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A Case Study of the Effects of Integration on Two Black High Schools in East Tennessee

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A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION ON TWO BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS IN EAST TENNESSEE

A Dissertation

Presented to the

Faculty of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

East Tennessee State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

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by

Sheila R. Knaff

May 1998

APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Graduate Committee of

SHEILA R. KNAFF

met on the

30th day of March, 1998

The committee read and examined her dissertation, supervised her defense of it in an oral examination, and decided to recommend that her study be submitted to the Graduate Council, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

Chair, Graduate Committee

Signed on behalf of the Graduate Council

Interim Dean, School of Graduate Studies

ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS

OF INTEGRATION ON TWO BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS

IN EAST TENNESSEE

by

Sheila R. Knaff

This study investigated the effects of integration on two black high schools and their communities in East Tennessee. The purpose of the study was to show how integration impacted these two communities both negatively and positively.

The research method was qualitative and used the case study approach. Interviews of former students, teachers, and administrators of these two schools was a primary source of data collection. Further analysis of the data used the qualitative software package QSR NUD*IST 4.0. Data gained from the interviews, coupled with historical and current literature, as well as other published documents in relation to these two schools added further support to the results.

Conclusions of the study suggest that integration played a role in the demise of these two black communities. However, it was not the sole contributing factor. Integration was simply the catalyst for inevitable change.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

This is to certify that the following study has been filed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of East Tennessee State University.

Title of Grant or Project: A Case Study Of The Effects Of Integration On Two Black High Schools In East Tennessee

Principle Investigator	Sheila R. Knaff
Department	Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis
Date Submitted	September 18, 1997
Institutional Review Board, Chairman	David N. Walters, PhD

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Last, but certainly not least, I owe a debt of gratitude to my niece/daughter, Iesha Myers. Since she was a little girl, she has accompanied me to the Sherrod Library and spent countless hours waiting on Auntie to get finished with a paper. She has been the one to cover me up whenever I fall asleep in the midst of books and papers. She has undertood, when most children wouldn't, that Auntie really needs for you to be quiet so she can think.

Iesha, you're amost all grown up now and you will soon be out on your own. I want you to know that this dissertation simply means that you can accomplish whatever you set your mind to because I have taught you that. Always know that Auntie is here for you and I love you more than words can ever convey.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Professor J. B. Olinger and the difference that he made to the Roane County community in East Tennessee. The man so inspired black children, my father included, that even 40 years later my father still can quote Rudyard Kiplings' "Gunga Din." His eyes still light up and his voice becomes animated whenever he talks about Campbell High School.

I also dedicate this in memory of Professor V. O. Dobbins who effected change for the black children of Kingsport. He showed through his tireless efforts that black people can achieve if they desire to do so.

I dedicate this to the memory of several great people in my family: my sister Barbara-- You've been gone for a long time, but your sweet memory still lingers on. I can only hope to be half the person that I know you would have become; to Kenneth--You lived with such style and grace. I've tried to write this with style and grace. I know that you would be proud of me; to Uncle Edgar-- You lived and preached the value of education. I feel certain that I received that message; to my Grandmother, Aurora Knaff--For years, you have fed my body. All of those wonderful home-cooked meals have served as a source of renewal both physically and mentally. There is nothing like being around family who truly loves you whether you can write a dissertation or not; to Aunt Lela--She would flamboyantly say to me, "If you've got, flaunt it!" Well, Aunt Lela, here is the whole shebang! I hope that it reads well.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

. . .theoretically, the Negro needs neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What he needs is Education. What he must remember is that there is no magic, either in mixed schools or in segregated schools. A mixed school with poor and unsympathetic teachers, with hostile public opinion, and no teaching of truth concerning black folk, is bad. A segregated school with ignorant placeholders, inadequate equipment, poor salaries. . .is equally bad. Other things being equal, the mixed school is the broader more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider contacts; it inspires greater self-confidence; and suppresses the inferiority complex. But other things seldom are equal, and in that case, Sympathy, Knowledge, and the truth, outweigh all that the mixed school can offer.

--W. E. Burghhardt Du Bois (1935)

In 1954, the Supreme Court announced its decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas:

> In the Kansas case, Brown v. Board of Education, the plaintiffs are Negro children of elementary school age residing in Topeka. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas to enjoin enforcement of a Kansas statute which permits, but does not require cities of more than 15,000 population to maintain separate school facilities for Negro and white students (Browning, 1975, p. 1).

Chief Justice Warren delivered the ruling of the Court: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place," turning over Plessy v Ferguson (Browning, p.6).

Prior to the 1954 Brown case, the black high school was generally all that black communities had for the secondary education of their children (Rodgers, 1975). The black high school had a world of its own. "It possessed its own dynamic qualities and its own ecological structure" (Rodgers, p. 11). The black high school was usually a viable, dynamic, and pervasive force in the total structure of the community it served.

In East Tennessee, several segregated black high schools once existed. "The 1870 Tennessee constitution prevented black and white children from attending the same public schools" (Joiner, 1983, p. 302). The 1956 educational census reported 638,905 school-age children in the state of Tennessee. In East Tennessee, no school-age Negroes were reported in Cumberland, Scott, Unicoi, and Union counties; fewer than fifty school-age Negroes were reported in Bledsoe, Grainger, Hancock, Johnson, Morgan, Polk, and Sevier counties. Fewer than 100 school-age Negroes were reported in each of Campbell, Claiborne, Cocke, Loudon, and Meigs counties. Anderson, Blount, Bradley, Greene, Hamblen, Hawkins, Jefferson, McMinn, Marion, Rhea, Roane, Sullivan, and Washington counties had school populations with less than 10% Negro enrollment. Over 1000 school-age Negroes were reported in Knox county (Phillips & Sanford, 1956).

The 1956 educational census showed that the Negro population was heavily concentrated in seven southwest counties: Fayette, Haywood, Shelby, Tipton, Lauderdale, Madison, Hardeman (Phillips & Sanford, 1956). In the total educational population for the school year 1954-55:

> Ten counties operated no Negro schools; some thirty-five counties operated no Negro high schools; there were 293 one-teacher Negro grade schools; there were 187 three-teacher Negro grade schools; there were 38 Negro schools with grades one through twelve; there were 11 Negro schools with grades seven through twelve; there were 22 Negro high schools with grades nine through twelve (Phillips & Sanford, p. 14).

The educational census of 1956 clearly showed that a Negro population needed to be educated in East Tennessee. However, as late as 1964, 10 years after the Brown decision, Negro students were still being educated in separate and unequal facilities (Egerton, 1976).

With the 1954 Brown decision, the issue of integration was supposedly settled (Egerton, 1976). However, in the black high schools of East Tennessee, the issue would finally be argued in 1956 (Phillips & Sanford, 1956). In Anderson County, plaintiffs sought to keep 12 Negro students from entering Clinton High School. The battle was fought, and the ruling of the Tennessee Supreme Court of East Tennessee held "separate-but-equal" was unconstitutional (Phillips & Sanford).

Total integration eventually occurred in 1956, and many changes came

along with it. Several questions can be asked in reference to the effects of integration in East Tennessee. This study will seek to answer two. Following changes created with school integration, what did the Roane County and Kingsport City communities gain? What did the Roane County and Kingsport City communities lose due to integration?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to develop a case study examining two black high schools that once existed in East Tennessee. One school, Campbell High School, was located in a very rural area of Roane County, Tennessee. Yet, the school can be given credit for contributing to the development of a once very close-knit community. The other school, Douglass High School, was centrally located in the black community known as Riverview in Kingsport, Tennessee. It, too, can be given credit for contributing to the development of a once very close-knit community.

With the onset of integration, assumptions are oftentimes made as to whether integration has been beneficial for these two black communities. This case study seeks to examine the negative and positive effects of school integration on these two communities. Thus, the primary goals of the study are (1) to document the positive and negative contributions of integration on these two communities, (2) to document how these two black high schools functioned both directly and indirectly in developing leadership skills and a strong sense of

identity for black students, and (3) to document how these schools created a sense of community and connectedness for black citizens in Roane County and the city of Kingsport.

In documenting these goals, the educational literature will be reviewed, personal interviews will be conducted, and a review of existing documents, such as yearbooks and school board minutes of these two black high schools will be examined to study the following questions:

(1) Describe your impressions of your high school.

(2) What do you perceive to be the positive effects of integration school and community?

(3) What do you perceive to be the negative effects of integration on your school and community?

(4) Describe your former principal and the characteristics he possessed that caused him to be perceived as successful or unsuccessful.

(5) Describe a former teacher or teachers and the characteristics that he/she possessed that causes you to remember him/her even today?

(6) How well, in your opinion, is the present educational system doing in educating black children?

(7) What is your opinion about the resurgence of segregated schools?

Significance of the Study

Blacks throughout history have had an unyielding and uncompromising faith in the value of education. "Education has been considered the appropriate mechanism for improving the individual and society" (Gordon, 1983, p. 19). Black parents, strongly believing that their children should have equal educational opportunities to improve their communities, fought for integrated schools in Topeka, Kansas. The 1954 Brown decision, though rendered in Topeka, Kansas, affected black communities throughout the country.

Prior to the 1954 Brown decision, "separate-but-equal" was the law (Tyack, 1967). Separate schools served black and white children within communities. In black communities, one high school was usually established for the secondary education of blacks. In East Tennessee, over 70 black high schools were established for the secondary education of black children. In Tennessee, the origination of these high schools dates as far back as 1920 Tennessee State Department of Education (1953-54).

Though segregated education hindered the economic and social advancement of blacks, the educational system still managed to provide Negroes with an inequitable, but basic education. Hence, much can be said in favor of these schools and against integrated education. This case study will seek to construct a picture while answering several questions about the impact of integration on Campbell High School and the Roane County community and Douglass High School and the Riverview community.

A case study, such as this, is significant because it seeks to chronicle, depict, and characterize these two secondary institutions available to blacks in East Tennessee prior to integration. This case study is significant because it documents the positive contributions of the high schools to the black community in particular and the larger community in general.

This case study also documents factors that caused the high schools to be perceived as successful. Based upon this perception, generalizations are extended to professional educators to help make them more aware of factors that make black children successful in school. Overall, this case study seeks to answer one of the most frequently asked questions in reference to the 1954 Brown decision: Has integration achieved the desired intent of Brown in these two East Tennessee communities?

Limitations of the Study

This study involved personal interviews. Therefore, this study is limited to the perceptions and interpretations of the people interviewed. This study was limited by the amount of knowledge and history lost over time. Limitation was further extended from the limited number of written materials, pictures, yearbooks, newspaper articles, and other historical documents and artifacts about these two black high schools of East Tennessee.

Delimitations of the Study

This study is delimited to two black high schools in the East Tennessee area of the state.

Overview of the Study

Chapter 1 includes the introduction, purpose of the study, significance of the study, limitations of the study, delimitations of the study, and an overview of the study.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature pertaining to the secondary education of blacks in the United States, and in Tennessee in particular.

Chapter 3 presents a brief history of Campbell High School of Roane County, Tennessee and Douglass High School of Kingsport, Tennessee.

Chapter 4 consists of the methodology and procedures for this study, the research design, the rationale, sampling, sample size, procedures for data collection, data analysis, and a section on establishing validity and reliability.

Chapter 5 provides the analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

Chapter 6 presents a summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

To portray an accurate picture of American secondary education, it is necessary to examine the system as two diverse entities. The American educational system, as it now exists, has not always provided nor afforded equal education opportunities for all races. According to Bullock (1967), equality "depended upon the race for which equality was being defined" (p. 87). For this reason, this study will chronicle a brief history of the development of secondary education for both black and white America.

The literature review will continue with a history of public education for Negroes in the state of Tennessee. This section will also discuss the concepts of segregation and integration for Tennessee Negroes following the 1954 Brown decision. Finally, the literature review will look at factors that distinguish predominantly black schools from integrated schools. The literature seeks to point out perceived educational differences in terms of climate, curriculum, teacher attitudes and expectations.

The Evolution of Public Secondary Education for White America

By the Civil War, publicly supported and controlled elementary education had been established in most states; however, "public secondary education did not emerge until the latter half of the nineteenth century" (Gutek, 1970, p. 71).

French (1957) defines secondary education as "those formal educational experiences, usually encountered during adolescence, which follow completion of elementary education" (p. 24). This definition encompasses both general and vocational studies. The high school was viewed as the completion of a crucial phase in the total educational process of American youth. The comprehensive high school developed slowly but eventually became the dominant institution of secondary education.

The concept of American public education is based upon the concept of the educational ladder. "The American educational ladder describes the single, articulated, and sequential system of schools open to all, regardless of social and economic class or religious affiliation" (Gutek, 1970, p. 72). The educational ladder encompasses the three major periods in the history of the development of secondary education. The colonial period was dominated by the Latin Grammar school; the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were dominated by the Academy; and the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were dominated by the public high school (Gutek).

The Latin Grammar School

The Latin Grammar schools were basically college preparatory schools for the upper classes. In order to be admitted to such colleges as Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary, attendance was required at a Latin Grammar school. Those who aspired to be religious or political leaders, and sons of the elite

attended these schools (Spring, 1986).

The Latin Grammar school's curriculum was narrow in its offerings. The grammar school placed emphasis upon the teaching of Latin and Greek. The study of Latin was necessary for the learning of theology, studying medicine, engaging in foreign correspondence, and understanding classical literary masterpieces (Button & Provenzo, 1983). Because of its limited curriculum, Benjamin Franklin was a strong critic of the schools. Franklin proposed an English Academy in Philadelphia in 1749 in which he planned to offer a more realistic course of study to meet the needs of the common people (Gutek, 1970). The Latin Grammar School fell into disfavor after the American Revolution of 1776:

> The popular quest was for a more utilitarian kind of secondary school that would prepare the student for the duties of republican citizenship and offer him a choice of vocations in an increasingly industrial society. The institution that merged to fill this need was the academy (Gutek, p. 73).

The Academy

Sizer (1964) says that the academy "was a social institution that typified the optimism of the American people during the enthusiastic but unrealistic period between the Revolution and the Civil War" (p. 1). The academy came of age when men had great faith in improving the human condition through social reform. "The academy was a secondary school, not usually a preparatory school

for college" (Button & Provenzo, 1983, p. 38).

The academy was usually privately controlled, but was extremely popular. It replaced or absorbed the Latin Grammar school. This replacement happened because the academy met "the educational needs of a civilization that was both frontier and industrial in character" (Gutek, 1970, p. 74). The academy taught skills and ideas that were more directly related to the practical applications of life.

The curriculum of the academy was structured, but extremely diverse in order to meet the needs of the rising middle-class. It was often criticized for being too broad in its offerings (Button & Provenzo, 1983). The academy offered classical courses designed for college entrance. Instruction was also offered in practical subjects such as bookkeeping, accounting, navigation, modern languages, and surveying. Some academies attempted to offer an exhaustive list of courses:

> (i.e. classics, Latin, Greek, English, oratory, composition, rhetoric, literature, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, trigonometry, bookkeeping, accounting, surveying, geography, United States history, general history, logic, moral philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, drawing, religion, natural philosophy, geometry, algebra, needlework, phrenology, optics, geology, biology, botany, domestic science, and agricultural principles, etc. (Gutek, 1970, p. 74).

The academy was sometimes a disorganized organization. The teachers were oftentimes uncertified, or lacked college-training. Sometimes year-long

courses were only taught for a few weeks. Eventually, the academies were replaced by the more stable institution of the public high school (Sizer, 1964).

The Public High School

The English Classical School of Boston was founded in 1821. It was one of the first free high schools to exist in the United States (Gutek, 1970). It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that high schools began to outrank the academy. Krug (1964) reports that from 1889-1890, there were 2,526 public high schools in the United States.

The high school evolved as the United States went from being a rural agrarian nation to an urban industrial nation. "The new urban life required that people be more highly trained, that they receive better vocational education, and that they concentrate on the specialized activities of an industrial society" (Sizer, 1964, p. 41). The high school was to be the catalyst that was to prepare American youth to participate in this new society.

The high school continued to evolve because of a growing sensitivity to the needs of American children and youth. Child labor laws and compulsory attendance laws were added incentives for the perpetuation of more secondary education. As is common in the minds of twentieth century adults, the belief exists that if children are in school, there is less chance of them getting into trouble.

As the need for tax-supported high schools increased, an increase in

court cases occurred because of people opposing the idea of increased taxation for secondary education:

> The Kalamazoo Case of 1874 and the decision rendered by Justice Thomas C. Cooley of the Michigan State Supreme Court clearly established the precedent. A group of taxpayers of the Kalamazoo school district initiated a suit to prevent the board of education from levying a tax to support a high school. The claimants argued that the high school curriculum, which was primarily college preparatory, did not merit public support of taxation. Why, they asked, should the majority of taxpayers be coerced into paying for the education of the small minority that was college-bound (Counts, 1929, p. 26)?

Justice Cooley set a precedent when he decided that the Kalamazoo school district could tax the community for the support of a high school. He said it was the state's obligation to provide and maintain equal educational opportunities for all (Counts, 1929). This decision prompted state legislatures to pass laws that permitted local boards to establish high schools.

The Committee of Ten

The American high school continued to take shape, but it was in danger of following in the path of the academy. There was confusion about not only who should be educated, but what should they be taught? Much confusion was caused by the lack of direction in the curriculum.

To solve this problem, the National Education Association established the Committee of Ten in 1892 (Gutek, 1970). The chairman of the committee was Charles Eliot, an important higher education leader. The committee made several specific recommendations in its report:

> They recommended eight years of elementary and four years of secondary education. For the high school, four separate curricula were recommended: classical, Latin-scientific, modern language and English. The committee further recommended that high school students study intensively a relatively small number of subjects for longer periods of time. Every subject was to be taught in the high school in the same way and to the same extent to each student regardless of his further educational aims (Gutek, p. 79).

The committee stated that the high school did not exist for the sole purpose of college preparation; nevertheless, the committee placed much emphasis on a curriculum for college entrance.

High School Accreditation

The North Central Association was established in 1895 in order to promote uniformity among the colleges and secondary schools in the North Central States as it related to entrance and admission requirements (Davis, 1945). The National Education Association established the Committee on College Entrance Requirements in 1899 to resolve an on-going conflict over

students selecting their own courses. The committee's recommendations were: ". . . a set of constant subjects, and a core of courses to be required of all students without reference to their educational destination. The remainder of the program was to be selected by each student" (Krug, 1964, p. 146). Eventually, accreditation agencies were established in the major geographical regions of the United States.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education

The National Education Association established the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1918. The commission was chaired by Clarence Kingsley. They issued the famous "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" (Krug, 1964). The commission listed the following as objectives of secondary education:"health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. The major task of the high school was to translate the "Principles" into action" (Krug, p. 148). The commission placed emphasis on the high school as being an agent for social integration. They indicated that the comprehensive high school should continue to exist as it was.

The Contemporary Comprehensive High School

French (1957) found that between 1880 and 1920, the high school was not a truly comprehensive high school:

First, there was lacking a secondary education tradition among many of

> the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe; second, there were hidden costs in the form of books, supplies, transportation, lunches, and clothing; and third, in many rural districts the lack of a solid financial base impeded the establishment of the high school (p. 101).

By 1930, the comprehensive high school had changed drastically. Students from all backgrounds were now being admitted into the public high schools. The high school assumed its role "as an agent for social and cultural integration, a place where students learned studies in common, mixed socially, and participated in common activities" (Gutek, 1970, p. 83).

Changes in Contemporary American High Schools

The high school, past and present, has been called on to correct the ills of American society. During World War I, with a demand for more patriotism, a drastic reduction occurred in the study of German as a foreign language. When students were rejected for military duty due to physical disabilities, more physical education was emphasized.

The Smith-Hughes Vocational Act of 1917 called for states to offer more vocational studies. The launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik caused Americans to demand a more rigorous curriculum, one that was not so "watered-down" (Gutek, 1970).

In 1958, Conant, former President of Harvard University wrote The American High School Today. Conant offered 21 recommendations for

American secondary education. Many of the recommendations he proposed are present in American comprehensive high schools. Some of the recommendations were:

1. a fully articulated counseling program which would aid the student's interests, aptitudes, and achievement;
2. more individualized instruction so that programs might be fitted to the individual student's needs, and also ability grouping by subjects;
3. a core curriculum in which the general education requirements would be four years of English, three or four years of social studies, and at least one year of mathematics and science;
4. a call for diversified programs that would develop marketable skills; administrators were urged to assess the community's needs in terms of its employment situation;
5. scheduling increased time for English composition, special programs for slow readers, greater challenges for gifted students, and more offerings in science and foreign languages (Conant, 1959, p. 7-8).

