions in the class B division. (LJG, June 19, 2009)

I coached state, regional and district championship basketball teams. (RLB, June 8, 2009)

After retirement, the three African American participants of this study were well-known in Carter County.

The school system named an elementary school in honor of Robin Barnhart and she still resided in the county at the time of the study.

Sarah Keith was an elected Board of Education member. As a board member, she was an advocate for African American students, educators, and community members.

At the time of the study, Louise Grantham was a substitute teacher in the school system and a civil rights advocate.

Essentially, each of the three African American teachers attributed their longevity in education to 1) their education; 2) support from the community; 3) their recognition of unequal conditions and individual zeal to eradicate inequity; 4) intrinsic recognition; 5) prove that they were high quality teachers, and 6) their sense of purpose to educate and protect African American children.

Lessons Learned from the Past

In step six, the researcher identified several lessons learned from the narratives and documents reviewed and analyzed during this study. The voices of the three African American teachers provided insight into lessons learned, which were:

1) Acquire Parental and Community Support

Parental support was crucial to the longevity, the advancement and career of the African American teacher. The African American teachers relied heavily on the African American community for extrinsic support.

2) Advocate for Children

In this study, African American teachers felt it was their responsibility to protect and guide the African American students.

3) Create Personal Rewards

According to the findings, intrinsic rewards extended the African American teachers' longevity because they looked inwardly for accolades about their accomplishments. These lessons were discussed in Chapter 5.

Responses to Research Questions

How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession? Essentially, the influences that African American teachers describe as contributors to their longevity were: 1) a superior education which enabled them to compete against anyone; 2) the African American community of support; 3) fulfillment of a promise to elders; and, 4) individualized zeal to eradicate inequity. Although their careers spanned difficult days of school integration in the South, these women experienced strong community support, which was a major influence on their capacity to remain in the classroom. However, their self-efficacy and resilience account for their longevity as well. Lastly, these women felt compelled to honor the legacy of their elders, including parents and African American community. Therefore, it was the African American teachers' responsibility to do whatever necessary to be successful.

Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, what challenges have African American teachers encountered? Primarily, the major challenges that these three African American teachers experienced as a result of teaching prior to and during integration of schools were: 1) The voices of African Americans were not heard during the transition to integrated schools. Students and teachers lost friends and colleagues and traditions historically associated with their schools, such as mottos, academic recognition, and general pride in their schools. 2) African American teachers did not experience colleague

or administrative support in the integrated school. Administrators assigned them low level classes, until they proved themselves worthy of teaching high level classes.

3) African American teachers experienced indignities that were hurtful. To be able to face classes after reading “your n...daddy is dead” on the chalkboard following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. was very difficult and an experience never forgotten. Some White parents were biased against them and did not want their children in their classrooms. They were given outdated equipment, and they felt they always had to prove themselves.

How did African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? In essence, the African American teachers surmounted their challenges with the support and encouragement of the community and their parents. The African American teachers were taught to accept the norms of inequality in a dual system. The teachers were also expected to excel academically as a means to overcome all odds. However, their strong belief in themselves and self-determination provided the strength to persevere through the challenges.

Summary of Major Findings

Given the shortage of African American teachers in the teaching profession, it was imperative to learn how and why these three African American teachers were successful in overcoming the unanticipated consequences of *Brown v. Board of Education* and remained in the profession for over 30 years. In this chapter, the researcher documented the journey of three African American teachers from childhood to womanhood to understand their career longevity. Elaborating on the major themes of the study, the researcher found that:

- Major theme: Separate, but Equal; Finding: The African American teachers were taught to be model citizens by complying with the norms of the segregated community and modeling the way to advance was through education. Furthermore, African American schools academically prepared the African American students to prevail and succeed in society despite any adversity.
- Major theme: Parental and Community Support; Finding: The African American teachers felt it necessary to connect with the community and parents of their students.
- Major theme: Painful transition and student advocacy; Finding: Even though, the transition was necessary, it was unpleasant for all, especially for African American students and teachers. However, the African American teachers felt the need to nurture and protect African American students in the integrated school system.
- Major theme: Personal rewards; Finding: The African American teachers exemplified self-efficacy, given that they believed that they had the skills and the ability to teach all students as a result of their formal training in Traditional African American schools and Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and their self-determination allowed them to remain in the teaching profession to impact student lives.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