The Evolution of Public Secondary Education for Negroes

"Prior to the Civil War, few Negroes were offered the opportunity of attending any public school" (Redcay, 1935, p. 1). During the pre-Civil War period, some rudimentary education was offered to a few slaves by the

Southern Quakers. However, educational opportunities for all slaves were never available. Educational opportunities were granted mainly to favored household slaves or to free Negroes who had escaped from bondage (Bullock, 1967).

During this period, educational opportunities in the slave-holding states of the South were also slow in developing for white children. Public schools barely existed for white children and were virtually non-existent for Negroes. According to Bullock (1967):

> Public schools for Negroes virtually were non-existent, and in certain states formal education for Negroes, directly or by implication, was forbidden by law. So it was that the educational opportunities for children of this minority race were only those to be found in the scattered private schools for Negroes, most of which were subsidized and administered by Northern religious and philanthropic organizations (p. 1).

Shortly after the close of the Civil War, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedman's Bureau was established by the federal government in 1865 (Jones, 1981). The Freedmen's Bureau was instrumental in developing schools for blacks throughout the South. In essence, public education became a reality for young blacks due largely to the efforts of the federal government and many private organizations such as the Society of Friends (Quakers).

The 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution and the Reconstruction Acts of Congress were revised by 1875 in the Southern states

(Long, 1916). These amendments to the Constitution, coupled with the emancipation of the slaves, gave blacks "the opportunity to secure an education at public expense" (Redcay, 1935, p. 2).

Between 1875 and 1900, the white population of the United States began to gradually accept the idea of public schools for Negroes (Redcay, 1935). This acceptance, according to Redcay:

> tended to strengthen the ideal of public schools for *all* children in the South. Perhaps the most important gain during this period was the gradual recognition of the fact that education for individuals of both races was mutually desirable and advantageous for broader social development (p. 2).

The development of public secondary schools for Negroes was very consistent with the development of public education for Negroes (Redcay, 1935). The exact number of public Negro secondary schools that existed prior to 1900 is unknown. According to Jones (1916), 64 public high schools existed for the education of Negroes in 1916. By 1930, the number had grown to 1,150 (Redcay).

Although the South had made remarkable progress in the establishment of secondary schools, by the 1930s, Newbold (1928) said that "there were no rural high schools for Negroes in the South and very few in the cities in 1911" (p. 220). Dr. James Hardy Dillard, the executor of the Slater Fund, became interested in providing public secondary facilities for Negroes in the South and

proposed the establishment of County Training Schools (Redcay, 1935).

The Development of County Training Schools

County Training Schools were organized through the generosity of the John F. Slater Fund. The $1,000,000 fund, that was named for the Norwich, Connecticut citizen, "was appropriated for the general purpose of uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states" (Redcay, 1935, p. 25).

Dr. James H. Dillard, the executor of the Slater Fund, was initially approached by Professor A. M. Strange, the Negro principal of the Graded School in Collins, Mississippi. He wrote a letter to Dr. Dillard requesting assistance in the employment of an industrial teacher for the female students at his school. In his reply to Professor Strange, Dr. Dillard wrote:

> What I am greatly desirous of seeing is that . . . attempts should be directed in the line of simply establishing a high school for the county or parish, which may some day be part of the public school system. I wish, therefore, that the name of your institution were Agricultural and Industrial High School, because the word high school carries with it the local idea, which I think is the proper one (Redcay, 1935, p. 28).

Not only did Professor Strange receive $500 toward the salary of the industrial teacher, but this is probably an accurate account of the beginning of one of the first public rural schools established for Negroes in the South (Bullock, 1967). The years 1911-1912 mark the beginning of the County Training Schools

Movement as far as the Slater Fund is concerned (Redcay, 1935).

No preset standards were in place when the County Training Schools were originally developed. However, several common factors could be identified whenever organizations approached the Slater Fund for aid:

1. A recognized need for a bigger and better school to offer to Negroes in the county or parish, a more advanced education than that afforded by the rural elementary schools;
2. The recognition of the need for better prepared teachers for the county or parish;
3. The frequent mention of agricultural and industrial education;
4. The willingness to cooperate in order to secure the support of a philanthropic organization (Redcay, 1935, p. 30).

The Slater Fund offered assistance based upon the following conditions:

1. The school property shall belong to the state, county, or district, and the school shall be a part of the public school system;
2. There shall be an appropriation for salaries of not less than $750 from public funds raised by state, county, or district taxation;
3. The teaching shall extend trough the eighth year with the intention of adding at least two years as soon as it shall be possible to make such extension;
4. The length of the term shall be at least eight months (Redcay, 1935, p. 31).

The Slater Fund attempted to assist schools without making them dependent upon their benefactor. It was stated from the beginning that once the schools became established and well-organized, the funding would eventually diminish. The fund, in essence, operated on a diminishing scale: "$500 per year for the first three years, $250 annually for the next two years, and $100 for needed equipment after the expiration of the five years" (Redcay, 1935, p. 33).

The County Training Schools had to be given a charge. They had to have a purpose. State agents, people who were interested in the welfare of Negro education, formed a committee. After several meetings, the committee outlined the following aims and purposes for the County Training Schools:

1. To supply for the county a central Negro public training school offering work two or three years in advance of that offered by the common schools;
2. To establish a type of Negro school in the county which shall be serve as a model with respect to physical plant and equipment, teaching force, course of study, and plan of operation;
3. To lay emphasis on thorough work in all common school studies, to relate these studies to the lives of the pupils, and to develop standards of achievement;
4. To give industrial training, laying particular emphasis upon subjects pertaining to home and farm;
5. To prepare Negro boys and girls to make a useful life by knowing

how to care for the home, to utilize the land, to make home gardens. to raise their own meat, poultry, products, milk products, etc.;

6. To prepare young men and young women to become rural and elementary school teachers, by enabling them to meet legal requirements of the state, by giving them a closer acquaintance and sympathy with rural activities, and by supplying such elementary professional training as will help them to secure the best results in this work (Redcay, 1935, p. 35).

The establishment of County Training Schools can be said to have been a major catalyst in the perpetuation of secondary education for Negroes. Statistics generally have a way of validating conceptions. There were 352 counties in 14 Southern states in 1933. In 205 counties, the County Training School was the sole source of secondary education at public expense for the Negro pupils. If not for the County Training Schools, little secondary education would have existed to assist in developing the lives of Negro children (Bullock, 1967).

The Evolution of Public Education for Negroes in the State of Tennessee

As stated previously, "Prior to the Civil War, few Negroes were offered the opportunity of attending any public school" (Redcay, 1935, p.1). During the war, education in Tennessee was almost at a stand-still:

The public schools were suspended, private schools, academies and

seminaries were closed, many of them never to be reopened. The buildings, too, suffered in the general devastation. Many were entirely destroyed, while others were used in turn by the opposing armies for hospitals and camps (Goodspeed, 1973, p. 431).

> After the war, the Tennessee educational system was in total shambles: With over 70,000 illiterate adult white persons at the beginning of the war, augmented by thousands, deprived of schools during the succeeding four years, in addition to nearly 300,000 helplessly illiterate freedmen; the situation was not only overwhelmingly discouraging, but positively dangerous (Goodspeed, 1973, p. 431).

One of the first undertakings was to reorganize the common schools. A resolution was presented to the Senate by John Trimble in 1865:

> Resolved, That it be referred to the committee on common schools and education to take into early and earnest consideration the whole matter of free common schools, and at as early a date as practicable, report a system of free common schools to be put into operation throughout the state. That it also report what tax is necessary, and how the same may be raised (Goodspeed, 1973, p. 431).

The common schools were to benefit all students of legal age with no restrictions. However, there was a restriction. The colored students were not to be educated with the white students (Goodspeed, 1973). This clause was reiterated when the resolution of 1865 became a law in March, 1867:

> Under its provisions, the territorial divisions remained the same as under the old law. The officers provided were a state superintendent, county superintendents, a board of education for each subdistrict. The money appropriated consisted of the proceeds of the school fund, a property tax of 2 mills upon the dollar, a poll tax of 25 cents, and a railroad tax, one-fourth of 1 per cent a mile for each passenger. The annual income from all these sources was paid on the warrant of the comptroller to the state superintendent, and by him distributed to the county superintendents, who acted as county treasurers, and paid all orders of the board of education both for the civil districts and subdistricts. It was made obligatory upon the directors, or in case of their neglect, upon the board of directors, to maintain a free school in every subdistrict for a period of five months every year. If the school fund were insufficient to defray the expenses of such school the subdistricts were required to levy a tax sufficient to make up the deficiency. The benefits of the schools were free to all of legal age, both white and black without restriction, except that they were to be taught separately (Goodspeed, 1973, p. 432).

Much opposition arose to the law, and it would not actually go into effect until 1867. The opposition to the law was two-fold: "The support of the schools by a tax upon property, met with little favor, while the granting of equal educational advantages to the colored children met with the most violent opposition" (Goodspeed, 1973, p. 432). According to Goodspeed:

> The superintendent of Davidson County reported that among the great difficulties to be overcome, one of the greatest, was the organization of colored schools. There were no houses for that purpose, and there was a general prejudice against Negro education, so that there were only a few white people who would, and dared assist, the colored people in building schoolhouses. Most of the directors in this county (Weakley) shake their heads when I talk to them about colored schools, and say this is not the time for such schools. Others are willing to do all they can for them, but are afraid of public opinion. . . Superintendents, directors and teachers resigned their positions on account of threats of personal violence. In July, 1869, sixty-three counties reported thirty-seven schoolhouses had been burned. Teachers were mobbed and whipped, ropes were put around their necks, accompanied with threats of hanging; ladies were insulted. Not a few teachers were dissuaded from teaching our their schools, after they had commenced them, by the reports widely circulated and emphatically repeated, that the State would not disburse any money for schools (p. 432).

The act of 1867 was repealed on December 14, 1869. When the 1870 constitution was adopted, the public school system of Tennessee was reorganized. Yet, one clause did not change. The new constitution reaffirmed that "no school established or aided under this section shall allow white and Negro children to be received as scholars together in the same school"

(Goodspeed, 1973, p. 435).

As the state of Tennessee sought to rebuild its educational system, the Negroes had to make some effort to educate their own people. One of the first documented efforts is recorded about Miss Lucinda Humphrey. Captain T. A. Walker, Superintendent of Freedmen of West Tennessee, presented a report to Colonel John Eaton, Jr., General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas on November 25, 1864. In the report he gives some brief historical data in reference to why the Negroes were not being educated by white America:

> Prior to June 6th, 1862--when, by a short, sharp and decisive naval action on the river opposite here, the city was transferred from Confederate to Federal rule--such a thing as a colored school was not only unknown but prohibited by municipal law, in the following language, to wit: SEC. 4. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, that no one shall be admitted as a pupil (in the city schools) but white persons, residing within the city limits, between the ages of six and twenty years (Walker, 1864, p. 5).

In his report, Walker (1864) speaks of Miss Lucinda Humphrey. She was a Negro hospital nurse from Chicago. She initially opened an evening school for the colored employees of the hospital:

> Arranging her twenty-five scholars in five semi-circles of five each, around a Silent Comforter" borrowed from the hospital, (the only book or chart

she had to begin with,) having carved out a friendly post that stood near by, for a candlestick, and taking for her pointer, a rod that had no more than once striped the back of her best pupil, and of which that pupil once said, "Not much did I tinkdis yere rod would eber pint out to me de words of eternal life," Miss H., for several weeks, toiled on with great joy and success--the more because most of her pupils were devotedly Christian, and therefore seized hold all the more eagerly of the "Word System," which she adopted, it being to them, at once, the word of knowledge and the word of life. Bitter prejudice and opposition soon showed themselves to such an extent as to lead Miss H. To feel that if she was to continue her work at all, she must seek some other field in which to labor. She, therefore, with the cheerful assent of all her scholars, put her school into the hands of one of her best pupils, and on the 1st of November, 1862, opened a colored school in Camp Shiloh, just below the city. Aided by Chaplain and Mrs. Jere. Porter, and especially encouraged by Captain Jenny, of the Engineer's Department, she soon had a comfortable house, and the names of two hundred on her roll, only one hundred of which, however, proved to be regular pupils.

On the 1st of January, 1863, Miss Humphrey reports a closing examination and exhibition, of which all accounts are flatteringly commendatory. She was about this time commissioned by the American Missionary Association, New York, under whose direction her efforts were

continued among the people congregated below town (p. 6).

Taking note from Miss Humphrey, many individuals and organizations began to duplicate her method:

> Others followed, increasing from year to year, until in the winter of 1864-65 a method was provided for the colored people to enter actively into the work of supporting their own schools, and after which, in about five months, they paid for the purpose some $4,000, and the attendance was reported in and around Memphis as high as 1,949 in April, 1865, before the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau (Goodspeed, 1973, p. 434).

As individuals and organizations began to abound in the education of the Negro population, many people and organizations who were not scrupulous took the opportunity to exploit. They charged exorbitant rates for tuition, and basically took advantage of innocent people (Walker, 1864). It became imperative to have a system of supervision, and by order of the Secretary of War, General L. Thomas, it was commanded that on September 26, 1864, Superintendents of Colored Schools were appointed. Their charge was to "arrange the location of all schools, teachers, and the occupation of houses and other details pertaining to the education of Freedmen. All officers commanding, and others, will render the necessary aid" (Walker, 1864, p. 9).

Along with the order came very specific rules that the colored schools were to be monitored. The orders from the Secretary of War said to be cautious and avoid unnecessary conflict with the colored teachers and supervisors. He

stated that because they had already endured lots of harsh treatment in life, they should be treated gently and kindly. Their schools were to be arranged economically and prudently. The basic goal was to instruct all students to learn their ABCs, learn to think, learn about life, and graduate (Walker, 1864).

From such meager beginnings as attempted by Miss Lucinda Humphrey, as many as 1,949 colored schools were in existence in and around Memphis in April, 1865 (Walker, 1864). By late spring of 1865, colored schools were established in Clarksville, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and other parts of Tennessee (Goodspeed, 1973).

The Freedmen's Bureau was established in the spring of 1865, and gave a big monetary boost to the education of blacks. According to Goodspeed (1973):

> During the next four years, the Bureau disbursed over $150,000 in the State, the greater part of which was bestowed upon colored schools. Indeed a large part of the colored schoolhouses would not have been built without the aid thus obtained (p. 434).

Segregation in Tennessee

The Tennessee educational system was originally developed on the foundation of segregation. According to Phillips and Sanford (1956):

> The policy of segregation is expressed in Article 11, section 12 of the Constitution of Tennessee, "No school established or aided under this

> section shall allow white or Negro children to be received as scholars together in the same school." Sections 49-3701 and 49-3702, Tennessee Code Annotated (T.C.A.), which were codified from statutes enacted in 1901, prohibit any interracial schools, as well as the teaching of any mixed classes. Segregation of the races is also required in the public elementary and high schools. T. C. A. Sections 49-1005 and 49-1107 (p. 1).

The state of Tennessee based its legal interpretation of segregation on the "separate but equal" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. "Under this view, separation according to race was held not to violate the Constitution so long as the facilities provided the separate groups were substantially equal" (Phillips & Sanford, 1956, p. 2).

In 1956, the state of Tennessee found itself in a dilemma. To comply with the federal government, the segregated educational system would have to be restructured. Phillips and Sanford (1956), in studying the problem at hand, found mixed opinions about integration:

> We have no way of accurately measuring public sentiment. We do know that some persons oppose integration at all costs; that others favor some more moderate approach, recognizing the Supreme Court's decision as at least the de facto law of the land, but desiring to maintain the present school system and favoring some plan of voluntary segregation; others, probably the smallest group in Tennessee, favor integration (p. 12).

Despite differing opinions, an educational system still had to be developed that would assure all children of Tennessee equal educational opportunities.

Phillips and Sanford (1956) suggested some of the principal arguments for the perpetuation of segregation in Tennessee. There was the belief that it was traditional and sacred to our forefathers. There was the belief that interracial marriages would occur. thus creating racially mixed children. There was a common belief that Negro children were inferior to white children. It was also believed that Negroes perpetuated diseases and illegitimate children.

Phillips and Sanford (1956) also suggested that segregation should be perpetuated because whites and Negroes were created differently and were never intended to intertwine. There, too, was the belief that the Supreme Court was over-stepping its boundaries by making a ruling on integration. Some believe the Brown decision violated the 10th Amendment, and it reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people" (U.S. Constitution, Amendment X). In a sense, the overall perception existed that it would just be best to leave well enough alone because education has been traditionally one of those areas committed to the state.

> Despite the arguments for maintaining a segregated school system, the fact still remained that it was unconstitutional to do so. "The only absolutely certain way of operating public schools in compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court is to compel integration in all schools

supported by public funds" (Phillips & Sanford, 1956, p. 53).

Integration in Anderson County

Probably one of the most written and talked about incidents in the history of Tennessee education, and in the history of desegregation is what happened at Clinton High School in 1956. The concept of resisting desegregation was not new. People had been staging protests and marches since the Supreme Court made its ruling in 1954:

> Back in the fall of 1954, just four months after the U.S. Supreme Court delivered its ruling in the school segregation cases, demonstrations of students and adults broke out in Washington, D.C., in Baltimore, at Milford, Delaware, and in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia (Westfeldt, 1957, p. 36).

So, what happened in Clinton? Clinton was a small mill town, located in East Tennessee with a population of approximately 4.000. The dispute arose when 12 Negro children were to be enrolled at Clinton High School with 800 white children (Westfeldt, 1957):

> In the case of Roy vs. Brittain, certain taxpayers brought suit in the Chancery Court to prohibit the school officials of Anderson County from carrying out a decree of the United States District Court requiring the admission of twelve (12) Negro students to a white high school at Clinton on the ground that state laws requiring segregation were still in effect.

> The complainants also sought to enjoin the payment of public funds to operate the integrated school, contending that the appropriations were made for segregated schools and that integration was not required under the Constitution. The court rejected the contentions of the complainants and affirmed the action of the chancellor in denying the injunction.
>
> In a written opinion announced by Chief Justice Neil on October 5, 1956, the court denied a petition to rehear in the case and expressly held the Tennessee statutes requiring segregation to be unconstitutional. In the course of the opinion, the court stated: 'The complainants seek to evade the question by insisting that the court did not decree a forced integration, but only there should be no discrimination; 'that the State may avoid integration in many ways yet to be determined'. The language of the Supreme Court, above quoted, is capable of but one meaning, viz, that all State laws on segregation must yield to the paramount authority of the federal constitution (Phillips & Sanford, 1956, p. 10).

The Negro children did attend Clinton in 1956, but they did so under the protection of the National Guardsmen. What is so ironic about this incident is that just 20 miles west , but still in Anderson County, Negro children attended desegregated schools in Oak Ridge (Westfeldt, 1957). This was the second year of integration in Oak Ridge, and it was without incident. The question has frequently been asked:

> Why was there a disturbance at Clinton and not at Oak Ridge? After all,

> both are in the same county which, though Union during the Civil War, has had a heavy influx of people from the Deep South since the Tennessee Valley authority was established--an influx sharply increased by the wartime creation of Oak Ridge. As a matter of fact, Oak Ridge, while it does have residents from every state in the nation, is composed for the most part of Tennesseans.
>
> The soundest explanation of the difference was that: Oak Ridge was a Federal reservation, analogous in relation to the school issue to an army post. Therefore, when the AEC ordered desegregation, it was similar to the commander-in-chief of an army issuing a general order, one that had to be obeyed (Westfeldt, 1957, p.39).

After the Clinton incident, Nashville decided to integrate one grade each year. Black children entered the first grade with whites in Nashville in 1957 (Joiner, 1983). Most schools in Tennessee followed the Nashville plan. Some school systems were court-ordered to bus black students to the white schools. Black students were eventually allowed to attend the colleges of Tennessee. The University of Tennessee was told to admit black students in 1959; they entered in 1961 (Joiner). Black students were granted permission to enter Memphis State in 1959.

From Brown to Total Integration

Just because the Brown decision was rendered in 1954 does not mean that total integration of schools happened over night. Much resistance and opposition continued to occur against black children attending school with white children. It was 1956 before Tennessee enforced the court order to desegregate.

One of the biggest catalysts that helped to end segregation was the Civil Rights Movement of the early 1960s (Joiner, 1983). Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a major leader in the fight for the rights of black people. In 1955, he organized a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, after Rosa Parks, a black housekeeper, was arrested when she refused to give her seat to a white woman. This protest lasted for almost a year. In the end, the Supreme Court ruled that the segregation on the buses was unconstitutional and ordered that the 'area' signs be removed (Joiner).

In 1957, nine black students tried to gain admission to Little Rock High School in Arkansas. They were turned away by an angry mob. The next day President Eisenhower had them escorted by 1000 federal troopers. The students were escorted by federal guards while they were in school. During 1957, Congress passed a weak Civil Rights Act (Joiner, 1983).

During 1960-61, college students staged sit-ins and conducted freedom rides. Both blacks and whites participated in these rides together. President Kennedy supported this movement in an effort to receive votes for his campaign

for election (Finkenbine, 1997).

During 1962, James Meredith sought enrollment at the University of Mississippi. He was denied. He appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ruled in his favor. Governor Ross Barnett did not concur with the ruling and said that he would personally refuse Meredith's application for entry to Ole Miss University (Joiner, 1983).

Governor Barnett made himself the registrar of the university and refused to admit James Meredith. President Kennedy intervened, but to no avail. The Governor still refused to admit Meredith. Eventually, Meredith was enrolled at the university, and he, too, was guarded by federal troops. He graduated and received his degree in 1963.

In 1963, major events occurred in the Civil Rights Movement. On August 28, 1963, Dr. King delivered his "I Have A Dream" speech before 250,000 people who marched on Washington. Sheriff "Bull" Connor of Birmingham ordered his police to turn the fire hoses on peaceful marchers (Morris, 1984). Four children were killed when a bomb exploded in a baptist church. President John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

In 1964, the new Civil Rights Act was passed (Morris, 1984). Martin Luther King also received the Nobel Peace Prize for his works with the Civil Rights Movement. During the summer of 1964 and the next three summers, violent riots broke out in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Jersey City, Detroit, and Chicago. The Watts riot lasted for four days. Over 1000 police and

over 73,000 troops had to be called. Thirty-six people were killed, and over 1,000 were injured. Four thousand were arrested.

The Civil Rights Movement took a turn in 1966. A split came about because there were those who were proponents of violence, and there were many who were not. From this split came the Black Panthers led by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale and the Black Muslims led by Elijah Muhammed and Malcom X (Perry, 1991). Malcom X was assassinated in 1965. Three years later, Dr. Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy were assassinated in 1968.

By the 1970s, the educational, health, and welfare status of the Negro was much improved. There were Negroes in elected positions in the government system and less segregation in the South. In essence, major positive changes occurred for Negroes between the years of 1954 and 1970 (Lawson, 1991).

After the 1954 Brown decision, and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, how are African Americans faring in the educational arena? Since the 1970s, according to Mann (1996), African Americans have been undergoing a remarkable transition in all phases of life. In terms of educational attainment, how are African American doing?

> The college enrollment rates of African Americans aged 18-24 rose from 16% in 1970 to % in 1994. In 1970, about 5% of blacks aged 25 years or older had a college degree; by 1994, that rate had increased to 13%. Educational gains also occurred at the high school level. The percent of

blacks aged 25 years or older who had completed at least 4 years of high school increased from 32% in 1970 to 73% in 1994 (Mann, 1996, p. 3).

Despite these improvements in the educational arena, policy makers are still concerned about the academic performance of black children:

> Black children still do not perform as well as white children in their grades, and are more likely than white children to drop out of school. These circumstances may put African American children at a disadvantage in the future labor force. While black performance on national tests improved over the last two decades, African American children still lagged behind white children in solving basic math problems and in reading abilities on tests administered in the late 1980s (Mann, 1996, p. 3).

The Separation Line: Perceiving Differing Factors Between Black and White Education

It did not take the 1954 Brown decision to make Black Americans aware of the importance of education. For generations, black people realized the importance of education. It is common knowledge that the quality of public education makes a positive difference in the lives of all children, but especially in the lives of black children. According to Jones (1981):

> The difference becomes viable in the lives of well-educated adults in terms of their ability to participate in higher education opportunities, the range and quality of employment options for which realistically they may

> qualify, the salaries they are able to command, their upward mobility, their ability to provide for the families they produce, and their overall satisfaction with themselves and with life in this society.
>
> Blacks in the United States have used education as the chief means to seek equal opportunity. Schooling has been perceived as the necessary preparation incident to equal access to employment, jobs being the primary factor in access to other desired objectives--comfortable housing, adequate health care, material and cultural opportunities, graduate and professional education, establishing and maintaining families, preparing for older age and retirement. Blacks never have argued that education was capable of reforming all the ills of society that affected them as individuals or as a group seeking equity with the dominant white group. Instead, they have perceived education as an institutional arrangement absolutely necessary, even though not sufficient, to the attainment of their ultimate goals--full inclusion in the society (equality) and social justice (p. 1).

As blacks have used education as a vehicle for social and educational mobility, the question has become whether black schools can educate black children better than integrated schools. Several factors seem to suggest that black schools educate black children differently.

According to Jones (1981), several factors seem to make the black high school different from integrated high schools. The aura of great school spirit,

high morale, school/community interactions, interpersonal expectations, and support systems available to black youth is conveyed in as the essence of the school. Black high schools seemed to nurture, support, correct, encourage, teach, and punish if/when it was necessary to do so. The black high school was the student's home away from home.

Jones (1981) writes:

> There never was a choice for the student between "learning," and "not learning." To fail to learn what was being taught in school was unacceptable to teachers, family, peers, and the community. The choice was how much one would learn, and what subjects would be mastered. Learning and achieving were expected from students, while active, involved teaching was expected from faculty. Thus, the school climate was positive and supportive of academic achievement. Reinforcement came from the friendly competition of peers, a situation which set a faster pace for learning and stimulated students to learn from and with each other, and to keep up with or out-distance one another (p. 3).

An important part of a black high school's curriculum was an emphasis on black history/literature. "Students were taught their heritage so that they would appreciate the contribution of people like themselves to this nation and to the world. Further, students were taught to set personal goals for the future" (Jones, 1981, p. 3).

Several researchers have looked at the characteristics of black

elementary and high schools that seem to successfully educate inner-city, poor, minority children; The schools are considered successful because students from these schools excel academically. Weber (1971) and Edmonds (1979) identified common characteristics of successful schools. These characteristics include: strong leadership, high teacher expectations, a disciplined and safe environment, strong emphasis on reading, additional reading personnel, use of phonics, individualization instruction, ability grouping, parental support, a basic education curriculum, alternative placement for disruptive students, a disciplined and safe atmosphere, and frequent monitoring and evaluation of students' progress.

The question frequently arises as to the ability of white teachers to teach black children in comparison to their black counterparts. That, too, is a question that may never be answered; however, it has been debated as far back as 1868. J. W. Hood, the Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina stated:

> And with all due respect to the noble self sacrificing devotion that white teachers from the North have shown tot he cause of the ignorant and despised colored people in the South--without detracting one iota from the amount of gratitude we owe them for that genuine philanthropy which has enabled them to bear up amid the contempt and ostracism that has been heaped upon them--I must be permitted to say that it is impossible for white teachers, educated as they necessarily are in this country, to enter

into the feelings of colored pupils as the colored teacher does (Noble, 1930, p. 290).

Hood's opinion addressed a prevalent concern about the ability of white teachers to teach and meet the needs of black children. He did not believe that it was possible for white teachers to "provide adequate positive psychological support to make black children feel worthy and competent as human beings" (Noble, 1930, p. 292). Hood further states:

> I do not believe that it is good for our children to eat and drink daily the sentiment that they are naturally inferior to the whites, which they do in three-fourths of all the schools where they have white teachers. There are numbers of colored people who really think that they are naturally inferior to white people. Nothing tries me more than to hear a black man make this admission; and yet they cannot be expected to do otherwise, when they learn it as they learn their letters, and it grows with their growth and strengthens with their strength. Taking this view of the case, I shall always do what I can to have colored teachers for colored schools. This will necessitate separate schools as a matter of course, whenever it is possible, not by written law, but by mutual consent and the law of interest (Noble, p. 293).

Drury (1980) studied black self-esteem and desegregated schools and concluded that "for black adolescents in a desegregated school, the hostile racial attitudes of their teachers become incorporated into negative self-attitudes" (p.

90). White teachers in desegregated settings often view black students as a threat to their classroom environment (Drury).

Robinson, Robinson, and Bickel (1980) concluded that black and white teachers view understanding of white and black students in very different ways. A group of white teachers in a southern state were asked about their concerns toward teaching black students. They expressed the following concerns:

1. lack of common grounds for understanding different styles and values
2. understanding language dialect; communication
3. overcoming their prejudices
4. planning for individual difference
5. lack of respect for adults
6. understanding their lack of interest
7. poor training of black students before integration
8. lack of training at home
9. Negro children downgrading themselves
10. fear of being prejudiced against them
11. defensiveness among students
12. profanity--vulgarity
13. lack of confidence in handling strictly racial problems
14. parental apathy (p. 52).

In reference to white students, black teachers' responses were slightly different. They held the following concerns:

1. trying to get the students to mix--getting them to be a whole class instead of separating themselves
2. helping white children get rid of their feelings of superiority
3. getting them to feel they are a part of the class
4. white parents are overly protective
5. trying to promote a feeling of a more relaxed atmosphere between the race (Robinson et al.,1980, p. 52).

The effect that a desegregated school setting has on a child's sense of racial identity and overall self-esteem is an ongoing concern of many black parents and communities:

> Some have argued against school desegregation on the grounds that even when strong efforts are made to foster positive racial identity among black students, desegregated schools, where blacks are usually the minority, tend to be less effective than segregated, all Black schools, in promoting positive Black identity and bridling self-esteem and confidence in Black students (Dawkins, 1994, p. 9).

In the spotlight of educational debate is the issue of ebonics, or the teaching of black English. At the heart of this debate is the idea of self-esteem. "Self-esteem is not only a condition for learning but is also as important a goal in the education of minority students as academic mastery itself" (Steele, 1997, p. 48). Steele (1997) writes that in the argument of ebonics, the focus is shifted away from the problem, which is poor academic performance of black children,

by emphasizing a black language that helps the black child to develop a sense of identity and perpetuate his self-esteem. "In the interest of self-esteem, of protecting black children from racial shame, ebonics makes broken English the equivalent of standard English" (Steele, 1997, p. 48).

Therefore, the essential questions are: Will black students fare better in a segregated school setting? Will segregated schools bolster black children's self-esteem? Will it help them to excel academically and develop a stronger sense of self-identity?

> One of the questions on the 1994 Gallop Poll asked:
>
> Which is better: Letting students go to local schools, even if it means that most of the students would be the same race, or transferring students to other schools to create more integration, even if it means travel out of the community (Orfield, 1995, p. 657)?

Orfield (1995) summarized that both black and white America favored local or neighborhood schools but were unsure about how to equitably achieve integration.

The Neighborhood plan has been highly useed in Chicago. The intent of the Neighborhood Policy was to divide the city into manageable school districts in order to cope with a rapidly expanding population (Somerville, 1969). The majority middle-class white communities experienced positive results. The child became aware that the school was an integral part of the community. The child, as well as the parents, developed a self-centered pride in the school and the

neighborhood. This, in turn, produced feelings of competition between communities that often promoted desire for growth and improvement. Higher academic standards were sought as parents from depressed areas saw other areas; more experimentation with new educational methods and techniques was undertaken in depressed school areas; teachers were stimulated to seek advanced education; and parents became very much involved in the total school program in low socioeconomic areas (Somerville, p. 125).

Somerville (1969) found that this was not necessarily the case in the Negro neighborhood. The Negro neighborhoods were much affected by the steady migration of transients into the urban areas. The areas were also economically depressed, and lacked the stability that the white neighborhoods had. Somervillewrites:

> Further, the social values which this new sub-culture developed were different from those of the larger social structure; they reflected the individual's desire for an immediate need for gratification rather than satisfaction from long-range goals. His behavior, in keeping with these values, reflected concern for personal survival rather than group progress or even long range personal advantage. Cooperation, family cohesiveness, and social interdependence produced no satisfying rewards and, therefore, were not prized. Neighborhoods emerged in which broken homes, illegitimacy, unemployment, and welfare aid were common (p. 123).

Many people advocate returning to segregated neighborhood or community schools because these segregated schools stand a better chance of educating black children. The National Council on Educating Black Children states: "Left in the hands of others, the education of African American children has fallen short. The African American community must ultimately rely upon itself to reinforce a substantive and relevant education for its children" (Cooper, 1995, p. 11).

This trend can already be seen in schools such as Marva Collins' Afrocentric schools in Chicago. Two schools in Milwaukee are devoted to Afrocentric teaching, and a group of black parents, educators, and legislators sought legislation to create an independent and predominantly black school system (Bell, 1987). For many years, black and white citizens of the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) have expressed concern over the poor academic performance of the majority of the students.

> For example, for the 1985-86 school year, 33% of black children in the fifth grade are low performing students in reading, compared to only 15% of white children in this grade. In the seventh grade, the figures are 32% for blacks and 14% for whites, and by the tenth grade, 42% of black children are in the low performance category compared to 14% for white (Bell, 1987, p. 136).

For several years, the administration maintained that there was not a serious problem with the (MPS), but the Governor's Study Commission shows

that the majority of high school freshmen either drop out or are graduated with less than a "C" average (Bell, 1987). Now the system has shifted the blame. They now say that the "poor performance of poor and minority students, most of whom are Black, is the logical and predictable extension of their race or family income" (Bell, p. 141). Thus, the call from the black community for a return to neighborhood schools.

In Detroit and Baltimore, there are all-black male military style schools developing in the cities. They are now beginning to cater to females, as well (Ascher, 1992). A prime example of this is the Malcom X Academy in Detroit:

> Malcom X Academy is a k-8 elementary school where Detroit parents may choose to send their children. The school was created out of an urgent sense that bold action was needed to save the city's young black males from the perils of academic failure, drugs and violence (Bushweller, 1996, p. 34).

There are many who oppose the school because they believe that it does not teach African American males how to live in the real world. The principal, Clifford Watson, would disagree with the negative comments:

> The school's success back up that claim: Malcom X Academy sports a 99 percent attendance rate, and its reading and math scores are well above district and state averages. And in five years at the school, Watson boasts, "I've never seen a gun, knife, or cigarette on any students, and I've had some real characters here" (Bushweller, 1996, p. 34).

Harvey, McKenzie, and Wilkins (1993) were asked for their opinion on segregated schools. Their response was:

> We do support trying a number of ways to reach black young men because we're losing too many of them. This just might be the answer. We were in both Milwaukee and Detroit when the initiatives were being discussed. Neither group said that they would not discriminate against other ethnic groups. They also indicated that if the community wanted a school for girls only, they would do that too. We are not being successful with enough black boys and we have got to find a way to save more of them. They're beautiful young people and already they're guilty before they even do anything. We have got to find a way to help their self-esteem and even re-educate ourselves about how to educate boys effectively. We believe that this is an alternative that really needs to be tried (p. 9).

Gibbs (1988) writes that the literature in recent years has referred to the young black males as an endangered species. Statistics indicate that black males experience significant alienation from America's schools from kindergarten through high school. Reed (1988) writes:

1. The overall mean achievement scores for Black male students are below those of other groups in the basic subject areas.
2. Black males are much more likely to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded and for students with learning disabilities

than in gifted and talented classes.

3. Black males are far more likely to be placed in general education and vocational high school curricular tracks than in an academic track.
4. Black males are suspended from school more frequently and far longer periods of time than other student groups.
5. Black females complete high school at higher rates than Black males (p. 1).

The resurgence of segregated schools can also be seen in the surge of single-sex schools that are springing up throughout the United States. The New York City Schools opened the Women's Leadership School in 1996 (Salomone, 1997). Amidst complaints that the school violates Title IX, "federal officials have suggested that a possible solution might be to admit boys to the school or to open a comparable all-boys school at a nearby location" (Salomone, p. 44).

Many organizations for the rights of women oppose these schools. They argue that "single-sex schools do not prepare young women for the real world, nor do they permit girls or boys to transcend historically gender-based barriers in society and in the world of work" (Salomone, 1997, p.44). Salomone contends that:

> Researchers have found that young women in single-sex secondary schools demonstrate higher educational and professional aspirations, greater self-confidence, and less traditional views of women in the workplace. They tend to take math and science courses on higher levels,

> and outscore their coed counterparts on general academic and science exams. These gains continue even when they choose coed colleges. Not only do they attend more selective institutions, but they are more likely to obtain advanced degrees and choose nontraditional careers. Most importantly, single-sex education has proven particularly beneficial to minority girls who, in one recent study, scored nearly a year ahead of their peers in public coed schools (p. 32).

Gordon (1983) writes that when all else fails, including desegregation, the responsibility of educating black children will still rest within the black community. According to Gordon the question becomes, when will the black community realize that it is their responsibility to determine the destiny of their children themselves?

It has yet to be determined how the issue of desegregation will eventually be settled. Will the state be responsible for equitably educating the black child or will the education of black children return to the communities? Is one alternative better than the other? The issue has yet to be settled; however, there is a certainty. The certainty is that the future society will be a highly technological society. The emphasis will be on brain, not brawn, and the ability to gain access to and retrieve highly sophisticated advanced knowledge. "In the educational process, children must receive access to high knowledge at an early age and unfortunately black children seem to be receiving less and less access to this knowledge" (Gordon, 1983, p. 18).

Forty Plus Years After Brown

The 1954 Brown decision was suppose to secure equal educational opportunities for black children. It appears, however, that 40 years after Brown, the educational system has not fulfilled that promise. Carter (1995) states that:

> Some forty years after our highest court struck racial segregation in our nations' public schools on the grounds that a separate but equal school system denied black children their right to equal educational opportunity, racial discrimination in our public schools is alive and well and the outlawed dual system is still with us (pg. 619).

Carter (1995) further states that black children are still experiencing segregation by attending inner-city schools in urban areas. In other words, the term has shifted from "all-black" to "inner-city." However, the terms are synonymous and have become the same.

In 1992, Linda Brown whose parents fought for her educational rights in Topeka in 1954, went back to court to fight for the educational rights of her children. When the case was settled:

> The court held that the Topeka school system had not fulfilled its duty to desegregate; that some schools were still regarded as "black schools" and others as "white schools," and that the disproportionately black schools had the lowest test scores (Carter, 1995, p. 620).

Forty years after Brown, Carter (1995) states that there are "more black children in all or virtually all black schools today than in 1954" (p. 619). Therefore, simply integrating black and white children does not solve the problem. Integration, in itself, can be undermined by tracking, by ability grouping, or homogenous grouping, or by putting black children in special education classes.

A study conducted by Dawkins (1994) sought to ascertain the long term effects of elementary and secondary desegregation on African Americans. In the wake of 40 plus years after Brown, the findings of the study suggest that the sample of nationally represented blacks who attended desegregated schools tend to have more positive relationships with whites. The positive relationships are evident in their selection of friends, colleagues with whom they work, and neighborhoods that they choose to live. This conclusion supports the fact that desegregation can work.

Gordon (1983) presented some thoughts on desegregation in Columbus, Ohio. Some of the noteworthy points made in reference to Columbus are universal in scope to desegregation in the United States. He acknowledges two basic opposing factions that are common in most states: (1) the new regime who supports busing for desegregation, and (2) the old regime who strongly support the black community schools. The new regime believes that "the white children will receive quality education and if black children are in the same classes, they ,too, will receive this same quality education and be exposed to an integrated

and positive educational" (Gordon, p. 12). The old regime "insists that there are strengths within the black community schools" (Gordon, p. 12).

Gordon (1983) references inequities that black children experience as part of the Columbus, Ohio school desegregation plan. Specifically, "White students spend ten years in their own community schools and two years in integrated schools, while black students spend two to four years in their own schools and eight to ten years respectively in other schools" (p. 16). Gordon further states that the original desegregation plan was changed in order that black and poor children were reclustered with poor white children and middle class black students were bused to middle class white schools. The white teachers complained that they did not know how to deal with the poor black children; therefore, black children were disciplined more often. "Black children, in essence, are being punished, suspended, and are experiencing higher incidents of corporal punishments at the hands of teachers and staff more than their white counterparts" (Gordon, p. 16).

Farrell (1984) notes that in the case of desegregation and school discipline, " the discriminatory practices of the larger society are merely reflected in the school" (p. 68). It appears that "the official school position has been to make black children adapt to the way education has always taken place --thus facilitating a disproportionate number of sanctions, suspensions, and/or expulsions of black students" (Farrell, 1984, p. 64). White teachers traditionally have felt threatened in desegregated classrooms. Black students, on the other

hand, perceive their teachers and the classroom setting as hostile and unreceptive.

Harvey et al. (1993) indicated that African American youth have made much progress in desegregated public schools. There are more high school graduates, better test scores, more students attend and graduate from college. Yet Harvey et al. maintains that even though educational attainment has improved, "the amount of education needed to have a real chance in life has grown even more" (p. 3).

A prevalent concern that is noted by Harvey et al. (1993) is that in light of desegregation, funding for remedial education has not been readily available. He further notes that "white flight," or the move of the white middle class to the suburbs, has been a common problem of desegregation. On the converse side of "white flight" has been the flight of black middle class causing the urban public schools to be filled with poor and minority students. Once again a segregated school setting has been created. Harvey et al. concluded that maybe desegregation is not the answer to the problem; however, strategies must be developed in order to address the ever-increasing problems of educating African American children.