In Chapter V, the researcher of this study provides a summary of the study, discussion of major findings, lessons learned from the past, as well as, implications of the study. One of the compelling reasons for the study was to understand career longevity that might provide insight into the reasons for the downturn in the number of African American teachers. Some have referred to African American teachers and principals as endangered species, and this chapter ends by presenting recommendations to address the current and future recruitment and retention practices for African American teachers to improve longevity.

Summary of Study

Brown v. Board of Education was considered a monumental educational policy of 1954 given that the Supreme Court ruled that longstanding racially segregated public schools were unconstitutional. Considering the court system left local school boards with the power to implement its ruling of desegregating schools, the decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* triggered quite a few unanticipated consequences such as:

- The loss of teaching and administrative jobs by African Americans through dismissals, demotions, and displacement;
- The loss of racial models, heroes, and authority figures for African American children;
- The loss of cherished school symbols, colors, emblems, and names of schools by African American children when their schools were closed and they were shifted to white schools;

- Disproportionate numbers of African American students suspended, expelled, or pushed out of school;
- Exposure of African American children to hostile attitudes and behavior of White teachers and parents;
- Victimization by misclassification in special education classes and track systems;
- Victimization by unfair discipline practices and arbitrary school rules and regulations;

However, the historical context began in reference to the Supreme Court ruling that race could no longer be a factor in the assignment of children to public schools. As a result, faculty and students of African American schools had to integrate into White Schools. A major effect of the integration process resulted in a massive loss of teaching and administrative jobs of African Americans, which has altered the demographic makeup of public schools even today. The process greatly decreased the number of African American teachers educating African American students while the number of African American students remained the same and the presence of African American teachers in the classroom is critical to the success of the education of all students.

Despite the national, state, and local changes in the public schools' certified staff demographics, some African Americans teachers have remained in the profession for years. The purpose of this study was to examine the local African American teacher shortage through the life experiences of three African American teachers who remained in the Carter County School System although most of their African American colleagues could not. The overarching question was to determine how African American teachers

explain their longevity in the teaching profession after the 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka*, Kansas Supreme Court decision and three subsequent questions:

1. How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession?
2. Since *Brown v. Board of Education*, what challenges have these three African American teachers encountered?
3. How did African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession?

Insight may prove valuable in addressing needs of teachers; especially a faculty reflects the racial composition of the school's student population.

Discussion of Major Findings

The major themes of this study were derived from the analysis of the data from several interview discussions and documents related to the study. From this analysis, major findings emerged. This section contained the discussion of major findings reported in relation to prior literature.

Separate, but Equal

In the formative years of the African American teachers' lives, they lived in a "separate, but equal" world. They were taught to be model citizens by complying with the norms of their segregated communities and that education was critical to their success which signifies respect for the teaching profession. Therefore, the researcher constructed the following discussion in relation to the major findings of the study:

Separate and unequal schools. In 1898, the Supreme Court in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* affirmed the constitutionality of separating the races on the condition that

both races must possess equal access and facilities (Wishon & Geringer, 2004). Moreover, White social and economic policies were created to maintain a subordinate and dependent laboring African American class that resulted in a system of separate and unequal schools for African Americans, which placed African American students and teachers at a distinct disadvantage due to inadequate funding, facilities and support (Salvatore, 2000). The findings support the literature. The participants stated that the only time that Whites and African Americans were together was at the movies. African Americans had to sit on the second floor of the movie theatre when Whites were on the main floor. The quality of the floors was different because the African American section was always dirty. Moreover, African Americans could not use the front door of restaurants, they had to use the back or side door. The three African American teachers continued their mission to support African American students by making themselves indispensable to White parents by outperforming their white colleagues to the point that White parents demanded that the African American teachers taught their children.