After celebrating 40 plus years of a system that legally enforced routes of access and opportunity for millions of school children, it appears that the trend is shifting back to segregation. Orfield and Eaton (1996) note that "for the first time since 1954, school segregation is actually increasing for African American

students" (pg. 1). They indicate that the Brown decision is being quietly reversed. They further assert that school districts nationwide are no longer concerned about the court decision of 1954.

The Supreme Court has become weary of its involvement with desegregation, and is ready to shed this responsibility. It is estimated that more than 300 of the nations' 16,000 school districts are under some sort of court-ordered desegregation plan (Schmidt, 1995). Many congressional leaders maintain that the federal judiciary system was not intended to serve in this capacity. In 1995, a House subcommittee is also studied "whether Congress should limit the federal courts' power to intervene in the policy decisions and daily operations of school districts under desegregation" (Schmidt, 1995, p. 10).

A significant shift in recent desegregation rulings seems to suggest that the justices no longer support the "idea of a long-term federal court review of what local school districts do in the desegregation context" (Schmidt, p. 10). Some recent rulings would lead one to think that the courts are trying to remove themselves from the playing arena:

> A 1991 ruling in an Oklahoma City case said federal courts must provide district with specific thresholds which, if met, allow districts to win release from desegregation orders; A 1992 ruling involving Dekalb County, Georgia, let districts modify segregation caused by new demographic trends; A 1995 ruling involving Kansas City, Missouri, said that desegregation does not require districts to completely close achievement

gaps between white and minority students. The lower court had forced Missouri to spend an extra $1 billion on predominantly black Kansas City public schools to help build or remodel 56 magnet schools. This was done in the hopes of attracting suburbanites and raising the test scores of black children. Neither goal was achieved (Schmidt, p. 10).

Since the 1995 Kansas City ruling, other major decisions have occurred nationwide:

In Minneapolis: School board, with support of city's first black mayor, obtains a waiver of state guidelines requiring racial balance; In Indianapolis: school board intends to seek end to court order requiring busing of more than 5,000 inner-city students to surrounding suburbs; In Cleveland: the state asks federal court to end desegregation order for schools, now 79% minority; In Pittsburgh: school board proposes scrapping busing in favor of neighborhood schools, though many would be primarily one race; In Denver: black-led school board plans return to neighborhood schools after federal court ends desegregation order; In St. Louis: federal court decision is pending on an end to court-ordered busing plan that sends 12,700 inner city kids to suburban schools; In Florida: federal judge calls for hearing on ending 37-year court supervision of Hillsborough County schools; Broward County abandons mandatory busing; In Louisville: school board's sole black member initiates reappraisal of busing plan; In Wilmington: federal court ends supervision

despite complaints of lingering segregation (Kunen, 1996, pp.9-10).

It appears that in light of the quiet dismantling of desegregation that other measures are going to have to be sought to make education more equitable for African American children. After years of strict court supervision, school districts nationwide face the dilemma of what to do once the courts are no longer there to oversee that desegregation is maintained. In Denver, Buffalo, New York, and Wilmington, Delaware public school educators must now deal with the question: "How will they ensure the integration and education of minority children when court supervision is gone" (Schmidt, 1995, p. 1)? Many civil rights leaders believe that the question will easily be answered by school districts returning to segregation.

Theodore M. Shaw, a lawyer for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, says that "without a conscious commitment to school desegregation, the trend will be toward resegregation (Schmidt, 1995, p. 10). Shaw believes that without court-enforced desegregation plans, there will be a shift in school districts to return to segregation. Many would question if this shift would be so bad. There are those who doubt the value of integration, and believe that enforced desegregation has never worked (Berg, 1996). These people often favor magnet schools and/or a return to community schools.

Magnet schools provide desegregation through choice. Rossell (1990) argues that magnet schools are successful desegregation tools because they offer the "carrot" of excellence and special programming. Metz (1986) studied

three magnet schools in a large city and found that the focus was taken off of desegregation because it appeared that no one had to attend an inferior school. "However, contrary to publicity, it was not the magnet themselves that desegregated the city's schools, but the closing of central city schools and the busing of black children to white schools" (Metz, p. 207).

Wells studied a court-ordered voluntary transfer plan in St. Louis and found that some urban African American parents may choose an all-black and under-resourced school for their children; however, they may not. The assumption cannot be made that urban African American parents will necessarily choose a predominantly white school for their children when given a choice. Wells (1991) also found that many do not make rational choices about their children's education, and some "choose not to choose" by keeping them in the neighborhood school.

The return to the neighborhood or community schools is welcomed by many African American communities:

> There has always been some preference in the black community, as in the white, for neighborhood schools, though these may be more an ideal than a reality for the children of the poor, who tend to move, or be moved, a great deal (Kunen, 1996, p. 7).

In Denver, for example, "the dismantling of mandatory desegregation has been initiated by black leaders, since it is often black children who bear the brunt of such plans--forced to travel long distances to schools where they may not be

welcome" (Kunen, 1996, p. 2).

Clint Bolick, litigation director for the Libertarian Institute for Justice in Washington, predicts that court-ordered desegregation will be abolished in 10 to 15 years. Many oppose this idea because they believe that integrated schools will become a thing of the past without court intervention. On the other hand, University of Indiana law professor Kevin Brown, an expert on race and education, maintains that "we have already seen the maximum amount of racial mixing in public schools that will exist in our lifetime" (Kunen, 1996, p. 2).

The research suggests that we are fast approaching an end to integration or court-ordered desegregation. Bolick further maintains that we can learn something from the 1954 Brown decision. "What all this shows is that social engineering doesn't work" (Kunen, 1996, p. 9). The major role of educators, policy makers, and society in general will be to try to determine how to run the educational institutions in an ever-changing demographic society. In the process, they will have to figure how to equitably educate African American students. Vergon (1994) states it very succinctly:

> There can be no doubt that Brown has made a general contribution to our understanding of equal opportunity and the complexity of social and educational change over the past 40 years. Still, the question remains whether Brown's policy of school integration and principles of equal and equitable educational opportunities are likely to endure in the 21st century. The answer to this question depends on more than just the

continued legal validity of the Court's ruling. It also depends on the opportunities the changing demographic patterns present for integration in the nation's schools, and the extent to which integration is seen by the public and by political leaders as an attractive and effective means for enhancing educational opportunities (p. 485-486).

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CAMPBELL HIGH SCHOOL OF ROANE COUNTY TENNESSEE AND DOUGLASS HIGH SCHOOL OF KINGSPORT, TENNESSEE

Campbell High School

Campbell High School was located in Rockwood, Tennessee. Rockwood is approximately forty-five miles southwest of Knoxville, Tennessee. The original structure of Campbell was erected in 1916, but major additions were made in 1949 and 1955 (Tennessee State Department of Education Survey Staff, 1959).

As was common during this era of segregation, Campbell was the only secondary school for African American children in Roane County. Prior to a name change, the school was known as Rockwood Colored High School. The principal during this time was Professor B. J. Campbell.

Although the school was located in the heart of the Rockwood black community, black children came from the far-reaches of the county to attend school. Some students walked, but the majority of the students were bussed from little towns called Oliver Springs, Harriman, Emory Gap, Kingston, Paint Rock, Peakland, Pikeville, Dayton, Spring City, and Oakdale. Some students came from little obscure communities with names such as Johnny Hollow, Black Jack, and Slap Town.

In 1924, John Brown Olinger or "Mr. J. B. , as he was commonly called," came to Rockwood, Tennessee as the principal of Rockwood Colored High School. Mr. Olinger (in Burkett, 1968) wrote that he only had six Negro students. He further stated: "Those six students made up the first and second years. There was no record of the high school work at the State Department of Education. There was only one Rockwood Negro student away at college" (in Burkett, n.p.n.).

For many years, Professor Olinger discussed with the Rockwood city officials and the State Department of Education the idea of establishing a four-year high school for Negro students. There was a common belief that once a four-year high school was built in Roane County, then the Negro children would take advantage of the many educational opportunities. However, much work needed to be done before this idea could come to fruition.

It actually took 13 years for Professor Olinger to receive state accreditation for a four-year program (Campbell, 1974). The two-year school was changed to a four-year high school. The school was then renamed from "Rockwood Colored High School" to "Campbell High School," in honor of its long time principal, Professor B. J. Campbell. Two more years passed before commencement exercises were held. The Rockwood Hotel Restoration Group (1986) writes:

> The preparation for this four-year high school was long and tedious. First, teachers with degrees were found; library books were selected, and the

> science lab, cafeteria, home economics area, and a typing room were planned. Approval for the improvements was secured from the city and county. Then the Board judges from Nashville were called in for their approval. When they arrived, they found an extremely overworked and nervous faculty. Only the principal, J. B. Olinger was cool, calm, and collected. When the superintendent came and said that approval had been granted for a four-year accredited high school (the smallest in the state) everyone rejoiced and cried (p. 5).

Professor Olinger wrote in Burkett (1968) that the development of more extracurricular activities began to hold the students in school longer: "Football and basketball played a great part in developing the interest and pride of the entire community in the work of the school" (Burkett, n.p.n.). According to Campbell (1974), Professor Olinger "introduced the best athletics program that any area black school could claim and superior quality in all aspects of the education program" (p. 4).

A former student and teacher, Alma Fletcher (1968) wrote:

> I can recall that it ranked number one scholastically with other area Negro schools including Austin of Knoxville and Howard of Chattanooga. Our teachers were the very best. We lacked nothing when it came to being prepared for college. Many of our students were contest winners and in mathematics and English contests among area schools. During my four years at Campbell, we all took four years of mathematics, four years of

> English and literature, two years of history. The boys had science, health, and biology. The girls had home economics and all juniors and seniors had chemistry one year and physics the next year, or vise versa (n.p.n).

The school's yearbook, was named the Clarion. The 1949-50 edition is one of the rare issues that still exists, and it gives a sketchy overview of what was going on at Campbell High during the school year. Professor Olinger is listed as the principal. It is interesting to note that Miss Ann E. Watson and Mrs. Ella Mae Powell had been teachers working with Professor Olinger since he came to be the principal at Rockwood Colored High School.

During this school year, Mrs. Lucie B. Porter, Miss Constance E. Ross, Mrs. Erma L. Ross, and Mrs. Willie C. Olinger were listed as teachers. Mrs. Elaine Simpson was listed as a substitute teacher. There were eleven seniors:

> Helen Francis Smith of Rockwood, Eunice Jordan Davison of Rockwood, Virginia Jo Moore of Peakland, Alma Yette Wright of Rockwood, Emmett Bowman Yette of Harriman, E. Paul Love of Emory Gap, Charlie Harkness of Harriman, Ben Johnson, Jr. of Harriman, Lee Henry Winton of Emory Gap, Calvin Artel Powell of Kingston, and Henry Thomas Wright of Rockwood (Clarion 1949-50).

Fifteen students are pictured in the junior class, with 14 students pictured in the sophomore class, 13 students in the freshman class, 29 students pictured in the sixth through eighth grades, 19 students pictured in the third through fifth grades, and 27 students pictured in the first and second grades.

Athletics were a big part of the Campbell High program. The team's mascot was the Trojans. The football, basketball, and track teams were successful in terms of winning trophies and district honors. Girls did not have as many athletic opportunities as the boys, but they did have a basketball team.

The 1949-50 Clarion gave brief accounts of how well the athletic teams did during the school-year:

> The Campbell High Trojans opened their twenty game schedule by losing to Scarboro High of Oak Ridge. In fact, they lost the first seven games. Up until February, 1950, all of the practicing had to be done out of doors. Then the new gym was opened and the boys began to win. The final result was a record of ten wins and ten losses. They made a very impressive showing in the East Tennessee Tournament held at Knoxville College the first week of March, defeating Hall High of Alcoa, second ceded team, and losing to Morristown College High, the team which went on to win the tournament.
>
> Carl Fred D'Armond was selected on the all tournament team. Starting the games with him were Jesse Stone, Charles Stone, Emmett Yette, and Lloyd Harrison. Other members of the team were Charley Harkness, Joe Louis Smith, Ervin Reddy, Calvin Powell, Charles Cozart, Bud Wright, Lee Henry Winton, Roosevelt Smith and James Womack ((n.p.n.)

Christine Sanders wrote an account of the girls' basketball program for the Clarion (1949-50):

During this term the girls basketball team, coached by Miss Constance Ross, played nineteen games, winning fourteen and losing five. The first and only games they lost were those played at the East Tennessee Tournament at Knoxville College, March 3, 4, and 5. There they were defeated twice by Douglass of Kingsport 24 to 12, and by Slater of Bristol 30 to 24.

The following girls made up the team:

Helen Smith, Naomi Martin, Virginia Tarter, Josephine McDonald, Marie McCaleb, Christine Sanders, Rosa Mae Sanders, Cora Bell Sherman, Alma Griffin, Bernice Jordan, Lillian Cozart, Ida Moore, Virginia Moore is team manager; Miss Constance Ross is coach (n.p.n.).

Probably one of the greatest occasions to be celebrated at Campbell was the completion and opening of the new gym. Prior to February, 1950, many people had never seen a game of basketball. Emmett Yette wrote about the new gymnasium in the Clarion (1949-50):

The new gymnasium at Campbell High School has added new life, not only to the students of Campbell High, but also to every community in Roane County. The gym was built of cinder blocks. The heat from the gym is sent from the school's furnace to the gym. The gymnasium is 80 feet long and 54 feet wide. Three rows of seats was laid by the Campbell High boys in their spare time. The doors were built. One is used for entrance when a game is being played. This door is where the tickets are

sold. The gym was large enough to have our annual spring carnival inside it. The floor is made of the best oak. The gym outside is painted white. It is true that the gymnasium has helped the community to a great extent. Most of the people in the surrounding places, Oliver Springs, Harriman, Spring City, Emory Gap, Kingston, and even in Rockwood had not so much as seen a game of basketball, before the gym was built.

After young and old alike had seen their first game, they decided that basketball played a very important part in life, such as helping to build stronger bodies for the students that did participate in the game. The gymnasium did give people some place to go during the week.

A new electric scoreboard was installed in the gym at a cost of $303. The senior class gave $100 toward purchase of this scoreboard while friends of the school made up the rest (n.p.n.).

The 1949 football team boasted a roster of 30 boys. Charley Harkness, a former player, wrote for the Clarion (1949-50):

Campbell came up with another strong team this year. The Trojans won seven of their ten game schedule. They amassed a total of 142 points while yielding 53 points to their opponents. Beating Austin High in Knoxville 20 to 7, would have made the season a success, but when they went ahead to trounce Morristown College High in the Temptation at Harrison 19 to 0. Everybody admitted that they were a top-notch high school team (n.p.n.).

Track was listed as an activity in the yearbook, but not as an athletic team. It appeared that the track team did fairly well during the 1949-50 school year. Calvin Powell wrote in the Clarion (1949-50):

> The track team took part in the Austin High School Invitational track meet held at Evans Collins Field April 22, 1950. James Bryson won first place in the 75 yards dash; Carl Fred D'Armond took first place in the football throw; Emmett Yette, third in the 440 yards dash; E. P. Love, third in 1/2 mile event. The relay teams placed third in the 440 yard relay, and the sprint medley (n.p.n.).

Professor Olinger once commented that it was the activity programs that began to hold students in school longer (in Burkett, 1968, n.p.n.). He mentioned activities such as the Boy Scouts and dramatics programs, the choral program and the music festival held annually in Alcoa, Tennessee. He wrote about the Fashion shows that were presented by the home economics department, and taking junior and senior class trips to places such as Washington, D.C., a tour of colleges in Atlanta, Georgia, on a trip to Mammouth Cave in Kentucky or the state basketball tournament in Memphis, Tennessee.

The Closing of Campbell High School

As is common of even good things, they, too, must end. In 1959, the State Department of Education conducted a study of the Campbell facility. The report said that the building was still in a very good state of maintenance, despite

its age. However, the Tennessee State Department of Education Survey Staff (1959) outlined numerous problems in the building:

(1) The science laboratory is totally inadequate in size and in equipment and supplies;

(2) The home economics laboratory is entirely too small and is poorly lighted;

(3) The facilities to accommodate the physical education enrollment are inadequate;

(4) The library is completely unsatisfactory. To get to the library, the students have to go down steep narrow steps. The so-called library has practically no ventilation and has to be lighted solely by artificial light. Thus, it is apparent that the school needs a library;

(5) The cafeteria is totally inadequate;

(6) The gymnasium leaks in several places;

(7) The floors of all rooms are in bad condition--full of cracks (p. 37-40).

In reference to the curriculum, Campbell was cited for at least three violations. A staff member was not certified to teach in the areas that he was teaching. The typing classes were not meeting for the required length of time as mandated by the state. Finally, the class sizes were too large. Reference was made to English 1 classes having as many as 48 students. The Tennessee State Department of Education Survey Staff (1959) said, "It is extremely difficult for a teacher to instruct such large classes in a satisfactory manner, particularly if

they are ninth-grade classes whose students should receive more individual attention than more advanced students" (p.39).

The survey committee made the following recommendations to improve the condition of the school:

1. Add a new science room of sufficient size and with adequate equipment;
2. Add a new combination home economics room;
3. Add a shop room of required size for general shop;
4. Build a new cafeteria and kitchen with equipment;
5. Take a room presently being used for home economics and convert it to a library room;
6. Renovate and remodel the existing building completely to include new floors throughout the old building, rewiring, repairing gymnasium roof, converting present homemaking room to a library room, and doing such other work as might be found necessary to bring the building up to State Board Standards. The addition to this building would require 9,425 square feet of floor space and cost $103,675.00. The estimated cost for renovating and remodeling is $25,000.00 (Tennessee State Department of Education Survey Staff, 1959, p. 117).

Suffice it to say that the bottom line of the report simply stated that the building was inadequate to house an acceptable educational program. However,

the renovations to Campbell High School were never made because the school board fully realized that time was running out for segregated education. On August 20, 1964, a resolution was passed for desegregation of Roane County public schools (Roane County Schools, August 20, 1964).

In 1964, the doors of Campbell High School closed. Currently located at the site is a monument dedicated in honor of Professor and Mrs. Olinger. The dedication reads:

> Campbell High School (1920-1965): Originally called the Rockwood Colored High School, Campbell High was the only secondary school in the region for African American students. The building was erected while Professor B. J. Campbell was principal, and was eventually named in his honor. Dr. J. B. Olinger assumed the schools' leadership with 6 students in a 2-year program. By 1937, through the tireless efforts of Dr. and Mrs. Olinger, Campbell High was transformed into the smallest fully accredited 4-year high school in Tennessee. Campbell High School was officially closed in 1965 by the Federal Government ban on racially segregated schools.
>
> Dr. John B. "J. B. Olinger," Ph. D. 1889-1974, B.S., Tuskegee Institute; M.A., Fisk University; Ph.D., Columbia University--Mrs. Willie V. "Billie" Olinger, 1904-1993, B.S., New Jersey State College; M.A., Columbia University: Outstanding educators who emphasized academic excellence, built on moral and spiritual values, benevolent humanitarians in the

community, leaders in local, state and national organizations; Let their memory remind us to strive for personal initiative and service to our fellow man (Landry, 1995).

Professor Olinger: Portrait of a Principal

It would be sadly remiss to write any type of history about Campbell High School and fail to mention Professor J. B. Olinger. Professor Olinger was born in Hazard Kentucky in the county of Perry on September 4, 1899. He wrote an account of his career as a teacher in Burkett (1968):

> In 1921, I began teaching. The place was the Town Mountain School of Hazard , Kentucky. I had a teaching certificate for life, but no degree. I was proud of the fact I was doing the kind of work that my father had done all of his life. My teaching could not have been very good, but I loved all sixty of the children in that one-room school. Most of them were related to me. Some of the pupils were white, but nobody in those days seemed to worry about it.
>
> I enjoyed teaching then. I enjoy teaching now. I was fortunate in having a wife who was dedicated to teaching also. She got her education as I got mine-through summer schools. She took work at A and I State University, Hampton Institute, and at length got her degree at New Jersey State College.
>
> I got my B.S. degree at Tuskegee Institute, the MA.A. degree at Fisk

University and spent five summers working on the doctorate at Columbia University, New York City. I was never afraid of work. I took work wherever I could get it - in the wheat fields, in tobacco fields, in steel mills of Ohio, and in automobile factories of Detroit Michigan. I cooked in restaurants and sold insurance in the mining towns of Kentucky. Various organizations which have aided me in keeping in touch with the times are given here together with positions I held: Chairman of the Regional Professional Teachers Association from 1938 to 1950; Presidents of the East Tennessee Negro Teachers Association, 1937-38; at present, Chairman of the Roane-Loudon Community Action Agency; Member of the Mayor's Advisory Council of Rockwood; member of the Roane County Welfare Committee; and the coordinator of the full Employment Program of McDowel and Purcell Contractors, Inc. During the school year 1959 and 1960 I served as president of the Rockwood Teachers Association. I believe I was the first Negro to be president of integrated teachers in Tennessee. My college fraternity is the Alpha Phi Alpha, the oldest Negro college fraternity (n.p.n).

Mrs. Alma Fletcher wrote (in Burkett, 1968) the following tribute to Professor Olinger:

Many thanks are due Mr. Olinger who was primarily responsible for the life and curriculum of Campbell. There was never a dull moment in his classroom. While teaching us math, chemistry and physics, he also

> entertained us by speaking French, displaying his knowledge of geography by painting our rivers, cities, countries, etc., on the maps hanging around his classroom walls. He also quoted Shakespeare and other poets and writers. It was always a thrill to hear him quote "Annabel Lee." He inspired many a student and he made me thoroughly interested in all phases of learning (n.p.n.)

Douglass High School

Located in the Northeast corner of Tennessee is a black community called Riverview. Riverview is located in the heart of the Kingsport city limits. Within the city limits was once located Douglass High School. Douglass was the school designated for the education of the Kingsport's black students.

Prior to the building of Douglass, the Oklahoma School had been designated by the city elders for the black community. It was the former county school and in a deplorable state when the black community received it. The black citizens appealed to the mayor and the school board for a new school on February 7, 1919 (Ellis, n.d.).

A committee looked into securing funds from the Rosenwald Foundation. Even though the foundation would match dollar for dollar, up to five hundred dollars for a building built to specifications, it appeared that the elders were not overly anxious to build a new school in the black community.

The Mayor and Board of Aldermen met to discuss plans for three schools.

One of the schools was to house the black children. The planned school was to be a six room brick structure. The approximate cost was to be $30,000. This plan never materialized. The Oklahoma School was still the school used to educate Negroes in 1923. During this time, the teachers were Nicholas C. Fain and Mrs. Lane (Ellis, n.d.).

From 1923-24, Rev. and Mrs. J. F. Whitley were the principal and teacher of the school. In 1924, Mr. Albert H. Howell and his wife, Ellen, came to the Oaklahoma school. During this period of time, most of the black community lived in "Black Bottom" and "Cement Hill" (Ellis, n.d.).

The Douglass School population grew as did a new community named Riverview. The city decided at this time to build a new school in this area to accommodate the growth in the student population; however, there was protest from the community:

> Many of the established homeowners, businesses, and residents strongly objected to the city for such a move. The choice at that time was to move into the Borden Mill Village section of East Sevier, or across the railroad tracks to this proposed development for Negroes. Those who opposed to the site argued that it was a dried-up river-bed, swampy in some areas. The flat-bottom area accumulated all odors and pollution from existing plants and industries. The protest was to no avail (Ellis, n.d.)

On October 30, 1928, the city fathers finally signed a contract to build a new school. V. L. Nicholson and Company received $32,250 to build the school.

Thus, Douglass School was erected:

> The name Douglass was chosen in honor of Frederick Douglass (1817-1895). The school was located on Bristol highway at the corner of Walnut and Myrtle streets. It was a two-story structure with four classrooms, gymnasium-auditorium combined with girls and boys bathrooms, located at either end of the building. The second floor had four classrooms, a library, home economics and a cafeteria located at either end of the building. The manual arts building was a separate building (Ellis, n.d.).

Douglass school thrived from 1924-1942 under the leadership of Professor Howell. The school was well-known throughout the state of Tennessee for its academic and athletic status:

> The Douglass Tigers were noted as fierce competitors and winners. In the true tradition of Kingsport championships, the Douglass trophy case was a display of superiority in basketball, football, band and chorus. Winning coaches were C. C. Kizer, A. H. Powell, V. O. Dobbins, John Cox, Jr., Cora Cox, Wilbur Hendricks, Dan Palmer, Robert Deering, and Shannon Jolly. We would be remiss not to mention the superior ratings for the band under Dr. Solomon Shannon and Professor Howard Young. Chorus received excellent ratings under Willie Scoggins, Freddie Williams, O. R. Gill, and Pemberton Steele (Ellis, n.d.)

During the opposition and transition to the new site, other changes were occurring in the black community. Professor Howell resigned in 1942, and was

replaced by Professor V. O. Dobbins; Professor Dobbins was a former science and math teacher of the Douglass faculty. Douglass was now no longer a 1-12 school, but became Douglass High School around 1927. The first graduation of Douglass seniors was held in 1931.

The new Douglass High School was eventually built in the Riverview community. The school included many state of the art elements such as:

> A gym that seated 450, a full court with the first glass basketball backboards in the area, a cafeteria to accommodate 72 or more; a projection booth in the auditorium / theater that seated 300, a stage equipped with lighting above and on the floor, a fireproof stage, backdrop curtains, a control panel, stage dressing rooms with a spiral staircase leading to an upstairs dressing room, a backstage loading ramp, a separate industrial arts building, a band room, and a library.
>
> The first floor housed the principal's office, his secretary's office and the guidance office, a gymnasium, clinic, teachers' lounge, the home economics department, and eight classrooms. The second floor had eight classrooms, one of which was the science laboratory with six lab tables equipped with a sink, gas outlet, electric outlets, storage, and a library (Ellis, n.d.).

The entire structure sat on eight acres of land. Included in the eight acres was a playground, a swimming pool, practice fields and a baseball diamond. Boys' and girls' showers were in the gym area, along with lockers for both the

elementary and high school students.

The school was not only athletically strong, but was also academically strong. Sixteen Carnegie units were required to meet the state standards for graduation. Along with the basic curriculum, elective courses were also offered in typing, band, chorus, shop, industrial arts, and home economics. In 1946, Douglass was granted accreditation under the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges in (Ellis, n.d.).

The Closing of Douglass High School

Douglass High School served the community of Riverview for 35 years. "On June 8, 1966, Douglass closed its doors as an all-Negro school" (Ellis, n.d.). Actually, the plan for desegregation began on April 7, 1960:

> The Kingsport Board of Education announced the adoption of a grade-a-year plan for racial desegregation of the city schools. The plan became effective at the beginning of the school term 1961-62. With the beginning of the school year 1964-65 the plan for desegregation will have reached the 4th grade (Kingsport City Schools System, August 6, 1964).

On January 6, 1966, the board of Education voted to abandon use of Douglass School as a city school facility at the close of the 1965-66 school year. The building was turned over to the city for other uses. According to Ellis (n.d.), the building has served as offices to the Upper East Tennessee Economic Opportunities Authority, the Human Development Agency, and the community

recreation center.

Professor V. O. Dobbins: Portrait of a Principal

Professor Van Omer Dobbins, Sr. was often referred to as Professor V. O. Dobbins. Professor Dobbins was born in Columbia, Tennessee to Ben and Ella Dobbins. He received his B.S. and M.S. degrees at A & I State University, (now Tennessee State University). He came to Kingsport in 1935 and served in the Kingsport School System for 30 years. He was a coach, a math and a science teacher, and would later become the principal of Douglass High School. Douglass would become one of the first high schools to receive accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

As the principal of Douglass High School, he was known as a task-master. He was said to have been hard-working, diligent, and persistent. He was a resourceful man. It was said that he had to be in order to provide better for the black children of the Riverview community. His son spoke of having to work in the garden that Mr. Dobbins planted in order to provide meals for the children at school. A former teacher spoke of how he would be very mindful of who was doing a good job and who wasn't. Promptness was a major issue for him.

He fought hard for the materials that the students received from the city schools. As usual, most of their materials were hand-me-downs. Professor Dobbins saw to it that teachers not only worked in the school, but they had to live and be an active part of the community. He rented apartments to them in order for the teachers to live right in the heart of the black community.

A former teacher said that he always wanted the best for the students and

for the school. His obituary stated that it was his lifetime ambition to help youth reach or excel beyond their potential. He once went to a basketball game and saw a glass backboard. Before the year was out, the teachers and students had raised enough money to purchase one for the gymnasium. It was the only glass backboard in the East Tennessee area at this time.

Mr. Dobbins was highly respected in the community and the old Douglass High School is now a community center named after him. Professor Dobbins died after many years of devoted service to the Riverview community. There are many people who do not know how hard he had to struggle and fight for the few things that the black students of Douglass were given, but he did. According to his son, V.O. Dobbins, Jr., (personal communication, February 20, 1998) he recalls quiet vividly the number of hours that his mother and father devoted to making Douglass an exemplary school. Although Professor Dobbins is now deceased, his contributions to the community will never be forgotten.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Chapter 4 presents the methods and procedures used for conducting a case study examining the effects of school integration on two black communities in East Tennessee. This chapter describes the research design, the sampling techniques, and procedures for data analysis.

Research Design

"Some qualitative studies begin with the purpose of describing an organization or a subculture in an ethnography or a case study" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 44). Based upon this definition, the investigator chose the case study as the qualitative research method for depicting the effects of integration on two black high schools and communities in East Tennessee.

The case study is considered a form of nonexperimental or descriptive research, and does not allow for manipulation of treatments or subjects; therefore, "the researcher takes things as they are" (Merriam, 1988, p. 7). The investigator thought that it was important to use descriptive research because it would allow for subjects to describe and stress what was important in terms of context and setting from their frame of reference (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Those interviewed were able to describe in their own words, their views, attitudes, and opinions about their perceptions of the effects of integration on Campbell High School and Douglass High School.

The investigator also relied upon Guba and Lincoln's definition of a case

study as a basis for selecting this particular type of research design. Guba and Lincoln (1981) explained "the case study approach has several purposes: to chronicle events, to render, depict, or characterize; to instruct; and to try out, prove, or test" (p. 381). Based upon this definition, the investigator sought to use the case study method to present a picture of how integration impacted two black high schools and communities of East Tennessee.

Rationale for the Chosen Study

Tennessee is divided into three grand divisions: west, middle, and east (Foster, 1923). The rectangular state stretches from the lofty Appalachian mountains and foothills, across the plateau region with its forest and lakes in the Mississippi Valley. The geographical layout is as diverse as the composition of each community, and each community is unique and special. In my opinion, there is no place quite like home. The place I call home is none other than East Tennessee.

In considering the design of this study, my focus kept returning to the idea of the black high school and the role that it once played in the black community. Two high schools and their communities, in particular, stayed on my mind: Campbell High School and the Roane County community and Douglass High School and the Kingsport community.

Having grown up in the Roane County area of Tennessee, it has never ceased to intrigue me whenever I have listened to stories about Campbell High

School and Professor Olinger, and the impact that the school had on the Roane County community. I have grown up listening to stories about Professor Olinger and how he fought for the educational rights of the black children of Roane County. I have grown up listening to tales rich with traditions, and spirits saddened because of integration. I have grown up wondering what made this high school so special.

In 1989, I moved to Kingsport, Tennessee to work in the Kingsport City Schools system. As I became involved in the black community, I once again began to hear stories rich with traditions, but spirits saddened because of integration. I heard stories about Douglass High School and Mr. V. O. Dobbins. I heard stories about a man fighting for the educational rights of the black children of Kingsport. I heard stories of how close the community used to be. I heard how the parents used to truly look out for each other and their neighbor's children. Actually, they were stories very similar to the ones that I had grown up with, but about a different part of the East Tennessee region.

Both communities shared some commonalities; yet, they were very diverse in terms of the geographical span, the social, racial, economic, cultural, and political composition of each. A common thread was that both communities had a sparse population of blacks, but the families were very close to each other. However, a major difference was that Campbell High School was located in rural Rockwood, Tennessee, and the students had to come from as far away as the Chattanooga line to attend school. On the other hand, Douglass High School

was located right in the middle of the black community in Kingsport. Many students did not have to travel but a few blocks to get to school.

These two schools were chosen as the focus of this study because I believed there was much knowledge to be gained about the effects of integration on these two geographically diverse communities. Throughout my life, I had listened to tales of what the community lost when integration occurred. Having a strong belief in the power of stories lead me to want to formally document what type of educational impact Campbell High School and Douglass High School had on their respective communities, and the roles that they played in keeping the communities connected. I also believed that through the development of this case study, I would finally be able to confirm or dispel myths surrounding the effects of integration on these two communities.

Sampling

Merriam (1988) writes:

> Within every case there probably exist numerous sites that could be visited (as in a model science program), events or activities that could be observed, people who could be interviewed, documents that could be read. The researcher thus needs to consider where to observe, when to observe, and what to observe. In short, sampling in field research involves the selection of a research site, time, people and events (p. 46).

For the purpose of this study, the investigator chose to use

nonprobabilistic or purposeful sampling. Purposive or purposeful sampling "is based on the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain insight, therefore one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most" (Merriam, 1988, p. 48).

Participants were found initially by referrals from other people. The investigator found that key people's names in the community were often referenced as someone whom should be interviewed. The investigator sought former educators, former students, and community members to interview who had attended or been affiliated with Campbell High School and Douglass High School. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995):

> You choose people who are knowledgeable about the subject and talk with them until what you hear provides an overall sense of the meaning of a concept, theme or process. Sometimes interviewing one very well informed person is all that is necessary (p. 73).

Old school board minutes were also helpful in identifying faculty members though many were deceased. Yearbooks, though rare, provided school details, names and pictures of teachers and students.

Sample Size

Merriam (1988) explained: "Since it is impossible to interview everyone, observe everything, and gather all the relevant materials in a case, a sample needs to be selected either before data collection begins or while the data are

being gathered" (p. 52). According to McCracken (1988), one of the major differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches is "the number and kinds of respondents that should be recruited for research purposes" (p. 17). In quantitative research, the investigator has to develop a sample large enough to be generalized to the population. This is not the case with qualitative sampling.

In the case of qualitative sampling, the issue becomes access and not generalizibility. McCracken (1988) favors a small sample for qualitative research because he says that this group is not chosen to represent some part of the larger world. The sample "offers, instead, an opportunity to glimpse the complicated character, organization, and logic of culture" (McCracken, p.17). For the sample in this study, the investigator allowed the interviews within each community to expand to the point of redundancy or saturation. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that the investigator terminate sampling when no new information is being gained.

Data Collection

The investigator chose to use multiple methods for collecting data. Denzin (1970) defines the use of multiple methods of collecting data as triangulation. "Methodological triangulation combines dissimilar methods such as interviews, observations, and physical evidence to study the same unit" (Merriam, 1988, p. 69). "The rationale of this strategy is that the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another, and by combining methods observers

can achieve the best of each, while overcoming their unique deficiencies (Denzin, p. 308). Triangulation, too, is a strength of the case study/qualitative approach (Merriam).

A primary technique of data collection that the investigator chose to use was the interview. Kahn and Cannell (1957) defined the interviewing process as "a conversation with a purpose" (p. 149). The interview is a technique that is frequently relied on by qualitative researchers. The purpose of the interview was to obtain reliable and valid information. The interview may be a casual conversation, brief questioning, or a formal and lengthy interaction (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The investigator conducted interviews with former teachers, students, community leaders and members. These interviews were tape-recorded so that no responses were accidentally missed or subjectively over-looked. Each interview ranged from thirty minutes to one hour. The interviewees had to often be prompted to stay focused on the question asked, because several wished to reminisce.

In a case study, one of the first things a researcher has to determine is who to interview. Merriam (1988) explained several ways to make this determination:

> On-site observations, often involve informal discussions with participants to discover those who should be interviewed in-depth. A second means of locating contacts is to begin with a key person who is considered knowledgeable by others and then ask that person for referrals. Initial

> informants can be found through the investigator's own personal contacts, through community and private organizations, through advertisements in newspapers or public places, or through door-to-door or person-to-person contacts (p. 77).

The investigator began identifying participants to interview by personal contacts and the referral of others. Key names continuously surfaced. Other people were chosen because their name seemed to often occur in the yearbooks. The investigator originally identified twelve people to interview from each school or community. A total of 19 people participated in the formal interview process. Table 1 lists these people according to their race, gender, and status in relation to Campbell High School and Douglass High School. These people were mailed an informed consent form (see Appendix A) and a vita (see Appendix D). No one requested anonymity.

The investigator also chose to use a conversational guide, rather than a multi-question interview guide when conducting interviews (see Appendix B). The use of the conversational guide allowed the investigator to remain focused, but flexible (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). It also helped the investigator to remain consistent during the interviewing process. It was very important to the investigator to document what the interviewees said, and not the pre-conceptionof the investigator.

Table 1

FINAL PARTICIPANTS BY RACE/GENDER AND STATUS

Status	Black		White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
CAMPBELL HIGH SCHOOL				
Students	5	3		
Student & Teacher	1	1		
Total	6	4		
DOUGLASS HIGH SCHOOL				
Students	3	1		
Teachers	1	1		1
Administrators			2	
Total	4	2	2	1

A final method for data collection that the investigator chose to use was the study of tangible and physical evidence such as yearbooks, school board minutes, and newspaper articles. This fundamental technique is often used by qualitative researchers for gathering information (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The investigator studied old black high school documents such as board minutes and yearbooks, newspaper clippings, photographs, documentaries, video footage to collect data.

Data Analysis

"Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 112). The process of analyzing qualitative data means that the researcher takes general statements and searches for relationships among the different categories. Schatzman & Strauss (1973) state that "the most fundamental operation in the analysis of qualitative data is that of discovering significant classes of things, persons, and events and the properties which characterize them (p. 108). Merriam (1988) further asserts that: "data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation" (p. 147).

Additional data analysis was conducted using QSR NUD*IST version 4.0 software. "NUD*IST is a program for facilitating theory building by identifying the code patterns and relationships in original data. These are made visible by their coding and retrieval" (Kelle, Prein, & Bird, 1995, p. 206).

Analysis of Interviews and Physical Evidence

Interview data were transcribed, coded, and divided into categories. The investigator initially identified the categories using the technique of memoing. Glaser (1978) defined memoing as the writing down of ideas and their relationships to each other. Each memo was clearly labeled so that the

information could be retrieved more easily at a later time. There was a date, a reference to the document or event that it came from, the date of the document or the date that the data were collected, a page and a line number.

Further categorizing was enhanced with the QSR NUD*IST 4.0 software package. QSR NUD*IST 4.0 aided the investigator in finding and exploring categories and patterns of categories in the text. Categorizing data was not an end in itself, but the investigator's end goal was to find stories, themes, key linkages, or core categories from the interviews and analysis of the physical data about the effects of integration on these two black high schools and communities in East Tennessee.

Validity and Reliability

Merriam (1988) states:

> In order for a field such as education to learn about itself and conduct its business of teaching children and adults. research studies of all types are regularly undertaken. To have any effect on either the theory or the practice of education, these studies must be believed and trusted; they need to present insights and conclusions that ring true to readers, educators, and other researchers (p. 164).

The investigator sought to maintain validity by using triangulation and peer evaluations. Peer evaluations involved asking colleagues to comment on the findings of the core themes as they emerged. Merriam (1988) suggests that

peer evaluations help to maintain validity.

Reliability, in qualitative research, does not apply in a traditional sense. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that for qualitative research the investigator is looking for "consistency" or "dependability." The investigator chose to use triangulation because it strengthened reliability and internal validity. An audit trail also helped to ensure reliability.

An audit trail is central to validation. An auditor was requested by the investigator to examine and report on the indexing process. Specifically, the auditor's role, according to Richards and Richards (1993/94), was to keep the investigator accountable for and able to argue for valid interpretations of the data. The investigator requested the services of Dr. Donna Lynn Reed, Assistant Superintendent of the Martinsville School District of Indiana to serve in this capacity.

This individual had extensive expertise in the area of interviews, transcriptions, and the indexing process. Her doctoral dissertation at East Tennessee State University focused on developing core themes in reference to the organization of KREA in Kingsport, Tennessee. Her own work in this area enabled her to be a more knowledgeable auditor. An audit agreement is listed in Appendix C.

Summary

This study was conducted in the East Tennessee area of the state. Two black high schools, that once existed prior to integration, were selected by the investigator to be the basis of this study. The case study, a qualitative research method, was the chosen research design. Participants were selected using a non-probabilistic sampling method. Those chosen as interviewees were former students, teachers, and administrators of the two selected schools.

The researcher provided information about the methods of collecting and analyzing the collected data. The software package that was used was QSR NUD*IST 4.0. The investigator also reported on establishing validity and reliability through triangulation and use of an audit trail.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Introduction

This study investigated how the Roane County and Kingsport city communities have been affected, both negatively and positively, by integration of the black high schools. To obtain information about the impact of integration, 19 individuals were interviewed. The interviews covered several topics: (1) overall impressions of their high school, (2) the positive and negative effects of integration on their community, (3) characteristics of successful black teachers and administrators, (4) their perception of today's educational system, and (5) their opinion about the resurgence of segregated schools. The investigator also researched available school board minutes, researched the public libraries, as well as the State Archives in Nashville,Tennessee,and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and sought any published documents about each school.

To ensure confidentiality, names of participants were not used in data presentation. Each interviewee was labeled according to the individual's role in the Campbell High School of Roane County and Douglass High School of Kingsport, Tennessee. The investigator used a primary label and a number for identification purposes. Table 1 displays each interviewee, his or her role in the organization, and his or her assigned label.