Respect of African American teachers. Respect is defined as esteem for or a sense of the worth or excellence of a person and is an intrinsic attribute that the participants desired from parents, students and administration. Before integration, African American teachers were highly respected leaders within their communities (King, 1993; Spring, 1994). Additionally, African American teachers performed an important role in the education of African Americans and prepared future leaders of the African American community by teaching them the social, economic, and political skills needed to be successful in mainstream society (Anderson, 1988; Siddle-Walker, 1996; Shujaa, 1996). However, as a result of *Brown v. BOE*, African American schools closed

and school names, mascots, mottos, and traditions were sacrificed, while the students were transferred to White schools (Cecelski, 1994). The literature is consistent with the findings of Chapter IV in that the African American teachers made it a point to know their parents by attending church and community events. All of which was great for the African American child and the African American teacher could earn the respect of the African American community. In both cases, during the transition to the White schools, the African American teachers' greatest fears were also realized: the loss of their identities as role models for the community, respect, and positions. However, their roles changed from being nurturers of African American students to both nurturers and protectors of African American students. In essence, the African American teachers felt it was their responsibility to ensure the success of African American students in the integrated school system.

Post secondary education. Numerous African American students attended historically African American colleges, which trained most African American teachers. As well, more than 50 percent of the nation's African American public school teachers earned degrees at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) (Bowen & Bok, 2000). The literature is in agreement with the findings in that all of the African American teachers in this study attended HBCUs to obtain degrees in the field of education. They attended Savannah State College (2) and Tennessee State University (1).

The notable findings that were not discussed in the literature was the fact that the participants believed that Traditional African American Schools academically prepared the African American students for future success despite adversity given that they (participants of the study) were successful citizens.

In conclusion, the African American teachers believed that the segregated school systems did a better job of preparing African American students for the future because it taught students how to survive and overcome some of the barriers caused by “separate, but equal” conditions. Also, respect was granted to the African American teachers by students, parents, the community because they knew the teachers were preparing students to be future leaders by teaching them the social, economic, and political skills needed to be successful in society.

Parental and Community Support

African Americans encountered difficulties after the integration mandates post *Brown v. Board of Education*. Therefore, the African American teachers relied heavily on the community and their parents for support given that they encountered challenges as a result of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The researcher constructed the following discussion in relation to the major findings of the study:

Brown victims. The literature and the findings confirm that the African American educational community became one of the first victims of the unintended consequences of *Brown v. the Board of Education*. Desegregation immobilized African American teachers:

Desegregation mandates in many school districts visibly changed the racial composition of the teaching staff while the composition of the student body remained unaltered (Irvine, 1988, p. 417).

Others agree that one of the more devastating consequences of the *Brown* decision was the en masse termination of many African American teachers (Bell, 1983; Irvine & Irvine, 1983; Philipson, 1999; Ethridge, 1979). Various other researchers, (Cecelski,

1994; Bell, 1983; Irvine, 1983; Hudson & Holmes, 1994) found that between 1954 and 1989, approximately 91,000 African American teachers and principals were dismissed from their positions in White America's direct or indirect response to the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. By the time federal measures were initiated in the 1960s and 1970s to prevent further dismissal and the unbalancing of educational staffing in school systems, thousands of African American faculty and staff had been dismissed (Cole, 1986). However, the participants of this study survived the transition and were hand selected to transfer to the White school. The African American teachers were selected by their backgrounds, and school officials meet with their parents before they began work.

School funds. The literature revealed that African American southerners paid taxes, which supported the White schools, and then found it necessary to subsidize funding for African American schools using their personal funds (Anderson, 1988; Spring, 2001; Woodson, 1919). School districts maintained separate salary schedules—one for White teachers and another for African American teachers. Officials explained the salary disparity using the economic law of supply and demand based upon the contention that since there were fewer African American students, the need for highly qualified African American teachers was significantly lower than the demand for White teachers (Torres et al., 2004). This again is consistent with the findings. According to the African American teachers, students had to hold fundraisers to support athletic activities and parents also had to contribute to support the school. The teachers concurred with the literature on the fact that there were two different pay scales for African American and White teachers and African American families subsidized their

education. Even when the systems were integrated, the salaries of White and African American teachers remained unequal.