Within this chapter, results of data collection and discussion of the analysis will be presented. Data were collected through transcripts of interviews, informal conversations, and other published documents such as yearbooks and school board minutes. A discussion of the emerging themes in relation to the effects of integration of Campbell High School and Douglass High School on their communities is presented in thematic format. This chapter attempts to portray the perception of what they had, what they gained, and what they lost when these two high schools were integrated in East Tennessee.

Sense of Connectedness

The investigator wanted each interviewee to share in his or her own words what was significant about their respective high school. One of the initial themes that emerged was that in these two black high schools, there was a sense of belonging or sense of self-identity. Maeroff (1998) called this a sense of connectedness. He said that:

> Connectedness operates in several ways to equip young people with the social capital that helps them negotiate their success. On one level, connectedness means gaining a feeling of belonging so that students regard themselves as part of an academic enterprise. On another level, it means developing ties that they can use to thread their way around obstacles (p. 427).

Black Male Teacher/Student (C) confirmed Maeroff's opinion. He said:

> And people could never wait to get to Campbell High School. You know when you started in Campbell, you know that was pretty good stuff. "I go to Campbell High School." People were glad to say that. You're in Campbell, now. That meant that you had arrived at something. And if you participated and if you stayed, then you would be rewarded for it, too. You would be rewarded by what you got, as well as what you gave.
>
> And so when all of this comes together, these people you see coming together, are people who sat on buses for long periods of time. These are people who traveled to play athletics and sing. A great deal of singing went on the buses, going to the games or coming back or maybe just back and forth to school.
>
> See that brought about a lot of closeness that you can only get....You get stronger with a person by going through hardships together. Those were hardships. And you don't become stronger by everything going your way. You get stronger through conflict and through adversity. Well, we did that. We went through it. Times were hard. We didn't see how hard it was. We were young and we endured it. Teachers endured it right with us. They were part of us.
>
> The teachers knew us and knew our families. We were all one. One helped the other. It was just a continuation from home to school and back to home and all in between. There was continuation as far as your

conduct and as far as your learning. It was a family-like situation.

Black Male Student 3 (D) said that:

Douglass High School was an environment. It was like a family, a big family. You were able to be nurtured, and it enabled you to excel above what you were really capable of doing because you had the background of support.

Black Female Student 1 (D) said:

We were a community. We were all very close to each other. We had a sense of belonging....We had a principal that stayed with us, at least for me, 11 years that I was there. He got his faculty involved with us, and it made the sense of belonging more real.

Black Male Student 6 (C) said:

And when I went there, I had a fear. A lot of that started going away because everyone was so friendly and things got to be opened up and I got to know more people. Then I got to know the teachers and the faculty and everybody there, and that fear just sort of went away. I got sort of comfortable there.

Black Male Student 7 (C) said:

Campbell still remained our refuge. Campbell was also our community center and backup church. We had Youth for Christ and (a Christian camp in Spring City, Tennessee) activities there. Our teachers were in our corner. They taught us that in spite of poor facilities, if we work a little

harder, we could keep up with the white students. Campbell served as a lockbox that stored all of my history as a youth.

Black Female Student 3 (C) said, "It was like we owned this little black school that we attended. That was ours." White Female Teacher (D) said, "Douglass had a very closely-knit family and community." Black Male Student 8 (D) said, "It was more like a family. Everybody knew everybody by their name. It was more of a family atmosphere. We were all one big happy family." Black Female Student 4 (C) said, "Our class was closè-knit. Black FemaleTeacher (D) also said, "It was a close, total family unit, entirely."

Parent and Community Involvement

Another theme added to this sense of connectedness. This theme emphasized parent involvement and community participation. Each school experienced great support in a variety of ways. A prevalent topic in the educational literature today is the focus on parent involvement and community participation. There is the belief that children will do better if there is parental involvement and community participation (Hilliard, 1987-88; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

White Female Teacher (D) said, "The parents were interested. They cooperated well." Black Female Student 2 (C) added, "They came to every function, every play, every meeting that they were suppose to attend. Our parents were there." Black Male Student 5 (C) said:

That's just part of it because the teachers, as well as the students, were a part of the community. The community involvement and teachers and the whole deal all went hand in had. Part of the time that I was in high school, Charles Maxwell lived next door to me. So, he was part of the same community as I was, as well as being my teacher. He was our class sponsor, and he was the girls' basketball coach, and on and on and on. It was all kind of laid in together.

Black Female Student 1 (D) said:

Before integration, most of the schools were in the black community, so we were all together in the black community. The parents were there. The community supported everything that we did. Whatever was going on in the school was going on in the community, and the community came to the school.

Black Male Teacher/Student (C) concluded this theme by saying:

I think that what people who attended Campbell High School would remember is the unity that was provided for students from a large area: Spring City, Oliver Springs, Clinton and all of the places in between there. Kingston, Harriman, Emory Gap, and all of these people came together as one. So, what you had there was belongingness or a sense of connectedness.

The interviewees often commented on the fact that the school was the main focus of most social activities in these two black communities. Participation

in the schools was increased by the fact that people needed a social outlet, as well as education for their children. In a sense, the parents and community gained from this cooperative relationship.

Opportunities for Leadership

As the interviews continued, the idea of the sense of connectedness was further enhanced by the concept of participatory opportunities leading to the development of leadership skills in students. In the black high school, the classes were normally small. Therefore, everyone had a role to play. This emerging role gave each student the chance to be the leader. The roles varied from singing a solo in the choir to winning the state business competition in typing. Many black students got to serve as class presidents and class treasurers. The black school provided students with a platform on which to perform. They were able to showcase their talents and develop their self-confidence. During this time of segregation, many strong, black male and female role-models were developed. Black Male Teacher/ Student (C) said:

> The thing that was unique was that everybody had to participate in something. That's the only way the school would run. Somebody had to be the president of the class. Somebody had to be the treasurer. Somebody had to be in the choir. Somebody had to lead the teams.

Black Female Student 4 (C) said, "I remember in our high school, we had little plays, different plays. There were operettas that kids would participate in." Black Male Student 8 (D) added, "When you went to school, you were in different

activities such as drama and band. Black Female Teacher (D) said, "Most of the guys played sports together. If you were at Douglass, you played some kind of sport." Black Male Student 3 (D) stated that, "Coming from Douglass, you were able to participate in all of the different activities. I played in the band. I played football. I sang in the choir." Black Female Student 3 (C) stated:

> We had a beautiful music department. We went to other schools for competitions. We also had reading contests and spelling contests. I won the state contest in Nashville, Tennessee. I competed with schools from Chattanooga and Knoxville.

All males were not able to participate in athletic activities, but other activities or subjects were offered to them. Black Male Student 6 (C) said, "But students that couldn't participate athletically in the sports activities took home economics. I couldn't participate in football and basketball because of this injury that I had to my leg, so I took home ec." He was quick to emphasize that he didn't have to do any of the things that the girls had to do.

Characteristics of Successful Teachers

Throughout the interviews, one common element of the school culture that emerged was the role that the teachers played in the success and the lives of each student. The principals were also included as teachers because they served as the primary instructional leader. The black teachers possessed similar characteristics. Many of the interviewees said that they were well-educated and

knowledgeable. They seemed to know their subject matter well.

Black Male Student 1(C) said that, "The teachers were very well-versed. Professor Olinger was well-educated. He got his Ph.D. from some university up North." Black Female Student 2 (C) added:

> Well, he looked like he was successful, he and Mrs. Olinger. They had the look of success. And when they talked to you, you knew that they had been to school and they were educated. What we called educated back then. You just respected him as a person because he was so intelligent. There wasn't any question hardly that you could ask him that he didn't have an answer. He knew poetry. He knew music. He knew the Bible. He knew math and physics, geometry, trigonometry, chemistry....I never forgot anything that he or Mrs. Watson taught.

Black Male Student 2 (C) said:

> I think both men were extremely good in their work professionally, as principals of high schools. There was a similarity between them in that I thought that both of them were very knowledgeable of a varied scope of things: history, math, science.
>
> I don't think I've seen any like either of the two since then....I minored in math and I think that was because both of my principals, both of them were good in just about anything that you can think of. It seemed to me.

Black Female Student/Teacher (C) said, "I was just impressed with their knowledge of what they were doing." She said in reference to her principal:

> He knew everything, I believe. And he did everything. He taught every game. He told us about every game that could be played. Tennis, badminton, golf, whatever game could ever be played anywhere, he told us about it. He even told us about jousting and fencing. He brought up every game in the world to let you know, in a given class period, maybe a 15-minute class period, you could get a lesson in anything.

Black Female Student 3 (C) said about her principal, "He was a dynamic person. He would be teaching you math and also in the middle of math, he would teach you something that you should do, if nothing but personal hygiene." Black Male Teacher/Student (C) added:

> It's difficult to single out any one because they were so enthusiastic. I guess maybe that you could say J. B. Olinger because he was a teacher. He was a coach. He had considerable personality. We considered him a very intelligent man.

The interviewees talked repeatedly about black teachers being dedicated, caring and exacting and strong disciplinarians. They also referenced the fact that they were humanitarians, as well. Black Female Teacher (D) said, "Faye was a very methodical person. She was a very good classroom manager." Black Male Student 4 (D) said:

> Teachers seemed to be more dedicated. They spent a lot more time with you. I guess the real teacher that made the lasting impression on me, we called him O.R. Gill. It was Oscar Gill. He was a very dedicated man. He

never took no for an answer. He never took "I can't" for an answer. He always said. "You could." He always brought the best out in everybody.

Black Female Student 2 (C) confirmed this belief, "I think the black teachers were more dedicated. At Campbell High School, they were dedicated to the black kids learning, really learning."

Black Female Student/Teacher (C) said:

> I imagine my sponsor was an outstanding teacher. Anne Watson stood about 4'6" and probably wore a size 3 shoe. But when you walked into her classroom, you knew you were in school. You were there to learn. I mean she could load you down with everything. And she taught us very implicitly, grammar. I think she was the best English/history teacher I have ever encountered, including graduate school and college.

Black Female Student 3 (C) said in reference to her principal:

> He was not only knowledgeable, but he was caring. He was a lot of fun. He was young enough that he was a lot of fun to be around. He told a lot of jokes, but when play time was over, you knew to get down to business.

Black Male Student 6 (C) added, "He was down to earth, a humanitarian. Everything had its place in his life. There was time for fun and there was time for learning and stuff like that. He wasn't strict all of the time."

Black Male Student 8 (D) said in reference to his principal:

> He was out-going. He looked at each individual in their own way. He didn't just look at them as kids. Everyone was an individual. They had

their own characteristics and personalities. He could look into each child's character and personality. I think that in that respect, he made a good principal. He was able to reach out to each individual student.

Black Male Student 5 (C) said, "Our teachers would not leave somebody because they were not as fast as somebody else." Black Male Student 3 (D) said:

> Seems like at that time, you thought they were real hard on you. In later years, you found out that toughness made you learn a lot more and do a lot more than you would have normally done or leaned in other circumstances. My father was a strong disciplinarian.

One of the characteristics that was highlighted was that these black teachers were lifelong learners. Black Female Teacher (D) stated:

> Our teachers kept abreast. They would go to summer school. They knew what was current. They kept up with what was out here, and they wanted the very best for the students because we were in competition with the whites.

Black Male Teacher (D) confirmed her opinion, "Over at Douglass, everybody tried. We, in the summer-time, we'd go to school. We did that so that we could be better prepared to do what we could for the children." Black Female Student 2 (C) stated, "Professor Olinger was an old man when he finally received his Ph.D. from Columbia University."

It has been said that students achieve according to levels of expectations

that are set for them (Cooper, 1995). High expectations were conveyed by these teachers. High levels of success were expected for each student. Black Male Student 6 (C) stated:

> At Campbell, we didn't know the word "can't." Any project we put on, we didn't know that you couldn't do it. Nobody ever told us that we couldn't do a thing. We didn't know what "can't" meant. Like going to the state play-offs. Someone said, "You can't go to the state play-offs." They went to the play-offs anyway. It might take us a little longer. We might have to work a little harder, but can't. Never! That word really wasn't in our vocabulary.

White Male Administrator 2 (D) spoke of expectations for black students just prior to integration. He stated:

> Wilbur Hicks (one of the first black teachers to teach in the integrated Kingsport school system) fought for high expectations and asked us to accept no less than we expected for whites. Blacks, he insisted, could and would deliver equal performance. He went out of his way to explain the culture his people were coming from and pushed us hard to not do anything that would permit their learning less.

In reference to another black teacher in the system, he said:

> He came to teach. He was proud, prepared, and an excellent teacher. He expected much more of black students than whites. It was like the first group was the image, the stereotypes to be. They were not going to let

their performance embarrass the black community or him. We can do. We will do, and we will not just be here.

Black Male Student 5 (C) stated, "The teachers always encouraged us to excel, to try." Black Male Student 7 (C) continued:

> I liked Mr. Olinger. (Fess, as we called him). He was an educated man, and he tried to instill in all of us the need to be the best....Alma Fletcher took a special interest in me and taught me math. She pushed me beyond the regular class, and as a result, I won two state mathematics contests. Alma prepared me for my engineering profession. For this, I will always be grateful. It was math that ended the engineering careers of many students before it got started. I did not have this problem.

Black Male Student 1 (C) said, "They strived with you. If you couldn't make it, they stayed there after school to try and help you." Black Male Student 3 (D) stated, "The positive thing of an all-black high school was the caring, the pushing, the inspiring, the non-quit attitude." Black Male Student 4 (D) added, "Very, very rare was a dropout. I mean, if you didn't make the grade, then you stayed back. But it wasn't no such thing as quitting. You stayed."

According to Ellis (n.d.), "The dropout rate at Douglass over the 35 year period was less than 20 and expulsions were close to nil" (n. p.). There were no attendance records available about Campbell, but the Tennessee State Department of Education Survey Staff (1959) reported that there were 85 students in grades 9-12 in their report in 1959. Mr. Olinger reported that when

he first came to Campbell, there were only six students in what could be considered the high school (in Burkett, 1968). The perception by the students that there was not a dropout rate could be attributed to the fact that there were small graduating classes. The perception is probably more enhanced because black parents had the expectation that their children would graduate from high school. Black Male Teacher/Student (C) summed up high expectations very succinctly:

> There were some black students who didn't want to do. But in the black setting, you were required to do. When they required you to do homework, it was because they thought that eventually you might need some work habits for a successful life.

The black teachers in these two schools were held in very high esteem. They set high standards for themselves and for the black students. They were enthusiastic about their subject matter and spent many summers improving on what they already knew. They were disciplinarians, but also knew how to have fun. They wanted the best for their students.

Demanding and Challenging Curriculum

Interviewees talked repeatedly about the attributes of the black teachers, and the curriculum that they studied. The theme that emerged was that the black high schools seemed to offer a demanding and challenging curriculum. The curriculum did not differ specifically from the state-mandated curriculum,

mainly because these two black schools had to use the hand-me-down textbooks and other resources that were offered to them. The difference in the curriculum came in the methodology of the teachers. Multiculturalism was incorporated in daily teaching. Concepts were taught in a manner that black students could relate.

As referenced by several of the interviewees, black children in these two communities are often-times allowed to just get by. When their class schedules are made, they are put in basic level courses instead of college prep courses. Black Female Student 1 (D), who is currently a high school teacher in Kingsport, said that it disturbs her to see black children not encouraged to strive for excellence. The Campbell interviewees mentioned that taking calculus was part of the standard curriculum. Black Female Teacher (D), who is also a retired Kingsport guidance counselor, said that there are not too many black children in Kingsport or Roane County who are currently enrolled in advanced placement classes or advanced level courses.

Most of the interviewees mentioned being required to take calculus, physics, chemistry and trigonometry as a standard part of their education. Black Male Student 5 (C) said, "Some of the things like physics, I passed. I understand physics better now than I did then. But I passed physics through the way Professor Olinger taught it and by being able to brain up on tests."

Black Male Student 6 (C) made some very enlightening comments in reference to the curriculum:

> In terms of what I learned, and in terms of what my kids learned in school, in my opinion, we surpassed the students of today in knowledge of, and especially in math and physics and chemistry. I'm not trying to cast any reflections on my girls and my boy, but I think I learned far more in the four years that I was there. I was there from 1951-1955. I don't think the teachers of today teach the stuff that they taught then. For instance, we had chemistry. We went through a lot of stuff in chemistry that I know my kids didn't get. We had algebra, and right now, I don't think any of my kids can do algebra. And though you are the high school teacher, do you know the pythagorem theorem?
>
> Another thing that I liked was prose and poetry. I don't think that was ever taught to my kids. They were never made to learn poems and do recitations. We also studied Medieval history. We had to learn about Zeus and Hercules and all of those people.

Black Female Student 4 (C) stated that, "When you went to Campbell High, you didn't decide. You had to have some geometry. You had to have some algebra. You had to have some chemistry. You did not flunk. You simply worked harder."

Today's high school curriculum places an emphasis upon offering foreign languages (Kunjufu, 1989). It could be said that Campbell High School fell short because they were unable to offer a foreign language. Douglass High School was able to eventually offer French, just prior to integration. Black Male Student

7 (C), who has been around the world nine times, concluded the following:

> My failure to learn a language at Campbell did not keep me from happiness. This may have been different had I not learned English, the true international language. I now live in France. I will study French someday before I leave, but I am in no hurry to do so. Someone once said learning French would enhance my career. I know thousands of blacks in Cameroons, Haiti, and Senegal who are fluent in French, and it had not enhanced them at all. I do not have any regrets for the classes that I did not take, but I fully appreciated those that I did take.

Negative Effects of Integration

As the investigator explored the negative effects of integration, prevalent themes emerged. The broad theme of the demise of the black community provided an umbrella for many sub-themes. One of the sub-themes was the loss of family or the loss of self-identity. Black Male Student 4 (D) said, "I think that the children were happier at Douglass. They had a great home." The Black Female Student/Teacher (C) stated:

> The negative part is that integration took away a seed, and a place where black children and/or white children, probably don't know, I never thought of it like that, could go and claim some glory or claim some identity. That got lost in integration. You were unique when you were 1 of 12, and then you go to being 1 of 200. That takes away your chance for identification,

> for participation, for being recognized. And if you don't know how to integrate into that situation, then you kind of get lost in the shuffle. So, I think that was a real down side. It boiled down to the loss of identity for the average black person.

Black Male Teacher/Student (C) said, "Black kids do not get the opportunity to develop their leadership qualities in an academic setting." White Female Teacher (D) said, "Some of the black children got lost because they had difficulty reading. There was no one there to take the time to get them the additional help that they needed. Maybe no one cared." Black Female Student 2 (C) said, "That's where I think we're missing a lot. Most people don't realize where they came from." Black Male Student 5 (C) stated, "The history books only told part of the history. The kids do not know each other."

A further extension of the concept of the loss of family or the loss of self-identity was the loss of black teachers. Many students were unable to develop a sense of self and excel in the classroom because they had difficulty in relating to white teachers. Black Female Student 4 (C) stated, "That is one thing that our children missed (black teachers) in the integrated environment." Black Male Student 7 (C) also said, "We lost the advantage of small classes and that of having black teachers that could relate to us. It dislocated the focal point of our thrust to overcome." Black Male Student 6 (C) stated:

> Integration hurt the blacks because at Campbell High School, you learned. I felt like the kids were pushed into the white school system, and

> they were sort of just passed over. They didn't take a personal interest in the black kids. Campbell High School teachers took a personal interest in every student. We lost by closing Campbell. We really lost when they closed that institution. The kids weren't required, in the white school system, to do their best. They weren't pushed to do their best. They weren't rewarded for doing their best. So, they didn't. We really lost a great learning institution.

The process of not knowing each other supports the theme of the loss of community or the loss of togetherness. Black Female Student 1 (D) said, "We've lost that sense of togetherness and of community." Black Female Student 2 (C) maintained, "We are no longer a community. The kids don't know each other from Harriman or anywhere." Black Female Student 4 (C) said, "Society has changed. There is not that closeness. At Campbell, there was always a feeling of concern for you." Black Male Student 7 (C) said, "The negative effect of integration was the elimination of the black high schools in the community. Thus, we lost our community center and our backup church." Black Female Student 3 (C) shared these thoughts:

> When the schools were segregated, you had a feeling that you knew everyone, and you were concerned with everyone from everywhere. Even today, I have always liked young people. I like working with them. I think that I like hanging with them because I feel like it makes me stay younger. And now as I go to things in the community, at the churches or

> homecomings, basketball games, and I see young people, they pass by me and ignore me as if I were one of the chairs in the building or a piece of furniture.
>
> We don't know each other. They are not taught the love and concern and respect for the elderly in the community that I was taught and that my children were taught. And it has really separated us to an extent. It's almost like living in another world. We just don't know each other anymore because we are so divided.