Painful Transition and Student Advocacy

During the professional years the African American teachers, they were encountered with a painful transition to have to integrate the White school. Through it all, they developed relations with key figures to ease the transition and nurtured and protected the interests of all students. Therefore, the researcher constructed the following discussion in relation to account for the major findings:

Integration attempt. Southern states and local governments engaged in massive resistance to segregation and in some instances, a decade or more was required for some state governments to act on the Brown decision. Additionally, Darling-Hammond's study proposed that inequalities continue to be created by sprinklings of charter schools and voucher programs created to provide additional options for more affluent White students. However, Orfield and Lee (2004) recalled that Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke of the previous Supreme Court Civil Rights cases and the Brown decision as "simple, eloquent and unequivocal" steps to end segregation and a "joyous daybreak to end the long night of enforced segregation." The researchers also noted that during a national address, King called for the government to give African Americans the political power to enforce their newly recognized rights. For King, desegregation was not only a social goal but a profoundly moral and spiritual mission (Orfield & Lee, 2004). The findings of this study support the current literature. The Carter County School system developed a plan to desegregate schools; however, they were so slow to act that Washington sent a letter that restated the task of integration of schools. Furthermore, some parents of White

students in Carter County insisted on having separate schools; therefore, they developed private schools for the elite White students. Presumably the students of Carter County did not take kindly to Martin Luther King's stance on integration of schools, and one participant of this study discovered a message on her chalkboard. At the beginning of her first year while teaching in the White school which was immediately after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the message on her board read, "Your nigger daddy is dead." This finding shocked and scared the African American teacher so much that she was escorted from work by her mother who then met with administration before allowing her daughter to return to the White school.

In conclusion, the court system left the local school boards with the charge to integrate public schools. The school system developed a plan that allowed for a smooth transition, yet, it was still unpleasant for African American students and teachers.

Fostering productive relations. Bobek (2002) also contended that by fostering productive relations with fellow teachers who understood the tribulations of educating students, new teachers could enhance their resiliency. To retain these quality teachers, many school districts required or strongly encouraged mentoring programs through which teachers provided support for new teachers during the first few years of their career. Moreover, the absence of effective recruitment programs was a contributing factor to the current shortage of African American teachers. In Kennedy's (2006) article, she contended that improving hiring practices and attending to equitable teacher qualifications are crucial to increasing the number of African American teachers. In the past, hiring committees of schools districts relied on interviews to assess the personal qualities of their candidates and rendered their final teacher selections from the interview

session. This was due to the belief that novice teachers were twice as likely to leave teaching after three years if they have not participated in some type of induction program. My findings are inconsistent with the literature because the African American teachers stated that they did not have mentors or the availability of an induction program, yet were expected to be successful teachers in the integrated school system. As a result, they relied heavily on members of the African American community to give them the needed moral support and words of encouragement to improve their chances of longevity in the classroom.

Continuous nurturing. The findings are consistent with the literature given that the African American teachers felt the need to continue to nurture and protect African American students in the integrated school system. The literature suggested that White teachers' negative images of African American males interfered with their perceptions of their teaching abilities; in essence, the negative portrayals of African American males in the media became the realities as many White teachers develop racist ideas about African Americans (Hopkins, 1997; Lewis, 2003; Gay, 1990). In order to protect African American students, Walker (2001) noted that African American teachers are open to students, encouraged students to perform at their potential and tended to empathize with student problems. The actions of the three African American teachers in this study supported the findings in the literature. They nurtured and protected African American students by providing culturally relevant activities to the schools like dance teams and majorette lines that performed in state competitions. The African American teachers also remained as assistant coaches and encouraged African American students to participate in sporting activities.

Summary of Discussions

In summation of the previous discussions, the African American teachers had a strong support system that included their parents, the church, and the community who instilled in them the value of an education and to work twice as hard as colleagues to earn respect. Throughout life, the African American teachers were confronted with several challenges, but overcame them by using their intrinsic and extrinsic attributes. Additionally, the participants declared that they remained in the teaching profession to impact students which was, in essence, a “personal reward.” Through it all, each of the three African American teachers remained in the teaching profession for over thirty years to impact the lives of students.

Lessons Learned from the Past

This section provided an explanation of “lessons learned from the past” derived from Creswell’s (2003) sixth step of data analysis which was developed from the African American teachers’ narratives in Chapter IV. Some of these lessons may be applicable to African American teachers today. The “lessons learned” were introduced in chapter IV, but are thoroughly explained in this section.

Acquire Parental and Community Support

According to the findings, African American teachers had to be twice as good as their counterparts in order to receive somewhat equal treatment. It was not until White parents and administration discovered that African American teachers had the ability to educate students that longevity was secure. Therefore, African American teachers must continue to work hard in order to advance academically and administratively.

Additionally, parental support was crucial to the longevity, the advancement and career of the African American teacher. African American teachers in this study worked closely with parents, and parents respected, adhered to the teacher's authority, and cooperated with the African American teachers. Hence, it is essential that African American teachers establish positive professional relationships with all parents to gain respect and protection of their jobs.

Finally, the African American teachers relied heavily on the African American community for extrinsic support. This support later came from White parents after the African American teachers proved that they were highly qualified. Therefore, it is suggested that African American teachers maintain their connection to the community. If they are in a new area, African American teachers must establish a rapport with the community.

Advocate for Students

In this study, African American teachers felt it was their responsibility to protect and guide the African American students. They had to be role models and the voice for the African American students in regards to starting programs that recognized their heritage. Many African American teachers today still feel that same responsibility. However, the African American teachers must pick their battles carefully to maintain a teaching position. As in the findings, the activists learned that there were limits to their advocacy.

Additionally, the teachers in the study established themselves in the integrated schools as professionals, and then they were able to implement programs to address the cultural needs of African American students. Hence, African American teachers must

first establish their place in the teaching profession. This security would allow them to provide support for students by establishing extracurricular activities that are culturally relevant to students.

Create Personal Rewards

According to the findings, intrinsic rewards extended the African American teachers' longevity because they had to look inwardly for accolades about their accomplishments. Therefore, African American teachers cannot rely totally on others for recognition of accomplishments in the classroom or workplace. They should discover ways to provide personal rewards or their own "chest full of personal rewards."

Hence, African American teachers should assume that entering the teaching profession may be more difficult for them than for their White colleagues. African American teachers will encounter the same issues that novice teachers acquire. Furthermore, they should expect these issues to be exacerbated due to their race and anticipate a higher level of expectations from the community.

Implications

Since the United States has been termed a "melting pot" of all people of all races, it stands to reason that all races of classroom teachers are needed to appropriately educate students to be productive citizens of this multicultural society. Therefore, this study was necessary because it provided school administrators insight into experiences of African American teachers.

This study granted educators and non-educators an opportunity to gain a better understanding and appreciation of the achievements and challenges of African American teachers, as well as reflect on the current recruitment, hiring, and retention practices to

facilitate necessary improvements where needed. As a result of this study, school systems should be able to attain a better retention rate among African American teachers during challenging times by understanding experiences.

Finally, the results from this research should enable stakeholders to realize that the effort to educate and create productive citizens of society is a responsibility for all to share. Administrators may use the information within to formulate strategies that focus upon African American teacher retention and not necessarily teacher acquisition. Time, effort, energy, and money may be transferred to factors that assist in retaining current African American teachers while streamlining procedures that are used to attract new African American teachers. Therefore, the following practices, if adopted by school leaders may support career longevity of African American teachers:

1. Ensure that all teachers receive fair treatment in the disbursement of students in classes, in the quality of teaching resources, and the quality of professional development opportunities.
2. Assist in the development of relationships between the school, community, and parents by holding events that require parent and teacher attendance.
3. Implement programs to celebrate teacher successes.
4. Implement programs which highlight different cultural aspects of students' lives to ensure that every ethnicity is respected by all students.
5. Pair new teachers with experienced teachers who could offer support to African American teachers.
6. Develop recruiting strategies to include visitation of HBCUs job fairs.