Black Male Student 4 (D) said, "You lost a whole sense of a family atmosphere. You lost the closeness of being in a small class. And you lost real closeness. You lost the one to one contact. You lost the black teachers."

When you lose family and togetherness, traditions are also lost. The loss of traditions and heritage stems from the loss of family and togetherness. White Male Administrator 2 (D) stated, "I can see that black communities gave up traditions and a strong satisfaction with their schools, and have not found what they expected in integrated schools."

Another sub-theme that contributed to the demise of the black community was the lack of parental involvement and community participation. Where there is a loss of parental involvement and community participation, there is an increase in discipline problems in the home and in the school and a decline in community values (Hilliard 1987-88). Black Female Student 4 (C) stated, "Parents do not participate as they should." Black Female Student 1 (D) added,

"We don't have the parental support to me as we had in the black high school. The parents were there. I just see more of a lack of parental support." Black Male Student 4 (D) said, "You're going to have to have parents to push kids, also. I'm not going to put it all off on teachers. You've got to have parents who are willing to back the school system."

White Male Administrator 2 (D) stated, "We are not as good as we could be. There are still two different communities and community involvement is lacking." Black Male Student 3 (D) stated, "But if you've got parents who don't really care and teachers who don't really care, either, then it's kind of a lost cause." White Male Administrator 2 (D) said, "Television, etc. are breaking up discussions and involvement in the community. People are working on their own problems and are not identifying as much with community and cultural problems as they used to."

Several interviewees spoke of the increase of discipline problems as a result of integration. Black Female Student/Teacher (C) said:

> I think that in terms of discipline, that was the worst that could happen. When integration occurred, white teachers didn't know how to handle the discipline of black students. When black kids got a hold of that fact, their behavior became even more chaotic.

Black Male Student 3 (D) said, "They should know that they are going to have discipline problems with some of the children living in the projects. They haven't had any home-training." Black Male Teacher (D) emphasized:

> One thing we didn't have were discipline problems. Because the parents in Kingsport said, "I send them to school. They are going to learn. If they don't mind you, you let me know! I'll beat him!" They would tell you that. I mean they might not literally have beaten the child, but they wanted him to at least pay attention in school and not give you any problems. We didn't have many discipline problems at Douglass.

As stated previously, there has been a demise in the black community. Some interviewees attributed this demise directly to the impact of integration; some did not. Black Male Student 2 (C) said:

> I believe there has been somewhat of a deterioration in the black community since integration. I don't believe the quality of standards within the community are the same as they were prior to integration. Subsequently, I believe that integration has, to an extent, worked against the black community in the Roane as well as the Anderson County community.

Black Male Student 6 (C) stated:

> We lost everything, and our kids reflect it. The kids are coming out of school dumber. Maybe kids should apply themselves more, but then maybe teachers should motivate them more. I think it's really the teachers, and not the facility itself. The school is just a building. But it's what is inside the building which makes the kids have great minds. So, therefore, I didn't see anything positive come out of it.

Several interviewees did not attribute the demise of the black community to integration. Black Male Student 7 (C) said:

> The problem in our schools today are not due to integration, nor can they be solved by segregation. Campbell High Schools could not deal with kids today. Our problems at Campbell were tardiness, dress code, hygiene, beer drinking on weekends, and a few girls got pregnant. The problem in today's schools are drugs, guns, rape and murder. This did not stem from school integration. Our society has changed in other ways. Black women now work serious jobs. They have to take their work home with them now, and there is little energy for the kids.
>
> People do not sit on their porches anymore and watch the children play. They are inside their air conditioned homes watching "Days of Our Lives" and other soaps....I worked as a janitor for three years of my high school life. I had no opportunity to make 100 times more money selling drugs. so, I was not tempted as the kids are today.
>
> Another factor that has hurt our kids is the military draft. At one time, all 18 year olds went into the armed services. There, black males were taught teamwork, discipline, obedience, patriotism, and sometimes, a skill that would get them good jobs later. They were able to travel and see how other people lived. Young black males no longer take advantage of that benefit.

Black Female Student 4 (C) said, "It's a break-down in homes. Our black

parents don't want to take their responsibility of telling their children to get their lessons. And I think that maybe some of them don't know how to help their kids." Black Male Teacher/Student (C) confirmed her opinion:

> There are so many things which have come into society, which in some ways, causes both black and white children to miss the point. I would be afraid to mention one thing, but the break-down of the home is the leading problem.

Black Male Teacher (D) said:

> There are so many problems in the black community now. You have the same problems in the white community, but the white community is so large. The kids are having so much sex. Girls around here, 13 years old are having babies. This is what hurts a community.

A couple of interviewees were hesitant to say specifically. Black Male Student 5 (C) stated:

> Well, the community has changed. Just like all the other communities have changed. The people have changed. The kids have changed. I'm not sure that integration had anything to do with it, but I'm not sure that it didn't. I think probably when Campbell was open there was more of the thing where Campbell was more or less a changing ground for positive community development.

Black Female Student 3 (C) added:

> I don't think that it is just the system's fault. I've never blamed the system.

> The parents of the children that I come into contact with, their interests and their outlook and their way of living is so different from what mine was or my parents' was. It passes down to the children. It's sort of a lackadaisical attitude.

The Positive Effects of Integration

The interviewees noted a decline in the total community structure, but they also emphasized many of the positive effects of integration. Several interviewees referenced the fact that blacks and white live together more harmoniously. White Male Administrator 1 (D) stated, "The positive thing, I guess, is that we have learned to live together." Black Male Student 2 (C) added, "I think that to some degree there has developed a relationship between blacks and whites. That's commendable. It didn't exist prior to our children being able to come together in that integrated mix." White Male Administrator 2 (D) confirmed this opinion. "Both sides changed in ways that would not have without integration. Stereotypes, false beliefs, and false impressions started to be changed." Black Female Student/Teacher (C) said, "Well, in looking back, I think the positive effect of integration was the ability of all students, or those students who could, to integrate and go on down the road."

Several interviewees mentioned the fact that black children now have access to more enhanced curriculum and educational materials. Black Male Student 1 (C) said, " I would say that it is real positive as far as the curriculum is

concerned." Black Male Teacher (D) added, "It was much better because you had more teachers, therefore, your curriculum could be much better. Instead of one first grade teacher, you had two...." Black Female Student 4 (C) said, "I was for integration. And my purpose for integration was the quality, not the teachers. I wanted my child to have quality materials." Black Male Student 3 (D) said, "You had more exposure or advantage to up-dated technology and materials. Not so many hand-me-downs." Black Male Student 4 (D) strongly emphasized this point:

> Well, the positives of integration was that we were able to get up-to-date learning materials. We were exposed to more. Whereas in Douglass, we only had one math class, one history, one foreign language, etc. When integration came along, you had more teachers who only had to teach one subject. I won't say that they were proficient, but all they had to teach was one course. Teaching one course is bound to make it a little better. It made it possible for us to be exposed to a wider range of knowledge.

Several of the interviewees made refererice to the fact that integration allowed black children to be exposed to a wider array of opportunities. Black Male Student 8 stated (D), "They were able to achieve so many more different things than we were able to. They are privileged to have so many things offered to them which we didn't have." Black Female Teacher (D) said, "I felt like our kids were able to receive some things in an integrated setting that maybe the black high school could not provide." Black Male Teacher/Student (C) said:

The black student has been given the opportunity to grow in the direction that is more beneficial to them materially: This is basically a white society, even though you have a lot of people in it who are from ethnic groups. If you wanted a job in today's society, you would not wear your African outfit for the interview. Your ethnic dress would not be appropriate. So, black students are being prepared to mix in corporate white America. Black kids are now in the same classrooms. They are being exposed to the same curricula. They are being tested on the same materials. This has definitely got to be an advantage.

Black Male Student 7 (C) summarized the positive aspects of integration:

However, I believe the positive effects of integration far outweigh the negative. We had equal facilities instantly. Integration made it possible for us to play on a level field. It removed the chains from our ankles and let us run unhampered. We could see what the whites were doing and we learned to compete at their level. In time, they ceased being our opponents and became our teammates. This carried over into the work world, too.

I know the present educational system is far superior to ours for the following reasons: technology, computers, interactive encyclopedias, and the internet. The information super highway used to be things that we could only dream of or read about in comic books. I now use the information super highway on a daily basis. It is obvious by the sheer

numbers of blacks participating in every facet of American life that their education is superior to that of the 60's.

With the onset of integration, these two black communities have experienced many negative and positive side-effects. The interviewees were asked their opinion of returning to segregated schools or neighborhood schools. Their responses were varied. Several interviewees related that in some instances, returning to segregation might be okay. Black Male Teacher (D) said, "In some instances, it's better to separate boys and girls." Black Female Student 2 (C) said, "I wouldn't oppose it. I think the thing got out of hand when we didn't even have books. We had books with no covers." Black Male Student 1 (C) said, "Overall, I just wish that if we had an all-black school that we would be able to have all of the same things as the white schools." Black Male Student 4 (D) concurred with this opinion. He said:

> Well, the only way that I would really like to see a neighborhood school would be if they would guarantee that they would have all of the ingredients that schools normally have. They won't just be passed over as being a school in the black community. I would want all of the same assets to be available to the neighborhood school.

Black Male Student 6 (C) added, "That's a good idea because I do know that we are losing our young black men. They are falling by the wayside just like litter. And at the rate that they we are going, they will soon be an extinct breed."

The majority of those interviewed conveyed an emphatic no to

resegregation. White Male Administrator 1 (D) said, "We have proved throughout history that the blacks get the hand-me-downs. I don't think it would be good to go back." Black Female Student/Teacher (C) said, "I don't think it would work. I don't think it's a good idea." Black Male Teacher (D) said:

> I believe in integration. I believe that blacks have no business in being segregated in a special part of town. I believe that it has been beneficial to the black kids. We are Americans, and therefore, I don't think that we ought to be set over in some little space or territory. Our kids should have all of the advantages just like the white children.

Black Male Student 3 (D) said, "In this society, I don't think it will work. I don't think that it will work because we will miss out on too many opportunities for exposure." White Female Teacher (D) said, "I don't want total segregation. Now, I don't see any reason that parents couldn't have a choice." Black Male Student 7 (C) said, "There are certain cases where segregation is advantageous, but never along racial lines. Military schools, boy's schools, girl's schools are all very good. But I insist that racially, they be mixed." Black Female Teacher (D) said adamantly:

> No. No. No. I would not like the resurgence of segregated schools. I would like for communities to set up some enrichment centers. We have to have the formal education. We don't need education colored black. The world, our whole greater world is non-color. It has no color. If there is a color, the color is green. The color of money. So, the only way that we

> can survive is to get a total education, and that's a formal education, not a segregated education.

As interviewees expressed their opinion about the resurgence of segregated education, they expressed a similar thought about students having a desire to have an education. There seemed to be a consensus about students' ability to successfully achieve if they wanted. White Male Administrator 1 (D) said:

> In my opinion, this is from the outside looking in, but the kids that are trying to get an education are getting an education. In my opinion, 95% of the black kids really want an education. I've counseled the black kids for 100 years, and I've said to them that the only way to overcome prejudice is through education. They can't take that away from you.

Black Female Student/Teacher (C) said:

> I knew that I had to succeed or go to work. That's what I keep instilling in my grandkids. If you're not going to learn, don't bother the people. The teacher can sit there and teach forever. It's your responsibility to get it. If they want to succeed, they can. If they don't want to succeed, then you can find an excuse for anything.

Black Male Teacher (D) said, "What I liked about integration was that the students who wanted a better education could get it. It was there for them. Kingsport has a really good school system. Those who really wanted an education could get an education. I believe that if they want to learn, they can."

Black Male Student 4 (D) said, "Well, I feel that the present educational system puts it out there for the black kids. If they want to get it, it's there for you." Black Male Student 5 (C) added, "I think that they are probably putting the information out there." Black Male Student 8 (D) said:

> I don't think that segregating them is going to change anything one way or the other. If the student is really wanting to work and achieve, then he is going to do it regardless to whether you segregate them or integrate them or whatever. It's up to that individual.

Black Female Student 4 (C) said, "I tell the kids that if they don't get an education for themselves, then they are the ones losing out. The teachers are not losing out." Black Female Teacher (D) added her opinion, "If black children are ready to receive the education, I think the educational system is doing well. It is up to them to get what is being offered." Black Female Student 3 (C) concluded this opinion very strongly:

> I told my children, if not daily, very often, 'If you don't succeed in life, don't blame it on Campbell High School. Don't blame it on the whites and the segregated situation that you live in. Don't blame it on the fact that you are black. If you don't succeed, it will be your own fault!"

Summary

Chapter 5 has presented a summary of the results of the analyzed data of this case study. The investigator presented themes that emerged from the

interviews, field notes, and other published documents. The study took place over a period of two years. Interviews with 19 former students, teachers, and administrators provided the primary data, with other documents contributing the supporting data.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of Chapter 6 is to present a summary of this qualitative case study, to provide conclusions drawn from the findings reported in Chapter 5 and to present recommendations for these two black communities in East Tennessee. The investigator had two main purposes for conducting the study. The first was to investigate what the Roane County and Kingsport black communities gained with integration. The second was to investigate what the Roane County and Kingsport black communities lost with integration.

The investigator used the case study research method. Purposeful sampling techniques were used to select participants, representing former students, teachers, and administrators. Interviews were audio taped, transcribed, and then imported into the QSR NUD*IST 4.0 text-based analysis software package. Field notes and other published documents were also used in the analysis.

Review of the literature reflects how the 1954 Brown decision has impacted public education. The impact on education has to also impact communities because the role of the school and community are interrelated. "Specifically, both are responsible for transmitting the culture and history of the broader community to children and for insuring that these children, as adults, are

capable of contributing positively and productively to society" (Slaughter & Kuehne, 1987-88, p. 59).

The review of literature, coupled with the interpretation of the data yields some potentially sound recommendations for the improvement of education for black children in these two communities. It is important to note that the conclusions drawn are specific to these two communities; however, they are applicable to children of any race and gender in any community in the United States.

Emphasis is placed upon the education of black children because their life experiences are different than once-segregated white America. White children's forefathers in these two communities did not start off in the segregated South as slaves. Therefore, recommendations will be made based upon the themes that emerged from the data, and they are specifically meant to target areas of need for black children. Current literature will enhance the recommendations suggested by the investigator.

Conclusions

It is the opinion of the investigator that integration of Campbell High School in Roane County, Tennessee, and of Douglass High School in the Riverview community of Kingsport, Tennessee, has not been the sole contributing factor to cause the demise of the black community. Integration, prompted by the 1954 Brown decision, was simply the catalyst for inevitable

change.

The 1954 Brown decision said that black and white children would be educated together, and eventually, that is what happened. Therefore, the 1954 Brown decision fulfilled its promise of providing the children of Roane County and of the city of Kingsport with an opportunity for equal education. Black children in both of these East Tennessee areas are now able to attend school with white children at Harriman High School, Rockwood High School, Kingston High School, and Dobyns-Bennett High School. They are afforded the same opportunities as are offered to the white students.

The investigator thought that as the interviewees reminisced and reflected on memories of attending these two institutions that there would be a strong desire to return to the way things used to be. The investigator found that that was not the case. The conclusions that can be drawn suggests that integration was possibly a contributing factor in these two black communities losing their sense of connectedness, but it was not the only factor to cause the break-down of these two black communities.

The demise of these two black communities stems from several contributing factors: (1) There is a break-down in the homes. Parents are not as involved with their children's education as they used to be or need to be. (2) The communities do not participate in the lives of the black kids as they did when these two black high schools were still in existence. The communities are not defending themselves as gangs, drugs, violence, and crime are taking over. (3)

There are not enough black teachers and role-models. (4) The curriculum in today's schools does not adequately reflect an ever-changing diverse population. (5) Black children are not being exposed to culturally relevant and enriched teaching. (6) There are too many discipline problems in today's schools.

Parent Involvement

The evidence supports that the family is the most effective component for fostering a child's development. When parents are involved, the literature suggests that children's cognitive and affective development are greatly impacted (Slaughter & Kuehne, 1987-88). Slaughter and Kuehne presented the following conclusions:

> (a) First, the parent is the major vehicle by which the society and community can reach the child and family;
>
> (b) Second, linking the home and the school environments will be beneficial to parents, teachers, administrators, and especially children;
>
> (c) Third, parents are resources and therefore a group worthy of investment. Indeed, the prescribed roles and activities of parents in the various parent involvement research and paradigms indicate that this group of adults is viewed as critically important to the developmental courses of children and potentially the community at large;
>
> (d) Fourth, the family, not the school, provides the child with a primary source of values and behavioral reference points (p.64).

In today's society, with extended families and surrogate parents, it is crucial that all family and community members in Roane County and Kingsport city take part in raising its black children. White and Parham (1990) maintain that parents or other family members must "provide reinforcement for a child's self-image by instilling a sense of pride, and by acting as a filter for the negative images a child is exposed to" (p. 95). Parents must play a starring role in their children's lives.

Black Male Student 7 (C) referenced the fact that in the Roane County community, there was a time when there was a concern for other people's children. He said, "Everyone looked out for everyone else." Black Female Student 1 (D) emphasized the role that the extended family in the overall community structure. She said, "We were all one big family on East Sevier. We all went to church together. We socialized together. We went to school together."

Black Female Student 2 (C) confirmed that the parents from the Roane County community were involved with what went on in the school. She said:

> Parents and community members participated in the activities that went on in the school. If money needed to be raised for a trip, then parents would host bake sales or sale dinners. In order to enlarge the gym, the boys and other males from the community did the building. Everyone pitched in.

White Female Teacher (D) stated, "The parents were interested. They

cooperated well." Black Female Student 2 (C) added, "They came to every function, every play, every meeting that they were suppose to attend. Our parents were there."

Community Participation

The community is one of the major institutions of society. Over 50 years ago, Alexander (1943) noted that the role of the school in relation to the black community is for the school to try to identify itself with the black community and work with the black students for the improvement of the community and society. Alexander's premise still holds true. The community is the stabilizing magnet that holds the African American families together. The community provides connectedness for the people (Carlton-LaNey & Burwell, 1996).

The black community is the obvious catalyst for school improvement. Several factors support this concept. Carlton-LaNey and Burwell (1996) cite the fact that most blacks already live in a geographical proximity to each other. People generally share a common set of values. They also identify and perpetuate a common heritage. Normally relatives and friends remain who have never moved out of the neighborhood. A stabilizing factor, as well, are the institutions, such as the churches and businesses, barber shops, and hair salons, that most blacks will frequent within the community. The African American community is "capable of providing resources and assistance through its strengths and in spite of its weaknesses" (Carlton-LaNey & Burwell, p.77).

The African American community has a vital stake in how well black children are educated. According to Hilliard (1987-88):

> The African American community has a vital stake, not only in whether African American children master academic content and skills, but in the outlook, values and behaviors that they develop through the process of socialization, be it formal or informal. It is through this process that children come to develop a sense of coherence about their experience, as sense of time and of space. They are able to locate themselves on the map of human history. They develop an orientation and a set of values and perhaps, most of all, they come to see themselves as part of a larger community that has its own cohesiveness and to which the child belongs (p. 202).

For these two black communities to be effective in the lives of their children, a reaffirmation of who they are and what they stand for must occur. Hilliard (1987-88) said, "The time is long overdue for the black community to redefine itself, set forth new values and goals and organize around them" (p. 201). These two black communities must come to terms with their own ethnicity. Cultural values must first be reaffirmed. Hilliard maintains that:

> This does not mean a loss of respect for others. It means that plurality is recognized as a fact and utilized for the benefit of African American adults and children. The African American community must, as others do, give systematic attention tot he recognition, study, and practice of its own

cultural creativities (p. 207).

Hilliard (1987-88) indicated that part of the reason for the breakdown in the black community structure is because of confusion about the role of Africanness in mainstream society. Hilliard stated that, "Many African Americans have been taught to reject their Africanness, or have been taught in such a way that they fail to recognize their Africanness" (p. 204). A place exists in society for the various roles that all black children will have to play in life. A heavy responsibility falls on the shoulders of these two communities to work with the schools to help ensure that their black children learn and understand the multi-faceted roles that they will have to assume in society.

These two black communities should work jointly with the schools because schools are well-equipped to educate children. Although they may not always educate them successfully, they still can do it rather economically and efficiently. Therefore, the black community needs to forge a bond, support and encourage them in their educating and socialization of African American children. Where the schools fall short, the black community will have to take up the slack.

Increase the Number of Black Teachers

Not enough black teachers are found in public education. The evidence supports the fact that both black and white children are missing out on the opportunity to learn and study under black teachers and administrators. This factor makes the education process even more difficult for black children. Black

children frequently have difficulty fitting in with mainstream white America because they cannot relate to never seeing anyone who looks like them (Kunjufu, 1989). Black children need to see people with whom they can identify. Coming into contact with black teachers confirms to them that there is a better way and that they count in this society.