Recommendations

1. More studies on African American teacher longevity should be conducted providing valued educators a voice from which future generations may learn.
2. Additional studies are needed on personal rewards and professional motivation to persevere in the field of education.

Dissemination

The researcher will communicate the findings of this research project with public libraries and professional development coordinators for teacher, administrator, and district use for professional development opportunities with the assumption that the results will be used to improve hiring, recruitment, and retention of African American teachers.

Concluding Thoughts

Based on the findings and insights of the implications and recommendations identified in this study, the researcher avails the following concluding thoughts for participants and others:

The African American teacher shortage is a concern at three different levels: national, state and local. However, several researchers contended that the African American teacher is a critical figure in a web of caring adults who place the needs of children at the center of the school's mission. They also noted that African American teachers are open to students, encourages students to perform at their potential and tend to empathize with student problems. In view of these facts, it is imperative that more research is done to augment the current body of literature on the subjects of recruitment

and retention of African American teachers as to assist administrators in balancing teacher race, culture, and ethnic representation within school systems.

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN TEACHERS

Title of Dissertation: CHAPTERS NEVER WRITTEN, VOICES NEVER HEARD:
UNDERSTANDING REASONS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN TEACHERS'
LONGEVITY

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date: _____ Participant Number: _____

1. What educational position(s) did you hold?
2. How long were you in this position?
3. What degrees do you hold? From what colleges/universities?
4. How many years were you employed by this school system? At how many schools?
5. What content area?
6. Tell me how you came to work in this school system. Why did you remain in the area?
7. How was the dual school system like [different from] the integrated school system?
8. Did you transfer to the "White" school during desegregation?
 - a. How was the transition?
 - b. What happened to the teachers that did not transfer to the "White" school?
9. What experiences do you feel contributed to your longevity in the teaching profession?
10. Describe your first day in the integrated school.
11. Tell me about your experiences in faculty meetings.
12. What were some of your achievements (personal and professional) while working in the county?
13. How did the induction program impact your longevity?
14. Are you a native of the County?
15. Tell me about your parents:
 - a. Highest level of education
 - b. Job(s) Held
 - c. Influences on your life

16. What is your educational philosophy?
17. Tell me the challenges (personal and professional) you faced while working in the county.
18. Explain some of the challenges you feel African American students faced.
19. What were your concerns as an African American teacher working within a structure where you were considered the minority?
20. Name as many external conditions or people that enabled you to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession.
21. Did you have a mentor? Who? How was the experience?
22. How did the teacher induction program impact your longevity?
23. How did your school administrator impact your longevity?
24. What community leader(s) enabled you to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? How?
25. What movements/policies/laws enabled you to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? How?
26. Based on your educational experiences, what do you feel may improve current and/or future recruitment, hiring, and retention practices?

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Title of Dissertation: CHAPTERS NEVER WRITTEN, VOICES NEVER HEARD:
UNDERSTANDING REASONS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN TEACHERS'
LONGEVITY

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date: _____ Participant Number: _____

1. In what capacity did you know the teacher?
2. What year? How long have you known the teacher?
3. Tell me how you came to know this teacher.
4. How would you describe the working relationship that you noticed among different races of teachers?
5. What internal qualities (positive or negative) might have attributed to this teacher's longevity?
6. Tell me the challenges the African American teacher faced while working in the county.
7. Explain some of the challenges African American students faced.
8. How was the dual school system like [different from] the integrated school system?
 - a. How was the transition from segregated to integrated schools?
 - b. What happened to the teachers that did not transfer to the "White" school?
9. Tell me when and what challenge(s) you feel the teacher encountered.
10. What community leader(s) might have enabled the teacher to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? How?
11. What movements/policies/laws enabled the teacher to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? How?
12. What role do you feel you played in helping the teacher stay in the teaching profession?

APPENDIX C
RESEARCH QUESTION MATRIX

Interview Questions		
Research Questions	Teacher	Key Informants
Demographics	<p>What educational position did you hold?</p> <p>How long were you in this position?</p> <p>What degrees do you hold? From what colleges/universities?</p> <p>How many years were you employed by this school system? At how many schools?</p> <p>What content area?</p>	<p>In what capacity did you know the teacher?</p> <p>What year? How long have you known the teacher?</p>
How do African American teachers explain their longevity in the teaching profession?	<p>Tell me how you came to work in this school system. Why did you remain in the area?</p> <p>What experiences contributed to your longevity in the teaching profession?</p> <p>What were some of your achievements while working in the county?</p> <p>How was the dual system like [different from] the integrated school system?</p> <p>Did you transfer to the "White" school during desegregation? (a) How was the transition? (b) What happened to the teachers that did not transfer to the "White" school?</p> <p>Describe your first day in the integrated school. Tell me about your experiences in faculty meetings.</p>	<p>Tell me how you came to know this teacher.</p> <p>How would you describe the working relationship among different races of teachers?</p> <p>How was the dual system like [different from] the integrated school system?</p> <p>How was the transition from segregated to integrated schools? What happened to the teachers that did not transfer to the "White" school?</p>

Research Questions	Teacher	Key Informants
<p>How do African American teachers account for their longevity in the teaching profession?</p>	<p>Are you a native of the County?</p> <p>Tell me about your parents: a. Highest level of education b. Job(s) Held c. Influence on your life</p> <p>What experiences do you feel contributed to your longevity in the teaching profession?</p> <p>What is your educational philosophy?</p>	<p>What internal attributes (positive or negative) contributed to this teacher's longevity?</p>
<p>Since Brown v. BOE, what challenges have African American teachers encountered?</p>	<p>Tell me the challenges you faced while working in the county.</p> <p>Explain some of the challenges African American students faced.</p> <p>Based on your educational experiences, what do you feel may improve current and/or future recruitment, hiring, and retention practices?</p>	<p>Tell me the challenges the African American teacher faced while working in the county.</p> <p>Explain some of the challenges African American students faced.</p> <p>Tell me when and what challenge(s) the teacher encountered.</p>

Interview Questions		
Research Questions	Teacher	Key Informants
<p>How did African American teachers surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession?</p>	<p>What were your concerns as being an African American teacher working within a structure where you were considered the minority?</p> <p>Name as many external conditions or people that enabled you to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession.</p> <p>What movements/policies/laws enabled you to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? How?</p> <p>What were some of your achievements (personal and professional) while working in the county?</p> <p>Did you have a mentor? Who? How was the experience?</p> <p>How did the induction program impact your longevity? Did you have a mentor? Who? How was the experience?</p> <p>How did your school administrator impact your longevity?</p>	<p>What community leader(s) enabled the teacher to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession? How?</p> <p>Name as many external conditions or people that enabled you to surmount the challenges encountered in the teaching profession.</p> <p>What role do you feel you played in helping the teacher remain in the teaching profession?</p>

APPENDIX D
IRB APPROVAL

Georgia Southern University Office of Research Services & Sponsored Programs Institutional Review Board (IRB)		
Phone: 912-478-0843		Veazey Hall 2021
		P.O. Box 8005
Fax: 912-478-0719	IRB@GeorgiaSouthern.edu	Statesboro, GA 30460

To: Pamela C. Shuman
One Jacket Drive
Jesup, GA 31545

CC: Charles E. Patterson
Associate Vice President for Research

From: Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs
Administrative Support Office for Research Oversight Committees
(IACUC/IBC/IRB)

Date: May 28, 2009

Subject: Status of Application for Approval to Utilize Human Subjects in Research

After a review of your proposed research project numbered **H09262** and titled "**Chapters never written, voices never heard: Understanding the reasons for three African American Teachers' Longevity**", it appears that (1) the research subjects are at minimal risk, (2) appropriate safeguards are planned, and (3) the research activities involve only procedures which are allowable.

Therefore, as authorized in the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, I am pleased to notify you that the Institutional Review Board has approved your proposed research.