A significant number of white teachers have been able to effectively teach black children. However, there is a major need for more black teachers. One of the trade-offs for the acceleration of integration has been the loss of black teachers. Over 37, 000 black teachers were never replaced when the South integrated (Inniss). Many of the black teachers chose to move to the North, and many of them could not pass the various state qualifying exams (Inniss, 1993).

When integration occurred in these two East Tennessee communities, there was a loss of black teachers. At Campbell High School, there were nine black teachers and the principal, Mr. Olinger (Tennessee State Department of Education Survey Staff, 1959). Today, there is one black teacher in the Roane County school system (C. Anderson, personal communication, November 29, 1997). At Douglass High School, there were 16 black teachers and the principal, Mr. V. O. Dobbins (Ellis, n.d.). Today, there are 6 black teachers in the Kingsport school system (D. Ellis, personal communication, April 3, 1998). There are no black administrators in either system.

When integration occurred in Roane County, approximately three of the teachers stayed and taught in the school system (E. Yette, personal

communication, November 28, 1997). Mr. Olinger stayed and taught one year at Rockwood High School because the superintendent asked him to do so. He thought that this would make the other black teachers feel better (E. Yette, personal communication, November 28, 1997). Mr. Olinger retired the following year.

When integration occurred in Kingsport, approximately 10 of the Douglass High School teachers remained with the system. The remainder chose to retire or relocate (Ellis, n.d.). Mr. V. O. Dobbins, the principal, was not offered a position in the system (J. Baylor, personal communication, December 23, 1997). The reality of losing and not replacing these black teachers is that both black and white children stand a greater chance of going through 12 years of school and will never have the experience of learning from or seeing a black teacher or administrator in their school.

Provide a Culturally-Enriched Curriculum

Alexander (1943) wrote, "The culture includes the way people in a given area do things, their ways of making a living, their level of development in economic and social living, their skills, beliefs, and attitudes, their tools and symbols" (p. 10). He further stated: "The culture that has the best chance for survival is the one which is focused upon the improvement of the people composing it and which changes to keep abreast of changing conditions" (p. 10).

The expectation that black students can learn and that their culture and

contributions are respected must exist for black children in these two communities to experience and feel successful (Moody & Moody, 1987-88). The National Alliance of Black School Educators (1984) stated:

> Academic excellence cannot be reached without cultural excellence. We expect African Americans to meet academic standards of excellence. We also know that African American history and culture will be unavoidable if truth and quality scholarship form the basis of what is taught and respected in public schools, not as an appendage to subjects but as an integral part (p. 185).

Steele (1992) says that a fundamental requirement for black children to experience success in school is for:

> the particulars of black life and culture--art, literature, political and social perspective, music--must be presented in the mainstream curriculum of American schooling, not consigned to special days, weeks or even months of the year, or to special topic courses and programs aimed essentially at blacks. Such channeling carries the disturbing message that the material is not of great value. And this does two terrible things: it wastes the power of this material to alter our images of the American mainstream--continuing to frustrate black identification with it--and it excuses in whites and others a huge ignorance of their own society. The true test of democracy (p. 78).

White and Parham (1990) stated the following:

> African Americans are exposed to a curriculum that teaches Hippocrates as the first physician, Pythagoras as the developer of an algebraic formula, and Columbus as the discoverer of America. Yet all of us should know by now that the first physician on the planet was Mhotep, an ancient African-Egyptian, Pythagoras borrowed his algebraic formula from the ancient Egyptians, and Columbus was lost. Is it any wonder that the educational system has failed to get students excited about learning (p. 90)?

If black children in these two communities can find links in the curriculum with what they are exposed to on a daily basis, then they may begin to have a desire for an education. The school systems in both of these communities follow the state mandated curriculum. The state's curricular framework is correlated to available national standards. The state curriculum focuses on either the college prep course of study or the vocational/technical course of study. There have been some iniatives to modify the curriculum in order to make it more multicultural. An examples of this is reflected in the area of social studies. A description of the social studies program states, "The social studies curriculum shall include in the appropriate courses, content on African American history and culture." All social studies programs shall reflect a multi-cultural perspective" (Tennessee State Department of Education) [On-line]. Black and white students find it difficult to maintain interest in concepts that are foreign to them. Shakespeare may not mean anything to them, but they may be able to relate to

the same constructs through a Spike Lee production.

Culturally Relevant and Enriched Teaching

Ladson-Billings (1994) writes extensively about culturally relevant teaching. Cultural relevance means that teachers integrate students' culture into the mainstream curriculum. "The primary aim of culturally relevant teaching is to assist in the development of a relevant black personality that allows African American students to choose academic excellence yet still identify with African and African American culture" (Ladson-Billings, p. 17).

Culturally relevant teaching is a type of pedagogy that empowers student to acquire knowledge through cultural referents. An example of this might be to have students who are studying the U. S. Constitution to also examine the bylaws or constitution of an African American institution such as the African Methodist Episcopal church.

Teachers are the key to culturally relevant pedagogy. The culturally relevant teacher, as described by Ladson-Billings (1994) views teaching as an art, believes that all children can succeed, believes that their role is to give back to the community, and they encourage their students to do the same, engages with students outside of the classroom, and encourages collaborative learning. These are the kinds of teachers that black children in these two communities need to succeed in school.

Discipline Problems

The teaching of subject matter is the basis of a teacher's job. However, too much time is spent by teachers handling routine discipline problems. A National Education Association survey identifies discipline as the number one problem in classrooms (Kunjufu, 1989). The increase in behavioral problems has almost made it impossible for teachers to teach. Where there is a breakdown at home and in the community, it is also reflected in the schools. The interviewees referenced the fact that there were few discipline problems in their schools, but they contributed this to the fact that parents supported the schools.

Many contemporary parents of today are very quick to point the finger of blame at the school. Many will send their children to school and that is the extent of their involvement. Black children will be able to learn more and become better students if the parents develop a continuous working relationship with the school.

Teachers can also cut down on the number of discipline problems by acknowledging that black children learn differently. Children will be more attentive to a challenging and interesting curriculum. They, too, will respond to a teachers who show that they care and respect them. When a bond is formed between teachers and black students, then the discipline problems will also decrease (Kunjufu, 1989).

Recommendations

Based upon the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made in reference to these two black communities:

Parent Involvement

- Parents must stay involved with the schools. Teachers and administrators should know that parents have high expectations for their child.
- Visit the schools. Get to know the teachers and principals. Follow the school calendar. Know when reports cards and progress reports are due to come home.
- Become active attenders at school board meetings. Serve on the school board.
- Learn about the curriculum of the school.
- Get involved in parent training programs. Host such programs in the area churches.
- Teach children to emulate real role-models. This can be done by bringing area black professionals into the churches and communities to speak or conduct workshops. Share with children the fact that there are only 1200 black professional athletes in the United States. There are 12 times more black lawyers than athletes; 2 ½ times more black dentists than athletes; and 15 times more black doctors than black athletes (Gates, 1991).

- Place emphasis on the value of education.
- Remember that parents are children's first and most important teacher.

Community Participation

- Offer parent training programs. The New Parents as Teachers Project in Memphis, Tennessee sends a parent educator into the community. The parent educator makes private home visits, conducts group meetings with other parents, may set up an educational library or toy-lending library (Herenton, 1987-88).
- Offer recreational or intermural activities for the children.
- Offer early intervention programs for teenage parents. Through this program, children can be screened for problems that may impede learning. Services may be provided to conduct basic checks for eyes, ears, speech development and motor skills development. This program teaches the young parents how to become actively involved in their child's learning.
- Churches can offer after-school tutorial programs. Staff the program with church volunteers. Contact the local schools about borrowing age-appropriate materials to use as resources.
- Develop a homework center. The environment should be quiet and conducive to studying. It should be well-lighted and free of clutter or other physical distractions. Reference materials should be available, such as

dictionaries and encyclopedias. It would be very valuable to have a computer available that also has a printer and the internet. It trained teachers are not available, use high achieving high school students to staff the center.

- Offer a non-tuition summer enrichment program in reading and math.
- Develop a role-model or mentoring partnership program. Encourage successful black community members to devote some of their time and expertise to helping disadvantaged youth. Programs such as the 100 Black Men or the 100 Black Women enhances young people's self-concepts, boosts their level of aspiration and helps to motivate them to achieve.
- With the help of the local law enforcement, establish a means of patrolling the community. Organize community watch groups.
- Offer adult mini courses in areas such as using the internet, refresher courses in math and English, techniques for helping children learn to read, or how to prepare toddlers for pre-school.
- Teach cultural awareness. This can be done by hosting seminars on different aspects of African American culture. Teach mini courses on African American history and literature.
- Invite local black professionals into the community to conduct presentations about their profession or business.
- Churches and community centers can develop educational and cultural

centers. The collection should contain varying levels of reading materials, as well as audio and visual materials.

- Develop collaborative school support teams. Community members should know what is going on in the schools. Whether residents have children or relatives in the schools or not, they still should be active participants in the schools.
- Serve on various auxiliaries in the schools: a curriculum revision committee, a Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges visiting team, a member of the PTA or PTO, or the school board.
- Be volunteers in the schools. Serve on PTA committees. Older or retired citizens can serve as surrogate grandparents to school-aged children.
- Commit resources for the education of black children. Host fundraisers to raise money for scholarships, provide monies for cultural field trips, or to bring in celebrity personalities for Martin Luther King's Birthday.

Increase the Number of Black Teachers

To increase the number of black teachers, universities will have to be involved in the process. Universities will have to actively seek and recruit teacher candidates who have expressed an interest and a desire to work with African American students. Recruiting in areas of high population of blacks may prove to be beneficial.

Higher education institutions can also go into local communities and begin

programs to encourage black students to take an interest in teaching. In a sense, this could be an internship where a black student might be coupled with a teacher for maybe two hours a day over a specified period of time. They would receive a stipend for participating.

Within the predominantly white university system, the curriculum needs to reflect a multicultural approach. Ladson-Billings (1994) suggests several ways that teacher education programs can be enhanced:

> (1) Provide educational experiences that help teachers understand the central role of culture. (2) Provide teacher candidates with opportunities to critique the system in ways that will help them choose a role as either agent of change or defender of the status quo. (3) Systematically require teacher candidates to have prolonged immersion in African American culture. (4) Provide opportunities for observation of culturally relevant teaching. (5) Conduct student teaching over a longer period of time and in a more controlled environment (p. 131-135).

The investigator believes that if parents will become more involved in the education of black children, if the community once again takes an interest in black children, if there is an increase in black teachers and role-models, if black children can see themselves in the curriculum, and if teachers will teach in a manner that is conducive for them to learn, then there will be a decrease in discipline problems and an increase in black children's desire to learn. Integration has afforded them an opportunity for a quality education, it is going to

be up to the black children in these two East Tennessee communities to take advantage of this gift.

Provide a Culturally Enriched Curriculum

- The curriculum should not be a sprinkling of this and a sprinkling of that, but it should be a totally integrated entity. Lessons in the classroom should be inter-related to reflect contributions of African Americans.
- Middle schools could offer African American history and/or literature as a six weeks exploratory.
- High schools could offer African American history and/or literature as a semester course.
- Elementary children could participate in traditional African American celebrations such as Kwanza.
- School systems could require cultural awareness staff development activities.
- Curriculum committees could ensure that the curriculum reflects multicultural concepts.

Provide Culturally Relevant and Enriched Teaching

Teachers will need to set high standards and expect all students to strive to reach the set standards. In the event that the teacher sees that students are floundering, then modifications will have to be made. This does not mean that the standard is lowered. It means that the method by which students reach it

might have to be altered.

Teachers can more effectively motivate and encourage students by doing some of the following as noted by Moody and Moody (1987-88):

> (1) Provide a supportive socio-emotional climate: more smiles, head nods, forward body-leaning, eye contact, support, and friendliness. (2) Allow more verbal inputs: opportunities to learn new and difficult materials. (3) Give more effective feedback: more praise, less criticism (pg. 181).

The teaching process, though a very individualized domain, should reflect some similar characteristics for successfully teaching black students. An emphasis should be placed on reading, writing, and math skills. If nothing else, students should have a strong basic skills foundation upon which to grow. In the event that post-secondary is not an option, they will still have a foundation upon which to build.

Lessons are taught at an appropriate level, thus encouraging more success for students. Pretests should be given at the beginning of a unit. This sets a baseline for the teacher to gauge learning. At that point, the teacher establishes a score for mastery learning. The progress of each student is checked on a regular basis. If the teacher finds that students are not learning the concepts, then the teacher may try alternate teaching strategies.

Alternate strategies could come in the form of re-teaching using different materials, peer-tutoring or cooperative learning groups. At the end of this cycle, the student maybe re-tested or not. Studies of mastery learning have shown that

when students are given extra time and appropriate help, and they are motivated to learn, 80% or more can ultimately attain the preset mastery level on each learning unit (Bloom, 1985).

Hollins (1987) proposed specific recommendations to increase black achievement:

> (1)The process and content of the learning should be related in a meaningful way and should be familiar to the learner. (2) The content should be communicated in a way that is acceptable and comprehensible to the learner. (3) The learner should be provided adequate time to access, process, and apply the content. (4) An effective environment ought to be such that the learner feels comfort and support so that he/she will take the risks necessary for learning (p.3).

The National Conference on the Education of Black Children (1987) further added:

> (1) Communicate the objectives of the lesson. Students need to be told what they will learn, how they will learn it, the behavior needed for mastery and how the new learning is related to prior knowledge. (2) Establish routines and structures in the classroom. (3) Use a variety of approaches: e.g., discussion, inquiry, concept development, peer tutoring. (4) Make presentations more oriented toward active involvement. (5) Include the culture of the students as much as possible by incorporating pupils' interest, experience and language. (6) Make the material relevant to the

> learner. When new learning is linked to what the student already knows, success is more likely. (7) Plan activities so students have a high rate of success. Students develop a better self-concept when their existing abilities are emphasized rather than their inadequacies. Teachers should estimate where the student is and build on that base (p. 5).

Decrease Classroom Discipline Problems

Children need guidelines, structure, and boundaries. Classroom organization and management are crucial for children to have optimal learning. Farrell (1984) noted that better teachers generally manage time well, give clear directions and instructions, holds students accountable for their work, monitors seat work frequently, and keeps track of progress. Oftentimes, discipline problems are no more than poor classroom organization.

Schools must also establish clear and consistent rules. Each student should be governed accordingly. Commercialized programs are available to teachers and schools such as Lee Canter's Assertive Discipline. Other school districts develop their own programs. Programs developed at the school level enables schools to have ownership in the program. The Rational Application of Practical School Discipline (RAPS) developed by Trevor Gardner of Eastern Michigan University is one such program (Farrell, 1984). The staff is trained to help students internalize appropriate behavior. School rules and policies are developed to be used consistently by all of the staff.

Recommendations for Further Research

This case study has investigated the effects of integration on the Kingsport city and Roane County communities. The investigator found that there is still an abundance of literature to be explored, and still many questions to be answered about integration in East Tennessee. Further consideration could be given to research in the following areas: (1) an in-depth study of the different curriculum iniatives in Tennessee since integration, (2) case studies on the history of other black schools in the state of Tennessee that existed prior to integration, (3) a study of the black school facilities that existed prior to integration, (4) a study of the leadership styles of black principals in Tennessee, or (5) a study of what happened to the black teachers and administrators in Tennessee, and their roles after integration.

Because the records of the black schools are so scarce, a study could also be done to see how well the graduates fared in real life. Today's schools and universities have fully-staffed departments to keep up with the alumni. They have a pretty accurate record of where they are and what they are doing. All that Campbell High School and Douglass High School alumni have are memories and the reunions that come around every two years. It is during these times, that they get to see just how much the black high school impacted their lives.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Informed Consent

100 Edna Circle
Thomaston, GA 30286

Dear Participant:

I am currently a graduate student at East Tennessee State University in Johnson City, Tennessee. The topic of my research is Campbell High School in Roane County, Tennessee, and Douglass High School in Kingsport, Tennessee. Under the direction and leadership of the chairman of my doctoral committee, Dr. Marie Hill, I am investigating the effects of integration on these two schools and their communities.

Part of my research will involve interviewing you. The interview will take approximately one hour to an hour and a half.

During the interview, I will scribble notes, but I will also tape record our conversation. The tapes will be transcribed and I will also have collected data from artifacts such as newspapers and yearbooks. These data will be analyzed and I will then look at any core themes which may come out of our conversations.

Your participation and input are essential to my study. If you desire condfidentiality of your name, then I will guarantee that your name will not be used.

I will be in touch with you in the next two to three weeks to schedule a time to meet with you. Thank you in advance for your time and your participation in this study.

Sincerely,

Sheila R. Knaff
Doctoral Candidate
Enclosures

_____
Participant's Signature
(I ACKNOWLEDGE THAT MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT IS VOLUNTARY.)

APPENDIX B

Conversation Guide

CONVERSATION GUIDE

1. Describe your impressions of your high school.

2. What do you perceive to be the positive effects of integration on your school and community?

3. What do you perceive to be the negative effects of integration on your school and community?

4. Describe your former principal and the characteristics that he possessed that caused him to be perceived as successful or unsuccessful?

5. Describe a former teacher or teachers and the characteristics that he/she possessed that cause you to remember him/her even today?

6. How well is the present educational system doing in terms of educating black children?

7. What is your opinion of the resurgence of segregated schools?

APPENDIX C

Audit Agreement

October 19, 1997

Dr. Donna Lynn Reed
Assistant Superintendent
Martinsville School District
460 South Main Street
Martinsville, IN 46151

Dear Dr. Reed:

Thank you so much for agreeing to audit my case study. My purpose in writing this letter is to formally confirm our agreement and to present a framework for the audit trail and report.

You will be provided the following items for examination: a copy of my prospectus, audio tapes of interviews, transcriptions of interviews, field notes, preliminary analysis, and a copy of Chapter 5.

The goal of an inquiry audit is to depermine dependability and confirmability and to review credibility measures of an investigation (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). As you review the items mentioned above, please respond to the following questions:

Dependability:
1. Are all data accounted for?
2. Were all resonable areas explored?
3. Did the inquirer find negatives as well as positive data?

Confirmability:
4. Are the findings grounded in the data? Can a linkage be established between the findings and the raw data?
5. Are the inferences logical? Determine the appropriateness of the category labels and the quality of the interpretations.
6. Is there evidence of investigator bias?
7. Was confirmability ensured though triangulation?

Credibility:
8. Is referential adequacy provided?
9. Is there evidence of member checks?
10. Is there evidence of triangulation?

Thank you again for agreeing to serve as the auditor for my investigation. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,
Sheila R. Knaff

APPENDIX C

Audit Agreement

TO: Dr. Marie Hill, Chair, Doctoral Committee, ETSU
Doctoral Candidate: Sheila R. Knaff
FROM: D. Lynn Reed, Assistant Superintendent
Martinsville School District
SUBJECT: External Audit Report
DATE: February 17, 1998

The external audit procedures have been completed and the following report is submitted. The audit was conducted from February 13, 1998 through February 16, 1998.

According to agreed upon criteria, the audit addressed the dependability, confirmability, and credibility of the tapes and hard copy transcriptions. Since the tapes focused on qualitative data analyses, I also compared categorical (classifications) of data with classifications outlined by the researcher to determine congruence of categorical coding for validity purposes.

Areas addressed in the audit:

Dependability:

Data from the selected samples were accounted for and all reasonable areas were explored. Both negative and positive comments were noted.

Confirmability:

Findings are grounded in the data.

The data gathering process, transcriptions, and categories were dependable, confirmable and credible.

Respectfully submitted,

D. Lynn Reed

D. Lynn Reed
Assistant Superintendent, MSD of Martinsville

VITA

SHEILA RHAAN KNAFF

Personal Data:	Date of Birth:	October 19, 1961
	Place of Birth:	Oak Ridge, Tennessee
	Marital Status:	Single

Education:

Public Schools, Clinton, Tennessee
Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; English, psychology, secondary education, B.S., 1986
Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; Administration and Supervision, M.Ed., 1987
Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; Administration and Supervision, Ed. S., 1989
East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee; Administration and Supervision, Ed. D., 1998

Professional Experience:

English Teacher, Riverdale High School; Murfreesboro Tennessee, 1987-1989
Creative Writing Teacher, John-Sevier Middle School, Kingsport, Tennessee, 1989-1991
Assistant Principal, Dobyns-Bennett High School, Kingsport, Tennessee, 1991-1996
Assistant Principal and Pre-Kindergarten Director, Upson-Lee South Primary, Thomaston, Georgia, 1996-1998

Honors and Awards:

--Who's Who Among America's High School Teachers
--Recipient of the 1996 NAACP of Anderson County's Distinguished Black Citizenship Award