This IRB approval is in effect for one year from the date of this letter. If at the end of that time, there have been no changes to the research protocol; you may request an extension of the approval period for an additional year. In the interim, please provide the IRB with any information concerning any significant adverse event, **whether or not it is believed to be related to the study**, within five working days of the event. In addition, if a change or modification of the approved methodology becomes necessary, you must notify the IRB Coordinator **prior** to initiating any such changes or modifications. At that time, an amended application for IRB approval may be submitted. Upon completion of your data collection, you are required to complete a *Research Study Termination* form to notify the IRB Coordinator, so your file may be closed.

Sincerely,



Eleanor Haynes
Compliance Officer

APPENDIX E

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Georgia Southern University

Department of Leadership, Technology, and Human Development

Investigator's Information. My name is Pamela C. Shuman. I am a doctoral student at Georgia Southern University. I am investigating the lived experiences of three African American teachers with the purpose of understanding the reasons for their longevity. I will document the achievements of these African American teachers and the strategies they used to surmount their professional challenges in order to provide solutions to the decline in the number of African American teachers.

Purpose of the Study. The purpose of this study is to investigate the lived experiences of three African American teachers in a southeastern Georgia county and the reasons for their longevity.

Procedures

You have been selected to participate in a research study as a selected African American teacher or a key informant. This consent form tells you the purpose, risks, and benefits of this study.

Selected African American Teachers:

The three African American teachers have retired from the teaching profession, survived the transition from segregated to integrated schools, and have thirty years of teaching experience. If you are selected as one of the three African American teachers, you will participate in two electronic recorded interviews which will take approximately one (1) hour each with possible follow-up interviews. You will be asked a series of questions about your lived experiences as African American teachers and the reasons for your longevity in the educational profession in the southeastern Georgia school system. The researcher will also gather information from documents referencing your tenure in the teaching profession.

Key Informants:

The key informants consist of three school administrators who supervised the African American teachers, three students who were in the classes of these teachers and three other persons (including friends and former colleagues) who are knowledgeable about the experiences of the selected African American teachers during the transition from segregated to integrated schools. If you are selected as a key informant, you will participate in one electronic recorded interview session. The interview will take approximately one (1) hour. You will be asked a series of questions about the experiences of the African American teachers to understand the lived experiences of the African American teachers and the reasons for their longevity in the educational profession in the southeastern Georgia county.

Volunteer Status/Confidentiality. Your participation in this study is voluntary. The information learned during this study will be handled confidentially. The electronic recordings will be stored in a locked cabinet that only the researcher can access until they are destroyed by the year 2011. If you choose not to participate or withdraw from the study at any time, there will

be no penalty. The results of the research study may be published and pseudonyms will be used to protect your privacy.

Risks/Benefits. The expected risks involved are no more than anticipated in daily life. Although there is no direct benefit to you, the reasons for the longevity of the African American teachers and possible solutions to the decline in the number of African American teachers will be revealed after the results are analyzed. This information from the African American teachers will grant educators and non-educators an opportunity to get a better understanding of the achievements and challenges of African American teachers, as well as, reflect on the current recruitment, hiring, and retention practices to facilitate necessary improvements.

Right to Ask Questions. If you have questions about this study, please contact me at (912) 427-1096, ext 729 (day), (912) 530-6602 (evening), and/or on my cell phone at (912) 294-4406 or my faculty advisor, whose information will be provided below. For questions concerning your rights as a research participant, contact Georgia Southern University Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at 912-478-0843.

Title of Project: Chapters Never Written, Voices Never Heard: Understanding Reasons for Three African American Teachers' Longevity

Principal Investigator: Pamela C. Shuman, Martha Puckett Middle School, 475 Durrence Road, Jesup, GA, 31545, (912) 427-1061, pshuman@wayne.k12.ga.us

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Sharon Brooks, Georgia Southern University, College of Education, PO. Box 8131, Statesboro, GA 30460-8131, (912) 478-0275, smbrooks@georgiasouthern.edu

I give consent to participate in the study.

Participant Signature

Date

I, the undersigned, verify that the above informed consent procedure has been followed.

Investigator Signature

Date